dass keine Beiträge aus dem Bereich des insularen Südostasiens aufgenommen worden sind. Diese Auslassung ist umso bemerkenswerter, als immerhin in zwei Kapiteln auf Sekundärliteratur zu vormodernen indonesischen Beispielen zurückgegriffen wird, um über mögliche soziale und religiöse Kontexte zu spekulieren: Im Iran des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts (43 und 49, Anm. 77) und in Zentralasien im 15. Jahrhundert (57 und 71, Anm. 45).

Der Reichtum an Quellen zum Thema der *Miʿrāǧ* ist längst noch nicht erschöpft und hoffentlich führt dieses Buch wiederum zu weiterführenden Büchern. Die Latte ist aber hoch gelegt, weil es den Herausgebern und Beiträgern dieses Buches gelungen ist, ein neues Standardwerk mit philologischer Gründlichkeit zu schaffen. Reich bebildert, ist es überdies ein Augenschmaus.

Edwin P. Wieringa

Gustafson, Bret: New Languages of the State. Indigenous Resurgence and the Politics of Knowledge in Bolivia. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009. 331 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-4546-6. Price: £ 17.99

Anthropologists no longer grant much credibility to portrayals of indigenous people as bearers of "pure" traditional culture; global processes have made such romanticized accounts anachronistic. In their place has emerged a more complex anthropology that addresses contemporary indigenous groups' engagement with national and transnational politics. Bret Gustafson's "New Languages of the State" offers a nuanced history of Guaraní organizing around bilingual education, and of the shifting stances and strategies that both Guaraní and *karai* (nonindigenous) activists have adopted in response to successive waves of educational reform by the Bolivian state.

Bolivia's social upheavals have attracted considerable scholarly attention in recent decades, as neoliberal agendas collide with the demands of indigenous communities and organized labor; but this attention has focused mostly on highland indigenous groups (Aymara and Quechua). In contrast, Gustafson shifts our gaze eastward, to the story unfolding in Bolivia's lowlands. The Guaraní garner few international headlines; they are central neither to the coca/cocaine controversies that have made Bolivia's relations with the U.S. so fraught, nor to the political turmoil that led to the 2005 election of Evo Morales, Bolivia's purported "first indigenous president." Numbering under 100,000, they lack the demographic heft of the Quechua or Aymara, who number in the millions. Despite the Guaraní's relatively small numbers, their representative organization, the "Asambléa del Pueblo Guaraní," is renowned for its tenacity, efficacy, and independence. The APG's grassroots efforts around bilingual-intercultural education span decades, predating any serious governmental initiatives. More recently, as the Bolivian state belatedly moves to occupy and redefine the field of bilingual education, Guaraní engagement with state educational reforms has involved both collaboration and resistance, in a political balancing act that merits examination beyond the limited network of Andeanist scholars. The similarities and contrasts between educational reform processes in Guaraní country and analogous developments in Ecuador, Peru, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Chiapas, and highland Bolivia itself hold rich potential for the comparative study of ethnic politics and educational reform throughout the continent.

One strength of the book is Gustafson's access to key individuals and sites at different levels of educational policy-making. The ethnography meanders from schoolrooms and hearths in small villages, to official meetings and chance encounters in the urban center of Camiri, to ministerial maneuvers in the capital city (La Paz), while also linking these local educational discourses to the evolving priorities of the World Bank and global policy guidelines produced by the 1990 World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand. The narrative is roughly chronological, but is artfully interspersed with temporal and geographical shifts ("interludes") that reflect Gustafson's own multisited attachments. Vivid personal encounters enliven what might otherwise have been a rather dense and esoteric text. The effect is one of immersion in the people and events of a particular place, accompanied by a nagging curiosity about goings-on back in Itavera or La Paz (soon relieved as Gustafson returns us there). Evocative descriptions of the Bolivian countryside serve not only as local color but as a rich metaphor of the cultural complexity through which the author moves. In one vivid example, Gustafson ruminates on how "the rickety Cessnas … [that are] the preferred mode of travel for state functionaries, UNICEF officers, and aid consultants" create a false sense of proximity between urban and rural realities, as top-down initiatives "dropped like parachutes … [into] entangled Guarani and karai spaces and histories." In contrast: "The long, hot, dusty truck, train, or bus ride gave a better sense of distance and difference as one traveled from La Paz through Santa Cruz into Guarani country. Though imagined like plane flights, state and development policies more closely resembled bus rides, fragmented by the topography, translated, broken down, reworked through local voices …" (64).

