

tendre: it means both the land of remorse (*rimorso*), connoting the poverty-stricken land of Apulia, and the land of the re-bitten (*ri-morso*), referring to the spider bites of *tarantismo*. Daboo rightly dedicates her third chapter, “Remorse, Transformation, and *Scazzicare*. De Martino Revisited,” to this important work and its legacy. For de Martino, tarantism marked a “crisis of presence” among the peasant class in the Salento. On one hand, magic rituals excluded these subalterns from the modern world, and on the other, these rituals allowed them to reclaim their sense of history, place, and being in the world (165). Through tarantism, subalterns became agents in themselves. Daboo enriches de Martino’s “crisis of presence” by integrating her observations of the bodymind as it transforms during *tarantismo* performances. The bodymind narrates individual and collective experiences, particularly that of *la miseria* (misery) common to southern Italy. The dance becomes a way to throw off the collective weight of *la miseria*, as well as a release from the rigid (sexual) norms and values governing Apulian society.

Chapter Four, “Revivals, Roots, and Raves: The Performance of *Pizzica* in Contemporary Salento,” considers the rebirth of *tarantismo* in the late-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Based on the author’s fieldwork in the Salento, this chapter covers the transformation of the *pizzica* by the Sud Sound System; instances of staged authenticity in the contemporary *tarantismo* performances; and her own subjective relationship to the ritual as a dancer, performer, and scholar. Of all chapters, this one lays some rich groundwork for future research – for instance, a more detailed study of the touristic commodification of *tarantismo*, or the intersection between alternative medicine and the *pizzica*, or a study of shifting gender roles within contemporary *tarantati*. In sum, Daboo’s study makes accessible the conceptual vocabularies of performance studies to anthropologists, and future studies of *tarantismo* would be wise to integrate her inventive methodologies.

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**Daniels, Timothy:** *Islamic Spectrum in Java*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009. 191 pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-7626-3. Price: \$ 99.95

“Islamic Spectrum in Java” is a vivid and ethnographically rich description of how Islam is practiced, lived, and understood on that island. It is a book refreshing to read that not only deals with a specific group, a certain variation of, or especially influential feature of Islam but one that also focuses on various forms Islam takes in public space. Major Islamic organizations are discussed as important influences upon the way in which Islam is construed, lived, and formulated, but they are not prioritized as the only or main actors. This book explores the religious-political landscape that developed after the fall of Orde Baru, the regime headed by President Suharto that dominated Indonesia from 1965 to 1998. The era of *reformasi* (reformation) developed in the late 1990s, when the regime dissolved, and the early twenty-first century brought about expectations of political and religious freedom. The media became open to new influences and plu-

ralism was asserted not only in ideological rhetoric but also allowing new actors to enter the public debate. The emergence of this novel public space sparked new forms of power play about who would gain control over the definition of such phenomena as religion, democracy, nationalism, and equality. The book endeavors to understand the public forms of Islam that emerged at this time and to examine the debates within which these became meaningful, contested, or hegemonic.

The point of departure for Daniels’ exploration is the Central Javanese city of Yogyakarta. Historically this city has functioned as a centre for Javanese kingdoms and as a dynamic meeting point for Hinduism, Islam, and Buddhism. It is also well known for its art production and its many renowned universities. For centuries Yogyakarta has been a “hub” for global networks of information, ideologies, debates, and political and religious movements that either oppose or embrace globalization. The city is saturated with vibrant debates about Islam, nationalism, and democracy. This makes it an ideal place to study how public, cultural forms of Islam interact with such concepts as identity, democracy, and equality. The bulk of the data in this book comes from events such as “ceremonies, festivals, cultural arts and popular culture” (9) through which we learn about society through rituals that are presented as “metasocial commentaries” (9) and we also see how these events influence people’s daily lives with regard to health and identity, and in construing contemporary reality.

The book is divided into an introduction followed by seven ethnographic chapters and a concluding chapter. The first two chapters introduce the site of research and Islam in Indonesia, while the next five deal with specific cultural forms of Islam such as healing, art, the *dakwah* movement of Muhammadiyah, theatre, and the Maiyah community.

