

REVIEWS

Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868)*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003, xv + 234 pp. ISBN: 0-520-23269-0 (hbk).

The subject of this innovative interdisciplinary work is geographic consciousness, and the changing ways in which this was manifested in popular culture over the course of the Tokugawa period. The idea of “mapping” is used very loosely as a trope to explore the popular culture not only of commercial mapmaking, but also of travel writing (both serious and fantastic), and of late Tokugawa satirical fiction. Yonemoto has written a very interesting book that contributes to the growing literature on early modern popular culture in Japan.

The book is tightly written, theoretically informed, and beautifully presented, with a fascinating selection of maps and illustrations from the texts discussed. The author’s stated aim is to write a history of mapping “as an idea” (2), rather than as a straightforward history of the development of cartography, and so to reject assumptions of a trajectory of progress and Westernisation. She bases her argument on the understanding that “mapping is as much about the processes of perception and representation as it is about the material products of those acts” (2), and that maps should be judged in terms of how well they fulfilled the needs for which they were constructed, rather than simply in terms of their technical accuracy.

The chapter order is arranged chronologically, with a further division into two “temporal transitions”. The first of these dates from the mid to late seventeenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century, an era marked by the commercialisation of mapmaking, the advent of a new genre of observational travel writing, and the popularity of Chinese-style encyclopaedias of exotic knowledge. This period is covered by the first three chapters. The remaining two chapters are devoted to the second temporal transition, which dates from the mid-eighteenth century until the early nineteenth century. This was a period that saw the application of serious mapping knowledge to frivolous and satirical writing.

The first chapter sets the scene by tracing the transformation of mapmaking from an instrument of official governance into a medium designed to supply up-to-date information to a consuming public. The commercialisation of mapping in Japan accompanied the more general development of commercial publishing during the seventeenth century. Commercial maps were drawn not by cartographers, but by artists and commercial mapmakers who copied official shogunal maps and appended them with information that was of interest to consumers. Maps supplied

information about goods and services, travel, or interesting facts about daimyō, rather like a premodern telephone directory, and their usefulness was far more important than their geographical accuracy. After introducing a number of prominent mapmakers and their maps, the chapter concludes with some reflections on the contribution made by commercial maps to the creation of a shared sense of geographical consciousness. Yonemoto argues that, with this shared consciousness firmly established, it became possible to manipulate and reinvent it, and accordingly, the adaptation of the idea of mapping to other printed genres is taken up in the remainder of the book.

The next two chapters are entitled “Annotating Japan”, and “Narrating Japan”. Together, they discuss developments in travel writing and the relationship between these developments and mapping from the late seventeenth century through to the early nineteenth century. “Annotating Japan” focuses particularly on the work of the Confucian scholar Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714). Whereas classical travel accounts had been a form of literature often produced by poets and priests on pilgrimage, the new kind of early modern travel writing as exemplified by Ekiken was an attempt at a kind of scholarship. Through a study of Ekiken’s 1672 travel account, *Jinshin kikō*, Yonemoto explores “the confrontation between the “classical” and “annotative” modes of narrating space” (51). According to Ekiken’s philosophy, the key to moral principles could be found in the study of nature, and his travel account reflected his interest in the observation of the world about him. At the same time, the account was constructed around famous places ritually visited in classical literature. Yonemoto skilfully demonstrates the way in which, combining his own observations with literary research, Ekiken’s narration was then based on an understanding of what the contemporary reader could be expected to know. The chapter concludes with the suggestion that Ekiken’s work “functioned as a template for early modern conceptions of space/time” (66). While this conclusion seems rather exaggerated, it does not seriously detract from the chapter as a whole, which is interesting both for its insights into travel literature, and for its attention to a neglected area of Ekiken’s work.

“Narrating Japan” introduces the work of two further travel writers, Nagakubo Sekisui (1717-1801) and Furukawa Koshōken (1726-1807). The author argues that in contrast to Ekiken, who was mostly concerned with the objective description of nature, Sekisui and Koshōken attempted to create hierarchies of civilisation through their narratives, by *defining*, rather than simply *describing* culture. The writers were particularly interested in observations of Dutch and Chinese foreigners living in Nagasaki, and in the Ainu people in the north of Japan. According to Yonemoto, the writing of this period displayed a transitional character that was neither completely literary nor descriptive, but which reflected the ambivalent attitudes of writers as they grappled with notions of culture, difference, and civilisation.

The fourth chapter, entitled “Imagining Japan, Inventing the World”, explores the fictionalisation of eighteenth century travel writing, and demonstrates how the knowledge obtained through the popularisation of mapping and travel accounts was reinvented as a form of political satire. The author’s reading of Hiraga Gennai’s *The Tale of Dashing Shikōden*, a work that uses a tall tale about the protagonist’s travels in a foreign land to parody the Japanese society of the time, is both enlightening and amusing. While late Tokugawa fiction is often dismissed for its lack of literary merit, Yonemoto clearly demonstrates how valuable such literature can be for the study of social history and popular culture.

The fifth chapter brings back the focus from narratives about the foreign to narratives about the pleasure quarters in Edo. The nineteenth century saw foreign incursions into Japanese waters and an oppressive political climate at home. These events were reflected in popular culture by a shift from a fascination with the foreign to an inward-looking trend that attempted to “map” the body itself. Yonemoto explores the way in which writers created clever satires that merged creation myths, astrology, and religious stories with maps of the Yoshiwara, so that the pleasure district became almost a “Japan” unto itself. Thus, in these troubled times, writers used the Yoshiwara trope to make “light of very serious issues concerning Japan’s boundaries, sovereignty, and political integrity” (167).

The author ends her work with a very short conclusion that attempts to draw some comparisons between the popularised kinds of mapping explored in the book and the rationalisation and nationalisation of cartography and geography in the Meiji period and beyond. It is here that Yonemoto’s argument becomes problematic, for throughout the book she has not presented a history of cartography and geography at all, but rather some interesting insights about the “mapping” of culture by the non-dominant members of society. Throughout the work, the author is at some pains to avoid a teleological perspective. However, this end is not achieved merely by overlooking an existing dominant discourse of mapping. It is this discourse, rather than any popular one that must be compared with the modern “cartographic revolution”. Although Yonemoto mentions prominent figures associated with the dominant discourse, such as the surveyor Inō Tadataka (1745-1818) and Franz Philipp von Siebold (1796-1866), they are introduced only in passing in the final pages of the book. Her conclusions could have been greatly strengthened by addressing the contributions made by the creators of the dominant discourse more fully in the body of her text.

This is not to detract from the importance of Yonemoto’s work as a whole. That there was such a well-developed popular discourse surrounding mapping and geographic consciousness is in itself important, and this point has not been articulated before. Yonemoto’s commentaries on the late Tokugawa works of satirical fiction are particularly worth

reading, not least because they help to demystify a genre that is sometimes so self-referential as to render itself unintelligible to the modern Western reader. In sum, it is a fascinating read, and a welcome addition to the field.

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David E. Kaplan and Alec Dubro, *Yakuza: Japan's Criminal Underworld*, expanded edition, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003, 400 pp. ISBN: 0-520-21561-3 (cloth), 0-520-21562-1 (pbk).

Yakuza was first published in 1986. It was translated into nine languages and was increasingly establishing itself as a standard text on Japanese crime until 1989 when the book's publisher Robert Maxwell decided to shred the entire inventory. Apparently, Maxwell was doing his friend Sasakawa Ryoichi a favour as the book linked him to Japan's criminal underworld and the ultranationalist movement. Moreover, the book was originally shunned by many Japanese publishing houses, although it was eventually translated into Japanese and published in 1991. Since this first edition of the book, the entire (under)world of organised crime has been unveiled in scandal after scandal, especially since the bursting of Japan's bubble economy. This new and expanded edition of the book includes revised chapters and three additional chapters, several of which explore the *yakuza* and their international influences.

This new edition of *Yakuza* divides into four parts, tracing the history of Japan's underworld from the seventeenth century to the modern era: Part I, Early History; Part II, The Kodama Years; Part III, The Modern Yakuza; and Part IV, The Move Abroad.

The first part of the book details Japan's honourable outlaws, or at least the Japanese perception that organised crime in their country relates to a noble past with many stories of infamous criminals (likened by the authors to Robin Hoods) helping everyday people. This perception, the authors say, is a "romantic image of the gangster" (4) that has a history from the seventeenth century with legendary gangs who were strictly loyal to one another. These criminals, the *hatamoto-yakko*, were the shogun's criminal servants, but it is with their enemies, the *machi-yakko* or town servants, to which today's *yakuza* trace their place and identity. The *machi-yakko* were naturally the heroes of everyday people, and there are many stories described that reveal a number of folk heroes.

The modern-day *yakuza* emerged a century later and were linked to the poor, landless, delinquents and criminals. The *yakuza* were organised in a family-like system, *oyabun-kobun*, or parent-child. This

system reflected many other social hierarchies of the time and still persists today. The *yakuza* followed the values found in the *bushido* system, the samurai code. As the authors note, “like the warriors, they would prove their manliness by the stoic endurance of pain, hunger, or imprisonment. Violent death for the *yakuza*, as for the samurai, was a poetic, tragic, and honorable fate” (17).

Part II outlines the years of American occupation and the rise of ultranationalist Kodama Yoshio, who had links with *yakuza* and the American intelligence. Kodama was imprisoned from 1946 to 1948 as an accused war criminal. “Through his ties to the right, the underworld, and American intelligence, Kodama would become one of the most powerful men in postwar Japan – and the mastermind behind the *yakuza*’s rise to political power” (50-51). When the Liberal Party merged with the Democratic Party, which became the Liberal Democratic Party or LDP, Kodama became a significant and highly influential figure in the new political party.

The post-war era of Japanese gangs saw an explosion in the number of members. In 1958, for example, the Tokyo Metropolitan Police estimated that there were 70,000 *yakuza*, and five years later 184,000. There were around 5,200 gangs. However, by the time of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 the police had begun a crackdown on *yakuza* activities, something that ended their “postwar period of official tolerance” (74).

The modern era of the *yakuza* is described in Part III. This part’s four chapters look at the syndicates, corruption, economic gangsters, and the bursting of the bubble economy. Figure 1 in chapter five reveals some fascinating statistics: between 1978 and 1982 some 24,162 businesses were under *yakuza* influence. These included street stalls, snack bars, money lending, Turkish baths, nude studios, striptease theatres, bars, restaurants, nightclubs, construction, retail, coffee houses, real estate, and transportation. This chapter also shows the various gang syndicates, as of 2001, noting their names, office address, godfather, and membership. The Yamaguchi-gumi, for example, is by far the largest modern-day gang with some 17,500 members. The smallest gang is the Yamano-kai with some 70 members. The statistics shown on *yakuza* income as of 1989 reveal that most income probably comes from stimulant drug trafficking (34.8%), with a total income of some \$10.16 billion. In connection with Japan’s economy, the *yakuza* took full advantage of the “bubble” years of the late 1980s. The gangs themselves were operating large companies, especially in the entertainment and construction industries, and their income was soon inflated as a result of a bubble economy. One result of the collapse of the Japanese economy in 1991 was that the gangsters were hit hard, and at least 10 percent of “bad loans” were linked to the *yakuza*, with about thirty percent in a “gray” area (201). This led to many cases of corruption and the era was rife with economic and political scandals relating to the *yakuza*.

