

beyond all human rationality" (250). Laut Silat-Kämpfern sei es nur möglich, seine Hände in siedendes Öl zu stecken, wenn man einen festen Glauben habe und Gott das Gebet des Kämpfers auf wunderbare Weise erhöere. Der Autor hat das "Wunder" des heißen Ölbad am eigenen Leibe zweimal er- und überlebt – ohne allerdings gebetet zu haben (245).

Diese kenntnisreiche Darstellung bietet eine ausführliche Auseinandersetzung mit der einschlägigen anthropologischen Fachliteratur auf den Spezialgebieten der Theorien bezüglich Kunst, Theater, Körper (Embodiment), Magie und Performance. Die wertvollen Innenansichten des Autors aus der Welt der malaiischen Kampfkunst machen dabei den besonderen Reiz des Buches aus. So wird im Abschnitt über Islam als Kriegerreligion (vom Autor vorsichtig mit einem Fragezeichen versehen: "Islam: Warrior Religion?") eine faszinierende Betrachtungsweise der Informanten wiedergegeben, in der arabische Kalligrafie mit Gebets- und Kampfbewegungen in Zusammenhang gebracht wird. Die bildhafte Schlussfolgerung des Autors lautet, dass "Islamic silat is sometimes Islamic calligraphy in motion, just as the shahada prayer is Islamic calligraphy in motion, an idea recognized by Muslims worldwide" (160).

Edwin Wieringa

Fine-Dare, Kathleen S., and Steven L. Rubenstein (eds.): *Border Crossings. Transnational Americanist Anthropology*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. 369 pp. ISBN 978-0-8032-1086-8. Price: £ 26.99

In this interesting volume Fine-Dare and Rubenstein have assembled a collection of articles on indigeneity that critically examine how and by whom borders, especially the borders of anthropology's traditional area-studies approach, are created, crossed, challenged, and built anew in the Americas. The collection comes out of a session at the 2003 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Moving across Borders. Re-Thinking and Re-Siting Americanist Anthropology in the Era of NAFTA, ALCA, and a 'War on Terrorism.'" After an introduction in which the editors discuss the hermeneutic approach used in the book to bridge the divide between anthropologists and those we study the collection is organized into three overlapping sections: "A New Compass for Americanist Studies," "Transamerican Case Studies," and "Americanist Reflections."

In the first chapter in Part One, "Racing across Borders in the Americas. Anthropological Critique and the Challenge of Transnational Racial Identities," John M. Norvell questions the appropriateness of US racial thinking (especially the US concept of race) for understanding inequality in Brazil. The border crossing that Linda J. Seligmann addresses in the next article, "The Politics of Knowledge and Identity and the Poetics of Political Economy. The Truth Value of Dividing Bridges," is that between anthropologists and those we study. She calls for "bring[ing] together our grim appraisal of power and powerlessness to create a deeper, rich portrayal of what happens in between these two poles" (41). In his critical examination of archaeology James A. Zeidler points out

that although archaeologists in the US are increasingly taking into account diverse perspectives on who owns the past, US-trained anthropologists working in Latin America are less likely to do so.

The second section begins with Kathleen S. Fine-Dare's discussion of "Bodies Unburied, Mummies Displayed," in which she continues the discussion of who owns the past. By examining various discourses on South American human remains she illuminates the complex social fields and power relations from which these discourses emerge and with which indigenous groups struggle. In his essay, "Crossing Boundaries with Shrunken Heads," Steven L. Rubenstein looks at the ways in which boundaries of time, place, politics, and epistemology are crossed and how such crossings are perceived from different vantage points. By juxtaposing the movement of *tsantzas* (shrunken heads) from the Shuar of Ecuador and undocumented migrant Shuar workers as they come together at the American Museum of Natural History in New York he reveals important differences in memories of the past.

The next two chapters, one by Jean N. Scandlyn and the other by Barbara Burton and Sarah Gammage, look at Latin American migrants in US communities. Scandlyn focuses on the reception of new immigrants in a suburban area of New York and a class conflict over the local school budget. Burton and Gammage consider transnational politics and development efforts geared towards home.

