

tümern messen lassen kann, ist es möglich, seine Anhängerschaft im symbolischen Sinne als Demonstration religiöser Macht zu deuten.

Um zu analysieren, wie die Bewohner die ihnen gewährte Assistenz von Seiten der *mansio* handhaben und die Position des Pfarrers verstehen, diskutiert Gronover Konzepte des Assistentialismus, der Schattenwirtschaft und des Familismus kritisch. Am Beispiel der Armenhilfe der San-Vincenzo-Gruppe zeigt sie, wie die Empfänger von gespendeten Nahrungsmitteln ihre Position auf unterschiedliche Weise aktiv verhandeln. Dabei "verweigern [sie] sich einer direkten Einmischung in ihr soziales – familiäres – Leben. Die Akteure stehen als Klienten in Kontakt mit einem ihrer Patrone, dem Pfarrer, dem gegenüber sie sich behaupten müssen und dem sie gleichzeitig verdeutlichen müssen, dass sie im Grunde seine Verträge anerkennen, um sie aber eigentlich nicht einzuhalten" (123). Durch diese Art des Widerstands findet eine kontinuierliche Auseinandersetzung mit außerfamiliären Netzwerken statt und dem Assistentialismus wird die paternalistische Struktur zumindest teilweise geraubt.

Im dritten Kapitel, "Die *mansio* als Heilige Familie – ihre sakrale Repräsentation und rituelle Verehrung", beschreibt Gronover, wie die Gläubigen des Armutsviertels auf das Symbol der Heiligen Familie zurückgreifen, um ihrer leidvollen Situation zu entkommen. Die Heilige Familie stellt eine Reserve dar, welche Orientierung bietet, da sie die Paradoxien des sozialen Lebens in sich vereint. Gleichzeitig steht sie der sozialen Realität, geprägt von Problemen im Ehe- und Familienleben, als niemals erreichbarer Idealzustand gegenüber. "Äußerlich betrachtet ist die Familie von Nazareth nicht die ideale Familie, aber geistlich gesehen ist sie es dennoch; mit diesem Widerspruch bietet sie genügend Reibungsfläche und Identifikationsmöglichkeit für die Gläubigen" (169). Ähnlich beschreibt der Pfarrer in der Predigt zum "Fest der Heiligen Familie" diese Ambivalenz, wenn er sagt: "Maria und Josef hatten einen starken Glauben, sie geben uns ein Beispiel für unser tägliches Leben. Josef überwand seine Krise und seine Zweifel, er verließ Maria nicht, denn ein Engel verkündete ihm im Schlaf, dass Maria vom Heiligen Geist schwanger sei" (187). Er bezeichnet das Fest als eine rituelle Antwort auf gesellschaftliche und familiäre Probleme.

Im letzten Kapitel, "Religiöse Reserven – Überlebensstrategien in Palermo", diskutiert Gronover die Potentiale des Reservenansatzes. Mit Hilfe kultureller Reserven bemühen sich Menschen ihre gesellschaftlichen Strukturen zu sichern. Religiöse Reserven spielen hierbei eine wichtige Rolle, da sie regenerative Kräfte besitzen, welche zur Heilung und Heiligung des Menschen beitragen. Des Weiteren regenerieren sie sich fortwährend durch die Erinnerung und Mobilisierung historischer, topographischer, materieller und ideeller Gegebenheiten. Die Analyse religiöser Reserven ermöglicht die Erforschung gesellschaftlichen Oszillierens zwischen Nähe und Distanz, Historisierung und Gegenwart, Prozess und Struktur, Konflikt und Regeneration, Patron-Klient- Beziehungen und Tauschhandel.

Oberflächlich gesehen erscheint es, als würden durch den Reservenansatz gesellschaftliche und kulturelle Prozesse auf binäre Oppositionen in Lévi-Strauss'schem Sinne reduziert. Der Reservenansatz reicht jedoch weiter, da er die Auflösung der Oppositionspaare durch die Berücksichtigung der Akteure und ihres aktiven sowie kreativen Handelns im gesellschaftlichen Raum ermöglicht. Widersprüchliche soziale Realitäten sind somit nicht statisch, sondern werden von den Akteuren stets neu definiert. Weiterhin ermöglicht der Ansatz die Aufweichung von Stereotypen mediterraner Mentalitäten, Werten und Normen. Anstelle starrer Konzepte werden "Grauzonen" (195) hervorgehoben, welche aus zivilgesellschaftlichem Handeln und selbstbewusster Umweltgestaltung hervorgehen.

Das Oszillieren zwischen unterschiedlichen sozialen Realitäten ermöglicht eine dichte Gesellschaftsbeschreibung sowie eine anspruchsvolle Diskussion bestehender Literatur. Gronovers Literaturverzeichnis beinhaltet deutsche, englische, und italienische Werke aus den Bereichen Ethnologie, Soziologie, Genderstudies, Philosophie, Geschichtswissenschaft, Politologie und Geografie. Mit ihrem Buch leistet Gronover einen wertvollen und innovativen Beitrag zur Mittelmeerethnologie, Religionsethnologie, Theoriebildung und Methodenforschung.

Hanna Kienzler

Hayase, Shinzo: *Mindanao Ethnohistory beyond Nations. Maguindanao, Sangir, and Bagobo Societies in East Maritime Southeast Asia.* Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2007. 289 pp. ISBN 978-971-550-511-6.

While almost all Southeast Asian countries (with the exception of Laos) have areas that border the sea, maritime Southeast Asia generally refers to the "Malay World" stretching from Malaysia to the Philippines and eastern Indonesia. While there are many cultural similarities throughout this broad expanse of peninsulas, islands, and seas, East Maritime Southeast Asia was once home to a variety of powerful sultanates who engaged in commerce and slave raiding that attracted the interest of great powers in East Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. The spices of this part of Insular Southeast Asia were in major international demand throughout the fifteenth and eighteenth century, and had tremendous impacts on the growth of indigenous kingdoms.

