

or government finance. He draws attention to the huge peace dividend that Song received, crediting Song's prosperity in part to the long peace. Kuhn treats the fall of the Liao in much the same terms he does the fall of the Northern Song, and later treats the Mongol conquest of Jin and Southern Song in similar detail. Discussions of Buddhism in Liao and Jin follow the discussion of it in Song; similarly burial customs of the Khitan and Jurchen follow discussion of them among the Han Chinese.

I am not quite sure why the term "Confucian" is in the title of the book. In the chapter on "Model Rulers", we are told that because the first three rulers were lovers of learning "Song China came closer to the ideal of Confucian ruler than any other dynasty in Chinese history" (p. 29) and Confucianism is given pride of place in the chapter on "Three Doctrines". However, this is not a book that sees ideas as the primary motor of historical change. Several pages are devoted to explaining the ideas of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi, but they are not treated as more important to understanding the Song period and its place in Chinese history than a host of other factors. Song's international situation, the economic expansion, the technology of printing, the growth of cities, the persistence of family practices all seem just as implicated in what was happening in this period. Kuhn's understanding of historical change is clearly not monocausal.

Song specialists will undoubtedly find cases where they think a statement is in error or a discussion too simple. But brevity is a small price to pay for a book that attempts to provide the big picture.

Those who teach Chinese history will find this book of great use in updating their lectures. They also could assign parts of it to their students – for instance, these three chapters, "Transforming the Capitals", "A Changing World of Production", and "Money and Taxes", would work well together to give an updated picture of the transformation of the economy from Tang to Song. They would not be as lively as the comparable chapters in Mark Elvin's *Pattern of the Chinese Past*, but they would be more up-to-date and more useful as an entry into the scholarly literature. The publication of this book should also encourage some historians to offer an entire course on the Song period, perhaps devoting the first couple of weeks to this book, then turning to more specialized readings.

More than twenty well-chosen illustrations enhance the book and help the reader understand the material. By contrast, the maps are less satisfactory. Although ten maps are included, they are not tied closely to the text. For instance, on page 59 in a discussion of the war with Xia in 1081–1082, we are told that Shenzong realized he could not win the war and "abandoned his hopes for reconquering northwest China, and only Lanzhou remained under Song control (Map 4)." But Map 4 on the next page just shows the provinces of the Northern Song and does not indicate where the war with Xia took place, or locate Lanzhou. Similarly, I do not think it helps the general reader to be told (p. 63) that "Aguda's forces attacked the trading station in Nangjiang prefecture" unless the place is shown on a map.

In summary, *The Age of Confucian Rule* is a book that everyone who teaches Chinese history should have on his or her shelf and consult frequently. Dieter Kuhn presents his material intelligently and covers an extraordinary range of subjects. The attention he gives material culture is refreshing and helps him to make his case for the importance of China in Song times.

Community Matters in Xinjiang, 1880–1949: Towards a Historical Anthropology of the Uyghur.

By Ildikó Bellér-Hann. Leiden: Brill, 2008. Pp. xvi + 480.

ISBN 10: 9004166750; 13: 9789004166752. Series: China Studies, 17. ISSN: 1570-1344.

Reviewed by Jun Sugawara, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

E-mail sugawara@uighur.jp

doi:10.1017/S1479591410000100

Ildikó Bellér-Hann's *Community Matters in Xinjiang 1880–1949: Towards a Historical Anthropology of the Uyghur* discusses the condition of Uyghur society in Xinjiang from the late nineteenth century to

1949. This period is significant because it was at the beginning of this time that the Qing dynasty established Xinjiang Province, in a departure from the tradition of indirect rule since the middle of the eighteenth century. It was also the period that shaped the political framework that is directly linked to the present-day situation. While most previous works in this area have dealt with political history, a few short works, such as Gunnar Jarring's *Culture Clash of Central Asia* (1990), have focused on the cultural and social conditions of this remarkable era.¹ However, for the most part, scholars have neglected this period's social and cultural matters, such as how traditional Islamic (Uyghur) society faced the dominant Chinese culture, instead choosing to focus on political history. In a newly released work, Ildikó Bellér-Hann addresses this gap in the literature with a study that looks at the subject from the perspective of "historical anthropology", using a well-constructed theological framework. Here, I review Bellér-Hann's work from the standpoint of the study of history.

First, Bellér-Hann's study provides detailed and comprehensive descriptions of several topics related to the socio-economic situation and ethnography of the Uyghurs from the late nineteenth century to 1949. A look at the table of contents reveals the author's systematic approach to the life and customs of the Uyghurs, in which she tries to describe and analyse individual topics ranging from socio-economic structures to legal orders, life cycles, religions, and rituals. The descriptions are exhaustive – one could even say encyclopaedic – making them a wonderful practical reference for future studies.

