

like Tabora and Ujiji and other points of trade, growing the food needed by merchants and their caravans and providing a wide range of services. Médard argues that while the use of slaves fueled the expansion of the successful states, it also limited their capacity for growth. Médard also links the increased importance of slavery to the transformation of kinship, of clientage and of royal power, which often saw all subjects as the king's slaves.

The articles are all interesting, though, as often with books that emerge from a conference, the subject matter is diverse. Jan-Georg Deutsch traces the parallel development of slavery and the slave trade among the Nyamwezi. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the Nyamwezi were living in stockaded villages. Slave soldiers became important and were rewarded with slave booty. With time, most Nyamwezi slaves were used internally. Mark Leopold writes on the Nubi, who are similar to slave soldiers used elsewhere. Holly Hanson argues that the incorporation of large numbers of slaves into Buganda caused a 'crisis in the ordering of the kingdom' (p. 161) and led to instability, increasing violence and a diminution in the status of women. Michael Tuck uses conversion narratives from Catholic missions to suggest that the 'transformation' involved increased freelance enslavement, a spiral of violence and the utter powerlessness of women. Edward Steinhart writes about Ankole, where slavery was less developed than Buganda, but he argues that slavery was important in perpetuating inequality. Jean-Pierre Chretien describes the rapid expansion of the slave trade in Rwanda and Burundi and the continuation of that trade under German rule. David Northrup does a brief overview of the eastern Congo.

Finally, Shane Doyle, in an otherwise interesting article on the impact of the slave trade on demography in Bunyoro, criticizes some ideas of the late Claude Meillassoux because they were based on a limited sample. I feel that I should explain, because the article Doyle criticizes was commissioned for a book Claire Robertson and I edited.¹ We wanted Meillassoux to do a theoretical piece. He agreed to do so if he could read all of the articles. His sample was limited, therefore, to the articles we sent him. The limited data I had for West Africa supported his argument that slaves tend not to reproduce themselves. There are very few documented cases where slaves do so. In part, this is because slave women often reproduced with free persons. The United States is a very special case because of the sharp rise in prices after the abolition of slave imports into the United States. Minais Gerais is another special case. After criticizing Meillassoux, Doyle presents no evidence that his ideas do not apply to Bunyoro.

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THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF ARCHITECTURE

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From Cameroon to Paris: Mousgoum Architecture in and out of Africa. By STEVEN NELSON. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007. Pp. xiv + 247. \$50 (ISBN 978-0-226-57183-6).

KEY WORDS: Cameroon, Chad, architecture, arts.

Without having read a single line, readers will get an idea of the wealth of material and the innovative approach of this book: numerous illustrations refer to

¹ Claire Robertson and Martin Klein (eds.), *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Madison, 1983).

the overall topic of this work by Steven Nelson, Assistant Professor of African and African American Art History at the University of California, Los Angeles. More than 100, mainly black-and-white, images – including (historical) photographs, sketches and drawings, a film still from the Hollywood movie *Road to Zanzibar* (1941), maps, postcards of French world fairs, colonial exhibitions and posters of Cameroon Airlines – all attest to the presence of the so-called *teleuk* (pl. *teleukakay*) in various contexts. In his insightful study, the author explores the many histories and the interrelated discourses of the domed house, originally fashioned entirely from mud and grass by specialized masons of the Mousgoum peoples of Chad and Cameroon. Based upon many months of fieldwork in Cameroon (mainly in Pouss) and Chad, and a shorter visit to Japan, as well as on the interpretation of a remarkable, huge collection of different archival sources and materials, Nelson's study not only digs deep into the history of migration and the imagination of the Teleukakay in the course of almost one century. His work also can be read as a case study of the ways in which architecture functions as a template for the representation of self and non-self.

With this appealing new way of looking at the built environment (only comparable to the well-known study on the global bungalow and its various local implications conducted by Anthony King in the 1980s), Nelson makes a substantial contribution to the long neglected field of architectural anthropology, which has only slowly been gaining wider attention again within research addressing the questions of space and material culture. Apart from the outstanding work by Suzanne Preston Blier on the *Anatomy of Architecture* (1987) among the Batammaliban, there are only few recent works on architecture in the field of African studies: Dominique Malaquais's *Architecture, pouvoir et dissidence au Cameroun* (2002), for example, emphasizes the fact that architecture is foremost a political phenomenon and argues for a subaltern approach to Bamilékés' royal architecture. Ikem Stanley Okoye and the author of the book under review share not only their strong interest in exploring the ideological (mis-)recognitions evoked and produced by architecture, but also their interest in the constitutive role of images in the building process.

