of these conclusions. He writes: "Practicing shamanism has a bodily and often playful character. … The shaman is the artist of the tribe and often ornaments his or her body in an eccentric and playful way. This combines the ritualistic – the repetition of certain traditions – with the creative. The spiritual healers are free to do superfluous and creative things, and they are expected to do so. They may take themselves un-seriously, play the fool and display themselves in a crazy and eccentric style. This eccentricity is accepted, even welcomed, because it contributes to the well-being of the whole clan or tribe."

The book of the late German-Danish cultural sociologist and philosopher consists of ten revised articles of him, which, although meaningfully ordered and rounded up with a conclusion, can be read criss-cross. Eichberg touches a plethora of playing activities from all over the world and throughout human history, however focuses on such, to which other play researchers often did not pay much attention: the movement in the labyrinth, the playing of the elderly, various folk games, and also risk games, war games, bullying, other forms of "dark play," and many more. This rich empirical material, which Eichberg well manages to present very entertainingly where adequate, but in unvarnished explicitness where necessary, serves him as database for – see the title of his book – questioning play; and he questions both phenomena in play or games and approaches in the study of them.

By pointing to the "dark" forms of play, Eichberg warns against the idealization of play as an activity purely "regarded as a matter of pleasure, friendly leisure, and free fun, as creative and harmless" – a widespread view, especially among "educational philosophers." By bringing to our attention such activities like battle simulating sand table games, risk games like metro surfing, the torture of animals by children for curiosity, bull- and cockfights, and others, Eichberg makes clear that "[p]lay is not just harmless" and not always "joyful for all participants." He also points to the negative developments and obliquities in professional sports – spreading anorexia, doping, match fixing, etc. – and deconstructs these sports, based on historical data, as phenomena of the process of social alienation in the capitalist world.

Nonetheless, Eichberg assures us, "[w]hile Adorno's saying that 'there is no good life in bad life' did fit in some way, indeed, it does not fit for play. There is play in bad life." His book contains an "Index of play and games" listing the more than 400 playful activities he mentions in the texts, of which the vast majority is not "dark." Play, states Eichberg, "is an island in the world of alienation and acceleration," as it is "aproductive," i.e., "outside the categories of productive and unproductive," and its "repetitive patterns … contrast the hegemonic principle of acceleration." Games are convivial activities, and in fun and folk games often the perfectionism and overregulation, which are bearing down on people in their daily lives, are suspended by staging grotesque movements, the non-perfect body, and paying not much attention to rules but instead to that that all players have fun. Folk games also often affirm local, regional, or ethnic identities. They can, however, lose this quality – and the players the control of "their" games – when they become sportified and subordinated to regulatory bodies.

The latter example reveals, in fact, two ubiquitous characteristics of play and games: their historicity and their contradictoriness. For this reason, Eichberg urges to radically change the epistemology of play. Throughout his book, in which, as stated, he fields hundreds of playing activities, he argues that an activity, which appears in such wide multifariousness, and which is such a multidimensional, ambiguous, culturally relative, historically changing, and contradictory phenomenon cannot be defined. Regardless of how one has tried to define it, whether as an as-if activity, as one, which is process- and not result-orientated, as something we do for fun, as a form of meta-communication, as the overcoming of unnecessary obstacles, or otherwise, counterexamples can easily be found. Thus, for Eichberg defining play is meaningless and, moreover, even counterproductive, as de*fini*nitions, as I would condense his argument, *fini*tes reasoning beyond the limits set up by them. What instead of definitions and the equally useless classifications, which both are products of the Western, universalistic, and positivistic scientific tradition, is needed for the *understanding* of such fluid phenomena, which play and games constitute, argues Eichberg, is a "*differential phenomenology*" and a "*praxeology*." By describing in all details a plethora of playing activities, and case-specifically analyzing them with multiple approaches, thus *questioning* them from all sides, he vividly demonstrates in his book what he means by this. And yet, many questions remain open, but that only echoes the *in*finite opportunities, which the "*mode of action*," that play is, provide, and the unquantifiable reasons *why we play*. Hence, to answer the question with which Hamayon closes up her book – "So then, are we done with playing?" – No, certainly not. Play, being a "basic human activity," as Eichberg expounds, will never end, and both books reviewed here provide insight and inspiration for further questioning it.

Stefan Krist

Elliott, Denielle, and **Dara Culhane** (eds.): A Different Kind of Ethnography. Imaginative Practices and Creative Methodologies. North York: University of Toronto Press, 2017. 147 pp. ISBN 978-1-4426-3661-3. Price: $ 27.95

"A Different Kind of Ethnography. Imaginative Practices and Imaginative Methodologies" is a collaborative book project edited by Denielle Elliott and Dara Culhane. Both are curators at the Center for Imaginative Ethnography (CIE). The CIE is a collective of activists, artists, anthropologists, and other creative practitioners who experiment with the edge effects of ethnographic and other creative practices that move beyond the observational and analytical paradigm. It offers "a space for exploring emergent ethnographic methodologies" that stress co-creation and affective, emplaced, and polysensory scholarship (3), the key focus of this collection. Its six chapters are written by the five co-curators of the Centre for Imaginative Ethnography, who are based in Canada and Italy. The CIE

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currently has around 45 members and emphasizes collaborative and "co-creative" knowledge making (3).