Yakuza includes a part on the gangsters and their international connections. In chapter nine the authors describe the horrors of the Korean sex industry as well as the connection between the Japanese gangs and Columbian drug syndicates. Chapter ten looks at connections with criminals in The Philippines, Thailand, China, Taiwan, Russia, Latin American, Paris, and the Gold Coast of Australia. Ironically, however, the last part of this chapter remarks on how foreign crime has itself made an impact on Japan, especially the illegal foreigners working in underground networks, smuggling rings and money-making scams. The last few chapters of Part IV focus on the *yakuza* and their links with America. The authors look at how the *yakuza* have attempted to succeed in America, and at how their immense cash resources is one of the ways they are increasingly being accepted by their American counterparts. The book's epilogue gives a poignant view of the *yakuza* today. Indeed, as the authors note, "the *yakuza* are in the midst of a transformation" (325). They continue, "their structures, insular world of *giri-ninjo* [obligation-emotion], tattoos, finger-cutting, total obedience, and all the other trappings of gangster chivalry is in danger of obsolescence." The *yakuza* are moving beyond Japan, and to a certain extent have succeeded in international crime. The last part of the epilogue notes that as one of the most successful criminal organisations over the last three hundred years, the *yakuza*'s global presence is something that seems to have now been established, and something that will surely be here for many years to come.

Yakuza includes a selection of fascinating photographs, a short note on how the authors undertook the research, substantial endnotes, a detailed glossary of terms, and a comprehensive index. The book provides a fascinating glimpse into a part of Japanese life that has so often been obfuscated by myth.

Reviewed by HENRY JOHNSON
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Susan J. Napier, *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation*, Palgrave, 2000, vii + 311 pp. ISBN: 0-312-23863-0 (hbk).

Japanese animation, or *anime*, stands at the centre of a multi-billion dollar global industry encompassing animated television serials, video games, and computer games, rivalling Hollywood in scope and turnover. Yet *anime* is still regarded as a cult phenomenon in most Western countries, and it has received little attention from film and media academics or Japanologists. Although numerous excellent books are available for the

anime fan and enthusiast, the only significant light in this academic wilderness remains Susan Napier's 2000 book, *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke*. Fortunately, it is an excellent introduction to the topic. Those with an interest in animation may not be completely satisfied, for Napier does not attend much to the animation techniques involved in *anime*. Rather, her focus is on the relation of *anime* to its cultural context. She does consider the international appeal of *anime*, especially in an appendix chapter based on empirical research into American fans. However, her main focus is on the Japanese context, and this makes the book ideally suited to the needs of Japanese Studies students and scholars.

Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke is organized around three major expressive modes: the apocalyptic, the festival, and the elegiac, introduced in the first section and brought up front again in the two closing chapters. All three modes permeate all the films under consideration, appearing in different mixes and balances.

The apocalyptic mode is probably the one best known in the West, as a result of early breakthroughs such as *Akira*, which played around the world following its Japanese success in 1988. For Napier, the apocalyptic includes not only material catastrophe but also spiritual and psychological collapse. In her closing chapter on the topic, she gives extended discussion to the historical and cultural reasons that have created the contemporary Japanese fascination with apocalypse. Given the absence of biblical culture, this is all the more interesting, and Napier does not neglect the idea that this phenomenon is connected to Japan's experience and survival of apocalyptic experiences such as the H-bomb.

Festivals (*matsuri*) are, of course, very important elements of Japanese culture. Napier analyses this mode using Bakhtin's concept of the carnival as her theoretical framework; carnival is a sanctioned moment within the dominant order in which it is temporarily turned upside down. Finally, the elegiac mode is also one that Napier connects to traditional Japanese culture, with its emphasis on the poignancy of the fleeting. Where critics writing about nostalgia as part of the postmodern in the West have disagreed whether it constitutes a failure or a determination to engage with history, Napier argues that in the Japanese context it is a flight impelled by forced engagement with history in her closing chapter on this topic.

The remaining sections of the book are divided into considerations of metamorphosis and the body; girls (*shojo*) and fantasy; and history in *anime*. The first of these has chapters on the monstrous adolescent, focusing on the films *Akira* and *Ranma*; the transforming female body in pornographic *anime* including the notoriously popular *Cutey Honey*; the fusion of man and machine in *mecha* genre films such *Neon Genesis Evangelion*; and the metaphysical cult film, *Ghost in the Shell*. Napier acknowledges that Japanese pornographic *anime* share with their Western counterparts a will to male sovereignty through dominating women, and that techno films share a fantasy of empowerment through technology.

However, she argues that the Japanese films are far less optimistic about these possibilities than their Western counterparts. So, for example, the pornography films are full of impotent male voyeurs and, with the exception of *Ghost in the Shell*, the techno movies lead to alienation and despair increasing with technical mastery. However, she adds that although the men in the pornographic films are often impotent voyeurs, the women seem more able to respond to technology and transform themselves. The social equivalent of this empowerment may be behind the anxious male response, manifested not only as impotence but also as demonic rage.

Turning to fantasy, Napier focuses on the figure of the *shojo*, or cute adolescent girl, who is now almost ubiquitous in Japanese culture. Her first of two chapters here is devoted to the work of Japan's most popular *anime* artist, Miyazaki Hayao, whose recent films like *Princess Mononoke*, *Nausicaa*, and *Spirited Away* have not only dominated the Japanese box office but also been released in the West. Napier argues that Miyazaki's unusually feisty — in a Japanese context — young heroines who soar through the skies carry his hope for the regeneration of a society corrupted by industrial materialism. The *shojo* in Napier's second chapter on the topic are necessarily older by virtue of the genre under examination. The romantic comedy requires romance. However, although they are more physically mature than Miyazaki's heroines, Napier finds that in series like *Oh My Goddess* and *Video Girl Ai*, conservative family values are ultimately reinscribed. In these circumstances, it is not so surprising to find that most of these narratives are from a male point-of-view.

In her two chapters on history, Napier looks at how *anime* handles two periods that continue to fascinate Japanese: World War II and the medieval period. Both *Grave of Fireflies* and *Barefoot Gen* follow the Japanese preference for making their history of World War II a "victim's history." And both are told from a child's point of view. However, where *Grave of the Fireflies* is unremittingly bleak, told as it is by a dead protagonist, *Barefoot Gen* is about the indomitability of the human spirit. Where her examples of *anime* focused on World War II follow well-established Japanese patterns, her medieval period *anime* is another iconoclastic Miyazaki film, *Princess Mononoke*. Rather than the samurai beloved of most Japanese films set in this period, women and social outcasts take centre stage in *Princess Mononoke*, along with a natural world that is also the place of spirituality. Napier concludes that here Miyazaki is envisioning not only environmentalism and feminism but also a Japanese multiculturalism.

The sheer scope of Napier's book, both in terms of coverage and analytical depth, make it a very impressive introduction to *anime* for any reader, and I imagine it will remain the key text on the topic for some time to come. It maps *anime* and places it in a Japanese context with both confidence and panache. My only reservations are two. First, as

already indicated, there is not much focus on the animation techniques themselves. Given that Japanese animation is noted for being very different from American animation and much more versatile in its style and simulated camera effects, this means that Napier is not able to spend much time analysing what makes *anime* so viscerally exciting. Second, I sometimes wonder about the representativeness of the works that Napier has chosen and how this may affect some of her generalizations. For example, she acknowledges that the ambivalence in the *mecha* films about fusion of the body with technology are not present in run of the mill films of this sort, but then bases a claim that Japanese *mecha* are more contemplative and darker than their American counterparts on this claim. However, these should be perceived less as critiques and rather as the paths for future research directions that her book has laid out for future scholars

Reviewed by CHRIS BERRY
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Alastair McLauchlan, *Prejudice and Discrimination in Japan: The Buraku Issue*, Lampeter, Edwin Mellen, 2003, 212 pp. ISBN: 0-773-46568-5 (hbk).

This is a solid piece of well-researched work. It addresses one of Japan's unresolved social problems: prejudice and discrimination against *buraku* residents, against minority groups. Alastair McLauchlan provides an excellent case study in the form of qualitative research on the feeling of victims of discrimination against *buraku* residents. On the whole, the study enhances our empirical understanding of contemporary Japanese social problems in general and the *buraku*, or *Dōwa* issue, in particular.

The issue of anti-*buraku* discrimination addressed in the book has a long history. It was essentially the result of policies instituted by the Tokugawa regime of 1600-1868 that led to the development of outcaste communities. During this era these people, especially leather workers, prison workers and executioners, who did not fit into one of the four official castes – warrior, peasant, artisan and merchant – were subject to customary discrimination. They were called *eta* (much filth) and *hinin* (non-human) and superstitiously regarded by the other classes as dirty, dishonest, immoral and dangerous. Those descended from outcaste communities have been referred as *burakumin* (hamlet people) in modern Japan.¹ Although *burakumin* can hardly be distinguished visually from other Japanese, they have long been separated from the mainstream

¹ Richard Bowring and Peter Kornicki (eds.), *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Japan*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, 241.

society. *Buraku* communities are located in many parts of Japan, except in Hokkaidō and Okinawa, with a particular concentration in the Kansai region surrounding Ōsaka.

Many of arguments in the book rely on interviews conducted by McLauchlan in and around *Buraku X*, a community in eastern Ōsaka. He interviewed twenty-one *buraku* residents who had personal experience of discrimination from mainstream Japanese people based on their *buraku* residency and ancestry. The study shows that although housing, education, employment and social welfare for *buraku* residents have improved, prejudice and discrimination against *burakumin* have persisted on a number of levels. Furthermore, the study demonstrates that anti-*buraku* prejudice and discrimination has become more deeply engrained over the past few decades.

Chapter two looks at how *buraku* residents still suffer from various disadvantages and argues that education, employment and marriage remain key areas where prejudice and discrimination against *buraku* residents operates. Thanks to active *buraku* liberation movements and special funding they have been able to secure from Japanese governments, educational and employment conditions for *buraku* residents generally improved during the 1970s and 1980s. However, the chapter points out that despite these gains, *buraku* children are still exposed to their parents' negative attitude towards education and remain aware of possible discrimination against them when seeking employment in the future. Many *buraku* adults recently became unemployed because they were engaged in irregular and insecure work as day labourers. Thus they easily became victims of Japan's decade-long economic recession. Concerning marriage, many parents remain strongly opposed to their children marrying *burakumin*. It is surprising that some mainstream parents still use private investigators in order to identify *buraku* association of their prospective daughters or sons in law.

Chapter three deals with the unwillingness of mainstream people living nearby the *buraku* to interact with *burakumin*. These mainstream Japanese were unwilling to share various social facilities such as health centers and public baths with *buraku* people, even though these facilities were newly built, relatively cheap to use, and open to everyone. Nowadays, it is rare that mainstream Japanese directly threaten or humiliate *buraku* residents. But, prejudice against *buraku* residents still remains in the covert form, exemplified by the above cases. In this chapter, McLauchlan also highlights a strongly generational pattern in the ways in which non-*buraku* people use public facilities in *Buraku X*. Whereas older mainstreams were very reluctant to share a health centre with *buraku* counterparts, younger mainstream mothers generally did not hesitate to let their children be educated in a kindergarten in the *buraku*.

Chapter four mainly discusses a dilemma among some people to remain in their *buraku* community. Despite constant fear of their *buraku* connections being identified, some residents interviewed were, in fact,

very reluctant to move out from their *buraku*. Three major reasons that encouraged them to remain in the *buraku* as residents were the need to feel safe from discrimination, the enjoyment of friendship and community life, and various help provided by the Buraku Liberation League (BLL), the leading *buraku* liberation social movement. For these residents, the relationship of trust with neighbours and the way people helped each other were the real advantage of remaining in *buraku* communities. While having the freedom to live somewhere else, some *buraku* residents feel more comfortable staying within their protected territories.

By giving many detailed stories about discrimination of *buraku* residents, chapter five explores the deep-rooted problem of in-group and out-group mentality within the Japanese society. The personal stories presented here prove that many *buraku* people suffered from psychological beating or disgraceful public humiliation when their *buraku* identity was discovered. With the fear of being exposed some *buraku* residents still feel to need to hide their identity to escape from possible pre-martial and pre-employment background investigations, as mentioned above. And it is notable that in Ōsaka alone over a hundred anti-*buraku* incidents occurs each year.

