

tures, and usages of video as a medium in the making. This not only brings out the video industry's complex relationship with the legacy of state-sponsored celluloid film making and nationalist and Pan-Africanist cultural politics. Grounding moving images in material things, spaces, and flesh-and-blood people gets us at all the intricacies, ambiguities, and paradoxes involved in the making and watching of movies. While the easy accessibility of video allowed new players and a new aesthetics into the realm of movie making, the portability and mass reproducibility of video also escaped video film makers' control, ultimately challenging the sustainability of film making. For actors, an uncertainty about the boundaries between representing the immoral or the "occult" (e.g., playing a witch) and embodying its real presence – about the reality behind appearances – made the work of acting and imitation an ambiguous and spiritually dangerous affair. Similarly, set designers had to navigate the ambiguity between creating a convincing film shrine and preventing that it become inhabited – animated – by real spirits. And for audiences socialized into Pentecostal regimes of visibility, watching occult or otherwise immoral scenes entailed the danger that demonic spirits might enter their bodies through their eyes.

Meyer's rich ethnography thus reveals how many of the intricacies of popular cultural production in Ghana stem from a coming together of the paradoxical need to portray evil in order to contain it, an age-old theme in Christianity, with indigenous religious ideas about the role of human actions and material media in making gods real and powerful. Her emphasis on the cracks movie making entails, on the instability of the medium, and the transgressive potential of the image, opens up exciting new questions about the unpredictable (religious) life of technology. Rather than reading Ghanaian movies' concern with spirit forces as an exotic African peculiarity, Meyer situates them as part of broader, globalized repertoires of representing the uncanny, as "instances of a broader human quest to picture the unknown." The questions thus raised about the stability of concepts such as fiction and representation and the nature of media or performance will be equally relevant in Western settings.

This approach also allows Meyer some astute interventions in some of the main theoretical debates in anthropology today, most notably the ontological turn. Instead of drawing an in her view unproductive (and often moralized) contrast between "taking seriously" and "explaining away" the spirits, she points to the ontological uncertainty and the "degrees of reality" that she found among her interlocutors and explores the mediations through which a world of lived experience and its specific ontologies and epistemologies are realized on the level of everyday practice. Probing *modalities* of being real and *practices of making* real, rather than only asking what is regarded as real, it turned out that ontologies often had less force and stability and were less "different" and less singular than ontology turners might claim. Throughout the book Meyer shows how a multiplicity of imaginaries born from long-standing (post)colonial encounters informs not only the popular video movies (e.g., in their

fusion of local ontologies of making spirits, Western iconographies of the occult, and creatively reworked colonial stereotypes about African spirituality), but also the ideological critiques of them voiced by the "African cinema" establishment (e.g., in their concern with "African cultural heritage"). It is in this respect that Meyer's approach of the entanglement of religion and film as practices of worldmaking at the interface of the local and the global is extremely productive and of great value to a much wider readership than only those interested in Christianity and film in Africa.

One question that came up while I was reading this book in Accra, enveloped in a dense sensory fabric of religious sounds, concerns the place of sound and hearing in relation to the book's main focus on image, vision, and the "spiritual eye." To be sure, Meyer does not succumb to what Star Wars sound designer Randy Thom once called "the foolish and naive idea that film is a visual medium" and instead, as the title "Sensational Movies" indicates, emphasizes that movies engage audiences through senses other than the eye, including hearing and feeling, and solicit embodied participation. Still, the multiple examples she gives of the role of sound in the "technoreligious transfiguration" of the spiritual and enticing phrases like "divine audiovision in action" ask for a fuller theoretical engagement with the audio dimension of audiovisual media and religious worldmaking practices. The great job Meyer does at digesting and putting to work a wealth of scholarly thinking about images from art history, film studies, philosophy, and more makes all the more desirous of what a deeper plunge into sound theory could yield.

Marleen de Witte

**Mildnerová, Katerína:** From Where Does the Bad Wind Blow? Spiritual Healing and Witchcraft in Lusaka, Zambia. Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2015. 315 pp. ISBN 978-3-643-90273-3. (Ethnologie/Anthropology, 49) Price: € 29.90

Based upon anthropological fieldwork in Lusaka, Zambia, in 2008 and 2009, the monograph describes and interprets spiritual healing, defined as beliefs and practices associated with diseases caused by spirit possession, witchcraft, and mystical contagion. The author explores this theme within indigenous health care and African Independent Churches' (AICs) approaches to illness and healing. A second, related theme discusses in detail local perceptions of and responses to witchcraft.

The first chapter introduces the research site, low-income neighborhoods in Lusaka. The second chapter presents key concepts in medical anthropology on health and healing. The following three chapters outline types of traditional and Christian healers and their diagnostic and healing approaches. The sixth chapter discusses the role of spirit possession in how healers' identities are being constructed, while the following chapter describes and analyzes witchcraft beliefs and practices. A concluding section explicitly discusses spiritual healing in the context of witchcraft suspicions. Despite this final chapter's attempt to more explicitly connect witchcraft with the rest

of the monograph, chapter seven is only loosely integrated with the rest of the publication and it would have been better to include relevant elements from this chapter into earlier chapters.

