

HOLGER JEBENS (ed.), *Nicht alles verstehen: Wege und Umwege in der deutschen Ethnologie*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag 2019. 399 pp., 20 photographs.

ISBN 978-3-496-01626-7

The German journal *Paideuma* has long had the practice, borrowed from the *Annual Review of Anthropology*, of publishing autobiographies of German, Austrian and Swiss German anthropologists as its lead article in each annual issue. The current volume brings together all of those that had appeared up to the time of its publication. There is also a useful introduction by the editor, who at the time was Managing Editor of *Paideuma*.¹ The collection therefore forms a valuable supplement to André Gingrich's previous history of German anthropology (Gingrich 2005) and to some of the chapters on East Germany in Hann et al. (eds. 2005), though both were written entirely in English. However, it is more than a supplement, since it asks nineteen anthropologists (one essay is double-authored) connected with the German-language anthropological scene how they got into anthropology and what resulted from that.

I have elsewhere² given my general impressions of the volume, from which a potted history of German-speaking post-war anthropology overall can be gleaned. This account focuses on specific individuals and what in their respective accounts seems to me most characteristic and interesting. For example, Ivo Strecker and Jean Lyall talk about the personal costs of fieldwork. They recount how they split up as a couple more than once because of the circumstances of their fieldwork among the Hamar, beginning with Jean feeling resentful at male-dominated coffee-drinking parties to which Ivo was invited but she was not. Equally frequently, however, they found their way back to one another, such were the bonds, and adventures, that united them from their student days onwards.

There is a sense of imbalance in some contributions. Thus, Hans Fischer chooses to focus on his teaching activities and the changing state of teaching throughout his career, saying very little about his own intellectual interests and how he came upon them. Some contributions concentrate on only part of a career: thus Meinhard Schuster tells us about his education as an anthropologist before he established himself in Basle in the late 1960s, but has little to say about his mature career in the context of anthropology in Switzerland. Christian Feest also

¹ The essays are by Ivo Strecker and Jean Lyall (a joint essay in English), Hans Fischer, Rüdiger Schott, Meinhard Schuster, Horst Nachtigall, Lothar Stein, Josef Franz Thiel, Hermann Jungraithmayr, Beatrix Heintze, Klaus E. Müller, Mark Münzel, Fritz W. Kramer, Gerhard Baer, Karl W. Wernhart, Christian Feest, Bernhard Streck, Volker Heeschen and Heike Behrend (all in German). In fact, the only such contribution not to be reproduced is that by Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin, which was only published in *Paideuma* in 2019, after the present collection had already come out. That contribution is especially memorable for the author's forthright denunciation of sexual harassment in the discipline, from which she herself seemed to have suffered frequently.

² *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, forthcoming.

concentrates on his training more than his later career. In other contributions too there is a sense of an opportunity missed. Thus Lothar Stein, who pursued his whole career in East Germany, including the long period of Germany's division, tells us very little about the specific circumstances, especially the difficulties, of establishing oneself and working in academia in a repressive state like the GDR, preferring to concentrate on his own activities and considerable achievements instead. However, Bernhard Streck has much to say about the fate of Leipzig anthropology after the fall of the German Democratic Republic, in which he was himself involved sufficiently to be condemned by some as a Wessie carpetbagger for taking over a professorship there after the expulsion of socialist-era postholders (cf. Treide 2005: 150 note 28, and especially van der Heyden 2005). He is also amusing, as well as honest, about the numerous disappointments he invoked in some of his teachers and colleagues in relation to their originally often tacit expectations of him.

A broader perspective on their careers than some of the papers just mentioned is provided by Herrmann Jungraithmayr, the Austrian linguistic anthropologist (his essay is the longest), and Josef Franz Thiel, who describes Austrian mission anthropology as part of the intellectual and institutional lineage of Wilhelm ('Pater') Schmidt, the most powerful figure in mid-century Austrian anthropology until his death in 1954. Thiel shows how that lineage was already falling apart in the 1950s, as some of the great man's acolytes drifted away from his theoretical dogmas. However, Thiel also tracks his own career in some detail, as well as describing his own upbringing in WWII and its aftermath in a German-speaking village in the Vojvodina (Serbia), when he and his family had to cope not only with the Nazi invasion but the communist takeover that succeeded it. Karl R. Wernhart too, who also spent a lot of his career in his native Austria, gives us a flavour of internal academic politics in the country in his time, some of which affected his own career adversely. Feest also contributes to this theme, having migrated to Austria from his native Bohemia in the period of the expulsions of Sudeten-Deutschen to follow his career both there and in Germany.

