

to study Garo death rituals and gift offerings as part of mortuary rituals in eastern India, Erik de Maaker explores a ritual arena of negotiation that allows for assessment and substantiation of social relationships in Garo society. Further, Annette Wilke's essay on negotiating Tantra and Veda, conventionally seen as belonging to opposing traditions in the *Parasurāma-Kalpa* tradition, brings out the interrelatedness and fluid nature of the relationship between the two traditions, revisiting classical domains of ritual studies through the theme of ritual contestations.

A second category of essays explores ritual negotiations that take place within situated Western settings, complicating classical notions of rituals as part of "traditional" non-Western societies. Barry Stephenson's essay on ritual negotiations in Lutherland, for instance, deals with the contemporary Luther and reformation festivity in Wittenberg as involving complex negotiations with the past, by mimetically representing the past in enactments of the foundational myths of the city that recreate a medieval world. Similarly, Shari Rochelle Lash's essay contrasts same-sex wedding rites, in the United States and among Canadian Jews. The essay argues, that the extra-legal status of the latter is likely to affect wedding rites in that it tends to be more creative and self-conscious in including elements of resistance and attention to difference; whereas the wedding rites of the Canadian Jewish weddings adopt a modified version of the traditional Jewish wedding that is egalitarian in its model but more conformist in comparison.

And finally, the collection presents a third realm of ritual negotiations that take place at the intersection of multiple traditions and influences, taking forward as well as subtly complicating the idea of ritual negotiation as structuring and re-structuring the social as argued in the book. Three essays particularly stand out in doing so. Magnus Echtler's essay on obscene songs, as part of the New Year's festival in Makunduchi in Zanzibar, describes rituals as strategic practices used to negotiate gender norms and subvert reformist notions of orthodox Islam. The singing of obscene songs, he shows, acts as the legitimized site for challenging gender segregation brought on by processes of what he terms as "Arabization" in the wake of political dominance of the Omani sultanate. Cultural tensions, then, are understood to be related to dichotomies, such as being African versus Arab, slave versus freeborn, custom versus religion, oral versus literate, rural versus urban; relating to broadly tensions between Western modernity, Islamic modernity, and local custom.

Likewise, Nikki Bado's essay on initiation rites, performed by a group of witches in Ohio, uses Thomas Csordas' notion of body as a site of negotiating with the sacred, to imply an embodied ritual praxis where somatic exercises, such as control of breathing, discipline and train not just the body but also the spirit, to interact with the nonhuman beings that populate the wiccan landscape. These somatic exercises, he argues, help to rethink Western dualistic notions of mind/body, spirit/nature, sacred/profane, spirit/matter, masculine/feminine, and nature/culture as belonging to separate domains. Developing this theme of ritual negotiation within the fluid field of

cultural interactions, Ulrike Schröder's essay focuses on the hook-swinging rituals in 19th-century colonial India. The essay insightfully shows that critiques of "indigenous practices" by colonial authorities were contested by public ritual performances that acted as a subaltern space of resistance to colonial hegemony and its underlying moral and ethical concepts. While the above essays signal towards a complex understanding of the social or cultural, constituted through fluid interactions, a more literal exploration of this theme is to be found in Ute Hüskens and Petra Kieffer-Pülz's essay on the female ordination of Buddhist nuns. The essay explores negotiations between Western and Himalayan nuns on the relevant monastic codes to be applied and rules on conflicting regulations to be considered while initiating ordination for women monks, addressing the idea of the ritual movement across cultures that shape the "social" differently.

Given the large canvas of ritual arenas presented in this volume as outlined above, one only hoped for a deeper conversation across these three ritual arenas on the idea of the "social," "cultural," and "traditional" as constituted and negotiated through ritualism. Further, endemic differences between ideas of the ritual form as stable structures and fluidity of its boundaries, that are hinted in individual essays but left unexplained, could also have been explored at greater depth. Instead, one finds differences between concepts of authenticity and fluidity, innovation and stability that is the greatest strength of this collection, cloaked under the overarching concept of ritual negotiation, limiting what would have been a far deeper and engaged conversation across disciplines, approaches, methods, and locations.