Chapter six examines how *buraku* residents view their future and what they think about a possible solution of the *buraku* issue. The chapter emphasizes that the lack of understanding about actual *buraku* communities both by the mainstream society and by the government has been one of the most important factors contributing to continuation of the *buraku* issue. Many *buraku* residents McLauchlan interviewed suggested that mainstream people were strongly encouraged to come and watch the reality of modern *buraku* communities. They believe that mainstream Japanese may then be able to understand how clean and peaceful it actually is. The mainstream would then discover that there is no difference between mainstream and *buraku* societies in the ways of their everyday life and recognize that their prejudice against *buraku* residents cannot be justified.

The book concludes with McLauchlan's reflections on the *buraku* issue. He states that in a society which rigidly enforces homogeneity and in which in-group and out-group dynamics are deeply embedded, it is very hard to change the views of those people who are "still controlled by cultural lag, historical beliefs, transmitted social ideology, psychological prejudice, fear and jealousy" (200). Therefore, a paradigm shift needs to occur to solve the continuing problem of anti-*buraku* discrimination in Japan, although such shifts are always going to be difficult and take a long time.

McLauchlan's volume can be criticized on a few points. The short bibliography to the book suggests that McLauchlan was not very successful in bringing together a considerable body of written materials in producing the book. The use of Japanese newspaper articles would have enriched the book and allowed McLauchlan to trace the historical

background of the *buraku* issue in greater detail. Using these sources would have also allowed him to avoid too much dependence on materials produced by the BLL. Overall, however, this reviewer was very impressed by the ability of the author to draw on interview materials to produce an empirical base for his exhaustive examination of the theme. The book provides a significant and distinctive contribution to our understanding of the *buraku* issue in contemporary Japan. It will be of great interest to students and scholars, particularly in the fields of Japanese Studies and Psychology.

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Stephen J. Epstein and Timothy R. Tangherlini directors, *Our Nation: A Korean Punk Rock Community*, narrated by Sooyoung Park, Traumatic Production, 2001, NTSC colour video, 39 minutes.

The setting is Seoul, Republic of Korea, and the year is 1999. The opening views of high-rise, industrial, technological Korea are ones that depict the period in the 1990s of continued economic growth in a rapidly globalising world. But what is noticeably different with this film in this opening setting is that the background music sounds like the punk rock music that literally rocked the international music scene in the mid-1970s, originating in the United Kingdom with the Sex Pistols and their anarchical style of popular music and youth culture of the time. However, while this opening music might sound like 1970s British punk rock, its performers, audience and lyrics are definitely Korean.

This film outlines the phenomenon of the Korean punk rock scene from the mid to late 1990s. It provides an example of the localisation of a music style that has been packaged and sold in an increasingly globalised Korean economy. While this type of global product is typical of the popular music industry and is evident in not only punk rock but just about every music style that has been produced by the international record industry, what makes the 1990s particularly different in Korea is that they provide an example of transplanted music that is clearly out of time. That is, not out of time in a musical sense but, rather, as a localisation of a British and later international style of music around twenty years after bands such as the Sex Pistols first changed the face of British youth culture. Moreover, the fascist regime that was embodied in the messages of the Sex Pistols' music, along with their other anti-establishment lyrics and antics is something that the Korean brand of punk in the 1990s is not imitating. The sounds and images may be very

similar to the first wave of British punk and the purpose of the music very similar, but with Korean punk rock the cultural, economic and political milieu is notably different and indeed very much far removed from Britain in the mid 1970s.

Our Nation traces several Korean punk bands, notably Crying Nut, 18Cruk, Lazybone, and Supermarket. A number of the bands' members speak about their lives as punk musicians and give their insider views of what their brand of punk is and what it means to them. "We're not anarchists," some say, "we're just singing about things that are around us." The music is certainly eclectic in its influences, and calling it punk does not seem right. Instead, as the interviewees say, they call it Choson punk, "real Korean punk". As one punk rockers insists, "Choson punk is a cool term."

The club called Drug is portrayed as being pivotal in the development of the Korean punk rock movement. It might be called the home of Korean punk. It opened in 1995 and was following the popularity of the time of small-scale clubs providing a venue for Korean youth culture and live music. The 1990s was a time of large-scale student movements, and the period from 1992 to 1995 was a particularly influential time for rock cafes – there were many of them. Yet what was different about Drug was that it helped establish many punk bands as well as securing its own reputation as the place for punk bands to play. It is an extremely small space with a crowded and excited atmosphere, but one that seems to fit well the performing antics of the musicians. Still, while Drug is portrayed as the hub of Choson punk, the documentary also notes that the club has changed much and "real" punks do not hang out there any more.

Our Nation includes a substantial number of interviews with young Koreans, particularly punk rock musicians. With its 39 minutes it does well to include so much contextual information, music and interviews. One band, Supermarket, for example, is an all female group who notes the importance of another band, Crying Nut, on their music and the Korean punk scene. The musicians say that they are breaking out of society's moulds and offering an alternative to the status quo – that's what punk is. The members of Supermarket note that they sometimes mix pop music and punk, and essentially are doing what they want to do. Even though the music is simple on a technical level, the musicians need the right spirit to be good punk performers. Their music is primarily a social criticism of consumer society.

Crying Nut have been a fixture at Drug since 1996. Their music is very influential and they are a very popular punk rock band. One of their songs was even used for an ice-cream commercial, and they have had a No. 1 hit album. Their music includes many original numbers as well as covers of Sex Pistols' songs. Where Korean punk differs most from its other global varieties is that bands such as Crying Nut wanted to establish a type of communist atmosphere at Drug, and certainly not fascism.

Just like punks elsewhere in the world, Korean punk rockers spike and colour their hair. However, as some note, they usually get treated like monkeys at a zoo because they really stand out. It seems that even though Korean people certainly have their fair share of things to be angry about, particular in response to the far-reaching social and economic changes of the 1990s, which is reflected in Korean punk rock music, Korean society is still a long way away from accepting this particular brand of Korean youth culture.

This short documentary includes an English narration and English subtitles for the interviews in Korean. There are many examples of Korean punk music that do much to help portray the music and lives of those who play and consume it. This production has been made to a standard that means it is certainly usable in a teaching context and will be of interest to scholars and students from a number of fields.

Reviewed by HENRY JOHNSON
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Anne-Marie Brady, *Friend of China: The Myth of Rewi Alley*, London, Routledge/Curzon, 2002, 224 pp. ISBN: 0-700-71493-6 (hbk).

Anne-Marie Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China: Managing Foreigners in the People's Republic*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 2003, 320 pp. ISBN: 0-742-51861-2 (hbk).

Exile is a powerful word, evoking the threat of banishment or estrangement, tapping into deep emotions about the sense of self and belonging. Anne-Marie Brady has given us an intriguing account of one modern exile, Rewi Alley, in her *Friend of China*. Unlike some other left-wing figures during the Cold War, Alley was never formally banished from his homeland, New Zealand, but he did become a kind of exile, living the vast majority of his life in China. His state of exile was both self-created and imposed by others. Alley became estranged from New Zealand and voluntarily stayed away for long periods of time, but it is also incontrovertible that some of his compatriots made it clear that he was no longer welcome in their fold. They saw him as an outcast and a traitor. Yet Alley was never fully accepted in his adopted homeland, the People's Republic of China, and remained, as Brady writes, a permanent outsider and a permanent guest. Such is the fate of an exile.

Alley is intriguing for another reason. The Cold War may have finished, aside from a few stubborn, anachronistic pockets, but it continues to invoke strong emotions. Alley was a controversial figure

throughout his life, reviled by some as a villain and lionised by others as a hero. He still attracts competing bands of fierce defenders and equally fierce detractors. Brady manages to navigate a way through these competing currents for the most part with surety. No doubt her conclusions will antagonise some on both sides of the divide for she sees Alley in the round.

Brady explores the different phases of Alley's long and eventful life, tracing his transition from a fireman in Shanghai in the late 1920s, who initially regarded the Chinese with some contempt, into a full-time propagandist for the communist regime in the 1960s and 1970s. Unlike some political biographers, she gives due weight to the personal dimension, contending that China allowed the younger Alley to express both his homosexuality and a latent missionary impulse. Originally non-ideological, Alley became devoted to the cause of the 'new China', doing much good work for the cooperative movement and then founding an innovative school. As the book proceeds, the private dimension shrinks, both because less personal information has survived, but also because the communist authorities greatly reduced the private realm in Chinese life. The sexual side of Alley's life seems to have come to an end shortly after the Revolution.

Brady tells Alley's story with a certain empathy, but she does not shy away from his flaws. She maintains that he made 'a Faustian choice' in 1949, deciding that he would do almost anything to remain in China. Having made his compact with the communist government, Alley came to live a privileged existence in the People's Republic, enjoying a standard of living way beyond that of ordinary Chinese and even managing to gain weight during the terrible famine in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Along the way he churned out some truly nauseating apologist propaganda for the regime – even his Chinese employers balked at running his more excessive writings.

Brady contends that Alley's closely guarded private opinions were often at odds with his published works, forcing him to lead a stressful schizophrenic life. Where was Alley's point of no return? When was it no longer possible for him to leave China, for him to start again, back in New Zealand or somewhere else, and remake himself? One can't help thinking that Alley steadily painted himself into a corner, closing down the range of possibilities in his life, until he was trapped, fully accepted nowhere. Although he avoided the imprisonment and physical maltreatment which befell some of his fellow 'foreign friends', Alley was persecuted nonetheless during the Cultural Revolution, living an austere, insecure life on the margins of Chinese society. He later reclaimed a certain social and political status which would have been unattainable back home, but remained an outsider. His life of exile had one last irony. He lived long enough to see the arrival of 'a new new China' and found much about the reforms of the 1980s which was disappointing or off-putting.

Brady's other recent book, *Making the Foreign Serve China*, plays out some of the themes of the Alley biography, including notions of exile and displacement, on a bigger canvas. She analyses the PRC's distinctive system of feting, controlling and using foreigners, arguing that its friendship diplomacy reaches back to both traditional Chinese practices and Soviet precedents. Given the unavoidable imbalance in available sources, her account necessarily ends up concentrating more at times on the experiences of the foreigners who served China than on those of the Chinese who handled them. This complex relationship shifted over the decades as China went through a series of dramatic swings. Brady handles this material well for the most part, once more maintaining an informed but largely dispassionate tone. The most gripping material in the book covers the Cultural Revolution, when many of China's foreign friends were devoured by the cause which had claimed their allegiance for so long. Most of these old ideological friends left China after the Cultural Revolution, but a few, like Alley, stayed on, increasingly stranded by the tide of events as the Chinese leadership adopted a new approach towards the outside world.

Brady's style in both books is mostly clear, though some passages are somewhat heavy and repetitive, leaching at times the drama out of the story. Aside from occasional factual slips (such as using Association instead of Administration to describe UNRRA – *Making the Foreign Serve China*, 62), she has written two well-grounded studies which illuminate aspects of the shifting and complex relationship between Chinese and foreigners. As an Australian, I can't help making one small point about Alley. Australia has indeed made a habit over the years of claiming some eminent New Zealanders, but Alley never loomed as large in our relationship with China as Brady suggests.

Reviewed by LACHLAN STRAHAN
Seoul

Susan L. Glosser, *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915-1953*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003, 275 pp. ISBN: 0-520-22729-8 (hbk).

The family has a special place in the Chinese nation state. As the Chinese word for state, *guojia* 国家, shows, *jia*, the family, is directly after *guo*, the state. Such a linguistic formation signifies that the family is subjected to the state. More intriguingly, the Chinese character *jia* 嫁 (with a tone different from that of *jia* as in *guojia*) signifies a woman marrying a man, is formed by attaching a female radical to the character signifying family, which reflects a patriarchal society where the married woman is

supposedly an outsider to the patriarchal family, be it her natal family or her husband's family. Nevertheless, the family, as Li Xiaojiang points out, "is the axel and crux by which one can trace out the complicated relationship between Chinese women and the Chinese state." If the history of family transformation provides a line to trace out Chinese women's relationship with the Chinese state, then, as Li Xiaojiang continues, "The year 1949 is a time of demarcation, before which Chinese women belonged to the family and after which they belonged to the state."¹

But how did this happen? Over the years, scholars have published a large number of books and articles examining marriage, family and society in Chinese history, but few so far have systematically focused on the discourses of family reform which occupied an important place in the vehement attack on traditional Chinese culture in the period of the New Culture Movement (NCM, 1915-1923) and lasted well into the People's Republic of China (PRC). In this respect, Glosser's *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915-1953* is a timely addition that addresses this gap in the historiography. Most valuable is the book's unique contribution in illuminating the relevance of the discourses of family reform to the development of the modern Chinese nation-state.

