

suchen seitens der Gekreuzigten zu lesen, die ihre Konkurrenzen ganz irdisch und mit allen zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln austragen. Daß Bräunlein zudem immer wieder seine eigenen Zweifel und Verstehensprobleme reflektiert, macht das Buch besonders sympathisch.

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Hiroyuki Yamamoto, Anthony Milner, Midori Kawashima, and Kazuhiro Arai (eds.): *Bangsa and Ummah: development and people-grouping concepts in Islamized Southeast Asia*. Kyoto: Kyoto University Press 2011. ix + 279 pp. (Kyoto Area Studies on Asia 21.)

This book is based on symposiums and workshops held at Sophia University, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and Kyoto University, in 2007. It is divided into three parts with three articles each on 'people-grouping concepts' (as the title has it) in the pre-colonial Malay world, in colonial and post-colonial times and in regions beyond the Malay world in the strict sense, illustrated by examples from Sabah, Aceh and the southern Philippines. Here we have a welcome addition to the existing literature on ethnicity and identities in the Malay context published in the last two decades by Anthony Milner, Joel Kahn, Collin Abraham, Timothy Barnard, Ariffin Omar and Michael Laffan, to mention just a few. Therefore it is not surprising to find three of these scholars also represented in this collection.

The book opens with an introduction by Hiroyuki Yamamoto explaining the use of important terms of 'people-grouping concepts' in the Malay world like *bangsa* ('nation'/'ethnic group'/'race'), *umma* ('Muslim community') and *Melayu* ('Malays'/'Malayness'). Yamamoto demonstrates the interrelatedness of these concepts and shows how different meanings

emerged in subsequent regions and nation states. In Indonesia, for example, *bangsa* refers to 'a sense of equality and homogeneity among its members', while in Malaysia 'civilization' is held to be its main premise (5). Especially at the periphery of the Malay world, Islam is a highly important marker of *bangsa*. However, neither Yamamoto's introduction nor the rest of the book focuses only on Muslim groups, since they also make references to Chinese identity concepts and ideas of *bangsa* by Christian peoples in Sabah.

Chapter 1 by Anthony Milner gives an overview mainly on the pre-independence concepts and contexts of the *Bangsa Melayu*. Here Milner, who has written extensively on Malay identity concepts for the last three decades or so, again masterly demonstrates his knowledge on this matter. Starting with a discussion of the term 'Malay' from the fourteenth century onwards, he shows how 'Melayu' was only used for the Melaka polity, its dynasty and kinship-related dynasties of other Malay states (19). Only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was it extended by means of an ethnic or 'racial' background and came to be used for all Muslim Malay-speaking people in the Malay Peninsula, East Sumatra and Borneo's coastal states. This is very closely related to romantic views of a 'people' and their 'soul' in contemporary European philosophy – it is not by chance that colonial administrators and orientalist like Thomas Stamford Raffles, William Marsden and John Leyden became highly interested in traditional written and oral Malay literatures as an expression of the hidden 'spirit' of the Malay 'race'. Milner also discusses the emerging ethnicity and nationalism of the 1920s and 1930s and makes references to modern Malaysian political parties, as well as to local developments like in Borneo and Patani. The construction of *bangsa* as a 'civilizational' concept after World War II and the new challenges to the concept from Islam since the 1980s are also covered in this important essay.

Michael Laffan's article traces the boundaries of a greater Islamic ecumene centred around the Malay term 'Jawi'. First, Laffan outlines the use of the term by Arab and other Muslim authors from the early years of Islamic presence in Southeast Asia onwards and then refers to its uses from the early seventeenth century to the modern period. He carefully points out that there is 'a significant historical gap' (42) between these early sources and the Muslim literature of Southeast Asia of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries regarding the self-identification of individuals as Jawi in Southeast Asia. Laffan meticulously describes the various uses of 'Jawi-ness' in local Malay language, as well as contexts outside the Malay cultural region, e.g. in Aceh, Minangkabau, Makassar and Java, and shows their interrelatedness as well as their differences. The author here delivers a fascinating overall picture of an Islamic ecumene established in insular Southeast Asia and well beyond in the Muslim world.

Chapter 3 by Kanji Nishio provides a case study of statecraft and identity formation in the Johor-Riau and the Riau-Lingga sultanate. After a detailed overview of Malay terms for specific groups or people in the early modern period which partly overlaps with Milner's essay, Nishio describes the relations between Malay and Bugis in the states mentioned. Nishio discusses these relations as 'ethnic boundaries' although Milner's writings suggest a different interpretation of identity forms, as mentioned in his contribution to this book. The equivalence of ethnicity with 'identity', as if no other forms of 'people-grouping' were possible, and its dating back to pre-colonial times has been criticised by social anthropologists for quite some time. Here the consultation of the works of the Comaroffs, Richard Jenkins and Thomas Eriksen, to mention only a few, would have permitted a more critical approach, instead of using ethnicity as *conditio sine qua non* in this essay. With this Nishio equalises

ethnicity with identity and projects it into the past.

