

Begrifflich unscharf ist die Verwendung von Tier-/Vieh-zucht und -haltung. Und ist es wirklich angemessen, von dem dargestellten Zugang der Kel Ahnet zu lokalen Märkten das Adjektiv *marktwirtschaftlich* zu verwenden (z. B. 168f.) oder in anderen Zusammenhängen von *global* und *Globalität* zu sprechen? Auch bleiben die Verweise auf unterschiedliche Auffassungen von Nomadismus (50ff.) der verschiedenen, zitierten Autoren ohne Bezug zum Text oder auch zur Intention der Studie. Das fällt umso deutlicher auf, da sich dabei Ungenauigkeiten eingeschlichen haben. Verwiesen sei dazu nur auf die Gleichsetzung von "Nomadismus" und "mobiler Tierhaltung" (51) nach Scholz (Von der Notwendigkeit, gerade heute über Nomaden und Nomadismus nachzudenken. In: F. Scholz [Hrsg.], *Nomaden. Mobile Tierhaltung*; pp. 7–37. Berlin 1991).

Eine wichtige Frage wird geradezu provoziert (51f.): Lässt sich aus dem untersuchten Fall wirklich die Auffassung zahlreicher Studien widerlegen, dass der Nomadismus innerhalb des Altweltlichen Trockengürtels zurückgeht? Ist denn die Besorgnis um den Fortbestand, das Überleben der Nomaden unbegründet? Kann nicht sogar in vielen Fällen von einem regelrechten "Genozidium" der Nomaden gesprochen werden? Denn das, was heute gern als "nomadisch" bezeichnet wird, ist doch meist nur ein "Abklatsch" dessen, was diese Kulturweise ausmacht. Diese Frage drängt sich vor allem auch deshalb auf, weil die Verfasserin die konstituierenden ökologischen Aspekte ebenso unbeachtet lässt wie die externen politischen und ökonomischen Zwänge (selbst bei der von ihr untersuchten Gruppe).

Begrüßenswert, weil bislang wenig darüber bekannt, wäre eine weiterführende Darstellung des Altersstufenmodells und der damit verbundenen gender- und altersspezifischen Arbeitsteilung gewesen (74; die Tab. auf S. 126 hilft nicht weiter). Hilfreich wäre auch eine *nachvollziehbare(re)* Darstellung der sozialen Stratifikation der untersuchten Gruppen (31ff.). Und abschließend sei noch eine Frage zur Methodik erlaubt: Warum wurden die verschiedenen, so überzeugend herausgearbeiteten Dimensionen der nomadischen Arbeitswelt (58ff.) nicht strukturierender in die nachfolgende Darstellung eingebracht? Das gilt insbesondere für das letzte Kapitel, in dem die nomadischen Handlungskonventionen quasi stichwortartig in den Raum gestellt werden. Hier hätte m. E. der eingangs formulierte Anspruch der Studie in einem nachvollziehbaren Zusammenhang abgerundet werden können.

Genug der kritischen Anmerkungen, denn das Positive überwiegt: Die Studie über die Kel Ahnet (Kel Ahagar, Imouhar) – jedoch nicht über die Nomaden der Sahara – ist in dem empirischen Teil bemerkenswert gründlich, vielseitig, informativ und voller neuer Einsichten. Es bereitet ehrlich Vergnügen, die meist sogar liebevoll geschilderten Details und erhellenden und geschickt eingebundenen Gespräche nachzuvollziehen. Auch vermittelt die reiche Bebilderung dem Leser zusätzlich "Nähe". K. Jettmar hat zwar grundsätzlich recht, wenn er schreibt: "Über diesen Themenkreis [Nomadismus] ist bereits soviel gedacht und geschrieben wor-

den, dass höchstens ein Anfänger in Versuchung kommen könnte, hier noch neue, revolutionierende Ideen zu entdecken" (Neue Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Viehzucht. *Wiener völkerkundliche Mitteilungen* 1953/2: 1). Doch die Studie von Anja Fischer zeigt eben auch, dass solche Weisheiten zu widerlegen sind. Der Studie "Nomaden der Sahara" ist eine große Aufmerksamkeit zu wünschen.