In this book, Shinzo Hayase presents an impressive cultural history that is focused on the southern Philippines, Brunei, and Maluku region of Indonesia. He makes the case that the eastern maritime region of Southeast Asia had its own historical logic and features which are distinct from those of land-based nations and from western maritime Southeast Asia. From the viewpoint of nation making, he classifies this region into four types: 1) areas where kingdoms were strengthened by Indianization; 2) areas where kingdoms were strengthened by Islamization and the growth of commerce; 3) areas where a colonial state was formed by Christianization; and 4) areas where states did not develop and the

existing chiefdoms were sustained (16f.). The second type is East Maritime Southeast Asia, including the Sulu Sea, Sulawesi Sea, and Maluku Sea, while the third type is the Philippines. The fourth type includes the mountainous interior of islands where inhabitants were not influenced strongly by outside institutions until the late 19th century.

Hayase approaches his study of this region by strongly focusing on the ethnic history and interactions between three distinct peoples: the Maguindanao Sultanate, the Sangir peoples of the Sangihe Islands, and the Bagobo. The Sangir have not been discussed historically before, and their traditional home today lies in Indonesia, while the Maguindanao and Bagobo are based on the southern Philippine island of Mindanao. He focuses on factors that led to the rise and fall of each ethnic group, their retention of tribal organization, and the political impact of their engagements with Christianity, Islam, and indigenous religious traditions. At the same time, as part of a wider history, European and indigenous interactions, wars, and desires to control the spice trade are carefully interwoven into the larger spatial geography of East Maritime Southeast Asia. As a result, Brunei, the Sulu Sultanate, Ternate and Tidore, and Makassar all play a part in his overview.

In contrast to Western Maritime Southeast Asia, the Philippines had little influence from Hinduism or Buddhism and the “states” that arose were based on Islam as well as a trading, raiding, and slaving complex during the Christian Spanish conquest. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries this world contained autonomous chieftain societies sustained by mobile seafaring peoples. Hayase attributes the development of the Maguindanao Sultanate under Sultan Kudarat to his strong efforts to control the growing trade in the region, his alliances with other kingdoms in a holy war or jihad against Spain, and Maguindanao’s advantageous location near the mouth of the Pulangi River. Maguindanao also had a close relationship with the interior Buayan kingdom and with the Sangir, located near Ternate. However, Maguindanao never developed a permanent royal palace and capital and the center of the sultanate was the entire alliance of settlements along the Pulangi River. The alliances themselves were partly due to the establishment of kinship relationships through intermarriage and appeals to Islamic unity under the sultan’s religious and political leadership. These features failed to provide the basis for a lasting kingdom, however, as sultans easily moved their capitals around and maintained flexible state institutions, such as a council of chiefs, rather than establish the bureaucratic apparatus of other kinds of states. While Maguindanao became a very powerful state in this region in the eighteenth century, it did not last long as peoples fled earthquakes and volcanic disasters, as the Dutch allied with Makassar and Ternate, and as seafaring peoples left for the more prosperous Sulu Sultanate.

The Sangir are an example of a smaller kingdom that did not evolve into a sultanate, although they were closely tied through trade, slave raiding, and intermarriage

with Maguindanao and Ternate. The Sangir represent “chieftain states” who lacked an agricultural base, and who flexibly accepted Islam and Christianity at different times. A mobile people, some lived in Mindanao and some became Protestants during the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia.

The final section of the book reviews the American rule of Mindanao and the establishment of abaca plantations in Davao early in the twentieth century. Relying in part on anthropological accounts, he reviews the Bagobo political and social organization, which never rose beyond communities of 3–10 households. The Bagobo were a warrior society that resisted Islamization and retained their indigenous religion until relatively late in the nineteenth century. As American and Japanese established abaca plantations, the local environment in which the Bagobo lived was altered and they lost their ability to maintain autonomous lifestyles and communities. Today, the number of young Bagobo who can speak their languages are few and their ethnic identity is disappearing.

The methods for writing the history of people where there is a dearth of written records meant that Hayase had to rely on oral traditions, Muslim royal genealogies, and observations by Europeans and Chinese. Indeed, he is to be commended for his devotion to providing an innovative history of peoples with so few written documents. To bolster his interpretations, he spent four months doing oral history with the Bagobo during 1985 and he also turns to personal accounts written by European visitors to the region in the 1700s. In doing so, he offers a model of historical reconstruction of a very diverse region in Southeast Asia that bestows recognition to the accomplishments and struggles of some of the lesser known ethnic groups that became minorities in the 20th century under colonization.

Susan Russell

Janowski, Monica, and Fiona Kerlogue (eds.): *Kinship and Food in South East Asia*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2007. 292 pp. ISBN 978-87-91114-93-9. (NIAS Studies in Asian Topics, 38) Price: £ 17.99

This useful volume includes an introduction by the first editor and ten detailed ethnographic studies of the relationships between food and kinship in Southeast Asia. With the exception of one Thai case and one Vietnamese, all the papers deal with Indonesian societies. The whole length of the nation is covered, from Sumatera to Irian Jaya. Several of the communities described are little known ethnographically.

Southeast Asia is famous for enormously complex symbolism linking tangible daily goods – food, houses, cloth – to social relations. The use of foods to symbolize kin relations, express gender identities, track kinship transactions, and represent ritually the kin order has been well-known and described in the literature for decades. Relations between wife-giving and wife-receiving groups are famously important, and ceremonies for the dead – ancestors and others – are