Southeast Review of Asian Studies

VOLUME 30 • 2008

The *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* (*SERAS*) is an annual, peer-reviewed publication of the Southeast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies (SEC/AAS). Beginning with Volume 16 (1994), the *SERAS* (ISSN 1083-074X) replaces the *Annals* (ISSN 0883-8909), published by the SEC/AAS since 1979.

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Printed and bound by Martin Graphics & Printing, Champaign, Illinois, U.S.A.

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Editor's Note

Steven E. Gump
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* (*SERAS*) continues to evolve and to become increasingly representative of the high-quality scholarship produced by members of the Southeast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies (SEC/AAS). This volume includes contributions by twenty-seven Asianists (pp. xvi–xx)—nineteen of whom are publishing in the *SERAS* for the first time. The nine articles and eight scholarly notes address East, Inner, South, and Southeast Asia from the perspectives of business, comparative literature, economics, education, history, political science, religion, and sociology. Reflecting the origins of this journal as the proceedings of the annual meeting, I have organized the articles thematically into these three transdisciplinary sections:

Interactions & Reactions: Asia & the West
Sociopolitical Dynamics in Asia
Language: Construction & Interpretation

You are invited to read within and across these sections, pulling from the articles and scholarly notes various approaches and content that will inform and expand your disciplinary and geographical understandings of Asia. Pay attention, also, to the reviews of twenty-one recently published literary translations, monographs, and edited volumes on aspects of Asian anthropology, cultural studies, history, literature, philosophy, religion, and sociology. As with earlier volumes of the *SERAS*, which have served to record the history of the SEC/AAS and its activities, this one also includes the program of the annual meeting and minutes of the annual business meeting held during the year of publication—in this case, the 47th Annual Meeting hosted by the University of South Carolina that convened in Hilton Head, South Carolina, in January 2008.

"The Volume at a Glance" (pp. xii–xv) is a new component of the front matter; it provides abstracts and synopses of the invited essay, articles, and scholarly notes included in this issue. Inspired by a similar section in the journal *Academic Questions*, this section also recalls previous issues of the *SERAS* that included abstracts of papers presented at the Annual Meeting.

After the front matter, you will find an invited essay, a second new component in this volume of the *SERAS*. The invited piece is a retrospective essay by Howard Federspiel (pp. 1–4), the founding editor of the *Annals*

of the Southeast Conference, the journal that is today the *SERAS*. Howard edited the first five volumes, from 1979 to 1983; and I solicited his piece in commemoration of the thirtieth volume. I hope his piece is the first in what will become a series of reflective essays by former editors of this journal. (In Volume 31 [2009], look for a contribution by Hal French, editor of the *Annals* from 1984 to 1988.) With this volume of the *SERAS*, then, in addition to expanding your knowledge of Asia within its pages, you can also see what three decades have done to an Asian studies journal. The variety of articles in this volume should confirm that the *SERAS* has successfully resisted what William Pell referred to thirty-five years ago as "the increasing trend to overspecialization" in his "Facts of Scholarly Publishing" study for the *PMLA* (88 [1973]: 639–70, 643).

Editing the *SERAS* is far from a solo operation. As with Volume 29, I appreciate the advice and counsel of past editor (and present associate editor) Daniel A. Métraux. Ronnie Littlejohn, also associate editor, rose to the occasion and gathered the strongest collection of scholarly notes and book reviews yet published in the *SERAS*. Members of the Editorial Advisory Board, listed on the inside front cover, provided useful, detailed comments to authors and therefore increased the quality of the pieces presented here. In addition, eight special reviewers provided helpful comments for manuscripts submitted for inclusion in this volume: David Blaylock (*Eastern Kentucky University*), William Head (*Robins Air Force Base*), Li-ling Hsiao (*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*), Tom Pynn (*Kennesaw State University*), Eric Reinders (*Emory University*), Michael Rich (*Georgetown College*), Meenu Tewari (*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*), and Brent Whitefield (*Valparaiso University*). I have learned a lot about Asia from these specialists, and I thank them all for their involvement, attention, and interest in the *SERAS*.

At the 2008 annual business meeting in Hilton Head, Mark Ravina, 2007–8 SEC/AAS president, invited attendees to send the *SERAS* engaging manuscripts, to ask their institutional libraries to order it, and to tell their students and colleagues about it. I second his views and encourage you to consult the Instructions for Authors (pp. viii–xi) and to consider submitting your own articles, scholarly notes, and book reviews for the next volume. As with this volume, I will aim in Volume 31 to offer a balanced look at Asia, providing both historical and contemporary pieces that address the different regions of Asia from a variety of both disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches. I therefore seek a range of submissions reflecting the wide scope and nature of the diverse and exciting field that is Asian studies.

Enjoy reading—and learning from—this volume. Finally, I would appreciate receiving your comments, suggestions, and offers to volunteer with the journal. Most importantly, I look forward to receiving your manuscript submissions. You can reach me at sgump@illinois.edu.

