auf Widersprüche in den Aussagen und Erklärungen von Asylsuchenden während verschiedener Verfahrensschritte hinweisen. Besondere Bedeutung kommt hier oftmals der Ersteinvernahme durch den Immigration Officer am Flughafen zu, obwohl diese offiziell als reine fact-finding-Aufgabe angesehen wird (99).

Der anthropologische Gutachter kann einen wertvollen Beitrag zur Erhebung des relevanten Tatbestands leisten, wenn er einen Asylanspruch im Kontext der ihm vertrauten Hintergrundinformation über das Herkunftsland bewertet. Wichtig sind hier die als Warnung verstehbaren Hinweise Goods, dass die "Wahrheitsfindung", die vom anthropologischen Gutachter erwartet wird, im Sinne juristischer Logik nicht eine Suche nach metaphysisch-absoluter Wahrheit ist, eine Aufgabe, die nach dem Selbstverständnis des Gutachters kaum zu erbringen wäre. Vielmehr geht es – lediglich – um die Erfüllung der Beweislastregeln, durch welche im Asylverfahren ein vernünftiger Grad an Wahrscheinlichkeit der Verfolgung bei Rückkehr ins Heimatland gegeben sein muss. Die Aufgabe des anthropologischen Gutachters liegt somit darin, die Angelegenheit so zu bewerten, wie sie jeder andere vernünftige Mensch, der die Kenntnisse des Gutachters teilt, bewerten würde (130).

Manchmal ist der Anthropologe hier geradezu in seinem fachlichen Element: Goods eigene Gutachtertätigkeit stützt sich vor allem auf seine Funktion als Länderexperte für Sri Lanka. Im Buch werden detailliert Probleme dargelegt, die mit dem zusammenhängen, was er als "kulturelle (Fehl)Übersetzungen" (170) zu Lasten tamilisch-srilankischer Asylbewerber bezeichnet. Oftmals wurde deren Glaubwürdigkeit in Frage gestellt, weil sie bei der Ersteinvernahme und vor Gericht unterschiedliche Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen für Familienangehörige verwendeten, welche beispielsweise gemeinsam mit dem Asylbewerber politisch aktiv waren und deshalb schwerer politischer Verfolgung ausgesetzt waren. Laut Good lassen sich diese "Widersprüche" meist aufklären, wenn man etwa aufzeigt, dass es im Standard-Tamil keinen einheitlichen Terminus für "Bruder" gibt, sondern nur zwei Termini für entweder "älterer Bruder / älterer Parallelcousin" (*annan)* und "jüngerer Bruder / jüngerer Parallelcousin" (*tampi)* (180). Im Englisch der Tamil heißen die von Anthropologen als Parallelcousins bezeichneten Personen "cousin brothers". Während bei der Ersteinvernahme ohne Dolmetsch Angaben zu bestimmten Verwandten somit als Cousins protokolliert werden, übersetzen Dolmetscher vor Gericht den Tamil-Terminus *tampi* einfach mit "Bruder".

Ähnliche Inkohärenzen ergeben sich bei tamilischen Asylbewerbern mit Datumsangaben zu früheren, oft wesentlichen Ereignissen, etwa bestimmten Angaben zum Verhaftungstag. Wie bei anderen Personen, die aus Kulturen mit nicht-gregorianischem Kalender kommen, führt die versuchte Wiedergabe im Sinne des westlichen Kalenders zu vielerlei Fehlern und Inkohärenzen, vor allem wenn Aussagen manchmal in (nicht-britischem!) Englisch und manchmal in der Muttersprache unter Zuhilfenahme eines Dolmetschs gemacht wurden. Diese für den Anthropologen eher banal anmutenden Missverständnisse hätten in den von Good diskutierten Fällen regelmäßig zur Abweisung von Asylansuchen wegen mangelnder Glaubwürdigkeit geführt, sofern diese Hintergründe nicht durch Sachverständige dem Gericht gegenüber hätten richtig gestellt werden können.

