

towik ganz richtig berichtet. So bekleideten chinesische Händler unter den balinesischen Königen (*raja-raja*) vielfach den Posten eines Hafenmeisters (*subandar*). Mit ihren ausgedehnten Handelsbeziehungen bis ins Landesinnere und auch nach Übersee garantierten sie ihren balinesischen Fürsten einen gewissen Wohlstand nicht nur in Form von Steuereinnahmen, sondern auch in Form von Luxusgütern wie chinesisches Porzellan – noch heute als Zierde der Palastmauern des Puri Karangasem oder des Puri Pemecutan zu bewundern. Im Gegensatz zu Java und Sumatra, wo Chinesen auf den Plantagen von den Kolonialherren gezielt als Aufseher der “einheimischen” Arbeiter eingesetzt wurden, wurden im kolonialen Bali nicht die Mitglieder der chinesischen Gemeinschaft, sondern – zumindest ab den 1920er Jahren – die alten Fürstenfamilien privilegiert. Es waren daher nicht die Chinesen, sondern die mit den Niederländern kollaborierenden Fürstenhäuser, die sich den Zorn eines nicht unbeträchtlichen Teils der balinesischen Bevölkerung zuzogen.

Im Gegensatz zu javanischen Geschäftsleuten, die in Bali Hotels, Restaurants oder Touristik-Unternehmen führen, beschäftigen chinesische Geschäftsleute in der Mehrzahl balinesische Mitarbeiter. Sie sind deshalb im Gegensatz zu den javanischen Unternehmern (denen die Balinesen nachsagen, dass sie meist Heerscharen von javanischen Arbeitern und Angestellten einführen) viel enger geschäftlich mit der lokalen Bevölkerung verflochten. Auch dies ist ein Grund, warum in Bali bisher keine Pogrome gegen Chinesen stattgefunden haben. Die ethnisch “Anderen” sind für Balinesen vor allem javanische Muslime, vor allem ostjavanische Migranten, gegen die sich immer wieder Gewaltausbrüche richten. Wenn man den Barong Landung-Ritualkomplex als Aushandlungsfeld interethnischer Beziehungen und Spannungen definiert, wie Gottowik es tut, so muss man die balinesisch-chinesischen Beziehungen in Verhältnis setzen zu den balinesisch-javanischen Beziehungen. Erst dann bekommt man ein ausgewogeneres Bild über die in Bali herrschenden interethnischen Beziehungen.

In seiner Diskussion der historischen Elemente der Barong Landung-Mythen nimmt Gottowik im Übrigen leider bis auf Henk Schulte Nordholts wertvolle Arbeit keinerlei Bezug auf rezente historisch-anthropologische Analysen der vorkolonialen balinesischen Geschichte, die auf ausführliche balinesische bzw. altjavanische und mitteljavanische Quellenstudien beruhen. So fehlt jegliche Erwähnung Margaret Wieners Arbeit über die Geschichte von Klungkung, Peter Worsleys Studie über die Geschichte von Buleleng und meiner eigenen, 1998 in deutscher Sprache publizierten Doktorarbeit.

Für einen bedeutsamen Fehler, was Gottowiks Interpretation betrifft, halte ich auch die Tatsache, dass er erst weit in der zweiten Hälfte seiner Studie erwähnt, dass sich Anfang der 1980er Jahre der Direktor der Akademie der Darstellenden Künste (damals noch ASTI und nicht STSI), Dr. I Madé Bandem, für den Barong Landung zu interessieren begann (329 ff.). Mitarbeiter von Bandem verarbeiteten die verschiedenen, in Bali herrschenden und von Gottowik detailliert beschriebe-

nen Versionen des Ritualkomplexes zu einem modernen Tanzdrama. Leider setzte Gottowik diese *Kreasi Baru* (Neuschöpfung) der Akademie nicht mit der damaligen, von mir in einigen Aufsätzen eingehend beschriebenen indonesischen bzw. lokalen Kulturpolitik in Beziehung, was seine Interpretation noch um eine weitere Dimension bereichert hätte. Wichtiger ist allerdings noch, dass Gottowik in seiner Studie zu wenig berücksichtigte, dass diese ASTI-Version des Barong Landung-Verständnis vieler Balinesen grundlegend beeinflusst hat und damit auch das vieler seiner eigenen Informanten.

