

Manguin, Pierre-Yves, A. Mani, and Geoff Wade (eds.): *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia. Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2011. 514 pp. ISBN 978-981-4345-10-1. (Nalanda-Sriwijaya Series, 2) Price: \$ 49.90

In November 2007, the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore hosted a conference on “Early Indian Influences in Southeast Asia.” This conference was attended by 52 international experts. During and after the conference it became clear that not all papers read were to be published, and that the contributions should be brought into a clearer structure. From this evolved two volumes, one devoted to the Chola Naval Expeditions and edited by H. Kulke et al. and published in 2009 in Singapore as vol. 1 in the Nalanda-Sriwijaya Series, as well as in Delhi in 2010. Now the second volume is published; it contains 23 articles which were arranged by the editors in a plausible way, separating contributions which present new archaeological evidence from those which concentrate on “Localisation,” a term proposed by O. Wolters to designate the application and recreation of Indian (and other foreign) elements within new cultural forms in Southeast Asia. Accordingly, the title of the book reads “Early Interactions” instead of “Early Indian Influences.” Just as a reminder: exactly 50 years have passed since Harry Benda published “The Structure of Southeast Asian History,” which to the reviewer came like a bright spot when, as a university student, he read that article after Bosch’s “Het vraagstuk van de Hindoe-kolonisatie van den Archipel” and books by the authors of the “Greater India Society” marked by a strong colonial and often nationalistic Indian touch. Benda had made a plea to look at Southeast Asia from inside, and now – half a century later – it looks as if the attraction of the above-mentioned ideologies in historical interpretation is reduced.

Manguin in his introduction mentions the pioneering work of archaeologist Ian Glover who, an excellent excavator and excellent thinker, carries on Benda’s ideas into the exploration of “Early Trade between India and Southeast. A Link in the Development in a World Trading System,” the title of his 1889 book. The outlook now is transnational, and in terms of disciplines, much of the burden to form a picture of those formative centuries in the 1st millennium B.C.E. and well into the 1st millennium C.E. lies on archaeology. Yet Manguin sees also the many lacunae in our knowledge of protohistoric material, yet also in the application of new ideas. None of the articles contains a mere assemblage of material. The articles in the first part of the book include a critical overview of Central Vietnam from 500 B.C.E. to 500 C.E. (Lam Thi My Dzung); a re-assessment of the earliest Indian contacts in Thailand (Ian C. Glover, Bérénice Bellina); a thorough study of Indian and Indian-style wares from southern Thailand, showing that the site Khao Sam Kaeo took part in an trans-Asian trade system by the 4th–2nd centuries B.C.E., that Bengal styles and techniques were applied on pottery at the same time, and the author (Phaedra Bouvet) suggests the circulation of Indian craftsmen in the Thai peninsula; Boonyarit Chaisuwan presents Indian involvement on the Thai Andaman coast during

that same time, yet extending into the 11th century C.E.; Pierre-Yves Manguin with Agustijanto Indradjaja present new evidence of early Indian influence in West Java from the Batujaya site near Jakarta; and contributions on Indian involvement in Sumatra (E. Edwards McKinnon; Daniel Perret with Hedy Surachman). This same network is treated with a view from India: on the emergence of early historic trade in peninsular India (K. Rajan), interaction of ceramic and boat building traditions in South and Southeast Asia (V. Selvakumar), a prominent topic concerning the main means for long-distance interaction and a chapter on marine archaeology along the Tamil Nadu coast and its implication for the said interaction (Sundaresh and A. S. Gaur).

Topics in the “Localisation” part of the book include Tamil merchants, the spread of Sanskrit, early inscriptions in Indonesia, the temples of Dieng, the role of Gupta-period sculpture in Southeast Asian art history, a rare contribution on music, namely on early musical exchange between India and Southeast Asia (above all on musical instruments) as well as on different elements (ritual, inscriptions, deities, literature) within the wide religious field of Buddhism and Hinduism-Brahmanism.

This book, provided with a good index, is a most welcome addition to the available literature on early exchange in the early Eastern Indian Ocean world, yet it is much more: authors and editors manage to give a stimulating insight into the work of the historian in the wide sense of the word, trying to make sense of the material found and to test ideas and interpretations with that and further material. They give incentives to indulge in the study of this fascinating area and equally fascinating period and in the hundreds of problems still unsolved.

