

to be situated historically and culturally in the east, a fact of which present Yuchi are aware and about which they take a comparative interest.

The focus of this book is Yuchi ceremonial life as recorded since 1993. Fluency in Yuchi language has largely disappeared, and Yuchi economic and material life is much changed, but since the 1980s a renewed cultural interest has replaced an earlier pattern of ceremonial loss with a record of ceremonial retention and revival. Despite the fact that the medium of communication is now firmly English, cultural patterns which are traceable back into the precontact period remain vital. After an introduction to Yuchi history, culture, and society, the book discusses the general framework of ceremonial life, Yuchi oratory (albeit now in English), Indian football (a game which opens by throwing up the ball as a signal to the Creator), the stomp dance with attendant reciprocity and social interaction, the arbor dance, the green corn ceremony, and the soup dance.

Yuchi commissioned Jackson to do the research on which this book is based. One of the men told the author that, "We are trying to keep history moving and have an account of it," i. e., they want to continue to live their history while establishing a record of it for future generations. In many respects of dress and culture (except ceremonial dress and ceremonies), the Yuchi share a common Oklahoman pattern. Nevertheless they also have maintained in important ways distinctive aspects of culture which set them apart from the general Oklahoman society and from other, neighboring Native American groups. Not only does Jackson provide a sensitive description of these separate cultural features, he also maintains a comparative view. In this respect his focus is on the patterns of eastern and formerly eastern peoples. The Yuchi are definitely not a classic Plains culture. The writing is pleasantly fluent. The author includes many texts of oratory and commentary. The illustrations, maps, and tables are useful as are the two brief appendixes. The encouraging implicit message of this book is that extensive cultural change does not necessarily entail the extinction of ethnographic interest.

R. H. Barnes

James, Wendy: *The Ceremonial Animal. A New Portrait of Anthropology.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. 384 pp. ISBN 0-19-926333-7. Price: \$ 45.00

This portrait of anthropology is very vast and profound though sometimes rather longwinded. It is firmly based in the Oxford tradition which explains why the author frequently acknowledges her debt to the teachings of her predecessors and teachers Evans-Pritchard and Lienhardt. It also explains the importance she attaches to the writings of Durkheim, Mauss, and Lévi-Strauss. Outside anthropology she found an important source of inspiration with the historian/philosopher Collingwood.

This is neither a conventional introduction to anthropology nor a regular history of the discipline. The familiar headings of kinship, economics, politics, and

religion as well as the names of many prominent anthropologists are missing. It is a discussion of the views of the author on the state of affairs in the discipline and about what she thinks anthropology should be and what its main problems are. As the title of the book (borrowed from Wittgenstein) indicates, the central notion in anthropology according to her is "ceremonial," a term that is close to that of "ritual" but has different connotations. Ceremonial is not something apart from other ways of thinking and behaving – she rejects the opposition secular/profane –, but it pervades the whole of human social life.

Another concept she regularly uses is the term "social form" but she does not indicate exactly what she means by it. One sometimes wonders what would have been the difference if she had used the familiar notions of culture and symbol instead, for instance, when she writes (5) that "culture is not an add-on extra to the maintenance and reproduction" of our organic life. It is "built in" to our activities and to our "capacity for sociality" in the same way as ceremonial does.

Though James insists on the distinctive identity of anthropology she does see its close relations with neighbouring fields. For instance, in the first chapter called "Key Questions in Anthropology" she enters into a discussion on what she calls the biological sciences and recognizes their value for anthropology but she rejects an approach that starts from the biological individual. She feels attracted to history and philosophy and comes to the conclusion (301) that "social anthropology . . . has . . . come closer to being a kind of historical inquiry."

Language also occupies much of her attention and she thinks (302) that "the pursuit of anthropology . . . rests to a very large extent upon the phenomena of language." She is, however, not so much interested in it in terms of linguistics or structuralism but sees language mostly as a means of communication in social life. She shows that an anthropologist even in a classroom can be confronted with language problems when she writes about her experiences with Sudanese students in Khartoum (129). Trying to provide these students with a glossary in English of anthropological terms in Arabic, she found that this appeared to be "almost impossible."

In view of this susceptibility of James for language it is surprising that she informs us casually that her book is mainly based on English-language anthropology. I suspect that she has read the French books in her bibliography (Durkheim, Mauss, Bourdieu, etc.) in an English translation despite the fact that she herself cites Dumont (47) claiming that Evans-Pritchard's "The Nuer" has not been properly appreciated by English-speaking anthropologists because of its affinity with French structuralism. I personally remember having read somewhere about a book in German on British kinship theory that the author has not really understood what his British colleagues were saying. So not only Sudanese students have language problems but non-anglophone anthropologists from other parts of the world have them as well and are forced to read, speak, and write in a language which is not their own.

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