In his discussion of international indigenous rights movements Les W. Field moves the reader back to the consideration of the movement of ideas, relations among activists, and the complexities of local-global relationships. Like Field, L. L. Martins also looks at indigenous rights struggles. She adds another important dimension when she suggests that anthropologists who often focus on single tribes must widen their framework and consider alliances among different groups, such as Indians and rural workers or the landless.

The last section consists of three reflective chapters by Enrique Salmón, Peter McCormick, and S. L. Rubenstein and K. S. Fine-Dare where the authors describe their personal border crossings. In the excellent "Afterword" David L. Nugent situates changes in anthropology from the post-World War II focus on area studies to the contemporary movement towards a transnationalist anthropology in David Harvey's discussion of Fordist and post-Fordist regimes of capital accumulation. Nugent ends with the important admonition that while "we now appear to have entered a more flexible, post-Fordist regime of power, economy, and knowledge," (331) as shown throughout the volume, "enormous challenges [are still] faced by indigenous and subaltern groups who seek to challenge the structures of inequality out of which distinct 'anthropologies' emerge" (338).

Frances Rothstein

Gesch, Patrick F. (ed.): *Mission and Violence. Healing the Lasting Damage*. Madang: DWU Press, 2009. 394 pp. ISBN 9980-9956-2-9. Price K 65,50

The book presents the papers presented at the conference at Divine Word University of Madang, Papua New

Guinea, in 2005, which was attended by SVD-members (Society of the Divine Word) from across the Asia and Pacific zone. The title “Mission and Violence” is misleading, because the main topic is the daily reality of violence throughout that region. Only 2 articles of 24 concern the problem of historical violence against Christian missions in the past: “Christian Mission and Violence in India. An Interpretative Understanding of Hindu Fundamentalist Violence against Christian Missionaries in India Today” (Augustine Kanjamala) and “Meeting as Outrage in the History of Mission in the South Pacific” (Patrick F. Gesch). The topic “violence” is defined as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation” (World Health Organization). It is not that missionaries are suffering personal violence at an alarming rate, either because of their person or because of their convictions, but they share a violent atmosphere with the people they mean to serve. Therefore a bigger part of the articles deals with violence situations suffered by common people day by day, sometimes the missionary being accidentally involved as a target of violence. Violent situations in Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, the Philippines, India, and South Korea refer to street gangs, witchcraft, industrial threat, political agitation, persecution of Christians, and family disorder. Theoretical approaches by Colaço, Stanislaus, and Mantovani provide good analyses of those phenomena.

The participants of the conference opted for the ways of nonviolence. In the last contribution Ascherman suggests four steps to overcome the situations of violence: (1) a day to remember cases of violence; (2) a commitment to young men (because unemployed young men between 14 and 30 are those most likely to be involved in violent acts); (3) training for nonviolence and conflict resolution; (4) rituals of healing and forgiveness. The conclusion, accepted by the participants of the conference, was: “When faced with violence we seem to have four alternatives: Running away and keeping silent; closing up in a defensive crouch; taking revenge; or opening ourselves to love of enemies. The first three alternatives all feel like normal and reasonable reactions. When we feel fear and shame the first alternative seems the best course; self-preservation motivates the second; and anger motivates the third. The fourth alternative can seem super-human and in a sense it is. Love of enemies requires a transformation in us so that the power of God can do things that we find impossible” (9). This resolution shows how difficult it seems to deal with violence and how restrict the area of influence for missionaries is.

One of the elucidating articles is that of Augustine Kanjamala “Christian Mission and Violence in India. An Interpretative Understanding of Hindu Fundamentalist Violence against Christian Missionaries in India Today” (29–47). Reasons for the events of the anti-Christian ethos in India during the last decades go back to the 16th century, intensifying during the past one and a quarter centuries. What is under investigation is the conspicuous in-

fluence of the Hindu religious beliefs and teachings on a series of violent and militant actions against a minority community, such as Christians. It is demonstrated that their motivations cannot be understood apart from their worldview of the Golden Vedic civilization, Hindu *dharma*, Hindu *rashtra*, and Hindu culture that was disfigured by the history of conquest, domination, hurt, and humiliation on the part of aggressive religions with their exclusive dogmatism concerning salvation. 500 years of aggressive proselytization and 200 years of (British) Christian colonialism produced a wounded civilization and a violent culture yearning for historical justice. There is an intellectual and spiritual affinity between the militant Hinduism, not without its ancient roots in ascetic monasticism, and the systematic, organized, and sustained militancy by a powerful section of radical Hindus against Christianity.