The "encyclopaedic" value of this study relies on two factors: the use of a variety of reference materials, and its "historical anthropology" perspective. In addition to a number of European sources, the author also uses many indigenous sources, the most remarkable of which are the Turki (Chaghatay) manuscripts from the Jarring Collection at the Lund University Library, Sweden.² These manuscripts, which are preserved under the provisional catalogue numbers (prov.) 207(I), 207(II), and 212, are collections of essays on the life and customs of Eastern Turkestan, written by the Uyghur intellectuals Muḥammad 'Alī Dāmollā, Abūl Wahīd Akhūn, and Dr Nūr Luke. Considering her treatment of these manuscripts, one could even consider Bellér-Hann's work a primary source because it exhaustively includes almost all of the contents of these sources as "core texts" describing each "community matter" individually and in substantial detail.

The author constructs her arguments from the perspective of historical anthropology, which allows for the exposition of specific elements in society that are often neglected by historians. Most of the topics on which the author focuses are usually considered too difficult to be dealt with in the conventional methodology of academic history, though historians are aware of the importance of such an anthropological approach. For example, standard historical studies have never fully discussed the fundamental cultural representations of social relations, life-cycles, and rituals that Bellér-Hann describes here. The author's approach uncovers many unknown historical facts that will surely encourage readers to reconsider their historical constructions of this time and region.

In the paragraphs that follow, I look at the specific points of the work that I consider to be the most important. First, the third chapter's descriptions of the structure of Uyghur society and economy are well organized and helpful in understanding the present situation of this region. They reveal the series of dynamic changes that occurred in the province from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, including the growth of agriculture, population increase, the widening of economic activity, and the spread of Western culture. As the author points out, these concrete examples counter the common view that characterizes the pre-Socialist era "as traditional, monolithic, and

1 Jarring, Gunnar, *Culture Clash in Central Asia: Islamic Views on Chinese Theatre (Eastern Turki texts)* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1990).

2 About the collection, see Ekström, P. and U. Ehrensverd, "A Note on the Jarring Collection of Eastern Turki and other Oriental manuscripts in Lund University Library," in *Turcica et Orientalia: Studies in Honor of Gunnar Jarring on his Eightieth Birthday 12 October 1987*, ed. U. Ehrensverd, pp. 187–91 (Istanbul, Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1988).

unchanging". Furthermore, the author methodologically highlights the relations between a variety of groups (for example, foreigners and locals, inter- and intra-ethnic boundaries), explaining the complicated multiplicity of social boundaries that are formed by the processes of exclusion and inclusion. Other historians have been aware of this multiplicity, but so far they have not sufficiently reflected this awareness in their practical reconstructions of history.³

In the fourth chapter, the author discusses the tangled social order that prevailed under legal pluralism. Previous historians have explained how traditional Islamic law and Chinese imperial (later, modern Western) law coexisted in Xinjiang after the installation of the provincial system by the Qing dynasty. This dual legal system, which remained until the time of land reform and the abolishment of Islamic courts in the 1950s, was a strong influence in local Uyghur society. The author argues that, in addition to these two legal traditions, "indigenous notions of law and justice" also played an important role in society. To understand the actual situation of the legal order at that time, the author argues that one must consider not the legal duality, but the legal pluralism that was in effect. In recent years, Chinese and Japanese scholars, including myself, have engaged in socio-economic documentary studies to look at these issues.⁴ The legal diversity suggested by the author should be addressed in these new socio-economic research fields as well.

The descriptions of religions and beliefs in the fifth chapter are also particularly valuable for reference. In the discourse of modern Xinjiang history, the inter-religious relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims occupy a large portion of the discussion. Nevertheless, many aspects of the rituals of Islam and other religions in Xinjiang are not well deconstructed. We must recognize that, in terms of religion, most of the existing historical discourses have stood on a very weak knowledge base. The author's descriptive approaches through the use of anthropological methodology present new visions of the lives of Muslims and people with indigenous beliefs. The representations of Islam shown in this work make it clear that indigenous rituals also made up a significant proportion of Muslims' beliefs.

Next, let us take a look at some disadvantages of this work. As I have shown above, the vision that Bellér-Hann presents is undoubtedly significant. However, the book is not free of problems. Most of these are small, and from the standpoint of anthropology easily disregarded, but these issues are of much greater significance to historians, and their presence leaves room for improvement in the work.

First, the author sets her timeline "from the late 19th century to 1949", as clearly shown in the title. However, since her focus is on the condition of society and "community matters", 1949 seems like a

3 For example, Shinmen Yasushi criticizes the work of Andrew Forbes, noting that his historical descriptions have not reflected the "several aspects of the relations which exist at multiple levels, with confrontation, dependence, and disregard between Muslim inhabitants and Han rulers." Shinmen Yasushi 新免康, Review of Andrew D. W. Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A Political History of Republican Sinkiang 1911-1949* (書評) アンドリュウ・D・W・フォーブズ著『中国領中央アジアの軍閥とムスリム: 民国期新疆 (1911-1949) の政治史』, *Tōyō Gakuhō* 69:1-2 (1988), pp. 92-99.