Gerade die detailreichen Darstellungen vieler derartiger Fälle machen die theoretisch sehr anspruchsvollen Darlegungen des Buches anschaulich und laufen auf ein nicht immer im Schrifttum anzutreffendes ausgewogenes Verhältnis zwischen Theorie und Praxis hinaus. Der Arbeit gelingt es in jeder Hinsicht, die literarische Lücke in Hinblick auf ihre Themenstellung zu füllen. Sie trägt ganz sicherlich dazu bei, durch Darlegung und Bewusstmachung der unterschiedlichen Fachlogiken den Diskurs zwischen Anthropologen und Juristen auf eine neue Basis zu stellen.

Für den deutschsprachigen Raum fehlt noch eine derartige Untersuchung. Sie könnte nicht nur interessante Vergleiche zur Situation in der britischen Asylrechtspraxis aufzeigen, sondern auch den Ethnologen Deutschlands, Österreichs und der Schweiz ein wenig systematisiertes, aber wichtiges neues Arbeitsfeld erschließen.

René Kuppe

Greene, Candace S., and **Russell Thornton** (eds.): The Year the Stars Fell. Lakota Winter Counts at the Smithsonian. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. 347 pp., illus. ISBN 978-0-8032-2211-3. Price: £ 25.00

Some Native North American tribes living in the culture area of the Plains are quite unique insofar as they kept rudiment historical records aside from a rich oral tradition. These records, which are called winter counts, are annals comprising one or several events for each year. Their traditional form consists of pictographic images drawn on hide, rather few examples were completely stored in mind. With the growing availability of Euro-American materials cloth, paper, ink, water colors, crayons, etc., were increasingly used to create these annals, and with the knowledge of writing texts were added or employed to substitute the pictorial representations. This and other general information, e.g., on the Lakota as well as on the history of the collection of and the research on these chronicles, make up the contents of the first chapter "*Waniyetu Wówapi*: An Introduction to the Lakota Winter Count Tradition" written by Christina E. Burke.

Burke is also the author of the second chapter "Winter Counts in the Smithsonian," which is a compilation of all ten Lakota and Nakota chronicles stored at the National Anthropological Archives and the National Museum of the American Indian. Two further annals are included because they exist in printed form in Smithsonian publications. The data Burke provides are arranged according to the following categories: name, physical form, years covered, format, history of production, history of acquisition, biography of the owner, copies and citations, and repository identification. The chapter closes with two appendices. The first one contains information on four addi-

tional winter counts of which the National Anthropological Archives only possess photographic documentation. The second one refers to chronicles which are related to the Smithsonian versions.

Russell Thornton contributed the third chapter, which is dedicated to "The Rosebud Winter Count." This record consists of pictographs on cloth and is of special interest, because its historical documentation started rather early, that is in the year 1752. As the keeper of the chronicle is unknown, the author named it after the reservation to which it is connected. The winter count was discovered by Jean Miller Tackett and her son in 1998. It was among the former belongings of her aunt, Myrtle Miller Anderson, the wife of John A. Anderson. The couple lived on or near the Rosebud Reservation for many years until 1936, as Anderson worked there as a businessman and photographer. Many of his glass plates were destroyed in a fire, but among those that survived there are two well-known photographs of winter counts, viz., the picture of Kills Two copying the Big Missouri winter count and the Brulé Tipi Cover winter count, which is related to the Rosebud chronicle.