Shireen Mirza

Inhorn, Marcia C., and Emily A. Wentzell (eds.): Medical Anthropology at the Intersections. Histories, Activisms, and Futures. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012. 343 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-5270-9. Price: \$ 25.95

This edited volume, certain to become a landmark in the discipline, both celebrates and reflexively critiques medical anthropology through a series of essays by a sampling of today's most prolific and prominent scholars in the field. Each chapter offers an expanded and updated written version of plenary addresses given by the respective author during the 2009 International Conference of the Society of Medical Anthropology, held at Yale University, with Inhorn as program chair and Wentzell as co-organizer. In keeping with the conference's theme, Inhorn and Wentzell have centered this volume on "interdisciplinarity," examining its multiple fruits and challenges, its conceptualizations, and its employment in this ever-increasingly diverse discipline with a now more than 50-year history. They highlight the "productive tensions" that arise at these intersections, on the premise that interdisciplinary not only has served as the impetus for medical anthropology from its very beginnings, but indeed "may generate some of [its] most exciting ways forward" (5). Each contributor takes up these threads by examining one or more particular points of convergence that have served as a fount in their own work. Dividing the book into three

main parts, the editors note that they purposefully structured the volume itself to serve as a “model for interdisciplinary engagement,” with the chapters in Part I (Histories) taking stock of the field’s interwoven scholarly lineages, those of Part II (Queries) reexamining some key assumptions that have coalesced at these nodes, and those of Part III (Activisms) exemplifying what medical anthropologists can do when they move beyond “the conceptual realm” to “the realm of action and advocacy” (14).

In Part I, Emily Martin calls attention to the fruitful “grafts” between medical anthropology, feminism, and science and technology studies that have taken hold since the 1960s and 70s, enriching her chapter with stories from her own personal-professional trajectory (recounting, e.g., particular “ah-ha” moments over lunch and during book club conversations with colleagues and friends). Lynn M. Morgan and Lawrence Cohen then reach farther back to reveal medical anthropology’s more ambivalent past entanglements with the likes of comparative racial embryology, the military, and colonial, and post-colonial development interests. Morgan uses archival evidence to unearth anthropology’s past and present complicity in what she calls “Western consumption of Chinese embryos and fetuses.” Cohen traces the field’s alternating embrace and rejection of the culture concept and of medicine, to a current focus which is “split” between newly emergent biotechnical-medical forms and timeless moral imperatives for intervention. Yet the real questions, he argues, concern the relations to be established with a now burgeoning global health enterprise with its concomitant employment of “business para-ethnography.”

Following nicely from this, Didier Fassin begins Part II by teasing apart the unchallenged assumptions surrounding “global health,” questioning both the “global” and the “health” in this “keyword of our time” (101). Margaret Lock next asserts that the current “postgenomic era,” with its uncritical assumptions regarding genetic determinism and epigenetics, requires anthropological confrontation, yes, but also begs for our unique insights and holistic emphasis on context. Arthur Kleinman then poses five questions meant to fortify a medical anthropology of mental health, advocating greater attention to caregiving, social suffering, the stakes involved in psychiatric illness, new developments in neurobiology, and the paradoxical over-treatment of the wealthy while those in poverty lack access to even the most basic mental health care.

In Part III, Rayna Rapp and Faye Ginsburg call for increased scholarly and practical engagement with disability, which as a universal human experience, they point out, ought to be a central concern of anthropologists. As an example, they offer their own work with a pilot program in which the interested faculty at their university partner with learning-disabled high school students to support students’ development of “enviable lives” following graduation (180). Merrill Singer then challenges medical anthropologists to overcome what he calls “our policy shyness” (191) and to play a more influential role in health policy formation, likewise drawing from his own experiences to make the case that collaboration with local Saul Alinsky-style community organizing efforts of-

fers one of the most promising ways forward. Last, Richard Parker recounts some of the productive connections that have been made between knowledge production and activism in the areas of feminism, HIV/AIDS, population and reproductive rights, and sexual rights. Parker’s chapter serves as a nice bookend to Martin’s, similarly reminding us that impactful work is not detached from interpersonal encounters. Recounting the twists and turns of his own trajectory, Parker makes the larger point that medical anthropology’s intellectual energy *and* its practical importance both are amplified through meaningful engagement with activist movements.