Zu guter Letzt bleibt mir nur noch folgendes anzumerken: Anstatt die gesamte Geschichte der ethnologischen Ritualforschung am Thema des Barong Landung durchzuexerzieren, hätte sich Gottowik besser auf eine theoretische Fragestellung konzentrieren sollen, die seinem beachtlichen ethnographischen Detailwissen, was den Barong Landung angeht, den nötigen Fokus und deshalb eine viel stärkere Aussagekraft gegeben hätte.

Martin Ramstedt

**Govers, Cora:** *Performing the Community. Representation, Ritual, and Reciprocity in the Totonac Highlands of Mexico.* Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006. 328 pp. ISBN 978-3-8258-9751-6. (Modernity and Belonging, 6) Preis: € 29.90

The book by Govers, originally published as her doctoral dissertation at the University of Amsterdam, is an example of anthropological community monographs. The general question that the author addresses is: what constitutes a community in the era of accelerated social and cultural change? The specific local society that faces and practically solves this dilemma is the Totonac village of Nanacatlán, located in the area of Sierra Norte de Puebla, in central Mexico.

The book consists of eight chapters. In the introductory one, Govers discusses the anthropological literature relevant to the subject of her research, and stakes out the conceptual framework for her analysis. Bringing the observer to the picture, she also recounts her experience of establishing rapport with the community through connecting with what she identifies as the axis of the village life: the observance of local *costumbres* (traditional ways). She also formulates the hypothesis that it is the praxis of performing stories, rituals, and customary exchanges that creates the symbolic and material community, and ensures its duration in the time of change wrought by migration and the influx of new ideas and things.

The next chapter is an ethnographic portrayal of Nanacatlán containing data about the geographical and demographic aspects of the community, as well as its main institutions, kinship relations, political organization, and denominational composition. This information provides the necessary setting for the discussion of the main topic of the book – namely, the economic and social change brought about by the phenomenon of migration – which follows in chapter 3. Here, the author focuses on the neoliberal reforms in Mexico,

initiated in the 1990s, and their impact on the economy and social relations in the village. Govers observes that the neoliberalization accounts for the decreasing role of the state in economy, which affected the indigenous population in a particularly dramatic way. Still, the most significant social restructuring in the village over the last two decades has been caused by processes that remained largely beyond the control of the state, such as the globalization of economy and the increased mobility of labor force, in which the population of Nanacatlán also participates.

The following chapter aims at demonstrating how history, as it is remembered and interpreted by Nanacatecos, is used to balance the centrifugal external forces that threaten to weaken the cohesion of the village society. To this purpose, Govers divides the history recounted by villagers into three main categories: the “ancient,” the “remote,” and the “recent.” She concludes that it is the recent history that is the most contested, but precisely for this reason it also serves as the platform to contain tensions, accommodate conflicts, and thus build consensus and common identity.

Chapter 5 contains an analysis of the relationship between the local folklore and cosmology. The latter is based on the common belief that harmonious relations between humans and the natural and supernatural worlds ensure health and welfare. The morality that this cosmology inculcates is yet another pillar of the local identity in Nanacatlán. This identity is further enforced by *costumbres* – that is, the multilayered ritual life of the villagers – which is now experiencing renewal, after a period of decline in the first half of the twentieth century. This phenomenon is the main topic of chapter 6 (“Creating *costumbres*”). Govers argues that this renewal is, paradoxically, the response of the community to the impact of the global on their lives: the more a community becomes imagined, the more it needs symbols to express its social coherence. One example of how Nanacatecos are able to encompass and accommodate the new phenomena is the system of reciprocal exchange, in particular food exchange, discussed in chapter 7. Traditionally, the intrahousehold modality of exchange, epitomized by gender relations, was extended to interhousehold networks that comprised kin, affines, neighbors, and friends. In the new context created by migration, the networks of reciprocity were not replaced by other forms of exchange but rather expanded accordingly.

