

segunda mitad del siglo XVI (20). Por otro lado, ya a mediados del siglo XVIII, la preocupación por la hechicería y por el poder de los hechiceros para infligir daño comienza a parecer ridícula (232) y a volverse un fenómeno periférico a la metrópolis (229). De hecho, las persecuciones individuales comienzan a realizarse más bien para incrementar la armonía social, reforzar la autoridad política, eliminar rasgos culturales obsoletos o, en fin, crear una sociedad más homogénea (231). Descartada la demonología (252), el interés jesuita en la hechicería fue finalmente reemplazado por un nuevo tipo de naturalismo y enmarcado en un discurso europeo interesado en la así llamada magia técnica y natural (14). Desde fines del siglo XVII, el diálogo andino cristiano deja, pues, atrás la idolatría por la naturaleza y la medicina (192), imponiéndose así un nuevo tipo de filosofía natural, una nueva noción de maleficio y una nueva forma de racionalismo erudito (192).

Ahora bien, en este largo proceso, la introducción de la noción de magia empática habría importado a los Andes una distinción conceptual (entre lo preternatural, lo natural y lo sobrenatural) que sería radicalmente extraña para la cosmovisión andina (254), o que constituiría un desafío para lo que la autora llama la concepción o lógica andina de la naturaleza (*nature*) (3, 13, 15 y 192).

Quizá valga la pena detenerse un momento en este punto. Tal como sucede con otros de los conceptos más usuales (tales como los de “sagrado”, “pecado”, “armonía social”, o “coexistencia de culturas”) de este importante libro, la aplicabilidad de uno tan cargado como el de “naturaleza”, podría quizá haberse problematizado un poco más (por ejemplo, a la luz de los recientes debates antropológicos en torno al animismo, que parten de la etnografía de las tierras bajas de Sudamérica). ¿Es necesario, o siquiera posible, considerar que un concepto como el de naturaleza – que, en buena medida, parece no poder definirse sino es en contraste con el de sociedad o cultura – sea relevante en las sociedades indígenas andinas?

Un cuestionamiento similar (aunque quizá más importante que el primero) aparece cuando nos acercamos a uno de los protagonistas de las evoluciones conceptuales, discursivas y rituales, en torno a la hechicería, que este libro explora: nos referimos al “especialista religioso andino”. El libro lo define como “los antiguos *camascas*, *amautas* y otros hombres y mujeres sabios de la sociedad inca y andina” (137), sin agregar mucho más sobre ellos, salvo que se trata de personajes “decididos (*strong-minded*)” (229). Esta característica, junto con la importancia dada en el libro al toma y daca (*give-and-take*) entre sacerdotes españoles y especialistas religiosos andinos (3), pareciera mostrar que la imagen de estos no es sino un reflejo de la de aquellos. Así, por ejemplo, la autora considera no solo que “los hechiceros eran los ideólogos del mundo andino” (325, nota 2), sino que: “... ambas culturas confiaban en una élite social autoritaria, fuese el sacerdote católico o el especialista religioso ... ambos grupos de élite se veían ... como los mantenedores de una ortodoxia, aquella del Concilio de Trento, en un lado, y la de la lógica andina, en la otra” (268).

En cualquier caso, creemos que sería fructífero debatir, a partir de este importante trabajo, la existencia de

“especialistas” en el ámbito de la religión, sobre todo en un mundo andino virreinal marcado por la desaparición de élites precolombinas en ámbitos suprarregionales (y a la luz de una etnografía que parece sugerir que hoy todos los miembros de un grupo, con diferencias de grado, son un poco “curanderos”).

Adicionalmente, creemos que relativizar la sobreestimación de la especialización religiosa en los Andes virreinales podría también ayudarnos a cuestionar una “resistencia” (30) que, en el presente libro, supone como la fuente, tanto de un “desagrado ... por los cristianos ... de largo aliento” (68), como de un intento de “retener la pureza de sus mesas rituales” (137). ¿Es necesario dar por sentada, ya sea en ciertas élites o en poblaciones enteras, una suerte de oposición, tácita o explícita, al cristianismo y al mundo venido de Europa, en un ámbito que, como los Andes amerindios, ha sido caracterizada precisamente por su “cosmopolitismo”?

En suma, los argumentos de este libro, junto con sus varios mapas útiles y sus abundantes notas explicativas y bibliográficas, constituyen no solo un notable esfuerzo comparativo y un impulso para la continuación de los estudios andinos en Alemania, sino sobre todo una estupefanda oportunidad para revisar algunos de nuestros supuestos más arraigados en torno a la sociedad andina virreinal. En efecto, la proximidad entre el mundo andino y el europeo, en torno a puntos tan cruciales como la existencia de nociones de naturaleza, de especialistas religiosos y de respuestas colectivas de resistencia a lo foráneo, siguen siendo cuestiones abiertas. Si lo más novedoso del libro fuera, como lo pensamos, su acercamiento al discurso europeo sobre la magia y sus referencias a unos autores (como Pedro Ciruelo o Martín de Castañega) poco usuales en la etnohistoria de esta región, bien podría considerársele también como un trabajo sobre el pensamiento europeo en torno a los Andes indígenas; uno que parte de la convicción, compartida por nosotros, de que una “historia del diálogo andino-cristiano requiere una perspectiva simultáneamente trasatlántica y local” (9).