In the book, Glosser introduces the socio-historical background of the May Fourth NCM, from which the discourses about family reform originated. The Chinese family and women became topics of heated discussion when China was much bullied and humiliated by Japan and western powers towards the end of the Qing Dynasty and in the early Republic. China as a nation-state was then in a crisis and in danger of being "sliced up like a melon" by Japan and the western powers. Pressed by the urgent question to survive or "perish" (originally "evolve or perish" a subtitle in the "Introduction" of the book), Chinese intellectuals, especially those who had studied overseas or absorbed western ideas, began to ponder on the root cause of China's backwardness so as to find ways to save China. They found women's status hindered China's progress towards a modern nation. Arranged marriages promised little happiness, the ill-educated foot-bound mothers could not produce healthy off-spring, and the traditional patriarchal family deprived individuals of independence and suffocated their creative spirit. Therefore, the traditional Chinese family had to be reformed.

The NCM radicals promoted free choice in marriage, companionate marriage, and economic and emotional independence from the extended family. All these concentrated on replacing the traditional family with the *xiao jiating* 小家庭 (small/conjugal family). Whether consciously or not, many of the radicals might have wanted to be the patriarch of a *xiao jiating* themselves. Nevertheless, it is far too simplistic to say, "New

¹ Li Xiaojiang, "Xuyan" to *Xingbie yu Zhonguo* ["Introduction" to *Gender and China*], eds, Li Xiaojiang, Zhu Hong, Dong Xiuyu (Hong Kong: Sanlian Shudian, 1993), 2.

Culture Radicals believed in patriarchal authority... They rebelled against their fathers' authority because they wanted to be patriarchs of their own small conjugal families" (12). This arbitrary statement homogenizes all New Culture radicals, some of whom, such as Hu Shi, an important figure, actually advocated family democracy and the full liberation of women.

Starting from the New Culture radicals' ideal of the *xiao jiating*, Glosser traces its discursive variations in three major types, which she names as: the statist *xiao jiating*, the entrepreneurial *xiao jiating*, and *xiao jiating* in the People's Republic under the CCP.

The statist discourse of family reform "differed in emphasis and direction from its New Culture predecessor" (81). Whereas the latter hoped for a state "strengthened by the cumulative effects of individual freedom and productivity", the former "made the state both the primary beneficiary and the central agent of reform. They rejected the individual as the agent of change and intended instead for the state to lead the way, remaking the individual and family to suit its needs" (81). The examples Glosser cites to support her above summary include the Nationalist supreme court's effort to "modernise family law" to "treat men and women equally" and the court's decision that "parents could not force their children to conclude a betrothal that had been made when they were minors" (82). As if to make a point about a Chinese propensity for authoritarian rule and their dislike of individual freedom, she comments: "Far from perceiving Nationalist efforts as an encroachment on private issues, those interested in family reform welcomed the new legislation" (82). One wonders if Glosser would regard it as a state encroachment for other countries to prescribe in the law that women and men are equal and, furthermore, one may also wonder about the legislation regarding children's rights and protection. For example, in New Zealand, parents are forbidden to exercise physical punishment on their children, nor can they leave children under 14 unattended in their homes. Following Glosser's logic, this could be seen a serious case of "state encroachment on private affairs".

However, it is to Glosser's credit that she recognizes the Nationalist Party's attempt to place "the nation's claim on its citizen's loyalty" (83). The informed reader would know that there had been a possible contradiction between the interest of the father and that of society, as underlined in the Confucian saying: "A son is bound by duty of filiality to hide his father's misconduct." Yet history shows whenever filiality contradicts loyalty to the state, the commendable behaviour is to give up the former. Reconstructing the hierarchy of political, social, and cultural ties, the Nationalist statist discourse of *xiao jiating* intends to dissolve this tension by claiming the priority of national interest in an effort to build China into a modern state. Glosser clarifies this point by presenting a critical review of legislation and the new wedding rituals. As Glosser points out, by the 1930s members of the business circle dominated the family-reform debate:

Like the New Culture radicals and the Nationalist government, entrepreneurs continued to link individual happiness, national strength, and productivity. But whereas New Culture proponents had emphasized individual fulfilment and the Nationalists had stressed state-building, entrepreneurs played up economic aspects of *xiao jiating* (135).

They situated *xiao jiating* in the “growing commercial culture and promoted a family ideal based on emerging patterns of consumption” (135). Glosser cites magazines and journals where the image of *xiao jiating* connoted a comfortable lifestyle and the accumulations of the various accoutrements of modern urban life. A section of the chapter is on You Huaigao, a major exponent of the entrepreneurial *xiao jiating*, who had studied in Japan and the United States before he became an entrepreneur and the main contributor to the magazine *Family Weekly*. You’s vision of an ideal family was modelled on American family life, which he experienced while studying in the US. His ideas of family reform fitted China’s industrial development, which provided opportunities for employment and helped the individual to achieve independence from the traditional family. Glosser also observes that during this time “Europe, the United States, and China ... saw the ascendancy of companionate marriage, with its economic and emotional independence from the joint family” (137). Interestingly, while Europe and the United States continued this ascendancy, the Chinese entrepreneurial image of *xiao jiating* based on patterns of consumption only re-gained ascendancy after China had re-started a market economy in the 1980s.

The last chapter of Glosser’s book is appropriately titled “Love for Revolution: *Xiao jiating* in the People’s Republic”. The chapter compares the similarities and differences of the policies about marriage and family made by the CCP and the GMD. The policies of the two parties share much in common, as “both governments hoped to use their marriage codes to solidify the supremacy of the state over the competing loyalties to family and self” (170). Yet on several points the CCP “furthered the state-building agenda begun by the GMD” (171). The CCP explicitly included nation-building as “part of a couple’s marital duties”, and labelled hankering after romantic relationship, material comfort, and personal decoration as “bourgeois”. Love was no longer a personal matter. Glosser’s extensive research into the CCP’s policies and propaganda demonstrates how “the CCP obliterated distinctions between the private and the public and absorbed most interior aspects of the private world into the political realm” (174). Hence, all Chinese, regardless of gender and age, belonged to the state and revolution,

However, one may still wonder why or how the CCP’s *xiao jiating* eventually prevailed (up to 1953 as Glosser’s research suggests or up to the end of the Cultural Revolution)? And why did the

entrepreneurial *xiao jiating*, which according to Glosser was dominant by the 1930s, not continue its ascendancy until the 1980s when China moved towards a market economy? The book leads the reader to find the answer in the process of China's family reform. In her introduction, Glosser points out that New Culture radicals' suggestions for family reform "rearranged family organization and gender roles in ways that supported, rather than questioned, patriarchal and state authority" (12). At the end of the book she concludes, "The history of family-reform debate demonstrates that much of what the People's Republic of China became was rooted in the political, social, and cultural struggles of Republic China" (200). If the conclusion does not seem clear enough, the blurb of the book spells it out distinctively: "Glosser's comprehensive research shows that in the end, family reform paved the way for the Chinese Communist Party to establish a deeply intrusive state that undermined the legitimacy of individual rights."

Such a conclusion is problematic. Firstly, it neglects the historical situation crucial to the CCP's growth from a small group of intellectuals into the most powerful political party in China. Here I am referring to Japanese invasion of China (starting in 1931) and the War of Resistance (1937-1945), which abruptly thwarted, if not completely stopped, the entrepreneurial discourse/practice of *xiao jiating*. To my surprise, the impact of Japanese invasion on the discourses of family reform as well as the family reform discourses in the Japanese occupied areas are hardly mentioned in the book.¹ Secondly, the book's conclusion also seems to be oblivious to fact that it is in the nature of the communist party to build an authoritarian, "deeply intrusive" state, no matter if there is any family reform discourse to "pave the way". This has been amply demonstrated by George Orwell's novel *1984* in an imaginative way and by the Soviet Union in real life. However, this is not to say one should not look into the evolvement of the discourses of family reform as one formative aspect of modern China, but the clarity of representing these discourses should not be achieved at the expense of historical complexity.

Reviewed by HAIKIN JIANG
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¹ Actually, the Japanese government guided another discourse of family reform in its occupied area of China, which advocated the "virtuous wife and good mother". See Nü Meiyi, "kangri zhanzheng shiqi huabei lunxianqu guanyu xianqi liangmu zhuyi de lunzheng (The Controversy over the advocacy of the virtuous wife and good mother in the fallen North China during the War of Resistance against Japanese Invasion)" and Liu Jinhui, "Lun Zhongguo dongbei lunxian shiqi dui 'xianqi liangmu' zhuyi de changdao (On the advocacy of the 'virtuous wife and good mother' in the Japanese occupied North-East China)"; both articles are in Li Xiaojiang et al, *Lishi, shixue yu xingbie [History, historiography, and gender]* (Nanjing: Jiangsu Renmin Chubanshe, 2002), 163-181.

Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2003, 240 pp. ISBN: 0-674-01086-8 (hbk).

Rereading recently, after many years, Maggie Keswick's *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture*, first published in 1978 by Academy Editions (with a 2nd edition in 1986) and now republished by Harvard University Press, I was reminded powerfully of a garden account written by the Qing dynasty historian Dai Mingshi 戴名世 (1653-1713), entitled "A Record of The Ideational Garden" (Yiyuan ji 意園記):

No such garden as the Ideational Garden exists; it would simply be the manifestation of an ideal. Doubtless it would contain a couple of peaks, several *qing* of arable land, a single brook, a waterfall some ten *zhang* in height, a thousand trees and ten thousand bamboo plants. The Master of this garden would be accompanied always by a thousand books, a single serving boy, a zither and a pot of wine. This garden would have no paths and if the Master of the Garden does not know the way out, neither would any other person know the way in. Its plants would be both the Spring and the Summer varieties of the Cymbidium orchid, and the Chinese sweetflag; its flowers, the lotus, the chrysanthemum, the hibiscus and the white peony; its birds, the crane, the egret, the silver pheasant, the seagull and the oriole. As to trees, it would contain pine, fir, prunus, paulownia, peach and crab-apple. The music of the brook would be that of the lute, the bell and the chime. Its rocks would be green or reddish brown; they would lie in repose or sour upwards like a sheer cliff a hundred *ren* high. Its fields would be suitable for the cultivation of paddy or of glutinous millet, in its vegetable plots would grow celery, on its hillsides would be found turtle foot bracken, thorn-ferns, and bamboo shoots, and its pond would be full of duckweed. The serving boy would spend his days chopping firewood, gathering the thorn-ferns and trapping fish. The Master, for his part, would spend half his day reading and the remainder viewing the flowers, strumming his zither and drinking wine, listening to the bird song, the burble of the brook or the sougning of the pines, or observing the firmament above him, all with a delightful smile playing across his lips. Joyfully he would fall asleep, only to pass yet another day in this manner once he had awakened. The years would slip by, the generations would come and go, but of such things he would be utterly unconscious. He would know neither the need to escape from his age nor the need to flee his home. The surname of the Master of this garden would have been lost long ago, as too would his personal name have since fallen into obscurity. What

age would it have been that he was a man of? Perhaps he would have lived during the time of the legendary Wuhuai. What would have been the name of his garden? It would have been called The Ideational Garden.¹

Both texts deal at the level of generality and stereotype; both alike offer an essentialised and ahistorical account of their topic, in Dai Mingshi's case deliberately and amusingly so.

