

involucran la estandarización del valor como la renegociación de estándares de valor, mantenidos anteriormente, de acuerdo con una lógica y unos actores nuevos. Y resalta cómo las equivalencias no resultan del cálculo de una cantidad abstracta, sino del tipo de relaciones en juego (149). Así, y a contracorriente de la imagen de unos pueblos amazónicos anti mercado y propensos al don y la distribución, el autor muestra, a través del caso de los Kuikuro, la omnipresencia de la lógica de la remuneración.

Por otro lado, Coelho de Souza detalla las negociaciones entre los Kĩsêdjê y una empresa capitalista, en torno al uso, en una mercancía, de unos diseños corporales femeninos. La autora señala las diversas comprensiones de los productos de la creatividad y de sus formas de transacción – siguiendo, para los indígenas, un modelo de contrato (*contract model*) y, para la compañía, un modelo de intercambio (*exchange model*). (Coelho de Souza detecta, además, aunque sin aclarar del todo sus razones, un cambio crucial. Si bien, en principio, todo lo que los Kĩsêdjê consideran como parte de su cultura tiene, para ellos, un ostensible “origen foráneo” [172]; hoy adoptan sin embargo una suerte de “fundamentalismo cultural”: esto es, la extirpación, en ciertos contextos, precisamente de aquellos elementos que consideran foráneos [173].) Como se precisa en la introducción, aquí los conflictos con unos pueblos indígenas que “casi por definición, se encuentran involucrados en luchas por el control y la propiedad de los recursos” (2) no siempre implicarían obstáculos, sino que bien podrían formar parte – por medio de lo que Brightman y Grotti llaman “equivocal compatibility” o “working misunderstandings” (17) – de un conjunto más o menos funcional. Esto se aplicaría también, como se muestra en el caso Kĩsêdjê, al concepto de “patrimonio inmaterial”, cuya “conversión en propiedad de lo inmaterial” estaría, de hecho, dando a “la noción occidental de propiedad ... un creciente impacto práctico” (2).

¿Finalmente, qué es, pues, lo que hayamos en la Amazonía cuando evocamos la idea de propiedad? La introducción nos habla de algo más bien “heterogéneo y no tan fácil de definir”: “a way of inhabiting a place that cannot be simply defined as an extension of land, for it is constituted by multiple relations of ownership between humans and nonhumans” (5). Por su parte, el prefacio alude a una suerte de mutualidad – que evoca, por ejemplo, las recientes definiciones del *ayllu* en los Andes: “just as you are owned and owed to others, all those whom you yourself ... nurture, feed, advise, offer company or land or labour to, are parts of you” (x).

Para terminar, podría añadirse un par de anotaciones. En primer lugar, aunque sus nueve capítulos son igualmente notables, la cercanía de estos con el tema general del libro es quizá más clara al inicio que al final del mismo. En segundo lugar, si bien el libro aborda aspectos cruciales para la comprensión de la propiedad en la Amazonía, quizá podría, además, haberse centrado con mayor minuciosidad en cuestiones tan cruciales como el derecho de uso de la tierra, de los llamados “recursos naturales” o de los conocimientos indígenas al respecto. Sea como fuere, estamos, sin duda, frente a un ejemplo fructuoso del ímpetu y la influencia de una antropología que, hace

no mucho, habría sin duda sido calificada de “periférica”. La etnología amazónica en el Brasil (donde radican siete de los diez autores de esta compilación) goza hoy, pues, de una situación que ningún otro de sus vecinos parece haber alcanzado todavía, aunque albergue tanta o más diversidad que aquél.