Juan Javier Rivera Andía

**Bunescu, Ioana:** Roma in Europe. The Politics of Collective Identity Formation. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014. 215 pp. ISBN 978-1-4724-2058-9. Price: \$ 119.95

Ioana Bunescu, a Romanian postdoctoral scholar at Malmö University in Sweden, begins this volume with an appropriate insistence on the need for conceptualizing European Roma as a heterogeneous population that cannot be represented under the umbrella of an idealized cultural uniformity. In order to capture that diversity, Bunescu carried out fieldwork in a number of locations, and the results are conveyed in seven topically distinct chapters. According to the author, “[e]ach book chapter is an outcome of a *multi-sited ethnography* that combines anthropological, cultural studies and political science approaches to understanding the historical process of collective identity formation of the Roma” (1). The blurb on the back of the book promises a “path-breaking book” that, in the words of Sławomir Kapralski of the Polish Academy

of Sciences, “offers a much-needed link between careful ethnography of local Roma communities and a study of the European Roma political movement in its transnational context.” These hyperbolic claims are, sadly, not confirmed by my reading of this work. Only some of the chapters are rooted in ethnography, and much of the material presented under that label is rather superficial. The content is disjointed with little effort at crafting coherent arguments sustained by individual chapters, most of which appear to consist of material collected in the early 2000s. But the most misleading part of this book is the title itself. Instead of addressing “Roma in Europe,” it is largely confined to “Roma in Romania.”

Chapter 1 aspires to provide an introduction to “The Roma People”, but it contains no maps, no reference to geographical distribution and cultural distinctions, and far too many unsupported generalizations. Categorical claims such as “[p]roperty is a term void of meaning for the Roma” (23) raise eye-brows in a work dedicated to the dispelling of homogenizing stereotypes. The next chapter takes the reader to a multi-ethnic community in Transylvania where Bunescu seems to have conducted summer research as part of a team from the University of Bucharest back in 1998. The discovery that local Roma have appropriated their Saxon neighbors’ concept of *Nachbarschaft* is interesting as evidence of their ability to adapt imported traditions to their own needs, but in the following chapter the ethnographic focus gives way to an analysis of EU legislation concerned with the accession of Central-East European countries, and one wonders what link there is between the legal protection of minorities and the ability of Transylvanian Roma to adjust to changing circumstances. Bunescu combines ethnography with political analysis in chap. 4 which utilizes data collected in 2004 during interviews with Romani politicians active within and outside Romanian public administration. Unfortunately, there is no indication of how many respondents were involved in this exercise or where it took place. Bunescu makes the interesting claim that since the size of pre- and post-accession EU funding earmarked for the “Roma problem” reflected the Western perception of Romanian Roma as being particularly needy of attention and intervention, the maintenance of agencies supporting the goals of EU’s integration strategy has become conditional on the perpetuation of the precarious conditions faced by Roma. Furthermore, she claims that “fieldwork carried out with Romanian public administration officials in 2004” reinforces the suspicion that all political actors involved in the Decade of Roma Inclusion “gain some benefits” from the continued perception of Roma as needy subjects (56). According to Bunescu, the biggest beneficiaries have been members of the government-sanctioned Partida Romilor and affiliated NGOs, while ordinary Roma on the ground have seen little progress.

More interpretations of the formal political sphere are presented in chap. 5 which is the only part of the book that reaches beyond Romania. Here Bunescu gives an overview of international organizations that have contributed to the political “crystallization” of Roma and their identity as a transnational minority, such as the Interna-

tional Romani Union, the European Roma and Travelers Forum, the Open Society Institute, the OSCE’s Contact Point for Roma and Sinti, and several more entities. While this section contains some interesting material and insights, it is based almost exclusively on well-known and easily accessible sources – including a plethora of websites – and at more than thirty-five pages it gives a rambling and unfocused impression.

In the last two chapters Bunescu returns to ethnography, albeit of a very superficial kind. The topic is – broadly stated – the prominence of Vlach, and within this category Kalderash, Roma in Romania. This prominence derives primarily from their image as traditionalists who have maintained distance from Romanian society at large, but also from their seemingly exceptional ability to thrive economically. Part of the Kalderash allure is due to the presence of so-called “kings” who, as Bunescu points out, continue an old tradition of traditional leaders co-opted or outright created by the majority society in an attempt at maintaining control over the Roma. There are several competing kings and even an emperor on the Romanian scene, but although they may uphold different religious traditions – nowadays mostly Pentecostal or Orthodox – they identify with and maintain dominant ideologies of Romanian society. Bunescu met two of these kings in 2003 and 2004, and she has some insightful things to say about those encounters. However, on both occasions Bunescu had very little time with the two monarchs, and her observations do not convey any penetrating insights. The same applies to the last chapter where Bunescu describes her visit, in 2004, to the Roma festival in Costesti. This is an annual affair that brings together thousands of Romanian Vlachs who participate in various activities ranging from feasting and match-making to the settling of disputes. The latter takes place through the medium of the *kris* – a traditional Vlach tribunal that can be found in all countries inhabited by this group of Roma. What emerges from Bunescu’s description of the festival is a picture of a highly stratified society maintained by a crassly unequal distribution of wealth and power. Unfortunately, the author tells next to nothing about the sources of this inequality and its correlation with political authority.

Although Bunescu touches on many interesting aspects of contemporary Romani society, her treatment of these lacks depth and a clear focus. The reader’s expectation that the concluding chapter might pull together the many strands woven in the preceding sections can hardly be fulfilled in a summary spanning a mere three pages. The book would benefit from more careful editing to eliminate unnecessary repetition and to strengthen the coherence of individual chapters that seem disconnected and at times unrelated.

David Z. Scheffel

**Camus, Guigone:** Tabiteuea Kiribati. Genève: Fondation Culturelle Musée Barbier-Mueller. Paris: Hazan, 2014. 183 pp. ISBN 978-2-75410-787-7. Price: € 20.00

There are abundant photographs of tropical coral landscapes throughout this volume. Readers of the ethno-mythological book “Tabiteuea Kiribati” will be impressed