Wolfgang Marschall

Meyer, Christian, and Felix Girke (eds.): *The Rhetorical Emergence of Culture*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2011. 326 pp. ISBN 978-0-85745-112-5. (Studies in Rhetoric and Culture, 4). Price: \$ 95.00

At the heart of this book is the idea that rhetoric constitutes reality. This conception evokes the classical Sophistic sense that rhetoric provides the discursive resources not only to advocate or obscure realities, but also to create them. So while rhetorical structures emerge from, circulate within, and are shaped by cultures, they are also the instruments that we use to invent culture. This is captured succinctly in the chiasmus that serves as a mantra for the book: “just as rhetoric is founded in culture, culture is founded in rhetoric” (1).

This collection is the fourth in a series called “Studies in Rhetoric and Culture,” which represents the work of the International Rhetoric Culture Project, a group of interdisciplinary scholars committed to studying the “concrete practices of discourse in which and through which the diverse and often also fantastic patterns of culture – including our own – are created, maintained and contested.” This volume brings the fields of anthropology and rhetoric together to account for “how culture emerges out of rhetorical action” (2). One argument that underscores this

book, therefore, is that ethnography, and other field-based methodologies, are ideal for understanding the “social and bodily conditions of communication,” the “back-and-forth of actors who come to develop and realize their own intentions only in interaction with other will-endowed people and recalcitrant or tempting environments,” and the “necessity of attending to the ever present phenomenon of resonance, contingency, and persuasion” (27).

The book consists of fifteen chapters divided into three sections: “Intersubjectivity,” “Emergence,” and “Agency.” The six chapters in the “Intersubjectivity” section provide a theoretical framework for understanding rhetoric as constitutive of and resonant within culture. The five chapters in the “Emergence” section are “ethnographic in nature” and seek to capture the “situatedness of rhetorical practices” as they emerge within various cultures (23). The four chapters within the “Agency” section focus “on methodological reflections on agency and authority” (23).

Collectively, there are rich conversations here that coalesce, for me, around five interconnected threads. First, many chapters focus on rhetorics of the everyday, or what Hauser calls “vernacular rhetorics.” If, as mentioned above, rhetoric both structures and is structured by culture, human actors must improvise within these structuring structures that impinge but never fully. They must act flexibly within social and material constraints without ever achieving full control of their actions. The editors call this “contingency,” and they turn to the rhetorical concept of *kairos* – or timely, opportunistic, and skillful action – as a touchstone for understanding (and ethnographically studying) how humans improvise “creatively” and with “responsiveness” within everyday concrete, yet contingent social spaces (17).

Second, there is the general call within this book for ethnographies of rhetoric. While several chapters offer some ethnographic grounding for “the rhetorical emergence of culture,” Hauser’s contribution alone explicitly articulates the “ethnography of rhetoric” as an ideal method for studying rhetoric in culture. Capturing the contingent, *kairotic*, improvisational textures of everyday practices of rhetoric, as Hauser argues, requires a method that allows the researcher to be present over time in actual field sites where they can witness “ongoing exchanges of ordinary people” (169). Tyler argues, on the flip, that the ethnographic genre is itself thoroughly rhetorical, comprised not of direct representations of reality but only of “rhetorical categories, topics, and interpretive organization” (309). Yet, if the ethnographic genre can only be heuristical – providing miniature models that merely explicate our salient theoretical preoccupations and “terministic screens,” as Kenneth Burke might say – there is an important conversation on the value of such labor that is not found in the exchanges here.

Third, the book attunes to the affective, embodied, material, and nondiscursive qualities of persuasion. Rhetorical force is defined here not strictly in terms of “rational,” Logos-based persuasion, but as also having sensual, bodily, spatial, nonrational, and magical qualities. For example, Shotter theorizes bodily forces of persuasion, and sees rhetoric as significant because “it is music

and reason, action and contemplation, poetry and prose all in one” (20). Carbaugh and Boromisza-Habashi turn to their ethnographic work with the Blackfeet, which reveals nonlinguistic communication centered on listening to the “nonhuman natural world” (103). Streck uses the metaphor of “aura,” to make sense of the “mutual spellbinding and blinding” nature of culture (125). Weiner draws on Henri Lefebvre’s spatial theory to ethnographically illuminate the correspondence among discourse, subjectivity, and spatialities within the Foi tribe of Papua New Guinea. Spaces, he argues, create “specific forms of language” and “certain kinds of subject positions for speaking beings” (173). Robling historicizes the role of the orator, offering that anthropologists might study orators by looking at how “body, gesture, and clothing” affect persuasion (261).