Part of what fascinates here is the wealth of inside information Gustafson provides, including detailed, sometimes verbatim accounts from the halls of power, as international elites shape policies that will deeply impact rural villages they never see. Gustafson moves with ease in both realms, and this combination of ground-level and bird's-eye views of reform may be his most valuable contribution. Such access to both rural smallholders and high-level bureaucrats is rare, and Gustafson is an able and insightful go-between, stitching the connections between the local and the global as only one with his extensive connections to the region could. His ambitious, multilayered analysis is undergirded by 14 years of fieldwork, and many of his crucial insights arise only in hindsight, as he reinterprets this conversation or that meeting in light of a larger context that only became clear years later. This sort of reflective retrospective might be expected from a more senior scholar, but is surprising coming from one in his early 40s.

During his long engagement with Guaraní education, Gustafson has occupied a number of professional roles,

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and at times seems to be trying to define his own place in the scheme of things. As an anthropologist, is he serving the cause of grassroots indigenous activism, or of technocratic, top-down "development"? The more he explores the articulation between these two realms, the more ambiguous the division appears. Thus we witness the evolution of Gustafson's understanding of reform processes and his own role in them. As the complexity of the field becomes increasingly evident, he wonders: "Had we spoken truth to power or had development made us speak?" (141).

I have a few quibbles with the book, among them Gustafson's claim that president Evo Morales is an enthusiastic supporter of bilingual-intercultural education. Although the rhetoric and legislation emerging from Morales' party emphasize interculturalism, plurilingualism, and decolonization, state actions tell a different story. As president, Morales has dismantled much of the progress made under prior administrations, dismissing professionals (indigenous and nonindigenous) who were implementing bilingual education throughout the country, and making party loyalty (rather than experience or expertise) the main requirement for assuming key positions in the Ministry of Education. I would also dispute the notion that earlier iterations of "liberal interculturalism" (exemplified by the 1994 education reform) were "attempt[s] to get the indigenous to open up to the outside," rather than explicit challenges to racism and forced assimilation. Nonetheless, such critiques can be productively debated by colleagues with differing but well-founded opinions; they do not significantly detract from the value of the book.

"Reform" is a deceptively simple term, comprising a complex stew of proposals, negotiations, contestations, adaptations, and power relations that evolve across multiple venues. Laudably, Gustafson resists dividing the social field into simplistic categories of policy-makers, policy-implementers, and policy targets (or "beneficiaries"). Instead, subjects all along the policy pipeline, from World Bank functionaries to Guaraní elders, are portrayed as shapers and mediators of reform – collaborating, confronting, and co-opting each other as the political moment and their own larger goals demand. As indigenous people move into positions of power in both state and nonstate institutions, "ethnographies of policy" become crucial to our understandings of culture, globalization, and ethnopolitical conflict. Gustafson's nuanced and dynamic portrait of reform provides a wealth of information and insight for followers of indigenous education and politics. Hopefully, his narrative about this oft-neglected corner of the globe will find an audience not only among fellow anthropologists but among educational activists and policy-makers as well.