Chapter 4 by Yuji Tsuboi and Chapter 5 by Kaori Shinozaki deal with identity formation in the colonial environment of British Malaya. While Tsuboi describes the Malay community in Selangor, Shinozaki focuses on 'Chineseness' in the colony of the Straits Settlements. Tsuboi makes elaborate use of archival sources and successfully shows how the British administration played a part in the creation and implementation of Malay identity and social structure which had been considered 'traditional' for many decades. Shinozaki mainly pays attention to the Peranakan community, a Chinese group in British Malaya which assimilated themselves to its Malay environment in terms of language, cloth, cuisine and other aspects many centuries ago. She describes how colonial administrators had their problems in properly categorising this peculiar Chinese group. However, it is somewhat surprising that she does not use the works of Tan Liok Ee or Vivienne Wee, who both discuss Chinese concepts of identity in the Malaysian context.

Ariffin Omar's article relates to the making of the modern nation state in Malaysia since 1948. The author critically discusses the emerging political uses of the ethnic consciousness of the Malay and others from the failed colonial experiment of Malayan Union in 1948 up to the present day. In the final part of this interesting contribution, Ariffin deals with the impact of the 12th Malaysian general elections on ethnic relations in 2008, which led to the ruling coalition in parliament losing its two-thirds majority, which was seen as a 'political tsunami' in Malaysia. Hiroyuki Yamamoto's Chapter 7 also refers to actual developments in nationalism in Malaysia, but focuses not on the Malay Peninsula but on the Borneo state of Sabah instead. According to Yamamoto, there are three categories of 'people' in Sabah, namely Kadazandusuns, Muslims and Chinese (143). Yamamoto is well

aware of the impracticality and arbitrary nature of these conceptualisations. For example, it is unclear to which category a Muslim Kadazandusun belongs. The author thus carefully analyses the practical implications for North Borneo Malaysian politics and its various manifestations.

Chapter 8 leads the reader outside the boundaries of Malaysia by discussing the effects of the Law on Governing Aceh (2006) on group identities in this Indonesian province. Yoshimi Nishi first gives an outline of the historical background to the long-term conflict in northern Sumatra and then deals with the bill just mentioned, unfortunately rather briefly compared to the quite long introductory background of the article.

In the final chapter, Midori Kawashima delivers a fascinating picture of identity concepts and their on-going transformations in the southern Philippines. In this highly original paper, Kawashima goes beyond the usual discussions of the southern Philippine Bangsa Moro revolutionary movements of political analysts and presents ethnological and historical background information on the various identity markers in use among the Maranao, Yakan and other groups in the region. For this she makes extensive use of Philippine and American archival sources, which unfortunately are not mentioned in the bibliography. She also refers to the growing numbers of Philippine Muslim students who have studied in Cairo since the 1950s and brought home new identity concepts that have challenged long-established notions of 'people-grouping'. Many of them became teachers in Islamic schools and 'took over the reins of the Islamic reform movement in the Philippines' (208). In this essay, Kawashima presents many new data and information which go well beyond the existing literature in this field.

This very well-edited book gives the reader much to think about. Processes of identity and group formation, often described by political analysts and uncritical historians as rather

uniform, have far more diverse and complex backgrounds than is usually admitted by local politicians or administrators. It is to be hoped that similar studies focusing more on groups outside the Malay-speaking communities will be carried out.

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Frank Heidemann: *Ethnologie. Eine Einführung*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht 2011. 285 S.

Vielfach ist in den letzten Jahrzehnten eine „Krise der Ethnologie“ beklagt worden, da sie mit dem Ende des Kolonialismus, der Entstehung selbständiger Staaten und dem Import von modernen Industrieprodukten bis hin zu Computern und Handys sowie der Kenntnis von modernen Lebensverhältnissen ihren Gegenstand verloren habe: Vorstaatliche Gesellschaften mit einer Wirtschaft und einer Produktion vornehmlich für den Gebrauch der eigenen Gruppe und einem eher randständigen, sich auf sogenannte Luxusgüter beziehenden Handel an ihren Grenzen mit weitgehend unbeeinflussten religiösen Vorstellungen und rituellen Handlungen sowie tradierten sozialen Ordnungen, die in der Regel auf Verwandtschaft basieren und in denen Verträge nur eine untergeordnete Rolle spielen (weitere Merkmale ließen sich leicht hinzufügen) gibt es heute allenfalls noch in Nischen und Randgebieten. Der ethnologische Forscherdrang wird diesen zusammen mit wirtschaftlichen, touristischen und militärischen Interessen rasch einen Untergang oder eine Transformation bereiten. Auch in diesen Gesellschaften selber gab und gibt es zahlreiche Menschen, die sich mit den tradierten gesellschaftlichen Ordnungen nicht mehr abfinden, die die kleinen und größeren Produkte der industriellen Herstellung begehren, die ein anderes