

different and foreign life environment and society. This concept is a latent homogenizing tendency that is common to all the articles of this chapter, whereas other parts of the volume differentiate sufficiently. Petra Limberger, an ethnologist and legal studies expert, gives detailed insight into the procedure and central steps of granting asylum right in Austria. She introduces the important actors within the legal process, their organization, and responsibilities. Similar to Binder's article, the author mentions that the legal definition of who is a refugee and who is not according to the Refugee Convention of 1951 is outdated and intermittent. Based on numerous case examples Limberger points out legal problems and challenges within the procedure of granting right of asylum in Austria.

The work of the asylum center Caritas Wien takes a center stage in Irene Kucera's contribution. She not only illustrates general challenges and difficulties in counseling asylum seekers but also specific sociocultural aspects of Afghan clients. According to Kucera, there are no standard answers in order to dissolve emerging areas of conflict. Instead, it is necessary to react according to each situation, cultural background, and individual case.

Alike the previous article, this one inspects the working environment of an institution responsible for counseling service for refugees. Author Sandra Schweiger portrays the challenges, which the mobile refugee's support Lower Austria West (NÖWE) are confronted with by cooperating with different actors, such as accommodation providers, coordination offices, public authorities, and volunteers. For achieving an effective collaboration in this field, it seems essential to precisely define, limit, and clarify the tasks and duties of all contributors involved.

After getting involved with refugee relief at "Willkommen Mensch in Kilb" for one and a half years, author Sigrid Waser-Wagner draws balance. The author introduces the initiative's goals, project organization, and working processes in a small Lower Austrian community. In the process, the author plausibly concludes that within a short period, the needs and priorities of forced migrants change drastically. During this process, organizations must accordingly modify their focuses to support refugees.

Despite several distinct obstacles to study at an Austrian university while obtaining the status of a refugee, Elisabeth Fiorioli, co-founder of the Universities Austria-initiative MORE, emphasizes the positive role universities and their members (employees as well as students) play for the integration of forced migrants. Due to the active involvement of university affiliates, even universities as "complex organizational units" are capable of reacting flexible towards new sociopolitical challenges. They do so by providing support in order to restore normality through education and integration. Unfortunately, the article lacks any statement of MORE students.

The only article of chapter four is a rich contribution containing not only information on difficulties refugees face in the Austrian health system, but also – and most importantly – providing a medical-psychological explanatory model to understand the life conditions of traumatized refugees. Yvonne Schaffler, Nora Ramirez Castillo, and Elena Jirovsky reflect in a very touching and respectful

manner about therapy approaches and exercises with traumatized refugees. The authors point to the importance of establishing solid and trusting relationships in the country of arrival for both therapists and volunteers alike.

The fifth and last part of the book comprises a number of analyzed oral interviews with Syrian refugees, an aspect that mirrors the general marginalization and underrepresentation of refugees from Afghanistan in Austrian society and political debates. All five articles focus on the reconstruction and interpretation of the emerging conflicts among Syria's ethnic-religious communities before and during the course of the war. In summary, all interviews that have been conducted and interpreted by the authors Lisa Vavra, Andreas Schulz, Camilla Mittelberger, Astrid Aringer, and Gebhard Fartacek endorse some common results. Thus, it seems that under Hafez al-Asad, members of different ethnic-religious groups in Syria have lived side by side in relative peace and social justice. The tide has turned since Bashar al-Asad has come into power. During his rule, religious and ethnic affiliations became increasingly addressed and important. As a result, this led to violent conflicts and geographical separations along ethnic and religious affiliations present before the Syrian revolution in 2011.

Overall, the present volume is a manifold elaboration that illustrates in detail phenomena related to refuge from the Middle and the Near East. Therefore, I highly recommend reading it not exclusively by an academic readership but – and especially – by members of official institutions in politics, education, and administration in Austria who work and deal with refugees and forced migrants, as well as by volunteers of refugee relief. The edition provides plenty of background information and explanatory models for a better understanding of refugees' social realities and, consequently, facilitates equal collaboration. Finally, the authors address a diverse number of difficulties and challenges that call governments, policy makers, and society to take counteracting strategies.

