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English term 'hustling'). The sometimes manipulative manner with which some operate academies is a discussion reserved for Capoeira insiders because it is an aspect of the art that is only experienced by long-time practitioners and those who become involved in the day to day operations. He rightly explores the dichotomy between native Brazilian practitioners and foreigners who have yet to receive any formal indication of their dedication to its practice and the politics that serve to maintain the root of its power within Brazilian and more specifically Afro-Brazilian hands. Assunção renders a very complete picture despite veering away from some of Capoeira's most contentious debates. Capoeira remains an incredibly adaptable art form that has survived centuries of persecution and the author does well to explore the many ways in which adaptations have ensured its continued celebrity.

The London School of Economics CHRISTOPHER M. JOHNSON

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Ana Mariella Bacigalupo, *Shamans of the Foye Tree: Gender, Power, and Healing among Chilean Mapuche* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007), pp. xi + 321, £13.99, pb.

Machi, commonly defined as Mapuche shamans, symbolise 'indigenous traditional culture' for Mapuche and non-Mapuche Chileans, and represent therefore Otherness in a paradigmatic sense. As their shamanic practices articulate masculine as well as feminine characteristics, they both illustrate and challenge gender norms and representations. Drawing on her fifteen-years-old collaboration and friendship with male and female *machi*, Bacigalupo addresses the notions of co-genderism and shamanism, as well as the role of gendered figures in constructions of Chilean national discourses.

The volume offers an insightful analysis of the binaries that structure discourses of and about *machi*. The first is the idea of a male-female dichotomy that rests upon biological (genital) status. To show how *machi* articulate this dichotomy, Bacigalupo describes ritual practices to restore individual, relational and collective wholeness. She stresses that Mapuche shamanic practices do not fit into the polarised categories of 'possession', labelled in classical shamanic research as a feminine trance state because of its supposed passivity, and 'ecstatic flights', defined as spiritual fight against negative spirits.

A central and very original contribution is Bacigalupo's account of historical narratives to understand another set of binaries, based upon the paradigm of penetration. The author analyses how Spanish conquistadors interpreted shamanic performances of both feminine and masculine identities as a mark of deviant sexuality, a monstrous fusing of male and female, generating confusion of sexes and therefore chaos in society. The politics based on such representations led to a gradual separation of political and spiritual power of the former *machi*, the realm of spirituality becoming more and more feminine, and female *machi* more numerous. But even so, female as well as male *machi* put on distinctive gender identities during ritualised moments. They adopt what Bacigalupo name co-gendered identities. Nevertheless, if male and female *machi* experience both relational and individual modes of personhood inside ritual contexts, they have to comply with the gender norms of mainstream Chilean and Mapuche society in their everyday lives. That is why male

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machi have to find strategies to draw a clear frontier between themselves and passive women and non-masculine men. To reaffirm and gain social legitimacy, they use mainstream society male figures like priests and doctors.

Bacigalupo analyses the use by Chilean national discourses as well as by Mapuche resistance movements of the images of female *machi*. She shows how, as presumed bearers of tradition and spirituality, they serve political agendas that promote and reinforce national gender restrictions, and how the feminisation of spirituality justify the paternalism of the state. A point of peculiar interest is Bacigalupo's portrayal of various female *machi* and their strategies to position themselves as modern and traditional women. Those who have chosen to stay in rural settings see themselves primarily as daughters, mothers and wives, all categories linked to the idea of domesticity. But the female *machi* she worked with transgress gender norms, looking for ways to show their special status, that allow journeys away from home and to express themselves in the public sphere. Anyway, female *machi* see marriage and mothering as central to gaining a better social status, even if it may be interfering with their spiritual power. Female *machi* use their shamanic beliefs, in which political ideology does not prevail, to redefine power for their own end. To some extent, where male *machi* have to deal with homophobic suspicion, female *machi* have to face witchcraft accusations. However, it remains unclear what these witchcraft accusations represent. Bacigalupo generally insists upon their connection with colonial stereotypes, even if she also affirms that witchcraft is necessary to maintain the 'wholeness' of Mapuche society. As a matter of fact, wholeness is ensured by the tension between health and illness, life and death, individual gain and reciprocity, as well as normality and deviance.

