

the Chamorro population and outsider medical researchers – it makes for extremely rich fodder for any medical anthropologist.

The book is forthright in its goals and arrangement, and both allow the reader to more easily grasp this complex subject – one that is in many cases lost in biomedical jargon at the cost of the cultural significance of the disease. Keck manages to explain the biomedical perspective clearly while at the same time firmly tethering this disease to its cultural content. One way she accomplishes this is through locating it within a comparison of two specific villages on Guam – Umatac and Merizo. Furthermore, she investigates the personal and cultural impact this disease has had on one large Chamorro family – the Santiago family – who have members in both Umatac and Merizo. Keck organizes her book narrative based on three threads: a historical approach, the biomedical perspective, and finally the anthropological perspective. First, in the historical section of the book, she contextualizes the disease complex of Lytico-Botig through both a more general and more specific historical narratives. In other words, she gives a general overview of the history of Guam and the Marianas – and specific histories of the three areas: Umatac (with a high incidence), Merizo (a neighbor of Umatac with less incidence), and Rota (the nearby northern island to Guam, also with a high incidence). I enjoyed the village histories the most in this section because she was able to clearly weave hypotheses about Lytico-Botig, such as the notion that the consumption of *fadang* (also called *federico*, false sago tree, or *Cycas micronesica*) was a cause for this disease, with detailed descriptions of cultural practices, demographic trends, economic changes, and significant events of these three locations; information that indeed may illuminate what caused this disease.

Secondly, Keck concentrated on the biomedical perspective of Lytico-Botig, but does so framing this chapter within medical anthropology by reminding the reader that biomedicine is of course culturally constructed with its own set of cultural assumptions. It is noted that this is a disease that was, and continues to be, “heavily studied” by outside medical professionals from around the world. Lytico-Botig was first officially documented within biomedicine in 1900 by a Navy surgeon. Since that time, there has been a hunt for a cause. A number of hypotheses have been floated, from genetic to viral to environmental causes, and even combinations of causes; none have been verified. In particular, after years of several prominent researchers linking Lytico-Botig to the Chamorro consumption of *fadang*, this hypothesis has since been debunked. (Chamorros had for years made the toxic seeds of these cycad trees – after first detoxifying them with water – into a flour made into tortillas, or in Chamorro, *titiyas*.) What is definitely known is that the rate of the disease peaked in the 1950s and 1960s, and has been rapidly declining ever since.

The third thread is Keck’s medical anthropological perspective – an analysis of the Chamorro cultural understandings and practices surrounding this disease that has so profoundly impacted many of their lives. This section is by far the most valuable of the book, and where it

has made the most significant contribution to the fields of anthropology and biomedicine. It is rather shocking that more medical anthropology has not been conducted on this subject. Specifically, as Keck addresses in her book, this disease often erases the individuals suffering from it. She puts a face to the disease. Furthermore, Keck allows the emic approach to inform the etic. In other words, she understands that within Chamorro culture, family is the center of existence – therefore, she grounds her research to specific families, in particular the Santiago family. Through this exploration, she allows the reader to see that this disease is lived. It is lived through Chamorro explanatory models; models that are informed by both Chamorro cultural explanations and biomedical hypotheses. It is lived through a complex landscape of medical pluralism, in which Chamorros seek care from family members, local indigenous healers (*suruhanos* and *suruhanas*), and biomedical health care providers. It is lived as a disease that is marked by stigma and shame, and, therefore, is often surrounded by silence. And it is lived in a colonial landscape in which colonized Chamorros struggle with profound power and economic differentials between American biomedical institutions and Chamorros, in particular those affected by the disease and their families. As a result, Chamorro families are at a distinct disadvantage when negotiating biomedical, American institutions.

There are some weaknesses of this book; however, they should not be seen as diluting the many strengths of the research overall. For example, I would have liked an expansion on the narrative of stigmatization throughout the entire book, since this seems to be at the heart of how this disease exists within Chamorro culture. There are but a few short pages about the stigmatization of this disease, but again it seems to be the main focus of investigation. In this vein, a much more direct connection between the narrative about the disease with the literature on colonialism was also needed. In particular, a discussion of how Chamorro bodies are constructed within colonial narratives that often erase their identity would have been beneficial. In other words, Chamorros are not only silenced through the stigma of the disease, but are silenced in general through colonial processes and discourses. The other weaknesses of this publication have to do with the publication quality itself. The publication was occasionally littered with translation problems and typos – both of which can prove to be distracting to readers and can detract from the strengths of Keck’s research. However, let me reiterate that this is an important work, not only for medical doctors and researchers who so often overlook the cultural dimensions of medical issues, but also for all social scientists.

