

des Ethnologen Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857–1900), der sich noch vor seinem Leben bei den Zuni von New Mexico “indianisch” kleidete (205), immer auch eine Projektionsfläche, gewissermaßen ein Medium für europäische Selbstbespiegelungen. Dies müsste man bei der Interpretation ihrer schriftlichen Hinterlassenschaften (die, da sie für europäische Leser bestimmt waren, ja immer auch den Aspekt der Rechtfertigung enthalten) z. T. vielleicht noch stärker berücksichtigen als es Trenk und seine Co-Autoren tun. Nicht nur ging es um die verschiedenen indianischen Völker um ihrer selbst willen, sondern immer auch um ein Gegenmodell zu den national-europäischen und ihren geistesgeschichtlichen Hintergründen, die sich im Laufe der Zeit zudem durchaus wandelten.

Natürlich darf man nicht außer Acht lassen, dass das vorliegende Buch sich, wie eingangs erwähnt, an ein breites Publikum wendet, und dass die oben genannten Aspekte daher vielleicht schon den selbstgesteckten Rahmen sprengen würden. Insofern zeigen sie jedoch zumindest, wie anregend diese im deutschen Bereich bislang größte Sammlung von europäisch-indianischen Grenzgängerbio grafien ist. Zweifellos wird hier auf sehr verdienstvolle Weise ein lange bestehendes Desiderat gefüllt.

Trenk konzentriert sich, obwohl er auch die bekanntesten der lateinamerikanischen kulturellen Grenzgänger nennt, auf den angelsächsischen und französischen Bereich des Kontinents. Das ist aufgrund der Fülle an biografischen Daten eine sinnvolle Beschränkung, die hier gar nicht moniert werden soll. Um jedoch das Gesamtbild abzurunden, sei noch die passende Ergänzung für das spanische Einflussgebiet genannt, die in Trenks Bibliografie nicht aufscheint: Ricardo Herren, *Indios carapálidas. Los españoles que durante la conquista y colonización de América vivieron entre los indígenas adoptando sus usos y costumbres*. Barcelona 1992. Felix Hinz

**Türk, Andreas:** Christentum in Ostsumba. Die Aneignung einer Weltreligion in Indonesien aus praxistheoretischer Sicht. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2010. 571 pp. ISBN 978-3-17-021548-1. (Religionsethnologische Studien des Frobenius-Institutes Frankfurt am Main, 6) Preis: € 79,00

What does it mean in the 21st century to live in eastern Sumba (Sumba Timur), a district on the island of Sumba in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago, and, at the same time, to be Christian? This is one of the leading questions that Andreas Türk addresses in his ethnography. The 571 pages long and heavy book is an impressive and welcome contribution to the relatively new but fast-growing subfield of the Anthropology of Christianity. There are twelve Christian denominations registered on Sumba. The Christianity under study in this ethnography is the biggest Church on the island, namely the “Gereja Kristen Sumba” (GKS), which is a version of Dutch Calvinist Protestantism that dates back to the first missionaries in 1881. Within the GKS in the administrative district of Sumba Timur, the author has defined the congregation of Payeti as his main ethnographic unit (7,601 adherents).

The study explores, in the second instance, the modus by which Christianity has become an integral part of peo-

ple’s lives in eastern Sumba (15). The answer can be given in short: Christianity is being adopted and constantly (re-) produced through practice in Bourdieu’s sense, or in other words, through the “performance” of a repertoire of practices. The concepts of practice and performance provide the central theoretical and analytical frame within which Christianity in eastern Sumba is being studied. Inspired by Riesebrodt’s theory of religion (*Cultus und Heilsversprechen*. München 2007), which follows the tradition of Max Weber’s “Sociology of Religion,” Türk suggests that religion is itself best perceived as practice (Religion als Praxis).

Thirdly, and probably most interestingly, the study examines the connection between what the author often calls local or “traditional” practices and the newer ones of Christian religion. It is argued that eastern Sumbanese ways of life (*huri*) and Christian practices exist in parallel, for what the author introduces the term “regulated coexistence” (regulierte Koexistenz) (133). Türk, moreover, argues that people in eastern Sumba experience Christianity not simply as a rupture with the past and thus as change. The success of Christianity lies rather in its capacity to link up with “traditional” notions of religion, thus providing continuity as well (164–178). With regard to this, the author states: “Indem es für die Ostsumbanesen die Möglichkeit gibt, das Christentum als eine religiöse Praxis zu rezipieren, ist das Maß an notwendiger Übereinstimmung gegeben, welches die gewiss nicht unbeträchtlichen Unterschiede erträglich macht. Was die kulturelle Wertsetzung betrifft, wird die ostsumbanesische Tradition durch das Christentum nicht außer Kraft gesetzt, sondern vom Grundsatz her sogar bestätigt” (178)

The empirical material that is presented in the seven chapters of the book addresses the outlined questions and serves to underpin this theoretical claim.

Chapter 1 begins by elaborating the theoretical concepts of the study (“practice,” performance,” and “religion as practice”). In the subsequent sections, the author sketches the history of Christianity on the island, offers an overview of the key principles that govern the indigenous ways of life (such as ancestors, house, clan, and so forth), and finally, reflects on his fieldwork and methodology.

