sie gegen das kollektive Wir einer Nation zu stellen, für die konservative Politiker aus den Bausteinen polnischer Opferdiskurse, Nationalismus und Katholizismus die Vorstellung von "natürlichen" Geschlechterverhältnissen konstruieren. Frauen empfinden sich in einer solchen Gemengelage als "translated beings". Abschließend – und für mich ein wenig paradox – stellt die Verf. die Frage, ob die "europäischen" Begriffe und Diskurse Polen nicht wieder erneut als ein "Anderes" Europas konstruieren – man möchte doch meinen, dass Polen auch von den Akteurinnen gebildet wird, die für den Aufsatz interviewt wurden? Um Polen und um Normalitätsdiskurse geht es auch im Beitrag von Michał Buchowski: der Verf. führt aus, wie der von Said und in seiner Nachfolge beschriebene Diskurs des Orientalismus sich von seinen ehemaligen geographischen Grenzziehungen gelöst hat und nun innerhalb von Nationen, vornehmlich jenen des ehemaligen realsozialistischen Ostens, geführt wird. "Orientalismus à la Polonaise" (166) ist demnach ein Diskurs, den polnische Wirtschaftswissenschaftler, die sich dem Neoliberalismus verschrieben haben, über die Verlierer von 1989 führen: die ungebildete Landbevölkerung, deren ökonomische Marginalisierung durch die kapitalistische Neuordnung des Landes als eigene Schuld (Faulheit, Dummheit, mangelnde Anpassung) beschrieben wird. "Normal" verhielten sich hingegen jene, die zu den Gewinnern der Wende gezählt werden. Interessant ist, dass in Bukowskis Text Frauen als Akteurinnen keine Rolle spielen – so wie bei Anika Keinz eben die von Bukowski ins Visier genommene ländliche Unterschicht absent ist – es gibt viele und aus unterschiedlichen Gründen vorgenommene Ausgrenzungen. Diskurse von gesellschaftlichen Gewinnern also, nicht Übersetzungsprozesse stehen im Mittelpunkt von Bukowskis Beitrag (der auf Englisch bereits 2006 erschienen ist). Die reiche Bibliografie des Verf. enthält hauptsächlich englische Publikationen – schade, dass er die Debatte um die Orientalisierung Mittel- und Osteuropas, wie sie im Umfeld der Internetplattform "kakanien. revisited" geführt wird, nicht zur Kenntnis genommen hat.

Die letzten drei Aufsätze lassen sich nicht thematisch unter einen Nenner bringen und werden daher als je für sich stehend besprochen. Serhat Karakayali und Marion von Osten diskutieren in ihrem Beitrag koloniale Wohnbauprojekte am Fallbeispiel Casablanca. Sie begreifen den kolonialen Raum als ein Labor für Architekten, in dem Formen der Integration und Disziplinierung durch Wohnformen "problemloser" erprobt werden konnten als in der Metropole; zugleich stellt die Auseinandersetzung der Architekten mit den improvisierten und selbstorganisierten Siedlungsformen der Bidonvilles eine Form der Übersetzung dar, die lokale Traditionen als "urmenschliche Selbstorganisation" (196) (miss-)versteht.

Katharina Eisch-Angus berichtet über ein Feldforschungsprojekt zum Thema Sicherheit (im Englischen differenziert in *safety* und *security*) in und um die Stadt Bristol. Sie untersucht die "neue, disziplinierende Sicherheitskultur" (202) mit ethnografischem Blick auf die Subjekte, die dieser Kultur unterworfen werden bzw. sie mitproduzieren: in der Semiosphäre (Jurij M. Lotman), in der alltäglich Prozesse der Übersetzung vor sich gehen. Sehr eindringlich macht sie deutlich, wie sich "Sicherheit" unterschiedlich für die Generationen und Geschlechter übersetzt und wie Subjekte ihr Handeln zwischen Widerständigkeit (gegen Eingriffe in die Privatsphäre) und individuellem Sicherheitsbedürfnis situieren.