The monograph impresses through its rich ethnographic descriptions, analyzed by drawing on a wide range of current scholarship in anthropology on health, illness, and healing. Of particular strength are the case studies of healers and patients that assist the reader in understanding the emic perspective of illness and healing. The publication includes excellent charts, summarizing the vast ethnographic data collected by the author, allowing the reader to understand her interpretative logic. The monograph would have been even more valuable had the author better explained how she analyzed her fieldwork data. Like many published dissertations, this text includes exaggerated statements, such as arguing that the academic engagement with spiritual healing and witchcraft “has not yet been systematically elaborated by anthropologists” (1) and claiming to fill this knowledge gap. There exists a large body of knowledge on these themes, particularly related to southern and central Africa, and much of this scholarship is cited throughout the monograph. Further, Mildnerová claims that her work is distinguished from other scholarship by focusing on the micro level (2) instead of the macro level. However, standard anthropological research first engages with the micro level, and then, by comparing differences in the micro level settings, comes up with interpretations on the macro level. This is what the author herself did, referring extensively to broader historical, political, and economic realities in order to make sense of the micro level. The editor of the series should have worked more closely with the author to rewrite her dissertation as a book. However, such minor issues do not diminish the scholarly value of the author’s research and this monograph.

Mildnerová argues that Lusaka has a pluralistic and syncretic medical culture with three coexisting and mutually influencing medical systems: Western biomedicine, as well as the indigenous and Christian medico-religious systems. Her focus is on AICs, particularly the prophet-healing churches. She argues that individuals struggling with ill health adhere to a holistic understanding of health and illness that includes social, spiritual, environmental, physiological, and psychological aspects (49). The author conceptualizes this understanding by drawing on Scheper-Hughes and Lock’s concept of the individual and social body, as well as the body politic (1987), creatively complementing this tripartite concept with the spiritual body, referring to the relationship of the individual and social body with the spiritual realm. While the spiritual body easily could be subsumed in the social body, adding this category acknowledges the strong role the supernatural world plays in how southern Africans understand their world. She argues that, in contrast to biomedical practitioners, the Christian healers she studied integrate the various components of health in a whole and “appropriate and redeploy the terms, ideas and symbols from Christianity, western medical science, the commodity market and other areas and construct new and for patients ‘com-

prehensible’ arrangements” (81). Their therapeutic strategies also address problematic relationships between a patient’s individual and social body and attempt to cure both physical as well as social afflictions. Mildnerová further observed that patients’ interpretations of their illness change as these are socially constructed during the process of therapy, and that patients tend to undergo different treatments simultaneously. She uses the metaphor of “therapy shopping,” not only to refer to the simultaneous use of more than one healing system, but also to denote financial transactions associated with healing, the fact that healing follows market principles, and because “shopping” is considered a leisure activity. It is not quite clear why the author refers to leisure activity as she also mentions that “therapy shopping” becomes more exhausting than exciting, particularly for individuals suffering from chronic diseases.

Like any good ethnography, Mildnerová’s monograph raises important questions that could be further explored in future research. For example, what are the actual dynamics and patterns of how patients, during their “therapy shopping,” integrate diverse, even contradictory assumptions, paradigms, and knowledge from disparate medical systems? How do members of AICs view and interpret the classification that all spirit beings, including some family ancestors, are subsumed within the single category of “demons” in their church? Do they really perceive their grandmother as a demon? How do healers procure some of the difficult-to-obtain ingredients to medicines, such as lion’s fat (116, fn. 13), and are the detailed recipes for medicines considered literal “recipes,” or do these have a more symbolic character?

While the author’s arguments and thoughts are grounded in a thorough review of the existing scholarship, in some areas she overlooked important publications. For instance, the reference to witch children on pages 227 and 228 needs to cite the scholarship of Filip De Boeck. Also, any publication exploring healing in southern Africa should refer to the outstanding dissertation of Sue C. Schuessler (*The Children of the Crocodile. Grieving and Healing in Southwestern Zimbabwe*. 2001). At times, some clarification would have been helpful, such as in footnote 10 on page 9, when Mildnerová states that she was suspected to be a witch, and on page 16 when she mentions “counterproductive policies” without explaining what exactly she is referring to. Similarly, the reference on page 57 and elsewhere in the text that the blood of children and youth can be used in witchcraft for potions used to increase market profits warrants more detail and analysis.

While Mildnerová artfully expresses her arguments throughout the text, some expressions are not clear or not well formulated and could have benefited from editing. For example, page vi includes the cryptic expression to “acquit a claim of the ethics.” More serious, even hilarious editing issues are the inclusion of incorrect terms, such as the reference on page 2 to “pornographies” that seems to mean “ethnographies,” and grammatical errors as well as typos throughout the text. For instance, page 104 includes “acquainted to with witchcraft,” page 121 mistypes

“wonder” as “wander,” page 137 misspells “glossolalia” as “glosolalia,” page 200 omits the blank space between two words in “thesnake,” and page 241 misspells an adjective as “Minfull.” The text is also full with punctuation errors, such as including a semicolon on page v in “... chiNyanja; language ...” Further, capitalization rules were not consistently followed. While the first character of words in the title of bibliographic entries is generally capitalized, it is not done consistently, such as with Jedrej on page 257, the first entry of Lévi-Strauss on page 260, and the second entry of Marwick on 261. We cannot blame Mildnerová for poor editing. This is the responsibility of the publisher and LIT is well-known for its poor to non-existent editing services.

