

logie bis heute ermittelten Daten, so werden im nun verfügbaren, facettenreichen und zugleich fragmentarischen Bild doch ganz erhebliche Fortschritte sichtbar" (145). Im 8. Jh. stießen muslimische Araber über den Oxos nach Sogdien vor und vernichteten vieles, darunter auch Tempel etc. "Die Sogder (Sogdier) erscheinen auf der historischen Bühne erstmals zur Zeit der Achämeniden (6.-4. Jh.v.Chr.). Bereits unter dem Großkönig Dareios I. (522–486 v. Chr.) gehörten sie zu den durch die Perser unterworfenen Völkern. Ihre Wohnsitze lagen nördlich des Oxos (heute Amudarja), dem Hauptfluss Baktriens, und südlich des mittleren Jaxartes (Tanais; heute Syrdarja)" (141 f.) mit der Hauptstadt Marakanda, dem heutigen Samarkand. Mode geht von einigen wenigen Wandmalereien und geborgenen Holztafeln und weiteren Artefakten aus und versucht eindrucksvoll eine Neubewertung der sogdischen Religion.

Darauf folgt ein sehr kurzer Beitrag von Karl Jettmar über die "Religion der Alttürken" mit der Interpretation von Runen-Inschriften aus den eurasischen (?) Steppen. Ein weit bedeutenderer Beitrag von Karl Jettmar ist das Schlusskapitel über "Die Aussage der Archäologie zur Religionsgeschichte Innerasiens", wobei hier Innerasien Mittel- und Zentralasien umfasst. Warum Jettmar dennoch "Mittelasien" im Buchtitel wählte, wird mit dieser Schwerpunktsetzung nicht klarer. Die Ergebnisse der archäologischen Forschungen der letzten Jahrzehnte aus der Region werden hier ausbreitet, was eine sehr gute Zusammenschau auf die Kulturen ermöglicht. In diesem Kapitel wird sehr deutlich, wie lange sich schon Jettmar mit diesen Themen beschäftigt hat, um so kenntnisreich wie lesenswert darüber zu schreiben.

Das Buch endet mit einem umfangreichen Sach-, Orts- und Namenregister von Ellen Kattner, der Mitherausgeberin, die in ihrem Geleit zu Beginn Karl Jettmar als Lehrer gedenkt. Leider gibt es in keinem Beitrag Landkarten, die über Verbreitung und Machtansprüche hätten Auskunft geben können. So waren der Rezensentin die Sogden bisher kein Begriff, konnten aber durch ihre Lokalisierung im Text mit Samarkand verortet werden. Auch anderen Beiträgen hätte eine solche Illustrierung gut getan. Insgesamt ist dieses Werk für alle interessant, die sich mit Zentralasien beschäftigen, wobei sicher das eine oder andere Kapitel für den einen oder die andere zu detailreich ist, aber das lässt sich ja dann überschlagen. Selbst Medizinethnologen finden hier eine wichtige Quelle für ihre Themenstellungen.

Katarina Greifeld

Jordan, Peter: *Material Culture and Sacred Landscape. The Anthropology of the Siberian Khanty.* Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2003. 309 pp. ISBN 0-7591-0277-5. Price \$ 29.95

Since the 1990s, intensified Western and Russian anthropological research in Siberia has been heavily focused on the rapid socioeconomic and cultural transformations taking place in those regions. Much of this recent research in the Russian North has been characterized by snapshot-like approaches that study social

relations in their ethnographic present. These often miss the broader perspective that comes when such relations are placed into the context of their specific long-term historic processes. Beyond such neglect of diachronic analysis, symbolic representations of meaning in material culture are often given insufficient attention as well. Peter Jordan's book fills this methodological gap by linking his field data (derived from case studies among a particular local group of the Siberian Khanty) with earlier ethnographical accounts of that area, particularly with those dealing with the worldviews of that people. In this way, his study does justice to the wider temporal dimension of sociocultural change (from colonization until the present), and to the most pressing challenges that these groups face today as intensified oil exploitation occurs in their traditional homelands.

While being aware of, and careful to, the methodological limitations of most cultural historical studies in the past, Jordan nevertheless takes advantage of the rich data that was collected, mainly by Karjalainen and Sirelius. He also is harking back to the interpretation of this material by Paulson, and to more recent ethnographies since the 1970s, in particular those of Kulemzin, Lukina, and Martynova. Against the background of this vast existing literature, Jordan draws profound conclusions based on his own information. This was collected during several periods of fieldwork between 1996 and 1999, when (in spite of clear continuities) apparently some of the earlier meanings and worldviews had already eroded due to changes in the social and political environment, especially since Soviet times. His main arguments have been then formulated to challenge recent views on hunter-gatherer societies, among others those of Ingold on tenure and territoriality which are according to Jordan, "simply too abstract to explore either the specificity or intricacy of this tenurial bond to the inhabited 'object' of the landscape" (279).

The book is structured in the following way. From the outset, Jordan explains his theoretical approach for interpretive research into the material culture and symbolic spaces inhabited by hunting and gathering societies. Then he develops his outline to Khanty ethnography, ranging from the colonial history of Siberia to the specifics of the local ecology.