The main part of the publication, the fourth chapter "Winter by Winter," written by Christina E. Burke and Russell Thornton with the assistance of Dakota Goodhouse comprises all events mentioned in the Smithsonian annals. It is introduced by Candace S. Greene. Aside from overview color reproductions of each chronicle including pictographs, the chapter also contains a close black-and-white photograph of each single event for which there is a pictorial representation. The written information on every winter count entry includes a date, which always covers two years, because the Lakota year was counted from the first snow to the first snow. Using this form of representation Burke and Thornton were probably influenced by the older literature cited in the chapter, because most recent publications refer to the difference between the Native North American year and the Gregorian calendar and use a single year when listing winter count events. The contents of the ten Smithsonian chronicles are complemented by two further annals which partly have already been published in the older literature mentioned above. Furthermore, each event is accompanied by a name, quotations of the original text, and comments and information given by the collector, which are often followed by annotations and explanations of the authors. The majority of the year names were provided orally by the keeper, but some were taken from the winter count texts. The year names of the only pictorial Rosebud chronicle were supplied by Thornton, who describes what can be seen and who compares the material with other annals. In general, his results are comprehensible. In the introduction to this chapter Greene points out that not only quantity or quality are important factors for determining the value of a collection, but that the objects, when brought together, also develop a synergetic effect. Unfortunately, the authors did not completely exhaust their sources, because they avoided to establish a new chronology for the winter counts presented. Thus, to read this chapter is not always satisfying due to the fact that the same event is placed in different years in the various chronicles. The final part of the chapter comprises the first 800 years of the Battiste Good winter count, which are arranged into one period of thirty years and eleven periods of seventy years. The single incidents which are recorded for each period include mythological and historical events; although the latter are obviously often placed in a wrong period, this part of the Battiste Good annals contains valuable information on Lakota historical and general worldview.

"Calendars from Other Plains Tribes" are briefly presented by Candace S. Greene in the fifth chapter. In her introduction she mentions several tribes for which there are hints of a winter count tradition. She then describes chronicles of the Kiowa, Blackfoot, and Mandan, which are in the possession of the Smithsonian collections or on which there is some information in the collections. She uses the same data categories as in chapter two. As far as the Blackfoot and their annals are concerned some scientific updates are necessary. For example, some of their winter counts were obviously handed down orally, whereas for others there are hints of a pictorial tradition. This applies to about half of the Blackfoot chronicles, the other half survived without any information on former physical or nonphysical forms. Hence, to just cite old sources which refer to a primarily oral tradition among the Blackfoot leaves an impression which is not quite correct. Furthermore, the statement that Blackfoot winter counts record one event for each year is only partially right, as four of the thirteen annals we know today of the Blackfoot record incidents for the summer and the winter. Moreover, Greene refers to two pictorial Blackfoot chronicles. Nevertheless, there are three annals that include drawings and a fourth one presents pictures for a few events. Finally, the Percy Creighton winter count, which the author refers to as not having been published yet, has been published in the meantime.

Emil Her Many Horses contributes the afterword, which is dedicated to a chronicle he recently started. He therein presents the Gregorian year, a picture, a heading, and further information on the event he chose to document. After having told the reader how he came to the decision which incident should be included – he consulted his large family – he hands down his chronology for the years from 1999 to 2005. We all could have done without the event recorded for 2001, but "The year planes fell from the sky" is at least an important, although sad index year, which is recognizable even without a date. If the author continues his annals, the future generations of his family can fall back on a detailed history.

The use of the term "calendar" for winter counts is a little irritating, although this designation has a long tradition in the publications on these chronicles. It is not correct because any real calendar includes the future – e.g., if it is possible to say "tomorrow is the …" one is dealing with a calendar. Winter counts on the other hand, are clearly historical recordings which cannot foretell the future. Hence, they can be called chronicles or annals, but not calendars. Aside from the aspects here criticized, the book is a solid scientific work, clearly ar-

ranged and well-written. Furthermore, it compiles information which was previously scattered in various publications or has not been published previously. Moreover, the illustrations – the color photographs of whole winter counts as well as the black-and-white photos of each event shown in a drawing – are impressing. And, by the way, anyone who would like to take a look at every detail of the chronicles in color or who would just like to see the Smithsonian Lakota and Nakota annals without having to buy this work can be referred to the website "www.wintercounts.si.edu," which also gives information on single chronicles and collectors' notes to some events in a very well-structured way. The publication hopefully contributes to the further interest in winter counts without any regard to the cultural background of the reader.

