

senschaftliche Instrumentarium eingesetzt werden soll, da keine bewusste Veränderung der Rolle des Ethnographen vorgesehen war. Gleichzeitig bedeutete dieses Einlassen auf Kahenga Mukonkwa Michel, dass Fabian bereit war, die westlichen Pfade der Biomedizin zu verlassen und damit auch die Grenzen ihrer Rationalität zu überschreiten.

Dies dokumentiert der Text. Er ist das Protokoll einer Handlung oder eines kommunikativen Austauschs und signalisiert zugleich die Abwesenheit des Ereignisses, das er dokumentiert. Der Text ist gegenwärtig, das Ereignis vergangen. Dieses Spannungsverhältnis erfordert ein Zusätzliches, um vermittelbar zu sein. Dies, so Fabian, kann der Kommentar leisten, denn er bezieht sich ausschließlich auf die Existenz des Textes, während Erzählungen oder Beschreibungen keinen Text als Grundlage haben. Der Kommentar wird in diesem Modell zum Memorandum: In ihm werden Beobachtungen, Statements, Erklärungen und Bezüge hergestellt, die unserem Gedächtnis dabei helfen, zwischen dem an das uns der Text erinnert und dem was wir denken, an das wir uns erinnern sollten, wenn wir den Text lesen, zu unterscheiden.

Entsprechend öffnet Fabian in der von ihm vorgenommenen Ordnung des Interviews immer wieder neu das Spannungsfeld zwischen eigenen Erinnerungen an die Situation und den Erklärungen und Interpretationen, die sein Interviewpartner über seine Praktiken gibt. Und es gelingt ihm in hervorragender Weise. Seite um Seite wird deutlicher, wie unterschiedlich Fabian und sein Gesprächspartner Aspekte von dessen Tätigkeit verstehen, einordnen, auf die soziokulturelle Situation beziehen und daraus unterschiedliche Handlungsoptionen ableiten und wie Fabian dies zum Anlass nimmt, die Produktion und Darstellung ethnographischen und anthropologischen Wissens zu problematisieren.

Roland Drubig

Fábos, Anita H.: “Brothers” or Others? Propriety and Gender for Muslim Arab Sudanese in Egypt. New York: Berghahn Books, 2008. 188 pp. ISBN 978-1-84545-018-2 (Studies in Forced Migration, 22) Price: £ 35.00

History and geography are interwoven through events and circumstances viewed differently by similar and dissimilar people who, in turn, stereotype or view each other negatively notwithstanding the common values they share. Such a complex and challenging predicament, “brothers” or “others,” is addressed by examining Sudanese diaspora, people of the Nile Valley, in Egypt.

The book, offering ethnographic and historical-political insights, is composed of 7 chapters divided into three parts. The first two chapters, comprising part 1, “Unity and ‘Brotherhood’,” discuss the ways in which Sudanese expatriates and exiles in Egypt delineate an ethnic difference with Egyptians through enacting a gendered propriety, *adab* (discourse), a boundary device that creates an interface as well as a division. The author argues that the Sudanese have developed an identity discourse, as an ethnic boundary marker anchored on their shared expectations of proper behavior for women and men contingent

on Islamic discourse and Arab cultural practices. The boundary, as the books asserts, lies in the uniqueness and superiority of the Sudanese propriety, *adab*, in relation to Egyptians.

Chapters 3 and 4, constituting part 2, “Modernity and Otherness,” address the political crises of the 1990s, following the 1989 coup in Sudan, and the attempted assassination of Mubarak in 1995, which generated hostilities between the Sudanese Islamist regime and the Mubarak regime that, in turn, caused negative repercussions on Sudanese in Egypt. Consequently, the Sudanese have stereotyped Egyptians as lacking propriety, being “fake,” “uncritical,” selfish, violent towards each other, unfamiliar with Sudanese history or culture, and “far from religion.” Further, Muslim Arab Sudanese feel that they are considered “brothers” in the Nile Valley only on Egyptian terms. This statement, however, could have been further clarified if the author had made a distinction between the Egyptian government and Egyptian people.

