

As to the distinctive character of anthropology James points out that anthropologists work mostly with written texts as do colleagues from neighbouring fields but she recognizes they also have the merit to have “pioneered the method of the direct study of human life, through personal immersion in fieldwork” (302). In my opinion, fieldwork adds very much to the identity of anthropologists even if they spent only a part of their time in the field. They are constantly working on their field data using them in publications and teaching. It would have been interesting if she had elaborated on this point especially because ideas about fieldwork and the ethnography based on it have changed enormously in recent years. What, for instance, is the effect when anthropologists, now that it has become financially possible, revisit many times their “own people” and more and more representatives of that people can actively participate in the fieldwork. What about the notion that fieldwork has become a kind of dialogue and that the anthropologist acts no longer as a distant observer but must account for his part in the research.

In the “Foreword” Michael Lambek rightly affirms that the book is “a remarkably comprehensive, confident, and generous account of contemporary anthropology” (xviii). It is indeed wide-ranging, also it refers to a very large number of ethnographic reports of which she makes good use in showing their relevance for her ideas. It raises many current questions like ethnicity, globalism, gender, exchange, and art, but neglects somewhat subjects like the anthropological museums, visual and legal anthropology. But of course she could not treat every subject in detail. Albert Trouwborst

Jenkins, Janis Hunter, and Robert John Barrett (eds.): *Schizophrenia, Culture, and Subjectivity. The Edge of Experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. 357 pp. ISBN 0-521-53641-3. (Cambridge Studies in Medical Anthropology, 9) Price: £ 23.99

The concept of “culture,” like that of “schizophrenia,” is amorphous and ill-defined, and the attempt to relate the two is methodologically daunting. Add to this the currently trendy topic of “subjectivity and experience” – a confused bundle of idealizations and projections with a distinctively American flavor – and one has the making of a muddled hodge-podge. “Schizophrenia, Culture, and Subjectivity” – despite its soap-operatic subtitle, “The Edge of Experience” – avoids this peril for the most part and provides an ethnographically diverse collection of studies that attempt to map the relationship between psychopathology and culture. Given the decades that have passed since George Devereux’s classic study of the same subject, the book represents a catching-up in the field of medical anthropology that is probably overdue.

Introduced by Arthur Kleinman, the book, edited by Jenkins and Barrett (one-time students of Kleinman), is divided into three parts, although the chapters could have been arranged in almost any order. The editors’ Introduction offers a serviceable overview of the field

and states the book’s central theme, sure to wrangle psychiatrists, that culture is critical in every aspect of schizophrenic illness experience. Here the pseudo-theoretical leitmotif is introduced: the book, we are told, will not only demonstrate the relevance of culture it will also reveal the importance of subjective experience. For the last decade or so there has been a great deal of huffing and puffing in anthropology about “subjective experience,” as if paying attention to what people say and do represents some kind of novelty. Theories of subjectivity, however, are few, and the present book is no exception. “Lived” or “subjective” experience (the terms are used interchangeably) turns out to be reducible to case studies, personal narratives, and clinical anecdotes – a worthwhile and important technique, but hardly the innovation the book’s editors promise.

The first part of the collection, “Culture, Self, and Experience,” defines the culturally constituted self as central to the overall project. Jenkins (chapter 1) argues that schizophrenia offers a paradigm case for interpretations of fundamental and ordinary processes of social engagement. Starting from the work of Henry Stack Sullivan, she suggests that schizophrenia is a partly breakdown of the process through which selves constitute each other through intersubjective experience. Both the patient and the observer are implicated in this breakdown; they participate together in delegitimizing each other as social actors. Chapter 2, by Hopper, reviews the corpus of WHO collaborative studies, including the International Pilot Study of Schizophrenia and the International Study of Schizophrenia. He demonstrates that no matter what confounding variables are taken into account (age, gender, etc.), the course of schizophrenia is more benign in developing countries than in modern, and especially Western, countries. Barrett (chapter 3) compares psychosis among the Iban people of Malaysia and Australians, and shows that while some diagnostic criteria (e.g., auditory hallucinations) translate cross-culturally (thought insertion, withdrawal, broadcast) others, especially those specific to thought disorder (e.g., insertion), do not seem to possess referents among the Iban.

Part 2 (“Four Approaches for Investigating the Experience of Schizophrenia”) is a loose assembly of ethnographic studies, with chapters on psychosis in Java, Bangladesh, Colombia, and Nigeria. Wilce’s fine-grained sociolinguistic analysis of psychotic discourse in Bangladesh provides valuable access to the process (verbal and non-verbal) through which schizophrenics generate meaning that is still strongly couched in cultural terms. At the other end of the spectrum, Good and Subandi draw on data that often exceed a decade to show how an intermitantly psychotic Javanese woman negotiates everyday life in a poor and crowded city.

The third part, “Subjectivity and Emotion,” does not differ in theme (in any evident way) from the preceding two, but continues the series of ethnographic accounts which will make the book a useful comparison-based handbook. In her study of Zanzibar, McGruder (chapter

10) describes the gendered norms pertaining to the concealment of hatred, anger, grief, and love, and against this background show how the familial emotional milieu predicts the clinical course of schizophrenia. Estroff (chapter 11) quotes at length from letters and poems written by patients to show how individuals labeled mentally ill define and respond to physician-centered systems of authority. The final two chapters, by Sass (12) and Kring and Germans (13), are concerned with the negative symptoms of schizophrenia. Sass argues that what is distinctive about schizophrenia is not cognitive deficit but a particular way of being in the world, of focusing intensely on what is normally taken for granted. What is normally tacit becomes explicit, the background becomes the foreground. Kring and Germans apply experimental methods to show that schizophrenic patients are not without emotion, but in fact experience a rich variety which they do not display. This is important, since the observation of “flat affect” is often seen in diagnoses of schizophrenia, but may do more to conceal the truth of schizophrenic emotions. The authors are correct to advocate a revision in the standard rating measures to include the assessment of emotional features.