In the concluding chapter, Govers states that village communities are presented in the “classical” ethnographies as bastions of tradition which, however, gradually succumb to processes of modernization, lose their local identity, and become anonymous components of industrial society. However, the example of Nanacatlán demonstrates that communities may actually survive as discrete cultural units by reformulating the global processes according to its local logic.

Some minor drawbacks do not diminish the overall good quality of this work. For instance, a reader may find the division of local history proposed by Govers

confusing. Is the criterium for this classification the living memory – that is, the fact that some inhabitants have participated in those events? Or maybe is it the volume of differences and coincidences in interpretation? If so, why is Govers identifying the “remote history” as the most ambiguous (and hence subject to multiple interpretations), while it is the “recent history” that is the most contested? I believe it is a relevant question, as in some societies it is not the most recent history but even the ancient, mythological past that may also serve as the ground on which some current social issues are addressed and redressed.

Secondly, in the concluding chapter Govers observes that the majority of small-scale, “traditional” communities did not melt into the anonymous world of industrial national societies. This paradoxical conclusion, corroborated by “new studies” (which she does not identify at this point), as well as by Govers’s own findings, seems to contradict the results of some older studies (which she cites abundantly) all of which pointed toward the final disintegration of traditional communities that faced the onset of modernization. My own research on processes of modernization in nineteenth-century Germany indicates that many traditional communities, particularly those located close to larger urban and industrial centers, did lose their cohesion and discrete cultural character. For example, Wilda, Debiec, Lubon, Winiary, once ethnically specific communities inhabited by German settlers from Bamberg (the so-called “Bambrzy”), are today integral parts of the city of Poznan in Poland (then West Prussia).

On the other hand, beginning with the 1970s, in some instances at least, one can observe the process of searching for roots and regaining the lost distinctiveness from archival sources. One example of this phenomenon, quoted by Govers, might be the effort of some bicultural individuals in Nanacatlán to restore certain lost *costumbres*. And this is the crux of the matter: both the classical ethnographic studies of village communities, which prophesized their doom, and the newer ethnographies (Govers’s included) that point in the opposite direction, should be placed in the context of their own time. The older monographs, such as that of Tönnies (1887) and Durkheim (1893) reflect the then dominant nineteenth-century discourse of progress that saw, and indeed did make the rural communities disappear, on both discursive and material level. Today, in the context of the “postmodern situation” in culture, the dominant discourse stresses the local, the ethnic, the rural (a form of the ecological), and makes the once lost traditional communities “reappear.” Interestingly, the first historical-ethnographic monograph of the assimilated group of Bambrzy was also published in the beginning of the 1970s. On the level of praxis, this overall cultural ambiance encourages the work of local intellectuals who seek to, and succeed in recreating old customs.

Still, Govers’s book is a valuable addition to the existing corpus of ethnographies concerning village communities. It is well written and documented. Its partic-

ular contribution consists in showing how a small rural universe, at a specific moment of its historical evolution, absorbs larger global processes and thus becomes global without losing much of its local substance.

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**Hanna, Judith Lynne:** *Dancing for Health. Conquering and Preventing Stress.* Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2006. 256 pp. ISBN 978-0-7591-0859-2. Price: \$ 29.95

Stress, as a sum of physical and mental responses to an unacceptable disparity between real or imagined personal experience and personal expectations, generates strong emotions, like anxiety, anger, disgust, or sadness. In the book "Dancing for Health," J. L. Hanna shows how dance can serve as a means of overcoming and preventing stress situations in different contemporary and historically remote cultures. J. L. Hanna is a world known anthropologist of the dance. As a dancer and researcher for over fifty years, she studied dance in its multiple manifestations and locations, from Africa to America. Since her Ph.D. thesis on the Nigerian Ubakala to the present volume, she published numerous books and articles in thirteen countries and in several languages, from which the most important seems to be "To Dance Is Human. The Theory of Nonverbal Communication" (Chicago 1987).

