

Menominee, deren Fertigung, Aussehen und Symbolik. Kleidung ist, dies belegen zahlreiche Studien, ein wichtiger Teil der nonverbalen Kommunikation, ein Symbol mit multiplen Funktionen, deren Wandel eindeutig wahrgenommen werden kann.

Das von Kasprzycki gewählte Thema ist religionswissenschaftlich, missionshistorisch und ethnologisch von großer Relevanz. Die bedeutende Rolle von Dingen in ihrer "Artikulation" im kulturellen Dialog wurde in den einzelnen Kapiteln nur bedingt deutlich, nicht zuletzt auch vor dem Hintergrund der, wie die Autorin selbst aufführt, wenigen existierenden indigenen Quellen. Die Rekonstruktion des Dialoges, ein Ziel der Arbeit, setzt aber die "Stimmen" beider am Dialog Beteiligter voraus. Da die indigene Sicht vielfach nur indirekt über die Aufzeichnungen der Missionare der untersuchten 50 Jahre zu rekonstruieren ist, muss es oftmals bei Interpretationen bleiben.

Generell stellt sich die Frage, ob nicht die christliche Botschaft mehr im Zentrum der missionarischen Tätigkeit stand und weniger das Materielle, und wie sich die "Dinge" im Kontext des Missionsalltages von jenen bspw. der europäischen Kolonisten unterschieden. Stand der zweifellos stattfindende kulturelle Dialog, bzw. der Dialog mittels materieller Güter zwischen Menominee und Missionaren, nicht hinter dem intellektuellen Dialog, der Verbreitung der Botschaft zurück? Unbestreitbar ist, dass die Menominee in der Lage waren, materielle Manifestationen der westlichen Kultur anhand eigener kultureller Bedingtheiten zu deuten, auszuwählen und zu modifizieren. Unbestreitbar übte die Arbeit der Missionare, die auch über Handlungen und Dingen erfolgte, einen erkennbaren Wandel aus, doch sind es eben auch die verkündete christliche Lehre, die Schule, die Ausbildung von Katecheten, die Unterdrückung traditioneller Glaubensvorstellungen, die Heranbildung neuer Eliten usw., die eine nachhaltige "Kolonisierung des Bewusstseins" bewirkten.

Zu den formalen Kritikpunkten zählen das unstrukturierte Inhaltsverzeichnis (Unterkapitel werden nicht aufgeführt), das Fehlen von Maßangaben bei vielen Karten und das fehlende Karten- und Abbildungsverzeichnis.

Es handelt sich um eine kenntnisreiche Untersuchung, deren interessanter Ansatz, den "kulturellen Dialog" zwischen Indigenen und Missionaren über Dinge (materielle Kultur), "Dinge des Glaubens", zu analysieren, in den einzelnen Kapiteln nur bedingt ersichtlich wird. Ein Verdienst der Arbeit ist es, dass sie die Berichte, Briefe und weitere Dokumente von Missionaren als bedeutende historische Quellen wissenschaftlich auswertet und den ethnologischen Blick auch wieder der materiellen Kultur zuwendet.

Andreas Volz

**Konstantinov, Yulian:** Reindeer-Herders. Field-Notes from the Kola Peninsula (1994–95). Uppsala: DiCA – Uppsala Universitet, 2005. 460 pp. ISBN 91-506-1831-8.

Observers of Yulian Konstantinov's scholarly work in Russia, especially if they are from Western Europe or

the U.S., often comment upon the interesting irony of his position as a Bulgarian who has turned his ethnographic gaze upon an Other that once tried to hold him in a "we" embrace against a Western Other. This irony is evidently not lost on Konstantinov, who frequently muses upon his own positionality in "Reindeer-Herders." This is a book that documents movements of many sorts: Reindeer-herders moving through geographic space from town to tundra (followed by Konstantinov), as well as through social space from pariah status to relative autonomy as stewards of their reindeer; Konstantinov moving from outsider to tentative insider among herders, but also to ambivalent marginality among Swedish venison entrepreneurs and Russian *sovkhos* administrators partly as a result of his physical movement with the socially marginalised herders.