The volume as a whole covers vast terrain in a thoughtful and well-organized manner: The three-phase process of interdisciplinarity, on which the book’s overall arrangement was modeled, also is echoed within individual chapters, with all authors doing at least some looking back, some re-examining, and some looking ahead to what medical anthropologists now can or ought to do. Taken together, the chapters also illustrate that, despite the strengths the field draws from its interdisciplinary foundations, past missteps (see Morgan and Cohen’s chapters) can reverberate as present apprehensions over too close an engagement with, for example, neurobiology (noted by Kleinman), global health enterprises (Cohen), genetic and postgenomic research (Lock), and policy-making (Singer). And yet, as each respective author asserts, medical anthropologists ignore these engagements at our own peril, risking if not outright obsolescence, then at least missed opportunities to bring to the table our distinctive methodological tools, analytical frameworks, and ardent dedication to nuance and critical thinking. With its framing of perennial tensions (e.g., between theory and practice) as productive rather than necessarily paralyzing, the book strikes a constructive balance between critique and progress.

Despite its broad swath, as the editors themselves acknowledge, the volume is not truly global in scope. Nor are all major areas of intersection within medical anthropology fully represented. Parker, for instance, points out that no single chapter focused on the importance of research on HIV and AIDS (211), although several authors do incorporate it in their discussions. In an ideal world, each section might have included responses from medical anthropologists doing nascent (if not yet prominent) work in less well-represented geopolitical and conceptual areas. Such a tack might have offered additional interesting previews of what is to come in the field’s next fifty years.

These points do not detract, however, from the book’s achievements. In fact, the breadth and scope with which the discipline’s past and present are brought to, together by some of the field’s most influential figures, qualify this volume as essential reading for medical anthropology graduate students at any stage, whether just beginning their training, preparing for comprehensive exams, or doing thesis work. The “References” section itself is a tremendous resource. Undergraduates could find some chapters slightly impenetrable, but highly motivated students will enjoy the proverbial “sink or swim” experience such reading will provide. This volume also will appeal to a wide spectrum of both academic and practicing medical

anthropologists. Readers will find themselves inspired to look afresh at plans for a next project, challenged to seek deeper connections between scholarship and social action, and reminded of the roles played by personal and professional histories (their own as well as others) in their current and future work.

Laura L. Heinemann

Iselin, Regula: Die Gestaltung der Dinge. Außereuropäische Kulturgüter und Designgeschichte. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2012. 520 pp. ISBN 978-3-496-01458-4. Preis: € 79.00

Das vorliegende Buch ist die Publikation der 2006 von der Universität Zürich angenommenen Dissertation der Ethnologin und Fotohistorikerin Regula ISELIN. Sie ist heute tätig an der Universität Basel als Koleiterin des Projektes zur wissenschaftlichen Erschließung, Digitalisierung, Konservierung, Restaurierung und Archivierung der Fotosammlung der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde (SGV/SSTP). Der Schwerpunkt ihrer Forschungen liegt v. a. auf Fotografie- und Designgeschichte, wie auch Sammlungs-, Ausstellungs- und Museums geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Ethnologie.

Mit diesem umfangreichen und inhaltlich sehr dichten Werk, dem gemäß der Autorin zehn Jahre Recherche arbeiten zugrunde liegen, wurde hier ein beeindruckender und äußerst wertvoller Beitrag zur Designgeschichte geleistet. Iselins Forschung setzt bereits beim ausgehenden 18. Jh. an, eine bisher vernachlässigte Epoche im Hinblick auf Entwicklung von Design und ethnografischer Museen. Bislang galt meist erst die Zeit nach der ersten Weltausstellung in London 1851 als Ausgangspunkt für die Rezeption von außereuropäischen Artefakten durch ein größeres Publikum in Europa. Bei dem, was Iselin unter dem Begriff des Designs subsumiert, handelt es sich um Entwurf, Konzeption und Produktion von Dingen des Alltags, also deren Gestaltung. Iselin versteht Design hier nicht in Abhängigkeit von oder Abgrenzung zur Kunst, sondern sieht die Gestaltung von Alltagsdingen als einen eigenständigen Bereich mit eigener kultureller und gesellschaftlicher Relevanz. Dies ist die ethnologische Perspektive, die Iselin gekonnt mit einer historischen Perspektive verbindet. Die Autorin zeigt auf, dass außereuropäische Artefakte in der Geschichte der Gestaltung von Dingen kontinuierlich wahrgenommen, verwendet und auch transformiert wurden. Dies führte zu einer Erweiterung des ästhetischen Spielraumes im europäischen Design. Doch ebenso zeigt sie, dass es nicht ausreicht, einzelne Objekte und deren Spuren zu suchen. Für ein besseres Verständnis der Rezeption von außereuropäischen Artefakten ist es auch notwendig, die Geschichte von gewerbe- und industriefördernden Vereinigungen und die Präsentation von außereuropäischen Objekten in Museen, Schulen und Sammlungen, also auch die Geschichte des institutionellen Rahmens, einzubeziehen.