Juan Javier Rivera Andía

**Brinkgreve, Francine:** *Lamak. Ritual Objects in Bali*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2016. 272 pp. ISBN 978-90-8890-390-8. Price: € 47.12

This is a material culture study that takes its title from the name of one specific type of Balinese ritual offering. A *lamak* is a long narrow hanging, generally made out of palm and banana leaves, hung from altars and shrines at temple festivals and on festive holy days. (The object may be referred to both in its singular and plural versions as *lamak*.) The author, Francine Brinkgreve, has spent more than thirty years documenting various types of *lamak* in different villages in Bali. By studying this particular ritual offering over time, Brinkgreve provides us an anthropological account that both draws upon the immediacy of her initial encounter and fascination with *lamak* as well as her long-term observation of change. This book features new and important research that successfully critiques and builds upon previously limited work on *lamak* by arguing that these objects serve as the foundational base for other offerings to attract deities and deified ancestors. By adopting an agentive approach towards *lamak*, Brinkgreve explores the effects that these unique objects have on the people who make and use them as well as trying to understand why Balinese make and remake these ephemeral items. Specialist craftspeople and women make *lamak* following the all-important Balinese Hindu ritual calendar, and the author’s perspective is clearly informed by her knowledge of the ritual landscape including life-cycle ceremonies and temple festivals.

Objects become sociocultural agents through a network of agency that ranges from the harnessing of their material properties and qualities to the associations, experiences, and meanings created during transformative relationships with other objects and subjects. A study of the lives of objects, such as *lamak*, demands that one considers what makes it singular and special as well as what makes it part of a matrix of entities. Accordingly, the main chapters in this publication cover the use and function of *lamak* in rituals, decorative motifs that are found on *lamak*, the materials and techniques used, the distinguishing of ephemeral and permanent *lamak* based on the type of material used, and the kind of social relationships that are sustained by *lamak* makers, including a discussion of creativity and innovation as well as influences of commercialization.

The author works currently at the “National Museum of World Cultures” as the Curator for Insular Southeast Asia. Her long association with Dutch ethnographic museums such as Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden and the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam is evident in the way she has been able to combine her roles as researcher, collector, and curator of *lamak* and other Balinese ritual objects.

The “Appendix” usefully highlights *lamak* in several museums, including several unusual and fascinating items ranging from rare woven textile *lamak* to palm-leaf *lamak* more than a century old. In the context of the rich collection of images presented in this book, readers should also be aware that this publication is part of a doctoral dissertation imprint, and as such follows the formatting conventions of theses, most readily apparent in the table of contents. On balance, I think the author’s decision to proceed with a thesis imprint has been the right one since an academic book publication would not have accommodated the plethora of colorful images, ranging from diverse *lamak in situ* to photos of key *lamak* in museums. Such visual aids are essential in a study that maintains a close focus on the object. Having said that, the analytical and theoretical significance of the document may have benefitted from a subsequent revision as a book. For instance, while the originality of the data is clear, a more sophisticated exegesis of the materiality of ephemera would help make the case to scholars of other kinds of religious materiality that *lamak*, to quote Claude Levi-Strauss, are “good to think with.”

Some points that arise in the study are resonant with concerns expressed by contemporary scholars of religion, ritual, and materiality. The role of commercialization, varying experiences of modernity, and the influence of orthodoxy on orthopraxy are all dynamics found in several religious material practices, not just Balinese Hinduism. For instance, the type of public discussions about suitable *lamak* materials in Bali are an indicator of wider changes and anxieties in society and religion, accompanied by the Indianization of Balinese Hinduism, and the increasing codification of practice. One Balinese authority recommends that silk-screened *lamak* be acceptable since it is the “intentions that form the essence of the offering” (153). This issue of devotion as intention raises the fundamental issue of how and where efficacy is to be located and studied, a common predicament in studies of worship and materiality, indicating the need for a situated approach as well as an expanded theoretical tool kit in evaluating ideas of ritual completeness. The book offers a potentially valuable resource for scholars of religion, since it encourages one to think more keenly about the role of both objects as well as subjects in the coproduction of ritual efficacy through making and usage. Simple tools may be used but the cognitive processes and embodied knowledge involved are complex.