Such ambivalences in Bacigalupo's analyses surely serve as illustration for the complexity, diversity, pluralism and creativity of Mapuche people in general and *machi* in particular. Anyway, one can regret what seems to be a lack of precision on various aspects. For instance, on an analytical level, it remains unclear to what extend some English notions used by the author are shared by her *machi* friends. This appears also in the haziness of her transcription of *mapuzungun* words. Furthermore, it would be interesting to have more details/descriptions about the concrete social context of the *machi*. Bacigalupo often speaks of the opposition between Mapuche society and what she names sometimes the Chilean, sometimes the *wingka* one. If this construction of the Mapuche as, in some aspects, the 'non-Chilean' is common in Chile, it would be necessary to question more precisely those categorisations. Finally, the fact that *machi* seem to find their patients not as much within as outside their community (another term that should be discussed) might have lead Bacigalupo to increase her reflection about the local social context. What kinds of relationships exist between *machi* and members of *comunidades*, a legal category imposed and defined by the Chilean state? What does the imperative to marry and to bear children mean for women in general, and not only for female *machi*? To what extent do Mapuche gender categorisations correspond with non-Mapuche ones?

In spite of those remarks, it remains a real pleasure to read Bacigalupo's book, as she understands how to make a proper use of her own experience as a *machi* helper and patient. Her honest and intelligent writing helps to gain a deeper insight into this peculiar world that questions the mainstream gendered categories of homosexuality, heterosexuality, transvestism, transgenderism and normality. In that sense, her choice to take the foye tree, a tree with hermaphrodite flowers used during rituals,

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as a thread to illustrate the gender fluidity of the *machi*, is appropriate, as is her conclusion that distinctive *machi* fill different needs in Mapuche society.

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Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. xxv+499, £64.00, £14.99 pb.

On 1 January 1994, just as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into action, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN, according to its Spanish acronym) took over four cities in the southern region of Chiapas, saying 'enough is enough', demanding the resignation of the President and the establishment of a temporary government. The Zapatistas cried out for freedom, democracy and justice citing their armed struggle as the only alternative for the indigenous people of Chiapas. The days that followed were filled with bullets flying between the EZLN and the Mexican army. After ten days however, a cease-fire was declared and the battle morphed into a media war. The Zapatistas had a media-savvy spokesperson; whilst the government benefited from their command over the national media.

Since then, much has been written about the Zapatista movement both nationally and internationally; in academic texts and news articles; in films and documentaries. But little has directly focused on the figure of Subcomandante Marcos. This is what Nick Henck tackles in *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask*, the first biography of this 'revolutionary leader' to be written in English. The book is divided into three parts (in order) to depict what Marcos himself has referred to as the three Marcoses: 'Marcos of the past who has a past, Marcos of the Mountains before the First of January (1994), and post-January Marcos'.

In Part I 'Rafael', Henck focuses on the early years of Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente the man declared by president Ernesto Zedillo's government as being the 'real' Subcomandante Marcos – the man behind the mask. Henck's tone is somewhat messianic, not only because he regards Rafael as fulfilling a prophecy, but because the prophecy rests on such tenuous ground. Rafael fulfils the prophecy of becoming a revolutionary leader according to Henck – due to the fact that his year of birth coincides with the year in which Che Guevara and Fidel Castro established their first *foco* in Cuba. This is further reinforced by his witnessing (as an 11 year old) the student movements and massacre – of 1968; and experiencing the ruling political party's (PRI) high levels of repression and corruption. Moreover, Henck's use of Fran J. Sulloway's research into birth order affects on personality, to lead toward the conclusion that Rafael was 'born to rebel'. Apparently, Marcos's birth order and his father's 'Quixotic disposition' are predictive events in his development as a guerrilla reader. I cannot help but to feel at times, that Henck is being more of an astrologer than a historian. Alarmingly, Henck devotes much attention to this and concludes that as a 'laterborn' with many siblings, Rafael 'conforms to the revolutionary elite pattern' of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and Castro. This evolutionary rhetoric is further reiterated through Henck's assertion (with the help of Rejai and Phillips), that Rafael's revolutionary character is due to his being a 'middle child … with many siblings … middle class [and] of mainstream variety in respect of ethnicity and religion …' and so on. This biological essentialism is further

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