In the introduction, Daniels addresses the issue of how to relate local practices to globalization. He proposes that a relativistic or contextual understanding of the concepts of religion and democracy may be valuable for opening up new perspectives and for challenging Western ownership of them. Instead of unquestioningly accepting these concepts as analytical tools or political goals, Daniels presents them as ethnographic categories that are continually reformulated, reinterpreted, and reinvented, and he notes that local actors reinforce or challenge certain aspects of them.

The first chapter deals with the royal celebrations in Yogyakarta. These are highly public events that are meant to both display a religious and cultural history of the region and to manifest the powers of the Sultanate. However, the rituals struggle with the notion of Taman-mini-ization (described in detail by, for example, John Pemberton in his book “On the Subject of ‘Java’”. 1994). During its administration, Orde Baru developed a form of identity and cultural politics in which “tradition” became a theme of museum exhibitions in the way that served the regime in its quest for establishing an Indonesian national cultural heritage. Traditions became frozen into objects and thus lost their former ritual power. Many traditional cul-

tural forms survived the period in this immobilized state but during *reformasi* they were reawakened and began to take on new meanings that fuelled a longing for historical continuity. At the same time, these traditions served political interests aimed at establishing new power centers. The ceremonies, therefore, functioned both to reestablish a royal presence in public space and to enable Islamic actors to popularize Islam, “Local organizers and traditional Muslim leaders trumpeted the significance of these grand festivities as perpetuating local culture and identity in the face of globalization” (25). Proponents of Islam were holding up tradition and Islam as alternatives to Western domination. However, defining the royal ceremonies as a form of Javanese Islam is problematic because doing so may imply an idolization of the local culture. The questions of whether these ceremonies should be considered a local form of Islam, whether they supported democracy by making Islam more pluralistic, or whether they were antidemocratic because they supported old elites and insulated them from new Islamic ideas were topics of discussion, that even tourists who came to see the festivities could hardly avoid becoming engaged in. The ceremonies of the Yogyakarta sultanate, on the one hand, became a way of opening up Islam to pluralistic interpretations and understandings where local traditions were incorporated into the teachings of Islam. On the other hand, this protection of traditions gave additional support to the activist Muslim Students’ contention that the ceremonies opposed democracy by reinforcing the power of the old elites (30).

The debate about how to define Islam continues in the second chapter of the book which deals with the issue of how to “locate” Islam on Java. There has been a long and somewhat fruitless academic debate about whether Islam on Java should be considered a “thin veneer” of ideology painted over a more authentic pre-Islamic identity, or whether it is a specific form of Sufism, or whether in fact Java has long been properly Islamized. Trying to navigate between Scylla and Charybdis, Daniels positions himself between the stance taken by Geertz (that Islam is a thin veneer) and Woodward (that Islam on Java is a specific form of Sufism), and concedes “... that Javanese Muslims have reinterpreted many elements of previous streams within the broad Islamic tradition while acknowledging that others have not been Islamized” (39). Having thus taken a middle ground between Geertz and Woodward, the author returns to his own approach, which means viewing Islam on Java as formulated and construed through local discourses, power struggles, and performance. Citing local pilgrimage (*ziarah*), trance, *slametan* meals, and the *abangan/priyaisantri/kejawen* (socioreligious categories) complex, Daniels shows how a fabric of practices, discourses, and debates emerges as various actors strive to define Islam in different ways. These interpretations and practices “... indicate a broad continuum of religious variation ... [where] they grade into each other in many complex ways” (47). The question of where to locate Islam is thus dissolved into a more interesting discussion about local and global efforts to define Islam.