In a sense, one's problems with Maggie Keswick's book begin with the three words of its main title; indeed, the most important recent English-language treatment of the garden in China, Craig Clunas's *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China*, is written, so the author tells us at the very beginning of his "Introduction", "out of a distrust that such a thing" as the history of "the Chinese garden" exists (9).² In her gracious "Introduction" to this new edition of *The Chinese Garden*, Alison Hardie, translator into English of the most important traditional manual of the craft of garden design, Ji Cheng's 計成 *Yuanye* 園冶, first published in the mid 1630s, identifies many of the specific and categorical errors that flow by implication from this misapprehension of the topic of the book itself.³

It seems that we can no longer speak as un-problematically as once we did of the distinctions between imperial, temple and private gardens, for instance, of "philosophical Taoism" and so on, whilst we continue also to learn a great deal more about issues of access to sites that we have hitherto believed to have been the exclusive domains of their owners. No longer too can our concentration on the late imperial gardens of Jiangnan in general, and those of the city of Suzhou in particular, be allowed to mask the variety of regional styles and fashions that the pluralistic and ever-changing traditions of garden culture in China gave rise to.

At the same time, more general and theoretical developments in the discipline of garden history have largely overtaken the manner of analysis engaged in here, in particular in terms of the gradual shift of emphasis from the exclusively aesthetic values embodied by the garden to a more contextual view. In thinking about Chinese gardens today in the light of this instability of meaning, therefore, our focus has shifted away from what this particular form of land usage *is* to what it *does*, how it *works* as a cultural practice within particular historical and geographical

¹ *Dai Mingshi ji* 戴名世集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 386.

² Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.

³ For this edition, Alison Hardie has also corrected a number of errors, standardised the romanisation of Chinese and appended a list of the Chinese names of the gardens discussed. Certain errors remain, however. On p.195, for instance, the last sentence of the caption to an illustration of Yuan Mei's 袁枚 (1716-98) "Garden of Accommodation" (Suiyuan 隨園) reads: "It was destroyed in the Pacific War". No, this garden was taken over and used to grow grain during the occupation of Nanjing by the troops of the Taiping rebellion in the mid 1850s.

contexts. We tend, increasingly, to “think of landscape as a ‘verb’ and not a ‘noun’”, of a particular Chinese garden not so much simply as a construction in space but rather as a series of represented moments in time, of *how* rather than *what* it means, of its syntax not its semantics.¹

All this notwithstanding, if the irony of Dai Mingshi’s interrogation of the concept of the garden in China is a useful one, so too remains Maggie Keswick’s somewhat over-determined reading of the tradition. Quite apart from any other consideration, her beautifully illustrated book has doubtless served, perhaps more than any other single volume, to inspire interest (both scholarly and popular) in one of the world’s longest continuous traditions of garden culture. And one needs to keep in mind the particular circumstances of the time of its composition.

If, in the late 1970s, Maggie Keswick’s status as the daughter of the Chairman of Jardine Matheson & Co Ltd afforded her privileged access to the gardens of China, many of these gardens were still to recover from the ravages of the Cultural Revolution. With no direct access to the wealth of traditional Chinese writing about gardens, she was reliant upon a limited number of often either partial or faulty translations of this material, particularly those contained in the single earlier English-language treatment of the topic, Osvald Sirén’s *Gardens of China* (1949). Contemporary Chinese scholarship too was at the time only just beginning to pick up again from the work done in the 1930s and 40s.

Read now with the gentle qualifications of Alison Hardie’s “Introduction” firmly in mind, then, *The Chinese Garden* continues its task of affording one access to a privileged world that has long since disappeared.² The much expanded “List of gardens accessible to visitors in China” serves also as a somewhat melancholic guide to the lingering traces of this world, whilst an updated bibliography points readers in the direction of the wealth of more recent treatments of the topic. If these sources serve to complicate our understanding of “the Chinese garden” represented in Maggie Keswick’s book, so much the better, for, in the old Chinese saying, “Having crossed the river, what need is there to dismantle the bridge?”, and its republication is appropriate recognition of the extent to which it has inspired the work that has followed.

¹ See Mark Jackson, “Landscape/representation/text: Craig Clunas’s *Fruitful Sites* (1996)”, *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* (1999), 19 (3/4): 310. Here Jackson is responding explicitly to W.J.T. Mitchell’s “Introduction” to his edited volume entitled *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) where he argues for a “... more comprehensive model that would ask not just what landscape ‘is’ or ‘means’ but what it *does*, how it works as a cultural practice” (1).

² Speaking of the gardens of Suzhou in his “The Chinese Garden: Death of a Symbol” (*Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* (1998), 18 (3): 257-68), John Minford argues: “In order to be there at all, one has to reassemble the entire universe of which it was once a part, and which has been so thoroughly dismantled, in the name of progress of one sort or another. An entire system of symbols and spiritual values has gone” (259).

Maggie Keswick died in 1995, of cancer. In the years following her diagnosis she devoted her life to the establishment of a series of innovative day-care centres, called Maggie's Centres, the first of which opened in Edinburgh in 1996, the third, designed by Frank Gehry, in Dundee in 2003. From reports,¹ it seems that these centres embody something of the truth at the heart of the tradition of garden culture in China as Maggie Keswick intuitively understood it; the indivisibility of mind and body, and the importance of the built environment that surrounds us.

Reviewed by *DUNCAN CAMPBELL*
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Bai Qianshen *Fu Shan's World: The Transformation of Chinese Calligraphy in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2003, xxii + 338 pp. ISBN: 0-674-01092-2 (hbk).

The seventeenth century was a troubling age for China's educated élite. While economic expansion and the unprecedented growth of the salt and textile markets had combined to produce a world in which social mobility was at an all-time high, corruption at court, the expansion of eunuch power and the final dynastic collapse further complicated the traditional role of the intellectual in society. Success in the state examination system no longer guaranteed a candidate a government post, nor indeed was the acceptance of such a post now regarded as the *sine qua non* for entry into the sophisticated world of the literati. An educated man born in the late Ming and living into the rule of the alien Qing regime might easily live out his life with no serious attempt to acquire a government position, something that would have been barely imaginable in any previous period in Chinese history. More shocking still was the erosion of social boundaries; by the late sixteenth century some scholars had already begun to complain that luxurious clothing had blurred the clear distinctions between gentry and commoner.²

Such changes had an inevitable impact on the cultural composition of the late-Ming world. Timothy Brook, in a recent study, notes that status competition in the early seventeenth century increasingly played itself out within the arena of fashion, with rocks, books, tea and myriad other consumer items now crucial in the definition of social status.³ The

¹ See, for instance, the *Guardian Weekly*, 16-22 October, 2003.

² Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 220.

³ Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*, 212.

late Ming became the era of the collector: the ‘superfluous things’ of the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 had grown to be the indispensable desiderata of the age. In this context the visual arts, and calligraphy in particular, would come to play an ever more important role in social interaction. The various ways in which art was both produced and consumed within the new marketplace underwent a major shift, as the ideal of the scholar-amateur increasingly gave way to the reality of the professional artist.¹

The present study examines in detail the life and works of Fu Shan 傅山 (1607-1684), one of the major calligraphers active throughout the Ming-Qing transition. Fu spent almost his entire life working out of the northern province of Shanxi, as an artist and as a physician, but is perhaps best remembered for his staunch (and at times extremely dangerous) opposition to the Qing regime following 1644. Qianshen Bai’s justification of his choice of Fu Shan as the focus of his study is an interesting one. Although Fu’s life and works “span the late Ming – early Qing divide and show characteristics of both periods”, his separation, both geographically and intellectually, from the important scholarly community in Jiangnan must, one feels, limit his effectiveness as “an ideal prism through which to view the transformation of calligraphy in the seventeenth century” (2). The figure of Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636) looms large in seventeenth-century art historical discourse, not only because of the success he enjoyed as a painter and calligrapher during the late Ming, but also because his theoretical positions came to be widely accepted by scholars and artists in later years. Dong, Zheng Fu 鄭簠 (1622–1693), and Shitao 石濤 (1642-1707) are three whose work was almost certainly more influential than that of Fu Shan. Indeed, Bai himself concedes that when Yan Ruoqu 閻若璩 (1636–1704), a friend of the Fu family, listed his fourteen ‘contemporary sages’, Fu Shan failed to appear (208).

If Professor Bai’s insistence on the importance of the Shanxi intellectual community is somewhat overstated, his study of Fu Shan’s calligraphic works from an art historical point of view is nonetheless an impressive achievement. Indeed, in terms of its formal analysis, *Fu Shan’s World* is a *tour de force*. Bai’s close examination of the components of calligraphic art, often broken down to the level of individual strokes, is accompanied by over 150 beautifully reproduced examples of works by dozens of artists. Bai draws not only on his own experience as a calligrapher of note, but also on his extensive knowledge and understanding of calligraphic practice in the centuries leading up to the Ming dynasty. In his analysis (138-45) of Fu Shan’s *Selu miaohan* 壻盧妙翰 (c. 1652) for example, Bai demonstrates Fu’s debt to artists such as Zhong You 鐘繇 (151-230), Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (c.303-c.361), Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-785) and Zhao Yiguang 趙宦光 (1559-1625), as

¹ On the role of the marketplace in Chinese visual arts see James Cahill’s *The Painter’s Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

well as to passages from the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, and dictionaries such as Xia Song's 夏竦 (984-1050) *Guwen sishengyun* 古文四聲韻, which Fu is known to have used. The concept of artistic influence is always problematic, but Bai's approach is careful and convincing, offering a valuable insight into the way Fu Shan positioned himself in relation to his artistic heritage.

The practice of calligraphy during the Ming-Qing transition though, was influenced more by factors specific to the seventeenth-century cultural context than by its historical antecedents. Again, the author's demonstration of the ways in which cultural change affected the production of calligraphy is impressive. Historians have long noted the impact of a rapidly expanding printing industry, increasing contacts with Western traders and missionaries, and the Manchu conquest on seventeenth-century artistic practice, but Professor Bai's analyses, again to the level of individual strokes, are strikingly precise. The study is structured around four broad periods of Fu Shan's life, beginning with the eclectic late-Ming period, and ending in an era in which, under Kangxi, Chinese intellectual society was beginning to regain a sense of normality after 1644. The author succeeds in capturing the dilemma that confronted every scholar who lived through the Manchu takeover: negotiating safe passage between serving the alien regime and a dangerous public rejection of that government became something of a Scylla and Charybdis scenario for many. In the case of Fu Shan, this rather difficult position culminated in his eventual failure to attend the *Boxue hongci* 博學鴻辭 examination of 1679, despite the repeated exhortations of Beijing officials (212-220). Bai's investigation of the events and atmosphere surrounding the examination, and of the ambivalence with which many of the important intellectual figures of the day made their way to Beijing, provides the fascinating context for Fu Shan's later work.

In some cases, the author's examination of the theoretical issues underpinning trends in Fu Shan's calligraphy might profitably have been taken further. Bai does not, for example, satisfactorily explain why fragmentation in calligraphic art should be read as a response to the new political environment after 1644, when by his own admission "the movement toward deformation, fragmentation and awkwardness had already acquired its initial momentum in the Ming" (128). Nor does he adequately address the apparent contradiction between Fu's argument that art must be judged solely on aesthetic grounds (127-8) and the fact that many of his own works, we are informed, make overt political statements (118-27). In my view it is not enough simply to concede that Fu "did not necessarily intend every client or friend to read or view his art as political" (127), without considering the wider implications of this possibility for our reading of Fu's works today. Such failings, however, remain minor in the context of this outstanding contribution to art history in the Ming-Qing transition. In years to come, *Fu Shan's World* will no

doubt come to occupy a central position in this field of study, but its successful multi-disciplinary approach should also make it an important addition to the library of any scholar interested in the material culture and intellectual history of seventeenth-century China.