Laurel A. Monnig

**Kehoe, Alice Beck:** *Militant Christianity. An Anthropological History.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 194 pp. ISBN 978-1-137-28244-6. Price: £ 17.50

Kehoe’s critique of American fundamentalism is ambitious in historical scope and theoretical reach. Drawing on history, sociology, economics, and politics, though not anthropology, the author proposes a bold thesis for the or-

igins of the masculine, aggressive, and capitalist Christianity that characterizes a significant segment of the American right. Its origins, she argues, lie in “Indo-European culture” which has perverted the true meaning of Christ’s gospel. The volume is provocative and clearly written. Ironically, it mirrors in its weaknesses the very phenomenon it seeks to castigate. Not unlike her fundamentalist subjects, Kehoe presents a revisionist version of history in which malicious forces have perverted the pure biblical message. Like her subjects, Kehoe launches an unrestrained offensive against heresy in order to restore Christianity to its fundamentals.

“Militant Christianity” begins its sweeping historical survey with a von-Däniken-like observation. To demonstrate that the gods were in fact space aliens, Däniken pointed to ancient Moai and Mayan artifacts that reminded him of UFOs. Kehoe, on the other hand, believes that the Chi-Rho symbol, the monogram of Christ, resembles a battle axe with crossed spears. Though she is unable to reproduce a single instance in which an axe and two spears have actually been crossed in this manner, the resemblance suffices to convince her that an Indo-European “battle-axe culture” infiltrated and subverted Christianity starting around the time of the Emperor Constantine.

In Kehoe’s mind, “Jesus of Nazareth was a pacifist, a feminist, a radical socialist” (152). This assumption requires the author to reject not only the malicious influence of early members of the Christian movement, like Peter and Paul, let alone John of Patmos, but also significant portions of Christ’s own teachings. Thus, whereas Matthew 10:35–37 make for good gospel (105), her analysis skips over the embarrassing prior verse, in which Jesus himself wields the sword. Undaunted by such details, Kehoe moves on to catalogue the corrupting influence of the church fathers, the medieval scholastics, the protestant reformers, the American puritans and, ultimately, contemporary leaders in America’s fundamentalist churches. Although the text moves through two thousand years of Western history in 150 pages, it dedicates exhaustive detours to the concept of manifest destiny, the philanthropic efforts of the Rockefeller and Carnegie dynasties, and the minutiae of Christian homeschooling.

Throughout, the analysis is guided by a deterministic theory: the Indo-European battle-axe culture gradually shifts Christ’s hippie message (93) further and further from its origins with the inevitable result: American fundamentalism. Like all deterministic theories the argument is elegant and audacious. Like all deterministic theories it cannot account for exceptions. These include what one might call “false positives,” such as Sikh, Hindu, Jewish, or Muslim fundamentalism, which despite their similarities to their American counterpart could not have emerged from the same process. And they include “false negatives,” the vast majority of Christian movements that did undergo the same process but that did not result in fundamentalism. If Peter, Paul, and Constantine are at fault, why is European Catholicism less violent than American fundamentalism (or is it?). If Luther and Calvin share the blame, how can we explain the pacifist sects that emerge from the reformation? And if Puritans, capi-

talists, and American expansionists made matters worse, why did so many of the pacifist sects fail in Europe but prosper in the United States? Why do most Americans not associate with fundamentalist churches? If the argument is to be believed, American religion is not merely the *inevitable* product of Indo-European culture, it is also the *only* such outcome (the only other case mentioned is Nazi Germany), and it reflects that outcome comprehensively. There is no American religion that is not militant. There is no militant Christianity elsewhere.

The volume is as disinterested in probing the limits of the argument as it is in historical detail. There is no clear definition of “Indo-European culture,” its origins or boundaries. At convenient moments it is referred to as “Germanic,” to facilitate the comparison between American evangelicals and German war criminals. In this anachronistic history, “Catholics” made an appearance at the Council of Nicaea (17), Pope Urban II was “educated in Indo-European languages and concepts” (26), Martin Luther was “the prophet of revitalization of Germanic Indo-European allegiance to a local prince” (34), Vikings were “capitalists” (45), and “manifest destiny” lay at the cause of the U.S. civil war (70). Kehoe misquotes Clausewitz (33), misreads the bible (confusing Martha with Mary, for example, 97), and misrepresents basic religious concepts (such as “Doxology,” 88 and 164).