Fourth, the collection develops the key concept of “resonance,” which is produced through “ephemeral and elusive process[es] that makes it possible and indeed attractive for us to coordinate with each other without being explicit about it” (13). Rhetorical resonances work metaphorically like tuning forks. There are certain tones (or, in our case, ideologies, mores, stories, practices, topoi, arguments, etc.) that, when struck, reverberate with force such that surrounding bodies begin vibrating “in tune,” or at least in response, to the tone. Resonance also implicates the affective, emotional, and embodied aspects of persuasion by focusing on how those qualities take hold in a culture and become enmeshed with broader ideologies. Several chapters theorize how resonances operate, how we can render the processes of resonances visible, and how people might actively produce or resist resonance in order to cooperate and catalyze social movements. Sapienza looks at discursive practices within Russian online communities, showing how rhetoric creates community and resonance within contentious, transcultural communities. Henn also addresses transcultural encounters in his treatment of the Jesuits’ attempts to convert Hindus in the sixteenth century through the elaborate rhetorical alignment of Christian and Hindu sacred texts to increase resonance. Girke and Pankhurst demonstrate how rhetoric contributes to peacemaking in Ethiopia. Zebroski attends to processes through which rhetorical structures were reinvented within the social formation of gay authorship. Oakley studies the production, circulation, and consequences of “attention,” a concept that closely aligns with “resonance,” within the 2000 Census Campaign.

Fifth, this book illuminates the usefulness of rhetorical theory for field researchers in overcoming any number of Cartesian dichotomies, for example, between intersubjectivity and subjectivity, bodies and minds, private and public, individual and social, human and nonhuman agencies, the symbolic and the material, and the discursive and nondiscursive. Rhetorical theory helps account for the constituency and interrelatedness of these concepts – tensions that the Rhetoric Culture Project proposes to trace in situ. Du Bois theorizes the interplay between subjectivity and intersubjectivity, and operationalizes “resonance” as a term that clarifies the nature of dialogue. Streckler turns to the metaphor of “tenor” to theorize the “mutual persuasion and negotiation that goes on between participants”

(139), and the multifarious ways that people draw connections (in Ethiopia).

This collection, as well as others in the series, charts out a theoretical and methodological path for anthropologists, sociologists, political theorists, rhetoricians, and others who are interested in ethnographically understanding the power of rhetoric to both structure our lives and provide the resources to restructure it anew.

Candice Rai

Motakef, Mona: Körper Gabe. Ambivalente Ökonomien der Organspende. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2011, 264 pp. ISBN 978-3-8376-1631-6. (Materialitäten, 17) Preis: € 29.80

Heute stirbt man in Deutschland in vielen Fällen nicht mehr am eigentlichen Versagen des Organs, sondern an der fehlenden Organspende, womit ein neuer Diskurs um Leben und Sterben eingeführt wurde. Seit Jahren finden sich mehrfach im Monat in den großen deutschsprachigen Zeitungen Artikel, die davon sprechen, dass es einen "Organmangel" gebe und dass nicht genügend "Spender" zu finden seien, die bereit wären, ihre Organe zur Transplantation an Unbekannte zur Verfügung zu stellen. Daher wird in Deutschland über Maßnahmen nachgedacht, wie eine allgemeine Einwilligung zu erhalten ist, die nur mit einem ausdrücklichen und individuellen Widerspruch außer Kraft gesetzt werden könnte.

Mona Motakef analysiert in ihrem Buch mit dem etwas rätselhaften Titel "Körper Gabe", wie die Ökonomien der Organspende aus unterschiedlichen Diskursen zu Körper, Leiblichkeit und auch "Geschöpflichkeit" (sehr schön, S. 83) abgeleitet werden. Sie will damit einen Beitrag zur Soziologie der Biopolitik leisten, die, so Motakef, bisher nicht ausreichend entwickelt worden sei, so dass die normativen Fragestellungen der Bioethik in den Vordergrund rücken konnten. Wenn aber die Bioethik fraglos die Diskussionslinien vorgibt, sei das nicht notwendig zum Nutzen der Gesellschaft, zumal sie in erster Linie auf Regulierungsperspektiven abhebt, also was im Rahmen der Organspenden erlaubt bzw. verbessert werden könnte, statt grundlegendere Fragen beispielsweise zur Wertigkeit von Organen (Herz, Niere etc.) und ihrer sozialen Konstruktion zu stellen. Theoretisch folgt sie den Ausführungen Althusser (Ideologie und ideologische Staatsapparate. Hamburg 1977), nach der "... die Anrufungen auf ein christliches Gewissen zielen, das in der judeo-christlichen Tradition, in der Vorgegebenheit und der Verdanktheit des Lebens durch Gott besteht" (220). Damit meint Motakef die Aufrufe zur Organspende, wie sie insbesondere von der "Deutschen Stiftung Organtransplantation" und den Kirchen unternommen werden, die den Organspender postmortem zum "Gutmenschen" veredeln. Gleichzeitig unterstreicht sie, dass die Aufrufe zur Lebendspende diskret und meist im Rahmen der Familie geschehen, da sie gegen die medizinische Maxime und den hippokratischen Eid des *non nocere* verstoßen, wenn Lebenden Organe entnommen werden. Dennoch werden sie zu Heroen stilisiert, wie man erst kürzlich an der Familie des Politikers Frank-