Klaus Schönberger schließlich widmet sich San Precario, dem "erfundenen" Heiligen der jungen italienischen Generation, die ihr Leben mehrheitlich in prekären Arbeitsverhältnissen führen muss. Der Verf. beginnt mit einer Polemik gegen die "philologischen Geisteswissenschaften" (227), die vorgeblich an einem artefaktbezogenen Kulturbegriff festhielten, was doch einen zu pauschalen Blick auf eben diese Disziplinen wirft und der Vielfalt der Methoden und Zugänge unrecht tut. Davon abgesehen entwickelt er in seinem spannenden Beitrag, wie die Akteure und Akteurinnen der EuroMayDay-Bewegung in Italien ihre parodistischen Kultformen für den Heiligen Prekarius in den Dienst politischen Protests stellen; sehr deutlich wird dabei auch, dass künstlerisch-ästhetische Praktiken (Prozessionen, Heiligenbilder, Malerei, Performances) eine "soziale und politische Übersetzung" erfahren (230): eine "Umnutzung" (239) katholischer Kultformen für die politische Aktion.

Birgit Wagner

Kiliánová, Gabriela, Christian Jahoda, and **Michaela Ferencová** (eds.): Ritual, Conflict, and Consensus. Case Studies from Asia and Europe. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012. 142 pp., photos. ISBN 978-3-7001-7133-1. (Veröffentlichungen zur Sozialanthropologie, 16) Price: € 45.00

This beautifully produced edited volume stands as the proceedings of a 2010 "anthropological atelier" workshop organized jointly by the Institute of Ethnology at the Slovak Academy of Sciences and the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. With an introduction and eight articles divided into three thematic sections, the volume provides an intriguing snapshot of the anthropological study of ritual today. The shared question that all of the authors address is: "how does ritual become a possible source of conflict or consensus in society, and also how may it be instrumental in avoiding conflict and bringing about consensus?" (8).

This complex question deserves an equally complex answer. Each author addresses it in his or her own way, with articles covering ethnographic contexts ranging from from Asia (Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, and Laos) to the Middle East (Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Syria) to urban Slovakia and the multisited domain of medical tourism. The first three pieces explore ritual and transformation, the second three consider ritual and the cognitive process, and the last two fall under the heading "Ritual and the Reproduction of Social Structure." Each section has its own theoretical reference points, with the "transformation" articles referencing Émile Durkheim, Maurice Bloch, and Catherine Bell, those focused on cognitive dimensions in conversation with Pascal Boyer and Harvey Whitehouse, and those working on structure drawing upon Max Gluckman and Victor Turner, as well as their critics.

As such, the collection covers several key theoretical touchpoints in the study of ritual over the last century, but avoids over-emphasizing any one perspective. As Kiliánová states in the introduction, the objective is not to "find a universally valid definition" of ritual, "but rather a serviceable instrument that will help with analyses and interpretations in their case studies" (2), all of which provide new empirical material from quintessentially modern social contexts with which to revisit long-standing debates over the nature of ritual.

The individual articles do indeed appear as distinct case studies. There is little explicit effort to link them to each other or develop a shared theoretical perspective amongst the authors. One could argue that this is a strength, as it highlights each author's individual approach, but this reader would have liked to see a bit more evidence of conversation amongst the authors, although not necessarily agreement.

Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka served as the keynote speaker at the workshop from which the volume derived, and her contribution appropriately comes first. She explores the question of how "rituals fare and evolve under the conditions of rapid social change … when collective belonging is under siege" (15) in reference to the Hindu ritual complex of Dasain, or Durga Puja, in Nepal. She argues that these rituals have become sites for critical analysis of the symbolic order by their participants in a period of rapid political transformation and ethnic boundary-making. The format of the ritual remains constant, in fact enabling the expression of multiple voices of contestation within a mutually recognizable shared framework.

Moving across the Himalayas to Western Tibet and the northwestern Indian region of Kinnaur, Christian Jahoda compares two communities that share similar cultural practices but live within the administrative boundaries of two different countries. Through an examination of two festivals – Sherken in the village of Pooh (Upper Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh, India) and Namtong in Khorchag village in Purang (Ngari, Tibetan Autonomous Region, China) – Jahoda concludes that "both festivals represent a ritualized memory of a similar establishment of … a religious and socio-economic order on a local level under more or less the same political framework" (45). Nonetheless, in the present these rituals are characterized less by "renewal and adaptation" than by closure and constriction of ritual space and agency due to the encroachment of the relatively new political orders of the nation-states of India and China.