Overall, this is an excellent monograph and Mildnerová can be congratulated for her outstanding research, convincing analysis, and robust interpretation of her findings on spiritual healing in Zambia and southern Africa. I hope that more of her solid research will be published during the coming years. The book is highly recommended to anyone interested in spiritual suffering and healing in Africa and beyond, particularly bachelor and graduate students in anthropology, sociology, African and religious studies.

Alexander Rödlach

**Moj, Muhammad:** The Deoband Madrassah Movement. Countercultural Trends and Tendencies. London: Anthem Press, 2015. 245 pp. ISBN 978-1-78308-389-3. Price: € 35.71

The 19th century in colonial India remains an extremely important period with reference to understanding the emergence of a certain kind of religion-politics interface as a response to colonialism. It also remains significant in relation to comprehending how nationalism in the colony, as a result of its peculiar engagement with religion, contributed to a range of identity constructions in the subcontinent. Muhammad Moj’s work on the history and evolution of Deobandi Islam is a significant contribution in that respect.

Divided into six chapters and a short but perceptive epilogue, the book is a comprehensive account of the trajectory of the Deoband movement from a unique perspective, the countercultural one. Premised on the “perennial conflict” between the Deobandi School and the mainstream, the work’s focus is on Pakistan (ix). Given the age in which we live where media-sponsored discourse on *madrassah* (plural of *madrassah*) is disturbingly overgeneralised, Moj’s work becomes exceedingly vital in making a case for another understanding of *madrasis* as sites of learning and socialisation.

The prologue sets the tone on the basis of an informed review of a range of credible sources on the subject. In addition to the political, reformist, and intellectual dimension of the work done on the Deoband Madrassah Movement (DMM) the author lays out the possibility of understanding the movement from a countercultural perspective. The first chapter places the research by giving a detailed history of the trajectory of *madrasis* from almost the beginning of Muslim presence in the subcontinent. Focusing on *ma-*

*daris* as sites for the training of *ulama* (Muslim clerics), it explores at length the range of events that took place in the 19th century and that contributed to putting the *ulama* in a “completely defensive mode” and how that “reactionary approach” led to the emergence of Deoband *madrassah* (6). It explores various viewpoints on the DMM in relation to its goals and objectives, followed by a detailed explanation of theories and types of counterculture and a reasonably detailed section on the methodology.

The second chapter tries to give an explanation related to the “seeds” of this counterculture and, in that regard, traces DMM back to the first half of the 18th century to the reformist works and ideas of Shah Waliullah of Delhi. While the claim in the book that Waliullah’s ideology was influenced by the ideas of Abdul Wahab (known as the founder of Wahabism) can be debated, the connections drawn between DMM’s first generation and Waliullah’s reformist agenda are praiseworthy. It is in this chapter that Moj has made a case for ascetic counterculture in relation to DMM’s inward turn, a mode that remained functional till 1905 (59). The third chapter looks at DMM in an united India, particularly focusing on the activist countercultural trend, a development brought by famous scholar and activist Mahmood Hassan (the correct name is Mahmood-al-Hasan) by entering into the political arena. As the work highlights at length, this led to a major conflict within DMM for Hassan’s activities were not in tune with the goals and objectives laid down by the founders of the movement, one of them being *maslehat* (rightly translated by the author as short-term compromise). It is in the same chapter, that Moj highlights DMM’s opposition to the movement for Pakistan, a movement the author surprisingly labels as popular or mainstream. This debatable thesis once again supports the case for countercultural trends and tendencies of DMM.

The fourth chapter explores DMM in Pakistan by highlighting different phases and trends that characterise the trajectory of the movement. In this chapter, there is a rich documentation of extremism of various dimensions that took place in the country at different levels. Of special significance in this respect is the role of Jamiatul-Ulama-e-Islam, a small group of scholars from the Deoband school that were in favour of the Pakistan movement. The chapter also engages at length with the problem of Talibanisation and terroristic trends in relation to making a case for the fourth aspect of counterculture, which is the extremist aspect. The fifth and sixth chapter outline how Deobandi Islam counters folk Islam and popular customs, and how viewpoints articulated in Deobandi journals and held by Deobandi students are in absolute opposition to those found in the mainstream. Some of the themes that contribute to the outlining of this opposition are festivities, status of Prophet Muhammad, intercession, paying visit to shrines, role and status of women, politics, education, and popular values and practices. Given the nature of the themes, it is not surprising that those associated with DMM have a very different stance as compared to the mainstream.

While the work remains extremely rich and informative, there are instances where the reader is urged to ques-