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: Berghahn 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' und 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-

petition between the hunter and the individual animal. Hunters' and herders' set-up and use of camps is shaped by their experiences of luck as well as awareness of spirits, domestic and hunted animals' *bikit*, i.e., animal habitats or "living" places to which the hunter has to attune his or her own senses and movement when hunting a particular animal (145). This awareness derives from their personal experiences, their reading and interpretation of wild and domestic animals' tracks, and the adjustment of their spatial activities to shifts in the environment and the movements of predators and reindeer. The experience of luck when living in certain places in the taiga endows humans with a sense of mastery over their own *bikit* (174).

Chapter 6 (Mastery of Time: Weather and Opportunities) examines how luck is achieved through the successful prediction of, and influence over, the weather. The given case study demonstrates that Orochen temporality can be described not as a fixed and abstract calendar but as a flow of intertwined signs and changes, situated in places to which people have to adjust their activities in order to succeed in their subsistence. In this context luck is achieved through the successful prediction of, and influence over, the weather to ensure that hunters and herders make the best use of certain hunting areas and animals (188).

Chapter 7 (Herding, Hunting and Ambiguity) describes hunting and herding luck in relation to humans' ambivalent interaction with both domestic animals (reindeer and dogs) and predators (bears and wolves) in the face of the shortage of and competition for land in the post-Soviet environment. As shown before, competition that pits hunters and herders against individual animals involves forms of reciprocity and respect for autonomy. However, in an environment of shortage and state constraints, hunters must dominate animals in order to survive. It is reported that in pre-Soviet times they perceived their relations with bears and wolves as cooperation based on respect, autonomy, and sharing between humans and animals. However, today hunters and herders believe that they cannot successfully herd reindeer without "warfare" with predators. To ensure food supplies or to succeed in reindeer herding, they have to engage in ambivalent interaction with other animals and rely on practices that may call for spirits' revenge (216).

In chapter 8 (Rock Art, Shamans and Healing), the author builds upon the more recent understanding that rock art should be seen in the context of its user and caretaker rather than its maker, since the act of the creation of the site and the original meanings associated with the images usually do not hold an essential place within a group's memory anymore (229). Therefore, rock art sites are not only a window to the past (as imagined by Russian archaeologist Okladnikov), but also, in a way, a window to the past, present, and future alike (237). The author also addresses various rituals that are performed publicly in the villages to reaffirm the indigenous identity and well-being of an Orochen community. Reindeer herders' and hunters' ritual performances at various taiga sites signal respect for the master-spirits and establish a claim to the mastery of land in competition with other groups striving to claim the use of taiga territories. Nowadays, when specialists like shamans have become rare or ceased altogether to be the main cosmological intermediaries, monumental ritual sites like those with rock art and rituals have become open sources of knowledge and empowerment for a people based in the taiga and the villages (242).

In the concluding chapter 9 (Ambivalence, Reciprocity and Luck) the author offers some overarching ideas addressed in the foregoing chapters and discusses these in relation to the ethnographic literature on hunters' and gatherers' ideas of luck, reciprocity, and domination. He illustrates this point with interrelated ethnographic vignettes that show how *kutu* can be caught, sustained, contained, shared, and lost in daily subsistence practices. The author emphasizes how *kutu* can be placed into various material objects (amulets, tools, camping structures) and places (such as *bikit*), and sustained through networks of reciprocity with humans and nonhuman beings. Thus, *kutu* is neither a superstitious relic of old religious practices nor an abstract theoretical concept, but rather something perceived and experienced as an indigenous reality that is inseparable from everyday subsistence practices, embodied knowledge, and quotidian interactions (250).

Finally, the author stresses the Orochen's flexibility in terms of the strategies, knowledge, and skills that they use to adapt to their changing natural, seasonal, economic, and political circumstances. As in the past, the core of the Orochen's ontology of luck and success has been their capacity to adjust their daily lives to change and to create and maintain subsistence strategies that give them the best possible chances for survival, both in the taiga and in the post-Soviet socioeconomic environment (257). Therefore, Orochen life does not consist of simply moving *with* the flow of the environment: life is mastered both *over* the environment and *together with* it, whether by catching luck or achieving success through domination in their subsistence activities (258).

The book contains a number of informative maps and tables as well as an index. As certain terms involve complex concepts that are often not easy to translate straightforwardly, the author makes sure to also give the original Russian and/or Orochen word for them. In some cases, the comprehensive and distinct track (148) and reindeer (192) terminology in Orochen language points to the fact that complex local ecological knowledge is best perceived and sustained within the respective indigenous language (cf. A. Lavrillier and S. Gabyshev, An Arctic Indigenous Knowledge System. Fürstenberg 2017; <http://www.siberian-studies.org/publications/PDF/lavgab.pdf>).

In sum, this book offers a profound discussion of the author's own insights – obtained through extensive and sensitive fieldwork – within the context of the relevant and most recent ethnographic literature. It is striking that he seizes upon the important discourse on human-animal relations in North American subarctic hunting societies, that has emerged there most notably since the 1970s. By incorporating its outcome he considerably enhances the discussion of similar Siberian themes, as has been the case even in many other post-Soviet ethnographic studies by international teams.