*Reviewed by STEPHEN MCDOWALL
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Yip Po-Ching and Don Rimmington, *Chinese: A Comprehensive Grammar*, London & New York, Routledge, 2004, xiii + 418 pp. ISBN: 0-415-15031-0 (hbk); 0-415-15032-9 (pbk).

Learners of Mandarin Chinese have been longing for a comprehensive and user-friendly grammar book, which is written in English and pays special attention to areas of confusion and difficulty that non-native speakers of Chinese tend to have. Yip and Rimmington's book, *Chinese: A Comprehensive Grammar*, published as part of the *Comprehensive Grammars* series by Routledge, fills this niche nicely. This much-needed book is written for those who have some knowledge of Chinese (characters or romanisation), and uses as few as possible linguistic terms, making sure that they are adequately explained where they are used.

The authors have published extensively, including co-authored books on Chinese grammar (Yip and Rimmington, 1997, 1998a and 1998b). These three books were well received for their accessible format, useful examples and jargon-free explanations of grammar. The present book offers a more extended discussion than Yip and Rimmington (1997), and will make a good companion to the other two volumes which are essentially workbooks. The above publications show that the two authors are veterans in the field.

The authors adopt an eclectic and multi-perspective approach: semantic, pragmatic, stylistic, prosodic, structural, functional, discursal, transformational and generative. Chinese syntactic rules are discussed here in conjunction with these various principles.

The book organizes chapters in a refreshing way, based on functional sentence types in Mandarin Chinese. The reason, as the authors rightly put it, is that Chinese language lacks certain morphological features, such as the noun/verb inflection and general markers for definite/indefinite reference. Therefore, "most grammatical features have to be seen in the context of the sentence, or more usefully the sentence type, as a whole" (xvi). Accordingly, this book classifies four basic sentence types and a fifth overriding one: narrative, descriptive, expository, evaluative and *le*-expository. *Narrative* is defined in this book

as action-verb based and associated with the completed action marker; *descriptive* features action verbs as well but with continuous action markers; *expository* covers explanatory statements including existence, possession, cognition, and experience (the only one with verbal markers in this category); *evaluative* are explanatory statements with a more judgmental tone, featuring modal verbs, etc., but with no verbal markers. The characteristics of the above four sentence types result in that the first two have a subject-predicate structure, while the latter two tend to have a topic-comment pattern. Finally, the fifth overriding type, a highly distinctive feature of the Chinese language (spoken language in particular), is *le*-expository, with the particle *le* at the end of any of the above four sentence types, primarily indicating a notion of change. It should be noted that the authors are aware that the boundaries between the sentence types may not be clear-cut, yet it is hoped that the approach can offer clarification of the complexities of Chinese grammar.

Based on the above typology, this book is divided into twenty-seven chapters and each in turn is subdivided into sections. Each of the chapters deals with a particular grammatical point or feature; this is handy for readers who wish to look at that particular area. The first five chapters discuss noun-related issues, including topics of nouns and nominalisations; numerals and measures; pronouns, pronominals and pro-words; adjectives as attributives and predicatives; and attributives other than adjectives. Chapters 6 to 14 outline elements in narrative and descriptive sentences, such as action verbs; action verbs and time; action verbs and locations; adverbials; complements; coverbs; *ba* constructions; the passive voice and *bei* constructions; and chain constructions (also called *serial verb constructions*, a series of verbs are strung together to form the predicate of a sentence). Chapters 15 to 19 mainly deal with expository and evaluative sentences, concerning matters like the verb *shi*; the verb *you*; verbs that take verbal or clausal objects; modal verbs; and telescopic constructions (“constructions where one subject-predicate or topic-comment sentence is seen to be embedded in or interwoven with another” (290)). Chapters 20 and 21 provide an in-depth analysis of the five sentence functional types: narration, description, exposition, evaluation and *le*-exposition.

The final six chapters study various relevant issues, such topics as conjunctions and conjunctives; non-declarative sentences (interrogative and imperative); abbreviations and omissions; prosodic features; and stylistic considerations in syntactic constructions. At the end of these six chapters, the authors conclude that while any stereotypical sentence conforms to general syntactical rules, there is diversity in the actual realisations of these stereotypical patterns. It is influenced by varied communicative objectives, different linguistic foci, emphases, contexts and intentions. It is stated that “These differences in turn entail differing organising principles: contextual, functional, focal, presentational and rhetorical” (404). This book covers variations that are contextual,

exemplified by abbreviations and omissions; functional, exemplified by statements vs. questions and narrative vs. expository; and focal, exemplified by emphatic sentences featuring *shi*. Variations that are presentational and rhetorical are stylistic in nature, being discussed in the last chapter to provide readers with additional insight into ways that the Chinese exploit and manipulate their language beautifully. There is a bibliography and an index at the end of the book, as well as footnotes which offer convenient cross-references to related issues in other chapters.

This book has an edge on competing texts because of its accessible style and comprehensive coverage of Chinese grammar. There are a number of books on Chinese grammar, including Chao (1968), Chu (1983), Li and Thompson (1989), Chang et al (2002) and Chappell (2004). Similar to Yip and Rimmington's book, Li and Thompson (1989) aims to provide a description of Mandarin Chinese grammar in functional terms and to discuss the structure of utterances in an appropriate pragmatic situation and communicative context. The book is well regarded for its scholarly and systematic analysis of Chinese grammar. One of the differences between the two books is that Yip and Rimmington's book is more of a practical guide for "how tos", while Li and Thompson's book is good at explaining "whys". Yip and Rimmington's volume by and large achieved its goal successfully. While the book does cover a wide range of topics, some important discussions are not included, such as pivotal construction (e.g. *wo jiao ta bie lai le*, I asked him not to come anymore), word order and word structure (morphological processes).

As mentioned earlier, the analysis of this book is based on the five sentence types, which is a good choice in terms of clear explanation. Take the distinction of *mei* and *bu* as an example, one crude explanation tends to say that the former is for the past and the latter is for the present and future. That is not entirely true, because the latter can be used for the past as well. For example,

- (a) *Zuotian xiawu, wo buzai kanshu.* (Yesterday afternoon, I wasn't reading.)
- (b) *Wo yiqian bu chi yu.* (In the past, I didn't eat fish.)

In this book, the difference of *mei* and *bu* is explained from the perspective of the four sentence types, *mei* tends to be used with the narrative type, while *bu* is used for the other types. Sentence (a) is descriptive and sentence (b) is expository, so both can use *bu* for negation.

The organisation of the book is orderly, however Chapters 20 and 21, where the five sentence types are finally given an in-depth and thorough analysis, should have been moved to the beginning of the book, because prior to Chapter 20 numerous points have been made on the basis of the typology and yet readers would probably not have a solid grip on the matter until they reach Chapters 20 and 21, before that no adequate discussion is provided.

The analysis is logical and concise, illustrated by abundant, well thought-out and easy to understand examples, primarily coming from present-day utterances. It can serve as a practical guide to help students form sentences for their assignments and the like. As this book is written in English and all the examples are presented throughout in characters (useful for easy reading for those who prefer to read characters) and *Pinyin* (useful for pronunciation learning), with English translation and where necessary a literal translation, it should meet the needs of a wide audience. In particular, the literal translation will be of great help for English speakers to work out each individual fragment before they can piece together the meaning of the whole sentence and see the exact structure of the sentence. It is also an efficient way to avoid a lengthy vocabulary list at the end of the book.

While Yip and Rimmington's book provides useful cross-referencing footnotes, the format of its index doesn't give easy and efficient access because it refers to a section number rather than a direct page number. Consequently, readers would have to take some time to track down the page. Also, the book would be more useful and challenging if there were exercises at the end of chapters and key answers provided.

The book could hardly be any clearer, more detailed or more painless. The text is well written and enjoyable. However, it does have a number of mistakes and typos, which may cause some confusion. For example, *shi duo* (over 10, more than 10, (23)) is neither a word nor a phrase, and should be written as *shi duo* (measure word, e.g. *ge*); and with *hen da de bing* (an extremely serious illness, (67)), *da* should be *zhong*. In the case of *haoshuo haoshuo* (It's very kind of you to say so, (147)), the authors' English translation sounds a bit unusual; the utterance commonly means 'let me think about this', 'no problem', etc. In the sentence *Qing ni ba lipi xuan diao* (Please peel the pear, (206)), *xuan* should be *xiao*; and in the sentence *Jiejie jiao gunshui ba shou gei tang shang le* (My elder sister had her hand scalded by boiling water, (221)), *gunshui* is only used in Cantonese and it should be *kaishui* (as in Mandarin). With *Qing bie tanhua le, huiyi kaishi le* (Please stop talking, the meeting is starting, (319)) it would be better to use *shuohua* (chat) here. On page 364, it states that reiterated or reduplicated imperatives are never couched in the negative, which is not the case. Chinese do say *bie zheyang, bie zheyang* (don't be like that).

In conclusion, this book presents Chinese grammar in an effective and efficient way, distinguishing itself with simplicity, clarity and practicality. It has lived up to its title for being "comprehensive", and will undoubtedly be one of the most important reference sources in Chinese grammar for many years to come. It is highly recommended as a textbook for Chinese grammar classes, as well as a "teach yourself" book. This book is essential for any serious students of Chinese, and is also a handy manual-like reference book for teachers and researchers.

Above all, it is a valuable addition to the library of anyone who is interested in Chinese grammar.

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Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire*, London, Palgrave, 2002, xi + 266pp. ISBN: 0-333-96360- 1 (hbk).

It is safe to say that only a New Zealand historian – maybe only a product of the Otago University History Department of the last ten or fifteen years – could have written this book. Certainly only a New Zealander is likely to have the training in matters both South Asian and Māori (including, it would seem, Hindi and Māori language) that is displayed here. Ballantyne has other penchants – above all for the history of ideas (in the broadest sense), but also for British imperial history, and for the study of the role of literacy in religious conversion. These, too, might be seen as being derived, at least partially, from traditions of enquiry at Otago.

Yet it would be wrong to say this and omit the influence of Ballantyne's eminent supervisor at Cambridge, Chris Bayly, who has a close concern with both the history of India – especially the processes of gathering and dispersing information in that country – and with 'global' history. One should probably also not omit the contribution of a number

of Ballantyne's colleagues during his somewhat brief stay in Galway. (Certainly, one is intrigued to learn that some nineteenth-century commentators saw 'Oriental' influences in Ireland's ancient round towers.) Above all, it would be wrong to say all this and to fail to highlight early in this review the sheer originality, the enormous breadth, and the very considerable verve that are displayed in this study. This is, very distinctively, Tony Ballantyne's book and it has many touches of brilliance about it; in such a book one is fully prepared to forgive the occasional idiosyncrasy.

Early in his study Ballantyne speaks of 'the Aryan idea'. In truth, however, he shows that there were, and still are, many Aryan ideas. They may all have some connection, however distant, to the discovery by Sir William Jones, in India in the late eighteenth century, of the similarities between Sanskrit and Latin and Greek. Somewhat later scholars posited a common 'Indo-European' origin for the speakers of these and many more modern languages. But thereafter the links between the various 'Aryan ideas', in scholarship and elsewhere, were often tenuous indeed. We hardly need to be reminded that in Germany the monstrous aberration of National Socialism was built upon a notion of 'Aryanism.' In late nineteenth-century India there was the idea, disturbing to some British but comforting to some Indians, that ultimately rulers and ruled were of the same 'Aryan' stock. In British India there was also the recruiting officer's preference for 'martial' types, to be found amongst supposedly 'Aryan' communities. But also in India there was the insistence of the significantly titled Arya Samaj – not infrequently at least as much in opposition to missionary Christianity as to Islam – on the reformation, maintenance and extension of what it believed to be 'Hinduism.'