By helping visualize the continuity of life, *lamak* reassure participants that rituals will be effective. Along with the story of making is the story of Balinese devotees, and why and how they may want to be reassured. However, except as passing references, this aspect is never quite engaged with in the study and could have been elaborated. For instance, a focus on a couple of *lamak* makers with a detailed account of their lives would have helped the reader understand the ways in which artisans both make and are in turn “made” by *lamak*. Nevertheless, by staying close to the object, Brinkgreve shows us that an efficacious reassurance is maintained (at great human effort and expense) within a paradigm of belief as labor or “do-

ing.” Indeed, in the end the logic of *lamak* is summarized not so much by iconography and patterns, as important as they might be, but by the fact that they *must* be made and remade to be useful.

Urmila Mohan

**Bunting, Anni, Benjamin N. Lawrance, and Richard L. Roberts** (eds.): *Marriage by Force? Contestation over Consent and Coercion in Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016. 343 pp. ISBN 978-0-8214-2200-7. Price: £ 25.99

“Marriage, perhaps more than any other social institution, highlights the complexity of violence against women” (ix). Mit diesem einleitenden Satz von Doris Buss, Rechtsprofessorin an der Carleton Universität, ist das vorliegende Buch zusammengefasst. Für die afrikanischen Gesellschaften, in denen indigenes und modernes Recht nebeneinander praktiziert wird, trifft das insbesondere zu. Die HerausgeberInnen lassen Experten aus verschiedenen wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen (Rechtswissenschaft, Kulturanthropologie, Afrikanistik, Geschichtswissenschaft, Internationale Studien, Gender Studies) sowie aus der Praxis zu Worte kommen. Eine Anzahl sehr unterschiedlicher Fallbeispiele zeigen den vielfältigen Charakter der Zwangsheirat. Welcher Art diese Zwänge sind, wie überhaupt Zwang zu definieren ist, wen die Zwänge betreffen, wo Zwangsheirat praktiziert wird, das wird in der Einführung “Something Old, Something New” (1) erläutert. Damit ist das Spannungsfeld zwischen den gelebten Traditionen (Töchter werden für einen Brautpreis von ihren Vätern mit von diesen ausgewählten Männern verheiratet) und der neuen Dimension der darauf aufbauenden Praxis in Kriegs- und Krisengebieten umfasst.

Einführend wird die Diskussion der Zwangsheirat im Kontext des Völkerrechts umfassend zusammengestellt und die Frage aufgeworfen, inwiefern arrangierte und Zwangsheirat begrifflich zu unterscheiden sind, bzw. ob die eine oder andere Form für die Frauen einen Unterschied macht. Denn auch wo die “Zustimmung” einer Tochter im Falle der arrangierten Ehe eingeholt wird, geschieht dies unter dem nicht zu unterschätzenden Druck, bei Ablehnung von der Familie verstoßen zu werden. Mariane C. Ferme argumentiert gar in ihrem Beitrag über das Recht in Sierra Leone, dass “Zwangsheirat” ein euphemistischer Begriff ist, der das Verbrechen der “Sexsklaverei” in eine Linie mit einer gewöhnlichen Ehe stellt (228).

Als erstes Fallbeispiel wird das französische koloniale Westafrika präsentiert, in dem die traditionelle Heiratspolitik als ein Mittel zur Allianzbildung zwischen Verwandtschaftsgruppen unangefochten weiter praktiziert wurde. Die Brautpreiszahlungen, die die Töchter bzw. Ehefrauen zum Tauschobjekt degradieren, diente dabei als Stabilisator dieser Beziehungen. Relativierend wird angeführt, dass die in den traditionellen patriarchalen Strukturen sozialisierten Frauen selber ihre Wertigkeit über ihre Aufgabe in Bezug auf die Familienarbeit und die Reproduktion definierten und die Möglichkeit zu einer “Emanzipation”, das heißt zu einem Ausbruch aus diesem