Southeast Review of Asian Studies
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Welcome from the SEC/AAS President

JAMES T. GILLAM
Spelman College

I welcome you to the thirtieth volume of the *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* (*SERAS*). In its original manifestation as the *Annals* of the Southeast Conference, the journal recorded the proceedings of a small regional conference and served as a publication venue for a few selected papers and abstracts. As current president of the SEC/AAS—and as a former *SERAS* editor, I am very pleased to note that, over the past three decades, our association's journal has continued its original intent and expanded its content to become a well-respected refereed journal with a readership of national proportions.

One significant element in this improvement has been the continuation and expansion of our tradition of eclecticism in our content. For example, scholarship in this volume represents a number of academic specialties and touches on many nations and regions of Asia; and, in many pieces, Asia is connected with the West. Other recent improvements to *SERAS* content, introduced under Daniel Métraux's editorship (Vols. 26–28), are book reviews and scholarly notes on a variety of Asia-related topics.

The editorial process itself has also been upgraded in several ways, most notably by the introduction of an Editorial Advisory Board of scholars from first-rank institutions within the Southeast United States. We hope the improvements in content will be noticed and appreciated by our readership as much as they have been by members of the SEC/AAS Executive Committee. Indeed, the increase in our regional membership and readership has required a larger investment in effort and funds for *SERAS*. We therefore acknowledge the efforts of the editors, members of the Editorial Advisory Board, and the eight special reviewers mentioned in the Editor's Note (pp. v–vi). All have given unselfishly of their time to provide first-rate advice on format and content—and have overseen and undertaken journal-related correspondence, copyediting, and production issues. Finally, we appreciate the invaluable financial contributions arranged for the *SERAS* by Mark Ravina, our past president. It was with his help that subventions from Emory College, Emory Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the Emory Institute for Comparative and International Studies, and the East Asian Studies Program at Emory University have been added to the operational budget for the *SERAS*. With those funds, and with the continued dedication and overall professional management of the editorial process by Steven Gump, we aim to continue providing our readership with a quality journal.

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Instructions for Authors

About the Journal

The *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* (*SERAS*, formerly called the *Annals* of the Southeast Conference, Association for Asian Studies) is a peer-reviewed, scholarly journal published annually since 1979 by the Southeast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies (SEC/AAS). We welcome submissions of articles, scholarly notes, and book reviews that relate to the regions of Central Asia, East Asia, South Asia, or Southeast Asia from perspectives within such diverse fields as anthropology, art history, cinema studies, cultural studies, economics, education, ethnomusicology, gender studies, history, language and linguistics, literature, philosophy, political science, religious studies, and sociology. All authors should take care to address the interests of our broad, multidisciplinary readership by raising larger questions that reach beyond individual research specialties.

As the publication of a regional conference, the *SERAS* is designed to promote and support research on Asia by authors with affiliations within our region: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. Submissions from authors outside this area are also welcome, but potential contributors should become members of the SEC/AAS and are encouraged to present their research at an SEC/AAS annual meeting. (Membership and conference information are available at the SEC/AAS Web site, http://www.uky.edu/Centers/Asia/SECAAS/.)

Contributors may draft their submissions as articles or as briefer scholarly notes. Also, we welcome reviews of recent (published within the last two years) scholarly monographs, edited volumes, works of literature, or other works that address issues pertaining to Asia. English-language reviews of non-English-language works are especially welcome, as are reviews of works written, edited, or translated by members of the SEC/AAS. Please let us know if you have recently published a relevant work; we would be happy to find a qualified reviewer for you.

Submission deadlines are March 1 for articles and June 1 for scholarly notes and book reviews. Please consult and follow the specific preparation and submission guidelines (below, and also accessible from the main *SERAS* Web page, http://www.uky.edu/Centers/Asia/SECAAS/seras.html).

General Manuscript Preparation

Prepare manuscripts in 12-point type with 1-inch margins, double spacing throughout (including notes and references). If possible, format your manuscripts for letter-size (8½ × 11–inch) paper. Please adhere to the word limits indicated for each type of submission. Include notes in the word count, but exclude the abstract, references, tables, and figure captions (if applicable).

With the exception of book reviews, provide your manuscript with a short, descriptive, and—ideally—interest-piquing title. Include descriptive headings and subheadings to help readers follow the organization of the piece. (The headings "Introduction" and "Conclusion," although "descriptive," are not particularly helpful. Please use headings reflective of the actual content, not the rhetorical structure, of your presentation.)

Notes should be as few as possible and should appear at the end of the text. Use parenthetical in-text citation and author–date formatting for references, as per the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 620–24. *If you are preparing a piece better suited to an alternative method of citation, please consult with the editor* (sgump@illinois.edu) *prior to submission.* A full list of works cited within the manuscript (headed "References") should follow the text. Asian-language references should include Romanized names and translations of titles; see examples in this volume for models. Ensure that this list is complete and includes only items cited within the manuscript itself.

On the title page of your manuscript submission, please include the word count of your submission as well as your name, affiliation, e-mail address, and complete mailing address. This page will be removed before sending the document (electronically) for double-blind reviewing.