"To dance is human" can also be introduced as a motto of the presented book. The author herself takes this sentence again in the Introduction: "Indeed, to dance is to be human" (14), and considers dance as "human behavior composed . . . of purposeful, intentionally rhythmical, and culturally patterned sequences of nonverbal body movements other than ordinary motor activities" (30). The dance is an appropriate means to deal with stressful situations. "As a text in motion" (33), it expresses, through visualization and embodiment, the thoughts and feelings, what the words cannot do. Distancing individuals from their emotional experience, it regulates the core affects and helps people in their struggle against the stress. As the author states: "Giving voice to grief is frequently part of healing" (33). But the dance movement can also have physical consequences because the dancing is able to provoke "a morphine-like effect in reducing the perception of pain" (46).

The number of examples supporting the arguments of the author is grouped in two parts: one, describing the historical and non-Western dance-stress relations, and the other, presenting the Western dance-stress relations. The first encompasses five chapters concerning: the religious aspects of dance, its purifying efficacy, the resolving of the life crisis, the overcoming conflicts, and the renewing of the time through the dance. The second treats the West dancing from the perspective of the theatrical aspects of dance, the professional and amateur Western dancers, and the therapeutic proprieties of dance.

The stressful events and behaviors find their explanation in the system of beliefs. The possession through supernatural entities: gods, demons, or spirits can be the

source of trouble. The dance can be used as a means for expelling the stressor or for exploring the gods for help. Hanna distinguishes three forms of religious means: possession, masks, and exorcism. As cases of possession she mentions the Umbanda in Brazil, the *kut* in Korea, the *hadra* ecstatic dance of Moroccan Sufi, trance dancing among the Temiar in Malaysia and among !Kung Bushmen of Namibia. All of them are supposed to bring healing. Also the mask performances can heal, for example, social relations. The Chewa man clothing the mask of Chirombo can influence the behavior of his mother-in-law revealing her faults in the *nyau* dance. As exorcism, the ritual dances try to cut the destructive relations between the patient and the evil spirits, as shows the case of the Sinhalese Buddhists.

The next section contains four very different examples of dancing for remedying stress situations, namely the Tarantism as a means for curing the bite of the spider, the Dance of the Death as an attempt to deny the finality of death during the Black Death Plague in Europe, the *ketjak* dance of Bali, performed during the time of calamities, supposing to bring the good and to expulse the evil, and Shakers dancing as an effort to struggle against the sex drive. All these illustrative cases are part of both religious and secular behavior and ways of dealing with stresses: spider bite, plagues, calamities, and sexual frustration.

Life crisis situations can be sources of stress. Changing the social status, entering the group of adults, or taking new responsibilities in the community, make people uncertain and anxious. The author presents the set of African dances which intervene during the initiation and the funeral rites by the Ubakala of Nigeria, the Samburu of Kenya, the Lugbara of Uganda, the Nyakyusa of Tanzania, and the Dogon of Mali. The dance medium can help people to come to terms with the crisis of life, to resist the stress, reduce it, or temporarily escape from it.

Dance can also be a communicative medium bringing people together, displaying the tensions, and disposing the group for resolving stressful situations. Hanna puts together the social drama of Ubakala and the dance play of schoolchildren in Dallas (U.S.A.). The author describes the history of women's protest in 1929 in Nigeria, when communication through the dance failed. The dancing of African American children can express their reaction to a stressful situation that takes the form of excluding or ignoring the presence of White children. The dance contains the message which appeals for resolving the unsatisfied social relations.

Stress can also result from relations of domination. The people, suffering exploitation and the lost of dignity, have recourse to the dance medium to find new energy. It is the case of the Ghost Dance, but also Spirit Dancing of Coast Salish Indians, the Gourd Dance, Danza de la Conquista, and Beni Ngoma dances. They express the ethnic identity and reject the unfair relations to Western culture.

Modern Western dance can also express stressful situations like personal tragedy, choreographed by