Aurolyn Luykx

Halbmayer, Ernst: Kosmos und Kommunikation. Weltkonzeptionen in der südamerikanischen Sprachfamilie der Cariben; 2 Bde. Wien: Facultas Verlags- und Buchhandels AG, 2010. 688 pp. ISBN 978-3-7089-0561-7. Preis: € 39.00

In neuerer Zeit standen vergleichende Arbeiten in der Anthropologie immer ein wenig im Verdacht, so etwas wie "Notlösungen" zu sein angesichts mangelnder eigener, auf Feldforschungen erworbener Daten. Ein solcher Vorwurf kann Ernst Halbmayer, der hier eine solche vergleichende Studie zur Weltauffassung der Carib sprechenden Ethnien Südamerikas vorlegt, natürlich nicht treffen, verfügt er schließlich mittlerweile über mehr als zwei Jahrzehnte Forschungserfahrung insbesondere bei den Yukpa der nördlichen Andenausläufer. Indem er sozusagen sein regionales Spezialistentum in den Dienst einer "größeren Sache" stellt, nimmt Halbmayer mit seiner Arbeit über "Kosmos und Kommunikation" das Mammutprojekt in Angriff, nach einer Kosmovision der heutzutage über ein riesiges Areal mit unterschiedlichsten Habitaten (tropischer Wald, Savanne, Gebirge) verstreut lebenden Carib sprechenden Ethnien überhaupt zu fragen. Laut Halbmayer soll das zweibändige Werk einen Beitrag zu den drei Kernthemen einer Methode einer erneuerten komparativen Anthropologie, einer Anthropologie des südamerikanischen Tieflands, insbesondere zu den Cariben, und schließlich einer Reflexion über Gesellschaft, Person und Natur zwischen Anthropologie und Soziologie leisten. Was in einer bewundernswerten Arbeits- und intellektuellen Leistung in allen drei Bereichen auf inspirierende Weise auch gelingt.

In neun vergleichenden Fallstudien aus den Guianas, dem Kerngebiet der Cariben (Yekuana, Pemon, Akuriyó und Waiwai), dem Xingúgebiet Zentralbrasiliens (Ikpeng oder Txicão und den Arara in Pará, sowie den Kalapalo im Alto Xingú), den Karihona Nordwestamazoniens und schließlich den Yukpa des nördlichen Andentieflandes soll ein Panorama der Weltsicht der Carib Sprechenden präsentiert werden. Die "offene, flexible Theorieentwicklung" erzwingt eine breite Auffächerung der präsentierten Daten, eine Aufgabe, die Halbmayer mittels souverän "verdichteter" Kurzethnografien zu den einzelnen Fallbeispielen bewältigt. Neben Halbmayers eigenen Daten zu den Yukpa, lesen wir schon beinah Klassisches etwa zu den Yekuana und Waiwai, aber auch weniger leicht Zugängliches wie etwa aus Teixeira Pintos Arbeiten zu den Arara; schließlich soll nicht unerwähnt bleiben, wie Helmut Schindler in selten selbstloser Weise sein bisher unveröffentlichtes Material zu den nordwest-amazonischen Karihona dem Projekt zur Verfügung gestellt hat. Halbmayers theoretisch wohl begründeter offener Zugang, ohne vorher festgelegte zu vergleichende Kategorien, hätte angesichts der vorgefundenen sehr heterogenen Situation leicht frustrieren können, gelänge es ihm nicht, über eine recht erfrischende Neuausrichtung des theoretischen Zugangs zur caribischen Sozialität und Kosmologie, Kontinuität in der Diskontinuität offen zu legen. Recht eigentlich geht es um die Aufhebung der Scheidung zwischen Gesellschaft und der sie umfassenden Kosmologie (man vergleiche Viveiros de Castros Konzept).

Blicken wir zunächst auf das, was wir Gesellschaft nennen, so bedienen sich die Cariben keiner der drei in altweltlichen Kontexten erarbeiteten Grammatiken von Alterität/Identität (Saids Orientalismus, Evans-Pritchards segmentäre *lineage*-Systeme, sowie Dumonts hierarchische Umschließung, die nicht zuletzt von Viveiros de Castro für Amazoniens Kosmologien fruchtbar gemacht

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