Dagmar Siebelt

Hann, Chris, *et al.*: The Postsocialist Religious Question. Faith and Power in Central Asia and East-Central Europe. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006. 340 pp. ISBN 978-3-8258-9904-2. (Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia, 11) Price: € 29.00

The collection "The Postsocialist Religious Question. Faith and Power in Central Asia and East-Central Europe" is an account of a field study conducted by various scholars in the postsocialist countries of Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan) and of Central and Eastern Europe (Moldova, Ukraine, Poland, Romania, and Hungary), with an introduction sketching the general theoretical framework of the book written by Chris Hann. As is the case with all collective books, the chapters differ in terms of theoretical sophistication, scope of interest, and level of analysis. However, they all oscillate around the notion of civility. As Hann explains "I encouraged all participants to focus on aspects of *civility*. I had in mind norms of pluralism, co-existence, and tolerance, in secular domains influenced by religion as well as in religious institutions in the narrower sense" (7 f.).

The book is divided into two distinct parts. The first focuses on the countries of Central Asia. Several interesting strands emerge across these chapters. Firstly, the authors focus on religious pluralism. Despite the introduction of laws guaranteeing freedom of religion in all countries, in practice this freedom is frequently limited. Irene Hilgers shows the ways in which the Uzbek government controls religious pluralism by both tightening regulations regarding new religions and imposing the official version of Islam. This is defined and promoted as an indigenous "national Islamic heritage" and is used as an ideological tool for strengthening national identity. Other authors too report similar attempts to incorporate Islam into the national ideology in order to unite the nation, resulting in limiting freedom of religion and religious pluralism. Mathijs Pelkmans's research shows asymmetries in the treatment of various religions in Kyrgyzstan, and Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi's findings show the restrictions imposed by the Turkmen government in order to prevent the rise of alternative focus of authority. A slightly contradictory picture is shown by Paweł Jessa's findings in Kazakhstan. On the one hand, Islam has been incorporated into the national ideology, but on the other the reinvention of various traditions within Islam can be observed. Manja Stephan shows yet another dimension of pluralism. Her analysis of Islam in Tajikistan shows the confrontations of the new Islamic elites, who accept global/universal Islam and define their religious practices as conscious and truer, with the followers of local Muslim practices.

Particularly interesting are analyses of the rhetoric of antiterrorism and Muslim extremism used by the Uzbek and Kyrgyz states. Wahhabis are a central figure in this discourse. They are defined as "Muslims with extreme views on Islam," promoting "a political agenda aimed at overturning national governments and remaking them into Islamic states" (55). Julie McBrien reconstructs the origins, elements, and fluctuations of such rhetoric in Kyrgyzstan, but it seems that her discoveries could be to some extent generalised for the whole region. The authors examine elements of such discourse, showing its vague and inclusive character and impact on the life of the ordinary people. In this respect particularly interesting are observations made by Johan Rasanayagam on strategies applied in order to avoid the label and its stigmatising effect. Those likely to be called Wahhabis have attempted to persuade the mainstream about their inoffensiveness by joining in and actively supporting the life of the community.

The second part of the book concentrates on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The common theme here is a focus on various disguises and dimensions of tolerance. In this respect particularly interesting are two articles. Tanya Richardson analyses the discourse of tolerance existing in Odessa, showing how it refers directly to the Soviet era and remains somehow in contrast to the interactions and conflicts (at various levels, also between religious organisations) which emerged after the fall of the Soviet regime along with the resurgence of the ethnic lines and identities. Richardson shows that the local perception of tolerance needs to be taken into account when analyzing the tolerance of a given place. Juraj Buzalka focuses on different phenomena, analysing the role of the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches in creating a new public sphere for building the tolerance between the Ukrainian and Polish communities in Przemyśl. Buzalka scrutinises various religious rituals which are used in order to facilitate the reconciliation process. However, he concludes that despite the initial principles aiming to rebuild the local tradition of "agrarian tolerance ... rooted in everyday sharing among peasants," what emerges is rather an artificial tolerance, a sort of "intellectual construction, the work of the teachers and priests" (307).

The question of the relationship between religion and national identity also emerges in the context of Central and Eastern Europe. However, the authors focus on the interreligious competition for the right to represent national identity. Elements of such conflicts are shown in Monica Heintz's article on the disagreement between the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia and Metropolitan