Probably the most influential 'Aryan idea' in the subcontinent has been the 'Aryan invasion' theory. This is the notion that at some stage in the distant past India was invaded from the North-west by large numbers of pale-skinned 'Aryans', speakers of Sanskrit or a language that was closely related to it and followers of a religion that was at least recognisably 'Vedic.' It was frequently held that some or many of the earlier and darker 'non-Aryan' inhabitants of the North had been displaced by the intruders and fled to the South, where 'Dravidian' languages, seemingly bearing little or no relationship to Sanskrit, are dominant to this day. It is perhaps unfortunate that Ballantyne nowhere makes it especially clear that in recent years it has been not only saffron-robed swamis, believing that the essentials of their religion have been found in India from time immemorial, who have rejected such assertions. Much respectable scholarship – that, for example, of Romila Thapar or Colin Renfrew – now has reservations or is sceptical about the 'Aryan invasion' notion. Such scholarship casts considerable doubt on the assumption of a close association between language and race and on the assumption that language change in the ancient world was frequently the

result of the large-scale migrations of peoples. Ballantyne, who is not untouched by post-modernism, is not primarily concerned with the truth or falsity of the ideas he discusses. But some of his readers may be.

'Aryan ideas' were not confined to India. In Southeast Asia, Ballantyne points out, a series of Scotsmen in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries claimed to find not only close cultural connections with India but also racial affinities. (Ballantyne could perhaps have said something about the not altogether dissimilar notions to be found in some later Dutch and French scholarship, and in the patriotic Indian membership of the Calcutta-based Greater India Society in the 1920s and 1930s.) In New Zealand such people as the government official Edward Shortland and, somewhat later, Edward Tregear, built on notions of a Malayo-Polynesian language family, related to Sanskrit, so as to suggest that, on the way to the Pacific, Maori had migrated from India and passed through Malaya. As late as the 1930s Te Rangihiroa (Sir Peter Buck) was prepared to accept that his ancestors 'probably did live in some part of India'. Of course, in this 'Aryan' schema colonisers and colonised in New Zealand were ultimately related. As in India, such a notion was welcome in some quarters.

But not in others. Ballantyne's fascinating if perhaps not always completely relevant Chapter 5 is intended to show that, to many Māori, an 'Aryan' explanation of their origins was unacceptable. They preferred to see themselves, especially in Pai Marire, as 'Israelites', battling to hold on to their land. Actually, the Indian Aryavarta, with which Ballantyne deals in his very effective Chapter 6, in some contexts bears a resemblance to the notion of the Promised Land, although Ballantyne does not specifically make this point. However he does note that the great nineteenth-century Maharashtrian Mahadev Govind Ranade believed that the 'Aryas' were the chosen race in India. One is reminded that Romila Thapar has recently complained of the growing tendency in the circles of resurgent Hinduism to give Indian religion a 'Semitic' flavour: to give a precise geographical location (as well as a historicity) to the conventionalities of mythology. This in spite of the fact that, as Ballantyne shows with apt quotation, resurgent Hinduism can also congratulate itself on the fact that it has 'no founder, no birthday'.

As a study in the history of ideas this book is to be very highly commended. But it has to be said that there is a certain quirkiness about it. One has the suspicion that some historians of India – almost certainly some Indian historians – will be slightly baffled by Ballantyne's juxtaposition of tiny New Zealand and the gigantic subcontinent, and, especially, the almost equal treatment given to both. Wellington is spoken of in the same breath as Calcutta. Some historians of India might even cavil at the amount of space given to the Sikhs by this disciple of Hew McLeod. (It is of no consequence that many such historians will find the author's proud description of himself, in his Acknowledgements, as a 'Cavy boy', somewhat mystifying!)

In the final analysis it may be to the historians of the British Empire – particularly to those historians of the Empire who have a decently ‘global’ outlook – that this book will most appeal. They may find it a little hard to accept Ballantyne’s insistence, at various places in his book, that Aryanism is a ‘crucial’, ‘pivotal’, or ‘central’ feature of the history of the Empire. They may feel that the influence of Aryanism needs to be compared, if that is possible, with such other significant features of Empire history as, say, mercantilism, or free trade, or Evangelicalism, or (most importantly) long-running European power rivalries. But historians of the Empire will undoubtedly delight in Ballantyne’s analysis of some important networks – Ballantyne calls them ‘webs’ – amongst the colonisers. These networks were by no means all centred on the metropole. In them, amateur ethnographers – intelligent, enthusiastic, extremely curious, occasionally wildly mistaken – played a dominant role. Alfred Newman in New Zealand speculates as to what the presence of ‘swastikas’ in Māori art may reveal about Polynesian contacts with India. Samuel Peal on his Assam tea plantation corresponds with Percy Smith and Elsdon Best in New Zealand, insisting that Maori are not ‘Aryan’ but, rather, related to some of the tribal peoples he found close at hand. The Polynesian Society in Wellington acquires some valuable runs of Indian periodicals, now to be found in the Turnbull Library. (One might add a word about John Macmillan Brown’s ‘Indian’ collection, much of which now resides in the library named after him at the University of Canterbury.) To quite a large extent it is these networks amongst the colonisers that give shape to Tony Ballantyne’s study. His is a first book of considerable stature and great promise, and we in New Zealand must rejoice in the fact that he has returned to our shores.

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JV D’Cruz and William Steele, *Australia’s Ambivalence Towards Asia: Politics, Neo/Post-colonialism, and Fact/Fiction*, Clayton, Victoria, Monash University Press, 466 pp. ISBN: 1-876-92409-8 (pbk).

This volume is a wide-ranging and thorough analysis of Australian attitudes to, and representation of, Asian people. Crucial to the argument of D’Cruz and Steele is the hypocrisy of Australians, and especially the Australian government, in criticising and interfering in the affairs of Asian nations, given Australia’s own record of treatment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. The authors set out to expose the gap between white Australian rhetoric on human rights outside Australia (say in Asia) and its own failure on human rights issues

within Australia, especially towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (9).

The authors take a historical approach, with contemporary attitudes towards countries such as Malaysia and East Timor contextualised within the history of Australian immigration and foreign policy. D’Cruz and Steele’s explicit linkage of Australian treatment of Asian and Aboriginal peoples differs from the more narrow focus generally employed in Australian historical writing, which generally concentrates on either immigration or Indigenous history. This approach ensures D’Cruz and Steele make a strong statement about the ongoing role of race in Australian society and the moral and cultural superiority assumed by white Australians in dealing with both internal and external others.

Australia’s Ambivalence Towards Asia characterises Australians in Asia as “secular missionaries”, while Australia, like the United States, “trumpets ... its egalitarianism and democracy” both at home and abroad. As an Australian, I find this description embarrassing and yet have to admit to its accuracy. It is discomfiting to read the words of Robert Menzies, who would later be Prime Minister, writing as Attorney-General in his diary in 1935: “I am ashamed (or almost ashamed) of our Australian vice of censoriousness and an uncontrollable itch to regulate the lives and conduct and thought of other” (19). For all Australia’s claims to be post-colonial, not much has changed. D’Cruz and Steele also interrogate the sense of superiority some Australians feel over the politics of Pauline Hanson, founder of the One Nation political party. They show that some Australians feel satisfaction at Pauline Hanson’s disappearance from the Australian political scene. “Hanson may be said to calm, rather than unsettle ‘us’” as commentators feel that racism belongs to a “few country rednecks only” (65). They rightly point out that racism “is not the whole story” by focusing instead on the broader discourse of ‘race’.

And so, the authors suggest, while many Australians feel superior towards the politics of Pauline Hanson, the government also ‘itches’ to interfere in the affairs of Asian nations, and does not appreciate criticism of our human rights credentials. In 2000, Australia was the subject of reprimands by four different United Nations committees. The UN criticised Australia over treatment of Aboriginal people – especially the Federal Government’s native title legislation and refusal to apologise to the Stolen Generations, people subjected to government policies of forcible child removal, and the mandatory sentencing regimes implemented by the states of Western Australia and the Northern Territory – as well as the detention of asylum seekers for indefinite periods. D’Cruz and Steele quote a typically aggressive response from Foreign Minister Alexander Downer: “If a UN committee wants to play domestic politics in Australia, it will end up with a bloody nose” (275).

The authors argue that Australian criticism of the UN and its subsequent campaigns to ‘reform’ the UN system contrast to the way that the agency of Asian people is either ignored or appropriated in

Western discourse. *Australia's Ambivalence Towards Asia* documents the foisting of Western – sold as ‘global’ – values on Asian people as a “gratuitous down-loading of Western ideologies on Asian, Pacific and African peoples” (108). Then when Asian countries do institute political or social change agendas they are seen, not as acting in a way appropriate to the circumstances of their own societies, but as mimicking the West. D’Cruz and Steele scrutinise assumptions that Asian countries attempt to model Westernised models of politics, and yet are invariably found wanting. Such assumptions remove the agency of Asian peoples and allow Western commentators to take credit for societal change in Asia. The idea that ‘other’ people cannot change for their own reasons and in their own manner is an incredibly arrogant one.

Yet on an important point D’Cruz and Steele fall into the same logic that which they criticise within Western discourse as a whole. They write off a whole section of Asian societies as Westernised and dismiss the capacity of people to pursue their own agenda. The authors, by labelling Asian ‘elites’ as nothing more than Western ‘compradors’, obscure the presence of dissenting voices within Asian societies and this means that the book does not apply the same scrutiny to Asian politicians as it rightly applies to Australian ones. The vested interests and moral high ground assumed by Australian politicians and commentators are assumed not to have their counter-parts in Asian political circles. D’Cruz and Steele, moreover, adopt the language used by the very Australian politicians that they criticise, who dismiss critics as self-interested elites. A clear dichotomy between bad Australian politicians and good Asian politicians appears to merely reverse the dominant Australian hierarchy, and is certainly too simplistic a concept through which to understand the intricacies of political relationships. The dismissal of ‘unelected Asian elites’ and their efforts to change Asian society also begs one to ask the question, who can speak out about the abuse of human rights? As we so clearly see in Australia, governments are not best placed to monitor their own human rights records. While D’Cruz and Steele are right to point out that ‘elites’ in civil society are not living the lives of those whose interests they claim to represent, does this preclude them from making any criticism at all?

D’Cruz and Steele analysis of the novel, and later film, *Turtle Beach* – which forms a central plank of their analysis – provides an interesting counterpoint to the more common approach of focussing on ‘racism’ and individual ‘racist’ Australians. Blanche D’Alpuget’s novel *Turtle Beach*, published in 1981, has sold over 55,000 copies, and won a number of Australian literary awards, including the *Age* newspaper’s Book of the Year Award, and the South Australian Government’s Bicentennial Award for Literature. The 1992 film version of the book was controversial for its blatant misrepresentation of a massacre of refugees which never occurred. Members of the production team and the Australian government defended the offending scene as legitimate

because the film was 'fictitious'. It is the uncontroversial acceptance of the book, the legitimacy of both the book and its author, and its "overt post-colonial rhetoric", which makes this analysis so promising. While the authors themselves find *Turtle Beach* to be "unsatisfactory, even indecent", it is a book that embodies powerful ideas about Australia's role in Asia. The book's central character, Judith Wilkes, is an Australian journalist, who first worked in Malaysia during the 1969 riots and returns 11 years later to cover 'the refugee story'. D'Cruz and Steele posit that much of the influence of the text comes from the "power of the eye-witness report". Judith narrates and evaluates her experience of Malaysia and Malaysians for an Australian audience. D'Cruz and Steele devote significant analysis to D'Alpuget's inaccurate depictions of 'foreigner talk', seeing it as a strategy to condemn and ridicule Asian characters. Thus we see in *Turtle Beach* the ascription of certain stereotypes to Asian characters, the animalistic or doll-like Chinese Malay people, the eroticisation of the French-Vietnamese woman Minou, and the timeless mysticism of Indian-Malay characters. It is only the Australian characters who act individually and independently, "no Asian characters are ever able to abstract from themselves, to stand outside themselves, and undertake self-examination."

