

link between ritual and the body makes the insertion of a woman into the ritual to become a *dalang* subversive in the ritual hierarchy.

In the fifth chapter, Goodlander's interviews with five women *dalang*, Ni (The Honourable) Ketut Trijata, Ni Wayan Rasiani, Ni Wayan Nondri, Ni Nyoman Tjandri, and Ni Wayan Suratni give insight in the space of negotiation for women to be a *dalang*, to subvert the ritual hierarchy. This chapter shows the limitations of tradition in relation to gender. The spiritual power lent to these women *dalang* was transferred to them from a father or sometimes a husband in the instance of Ibu Nondri. It was granted by government educational institutions in the case of Ibu Tjandri and by the community to Ibu Trijata and Ibu Rasiani. Ibu Suratni and Ibu Tjandri used the study of *pedalangan* (puppetry) as a way to build acceptable performance careers. Goodlander concludes that these "women could be *dalang*, but the structures of society were not transformed by their actions" (167). The concluding chapter is an excerpt from the performance story "Gugur Niwatakwaca" (Death of Niwatakwaca) from Arjuna Wiwaha (Arjuna's Wedding) that focuses on a strong female character. The story illustrates that her study revealed how ritual hegemony functions in Bali, rather than that women were able to change it. "Her voice and body are denied access in the system" (174).

Goodlander's book provides valuable insight into the training of a *dalang*, the bodily aspects of the performance practice and the place of the body in ritual power. Her central thesis that tradition contains power in relation to ritual and the body is crucial to understand gender in relation to *wayang kulit*. However, taking the tradition as a starting point, the outcome could not have deviated from that tradition. Perhaps it is too much to expect the women *dalang* that were interviewed to have made a lasting impact on the structure of tradition. The result of taking the tradition as a starting point turns it into an all-encompassing framework that defines and dictates Balinese *wayang kulit*, including gender roles within the tradition. The five women *dalang* are now represented in just one chapter. Perhaps by giving more prominence to the women *dalang*, by giving their biographies and voices a larger platform, the book could have provided a more nuanced perspective of tradition and a glimpse of negotiable spaces within it. All these women were able to break stereotypes and found ways to subvert the tradition. There is a need to hear more about how such spaces of subversion work and to hear the voices of such women *dalang* louder. It is about time for women to come out of the shadows.

Sadih Boonstra

**Grasseni, Cristina:** *The Heritage Arena. Reinventing Cheese in the Italian Alps.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2017. 188 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-294-4. (Food, Nutrition, and Culture, 5) Price: \$ 95.00

This valuable, detail-rich book offers a longitudinal view of turning cheese into heritage, and the various paths that may be taken – and blocked – as cheese-makers and their allies pursue admission into what Grasseni calls "the

heritage arena." Heritage here is a mode of producing value for goods, but also an arena for capitalist and social competition, and the book examines the tournaments of value that characterize how the people of the Taleggio Valley and their neighbors in northern Italy promote the cheeses they produce and to which they lay claim. All seek to add value to their cheeses through asserting their authenticity, typicality, and long histories of production, i.e., through making them into heritage. But Grasseni pulls apart the very processes that underlie this shared value, illustrating how historical claims to authenticity, for instance, may elide certain historical processes, such as transhumance, in order to foreground others, such as continuity of Alpine production. From town-hall meetings to dairies in mountain meadows, but also to the international celebrations of food and food production sponsored by Slow Food, Grasseni draws on her extensive ethnographic research to sketch how some cheeses and their producers have won the heritage lottery in the form of DOP designations (Denominazione di Origine Protetta) or Slow Food recognition, while others have secured less valuable designations and names. For scholars interested in heritage food, food certification, food policy, and its effects on the ground, as well as Slow Food and issues of authenticity, this is a compelling book, which lays out in detail the ongoing day-to-day, but also year-to-year, work and conflicts that shape the heritagization of food.

"The Heritage Food Arena" is in many ways an intimate book, drawn from the author's long-term research (since 1997) in the valleys to the northwest of Bergamo, Italy. A *bergamasca* herself, Grasseni maintained ongoing fieldwork with cheese producers in this area, a project which began with investigating the "skilled vision" that dairy farmers need to master across a number of domains. Grasseni's own skilled vision brings us acute portraits of mountain communities struggling to survive as their numbers dwindle, diligent community activists who work hard to promote local businesses and goods, interested politicians who seek to shape communities as much as represent them, and a range of families and individuals who are engaged in trying to make a living through cheese in a market saturated with competitors, some located in neighboring villages or areas.

The book is organized into 3 sections, with an introduction and conclusion. Each section contains two chapters and a brief conclusion, which recap its major points and bridge to the next section. The introduction paints an overview of Grasseni's research and positioning as a researcher, as well as her view of cheese as a pivot point around which to investigate broader epistemologies of work and landscape, political and economic structures, and processes, as well as the nitty-gritty, everyday details of making a living from food. The first part, "The War of the Cheeses" analyzes conflicts among cheese producers, specifically tracing the differing fates of three cheeses and the battles that shaped their heritagization: Bitto, Formai de Mut, and Branzi. Chapter one, "*Patrimonio* and *Tipicità*," investigates these two essential components of Italian notions of heritage and how they are calibrated in the production of heritage food. *Patrimonio* (roughly, "patri-

mony”) is the time dimension of heritage, which must be anchored in generational depth, while *tipicità* (typicality) links heritage to place, as heritage foods are situated within particular places and ecologies, with specific cultural practices of production and consumption. Chapter two, “Cultures of Resistance,” focuses on struggles with and around P. D. O. (Protected Denomination of Origin – a European Union source designation) certifications for producers of these three cheeses, highlighting the political and economic dimensions of such conflicts.