During the first half of the 16th century, the missionaries (Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans) used persuasive methods of conversion without success. Following the principle of the protestant reform in Europe (*cuius regio, eius religio*), Dom João III, the King of Portugal, ordered the destruction of pagan temples and sped up the conversion process. Churches were built in the places of destroyed temples. In 1583, when coercive methods were introduced, five Jesuits were killed in the so called “Cuncolim Revolt.” In the course of the following centuries forty more revolts followed. Furthermore, the introduction of the Holy Inquisition in Goa (1561) increased the pressure against the “pagan” population. In this long and cruel process of forced conversions and inquisition most inhabitants of coastal Goa became Catholics to save their lives and property. A good number of them migrated to the neighboring Muslim territories of Bijapur, Mangalore, and Kerala. The Hindu violence manifested through revolts had its roots in the traditional violence of Hindu monasticism. That the Indian culture and life in general was characterized by *ahimsa* (nonviolence) is a myth created and popularized by the 19th century European indologists and finally crowned by Gandhi’s nonviolent independence movement. Hindu society, like any other human society, was equally violent, depending on different aggressive situations and provocative contexts.

The modern anti-missionary animosities and violence in India have their roots going back to the reformist movement Arya Samaj (1875) and his founder Dayananda Saraswati (1824–1883). The American Presbyterian mission in Punjab began to attack Hinduism and denounced it as a set of superstitions and devilish paganism. Dayananda was infuriated by Christian dogmatism and imperial arrogance. “Arya Samaj represents the militant strand from which, in particular, Hindu Nationalism springs forth” (C. Jaffrelot: Hindu Nationalist Movement. New Delhi 1993: 14). Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1882–1966) organized Mitra Mela, which was later transformed into Abhinav Bharat Society in 1905 in order to fight for independence. His book “Hindutva. Who is Hindu?” (1923) became the basic philosophy of Hindu fundamentalism and exclusive Hindu nationalism (Hindustan). Hedgewar and later on Golwalkar admired the European fascism and formulated a Hindu Form of racism: “The foreign races

in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence the Hindu religion, must entertain no ideas but those of glorification of the Hindu race and culture ... or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less preferential treatment – not even citizens' rights" (C. Jaffrelot: *The Sangh Parivar. A Reader*. New Delhi 2005: 73). In the 2nd half of the last century and the beginning of the present century, several state laws forbidding conversions and different movements and paramilitary groups of anti-Christian and anti-Muslim minorities were established along these lines.

Kanjamala suggests in his interpretation of Hindu violence that the cultural background of this phenomenon is the grievance combined with the "Creed of Hindutva," i.e., the Hindu anger, aggression, resentment, and retaliation against Christian missionaries and Christian people in the context of Western colonialism. The contemporary fundamentalist violence, vandalism, and attacks on Christians are seen as retaliation for the violence the colonial missionaries committed against Hindu religion, culture, dignity, and honor. "Indians did not conceive the colonial state as neutral and secular but rather as fundamentally Christian. The feeling was further enhanced by the fact many high ranking officials were self-conscious Christians who felt that their duty was to support the missionary effort" (P. Van der Veer: *Imperial Encounters. Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*. New Delhi 2001: 23). On understanding Hindutva, Subash Anand writes: "A wounded psyche, if not healed, can express itself in some very violent forms. The *wounded psyche of the Hindu* explains not only the demolishing of the Babri Masjid – a monument constantly reminding the Hindus of their *humiliation* at the hands of the Muslims, but also the recent spate of atrocities committed against missionaries" ("The Emergence of Hindutva." In J. Mattam [ed.]: *Hindutva. An Indian Christian Response*. Bangalore 2003: 134f.).

"Is there something we can do to respond more effectively to situations of violence?", asks Ascherman at the end of this conference. The influence of missionaries and Church groups in Asia and Oceania is very limited. Societies and nations, sub-groups and minorities follow their own natural laws of self-assertion and self-preservation. The four suggestions of Ascherman above cited to overcome the problem of violence are well intended but probably utopic.