Lisa Lenz

**Brabec de Mori, Bernd, Matthias Lewy y Miguel A. García** (eds.): *Sudamérica y sus mundos audibles. Cosmologías y prácticas sonoras de los pueblos indígenas*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2015. 272 pp. ISBN 978-3-7861-2757-4. (Estudios Indiana, 8) Precio: € 34.00

El volumen editado por Bernd Brabec de Mori, Matthias Lewy y Miguel A. García, "Sudamérica y sus mundos audibles. Cosmologías y prácticas sonoras de los pueblos indígenas" es una bella colección de etnografías centradas en la experiencia del sonido de etnias de América Latina, en su mayoría de las tierras bajas sudamericanas. Lamentablemente no acompaña a este volumen un CD (o link a un sitio web) que permita al lector acceder a estos mundos audibles. El volumen colectivo es el resultado de un simposio sobre el rol del sonido en las ontologías indígenas llevado a cabo en el Congreso de Americanistas en Viena en 2012. Consta de quince contribuciones organizadas en tres partes, con un prefacio de Anthony Seeger – uno de los máximos referentes en el campo – que

contribuye a situar el libro en el marco de la historia de la etnomusicología. Los capítulos, aunque variados en estructura, están escritos en un estilo agradable, sin excesivo lenguaje técnico, lo que contribuye a acercar estos temas al lector no especializado en etnomusicología. Otra de las ventajas del libro es que cada artículo provee suficiente contexto etnográfico para comprender cómo se enmarca cada particular análisis del rol del sonido. Así como algunas obras de antropología lingüística contribuyen a llamar la atención sobre aquello – la lengua como práctica – que en etnografías clásicas se asume erróneamente como transparente y dado por hecho, el volumen colectivo de Brabec de Mori, Lewy y García pone en primer plano el sonido – mejor dicho, las prácticas sonoras –, y los mundos que se construyen por medio de esas prácticas.

Varios capítulos del volumen dialogan con el llamado giro ontológico, fundamentalmente con las nociones de “animismo” de Descola y de “perspectivismo” de Viveiros de Castro. La primera parte, “Sonidos y conocimientos” se dedica en buena medida al rol del sonido (cantos chamánicos, imitación de animales, uso de instrumentos, etc.) como medio de comunicación entre (los mundos de) humanos y no humanos. Las colaboraciones de Langdon y Arias sobre los rituales de los siona (Colombia) y los matsigenka (Perú) respectivamente, toman como base el perspectivismo y explican – si se me permite la sinestesia – cómo por medio del sonido los chamanes llegan a otro punto de vista. Un detalle particularmente interesante se encuentra en la contribución de Bammer de Rodríguez sobre los cantos ánent de los shuar de Ecuador, donde la autora efectúa un análisis técnico de lo que para los shuar hace que un canto sea considerado “apropiado” o “efectivo”. Ello permite al lector no versado en musicología percibir la regularidad debajo de categorías nativas que en el campo pueden parecer idiosincráticas. Lewy y Brabec de Mori por otra parte se centran más las características ontológicas del sonido, al punto de poner en cuestión el trasfondo excesivamente visual del perspectivismo. Lewy se pregunta si el sonido pertenece a la interioridad o fisicalidad descolianas y, luego de analizar las intrincadas interacciones entre humanos y no humanos en cantos y en la caza entre los pemón de Venezuela, propone el “sonorismo” como ontología del sonido, complementaria al perspectivismo. Brabec de Mori, por su parte, analiza la mención de no humanos en canciones cotidianas de indígenas del Ucayalí, y también aquellas dirigidas a no humanos, cuyo efecto performativo produce un cambio en el mundo. Brabec de Mori es el único (aparte de una breve mención de Bammer de Rodríguez a cantos de amor nampet) que dedica parte de su trabajo a cantos “seculares” o no mágicos. El resto de las contribuciones se concentran en cantos interpretados en el marco de rituales, lo que en cierto limita innecesariamente la extensión de estos mundos audibles.

