

The following four chapters are shorter. In the first one, Renzo S. Duin describes the alternate uses of commercial cigarettes and locally grown tobacco among the Guianese Wayana. For the Yanomami, treated by Alejandro Reig in the second one, tobacco is just an enjoyment. But the author links it with desire and expressions of need, generosity, and reciprocity, all of which being essential aspects of Yanomami's social ethos. He shows how tobacco creates so genuine "landscapes of desire" – and can organize Yanomami's displacements. In the third chapter, Juan Pablo Sarmiento Barletti shows how tobacco is used among the Ashaninka in two opposite ways. On the Ene River, it serves to restore the ancient sociality after the civil war between the Peruvian state and "Sendero Luminoso." On the Bajo Urubamba, commercial cigarettes (as many other industrial commodities) are consumed in order to "become a Peruvian," and so to maintain paradoxically the specific Ashaninka sense of well-being. The book ends with a last, quite interesting contribution of Paolo Fortis, about the Guna (Kuna) of Panama, and about the relationship between tobacco and *chicha*, the different kinds of tobacco and *chicha* specialists, and the ambiguous animal spirits, who feed on tobacco smoke that they perceive as *chicha*.

Marc Lenaerts

**Sansi, Roger:** *Art, Anthropology, and the Gift*. London: Bloomsbury, 2015. 188 pp. ISBN 978-0-85785-535-0. Price: £ 21.99

This book takes the dialogues between art and anthropology to a new level. It moves the reader beyond the interest in "primitive" art during modernism and the crisis of representation in the 1980s towards contemporary art concerned with social interventions. Roger Sansi has investigated the deeper affinities between the two fields, and he argues for an increased focus on theoretical correspondences in addition to earlier assessments of ethnographic practice as the core commonality. While the latter texts have been framed by one of the two disciplines, Sansi presents a groundbreaking volume in its innovative engagement with conceptualisations within both art and anthropology. The author traces complex combinations and recognises possibilities of anthropologists learning from artists practising anthropology, not only their audiovisual techniques, and of artists developing their theoretical and ethical frameworks through collaborations with anthropologists. The book explores relationships between the two fields and is organised through particular questions, such as participation, work, personhood, aesthetics, and politics. The concept of the gift constitutes the main concern. The ethnographic examples are situated in contemporary international art directed towards social and political change, particularly works performed in Spain. They include artists well known on the institutionalised art scene as well as small local collectives.

The central theme of the gift is productively used as a tool to discuss differences, similarities, and possible future collaborations between art and anthropology. The author enhances this analysis by exploring debates and dis-

junctions within each field. Sansi describes how the social turn in contemporary art engages artists in participatory practices including gift-giving and exchange to accomplish community building and subversive acts against the market economy. Simultaneously, certain art critics argue that participatory practices run the risk of reproducing the relations they aim to oppose. Sansi takes this debate further and investigates causes of the risk. From the perspective of art theory, the gift is perceived as free and voluntary and characterised by a capacity to create egalitarian relations. The author suggests that art practice can be better adjusted to accomplish social change through an incorporation of anthropological theories of the gift. Following Marcel Mauss, it becomes necessary to apprehend that the gift produces and reproduces social hierarchies; it is bound to obligations of giving, receiving, and returning, and the giver always distributes parts of his- or herself. Through this perspective, artists' interventions in social space can be understood in relation to existing power relations. The issue of the artist's authority can be illuminated and actions can be taken beyond preconceived intentions and at times be questioned as reproducing the artist's individual fame rather than creating friendship cultures. As an example of earlier transgressions between art practice and anthropological theories of the gift, the author presents the Situationists' appropriation of the potlatch in the 1960s. The ritual organisation of lavish gift-giving on the northwest coast of North America was transformed into a critique of commodification and private ownership in Western Europe. Ideally through actions of stealing and then giving away, the artists held that the commodity would lose its market value.

Sansi claims that the common interest among artists and anthropologists is not other cultures, but the critical rethinking of their own reality and suggestions of alternative perspectives. Their knowledge productions share the aim to challenge classical Western definitions and the current dominance of capitalism and loss of community. Artists seek alternatives through the performance of micro-utopias; enactments of social practices where models of inclusive and collective futures can emerge. While these projects have been realised in smaller scale and often protected in gallery spaces, movements such as Occupy and 15-M aim to transform the social as a whole. They develop as citizen projects and challenge the division between the artist and non-artist, and between art and life. The author suggests that the utopian component in anthropology should engage more with artistic practices as methods of exploring social and political relations, and as methods of understanding how social life can be presented as performative processes rather than representations of a reality already given. The artists' disavowal of their own agency in favour of other participants in collaborative practices enables space for chance and the unpredictable, which in turn can be useful for anthropological ways of working. In sum, Sansi's insightful and sophisticated analysis makes this book an excellent read for all concerned with both theoretical and practical developments in the dialogues between art and anthropology.

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