Sacred objects in Mongolia are the focus of Maria-Katharina Lang's contribution, which adds the important dimension of material culture to the discussion of ritual processes. Lang creatively uses the ethnological collections of Hans Leder at the University of Vienna as a methodological entrée into understanding how the meaning and function of ritual objects have changed over time in relation to different political regimes in Mongolia. She illustrates how the materiality of religious life had to be concealed during eras of conflict, leading to concomitant transformations in ritual action itself, even when the objects of ritual attention remained the same.

Andre Gingrich explores how the notion of *Himah and Hawtah* as sacred sites characterized by wild nature requiring protection have changed over time in relation to political conflict in Saudia Arabia and Yemen. *Himah* was once conceptualized as a natural "stage" for ritual action worthy of environmental protection, but recent civil conflicts and fundamentalist strains of Islam have come together to challenge this notion. At the same time, the Western notion of "national parks" provides a useful alternative conceptualization of these erstwhile ritual sites, but not without some disjunctures. Ultimately, Gingrich argues that local and global aspirations towards the protection of both natural and sacred spaces must be brought into articulation in order if *Himah* and *Hawtah* are to survive.

Tatiana Bužeková's analysis of neo-shamanism in urban Slovakia provides an insightful window into a set of transnational shamanic practices popularized by Michael Harner since the late 1970s. Her detailed ethnography of the experiences of middle and upper class participants in these circles leads to the provocative conclusion that, "[d]espite the liberal nature of urban shamanism and the proclaimed freedom to choose any appropriate practice, people conform to a concrete social setting and the authority of the leader" (88). This helps us understand how even within self-proclaimed "individualistic" and "modern" forms of ritual practice, what Talal Asad famously identified as "authorizing discourses" remain central.

In a compelling theoretical rumination (which does not appear to be grounded in specific ethnographic research) that draws upon Victor Turner's framework for understanding the ritual process, Eva-Maria Knoll suggests that medical tourism is a "ritual driven by … a medico-tourist gaze" (99). Helmut Lukas considers how ritual may serve as a site of social reproduction as power relations between the lowland Lao and lowland Kmhmu are renegotiated over time (but strangely does not cite the recent work by James Scott and his interlocuters on closely related themes).

Gebhard Fartacek provides in the final article of the collection a fascinating reflection on the category of *communitas* (as proposed by Victor Turner) as experienced in Syrian pilgrimage rituals. He comes to the conclusion that despite an ethos of pilgrimage that highlights the transcendence of interreligious boundaries, the actual practice of pilgrimage "*follows* the lines of the ethno-religious division" (129). Echoing Bužeková's depiction of the urban shamans, Fartacek's ethnography demonstrates well how people's theories about their own practice are not always in concert with their actions.

Several articles, notably the first three by Pfaff-Czarnecka, Jahoda, and Lang, are illustrated with high quality color plates containing maps and photographs. This, along with the large page-format typical of the OAW publication series, makes the book a viscerally pleasing reading experience.

The rich content of this volume, along with its pleasing presentation, makes it a recommended reading for anyone pursuing anthropological studies of ritual today. Each article may be of special importance to the relevant

community of regional or theoretical scholarship, but the entire volume may be useful in advanced undergraduate or graduate level teaching, with discussion of the different approaches evidenced in each article providing a useful entry point to this field for students.

Sara Shneiderman

Koloss, Hans-Joachim: Cameroon Thoughts and Memories. Ethnological Research in Oku and Kembong 1975–2005. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2012. 175 pp., photos. ISBN 978-3-496-02857-4. Price: € 69.00

"Cameroon Thoughts and Memories" is the third monograph in Hans-Joachim Koloss' ethnographic trilogy of two distinct cultures in Cameroon. Uniting memory with experience, Koloss' longitudinal research in Oku and Kembong encompasses over thirty years, providing the reader with precious insight into the shifting dynamics of these cultures during a time of dramatic change taking place in postcolonial Africa. All told, Koloss completed fifteen trips to the Grassfields / Cross River region between 1975 and 2005, resulting in the publication of two seminal works on Cameroonian traditional institutions: "Worldview and Society in Oku" (2000), and "Traditional Institutions in Kembong" (2008). If we owe it to Phyllis Kayberry and Elizabeth Chilver (1945 and 1958 respectively) for having laid the foundation for studies of Grassfields political and social institutions, then we are equally indebted to Hans-Joachim Koloss for his detailed descriptions and insightful incursions into Grassfields religious traditions, particularly its masquerades and medicine societies. Whereas his first two books were focused primarily on presenting the ethnographic content concerning masquerade institutions in Cameroon, this most recent installment provides an opportunity to not only reflect on the data but on the nature of fieldwork itself, which Koloss suggests is a dying methodology.