“Schizophrenia, Culture, and Subjectivity” is not a breakthrough, but a workmanlike compendium of recent studies at the crossroads of psychiatry and anthropology. The drum-beat rhetoric of “experience” is labored and distracting, and will strike some readers as too much a concession to contemporary fads. Surely the credit for making us aware of schizophrenic experience belongs to Freud, in his study of Judge Schreber, and more recently Devereux. But perhaps that is the problem. Psychoanalysis has retreated so far from the view of contemporary medical anthropologists that the study of patient experience now seems like a stunning innovation. Still, the book is a superb achievement, and should become essential reading for students of mind and culture alike.

Charles W. Nuckolls

Jettmar, Karl, und Ellen Kattner (Hrsg.): Die vorislamischen Religionen Mittelasiens. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2003. 332 pp. ISBN 3-17-011312-7 (Die Religionen der Menschheit, 4/3) Preis: € 88,00

Das vorliegende Buch hat eine ausgesprochen lange Entstehungsgeschichte hinter sich. Seit mehr als dreißig Jahren wurde daran gearbeitet, und bereits 1972 lagen die ersten Beiträge russischer Wissenschaftler für das Buchprojekt vor. In der Zwischenzeit wurde die Konzeption des Buches immer wieder verändert, um z. B. einzelnen Autoren die Veröffentlichung an anderer Stelle zu erlauben, sowie wegen Todesfällen. So konnte auch Karl Jettmar nicht mehr erleben, dass dieses Werk 2003 erschien, da er im Vorjahr im Alter von 83 Jahren in Heidelberg nach einem wahren Gelehrtenleben gestorben war.

In der Zwischenzeit passierte auch weltgeschichtlich viel in “Mittelasien”, insbesondere Ende der 1980er und 1990er Jahre, mit der Auflösung der Sowjetunion und der Unabhängigkeit vieler Gebiete, die heute außerhalb

der Religionsgeschichte als Zentralasien bezeichnet werden (hier Usbekistan, Kasachstan, Kirgistan, Turkmenistan und Tadschikistan). Die Rezensentin kennt diese Region seit mehr als zehn Jahren mit ausgedehnten Aufenthalten insbesondere in Usbekistan und Kirgistan, und hat damit einen anderen Zugang zum Thema und zum Buch als etwa Religionswissenschaftler (vgl. die Rezension von Jens Wilke in *Marburg Journal of Religion* 8.2003).

Jettmar wählte den Begriff “Mittelasien”, um östlichere Gebiete wie Sinkiang und die Mongolei auszuschließen, die jedoch auch nicht unter den geopolitischen Begriff Zentralasien fallen. Wie auch immer, die Beiträge des Buches weisen weit in die Vergangenheit hinein, geht es doch um die Religionen vor dem Islam. Wichtig wäre es heute, eine Forschung in der Region durchzuführen, um zu sehen, wie es heute mit verschiedenen Vorstellungen neben oder mit dem Islam aussieht, und wie sie heute, nach der Entsojjetisierung und den immer umfassenderen nationalen/regionalen Identitäten, gelebt werden. Eventuell gibt es ja wieder Blumenfeste und andere Jahreszeitenfeste, wie sie Jakob Taube in einem Beitrag über Tadschiken und Usbeken nach Quellen aus den 1920er/1930er Jahren schildert, wie auch den “Geisterglauben”, den er detailreich und höchst lesenswert in einem anderen Kapitel beschreibt. Die Bäume und Büsche am Wegesrand, die heute mit Stoff- und Papierfetzen geschmückt sind, sprechen dafür, dass Geister (noch) immer präsent sind und das Leben der Einheimischen teilen. Taube zeigt beispielsweise, dass eine zu einer Geburt herbeigerufene Hebamme zunächst die *momo*, Ahnengeister, “die als Beschützerinnen der Geburt und Patroninnen der Hebammen eine große Rolle spielen” (107), herbeirufen musste und dafür bestimmte Kerzen entzündete, deren Geruch sie anlocken sollte. Außerdem wurden bestimmte Gerichte angeboten etc., also alles Handlungen, die durchaus heute u. U. noch zu beobachten sind, denn warum sollen sie rund achtzig Jahre später verschwunden sein, wenn sie sich über Jahrhunderte hinweg entwickelt hatten. Heute kann darüber repressionsfreier gesprochen werden als in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren.

Zeitgeschichtlich interessant ist der Beitrag von Boris A. Litvinskij, der gleich auf die Einleitung von Jettmar folgt, über “Relikte vorislamischer Religionsvorstellungen der Pamirbevölkerung (Ende des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts)”, der unverändert aus den 1970er Jahren übernommen wurde. Insbesondere in seinem ersten Teil stellt Litvinskij seine Forschungen in den ideologisch “richtigen” Rahmen und beschreibt auf rund 60 Seiten diese verschiedenen “Relikte” wie z. B. die “Magie in Zusammenhang mit Neugeborenen” (63).

Markus Mode versucht, “Die Religion der Sogder im Spiegel ihrer Kunst” zu rekonstruieren, was angesichts der Tatsache, dass es kaum Reste gibt, ein recht schwieriges Unterfangen ist, aber: “Vergleicht man ... den Kenntnisstand vom Anfang des 20. Jhs. über die sogdische Kultur mit den durch Ausgrabungswissenschaft, kulturgeschichtliche Forschungen und Philo-