La segunda parte, “Sonidos y ritual” bien podría constituir una sola unidad con la primera. La división del libro en tres partes parece obedecer más bien a cuestiones de equilibrio de edición que a fundamentos temáticos. No obstante el título distinto, las contribuciones de la segunda parte tratan igualmente de la comunicación con no hu-

manos por medio de instrumentos (trompetas de los ticuna en el capítulo de Tosta Matarezio Filho) o de cantos (capítulos de García López sobre los uitoto del Amazonas colombiano y de Ferreira Gadelha Campelo sobre los tikmũ’ün/maxakali de Minas Gerais). Merece destacarse el análisis de Briceño Robles sobre una ceremonia de yajé en Colombia, en el que aborda una forma de escucha ritual que trasciende la percepción auditiva. El artículo de Hill da cierre al conjunto de la primera y segunda parte del libro. Es una contribución de un orden mayor de abstracción, ya que propone un modelo comparativo del discurso ritual en las tierras bajas sudamericanas, a través de seis puntos: los orígenes míticos, la opacidad, la musicalidad, la historicidad, la relación con la música instrumental y, finalmente lo que el autor denomina la “estructura quiástica” (el retorno al punto de partida al final del ritual, expresado en la estructura musical y en el discurso). Es de particular interés la integración que hace el autor del estudio de las configuraciones musicales chamánicas con el estudio del arte verbal.

La tercera parte, “Sonidos e historias” contiene la mayoría de los estudios fuera de Amazonia: Tierra del Fuego (García), Mesoamérica (Cruz Rivera) y Andes (Shapero y Rivera Andía), y los que más divergen temáticamente del resto del volumen. En esta tercera parte, el Otro no es tanto el no humano, sino el europeo. García analiza el “oído colonial” de los viajeros europeos en Tierra del Fuego a principios de siglo XX, y sus dificultades para percibir aquello que pertenece a otro universo auditivo. Los testimonios de estos viajeros recuerdan a la incapacidad de percepción auditiva (*sound-blindness*) en el estudio de lenguas indígenas señalada por Boas en el clásico artículo “On Alternating Sounds”. García propone entonces el oído del colonizador como objeto de estudio de un análisis crítico de la narrativa colonial. En el capítulo de Tombini Wittman sobre la evangelización en el nordeste brasileño en el siglo XVII vemos nuevamente el sonido como un medio de vinculación, esta vez entre misioneros e indígenas. Cruz Rivera se aboca a una comparación de ritos nahuas y mayas desde épocas prehispánicas – lo que presenta no pocas dificultades metodológicas que la autora sabe sobrepasar –, ofreciendo un amplio panorama de la mirada de vínculos indexicales que se establecen por medio del sonido. Shapero, por su parte, analiza una escena de una novela del escritor peruano José María Arguedas, en la que tiene lugar una performance musical y un posterior enfrentamiento. En la escena se condensan dimensiones sociales, políticas y lingüísticas que permiten percibir la confrontación de materialidades europeas y andinas. Rivera Andía realiza un interesante contrapunto entre dos instrumentos: una particular flauta travesa y la maraca entre los habitantes de Cañarís en la sierra de Lambayeque (norte del Perú). Detrás de estos dos elementos se alinean cuestiones de género, comunicación con no humanos y herencias andinas y católicas.

Como puede observarse, la variedad de temas y formatos no es menor. La diversidad de formatos da en ocasiones idea de fragmentación: hay en este volumen desde etnografías muy centradas en el caso particular, hasta propuestas teóricas de vocación más universalista. Por

otra parte, los capítulos no dialogan en gran medida entre sí (con la excepción de las contribuciones de Brabec de Mori y Hill). Hay, sin embargo, dos puntos que unifican todo el libro y que merecen destacarse: un genuino interés en comprender la perspectiva indígena sobre el sonido y los mundos que de esa concepción surgen; y la noción de que el sonido en su materialidad misma constituye un puente entre humanos, no humanos y humanos otros. “Sudamérica y sus mundos audibles” es sin duda una obra a recomendar, no sólo por hacer inteligible la complejidad de los mundos audibles indígenas, sino también por la certeza que deja al lector: una etnografía sin sonido, sería una etnografía incompleta. Alfonso Otaegui

**Brandišauskas, Donatas:** Leaving Footprints in the Taiga. Luck, Spirits, and Ambivalence among the Siberian Orochen Reindeer Herders and Hunters. New York: Bergahn Books, 2017. 291 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-238-8. (Studies in the Circumpolar North, 1) Price: \$ 120.00

This book discusses the complex and ambivalent strategies in securing subsistence and land use of the Orochen-Evenki, a tungusic people in southeastern Siberia living east of Lake Baikal. While the main livelihood of the Orochen is hunting, they also herd reindeer which they use mostly for transportation. The study is based on the extensive fieldwork of the author in this area in 2004–2005, 2010, and 2011 that he describes in greater detail in chapter 1 of this book, and which sheds light on his thoughtful approach.