A small conjecture goes a long way in “Militant Christianity.” How do we know that the U.S. Government is the product of “Indo-European culture”? Because that culture conceived of three sectors of society (priestly, royal, and martial) and the U.S. Government has three branches (12), *quod erat demonstrandum*. Methodists are clearly “Indo-European” because their preachers slayed their congregations in spirit, “as men slain in battle” (63). What more evidence could one ask for? The author can link the Christian right to the cult of Thor because pastor Steve Hickey’s book has a photo of three bighorn rams on its cover. “Thor drives a chariot pulled by – yes! – two male goats,” Kehoe exclaims jubilantly. After all, rams are a lot like goats (98 f.).

Compounding the monocausal argument, the just-so history and audacious leaps in evidence and logic is the book’s willingness to stoop to innuendo and slander in its attacks. Christian homeschooling combines control with freedom, so it “calls to mind Germany’s Nazi slogan ‘Arbeit Macht Frei’ ...” (136). Elsewhere, the Christian right is contrasted with the German Freikorps and the Klu Klux Klan since “the Freikorps ... used crosses, and the Klan burned crosses at their rallies” (147). Missing an opportunity to explore the influences of Christian radicalism on the politics of George W. Bush, the author dismisses him in a single sentence as the “alcoholic son” who Bush senior “maneuvered ... into the presidency” (153). Megachurch pastor Rick Warren is not merely militant but “overweight” and has “chubby arms” (143).

Anthropology is the primary victim of this exercise. The author musters a good deal of economic and political history but offers no thorough investigation of any particular culture or society, no ethnography or ethnology, no fieldwork or artifacts, no weighing of counterevidence or

counterargument. Needless to say, Kehoe engages in no reflection on her bias as an observer. The questions she poses of others (“how can capital punishment be accepted and aborting mere embryos be damned?”, 152) she never turns at herself (how can “mere” capital punishment be damned and aborting embryos be accepted?). Kehoe is not in the business of explaining, let alone seeking to understand, American fundamentalism. She is in the business of condemning it. “Militant Christianity” is a powerful diatribe but social science it is not.

Ron E. Hassner

**Keinz, Anika, Klaus Schönberger und Vera Wolff** (Hrsg.): *Kulturelle Übersetzungen*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2012. 257 pp. ISBN 978-3-496-02833-8. (Schriftenreihe der Isa Lohmann-Siems Stiftung, 4) Preis: € 29,90

Dieser sorgfältig edierte und schön illustrierte Sammelband bietet eine Reihe von anregenden Aufsätzen verschiedener disziplinärer Ausrichtung, die sich um die Themenkomplexe Globalisierung und Lokalisierung, Machtstrategien und Widerstand sowie Aneignungs- und Anverwandlungsformen kultureller Praktiken ranken: der Bogen spannt sich dabei von Japan bis Brasilien und von Polen bis in den Maghreb. Wer eine theoretisch-methodologische Auseinandersetzung mit der Metapher “kulturelle Übersetzung” erwartet, wird allerdings enttäuscht werden: diese wird zwar vereinzelt und am Rande in einigen Beiträgen geführt, bildet jedoch keineswegs den oder auch nur einen roten Faden. Auch das Herausgeber-team gleitet in seinem Vorwort mit wenigen Sätzen über das theoretische Potential des Begriffs hinweg (vgl. S. 7). Angesichts des theoretischen und methodologischen Niveaus, den die Debatte um kulturelle Übersetzung mittlerweile erreicht hat, muss man das bedauern. Das vorausgeschickt, sei gesagt, dass der Band informative und spannende Aufsätze enthält, die nun im Einzelnen gewürdigt werden sollen.

Klaus Theweleits einleitender Beitrag, der auch in seinem “Buch der Königstöchter. Bd. 2” (Frankfurt 2013) erschienen ist, setzt sich mit der durch die Popularkultur bekannt gewordenen Figur der Pocahontas auseinander, deren Schicksal häufig als Legimitation für die Landnahme der englischen Siedler in Virginia herhalten musste. Der Autor konfrontiert die Berichte des Kolonisators John Smith mit der “Sacred History of the Mattaponi Reservation People”, einer Verschriftung oraler Traditionen der Mattaponi, die Pocahontas als edles Opfer, nicht als Verräterin in Szene setzt. Es handelt sich hierbei, aus meiner Sicht, nicht um “kulturelle Übersetzung”, sondern um den klassischen Fall konkurrierender Narrative, der Geschichte der Gewinner und der Geschichte der Verlierer.