Klaus E. Müller is even more expansive concerning the ups and downs of his professional life, starting with the difficult decision to abandon a blossoming career in opera to take up anthropology (he also admits, unusually for this circle, to a relative lack of facility in English). Unlike many contributors to the volume, who saw in museum work an often temporary alternative to teaching and research in an anthropology department, Müller collaborated instead with a variety of natural scientists and psychologists in his later career, evidently in reaction to the barriers institutional anthropology had placed in his way. Mark Münzel goes further than this in his contribution, being quite scathing about the relationship between working in a

museum and working in an anthropology department,³ though Gerhard Baer, the only Swiss anthropologist in the collection by birth, discusses this relationship more dispassionately. Volker Heeschen, a linguistic anthropologist whose account of his career turns from autobiography to academic lecture at certain points in a way that most contributors manage to avoid, recalls the criticism he faced in some quarters over his engagement with ethology and ethologists, though his career does not seem to have faced the same adverse consequences that Müller writes about.

Not all contributors relied on fieldwork in their careers: thus Beatrix Heintze concentrated on archival work, especially on the history of Angola as a Portuguese colony, in part because the growing conflict in the country both before and after independence made fieldwork unfeasible. Feest too appears to have developed his career in the absence of significant fieldwork experience. Heike Behrendt, by contrast, writes about her own field experience in Kenya and Uganda in some detail, having decided at the outset to describe not only her informants and her impressions of them, but their impressions of her. I was particularly interested in her account of the anthropology department in the Free University of Berlin in the years before I arrived there myself in 1986.

Perhaps inevitably this is a partial selection, which need not be solely a matter of editorial judgement: death might have intervened, some of those who were approached might have refused, and others might not have been considered suitable for one reason or another. Three of the nineteen contributors are women,⁴ but as in other scholarly traditions gender equality was even harder to find in this period than it is today. Regionally too there are some gaps, with little evidence that Europe was ever seriously considered as an important ethnographic area in Germany at this time, no doubt reflecting a bias in research towards the third world, and also, perhaps, a desire by most of these contributors to distance themselves from old-fashioned folklore studies carried out primarily in Europe, a tension between *Volkskunde* (folklore) and *Völkerkunde* (ethnology or anthropology) that has shaped much German anthropology, and indeed much central and east European anthropology as well. Admittedly the Anglo-Saxon and French branches of the discipline only took up Europe as an ethnographic area relatively late as well.

What might a future exercise of this sort come up with? In 2005 I and some colleagues were still able to draw lines around the national traditions of anthropological scholarship we

³ The title of his contribution is also the main title of the volume as a whole.

⁴ A fourth is Hauser-Schäublin. See above, note 1.

respectively described – British, German, French (in my case) and American (Barth et al. 2005). While that still makes sense historically, it would be more problematic today, as what I have called the internationalization or perhaps Americanization of the discipline continues to take hold. Thanks not least to Europe-wide professional associations like EASA and its journal *Social Anthropology*, the establishment, at least de facto, of English as the accepted international academic language and the arrival of the Internet, anthropological publications and the facts and ideas they contain are rapidly disseminated across the continent and more widely, breaking down both political and intellectual boundaries. Whether this replacement of diversity by a sense of growing homogeneity is a good thing only time will tell.

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KONSTANTINOS KALANTZIS, *Tradition in the frame: photography, power, and imagination in Sfakia, Crete*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019. 321pp.

A very long time ago, when I was an undergraduate studying Classics at the University of Melbourne, my (then) young lecturer returned from his first trip to the eastern Mediterranean. He had very much enjoyed Turkey, but he didn't much care for Greece. I was surprised and asked why. 'Too many professional Zorbas!' he muttered.

A decade later, when I was living in Greece, his words occasionally returned to me, for not a few Greeks – taxi drivers, taverna proprietors, tourist guides – seemed intent on living out, or at least in describing themselves in terms of, a national stereotype. Let me quickly say that I do not think that such national self-presentations are a peculiarly Greek phenomenon. In London at the time there were plenty of young Australians offering up their national stereotype as scripted by Barry Humphries. And then, both at home and abroad, there are always the professional Irishmen, or the Texans. Nevertheless, Greeks were adept at, and given to, performing their Greekness.

