intensively, the district as a whole. Though vividly concrete in its illustrations, the study is analytic and theoretical. Babb is conversant with major anthropological and sociological theorizing on Hindu ritual and symbolism and he draws from such work, especially from that of Dumont and Pocock, to further his basic contention that "cultural elements of both textual and local provenance are drawn into a single overall pattern of relationships" constitutive of popular Hinduism.

Babb considers puja (homage, worship) to be the fundamental paradigm of ritual in Chhattisgarh and in terms of puja he surveys and analyzes a wide range of rituals marking the human life cycle and the various calendrical cycles. In addition to such key elements as purification, pollution, prostration, exchange of gifts and hierarchical relationships an important motif emerging from this analysis of puja is the association of unmarried female deities with heat, illness, witchcraft and a generalized capacity to do harm.

Next Babb explores the problem of levels of popular Hinduism (pan-Hindu, regional, domestic, individual) through a comparison of the textually learned and ritually pure Brahman priest and the shamanic healer and protector from harm, the non-Brahman Baiga. He finds that Brahman and Baiga complement one another within a common system of relationships somewhat on the lines of Mandlebaum's "transcendental" and "pragmatic" typology. In the final chapter Babb deftly presents the Hindu pantheon as a complex of three main levels: a higher, universalistic, ordering level represented by most of the male textual Hindu deities; a lower, localized, disruptive-dynamic level represented by witches, unwed goddesses and the latter's male assistants; a mediating level (suggested in part by the work of Wendy O'Flaherty, Brenda Beck and Claude Lévi-Strauss) dominated by the transformation-prone Shiva and his mercurial coterie of goddesses. In this culminating essay Babb gives special prominence to the Dumont-Pocock notion of "encompassing" whereby higher level conceptions of order contain and overcome lower level conceptions of disorder and strife.

The book contains two maps, a score of apt illustrations, a good glossary, short list of references, and index. My one serious reservation in endorsing it enthusiastically is with Babb’s reluctance to generalize his conception of popular Hinduism beyond the implicit meanings of ritual to the explicit meanings of such voluntary, but still popular, phenomena as asceticism, guru-disciple circles, devotional sects. Even so, *The Divine Hierarchy* is the most enlightening introduction to the study of Hindu ritual that I have found. It should be a focal point of many a college or university course on Hinduism.

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In this book, Professor Kang Chao performs an important service to students of Chinese economic history. He focuses on the production of one product—cotton and textiles—but traces its development throughout Chinese history. He has not chosen to be exhaustive, nor does he attempt to impose a grand thesis on his diverse data. Rather, he has addressed a number of issues of interpretation from an economist's

critical point of view. He sometimes bases conclusions on limited source material—an example is detailed below—but that does not detract from the volume's overall merit.

The book has essentially three parts. The first concerns the origins and spread of cotton textiles in China, the institutions of production and distribution, and the traditional technology. The second part treats the entry of foreign machined yarn and cloth into the Chinese market in the 19th century, the process of import substitution of yarn under Chinese and foreign auspices, the relative backwardness of management skills in Chinese mills, and the survival of the handicraft weaving industry. The third section examines the development of the textile industry under socialism. In the latter two parts, the author makes new time-series estimates of output, consumption, and productive capacity.

Of greatest interest is a theme that runs through the whole discussion—how Chinese economic institutions promoted or retarded cotton textile production. For example, Chao asks why handicraft textile factories using intermediate technology did not appear in China, a stage that might have facilitated the independent development of a mechanized industry. The dynamics of labor supply in rural households—the availability of female labor at low or zero opportunity cost—is described in detail as one explanation (in unstated contrast to Mark Elvin's "high-equilibrium trap"). The same labor supply factor and the adaptations of the merchant-supervised putting out system are Chao's main reasons for the 20th century survival of the handicraft weaving industry (in contrast to other interpretations that emphasize demand). Chinese management practices are the suggested key to understanding the backwardness of Chinese-owned mills in the 1920's and 1930's vis-à-vis their foreign rivals in China. And the PRC bureaucracy is given primary credit for the vast improvement in cotton strains (the setback during the Great Leap Forward being the exception that proves the rule).

Ironically for an economist, Professor Chao retreats to cultural factors to deal with some issues. Thus in accounting for the household production of traditional times, he cites a physiocratic belief in the primacy of agriculture and "the strong family loyalty and the deep-rooted desire among the Chinese to preserve families as the basic social units and to keep the family members together." In trying to account for poorer financial management in Chinese mills during the 1920's and 1930's, he similarly postulates that Chinese mill owners were subconsciously motivated by the presumed mentality of speculating in business to generate the money to purchase land and thereby enter the local elite. These are interesting hypotheses, but no evidence is marshalled to support them. They identify but do not explicate the complex interaction of culture and economic behavior.

One reason for Professor Chao's reliance on these cultural factors is, I suspect, the result of the sources used. On the question of financial management for example, he has perused the most accessible data and from it drawn a faithful picture, but one that is static and divorced from much of the historical context. A few details, drawn from my own research on the Lower Yangtze cotton textile industry in the 1927-37 period, will not dispute the existence of financial management, but put it in a different light.

Much of the evidence of Chinese mill owners' financial practices, especially the undercapitalization discussed by Professor Chao, is drawn from the depression period (for China, 1931-36). Thus it is important to consider how the industry entered the depression. Chinese mill owners enjoyed substantial profits during the anti-Japanese boycott of 1928-29, and used them to compete in securing more productive capacity. Those decisions were based on questionable assumptions—that the boycott would last