The subtitle of this book is "Field-Notes from the Kola Peninsula," and there is nothing metaphorical about this – these 460 pages constitute a minimally-analysed, detailed compendium of Konstantinov's activities during two field trips to the Kola Peninsula in 1995 in the context of a research project conceived in collaboration with Norwegian colleagues at the University of Tromsø. The first trip was from April to June when the spring calves were being marked, the second from October to November when the fall slaughtering campaign was underway. Konstantinov begins with a brief ethnographic and historical overview of Saami reindeer-herding on the Kola Peninsula, from prehistory to the late Soviet period, pausing on the eve of the dissolution of the *sovkhosy* in 1992 and their reorganization into limited liability companies. He defines here two main social groups with which he will be concerned: the "herders," being primarily Saami who spend most of their time in the tundra; and the "citizens," being primarily (although not exclusively) Russian incomers to the Kola peninsula who spend most of their time in towns, and who tend to refer to the Saami herders as "drunken Lopars." The main purpose of the book, he states here, is to bring the changes of the 1990s "into intimately personal focus both from the point of view of the herders and of the citizens" (31), and to explore how the economic and social crisis of that time was causing the 20th-century features of reindeer herding to be "slowly back-interpreted."

Aside from the herders and the citizens, other social groups surface from time to time as important character sets. One of these is the military, representatives of whom are scattered about the tundra in places that surprise Konstantinov, making him nervous in a context in which even the reindeer-herders often referred to him, only half-jokingly, as a "spy." The herders had a generally positive attitude to this military presence, since it provided opportunities for barter and sometimes a resource for the solution of technical problems. A second character set is the Russian poachers, who opportunistically shoot the herders' deer, but with whom the herders nonetheless maintain a tentative peace. Konstantinov describes this as a "love-hate relationship," according to which the herders tolerate the poachers squatting in their temporarily vacant huts or even bunking in with them for

a few days, since they recognize that the poachers have a genuine passion for tundra life and leave the herders' premises in decent condition, sometimes even bringing a bottle of vodka in exchange. A third important character set is the representatives of the Swedish-Russian joint venture "Arctica," which set up business in the early 1990s to deal in wholesale trading of reindeer meat and other products, such as velvet antler, and which in the mid-1990s was buying up most of the Kola Peninsula reindeer meat for the Swedish market at prices the Russian market could not have supported. "Arctica" comes to represent the wider ideological category of the Western bourgeoisie (*burjui*), toward whom the herders maintain an equivocal attitude, being reluctant to do business with the firm for fear of falling into "bondage" to them.

These field notes constitute a prolonged gaze into the very intimate details of the ethnographic fieldwork encounter: how relationships develop, how the researcher finds a place in the delicate politics of a small-scale community, how insider-outsider ambiguity is negotiated. At times Konstantinov identifies with this eastern Other, as when during a local festival he hears recitations of World War II heroism propounded in what sounds to him like "a voice out of my Komsomol days"; Konstantinov frequently finds points of comparison between the frigid Murmansk region and his own more temperate Bulgarian homeland. Yet at other times he alienates himself from his northern counterparts, wondering if in spite of his lifetime on the Soviet periphery he nevertheless falls into category of the Western *burjui* in this place and at this time. There is a parallel story here of the herders' own growing awareness of their position within a Russia that was changing radically and pushing them even further to its social margins.