The aim of the book is “to investigate the persistence of Orochen-Evenki reindeer herders’ and hunters’ ritual knowledge, discursive and embodied practices, movements in the taiga and interactions with various places in the taiga as part of daily strategies driven by anxious desire to attract and sustain luck and well-being” (1). By means of various case studies, it shows the efforts of a particular kin group to adjust to the profound social, economic, ecological, and political changes that have affected Zabaikal province in post-Soviet times. Luck (*kutu*) is seen as one of the key concepts in the Orochen’s strategies to secure their subsistence and territorial base in the taiga and in the village. According to the author, luck is based on the morality of humans’ and non-humans’ interaction in their living environment.

The idea of luck is further explained in the introduction, where it is shown how it is obtained and secured through proper behaviour in daily and ritual practices. Crucial for these efforts is to establish and maintain beneficial relations to master-spirits of animals and certain places, as well as with humans, all of which are based on the principle of sharing. As, according to the author, the ontology of luck and its connection to hunting skills and techniques, place-making, and discursive strategies has hardly been explored in studies of hunting societies in Siberia and North America so far (12), he is attempting to pursue this overdue task with this book. For this, the concept of luck is approached in the active mode by showing the dynamics of hunters’ and reindeer herders’ interactions with other beings, humans, animals, and spirits (14).

These interactions are based on complex relations that involve cooperation, but also contests with other beings, as well as domination (15), as will be further explored in the following chapters.

Chapter 1 (People I Lived with: Community, Subsistence and Skills) introduces the given field site and describes the local identities and contemporary way of life in a post-Soviet village that is marked by competition over taiga resources. In light of the particular challenges to cope with after the collapse of the Soviet economy, many Orochen strive to learn, rediscover, and rely on their traditional knowledge of crafts, aiming to maintain their autonomy from the goods and resources imported from the cities while expending little effort to connect with state powers (77).

Chapter 2 (Luck, Spirits and Domination) introduces the book’s main ideas and presents linguistic, semantic and ethnographic insights into such interlinked concepts as luck, strength, soul, mastery, movement, and sharing, as well as nonhuman beings like animals, malevolent spirits, master-spirits, and living places. The author shows that luck does not simply flow from the master-spirits’ goodwill as an outcome of reciprocal relations; rather it is achieved by humans through complex processes of competition with animals and spirits. Furthermore, maintaining luck requires much skill and knowledge since luck must be predicted, dreamed, attracted, caught, shared, secured, and contained by interacting with other humans or nonhuman beings (animals, spirits, places) as well as crafted material objects like amulets or wooden idols (108).

Chapter 3 (Sharing, Trust and Accumulation) describes how people act either cooperatively or more autonomously according to their experiences of luck and trust. The given case study demonstrates how reindeer herders adapted to an insecure socioeconomic environment by accumulating and concealing wealth. At the same time they have taken the risk of losing luck by challenging the ethos of sharing. Supplying, storing, and securing goods for the future and being “independent” of external social and economic constraints was one way to maintain personal autonomy in the insecure environment. At the same time, the idea of sharing is crucial to understanding how people built social relations based on cooperation, exchange, and luck (125).

Chapter 4 (“Relying on My Own Two”: Walking and Luck) describes how movement (such as walking) is semantically, practically, and metaphorically linked to ways of catching luck. Walking across the landscape leaves footprints and tracks and also involves reading the footprints and tracks of others. By walking along paths, hunters and herders interact with master-spirits and ancestors alike, who have left their own tracks and imprints on the landscape. Such interaction requires the performance of rituals for exchange with nonhuman beings. Therefore, pedestrian journeying and the use of taiga paths and signs are at the core of the Orochen worldview with regard to success in subsistence and land use (143).

Chapter 5 (Living Places: Tracking Animals and Camps) describes how hunters and herders catch their luck in hunting. This is seen as a dynamic personal com-