The book, advertised as a teaching resource for advanced undergraduate and graduate students, is a slender one that can best be described as a compendium: on less than 150 pages, it offers inspiration on how to thicken one's ethnographic practice through the modes of experimental ethnographic writing, sensing, sound studies/recording and editing, walking, and performing.

Introducing the volume, Dara Culhane situates creative ethnography in the aftermath of the Writing Culture debate and its stake against positivist, interrogative, and authoritative modes of ethnography. The introduction also provides a discussion of imagination, a key term of the book. Culhane considers both imagination and creativity as practices of everyday life worthy not just of ethnographic attention but of becoming part of ethnographic methodology. This is to be achieved through creative ethnographic modes that are "attentive to the everyday and the extraordinary, the sensorial, the forgotten, the obvious, the messy" (18) and takes "sensory, embodied, affective knowledge" very seriously. Throughout the text, however, imagination keeps deliberately being evoked rather than conceptualized (15), and it does not always become clear how the use of imagination is similar to, or different from, the fictional, speculative, transversal, original, phantasmatic, or a general education of attention. This is very understandable given the process-orientedness of the approaches that are being presented but remains to be an interesting and important conceptual question.

Denielle Elliott, in chap. 2, offers possibilities for written imaginative ethnography. She presents stimuli for both form and content from fiction and creative nonfiction (25) and offers a plethora of examples of narrative-based experimental ethnographies from the days of the Writing Culture debate to satire, SMS speak, twitter essays, and graphic novels. Chapter 3, "Sensing" (Dara Culhane), is rich in exercises that make the canonical literature on sensory ethnography and the anthropology of the senses that is being presented here relatable. The creation of "sensory embodied reflexivity" (49), an education of attention, is its main focus.

Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier (chap. 4) zooms in on the role of editing and montage in ethnographic sound and image making. Sound and image recordings serve, according to Boudreault-Fournier, "as catalysts that encourage researchers and students to reflect upon where they stand, with whom, and how" (71). She suggests that "cinematic imagination" (MacDougall), the appropriation, idiosyncratic perception and interpretation of what is happening in film and also in audio, is present both in producers and audiences of audio-visual interventions (75, 78). This re-imagination, she suggests, is closely tied to polysensory experiences of place that can be evoked through these media.

"Walking" (chap. 5), by Cristina Moretti, takes up similar questions of attunement through the practice of walking. Focussing on researching cities, the chapter provides exercises for researching public spaces through walking alone or with interlocutors. Moretti finds walking to be not only a way of attunement but also of production: walking can "be a way of telling, commenting on, performing, and creating both stories and places" (95). Magdalena Kazubowski-Houston's chapter (Performing) takes readers along her own process of imagining a fairy tale performance with her Polish Roma interlocutor Randia. A trained theatre director, Kazubowski-Houston develops a fictional dramatic script (116) based on Randia's life story. Discussing her process, she shows how doing so is less a form of representation but rather a way of imagining aspects of an interlocutors experience that are otherwise difficult to articulate.

"A Different Kind of Ethnography. Imaginative Practices and Imaginative Methodologies" is a generous and helpful introduction book on angles that have become very important in the last decade. Don't be fooled by 144 pages – it offers up much more than that: all chapters come with an appendix offering a wealth of examples, exercises, and further resources. It is really through a deeper engagement with these resources that the sometimes a little abstract and overused sounding incantation of sensuousness, relationality, affectivity, procesuality, etc. becomes tangible. It offers a great deal of orientation for emerging practitioners in the field of original ethnography and it will undoubtedly be very helpful in educational settings and as a resource for sharing approaches with creative collaborators coming from non-ethnographic backgrounds. The chapters mirror the individual interest and expertise of the contributors, all creative ethnographers in their own right. It does not claim to be comprehensive and thus does not touch in depth on some more recent developments like multispecies ethnography, which started as a collaborative and creative project to begin with, the edge effects between conceptual art and ethnography, or the importance of affect and materiality that have complemented sensory ethnography. In the spirit of the CIE and its ongoing call for collaboration, however, this should be read as an invitation. Susanne Schmitt

Feldhaus, Anne, Ramdas Atkar, and **Rajaram Zagade** (eds.): Say to the Sun, "Don't Rise," and to the Moon, "Don't Set." Two Oral Narratives from the Countryside of Maharashtra. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. 613 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-935764-2. Price: £ 64.00

This translation of two traditional oral narratives of a shepherd community in western India stands as a rich and copious archive of traditional narrative materials and ethnographic observations that will be of great benefit to a wide range of scholars interested in oral performance, folk religion, or rural/pastoral culture in South Asia. This volume offers a vivid glimpse into the fluid cultural lives of the Dhangars, a seminomadic pastoral community of the Deccan Plateau, while at the same time creating a valuable point of access into alternative dimensions of Hindu thought and practice that lie beyond the scope of the normative Brahmanical traditions. Readers of this book, in other words, will find themselves both immersed in the intricate narrative imaginary of the Dhangars and able to appreciate the distinctive religious and

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