Chapter three locates the Khanty in contexts of history, geography, and colonial contact through the combination of center-periphery models with a structuration school methodology. Jordan argues that although these communities had been drawn into exploitative colonial relationships with the Russian and Soviet state, their ability to supply valuable furs necessitated that they maintain mobile foraging lifestyles. This reduced face-to-face contact to a minimum and the communities continued to maintain traditional patterns of movement, maintaining links to the land.

Chapter four picks up the threads from this global and regional model as they are spun out at a local scale, in order to explore processes of continuity and change within one Khanty river basin community, at the Malyi Iugan south of Surgut. Patterns of kinship, gender

identity, and the settlement structure are investigated from within the context of the seminomadic seasonal procurement round, and the ecological specificities of the boreal forest environment.

Chapter five signifies a point of departure from more generalizing and “external” views of Khanty society, to one that explores a more local and “internal” Khanty perspective on the world, via an investigation of the role of animals in routine and ritual practice. The chapter stresses that Khanty cosmological concepts are neither deterministic nor free floating, but are intrinsic to – and grounded in – the creation, use, and deposition of material culture within a landscape rich in symbolic meaning.

Chapter six investigates the network of sacred places in the landscape and examines how they are of central importance to processes of social reproduction and the replication of particular forms of authoritative knowledge. A further theme to this chapter is the exploration of the ways in which different forms of temporality are mutually implicated in events at these holy sites.

Chapter seven constitutes a localized historical portrait of a particular community, exploring social and settlement pattern changes and the ways in which individuals are socialized within the enculturated material spaces inhabited by the community. Attention is drawn to broader webs of symbolism and power that link settlements of the sacred, the living, and the dead within the overlapping temporalities of community social practices. From this, Jordan suggests that the public area of the house is the locus within which diverging Russian and Khanty identities are worked out, while activities at the cemeteries and holy sites are the contexts in which more traditional Khanty views of the world are upheld and reproduced. Once again, a subtheme to the chapter is the idea that cosmologies are expressed through material culture rather than being purely mental constructions.

In chapter eight Jordan shifts the focus away from places marked by physical transformation and considers the appropriation of wider landscape spaces by these communities. Questions of land use and ownership are critically discussed in the context of reified differences between farmers and foragers by making the distinction between tenure and territoriality.

Some of the interesting outcomes of this research is the manner in which parts of the natural world are singled out by these mobile hunter-gatherer communities for special veneration. While this veneration produces local concentrations of material remains, which are structured symbolically, the deeper significance of these locales is inextricably linked to actions in the wider landscape. In this sense, holy sites do not exist in isolation, but are embedded – in a social and symbolic sense – in wider routine landscapes. Thus, these sacred sites, individuals, and communities are bound by ongoing relationships rather than being staked out in the dead spaces of cartographic maps. In effect, these local communities are engaged in ritual dialogue with divine beings, which reside in, or are contacted from, specific sacred places in the landscape. Within these re-

lationships, material items form the media of reciprocal communication.

This leads us to a probably more appropriate understanding of complex property concepts that are obviously prevalent in Khanty society (and many other hunter-gatherer societies). In contrast to views of a “nature-as-parent” relationship with the local environment (Bird-David), or of distinct property relations between people with regard to nature, “every animal or fish and every space is part of a landscape that is in, or under, spiritual ownership. Here is a situation where communities are vulnerable, and individuals thus need to maintain, through active engagement, overlapping reciprocal relationships with these deities to negotiate a successful passage through life, both for themselves and for the community” (281). Erich Kasten

Kaneff, Deema: *Who Owns the Past? The Politics of Time in a “Model” Bulgarian Village.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2004. 220 pp. ISBN 1-57181-534-1. (New Directions in Anthropology, 21) Price: \$ 49.95

What makes Deema Kaneff’s “Who Owns the Past? The Politics of Time in a ‘Model’ Bulgarian Village” of particular interest is that it is based on research in rural Bulgaria right before the demise of communism. An Australian anthropologist of Bulgarian origin, Kaneff conducted research in the village of Talpa in northern-central Bulgaria in 1987–1988. The fact that Bulgaria’s leader Zhivkov and his wife were personally connected to this village through their activities in the resistance during World War II, made the village particularly close to the regime.

Kaneff’s main aim in this book is to delineate the role of the past in state-local relations in Bulgaria. Her main argument is that in a highly centralized state, village residents used the past to get access to power and resources through their links to the ruling elite. According to Kaneff, the Bulgarian state constructed the past through its particular understanding of history, tradition, and folklore. History represented the history of communism, tradition represented the rejected past (such as the church, replaced by the cultural center), and folklore represented a rereading of the past to create a new Bulgarian identity. To show the ways in which the past was used in and for the present, Kaneff uses the examples of the “model village” event, public celebrations, commemorations, museums, and folklore. She demonstrates how local leaders rewrote their personal histories by focusing on their activities as partisans during World War II. According to Kaneff, the fact that Talpa was chosen as a “model village” in 1987 was largely based on the longevity of communism in the village and the close association of the Zhivkov family with the village. Kaneff concludes that the Bulgarian state was successful in the case of Talpa to the extent that villagers complied with official discourse, getting much needed support in return.

Kaneff briefly follows events in Talpa after the fall of communism. According to Kaneff, the majority of