The central practice for being a Christian in eastern Sumba, and as I would stress throughout the world, is the participation in weekly church service. In chapter 2, the author, therefore, devotes his attention to church service and liturgy, by giving a “thick description” of it. The liturgy of church service is identified as “prototypical structure” that can be found in any other Christian activity, too (162). That is to say, all “complementary Christian practices” involve elements of this “paradigmatic practice” that thus integrates into the everyday lives of eastern Sumbanese (164). Türk proposes that this is the central principle by which the spread of Christianity has taken its course (164).

Such complementary Christian practices are brought into focus in chapter 3. They are investigated in the form of house groups (*Hauskreis*) that serve as powerful instruments for the incorporation of Christian values. In these rather intimate settings, the people are encouraged to en-

gage personally with the Bible and to interpret passages proposed by the church workers (*guru injil*), who visit Christian households on a regular basis. As an effect of such discussions, Christian messages become a central point of reference for people in eastern Sumba, who by way of appropriating them try to make sense of their personal situation and to cope with the challenges and problems of their everyday lives.

Chapter 4 deals with the various facets of proselytization. A considerable part of people in eastern Sumba have not (yet) embraced Christianity and practice their own ways of worship. The chapter traces the strategies that the GKS pursues in order to convert these persons. It describes conversion as a process in stages that follows a fixed structure, which is in accordance with church liturgy. Baptism is just the first step for Christianity to take ground. Therefore, the author sheds light on the complex process of institutionalisation through which the GKS further establishes itself (for instance, infrastructure, staff, financing, organisation). The access to financial means enables the GKS to exceed their sphere of influence far beyond the religious field. It follows that the GKS becomes a powerful player within this local setting capable of competing and cooperating with other institutions (319). This very insightful chapter, however, neglects two relevant themes, namely, state regulation of conversion, and the question why people who had resisted Christianity for a long time suddenly convert. The topic of proselytization could have been completed more persuasively, if the author had included the voices of people who have converted recently.

Chapter 5 is the most compelling part of the book. It is dedicated to the practice of funerals, which are the most outstanding ritual events in eastern Sumba, especially for people of high social rank. Death and funeral are considered predominantly as the issue of families and kin groups and only in the second instance as a Christian matter. However, funerals provide the ground for the most conflictive debates, where different actors negotiate, what practices can still be performed and for whom. This pluralism is aptly illustrated by a very insightful case study that is concerned with the funeral of two persons (a Christian and a non-Christian). The author presents a very sophisticated analysis of this highly complex situation, by highlighting the various social roles that people may play within this ritual process. The funeral convincingly demonstrates that actors may interpret the meaning of a certain practice rather differently. The case moreover reveals that through the desacralization of local practices, Sumbanese tradition becomes reclassified as “culture” (*budaya*). This new category encompasses all traditional practices that are still acceptable to Christians, and excludes unacceptable others. For instance, the most sacred practice of the local tradition (*hamayangu*) is not practicable anymore for people who have converted to Christianity and, therefore, cannot be classified as culture.

Whereas funerals may lead to conflictive social situations, where the relation between Christianity and “traditional” practices must be constantly renegotiated, marriages are performed as “traditional” ceremonies with

much greater continuity. The point of departure in chapter 6 (“Marriage and the Flow of Life”) is the author’s own marriage with a woman from eastern Sumba. The meticulous description of this marriage process shows the creativity of eastern Sumbanese in order to cope with cultural difference. In the case of Türks’ wedding, church wedding and civil marriage took place only after all the complex “traditional” ceremonies and transaction processes had been performed. Apart from descent, a person establishes his or her most important social bonds through such marriage alliances. In this sense, the different practices that come to the fore in the three stages of the marriage accentuate once again the difference between what the author calls social and religious aspects of eastern Sumbanese lifeworlds (478). Türk maintains that the impact of Christianity remains restricted, as it does not provide all necessary accomplishments that are believed to complete the life of a person in eastern Sumba (478).

In the concluding section (chapter 7), the author situates his study, and in particular his concept of a “regulated coexistence,” within the broader field of the Anthropology of Christianity. He points out that his concept of a “regulated coexistence” lies between approaches that link up the success of Christianity with Western hegemony on the one hand, and other approaches that emphasise its heterogeneity or its fusion with indigenous practices, on the other hand. In summary, Türk claims that “traditional order” (traditionelle Ordnung) and Christianity must be treated as two separate cultural systems that do not merge, notwithstanding their interdependency and various interactions (515). In short: being a Christian in the 21st century in eastern Sumba is not a total commitment. However, one could doubt that these findings can be easily applied to all the twelve Christian denominations that exist on the island. Since the study concentrates on the GKS, the use of the term “Christianity” throughout the book seems sometimes overgeneralised.

Another critical point that I would like to reiterate here concerns the blinding out of the national context. The people of eastern Sumba are somewhat examined, as if they lived in isolation. This tendency can frequently be observed in ethnographies that study societies in eastern Indonesia.

On the whole, the author provides a complex analysis that is theoretically informed and ethnographically profound. I can only recommend the reading of this substantial work, albeit it is a bit long-winded here and there.

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**Walker, Anthony R.** (ed.): Pika-Pika. The Flashing Firefly. Essays to Honour and Celebrate the Life of Pauline Hetland Walker (1938–2005). New Delhi: Hindustan Publishing, 2009. 489 pp. ISBN 81-7075-087-3. Price: \$ 36.00

This is a book edited by the husband of the late Pauline Walker, Anthony Walker. He is a well-known anthropologist who has worked extensively both in South India (in the Nilgiri Hills, mainly with the Toda) and in South-eastern Asia and the Pacific. His best-known publications