Fred Scholz

**Fischer, Eberhard:** *Guro. Masks, Performances, and Master Carvers in Ivory Coast. Fieldwork in association with Hans and Ulrike Himmelheber, Barbara Fischer, and Lorenz Homberger.* München: Prestel, 2008. 520 pp., illus. ISBN 978-3-7913-3941-2. Price: € 80.00

Never before it was possible to see, and experience so vividly, the unity of visual and performance art in a research report of African art as it is now in this splendid, illustrated volume in large format by Eberhard Fischer and his fellow researchers. Masks are competently and diversely described here as works of art, and at the same time the reader is offered the opportunity, through long sequences of photographs, to take part in the pleasure of the dance performances belonging to the masks as if he himself were present. An example is a performance by the *dye* ensemble with sacred animal and human masks with horns which was documented in the village Dabuzra in 1974 and 1975 (85–143).

The book is the fruit of field research with the West African people of the Guro in Côte d'Ivoire. It spans two generations of researchers and a time period of fifty years between 1934 and 1984. The two generations are the late Heidelberg art historian Hans Himmelheber (1908–2002) and his stepson, the author of the book in hand and long-standing director of the Museum Rietberg in Zurich. Fischer admits that his scientific career owes more to his stepfather than to his academic teachers. In 1960 he accompanied him for the first time on a field trip to the Dan, a neighbouring people of the Guro, and, he says, at the same time he went through his initiation in African art (11). As early as the 1960s, Himmelheber was able to film dance performances of the Guro for the "Institut für den wissenschaftlichen Film" (IWF) in Göttingen; along his cinematographic work he also collected masks, which are now the precious possessions of museums and private collectors. The present book is based mainly on a field trip by the two couples Eberhard and Barbara Fischer and Hans and Ulrike Himmelheber in 1974/75 as well as a further trip by the author together with Lorenz Homberger, the keeper of African Art at the Museum Rietberg, in 1983/84. The comparison with the texts and photographs of the earlier research by Himmelheber in the 1950s and 1960s is always exciting, enabling the reader to follow the development and change in the nature of the masks and the dance performances.

The opulence of the book, made possible by the publication foundation of the Museum Rietberg, is by no means an end in itself. It is accompanied by a well-grounded text about the artistic quality, the peculiarity,

the ritual embedding, the historical development, and the regional context of each type of mask. There is a differentiation between sacred masks, which are assigned to ancestors, less sacred masks which are regarded as their descendants, and masks purely for entertainment which stand for the extended family of the sacred masks. The author approximately reconstructs the work of earlier master carvers from the beginning of the 20th century with just as much care. He introduces living traditional wood carvers, contemporary artists who produce commercially, as well as modern forgers and their involvement in the international art market. When asked by Himmelheber about a delicately decorated pulley holder on his loom, a weaver brought the basic aesthetic principle of the Guro culture down to a simple point: "No one wants to live without such pretty things" (475).

The main concern of Fischer's research, handed down from father to son, is bringing out the work of anonymous masters of African art. In his catalogue "Die Kunst der Guro, Elfenbeinküste" from 1985 (together with Lorenz Homberger) he identified five masters, in the present book he adds a further two masters (Bron-Guro and Niono-Guro). In naming these masters he does not refer to the characteristics of their oeuvres, although this would be justified. He prefers to name a master after the region from where he comes, so instead of "the master of the slanted eyes" he labels him as "the master of Buafle," because, he puts forward, this is easier to remember (331).

There are varying degrees of difficulty in identifying the oeuvres by one particular hand. Fischer depends partly too much on the extensive description in the catalogue of 1985 and shows too few illustrations in the book in hand to be convincing enough. More serious, however, is the question as to whether there is sufficient proof of the master of the Bron-Guro, who is introduced here for the first time, with the aid of only five examples, in which the evidence seems scarce. The author relies here on the work of Vincent Bouloré for the Musée Dapper in Paris (1995) and Alain-Michel Boyer for the Musée Barbier-Mueller in Geneva (1993). The example of the master of Gonate, who is also represented with only five oeuvres, shows, however, that the power to convince has nothing to do with modest numbers. Here the author demonstrates his proof without effort. The newly added master of the Niono-Guro is better represented than his colleague of the Bron-Guro because Himmelheber had already identified him in 1960 and 1976 and more oeuvres could be attributed to him. For a thorough examination the Rietberg catalogue from 1985 would, however, have to be at hand.

