

wish for more thorough discussions of some of the key arguments, not least of the somewhat hasty juxtaposition, or conflation, of what is claimed to be an inherent and general uncertainty of everyday life and what is a more organised and intentional uncertainty of workshops. Although the core message of the book is stressed repeatedly (a bit too often, actually), the focus is predominantly on describing the various workshops whose open and unpredictable character leaves the reader constantly pondering what is in fact going on. In this way, the form of the book, and hence the experience of reading it, mirrors to some extent its main argument, in that it provokes a kind of uncertainty that the reader needs to embrace in order to explore the possibilities that the book may generate for the future of design anthropology. Indeed, if this is intended, the book succeeds. And it is, I believe, its key strength.

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Bendix, Regina F.: *Culture and Value. Tourism, Heritage, and Property.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018. 279 pp. ISBN 978-0-253-03566-0. Price: \$ 40.00

Regina Bendix is one of the most well established German-speaking contributors to the cultural anthropology of heritage and tourism. This collection of essays traces the development of her original thinking over the course of nearly four decades of scholarship. Bendix began to critically engage with material and immaterial heritage and tourism ways before the concept of *critical heritage studies* became popular. Her writing is influenced by both the German and US-American traditions of cultural anthropology and folklore studies in the sense that it does not naively cross from academic into popular discourse but examines tourism, heritage, and related regimes of value based on thorough ethnographic engagement.

The collection of essays “Culture and Value. Tourism, Heritage, and Property” presents a concise overview of Regina Bendix’s work. In it, the author positions her own development as a researcher and academic within the history of tourism and heritage studies. It is extremely thought-provoking to follow her self-reflexive analysis of how her work has spoken to but also departed from important historical, new, and recurrent themes in these entangled scholarly domains. The advantages of reading Bendix herself reflecting on her career, rather than anyone else, are obvious: Who would prefer to attend the concert of a tribute band if there is a chance to listen to the original?

Regina Bendix’s analysis sets out from a self-critical note stating that only in the past 15 years she has begun to realise the full impact of questions of value on heritage and tourism development (1). She explains that the articles compiled in this volume are thus framed along the lines of changing scholarly attention and attitude towards value regimes, in the different domains of cultural anthropology and folklore studies. In what follows,

Bendix presents a historical *tour de force* of the disciplines of tourism and heritage studies that spans from the interrelation of folklore and nationalism that motivated much thinking in the 1970s, via invented traditions and imagined communities (1980s), to tourist realisms of the early 2000s and her own monograph “In Search of Authenticity” (Madison 1997), before ending with contemporary concerns about the commodification of culture and the ideological misuse of folklore.

Individual articles are grouped into three sections that address the overlapping fields of (1) tourism, (2) heritage, and (3) value-making. Two of the four articles on tourism (Section 1) engage with questions of tourist encounter and are inspired by the works of influential anthropologists of tourism like Nelson Graburn and Edward Bruner, among others. The other two articles address questions of narration in and for tourist experiences, and the ways in which these put culture on display. Drawing on such diverse authors as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Walter Benjamin, Bendix suggests that tourists’ constant demand for new and extraordinary experiences might as a consequence see travel and tourism, “contain the quintessential and oh-so-rare manifestation of authenticity” (79). This, what she calls, “aura of the touristic experience” (81) is expressed in narrations with corrective potential, since accounts of tourists about positive and negative experiences generate feedback loops with an ability to transform the industry. This is seen, for example, in the demand for more sustainable tourism products and a related growth in the ecotourism and Indigenous tourism sectors that cater for it (87ff.).

The following four articles on heritage (Section 2) set out from the UNESCO 1972 declaration to quickly engage with heritage in more encompassing terms, and again drawing on foundational works of scholars like David Lowenthal and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. Bendix shows how over the past three decades heritage scholarship has moved away from an overemphasis on the potential loss of important material and immaterial assets to questions of diversification, and the inextricable linkages of heritage with other cultural domains. Here, she points out how internationally sanctioned heritage regimes like those manifested in the UNESCO heritage conventions, “limit and channel creative agency” (147). They separate our understanding of heritage from the very processes and consequences of “inheritance” (150ff.), since the relationship between particular social actors (dead and alive) that is maintained through the latter is replaced in global heritage discourse by a, “moral obligation of ‘all’ to generate programs ensuring the preservation and protection of chosen aspects of cultural pasts” (155).

The final four articles on values and value-making (Section 3) continue in this line of thought and suggest what might be done to overcome this discrepancy between inheritance as a social phenomenon and heritage as an institutionalised concept. Bendix begins with an acknowledgement of the relevance of cultural anthro-

pologists, tourism, and heritage scholars as, “meaningful interlocutors in the interdisciplinary work of law and economics” (196). Here it must be noted that her claim that, “[n]either field has as yet ventured far in consulting ethnographically based research and theory” (197), is rather harsh, for example, in light of the contribution that anthropology has made to Native Title legislation, or social and environmental assessments of resource extraction proposals in Australia and elsewhere. Meanwhile, questions of property rights and cultural policy as discussed in bureaucratic settings like UNESCO continue to showcase a crucial lack of scholarly input from those most attuned to local specificities. Bendix thus voices an appeal to politicians and other decision makers to turn to anthropologists, since the latter are well equipped to answer to pressing concerns in regards to culture framed as resource, as well as the use and misuse of rights and ownership attributed to it (197).