In the third chapter, “*Dukun, Kyai and Ustadz: Healing along the Spectrum*,” we are introduced to Muslim

healers. These healers often share a belief in supernatural, sacred, and religious powers but they relate to them in different ways. The author introduces the reader to three different healers, Pak Subandi (a traditional healer or *dukun*), Haji Asnuria (a religious expert or *kyai*), and Fadlan (a religious teacher, or *ustadz*), and describes their different ways of defining what is proper for Islamic healing. Pak Subandi frames his practices within an Islamic discourse, although he acknowledges that his powers are primarily *kejawen*, “... passed down from Javanese ancestors” (58) and he acquires them through traditional ascetic rituals such as fasting and meditation. Pak Jojo, another *dukun*, also “... develops relationships with spiritual beings that help him heal” (61). Although he practices several ascetic techniques associated with local traditions, he is eager to point out that he “... focus[es] on ... beings created by Allah such as jinn, Satan and other invisible spirits” (61). Haji Asnuria also practices some local forms of asceticism but he stresses the Islamic sources of his knowledge. His ability to heal is a power received from Allah in Mecca. He is well versed in the Quran, gives public readings of it as a proof of his knowledge and uses its verses in his treatments. *Ustadz* Fadlan, on the other hand, wants to distinguish himself “... from *kyai* and their students” (75). He heals people by convincing them that their problems are rooted in practicing and believing in Javanese traditions that are incompatible with pure Islamic teachings. Apart from presenting three positions that are recognizable from other religious discourses and debates in Indonesia, the strength of this chapter lies in its presentation of how people relate to, question, and discuss these healers. There is no guarantee that one will be accepted as a *kyai*, *dukun*, or *ustadz*. These roles are contested, as are their holders’ statements about religion and what does or does not constitute pure Islam. The discussion about how healing is reformulated and re-understood in an Islamic framework is continued in chapter four, which is about *dangdut*, and in chapter six, which concerns Student theatre, in which Islam meets art.

Between chapters four and six is a chapter on popular art that focuses on the Muhammadiyah organization and its efforts to make its teachings compatible with a modern way of life and on acknowledging local tradition and popular culture (such as *dangdut*) without idolizing them. Against this backdrop, the celebrations hosted by the sultanate of Yogyakarta resurface in the form of the royal *sekaten*, a popular commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday. This is celebrated with gamelan music, night markets, and other entertainment. During these nightly festivities religious scholars from Muhammadiyah make their appearance by giving religious lectures in which they try to sort out the religious from the traditional and discuss the correct way to relate to them from an Islamic perspective by not idolizing tradition but still learning from it. The issue of culture and art has become the core of the debate about how to use Islamic reasoning to deal with modern ways of life without compromising the Holy Scriptures. Should one see art as “... a medium of connection to God” (111), in which case it becomes regulated by ritual protocol, or is it a form of cultural expres-

sion "... devoid of 'religious' meaning" (112), in which case it becomes more a question of morality and decency? This chapter explains how Islamic teachers use different ways of reasoning and various interpretations that are rooted in Islamic traditions (*itjihad, bayani, burhani, 'irfani*) to address these questions, and how they, in so doing, reconfigure "... Muhammadiyah's ... relationship to Islamic 'traditions'" (111).

The chapter on "Social Drama, *Dangdut* and Popular Culture" picks up the discussion about morals and popular culture of the Muhammadiyah. The focus of attention is the *dangdut* performer Inul Daratista and her dance style *goyang ngebor* (The Drill). *Dangdut* is an extremely popular form of dance performance that is widely broadcast on TV and used as entertainment in ritual and local festivities; it always attracts large crowds. During the 1970s and 80s, the public form of *dangdut* was dominated by Rhoma Irama, a male performer who, by including rock, jazz, and other "foreign" rhythms, made *dangdut* more creative and experimental, although he kept it well within the parameters of what most of the influential Islamic organizations considered to be morally acceptable. There has always been an erotic undercurrent in the *dangdut*, less evident, perhaps, in national broadcastings than in local celebrations. The performances of Inul, however, brought female sexuality onto the public stage. This brought about what Daniels refers to as a breach of the "status quo" with regard to public morality, and generated an extended Social Drama in which Inul's performances became the subject of debates about morals and sexuality. In short, Inul's reinvention of *dangdut* synthesized "... western and Asian influences, combining them with local musical and dance styles and producing a new 'modern' Indonesian identity" (94). Islamic organizations took issue with this, but according to Daniels' opinion, they lost the battle to more populist forces. *Dangdut* has since become a standard element in media-scapes and political campaigns to gather audiences. Chapter six, on student theatres, continues this discussion of public cultural forms by examining student theatres and how Islamic forms of student theatre may incorporate local as well as foreign art forms with the intention of producing "prophetic theatre." This is meant to spread the word of Islam in a contemporary form suited to dealing with issues such as capitalism, globalization, and equality.