An interesting aspect is the question, time and again thrown up by Fischer, as to how possible it is that some of the masks are portraits. The female *gu* mask, the companion of the antagonistic sacred male mask couple *zamble* and *zauli*, actually represents a forest being, however, going on the assertion of a sculptor, it is often carved according to the model of a beautiful woman (223). That is why the appearance of the *gu* masks varies to such a great degree from village to village. The true picture of a beautiful Malinke or Diula woman can without doubt

be recognised in the hairstyle and the details of the facial features of an outstanding old mask of this type which was probably carved around 1900 (357; comp. p. 366). Such women, also those of the Hausa, visit the Guro villages selling cures and charms. They appear to inflame the fantasies of the male Guro. A living carver, Tra bi Tra, tells of how he does not sleep with his wife while he is working on a carving, and how he rubs magical ingredients into his forehead before going to sleep in order to dream of the woman whose face is to become the mask of the work in progress (414).

The issue of the association between the masks and the secret society of men is not satisfactorily addressed. On this point it becomes clear that the team's repeated and yet short field trips, focussing on the art of the masks and their producers, could not bring any in-depth findings on this central question. It has to be recognised that the Guro are embedded in neighbouring societies, such as the Wan and the Senufo, where the Poro men's secret society is a powerful, social, and religious institution which excludes women. As Fischer stresses, there is a stylistic and iconographic relationship to the masks of these neighbours. He also often points out that women may not look at the sacred masks and attend their performances. When the iron gong signals the arrival of the masks, the women flee the village or are obliged to disappear into their houses. Ulrike Himmelheber and Barbara Fischer had to learn the hard way in Dabuzra, in 1975, that this even applies to European women. The women of the village had already left their houses on the eve. When the researchers appeared the next morning at the appointed time to attend a performance of the *dye* ensemble to commemorate a late dignitary, the two European women were kept under lock and key in a dark hut for most of the day without food or drink (138ff.). Obviously the big highlight of village life is an exclusive affair for the men.

Fischer describes how his wish to gain more knowledge about this topic was rejected (119). However, the misogynistic myths of the origin of the masks clearly reflect the inherent antagonism between the sexes which is a characteristic of men's secret societies (86, 144, 294). It is said of the large *gye* helmet mask which may only appear alone at night that it is "mainly directed against women" (143) and has to keep the women in check. The Guro men argue that the sight of the sacred mask could harm the women, even kill them: the mask does not kill but the ancestors do! The author, himself part of a patrilineal tradition of research, has published, with the consent of the masks' owners and dancers, splendid pictures of their activities, which in real life are forbidden to be seen by women. As a result, he finds himself in a dilemma: fully on the side of the Guro men practising social control over women by masks and performances, he asks Guro readers to look at the pictures of his book "with decency and care" (10). In the eyes of this reviewer that goes a step too far; you can't put the genie back into the lamp. Furthermore, Fischer's concern may be invalid, since we may assume that Guro are well aware of the difference between photography and reality.

What is new in the book? It is hard to believe that the rich mask tradition of the Guro was the theme of an exhibition and catalogue in the Museum Rietberg for the first time in 1985. This exhibition owes much to Himmelheber's earlier work who graduated with the results of his field research with the Guro in 1935. This, like his later work (with the exception of one article in French) was written in German. To date there has been merely a short abstract of the Zurich catalogue of 1985, in English on the occasion of the venue of a reduced version of the exhibition at the Center of African Art in New York a year later. It is therefore an explicit concern of the book in hand to make the results of the author's own and Himmelheber's previous findings known to an international readership.

The presentation of the dynamic historical development of the art of the masks and their performances, subject to constant change in the competitive Guro society, brings new insight in modalities of cultural dynamic in Africa. New masks and dances are constantly being created and spread like wildfire making the creator famous. The masks form families which keep being extended and may disperse in lineages like traditional African families. The male animal-faced *zamble* mask has a counterpart, his grotesque brother *zauli*, and as companion the graceful, female *gu*. Their child *djela* and later the grandchildren *seli*, *sauli*, and *flali* came into being in the first half of the 20th century. At present they are regarded as less sacred than the founder *zamble* (166ff.). They are entertainment masks recognisable by their fantastic, figurative attachments. Their creators are dancers and composers carrying out bitter competitions which can lead to a star position in the National Ballet of the Ivory Coast performing on the stages of the world.