Anlass für die Gründungen von gewerbe- und industriefördernden Vereinigungen war die fortschreitende Industrialisierung und daraus folgend die Suche nach Lösungen für die neuen Probleme in der Fabrikation. Ebenso verlangten all die gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen und

Umwälzungen nach der Französischen Revolution eine Distanz zum Herkömmlichen, zur bisherigen ästhetischen Tradition. Dies führte zu einem Bedürfnis, all die verschiedenen historischen und fremden Stile zur Verfügung zu haben und damit den ästhetischen Spielraum zu erweitern, was das Interesse an außereuropäischen Artefakten verstärkte und sich auch in den aufkommenden Vorbilderwerken, grafischen Darstellungen von Objekten aus allen bekannten Kulturen, spiegelte. Die außereuropäischen Artefakte wurden aber nicht als historische, sondern als zeitgenössische Objekte verstanden. Man interessierte sich für die materiellen, produktionstechnischen und auch formalen und dekorativen Gestaltungselemente. Diesen Gegenständen wurde zugutegehalten, dass bei ihnen Technik, Form, Material und Ornament in der folgerichtigen Verbindung zueinander stünden. So führten Anstrengungen, diese den außereuropäischen Objekten zugesprochene Qualität zu erreichen oder zu übertreffen, u. a. zu technischen oder gestalterischen Innovationen. Eine weitere Triebfeder zur Verbreitung der gewerbefördernden Vereinigungen und der Rezeption außereuropäischer Artefakte in Europa war der Versuch, die landeseigene Produktion im europäischen Konkurrenzkampf des 19. Jhs. an die Spitze zu bringen. Als Mittel, um diese Ziele zu erreichen, dienten nationale Wettbewerbe und Ausstellungen, an denen auch außereuropäische Gegenstände gezeigt wurden. Diese Gegenstände sollten wie erwähnt Innovationen fördern, sowie auch neue Eindrücke für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Bildung liefern, um die Erschaffer von Dingen im Geschmack zu schulen. Denn Ästhetik wurde als ein wichtiges und verkaufsförderndes Element wahrgenommen. In den nach Abschaffung des Zunftzwanges und der Einführung der Gewerbefreiheit neu gegründeten Bildungsinstitutionen ortet Iselin auch einen der größten Einflüsse von außereuropäischen Artefakten in der Entwicklung hin zu dem, was wir heute unter modernem Design verstehen. Ebenso nimmt sie diese neuen Einrichtungen als eine wichtige Triebfeder wahr in der Entstehung von ethnologischen Museen, die oft aus genau diesen Sammlungen der Museen und Schulen für Kunst und Industrie entstanden sind. Die Autorin geht davon aus, dass das alleinige Studium der Vorbilderwerke nicht genügt hat, da zahlreiche Manufakturen anfingen, eigene Archive und Mustersammlungen zusammenzutragen. Diese lagen dann oft den Sammlungen von später errichteten Bildungsinstitutionen für Entwurf und Entwicklung zugrunde. Iselin zeigt durch ihre Forschung auf, dass industriefördernde und wissenschaftliche Organisationen dieser Zeit in enger Beziehung standen bei Entwicklung und Aufbau der entsprechenden Institutionen, sei es auf personeller Ebene oder sei es durch die Wechselwirkung von Ideen, die zum Teil auch in einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit thematisiert wurden.

Ihre Erkenntnisse legt Iselin nach einer äußerst lebenswerten Einleitung, die das Thema umreißt und die Begrifflichkeiten klärt, in acht teilweise geografisch und thematisch abgegrenzten Kapiteln vor. Im Schlusskapitel thematisiert sie noch einmal die Parallelen zwischen Design- und Kunstgeschichte, zeigt aber auch klar deren Unterschiede auf, vor allem hinsichtlich der Rezeptions geschichte.