Konstantinos Kalantzis's study is, of course, set in Greece; more particularly, however, it is set in Crete; and even more particularly, it is set in the mountainous region of Sfakia, in southwest Crete, whose inhabitants are 'the most distinctive of Greeks in the national imagination' (p. 250), a distinctiveness most Sfakians are at some pains to maintain. How they do this is what Kalantzis's book seeks to describe and explain, and these days that turns out to be no simple matter. As Kalantzis points out, in many respects his work follows on from Michael Herzfeld's study, thirty years ago, of another highland community in central Crete, which Herzfeld described in terms of a poetics, 'whereby people contextually performed and precariously managed idealizations of the self' (Kalantzis, p. 223). In Sfakia, as in Herzfeld's 'Glendi', that (male) idealization entails the huge and competitive consumption of alcohol, the boisterous discharging of guns at wedding feasts, the threat of violence and of feud, and, importantly, close attention to dress and appearance, all of which are bundled together by Sfakians and non-Sfakians alike (Greek and foreign tourists, folklorists, journalists et al.) as 'traditions'. What complicates matters nowadays are contested evaluations of these traditions, again by both Sfakians and non-Sfakians, in terms of that very elusive analytic concept, 'authenticity'.

Sfakian (male) dress is distinctive: knee-high leather boots, breeches (rather like jodhpurs), black shirt, and black headscarf. Needless to say, this is not standard day-to-day wear, but since the 1980s it has increasingly been worn by men on festive public occasions (weddings,

baptisms). In the summer months it is also donned by market traders in the provincial capital of Chania for the delectation of tourists. Like Kalantzis, I have also seen parties of men wearing it in Athens, presumably because, like my Australians in London, they were keen to assert their distinctiveness while in the nation's capital. But how 'traditional' is this dress? Actually most Sfakians who wear it realize that the combination is of comparatively modern origin. The boots appear to be traditional enough, but in the early twentieth century breeches replaced *vrakes*, loose knee-length pantaloons, and black shirts were originally a sign of mourning. Yet Sfakians who wear the attire say they 'feel good' in it; on the other hand, as Kalantzis points out, 'people harbor some anxiety about whether this attire appears genuine to spectators or seems like a staged re-creation' (p. 127).

This anxiety is at the nub of the particular dilemma that has been created for the Sfakians, and also, as Kalantzis insists, in part by the Sfakians, for they are required by their audiences, both national and international, to be 'traditional'; and yet in attempting to live up to the tenets of their ascribed traditions, they can be accused, and accuse each other, of inauthenticity. What facilitates the Sfakians' commitment to 'tradition' and their claims and counter-claims to embodying it provides the other major theme of Kalantzis's work: the existence of a large corpus of photographic images which are objects of contemplation, veneration and comparison.

Sfakians, usually men, usually bearded, always in local dress, began to be photographed from the turn of the twentieth century, postcards often circulating locally, nationally and internationally. In 1939, 'Nelly' (Elli Sougioultzoglou-Seraidari), a professional photographer, was commissioned by the Metaxas dictatorship to obtain images to promote Crete as a tourist destination. Again, her penchant was for males dressed in local attire. Her photographs were displayed in the 1940s and 1950s in magazines and as postcards, but in the early 2000s two coffee-table volumes containing her works were published, which were brought to the attention of Sfakians by urban friends and relatives. Another commercial photographer, George Meis, took a series of photographs in the 1970s featuring a Sfakian, Manolis Nikoloudis, in traditional dress, which were again reproduced as postcards and appeared in a coffee-table book published in 2000. By the late 2000s there were approximately twenty companies producing postcards of Crete and featuring the iconic bearded male in traditional dress (as do brands of Cretan olive oil and cheese). They were, and are, of course aimed at the tourist market, but they have also provided Sfakians with a corpus of images that genuinely documents their past but simultaneously presents it in an idealized form against which the present generation can compare itself – often somewhat invidiously. To this commercially produced corpus of images must be added those produced nowadays by tourists. As Kalantzis observes, 'There is hardly a

Sfakian household that does not have photographs of its members taken by tourists' (p. 268). Usually these photographs are taken during a casual encounter and then sent back in thanks for hospitality received.