4 The major articles on this topic are the following: Chen Guoguang 陈国光, "Guanyu Qingdai Xinjiang Yisilanjiao minfa wenti: qiyue wenshu tantao" 关于清代新疆伊斯兰教民法问题—契约文书探讨 ("On Islamic Civil Law in Xinjiang in the Qing period: A Study of Contractual Documents"), *Xiyi yanjiu* 92:2 (1992), pp. 34-44; Hori Sunao 堀直, "Kaikyō no shakai keizai bunsho ni tsuite: Chagataigo bunsho no shōkai o chūshin to shite" 回疆の社会経済文書について—チャガタイ語文書の紹介を中心として—("On Socio-Economic Documents of Hui-jiang: With a Central Focus on the Documents in Chaghatay"), *Seinan Ajiashi Kenkyū* 54 (2001), pp. 84-107; Sugawara Jun, "Tradition and Adoption: Elements and Composition of Land-related Contractual Documents in Provincial Xinjiang (1884-1955)," in *Studies on Xinjiang Historical Sources in 17-20th Centuries*, eds. J. A. Millward et al. (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, forthcoming); Tömür, Osman, "Möhürnamā wā uningdin parchilar" ("Regarding Documents with Seals with Partial Introductions"), *Qumul shāhiringin tarikh materiyalliri 3-qisim*, pp. 88-102 (Qumul, Xinjiang: Qumul Shāhārlık Siyasiy Kengāsh, 1994); Wang Shouli 王守礼 and Li Jinxin 李进新, *Xinjiang Weiwuerzu qiyue wenshu ziliao xuanbian* 新疆维吾尔族契约文书资料选编 ("Collection of Contractual Documents of Xinjiang Uyghurs") (Wulumuqi, Xinjiang: Xinjiang Shehui Kexueyuan, 1994).

rather arbitrary date for a turning point, because the year merely marks a time of political change in the upper layers of society. In rural Xinjiang society, the so-called “Peaceful Liberation” led to the dismantlement of traditional social systems through measures such as land reform, the abolishment of the Islamic courts, and the radical transformation of documentary administration, but these events took place over the course of a couple of years in the 1950s. Granted, this study does not focus on issues related to this dismantlement, but 1949 seems like an inadequate end for the author’s timeline in light of her focus on social issues.

Second, from a technical point of view, I appreciate the study’s encyclopaedic exhaustiveness in its descriptions, as mentioned above. However, regrettably, the book’s index is not satisfactory for accessing these small topics and accounts efficiently. At the very least, it would have been helpful if the author had included the terms listed in the glossary in the index as well. This problem does not fundamentally detract from the argument of the study, but it does unfortunately lessen the user-friendliness of this otherwise remarkable work.

In regard to the sources, though the author draws extensively on European and indigenous materials, the use of Chinese and Japanese sources is unfortunately limited. The inclusion of more extensive references would have greatly enriched the book’s contents. For example, it is well known that descriptive works on the ethnography of the Xinjiang people, such as the *Huijiang zhi* 回疆志, were written in the Qing period, and that reports describing the results of the organized survey of the rural society taken during the land-reform process in the 1950s were published in the 1980s. Both of these sources could have been useful to the author’s discussion.⁵ There is also certain referential value in the series of works by Japanese scholars based on such Chinese materials.

Moreover, in terms of the author’s practical procedure for the study, I was unable to dispel the impression that she did not construct her arguments using adequate source criticism (*Quellenkritik*). As is mentioned above, this study effectively utilizes the indigenous collection of “essays” from Lund, but each description tends to depend almost entirely on the source material itself, with little criticism of the context. It is my understanding that these essays were written, not by each author on their own initiative, but at the request of their infidel clients: Swedish missionaries. There is even a possibility that the clients specified the framework for the essays as well. Therefore, researchers should use the essays with special care, balancing them as much as possible against alternative materials.

Despite my minor criticisms, I strongly believe Bellér-Hann’s book is indispensable as a work of academic research on this neglected subject. I expect the book will be referred to for many years to come as must-read text for understanding Xinjiang Uyghur society. One could view this work as an anthropologist’s challenge to historians, and for historians such as myself, the challenge is both attractive and exciting. The specific historical images of the Xinjiang communities shown in this work are influential enough to encourage us to rewrite each particular history. From now on, historians will have to respond to the author’s challenge in their works. As for anthropology, the author has herself stated that her own next step is to design new field-based research based on the results of this approach from the perspective of historical anthropology.

5 Yong Gui 永贵, *Huijiang zhi* 回疆志 (rpt. Taipei: Chengwen Chubanshe, 1968); Xinjiang Weiwuer Zizhiqu Bianjizhu 新疆维吾尔自治区编辑组 ed., *Nanjiang nongcun shehui* 南疆农村社会 (“Rural Society in South Xinjiang”) (Wulumuqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1980); Xinjiang Weiwuer Zizhiqu Congkan Bianjizhu 新疆维吾尔自治区丛刊编辑组 ed., *Weiwuertz shehui lishi diaocha* 维吾尔族社会历史调查 (“A Socio-historical Survey of the Uyghurs”) (Wulumuqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1985). For an overview of the Qing sources, see the “Bibliography” in Millward, J. A., *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759–1864* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).