The final ethnographic chapter takes stock of the Maiyah movement. This chapter deals with and, in my view, tries to synthesize the discussions about identity, nationalism, and Islam, equality, globalization, and local traditions by looking into the history of a specific movement and its founder Emha Ainun Nadjib. The chapter provides an insight into how the discourses conveyed in the book influence the movement, how the members deal with them, and how they approach the "... analogies, metaphors and other symbolic elements" (133) that are intertwined with these discourses.

In the concluding chapter, the author summarizes the main findings of the book and returns to the issue of equalization and the degree to which the openness of the *reformasi* period has had a positive or negative impact

on "... processes of equalization" (162). Daniels notes the ongoing power struggle between different actors and insists that we must consider ideas and activities in their local context if we are to be able to assess their effects upon processes of equalization. While Islamization may appear to oppose equalization and democracy from the perspective of the outsider, it may have quite other meanings when contextualized within local social and political processes. For example, some of the Islamic criticism of tradition and the "prophetic" student theatres may counterbalance the claims of traditional Javanese elites to hold sacred power. The author's conclusions are broadly positive towards the possibilities that were opened up during *reformasi*. However, the book ends with a word of caution about the ability of "... powerful, wealthy nations ..." to tip the power dynamics in favor of some actors without consideration of how this will affect opportunities for establishing democracy or egalitarianism at the local level.

"Islamic Spectrum in Java" is a refreshing and, in my view, long-awaited book which presents the reader with the details of contemporary religious discourses on Java. Daniels does not simply report upon these issues but he also provides ethnographic accounts that resonate well with my own experiences acquired on West Java.

Jürgen Hellman

**Deimel, Claus, Sebastian Lentz und Bernhard Streck** (Hrsg.): Auf der Suche nach Vielfalt. Ethnographie und Geographie in Leipzig. Leipzig: Leibniz-Institut für Länderkunde, 2009. 508 pp., Fotos. ISBN 978-3-86082-069-8. Preis: € 18.60

Dass Universitätsjubiläen mit einem Blick in die wissenschaftlichen Sammlungen gefeiert werden, hat seit einigen Jahren Konjunktur. Parallel zu den großen Ausstellungen in Berlin hat auch Leipzig diese Form gewählt, um den 600. Jahrestag der Universitätsgründung publikumswirksam zu inszenieren. Als dauerhafter Ertrag einer dieser Ausstellungen ist dieser umfangreiche Sammelband entstanden. Er dokumentiert die Geschichte der drei Institutionen, die ehemals unter dem Dach des Leipziger Grassimuseums vereint waren: dem Museum für Völkerkunde sowie die Institute für Ethnologie und für Geographie.

Der umfangreiche Band versteht sich dabei in erster Linie als "Dokumentation" der "Pionierarbeit" dieser Institutionen (5), in deren Tradition sich die Herausgeber sehen. Der gewählte Zugang ist weitgehend biographisch und an großen Leipziger Forscherpersönlichkeiten orientiert. Aktuelle museologische, postkoloniale oder *writing-culture* Debatten oder die spannungsvolle Beziehung von Museum und Universität werden nur gestreift. Der Schwerpunkt des Bandes liegt zwanzig Jahre nach der Wende überraschenderweise nicht auf einer Einordnung der DDR-Wissenschaft, sondern auf den "großen Taten" der Gründerväter der Fächer im ausgehenden 19. und beginnenden 20. Jhd. Der angestrebte Dokumentationscharakter wird allerdings durch das völlige Fehlen von Registern und anderen Hilfsmitteln, durch die unge-