From Cameroon to Paris, based on the author's Harvard doctoral thesis, consists of an introduction, four core thematic chapters and an afterword. Parts of Chapters 3 and 4 were published elsewhere in an earlier version. Chapter 1 provides the backdrop for the following discussion of the radical changes in meaning the *teleuk* experienced, from its near disappearance in the 1930s up to its recent resurgence, by outlining the historic Mousgoum architecture and its interrelations with the social and economic structure and certain aesthetic devices of the Mousgoum peoples. Chapter two explores the way the *teleuk* is perceived and represented in the travelogues of Heinrich Barth, Olive McLeod and André Gide. In order to depict the contradictory, yet intermingling, projections and ambiguities at work in Western notions of the *teleuk*, Nelson investigates each travel account at length, taking into consideration the author's personal history. Barth, for example, considered the dome to be of strange beauty and perfection, but (in keeping with well-known stereotypes) finally regarded it 'as an architectonic repository containing traces of a more civilized time' (p. 61). Under the title *A Pineapple in Paris*, the third chapter discusses how the *teleuk*, adapted and appropriated by a French architect, Léon Fichet, for the French Equatorial Africa complex, became the epitome of West African architecture during the International Colonial Exhibition (1931); in the end, however, this hybrid architecture proved to be nothing more than a reproduction of the French self. Chapter 4 takes the reader back to Cameroon, where – influenced by the local population, tourists, the French association Patrimoine sans Frontières and official representatives of the Cameroon

government – the *teleukakay* have experienced a cultural revival since the 1990s. By highlighting the Mousgoum's adoption of Gide's famous description of the *teleuk* as a 'classical' built form, Nelson again successfully demonstrates how the exchange between different notions and reinterpretations of the *teleuk* functions in the interaction between Africa and the West.

In essence, this book provides an important impulse for further studies in the field of anthropology of architecture. Although the strength of the book lies in its multi-sited approach at the intersection of various meanings of the *teleuk*, as opposed to the studies, as prevalent up until today, of the built environment of one single ethnic group, it is all the more regrettable that, in spite of numerous important theoretical and stimulating references to the theory of art and architecture, Nelson missed the opportunity to provide a more general theoretical framework – such as, for example, in Kopytoff's (1986) cultural biography of things or Steven Cairn's (2004) thoughts on migrancy and architecture.

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HERITAGE AND HISTORY DISCOURSE IN THE POSTCOLONY

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The Silence of Great Zimbabwe: Contested Landscapes and the Power of Heritage.

By JOOST FONTEIN. Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 2007. Pp. xiii + 246.

£50 (ISBN 978-1-59874-220-6); £19.90, paperback (ISBN 978-1-59874-221-3).

KEY WORDS: Zimbabwe.

Joost Fontein's book revisits the intensely debated history of Great Zimbabwe, a settlement and trading center that dates back to the twelfth century and whose standing remains mark one of the most politically charged world heritage sites in southern Africa today. The book is the product of several years of research in the Masvingo district of Zimbabwe, during which Fontein conducted archival research and interviews with various stakeholders, including *masvikiro* (spirit-mediums) and prominent members of the Nemanwa, Charumbira and Mugabe clans – most of whom express some sort of pre-eminent claim to the history of Great Zimbabwe. Through a revisit of the orientalist colonial-era debates over the origins of Great Zimbabwe, and through careful unpacking of his interviews with local informants, Fontein illustrates his argument for the enormous extent to which Sherry Ortner's 'ethnographic refusal' has always operated to silence such local claims in the pursuit of 'objective' historical and archeological knowledge. In contrast, Fontein's work dwells on the complexity of all the jostling and contrasting 'history-scapes' painted by those he terms 'traditional connoisseurs' of the past.

Fontein imbues a good deal of emancipatory potential into the fleshing out of these narratives, which, following Partha Chatterjee's account of postcolonial nationalism, he conceptualizes as a source of authentic spiritual history: that is, a history that is not doomed to endlessly mimic Western and Enlightenment-derived notions of history-making. Fontein suggests that it is these sorts of historical narratives that show us the way out of what Chatterjee terms the 'postcolonial misery' of the modern state.

Fontein reads the silence of Great Zimbabwe as evincing a certain anger on the part of the ancestors and those who act as their mediums and interlocutors – this