Joachim G. Piepke

Grätz, Tilo: *Goldgräber in Westafrika*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2010. 239 pp. ISBN 978-3-496-02831-4. Preis: € 29.90

In seiner ethnographischen Studie "Goldgräber in Westafrika" befasst sich Tilo Grätz grundlegend mit der Reproduktion und Innovation sozialer Normen in meist hoch mobilen Goldgräbergemeinschaften. Zu diesem Zweck schildert er vor allem die Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen von Goldgräbern im Atakora-Gebirge Nordbenins und zieht später Vergleiche zu anderen westafrikanischen Abbaugebieten in Mali und Burkina Faso. In

seinen Ausführungen beschränkt sich Grätz nicht auf einen einzelnen Teilaspekt des handwerklichen Goldabbaus, sondern beschreibt und analysiert das "aureoextraktive System" (in Anlehnung an Pfaffenbergers [1998] Begriff des "soziotechnischen Systems") als ein komplexes Ganzes, dessen Einflüsse in vielen Lebensbereichen erkennbar sind. Dazu beschreibt Grätz die Entwicklung von Strategien der Risikobewältigung durch die Goldgräber, die Konstruktion einer sozioprofessionellen Identität, ihre Beziehungen untereinander und mit den Einheimischen, ihre Alltagsprobleme und ihre Strategien des Konfliktaustrages im Zusammenhang mit ihrem Zugang zu Ressourcen. Die Analysen dieser Einzelaspekte verbindet der Autor zu einer Betrachtung der sozialen Prozesse zur Konstruktion, Reproduktion oder zum Wandel von Normen in einer *frontier*-Situation (Kopytoff 1987, 1999), die das Hauptinteresse der Studie ausmacht.

Um den Goldabbau als komplexes System möglichst umfassend zu verstehen, geht Grätz einleitend auf die Geschichte des Goldabbaus in Westafrika ein. Außerdem beschreibt er die Arbeitsschritte der Abbauzyklen im handwerklichen Bergbau und der Flussgoldwäsche (Kapitel II). In den folgenden Kapiteln der Studie vertieft er seine Betrachtungen einzelner Aspekte des "aureoextraktiven Systems". In Kapitel III beschreibt der Autor detailliert die soziale Arbeitsorganisation im handwerklichen Goldabbau des Atakora. In diesem Zusammenhang stellt Grätz zwei Beziehungsmodelle der am Goldabbau beteiligten Akteure in den Vordergrund: erstens ein "proto-patronales System" (61), in dem Abhängigkeiten zwischen den Organisatoren des Goldabbaus und den Arbeitern bestehen, welches sich aber noch nicht derart fest etabliert hat, wie dies in einem idealtypischen patronalen Abhängigkeitsverhältnis der Fall ist; und zweitens Solidaritätsgemeinschaften unter allen Goldgräbern über ethnische Grenzen hinweg, die bestehende Risiken der Goldgewinnung gemeinschaftlich tragen und die Grätz daher auch als "Risikogemeinschaften" (96) bezeichnet.

Darauf aufbauend beschreibt Grätz, wie sich Normen und Regeln des Konfliktaustrages im rechtlichen und (lokal-)politischen Kontext der Goldgräbergemeinschaften des Atakoras etablieren (Kapitel IV). Im "semi-autonomen sozialen Feld" (Sally Falk Moore 1978) der lokalpolitischen Arena bleiben die Akteure weitestgehend vom Staat unbehelligt und gehen, formell gesehen, illegalen Tätigkeiten nach. Dennoch schaffen die Akteure weitgehend verbindliche Regeln, etablieren Hierarchien und schaffen soziale Rollen, die in Konfliktfällen als Schlichtungsinstanzen auftreten können.

Ferner vertieft Grätz seine Betrachtungen zu Lebenswelten, Identitätsprozessen und Formen sozialer Integration im Hinblick auf die Migrationssituation der Goldgräber (Kapitel V). Hier beschreibt er aus großer Nähe die Alltagswelt junger Goldgräber, ihre Freundschaftsbeziehungen, ihre urban inspirierten Lebens- und Konsumstile, ihre Migrationserfahrungen sowie ihr Selbst- und Fremdbewusstsein. In diesem Zusammenhang konzentriert sich Grätz vor allem auf Dynamiken der Integration, Exklusion und Gruppenbildungsprozesse sowie die Entstehung und die Bedeutungen von Freundschaften innerhalb der