The last three chapters, compiled in part 3, “Neither ‘Brothers’ nor ‘Others’,” deals with Sudanese ways of stereotyping themselves as well as Egyptians. Once again, using the notion of *adab*, propriety, Sudanese delineate between different communities, drawing sub-boundaries between themselves and those who have “lost” their Sudanese identity. Dealing with two Sudanese communities, namely expatriates and exiles, the author asserts that the relationship between them mirrors the relationship between Sudanese and Egyptians. For instance, Sudanese exiles depict Sudanese expatriates as “becoming Egyptian,” stereotyping them as lacking hospitality, generosity, modesty, and other qualities of “typical Sudanese.” In the meantime, expatriates have adopted some of the stereotypes of their Egyptian host regarding Sudan – that it is primitive and unsophisticated.

Also, the activities of the two communities regarding the Sudanese NGO movements in Egypt are different. Expatriate organizations tend to have a strongly ethnic character, based on what they see as Sudanese “traditions,” while exile organizations attempt to define “Sudanese-ness” in Egypt in light of the struggle over national identity back home. However, the role of the notion of propriety in distinguishing between what the author calls Sudanese “traditions” and “Sudanese-ness” is not clear.

Dealing with gender issues and Sudanese diaspora, the author claims that dramatic changes in the circumstances of the Sudanese in Cairo have challenged the cultural norm of gender complementarity as men “stay at home” for want of work, while women seek and find new opportunities for themselves. I wonder here about the notion of propriety of Sudanese men who stay at home allowing their wives to be the breadwinners. It is not convincing to state, as the author argues, that this situation led Sudanese to place more emphasis on “proper” ways of behaving and being.

The book suffers from sweeping and misleading generalizations about Sudanese diaspora in Egypt. The characteristics that Sudanese believe separate them from Egyptians, as based on an assertion of Sudanese’s superior propriety, seems a very simplistic analysis convey-

ing nothing new. The author herself argues that resulting ethnic identity of the Sudanese is ambiguous, allowing them to make claims for their own uniqueness while simultaneously acknowledging the identity that they share with Egyptian and Arab communities. “Sudanese remain ambivalent about the extent of their ‘differences’ from Egyptian society” (169). However, claiming moral superiority contradicts the ethics of *adab* in the Muslim-Arab culture. Further, in a prototypical stereotype context, a group claims that it is superior to the other group being stereotyped. The problem the book faces is essentialism as represented in Sudanese moral superiority, on the one hand, and in making Sudanese exiles represent the Sudanese typical identity, on the other. Most chapters draw on formerly published articles causing unnecessary repetitions throughout the book.

Despite these shortcomings, the book is a welcome contribution to the study of diaspora in general and Sudanese diaspora in Egypt in particular.

el-Sayed el-Aswad

Giobellina Brumana, Fernando: Diarios de la India. Experiencia de campo con una hechicera brasileña. Barcelona: Laertes, 2009. 192 pp. ISBN 978-84-7584-652-1. Precio: € 15.00

Este libro narra en primera persona la “cocina” del primer trabajo de campo intensivo de Fernando Giobellina Brumana, prolífico etnólogo argentino dedicado al estudio de las religiones subalternas brasileñas. En rigor se trata de un diario que relata el comienzo de la investigación del culto umbanda, y más precisamente los vaivenes de la relación de su autor con una *quimbandeira* llamada “India” – la *quimbanda* es algo así como el brazo armado de la umbanda, el arsenal dinámico de técnicas de “magia negra” y “hechicería”. Para hacerlo, Giobellina Brumana despliega una paleta de matices que diferencian este libro de sus obras anteriores, más estrictamente académicas. Sin escatimar confusiones, equívocos, asombro, ni tampoco por momentos ribetes de franco humorismo, “Diarios de la India” logra componer una descripción artesanal, por momentos novelesca, de las dimensiones más sensoriales, elementales y primarias del quehacer antropológico – no en vano la única referencia teórica es una obra proto-postmoderna, “La possession et ses aspects théâtraux chez les éthiopiens de Gondar”, de Michel Leiris, cuya sombra fantasmagórica anida tras cada recoveco de la trama. Este desmontaje de la alquimia en que se basa la “magia del etnógrafo”, por otra parte, aporta nuevos matices de reflexión sobre el tema turneriano – o más bien van gennepiano – que vertebró la obra científica de Giobellina Brumana: el esclarecimiento en clave religiosa de los fenómenos sociales de liminaridad y marginalidad.

