

nomina others might want to look at on this count include the complex relationship between the parallel processes of dominating the self and letting the self go in emotion, the social sanction and control of certain emotions over others, the way the category of emotion is used by Latin American Pentecostals to differentiate themselves from mainstream Protestants, and the way it is used to distinguish themselves as Latin versus Anglo-Saxon Christians.

Corten is not completely off base in all his analyses. His view of Pentecostal politics as simultaneously authoritarian and democratic, and his portrayal of Pentecostal ideology forming within a "discursive circulation" (which I assume is an infelicitous way of saying "economy of meaning") are promising. But they remain poorly analyzed musings unsupported by data, and in most cases are more readily had elsewhere. Social scientists studying Pentecostalism, religion in Latin America, or religion and emotions can confidently leave this volume on the library shelf and steer their attention elsewhere. I do not know if this book will interest "political theologians." But if it does, I would suggest reading it in French.

Paul David Numrich. 1996. *Old Wisdom in the New World: Americanization in Two Immigrant Theravada Buddhist Temples*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 205 pages.

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This is a pioneering work that has filled an important gap-sociological research on Theravada Buddhism in the United States. Since the 1950s, Buddhism has grown significantly in North America. All of the subtraditions or sects of Buddhism are present today. Following Japanese Jodo Shinshu and Zen Buddhism, there have come Mahayana (Big Vehicle) Buddhism from China and Vietnam, Vajrayana (Tantric Way) Buddhism from Tibetan Lamas in exile, and Theravada (Way of the Elders) Buddhism from South and Southeast Asia. However, sociological research on Buddhism in America is scarce. Many factors have contributed to this lack, but two are especially important. First, as pointed out by Numrich, Buddhism had been studied as a cult or new religious movement (NRM). Such studies paid almost exclusive attention to American converts from "mainstream" religions to the "exotic" Buddhism. The NRM approach and the church-sect-cult categorization have left out the Buddhism of immigrants, who may have been the majority of Buddhists in the United States in the last few decades. This means that in order to understand Buddhism in contemporary American society a shift of theoretical focus is necessary. Second, immigrant Buddhists commonly speak an Asian language, for which few sociologists were equipped with the language skill, nor the necessary knowledge of Buddhist traditions and Asian cultures. In the 1990s, some sociologists began to pay close attention to post-1965 new immigrant religions. Yet within the small but rapidly emerging literature of new immigrant religion, Buddhism has received little attention. Numrich pioneered in redirecting the theoretical focus on immigrant religion and this book, pub-

lished in 1996, remains to be the best work on immigrant Buddhist communities.

In this well-organized book Numrich presents his ethnographic research on two immigrant Theravada temples—one is Thai in Chicago, the other is Sinhalese (Sri Lankan) in Los Angeles. He examines the ways and the extent to which these two immigrant Buddhist communities have assimilated into American society. Chapters one to three describe the history, structure, and the monks of the two temples. Chapter four is the core of theorizing his empirical findings. It presents what Numrich calls the “parallel congregations” phenomenon—immigrant Buddhists and non-immigrant converts as two separate groups within one temple. He finds that these two groups not only use different languages and have different meeting times and spaces, but also have different understandings and expressions and follow separate agendas. While immigrant Asians practice a ceremonial form of Theravada Buddhism, American converts pursue a philosophical and meditative form. The following two chapters proceed to provide some illustrative details of the “parallel congregations”—the Asian-immigrant and American-convert “congregations” respectively. In the brief conclusion chapter the author summarizes the basic Americanization themes of establishment, growth and adaptation of immigrant religious communities and further discusses the “parallel congregations” phenomenon.

The phenomenon of “parallel congregations” is very intriguing. If there is indeed such a reality of “parallel congregations” separating Asian immigrants and American converts, some important questions need to be examined, especially in terms of race and ethnic relations, and the persistent efforts by Euro-Americans to construct a distinct “American Buddhism” (see, e.g., *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, edited by Charles S. Prebish and Kenneth K. Tanaka, University of California Press, 1998). American seekers and converts are not only selective in their learning Buddhism, but also appear to try hard to distance themselves from Asian Buddhists from the very beginning. In other words, these seekers/converts may revere Asian gurus, but seem less willing to mix with ordinary Buddhists of Asian origin.