The advantages of long-term fieldwork in a particular site are self-evident: an ethnographer returning to the same location for research over a long period of time may become privy to observations not possible on previous visits, on topics not previously imagined. Indeed, Koloss' motivations in producing a memoir covering three decades of fieldwork in Cameroon is based on his acknowledgement that all too often ethnographic works omit detailed descriptions of the ways and means by which the ethnographer procures his or her data. Koloss sets out to correct this deficiency on his own with the completion of "Cameroon Thoughts and Memories," a richly photographed-filled memoir which seeks to convey the detailed personal experiences and circumstances that were excluded from his earlier works. This work thus sits firmly in the tradition of ethnographic memoirs that aim to convey the personal side of fieldwork as well as the trials, challenges, and rewards that are the result of decades of interaction and collaboration between ethnographer and subject.

Oku, like many Grassfields kingdoms, is a culture whose very identity lies in its medicines, established by the ancestors and vigorously maintained by a strict adherence to traditional laws. Within this system are numerous masquerades, or *juju*, that dominate the traditional religious landscape in Oku and are often charged with protecting and/or "animating" the medicine. As storehouses for such knowledge each secret society has its own medicine that has been handed down from its founder, typically an ancestor who created the medicine for the protection and well-being of mankind. Over time the number and influence of secret societies in Oku has increased to the point of it becoming a multifaceted system that "dominates the principal spheres of political, social and religious life" (Koloss 2000: 101). In "Cameroon Thoughts and Memories," Koloss cites an invitation in 1975 to join *kwifon*, known throughout the Grassfields as one the most powerful secret societies, as crucial to his research. *Kwifon*, considered the real power behind the throne, represented the traditional government of the land in former times and continues to wield considerable influence today. But joining a secret society is no easy thing; there is often a strict protocol involving initiatory rites and obligations. As my own efforts to join these societies illustrate (Bartelt, Healers and Witches in Oku, 2006), following the tradition is paramount: there is a strict protocol to joining a secret society, and one cannot enter a society on the basis of a recommendation alone. Of course, ethnographers working with indigenous cultures the world over have often circumvented these traditions on the basis of perceived status or authority. In the case of Koloss, we learn that he was accepted into *kwifon* without having participated in the requisite initiation rites. Some of my informants in Oku who recall Koloss' research in the 1970s were not necessarily pleased with how freely Koloss was given access to the secret objects of the *kwifon*. Koloss acknowledges that he photographed the interior of mask houses that were prohibited to outsiders, even though he himself had not been initiated into the house and, therefore, was breaking the traditional covenant. Entering a *juju* masquerade house without having been initiated would be an egregious mistake for anyone, apparently, unless one is an anthropologist!

Koloss claims to be the first – and last – European to be granted access to *kwifon*. He admits to being free to take part in any and all secretive rituals and being able to photograph anything. This admission may come as a surprise to contemporary ethnographers such as myself who work in similar settings that deal with secrecy, medicine, and tradition. It also harkens to the emic/etic debate: can one truly understand the significance of what one is documenting if he or she is not beholden to the same rules that govern everyone else's behavior? Koloss never had to subject himself to an initiation ritual, a vitally important element of Oku religiosity. He even admits to not believing in the efficacy of the occult in Cameroon, nor did he ever personally experience anything remotely "supernatural." For someone to call himself an "Oku man," (61) this is strange behavior indeed. Despite the emphasis placed on tradition and secrecy throughout Oku, Koloss repeatedly refers to encountering (and photographing) the most secretive and dangerous magic medicines of various societies. For an Oku man this would be unthinkable: tradition represents a sacred pact with the ancestors that is never to