Para contextualizar etnográficamente el diario, el autor presenta un estudio preliminar que resume sus hallazgos sobre las religiones subalternas de Brasil: el candomblé, el espiritismo kardecista, el pentecostalismo radical, el umbanda y su pintoresco panteón policromo compuesto de *caboclos*, *boiaderos*, *bahianos*, *marujos*, *ciganos*,

exus, *pombas gira* y *pretos velhos*. No deja de lado aspectos simbólicos de las religiones marginales, como la disección meticulosa de los panteones, o la importancia fundamental de la posesión y sus virtudes terapéuticas. Tampoco olvida los aspectos sociológicos de los cultos, como por ejemplo los acomodamientos, fracturas y tensiones con respecto a la medicina oficial, la cultura de masas o la política nacional.

Pero tal vez lo más interesante del trabajo sea la nítida caracterización de la multiplicidad de cultos periféricos; particularmente, de las relaciones weberianas de complementariedad, subordinación o competencia con respecto a las religiones oficiales, centrales o dominantes. Presos de la obsesión occidental con la pureza teológica, los cultos oficiales niegan toda legitimidad religiosa a los cultos subalternos confinándolos al plano político, criminal o psiquiátrico – en otras palabras, sus agentes jamás leyeron a Durkheim. Carentes en cambio de órdenes jerárquicos estrictos, de ortodoxias dogmáticas, de expectativas disciplinarias de fidelidad y exclusividad, los cultos subalternos no se molestan en poner en duda la legitimidad religiosa de los cultos oficiales; lo que impugnan es su pretensión de monopolizar la vida religiosa. Este juego dinámico de mestizajes, mixturas y superposiciones – por ejemplo entre catolicismo, candomblé y umbanda – constituye, así, el punto neurálgico del volumen. Podría argumentarse que no se trata de una idea nueva, y que las mismas líneas de fuerza pueden percibirse en cualquier otro juego de relaciones entre misioneros y especialistas religiosos amerindios; pero lo que cabe destacar en este caso, más allá de la finura de la documentación etnográfica, no es tanto el qué sino el cómo, reconociendo el sabor minimalista, abigarrado, casi caleidoscópico con que Giobellina Brumana ha conseguido retratar las religiones brasileñas.

Diego Villar

Gomes, Mércio Pereira: Antropologia. Ciência do homem, filosofia da cultura. São Paulo: Contexto, 2008. 239 pp. ISBN 978-85-7244-383-8. Preço: R\$ 35,00

Não é comum encontrar em livrarias brasileiras introduções à antropologia escritas por colegas brasileiros e voltadas para os conteúdos específicos das grades curriculares da área neste país. Entre as poucas exceções merecem ser citadas “Relativizando. Uma introdução à antropologia social” (Petrópolis 1983), de Roberto Da-Matta, ou o já ultrapassado “Antropologia cultural. Iniciação teoria e temas” (Petrópolis 1982), de Luiz Gonzaga de Mello, enquanto a maioria das introduções são traduções de obras estrangeiras, como “Etnologia – Antropologia” (Petrópolis 1998), de Philippe Laburthe-Tolra e Jean-Pierre Warnier, ou “Aprender antropologia” (São Paulo 1988), de François Laplantine. Por outro lado, é muito interessante observar que as demandas de disciplinas de antropologia cultural atualmente parecem ser mais bem atendidas pelo mercado editorial com pequenas obras introdutórias para alunos cujo objetivo não é se formar em antropologia. Além disso, todo aluno de uma instituição brasileira de ensino superior que cursa alguma disciplina de antropologia parece ter contato com um