All of this begins to look perilously like a form of Orientalism, whereby the Sfakians are the observed, and romanticized, subjects of an external gaze – and clearly this is true, but only up to a point. One of the strengths of Kalantzis's account is that he refuses to opt for the simple and politically appealing view that sees the Sfakians as powerless and exploited victims of external agents, for they are as much the 'consumers' of the traditions they embody as are the outsiders who record them. Hence, indeed, both the Sfakians' interest in their own 'traditional' dress and their ability to dispute its authenticity among themselves: the black shirt is worn with pride as a sign of Cretan descent, yet it also raises a concern that it is a 'perversion of custom, a violation of past (mourning) ethos' (p. 7). And while Sfakians pour over photographs of an earlier period and attempt to identify family ancestors (and frame postcards of them), they can also disparage a subject as an *eghoistis* who posed for photographs in a quest for self-promotion. And what applies to dress applies to other material and less material aspects of being a Sfakian: the use of guns, heavy wine-drinking, the use of ram and goat skulls to ornament fences, the growing of beards, and the use of four-wheel-drive trucks are all indulged in; and yet, as Kalantzis puts it, 'Every action today is subject to criticism as modern excess that taints the past. Simultaneously, the past and tradition are objects of immense, renewed interest and trigger a desire for embodiment' (p. 223).

Kalantzis has produced remarkably detailed and perceptive ethnography (if that is a word that can still be used) of a very particular society in southwestern Crete, aspects of which, however, would be immediately recognizable to anyone who has spent time anywhere in Greece and would also, I think, be found in very many contemporary societies around the world: hence my graceless intrusion of expatriate London Australians, or Irish or Texans in this review. But good ethnographies always move us from a consideration of the particular to its resonances in society in general.

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DARRYL LI, *The universal enemy: jihad, empire, and the challenge of solidarity*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 2020. xv, 364 pp. £24.99 (paperback). ISBN 978-1-5036-1087-3.

Born in Iraq, Fadhil came to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1979 as a student of metallurgy, and to avoid the war then starting with Iran. Yet within a decade he was soon pulled into another war that erupted in his adoptive country in 1992. With a Bosnian family by then and as a practising Muslim, he decided to fight in what later became a special Muslim military unit, 'Ored Elmudžahedin' or 'Katiba' ('battalion' in Arabic), alongside the Bosnian Army. After the war, he acquired Bosnian citizenship and settled in Zenica to resume his pre-war life. Yet peace was not in the cards for him: after 9/11 and the full upsurge of the Global War on Terror, his Bosnian citizenship was revoked. After a legal battle that ended up in the European Court of Human Rights, he lost his case and found himself about to be deported to his home city of Kirkuk in Iraq in 2012. Scared for his safety, he fled to western Europe instead, forced to leave his Bosnian wife and children behind.

Fadhil as the so-called 'jihadi fighter' or *mujahid* is an example of what Darryl Li calls the 'universal enemy' (p. 3) in his intriguing new book, *The universal enemy: jihad, empire and the challenges of solidarity*. In Li's account, demonized, marginalized and affected by the racialization of Islam, Fadhil and his comrade *mujahids* were caught up in the new paranoias about terrorism and radicalization. Their untold life stories and vicissitudes before and after the 1992-5 Bosnian war are narrated in this anthropological investigation into the transnational *mujahid* phenomenon set at the time of the Bosnian war. But Li takes us outside Bosnia, from Saudi Arabia through Pakistan to Britain, as he traces 28 fighters (seventeen foreign and eleven Bosnian) to illustrate the global and universal phenomenon of joining wars in the name of Islam that inspired several thousand Muslims to join what he calls the 'Bosnian *jihad*'.

His narrative debunks a series of what he considers to be misconceptions about *mujahids* and *jihad*. Li aims to humanize the otherwise demonized figures of Islamic fighters by showing how for some religion can be a justifiable reason to fight, an idea fully rejected in the west. Yet, as the first part of the book shows, there were many other reasons to join in *jihad*, the universal Islamic belief in solidarity being only one among many, alongside the outrage at the lack of an international response to the savagery of the Bosnian war or the zealous pursuit of redemption and martyrdom. Interestingly, Li does not situate his account within current debates regarding ISIS. However, the multifarious journeys to and adaptations in Bosnia of those who came mainly from the Arab world but also from the west complicate the simplified picture he wants to tackle of violent, inhuman and radicalized individuals joining in the violence.