In sum, “Culture and Value. Tourism, Heritage, and Property” offers a rich, greatly informative insider’s perspective on tourism and heritage studies. It is written in an extremely accessible style and, thus, suitable for academics and other experts as well as everyone else interested in its timely and converging themes. The collection of essays is highly recommendable also as an invitation to reflect together with one of the leading scholars in the field of cultural anthropology and folklore studies on her own development as a researcher, as well as the changing theoretical and methodological strands she has encountered and continues to influence throughout her remarkable career.

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Bonshek, Elizabeth: *Tikopia Collected. Raymond Firth and the Creation of Solomon Islands Cultural Heritage.* Canon Pyon: Sean Kingston Publishing, 2017. 222 pp. ISBN 978-1-907774-39-3. Price: £ 60.00

Aus Politik und Medien wird die Forderung an die ethnologischen Museen immer lauter, sich mit Provenienzforschung zu ihren Sammlungen zu beschäftigen: Wie gingen Objekttransfers vonstatten? Wurden die Objekte in Kauf- oder Tauschtransaktionen fair erworben? Warum trennten sich die Menschen der Herkunftsgesellschaften von ihnen, und sollten sie komplett oder teilweise von den Museen zurückgegeben werden?

Dass diese Fragestellungen für Museumswissenschaftler nicht unbedingt neu, sondern – wenn auch oft unbemerkt von Medien und Politik – schon seit geraumer Zeit ein Thema sind, zeigt das vorliegende Buch, das auf Bonsheks 1999 entstandener Doktorarbeit (unter der Betreuung von Nicholas Thomas und Lissant Bolton) beruht. Die Autorin untersucht darin detailliert die Sammlungen, welche Raymond Firth (1901–2002) anlässlich seiner Feldforschungen auf der Insel Tikopia, einer zu den Solomon Islands gehörenden polynesischen Exklave, gesammelt hat und um deren Rückgabe er sich später bemühte. Firth’ Feldforschung auf Tikopia in den Jahren 1928/29 fiel in eine Zeit, in der die Ethno-

logie sich von vergleichenden Objektstudien abzuwenden begann und sich mehr auf Fragen gesellschaftlichen Verhaltens konzentrierte. Als Schüler Bronislaw Malinowskis ist Firth den Funktionalisten zuzurechnen. Entsprechend waren Objekte für ihn Belegstücke sozialen Handelns.

Elizabeth Bonshek kontextualisiert die Sammlung aus den verschiedensten Perspektiven. Aufbauend auf den theoretischen Ansätzen zu Objektbiografien und der *Agency* (Handlungsmacht) von Objekten (im Sinne Gells, Kopytoffs und Appadurais) untersucht die Autorin, wie die Beziehungen zwischen den einzelnen Akteuren anhand der Transfers von Objekten bzw. später der Firth-Sammlung im Ganzen erschlossen werden können: “The approaches of Gell (1998), Thomas (1991), Strathern (1988, 1990) and Appadurai (1986) influenced my search to identify how the objects collected by Firth have mediated social relationships in the past” (19). Ein ausführlicher dreiteiliger Anhang dokumentiert als eine der Datenbasen, auf welche die Autorin sich stützt, jedes Stück der Firth-Sammlung mit Sammeldatum, Namen des Tikopia-Vorbesitzers, einheimischer Bezeichnung, Art des Erwerbs, Tikopia-Objektkategorie und biografischen Angaben zu den Vorbesitzern, soweit eruierbar. Ein Register sowie zwei Karten und 29 historische und aktuelle Abbildungen vervollständigen das Buch.

Nach einem einführenden Kapitel konzentriert sich das 2. Kapitel auf Firth’ Sammeltätigkeit zur Erwerbung von materiellen Belegen für soziale Praktiken. Das 3. Kapitel referiert frühere Begegnungen zwischen Tikopia und Europäern von 1606 bis 1928. In den nächsten beiden Kapiteln filtert die Autorin aus Firth’ in sein theoretisches Gerüst eingebetteten Beschreibungen jene ethnografischen Daten heraus, welche auf die Beziehungen der Tikopia selbst zu ihren Objekten schließen lassen. Dies halte ich für einen interessanten und bisher in der ethnologischen Fachliteratur nicht theoretisierten Ansatz, der sicher nicht zufällig aus einem Museumsumfeld und von einer Museumsethnologin wie Elizabeth Bonshek kommt. Die Halbwertzeit ethnologischer Theorien – sicher auch der heute aktuellen – ist relativ kurz; es sind die ethnografischen Datensammlungen und dichten Beschreibungen der frühen Ethnologen, die auch in der Gegenwart noch als Dokumentation der Vergangenheit Bestand und Wert haben, auch wenn ihre theoretischen Einbettungen, etwa im Sinne des Evolutionismus, heute als überholt gelten.

So untersucht die Autorin im 4. Kapitel Objekte der Firth-Sammlung, die *fakatio* sind, Verkörperung der Götter bzw. des Göttlichen bei den Tikopia. Heilige Objekte, besonders solche, die in Kultstätten aufbewahrt und nur von Häuptlingen gehandhabt werden sollten, waren bei den Tikopia häufig materielle Hilfen, um eine Verbindung und gute Beziehung zu den Göttern herzustellen; dazu mussten sie bewahrt und gepflegt werden. Dies konnten besondere Steinbeilklingen, Matten, Fischnetze, Angelhaken, Grabstöcke und andere heilige Objekte sein. Darüber hinaus lebten die Tikopia in einer