It is regrettable, however, that there is no parallel open access version of this book available – in contrast to current trends in science publication (<https://www.bmbf.de/de/open-access-das-urheberrecht-muss-der-wissenschaft-dienen-846.html>). In light of the price ($ 120.00), even specialized libraries probably will think twice before ordering this book. Therefore, one has to be afraid that this important book might not get the dissemination and attention that it deserves. Erich Kasten

Bulloch, Hannah C. M.: In Pursuit of Progress. Narratives of Development on a Philippine Island. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017. 228 pp. ISBN 978-0-8248-5886-5. Price: $ 62.00

"In Pursuit of Progress. Narratives of Development on a Philippine Island" by Hannah C. M. Bulloch casts a garish but welcome light over some areas of enquiry that received less attention in the anthropology of development and development anthropology. Bulloch elicits the personal and moral dimensions of development from the impoverished island of Siquijor in the Bisaya-speaking region of the Central Philippines.

By pursuing the discursive formation of development ethnographically, Bulloch illuminates how this fairly entrenched but contested trope of knowing human achievements and potentiality can be further unpacked without wading into the sharp divide separating the exponents of development and post-development advocates yearning to slay the concept altogether. In making development and poverty a personal and moral question, Bulloch rises above contentions that vilify development defenders for brushing aside the deplorable impact of inequality or paint postdevelopment proponents as essentialists provocateurs who valorise subaltern resistance clueless of the messy micro-politics of power relations.

Liberated from these longstanding debates, the ethnography deftly tracked the ways development was promoted, lamented, bemoaned, and inserted into everyday conversations by the destitute communities implicated by it. Bulloch teased out these disjointed sentiments from the narratives of landless farmers, fisher folks, *sari-sari* (small neighbourhood store) clerks, and roadside vendors who became her intimate friends and informants in the course of a long-term, albeit, on and off fieldwork in a Siquijor *barangay* (village) from 2004 to 2015. Bulloch navigated her way into this sphere of engagements heeding Arturo Escobar's emphatic call for ethnographers to follow the subtleties of the discourses, practices, operations, and transformative implications of development. Bulloch pursued this trajectory in consonance with an exhortation from Stacy Leigh Pigg to situate the study of development in the context of localized appropriation of modernity as a discursive site for understanding how subjective agents "adopt, deploy, modify, and question." By taking the tools of ethnography into these discursive realms, Bulloch illuminates the disjunctive viewpoints and, at times, moralizing lenses of subjective agents implicated by the interlinked phenomena of development and modernity.

The Siquijodnon notion of development, as noted by Bulloch, is encapsulated in the concept of *kalamboan*, a complex Bisaya everyday terminology and philosophy that invariably refers to progress, enrichment, advancement, and sense of fulfilment in ways that is not simply equitable to neoliberal articulations of development. As Bulloch showed, *kalamboan* and specifically its variant term, *asenso*, also refer to the transformation of individual condition from extreme poverty to a *simple life* where one's basic necessities are met and sense dignity is lived. Such line of thought, however, cuts in many ways by which Bulloch reveals the prejudicial and moralistic conception of *kalamboan* by the impoverished who interprets and adheres to it. Bulloch lays bare the sense of difference and even discriminatory tendencies of the Siquijodnon poor towards their poorer fellow from isolated highlands for supposedly not being sophisticated enough to imbibe the terms of *kalamboan* in the form of Westernized education, modern outlook, consumer goods, and so on.

Discordantly, however, the strident judgment of the Siquijor poor is not only directed towards the poorest but reserved even more harshly onto themselves as Bulloch narrates. The poor blame themselves for their own destitution. They see impoverishment as their "*swerte*" (fate and fortune) and shortcomings in liberating themselves from the bondage of their poorly cultivated land. They hold themselves responsible for their apparent failure to adapt and draw the resources of *kalamboan*, filtering out the powerful global market forces and structural policies of import-export substitution that stack the cards against them to begin with. Conflating *kalamboan* to the notion of *swerte* effectively obscures the drivers of inequalities that consequently made the Siquijodnon poor a prey of impoverishment.

Through the introspection of her Siquijodnon friends and informants, Bulloch shows how the hard effects of poverty and the idealization of development clouds the analytical proficiency of the poor in thinking about the roots of their affliction. Bulloch questions how power and market relations in Siquijor and the broader Philippine body politic implicate the contemplation of the poor to further unravel the underpinnings of these sentiments. In doing so, however, Bulloch veered away from Piggs's fundamental point of dissecting local modes of modernity by tracking how the people it entangles appropriate, mobilize, recast, and question the discursive terms of development.

Rather than yield insights from her ethnographic context, Bulloch relied heavily on yet another trope of analyzing power relations and inequalities in the Philippines. This trope views Philippine politics as almost exclusively shaped by patron-client relationship dominated by the landowning class who mastered the art of exploiting the Filipino sense of reciprocity since the age of Spanish and American colonialism. This line of analysis privileges Weberian ideation of power while shoving aside other means by which political performance, symbols, and mobilization of power are grasped, absorbed, utilized, negotiated, dealt with, and even challenged within the context of the peoples indigenous roots, political economic history, and sociocultural transformations.