While motivations differed, Li presents several universalisms (mainly citing Carl Schmitt) as the binding idea that underpinned the *mujahids*' struggle. The frequent references to universalism

at times seem forced, especially as alternative interpretations of the fighters' motivations, such as the imposition of a value system, are overlooked. But Li sees the *ummah* in particular as a form of transnational Muslim solidarity that transcended nationalities on the battlefield. Yet during the war, this solidarity was not understood by everyone. While the incoming fighters were not 'national enough' for the local nationalists, Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) were not 'Muslim enough' for the foreign *mujahids*, who disagreed with the local relaxed practice of Islam (p. 61). After the war, the 'orientalization' of 'Arabs' and their framing as extremist dark-skinned savages and suicide fighters who committed war crimes turned them into domestic 'universal enemies' – or, in Li's account, into scapegoats of global and domestic politics and victims of racial and religious bias. 'Arabs were constitutive outsiders: acting against them was one of the very few things Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks, and Westerners could agree on,' he writes (p. 200).

While the book provides a provocative contribution to our understanding of the global foreign-fighter phenomena, it is less successful in improving our understanding of the local developments in Bosnia. Although Li sets out to provide the perspective of the foreign and local fighters, much remains unsaid about the views of 'the local', whether in the Bosnian army or the civilian population. All we learn is that Bosnians viewed *mujahids* with a combination of admiration and fear, with Bosnian soldiers using them as 'shock troops' (p. 92) or 'cannon fodder' (p. 91). In particular, discussion of the role of women is completely lacking. There is a rather naive depiction of their views of the *mujahids* as 'handsome', without any reflection on the Salafi position on women's role, which is foreign to Bosnian European customs. Similarly, the fact that *mujahids* committed war crimes (alongside others) is mentioned only in passing. We also learn little about, for example, local imams' attitudes towards Salafism or the Bosnian public's reactions to *mujahids* during the war. The European (and European Union) orientation of Bosnia is entirely overlooked, the country being framed instead within global jihadi conflicts. One reason for many of the local omissions may be Li's positioning in the field – which is, unfortunately, not discussed explicitly – and his inability to communicate with local people in Bosnian. Instead, he used Arabic and English, giving him a very narrow access to informants in Bosnia.

More importantly, Li skips over the influence of the rise of ISIS and is silent about the current growth of Salafi preachers across Bosnia, many of whom are linked to the Bosnian conflict. The reader wonders about these connections and how they have been transformed since 1995. Li interestingly describes how some Bosnians left for the Middle East after the war out of a curiosity to learn about different varieties of Islam. Although their motivations must have been much more diverse, given their current influence across Bosnian Muslim communities, this side of the story is left out. Li is also conspicuously silent about the Saudi Wahhabi phenomenon that had already attracted a great deal of attention in Bosnia in the early 2000s. In fact, *The universal enemy* might

have provided a starting point for these developments, but there is no mention of them. To understand the Bosnian context, Li's book thus needs to be read alongside other works, such as Marko Attila Hoare's books about the conflict (e.g. *How Bosnia Armed*), the role of religion (e.g. by Mark Sells, David Henig, Torsten Kolind, Tone Bringa and others) or the local research of Vlado Azinović and Edina Bećirović on Salafism. Only then can a much more rounded picture of the conflict, 'radicalization' and Bosnian Islam emerge.

Although one might have reservations about Li's approach and his at times one-sided portrayal of the *mujahids*, his data are rich, having been collected from archives, court files and media, as well as through interviews and fieldwork observations. His research spanned twelve years, which is not surprising, given the controversial nature of the fighters he set out to interview, which often took him to prisons around the world. His training as a human rights lawyer affiliated with advocacy organizations provided access to interviews, while his ethnographic methods give the book a richness through personal stories of his fieldwork. The structure is effective, as the first part focuses on the *mujahids* and the war itself, while the second provides a wider contextual anchoring for describing what came before and after the war. To Li, Bosnia is a mere backdrop to a wider story of universalism that reveals itself especially in the second part of the book, which situates the war at the end of the internationalist socialism of the Non-Aligned Movement, the era of international peacekeeping, and the 'Global War on Terror'.

The main contribution of the book is that its provocative and widely accessible account complements discussions about foreign fighters and extremism that have often been presented in vilifying terms in western scholarship. The clear structure and Li's writing style also make *The Universal Enemy* readable outside academia, among much wider policy and public audiences. Yet readers seeking an account of the contemporary 'radicalization' phenomenon or explanations of Bosnian Islam and the 1992-5 war should look elsewhere. Instead, the book represents a novel portrayal of universal jihadism and the attractions of a localized war with far-reaching and long-lasting global reverberations that is certainly worth the read.

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