Section two, “We, the People of the Val Taleggio,” traces the birth of a “new” heritage cheese: “Strachitunt,” which residents of the Taleggio Valley promoted as their own in counterpoint to the commercial behemoth that is P. D. O. Taleggio, which is produced across a much larger geographical area. Chapter 3, “A Geography of Opposites,” lays out the conditions under which cheese makers in the valley staked their claim on a cheese that draws its distinction from the very specific ecological and cheese-making environments of this valley. Chapter four, “The Best Cheese in Italy,” looks at the controversial efforts to create a P. D. O. for Strachitunt, focusing on particular moments of this decade-long process to draw out how contested and complicated such efforts may be.

Section three, “Dulcamara’s Senses” shifts attention to the sensorial aspects of cheese, its production, and how it is marketed. Chapter five, “Marketing the Sensorium,” draws in Slow Food, tracing how the Taleggio Valley’s cheese producers dallied with a quicker route to distinction in the form of attaining a Slow Food Presidium for Strachitunt, which they ultimately rejected in favor of the less stringent requirements of the P. D. O. Chapter six, “Reinventing *Stracchino*” outlines how another group of upland Bergamasque cheese producers successfully remade Stracchino – the generic name for a particular type of mountain cheese in this area – into a successful candidate to be recognized and revalued as a Slow Food presidium. The book’s conclusion argues for the value of analyzing the discursive construction of heritage and the dramas and battles that characterize its construction.

This book, then, is packed with details about different cheeses and their articulation within various adding-value schemes, diverse groups of producers, and a multitude of interested actors. This level of detail, while impressive, can also be overwhelming, as readers may find it difficult at times to pull back and trace how these details illuminate what is at stake, why heritage itself is such a charged topic, and why heritage food has become such a productive area of valuation now. An additional challenge comes in the sometimes inconsistent handling of the impressively broad cast of people. Sometimes individuals are named, sometimes they are identified by titles (such as, “my host mother,” or “the head of the valley’s dairy cooperative”); sometimes the reader is reminded several times in a chapter that pseudonyms are being used, while in others this may happen once or not at all. This may be an artifact of working so closely with a particular group of people, all or most of whom will be known to each other, and the need to anonymize some people and not others. Indeed, in this way the book engages one of the

challenges to contemporary anthropology, where one’s audience and research participants will be one and the same, and ethnographers must balance accuracy and accountability with privacy concerns in tricky equations of representation.

Nonetheless, for the interested reader, there is a wealth of information in “The Heritage Arena.” The book, and especially sections of it, would work well in graduate seminars on food, food politics, and heritage. It will appeal to scholars who work on the anthropology of food, especially those who do research in Europe and Italy, as well as those who look at cheese production. Scholars of heritage will also find its treatment of heritage as discursively produced and articulated within complex value-production structures important.

Jilian R. Cavanaugh

**Graul, Stefanie:** *Der Anerkennungskonflikt bei den drei Geschlechtern der Binnizá – eine ethnopsychanalytische Studie.* München: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2017. 386 pp. ISBN 978-3-8316-4630-2. Preis: € 54.00

Die Verfasserin vorliegender “Studie”, Stefanie Graul, ist in ihrem ersten Beruf Fotografin, was sich in der opulenten Illustration (eigene, schwarz-weiß und farbig reproduzierte Aufnahmen) niederschlägt. Später hat sie Philosophie studiert und wurde in diesem Fach promoviert. Auch diese Lebensphase findet ihren Niederschlag in der vorliegenden Abhandlung indem sie deutsche und französische Philosophen (Hegel, Gadamer, Bourdieu, Foucault u. a.) zitiert und diskutiert, auch wenn deren abstrakte Gedanken wenig zur direkten Erhellung der gesellschaftlichen Situation in der “Binnizá” (das ist die Eigenbezeichnung der Zapoteken) von Juchitán beitragen. Der jüngste Lebensabschnitt von Stefanie Graul ist der tragende in diesem Buch: Seit 2009 hat sie sich der ethnografischen Feldforschung in Mexiko zugewandt, vor allem auf dem Isthmus von Tehuantepec im Umfeld der Stadt Juchitán. Deutschen Lesern wird diese große mexikanische Volksgruppe der Zapoteken und die Stadt Juchitán vermutlich aus Büchern des Mexikaners Miguel Covarrubias (“Mexico South. The Isthmus of Tehuantepec”; 1946) oder der deutschen Ethnopsychologin Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen (“Juchitán – Stadt der Frauen”; 1994) geläufig sein. An letztgenannte Autorin knüpft Graul kritisch an, indem sie das von Bennholdt-Thomsen propagierte Konzept einer matriarchalen Familienstruktur der Zapoteken von Juchitán infrage stellt (91–102).

Grauls neuer und in seiner Differenzierung überzeugender Beitrag ist der, dass die Zapoteken eine mehrgeschlechtliche Gesellschaftsverfassung haben, in der neben den beiden biologisch fundierten Geschlechterrollen “Mann” und “Frau” weitere gesellschaftliche Rollen bestimmt sind, die zwischen den etablierten Rollen von Mann und Frau vermitteln bzw. andere Felder geschlechtlicher und wirtschaftlicher Tätigkeiten abdecken als es die Machismo betonte mexikanische Gesellschaftsverfassung der Gegenwart vorsieht.

Da Graul ähnliche Interpretationsansätze auf ihre ethnografischen Erhebungen und Befunde anwendet wie an-