Walter Steinmeier miterleben konnte, der seiner Frau eine seiner Nieren überließ und dafür höchste Wertschätzung erfuhr.

Neben Louis Althusser ist Michel Foucault theoretischer Ziehvater dieser Arbeit mit dem Fokus auf dem Begriff der Biopolitik sowie der Gouvernamentalität. Auch dem Begriff der Gabe und der Ware (Marcel Mauss, Claude Lévi-Strauss und andere) und ihrer soziologischen sowie ethnologischen Diskussion wird breiter Raum eingeräumt, vor dem Hintergrund der Absenz der soziologischen Auseinandersetzungen zu Fragen der Biopolitik und der damit jedoch einhergehenden Depolitisierung des Gegenstandes. Dem will Motakef abhelfen, denn sie will mit ihrer Arbeit die "... Organspende ihrer Selbstverständlichkeit ... entreißen und mit Blick auf Subjektivierungsprozesse die Ambivalenzen und Widersprüche des Feldes auf...zeigen. Intendiert ist damit eine soziologische Aufklärung, die eine Perspektivenvielfalt präferiert und die die Gleichsetzung von einer Aufklärung über Organspende mit dem positiven Bekenntnis zu Organspende mit einem Fragezeichen versieht" (34), wie dies derzeit insbesondere von Seiten der bereits genannten Stiftung geschieht.

Diesen Anspruch kann Motakef mit ihrer Arbeit einlösen. Sie verdeutlicht prägnant, wie die Diskussion um Organspenden und ihre Verfügbarkeit von der Medizin und deren Machbarkeiten ausgeht und der Körper in veräußerbare Teile zerlegt wird, die veräußert oder aber entgegengenommen werden können, worüber die Subjektivität der Individuen und ihrer Leiblichkeit vergessen oder besser ignoriert wird.

Zu dem Themenkomplex liegen medizinethnologische Untersuchungen vor, die sie ausführlich darstellt und diskutiert, und damit in die Soziologie überführt. Dieser interdisziplinäre Ansatz ist insgesamt und besonders aus Sicht der Medizinethnologie als interdisziplinärem Ansatz sehr zu begrüßen, befruchtet er doch die wissenschaftliche Diskussion um Körper, Geist, Seele, Leiblichkeit und Geschöpflichkeit, von Subjektivität und Macht und ihren unterschiedlichen Setzungen. Motakef zeigt, wie Organmangel als lösungsbedürftiges soziales Problem diskutiert wird, das mittels mehr "Spenden" gelöst werden kann und damit als ein eigentlich medizinisches Problem wahrgenommen wird, obwohl es im Kern um die Kommodifizierung des menschlichen und subjektiven Körpers geht. Somit verschieben sich die Grenzen dessen, was gesund bzw. krank bedeutet, dahin, ob etwas ersetzt oder instandgehalten werden kann. Leben soll verlängert und der Tod hinausgeschoben werden. Die Optimierung der Lebensprozesse steht im Vordergrund und daher die Prävention von möglichen Erkrankungen. Weiter folgt daraus laut Motakef: "Denn eine möglicherweise eintretende Krankheit wird zu einem Risiko undefiniert, das vor dem potentiellen Auftreten kalkuliert werden soll. Das Krankwerden lässt sich damit als Schuld umdeuten, da im Zweifelsfall nicht genug Prävention betrieben wurde" (121). Diese Feststellung betrifft nicht nur die Organspende, sondern auch die Präimplantationsdiagnostik und andere neue medizinische Verfahren, die auf Risikoabwägung fokussieren. Ihnen allen ist gemeinsam, das Machbare in der