Konstantinov's account is delivered with a depth of sincerity and empathy that is extremely rare in scholarship. There is a wealth of material here for the specialist, and this volume has the potential to become a "cult classic" among the quickly growing genre of ethnographies of reindeer-herding in Russia, from David Anderson's "Identity and Ecology in Arctic Siberia" (Oxford 2002) to Piers Vitebsky's "Reindeer People" (New York 2006). However, the book's rich ethnographic detail at times weighs it down, and may be off-putting to the non-specialist. It is not that these ethnographic details are unimportant, or even uninteresting; it is just that they are almost overwhelming in their encyclopaedic quality and incongruous in their placement. The organization is primarily chronological, often a blow-by-blow account of daily events, albeit without the temporal anchor of dates. Consequently, the narrative is often just as cyclical as the activities being documented, and this sometimes makes the text repetitive. Without an index, the book's gems of insight are unfortunately scattered like buried treasure for which one has no map. A workable solution to this problem would be to remove many of these ethnographic details to topical appendices, so that they do not interrupt the flow of Konstantinov's compelling narrative of growing empathy with a category of

marginalised people whose story desperately needs to be told.

There are some other technical problems with the manuscript – grammatical errors and typos, inconsistent Russian transliteration, awkward translations from Russian to English; the text is very much in need of copyediting by a native English speaker. More detailed maps of the areas in which Konstantinov travelled would greatly enhance the book's value, and illustrations could bring some of the ethnographic detail to life. The "Epilogue," which covers the intervening ten years in only three short paragraphs, is disappointing. However, these organizational and technical details aside, Konstantinov's book conveys a tactile sense of the quality of life in tundra camps, the personalities, the rivalries, the worldly frustrations. It is a work of remarkable honesty and insight into a situation of social and economic change that few have glimpsed so intimately, nor characterized so accurately.

Patty A. Gray

**Kowalski, Andreas F.:** "Tu és quem sabe." – "Du bist derjenige, der es weiß." Das kulturspezifische Verständnis der Canela von Indianerhilfe. Ein ethnographisches Beispiel aus dem indianischen Nordost-Brasilien. Marburg: Curupira, 2004. 253 pp. ISBN 3-8185-0396-6. (Curupira, 18) Preis: € 19.00

"Ich bin kein Freund großer und vieler Worte." Mit dieser für eine Dissertation oftmals schwierig einzuhaltenen Erklärung beginnt Andreas Kowalski seine Arbeit, die er 2004 im Fachbereich Gesellschaftswissenschaften und Philosophie der Philipps-Universität Marburg vorlegte. Er konnte sein Versprechen einhalten, und zwar keineswegs zum Schaden der Arbeit. Andreas Kowalski hat sich ein relativ wenig bearbeitetes, schwieriges, jedoch faszinierendes Themenfeld ausgesucht, nämlich die Frage, wie extern finanzierte und herangetragene Hilfsmaßnahmen und Projekte von den Menschen wahrgenommen werden, die eigentlich von ihnen profitieren sollen. Dies wird am Beispiel der Canela im brasilianischen Bundesstaat Maranhão und der so genannten Indianerhilfe illustriert.

Kowalski war in der zweiten Hälfte der 90er Jahre als ausgebildeter Ethnologe Mitarbeiter in einem Hilfsprogramm zur Verbesserung der Lebensbedingungen der Canela, welches von 1991 bis 1998 vom Lateinamerika-Zentrum (LAZ) e. V. Bonn getragen und vom Osnabrücker Sportwissenschaftler Jürgen Dieckert und dem Ethnologen Jakob Mehringer erarbeitet und vorgeschlagen wurde. Die vorausgegangenen Forschungen Dieckerts und Mehringers ermöglichten Kowalski einen privilegierten Zugang zu den Canela, doch sah er sich schnell vor ein Dilemma gestellt: sollte er die konventionelle Funktion eines Entwicklungshelfers einnehmen oder die Rolle eines Vermittlers (*facilitador*) spielen, und wo sollte er seine Identität als Ethnologe lassen? Nach Kowalskis Darstellung wäre eine klassische ethnologische Feldforschung schnell an Grenzen indigenen Desinteresses gestoßen, da sich die Canela offenbar nach jahrzehntelangen detaillierten Forschungen des amerika-