Die Beiträge von Natasha Eaton und Vera Wolff handeln hingegen sehr wohl von kultureller Übersetzung, zumal einer selten behandelten Variante: die “Geschichte der Übersetzung künstlerischer Techniken und Materialien” (69). Natasha Eaton führt das an der Rolle der Farben in den Reichen der Mogulen und der Briten im kolonialen Indien vor: die Maltechniken, die Farbpalette und

die ästhetischen Traditionen der einheimischen und der Kolonialmaler unterliegen gegenseitigen Aneignungsprozessen, die das jeweils Fremde in den Dienst des Eigenen stellen, wobei Farbe “zu einem hybriden Feld des Experimentierens werden konnte” (53). Vera Wolff beschäftigt sich mit der japanischen Künstlergruppe der Gutai, deren avantgardistische Malerei im “Westen” als Kopie des amerikanischen Action Paintings oder des französischen Informel kritisiert wurde. Wolff zeigt hingegen, dass es dieser Gruppe, zumal dem Maler Shiraga Kazuo, um eine Auseinandersetzung mit der japanischen Aneignung der (westlichen) Ölmalerei geht, die auch Kritik an japanischer Kriegsführung impliziert. Die “Rache des Materials” der Gutai-Gruppe und die “hybriden” Farben der sich gegenseitig kontaminierenden Mogul- und Kolonialmalerei sind ausgezeichnete Beispiele dafür, wie kulturelle Aneignungsprozesse sich auch im Feld der Materialien abspielen und für die unterschiedlichsten Sinngebungsprozesse genützt wurden und werden. Um die Gutai-Gruppe aus Japan geht es auch in Pedro Erbers Beitrag. In mäandernden und für die Nichtspezialistin etwas mühsam nachvollziehbaren Reflexionen diskutiert Erber vergleichend die japanische und die brasilianische Nachkriegs-avantgarde sowie die jeweiligen kritischen Diskurse, die diese in ihren Ländern erzeugt haben. Was auf der Ebene künstlerischer Intentionen (brasilianischer Konkretismus vs. japanische Version des Informel) einander auszuschließen scheint, interpretiert der Verfasser als Ausdruck “transnationale[r] Zeitgenossenschaft” (107) zweier “peripherer” Avantgarden, die letztlich Annahmen hinsichtlich des politischen Potentials der Kunst teilten – der Begriff und das Phänomen der kulturellen Übersetzung ist für diesen Aufsatz kaum von Relevanz.

Reetta Toivanen eröffnet den nächsten Abschnitt des Buchs, in dem es im Wesentlichen um Diskurse und deren lokale Aneignungen geht, mit einem interessanten Beitrag über die Übersetzungsprozesse, die die “Menschenrechtssprache” (132) durchläuft, durchlaufen muss, um in lokalen Kontexten Ungerechtigkeitsverfahren so zu artikulieren, dass sie als Menschenrechtsverletzungen internationale Unterstützung finden. Ausgehend vom Fall eines finnischen Rentierbesitzers, dessen Lebens- und Wirtschaftsform von einer Abholzungs-campagne bedroht wurden, diskutiert sie die Akteure und Akteurinnen solcher Prozesse sowie deren sprachliche Strategien (die im Butler’schen Sinn von Mimesis Gebrauch machen), aber auch die Kosten, die bei der Anwendung abstrakter Rechtsdiskurse auf lokale kulturelle Gegebenheiten anfallen: die gelebte Erfahrung der Klageführenden muss dabei gewissermaßen neu formatiert werden. Auch in dem umfangreichen (und von Wiederholungen unnötig beschwerten) Beitrag von Anika Keinz geht es um europäische und binnennationale Übersetzung von Begriffen und Diskursen. Gender-Konzepte, wie sie in europäischen Normen verankert sind, versteht die Autorin als “reisende” Konzepte” (140), die in zwei Phasen, vor und nach Polens Beitritt zur EU (2004) Differenzen in die Nation eingeführt bzw. sichtbar gemacht haben. Frauen- und Lesbenorganisationen nutzen das internationale Gender-Vokabular, um individuelle Rechte stark zu machen und