The idea that the types of mask are not ethnically bound, as it is still widely accepted, emerges from the fact that the neighbouring ethnicities of the Wan and Baule commissioned, for example, the semisacred *goli* masks from the Guro carvers. These masks were probably invented by the Wan (162). The type of the "senufoid" *zuhu* mask was possibly generated through the kola nuts and textile trade of the Muslim Diula merchants (268, 363). This means that the Guro artists transformed a foreign type of mask into a Guro model. The clarifying thought is inspiring that the work of commercial carvers in colonial times could have an influence on the form of today's figurative attachments of entertainment masks carved out of softwood – for example, the rows of elephants carved in ivory or hardwood herded along by a crocodile or also that of a woman with a mortar (436).

Inspiring for further thought, the book is a true monument in two respects: the love of a son in view of a research theme passed down the patrilineal line according to the (not only) African concept of family; but also a monument dedicated to the creativity of Guro artists to whom the author makes a double confession of faith: "I am convinced that, in the future, historians of African art will no longer emphasize the ethnic origins of the great masters . . . , but will view them as outstanding individuals . . . (331). And: "I strongly believe that some of

the greatest art works of mankind were created by Guro sculptors of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (10).  
Gisela Völger

**Fischer, Manuela, Peter Bolz, and Susan Kamel** (eds.): *Adolf Bastian and His Universal Archive of Humanity. The Origins of German Anthropology*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2007. 337 pp., Abb. ISBN 978-3-487-13528-1. Price: € 48.00

Vorliegende Gemeinschaftsarbeit enthält 26 Konferenzreferate, die anlässlich der 100. Wiederkehr des Todesjahres von Adolf Bastian (1905), der als geistiger Begründer der modernen deutschen Völkerkunde gilt, im Ethnologischen Museum Berlin gehalten wurden. Die Verfasser der Beiträge versuchten, die Grundzüge seiner Persönlichkeit, seines vielseitigen Schaffens und seiner Organisations- und Forschungsziele herauszuarbeiten, sowie die Erfolge seiner mehr als 25-jährigen Forschungstätigkeit auf allen Kontinenten und seine organisatorischen Aktivitäten zu würdigen. War er doch u. a. der Mitbegründer und *spiritus movens* des Königlichen Museums für Völkerkunde in Berlin, dem er seine ungemein reichen ethnologischen Sammlungen von seinen ausgedehnten Reisen in aller Welt übergab, die zum Grundstock dieses bekannten Forschungszentrums gehörten. Mit R. Virchow und C. Vogt gründete er die "Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte", dank seiner Initiative entstanden die *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, sowie verschiedene wissenschaftliche Gesellschaften und Vereine zur Förderung der völkerkundlichen Forschung. Wesentliche Verdienste erwarb er sich bei der Etablierung der Ethnologie als Wissenschaft in Deutschland, bei der Festlegung ihrer Aufgaben, Ziele, Arbeitsmethoden und Grundlagen. Es gab zwar bisher verschiedene völkerkundliche Materialien und Beobachtungen, sowie beeindruckende Theorien, z. B. über die Entstehung und Entwicklung einzelner Kulturphänomene, u. a. der Sprache, Ehe, Gesellschaft, Religion, die jedoch mehr oder minder spekulativen Charakter hatten.

A. Bastians unermüdlicher Forschungsdrang und seine rastlose wissenschaftliche Arbeit galten, wie es den Beiträgen zu entnehmen ist, u. a. der Aufgabe, das kulturelle Erbe der verschiedenen Ethnien, die den westlichen Einflüssen nicht gewachsen waren, für die Zukunft und Forschung zu sichern. Während seiner weltweiten Reisen wurde er nämlich der oft rapiden und tiefgreifenden gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Änderungen bei den Naturvölkern gewahr und war deshalb bemüht, ein Asyl für dieses schwindende Kulturinventar, gewissermaßen ein Archiv der Menschheit, zu schaffen. Als überzeugter Humanist war er dem rassistischen Denken abhold und befürwortete die prinzipielle Wesenseinheit der Menschen. Gegenüber metaphysischen und evolutionistischen Spekulationen verhielt sich A. Bastian ziemlich reserviert oder ablehnend, obwohl ihm ein gewisses Einfühlungsvermögen selbst in mystische und transzendente Probleme, besonders in seinen späteren religionsethnologischen Werken, nicht abgesprochen werden kann. In seinen Anschauungen war er strenggenommen weder