Yet this language has been popularly accepted and won a number of awards. D'Alpuget has framed *Turtle Beach* within a discourse which sees Australian intervention in Asia as a natural right, part of a mission to know and save Asian people. Judith becomes part of this mission, something that D'Cruz and Steele characterise as a colonialism "partly of the times and partly very Australian"; "asserting fundamental superiority over and solidarity with the powerless, and whingeing about purportedly being victimised while claiming to be a bridge to those (Asians) allegedly doing the victimising" (281). The power of the *Turtle Beach* discourse is so strong, and the sense of superiority so palpable in the Australian characters devised by D'Alpuget, it is disappointing that D'Cruz and Steele had to over-complicate and trivialise their analysis with comment on what seem minor failings of the book or even the film. For example, while it may be true that description in the film of the footwear of Malaysian men is unrealistic, this does not even come close to the implications of showing a massacre which did not take place. The linking of the two seems only to cheapen the point and undermine the argument.

Professor Stephen FitzGerald is quoted on the back cover as saying it is a pity that *Australia's Ambivalence Towards Asia* "won't be read by every Australian parliamentarian". D'Cruz and Steele's use of an overly dense and convoluted style threatens to cloak the significance of their argument, and it is likely that only dedicated academic readers will persist with its 341 pages.

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John Makehan ed., *New Confucianism: A Critical Examination*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, 262 pp. ISBN: 0-40396-140-9 (hbk).

The texts put together in this edited volume address a question that has been at the center of discussions ever since Western scholars declared the unavoidable demise of Chinese tradition in general and Confucianism in particular: What is the role and influence of Confucianism in modern Chinese intellectual history? Is modern Confucianism, especially the revival of New Confucianism on Taiwan and recently also on the Chinese mainland, a philosophical phenomenon or is it nothing but an expression of an ultimately political concern for stability and order and considerations of cultural identity? In other words – to use a terminology coined by Chang Hao – is it an expression of a crisis of meaning or of a cultural crisis?

New Confucianism: A Critical Examination sets out to address these questions in four parts. The first part deals with different approaches of defining and delineating New Confucianism and the conflicting philosophical and political views informing these approaches. In the second part Song Xianlin and Sylvia Chan analyze the reception of New Confucianism in contemporary China. In parts three and four, representatives of the first (Liang Shuming and Xiong Shili) and the second generation (Mou Zongsan and Feng Youlan) of New Confucianists and their ideas are introduced and analyzed.

In the first part, consisting of two articles written by the editor, John Makeham discusses the phenomenon from the perspective of the historical development of New Confucianism. He starts with Chang Hao's seminal article of 1976, which had traced New Confucianism back to 1919, and then considers later thinkers such as Mou Zongsan, Zhang Junmai and others.¹ Makeham refutes the notion that New Confucianism has existed as a self-conscious movement ever since the Republican period. Discussing varying definitions of New Confucianism and its phases of development Makeham comes to the conclusion that New Confucianism as a self-conscious movement began in the 1980s on Taiwan and a bit later on the mainland, where it gained momentum only after receiving substantial support from the government.

From there he proceeds to an analysis of the retrospective creation of the *daotong* (genealogy of the way), which serves to glorify the sages, legitimize their disciples, and “to distinguish the correct lineage of the *dao*” (57). He traces this creation of an orthodoxy back to the genealogical discourse of Chan Buddhism and to Confucian scholars such as Han Yu and Zhu Xi. Makeham then applies this concept to attempts by contemporary New Confucian scholars to create a comparable

¹ Chang Hao, “New Confucianism and the Intellectual Crisis of Contemporary China”, in Charlotte Furth (ed.), *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press), 1976, 276-302.

modern orthodoxy via strategies of inclusion and exclusion. From these intellectual battles the overseas New Confucians such as Taiwan's Liu Shuxian and Tu Wei-ming from Harvard University arise victorious, however, recently increasingly challenged by mainland based scholars arguing for alternative versions of a New Confucian orthodoxy.

In part two, Song Xianlin and Sylvia Chan focus on the reception of New Confucianism in contemporary China. Song Xianlin sees the revival of interest in New Confucianism as part of the *Culture Craze* (*Wenhua*) of the 1980s and identifies it as a catalyst for the *National Studies Craze* (*Guoxuere*) of the 1990s. He focuses less on the philosophical aspects of this revival discussing it primarily in political and cultural terms. He sees New Confucianism as a tool for the Chinese government to maintain order and stability in times of otherwise rapid modernization. New Confucianism becomes a symbol of the Chinese national essence, plays a pivotal role in emphasizing China's particularity, and "seem[s] to respond to the government's campaign against 'spiritual pollution'" (91). In the end, New Confucianism is for Song Xianlin an act of desperation and a sign of the intellectuals' weakness because it fails to revive traditional value systems and to solve the "crisis of the humanist spirit".

In contrast, Sylvia Chan analyzes Li Zehou's philosophy, resisting the temptation to reduce his thought to something else, be it political, social, cultural or psychological. She identifies Li Zehou as a syncretistic thinker who tries to synthesize Confucian and Marxist tenets. Chan analyzes his ethical and aesthetic theories that are, according to her, based on the concept of a "cultural-psychological foundation", which allows him to retain elements of Marxist materialism without becoming trapped in determinism. The "cultural-psychological foundation" – Li refers in this context to Xunzi's theory of rites – is the "'sedimentation' of concrete sense experiences of individuals in their praxis in the course of history, but transcends empirical experiences to assume universal validity" (109). It is philosophy's task, according to Li, to research this "cultural-psychological foundation" in which moral consciousness, the moral free will is deposited. He thus does not have to rely on Western concepts, be it notions of a transcendental, divine source of authority or a categorical imperative à la Kant. In a similar vein she demonstrates how Li Zehou's theory of aesthetics – though influenced by Western ideas – is rooted in Confucian notions of mutual harmony between men and nature. Proceeding with an analysis of Li's position within the New Confucian field she comes to the conclusion that Li rejects the dominant theories of a New Confucian *daotong*, because they distort history and because they are based on assumptions Li finds questionable such as the idea of immanent transcendence.

Moving backwards in time, the following third part of *New Confucianism: A Critical Examination* discusses Mou Zongsan and Feng Youlan, two representatives of the so-called second generation of New

Confucians. Serina Chan introduces the philosophical system of Mou Zongsan as an attempt to build a bridge between Chinese and Western philosophy by synthesizing his basic Confucian ideas originating from the Lu-Wang School with Daoist, Buddhist, and Western, primarily Kantian elements. Mou identifies the modern period as a time of spiritual illness and the substitution of morality by science. Serina Chan focuses in her contribution on two outstanding paradigms in Mou's thought, i.e. the two-tier mind paradigm and the perfect teaching paradigm. The first paradigm refers to the basic unity of the transcendent and the immanent in Mou's philosophy, which is claimed to be typical for all three Chinese schools of thought and hence represents a fundamental difference between China and the West. The second paradigm refers to a "dialectic" method of teaching aiming at the nullification of opposites and is fundamentally different from what Mou identifies as the analytical methods of teaching. Chan concludes her analysis identifying four new aspects of Mou Zongsan's thought: his syncretism, his highly intellectual approach, his emphasis on modernization with the help of, but not dominated by science and democracy, and his universal perspective.

Feng Youlan, the next New Confucian from the second generation, is discussed by Lauren Pfister, whose aim is to question this classification of Feng as New Confucian. Pfister's main argument is that Feng was not as conservative and backward-looking as the New Confucians who in a fundamentalist fashion wanted to revive Song and Ming Neo-Confucian philosophy, as can be seen from their famous "Confucian Declaration" of 1958.¹ Feng Youlan was, by contrast, forward-looking with his concept of a critical reception of Song and Ming Confucian philosophical traditions and wanted to create – in the form of his "New Principle-Centered Learning" – a Chinese form of philosophy that would become truly engaged with the modern world.

In the fourth and last part of the book two articles introduce the philosophies of Liang Shuming and Xiong Shili, the most important figures from the first, the founding generation of New Confucianism. In what is one of the finest contributions to this volume John Hanafin argues that Liang Shuming – labeled "the Last Confucian" by Guy S. Alitto – should, if at all, rather be identified as the "last Buddhist".² Although Liang was influenced by Confucian thought and the philosophy of Schopenhauer and Bergson, the formative and most important influence on him came from Buddhism, especially from Yogācāra Buddhism. Although Liang admitted that China was not yet prepared for the third, the Indian (Buddhist) stage of history, on a personal level he repeatedly identified with Buddhism as the correct philosophy of life. Hanafin demonstrates convincingly that Liang's ideas concerning metaphysics and

¹ "Wei Zhongguo wenhua jinggao shijie renshi xuanyan" [A manifesto to the world on Chinese culture], in *Minzhu pinglun* 9:1 (1958).

² Alitto, Guy S., *The Last Confucian. Liang Shu-ming and the Chinese Dilemma of Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1979.

epistemology were predominantly Buddhist and that his understanding of Confucianism was strongly informed by Weishi Buddhist beliefs.

In the eight chapter of *New Confucianism: A Critical Examination* Ng Yu-kwan presents Xiong Shili's metaphysical theory about the non-separability of substance and function. Ng, who, if this distinction may be allowed, can be considered to be writing more from a participating, philosophical position than as an academic "observer", is a student of Tang Junyi and Mou Zongsan, New Confucians of the second generation. He characterizes Xiong Shili as a philosopher who, although clearly influenced by Yogācāra Buddhism, is deeply rooted in the Confucian tradition. In fact, Ng sees Xiong as "the first Confucian after Wang Yangming ... to inherit and promote moral spirituality in general, and moral metaphysics in particular" (219). Xiong Shili's theory about the non-separability of substance and function is, according to Ng, the foundation of New Confucianism and is heavily indebted to Xiong's reading of the *Book of Changes*. Ng argues that Xiong proclaimed "a metaphysics in which the ontological substance transforms and permeates all things so that the ontological substance and phenomena are coherent" (234), thus overcoming a fundamental weakness in Plato's and also in Kant's philosophy where the relationship between the ontological and the phenomenal level is unclear. It is this hypothesis, later referred to as the concept of immanent transcendence, that together with Xiong's introspective and existential approach to philosophy as contrasted with a Western conceptual and theoretical approach forms the basis of Ng's assertion that Xiong's philosophy is "superior to mainstream Western philosophy" (240). This notwithstanding, Ng concludes his article with a list of aspects in Xiong Shili's thought he criticizes as questionable including basic misunderstandings and flaws in Xiong's view of Buddhism, Bergson and in his textual skills.

New Confucianism: A Critical Examination is a welcome contribution to the field of studies of modern Confucianism that, together with other recently published works, is a good starting point for introductions into Confucian philosophers of the 20th century.¹ The articles focusing on individual thinkers provide very helpful overviews of key aspects of the ideas of Li Zehou, Mou Zongsan, Feng Youlan, Liang Shuming and Xiong Shili. The volume could, however, have been better if more attention had been paid to a more coherent selection of texts and approaches. Some of the contributions are clearly written from a philosophical, normative perspective by authors who are themselves part

¹ Cheng Chung-ying and Nicholas Bunnin (eds.), *Contemporary Chinese Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell), 2002; Umberto Bresciani, *Reinventing Confucianism: The New Confucian Movement* (Taipei: Ricci Institute for Chinese Studies), 2001; Lionel M. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Tradition and Universal Civilization* (Durham and London: Duke University Press) 1997; and Benjamin Elman et.al. (eds.), *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam* (Los Angeles: University of California), 2002 to mention but a few.

of the Confucian discourse. This in itself is not to be criticized, however, when combined with more academic texts and not integrated under a mediating horizon of shared questions the reader is left without proper guidance. The same applies to the unmediated coexistence of texts that adopt a more political and cultural approach and other texts that interpret New Confucianism from a philosophical perspective. Again, both approaches are valuable, but it would have been very helpful to compare and relate these competing or perhaps mutually complementary approaches to each other. This is also why some of the questions mentioned in the introduction to the volume ultimately remain unanswered. A synthesizing conclusion re-addressing these questions would have further increased the value of this otherwise fine and very helpful volume.

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