The notion of “parallel congregations” has been widely used by researchers of immigrant religions, including my own study of Chinese Buddhist temples. It is very helpful for examining ethnic relations in those immigrant Buddhist temples that have attracted a sizable group of white Americans. Because of its theoretical importance, however, it deserves to be scrutinized before further generalization. First, whether immigrant Buddhists have formed congregations per se may be debatable. The immigrant participants usually “do not formally join these temples, since they ‘belong’ by virtue of their heritage” (p. 64). Without becoming members committed to one particular temple (congregation), many immigrants may simultaneously attend/patronize multiple temples, like their counterparts at home countries usually do (also see, e.g., Janet McLellan, *Many Petals of the Lotus: Five Asian Buddhist Communities in Toronto*, University of Toronto Press, 1999). Second, it seems more problematic to call the American-convert group a congregation. Among the white American participants in these two temples, the turnover rate is very high. Most of them are best described as seekers who are shopping around (p.117). Chapter 6 profiles some Euro-American participants, but describes little or no interaction among them as a congregation. Third, some behavioral differences of Asian immigrants and Euro-Americans, which Numrich presents as evidences of the “parallel congregations” phenomenon (e.g., p. 68), may actually be differences between Buddhist

followers and non-Buddhist inquirers or seekers. Numrich also mentions that in the Sinhalese temple there were a large number of non-Sinhalese Asians who attended the chanting and classes, just like many American converts did (p. 67). Should these Asians be considered part of the Asian-immigrant congregation or the American-convert congregation? These are lingering questions in this reader's mind.

This excellent work has won a book award by the American Sociological Association Section of the Sociology of Religion. It presents rich ethnographic data and intriguing theoretical conceptualization that has stimulated research on immigrant religion. It should be read by any one who is interested in American Buddhism, immigrant religion, and the sociology of religion in general.

Michael P. Carroll. 1999. *Irish Pilgrimage: Holy Wells and Popular Catholic Devotion*. Johns Hopkins University Press. 226 pages.

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In *Irish Pilgrimage*, Michael P. Carroll applies to pre-famine Irish religious practices the same thesis he had developed in his previous studies of popular Catholicism in Italy (Carroll, 1996; 1992). Instead of passively and mindlessly clinging to pre-Christian practices in the face of Roman attempts to impose a more orthodox Christianity, Irish Catholics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were engaged in an active and creative process of new ritual development. The distinctive Irish proclivities to make pilgrimages to holy wells, to engage in "rounding" each site's collection of shapeless rocks or cairns as a penitential exercise, and to hold often rowdy "pattern" celebrations there, are not, Carroll argues, mere survivals from a pre-Christian Celtic past, preserved in isolated rural outposts. Rather, such practices were developed fairly recently, in response to outside pressures—colonization by Protestant England and imposition of hierarchical obedience by the Counter-Reformation—by the urbanized segments of Irish Catholic society most exposed to them. The Celtic survival hypothesis of later scholars was thus based, not in fact, but rather on eighteenth and nineteenth century interpretations of the rituals, designed to conform to the views of Romantic literary critics or Irish nationalist historiographers.

Carroll makes several points that I find intriguing and well worth further research. His view of popular religions as actively created to reflect the world view and needs of their adherents is, in my mind, preferable to the class- and race-biased assumption that those not schooled in accepted formal theology are incapable of creative thought in religious matters. Carroll's argument has, of course, been made by several other authors (e.g. Badone, 1990; Biernatzski, 1991; Orsi, 1999), but his description of the communal roots and expressions of medieval and early modern Irish Catholicism expands our understanding of folk creativity in a new cultural context. In addition, his description of the reasons why the "primitive Celtic survivals" view was so attractive to eighteenth and nineteenth century scholars is a valuable reminder to present day religious researchers to examine the

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