Except for names or terms already well known in English, please use the following Romanizations: Pinyin (Chinese); Hepburn (Japanese); McCune–Reischauer (Korean). Note also that Asian scripts are supported by the *SERAS*. For purposes of education and information, please include them in your texts, especially following names and transliterated terms, phrases, or expressions.

These general manuscript guidelines, plus the specific guidelines for each submission type which follow, are also accessible from the main *SERAS* page, http://www.uky.edu/Centers/Asia/SECAAS/seras.html.

Specific Guidelines for Articles

In addition to following the general manuscript guidelines, preface your article submission (word count range of 5,000–7,500 words) with a 100–150-word abstract, a concise summary that conveys the central focus of the piece. If your piece is substantially shorter than 5,000 words, consider submitting

it as a scholarly note. If your piece is longer than 7,500 words, either consider a different venue or shorten it before submitting it to the *SERAS*. The submission deadline for articles is March 1.

Direct all article-related inquiries to the editor (sgump@illinois.edu).

Specific Guidelines for Scholarly Notes

Pieces in this section generally present brief introductions to Asia-related topics or issues but may also provide Asia-related commentaries, editorials, or descriptions of research-in-progress; the tone may be either academic or reflective (or both). Submissions should be fewer than 3,000 words, and shorter submissions are most welcome. The deadline for scholarly notes is June 1.

Please follow the general manuscript guidelines, and direct all specific inquiries to the associate editor (littlejohnr@mail.belmont.edu).

Specific Guidelines for Book Reviews

The *SERAS* accepts reviews of books published within the past two years. (Reviews submitted by June 1, 2009, for example, should be of books published no earlier than 2007.) Reviews of single works should be approximately 1,000–1,500 words (though shorter reviews are accepted); thematic essay reviews of multiple, complementary works should be no longer than 3,000 words. Preface all reviews with full citations, including numbers of pages, for the book (or books) under review. Examples for a monograph and an edited volume are below.

> Theodore Jun Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910–1945*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008. xii + 316 pages.
>
> Michael Hitchcock, Victor T. King, & Michael Parnwell, eds., *Tourism in Southeast Asia: Challenges and New Directions*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008. x + 358 pages.

Internal citations to the work (or works) being reviewed should be made parenthetically, providing only the page number (in the case of a monograph or work of literature) or the author and page number (in the case of an edited volume). All direct quotations from the text or texts reviewed should be followed by citations. The submission deadline for book reviews is June 1; and the general manuscript guidelines also apply to these submissions, with the exception that any external citations should be made in notes. (Reference lists do not accompany book reviews or review essays.)

Additional book review suggestions and guidelines are available at the main *SERAS* page, http://www.uky.edu/Centers/Asia/SECAAS/seras.html.

Submission Process & Expectations

Submit manuscripts electronically to the appropriate editor as Microsoft Word attachments by the appropriate deadline:

Articles (*March 1*): Steven E. Gump, sgump@illinois.edu

Book reviews & scholarly notes (*June 1*): Ronnie Littlejohn, littlejohnr@mail.belmont.edu

Tables, figures, and images, all of which must include titles or captions, should *not* be embedded in the manuscript file but rather should be sent as separate attachments, each on its own page. Only low-resolution images should be sent with manuscript submissions; high-resolution versions will be requested after acceptance.

Contributors are responsible for obtaining permission to reproduce any materials, including photographs and illustrations, for which they do not hold copyright and for ensuring that the appropriate acknowledgments are included in the manuscript.

If electronic submission is not possible, please contact the appropriate editor for further instructions.

Submissions will be acknowledged by e-mail within one week of receipt, with article decisions normally sent by the first week of May and book review and scholarly notes decisions normally sent by the second week of July. Authors of article submissions will receive written feedback from reviewers along with the decision letter. Authors of accepted article manuscripts will have approximately two months to revise their manuscripts according to comments from the reviewers and editor. In late summer, final versions of accepted articles will be edited for accuracy and style; page proofs will be sent (electronically) to authors for review prior to publication. The *SERAS* is printed in late autumn, and copies are mailed to contributors before the end of the year. The journal is distributed to attendees of the SEC/AAS annual meeting the following January.

Authors whose manuscripts are accepted for publication will be expected to submit a brief (50–75-word) biographical statement for the "Contributors" section. Examples of past bionotes can be found in previous *SERAS* issues or are available, upon request, from the editor.

Manuscripts submitted to the *SERAS* should not have been published elsewhere and should not be under review for publication elsewhere. Articles in the *SERAS* represent neither the views of the Southeast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies nor those of members of the *SERAS* editorial board. The editor is responsible for the final selection of content and reserves the right to reject any material deemed inappropriate for publication. Responsibility for opinions expressed and the accuracy of facts published in articles, reviews, and scholarly notes rests solely with the individual authors.

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The Volume at a Glance: Invited Essay, Articles & Scholarly Notes

Invited Essay

Founding a Scholarly Journal for the Southeast Conference

HOWARD M. FEDERSPIEL, *The Ohio State University*

In this invited essay, Howard Federspiel, the founding editor of the journal that today is the *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*, reflects on the journal's 1979 origins.

Articles

Early Modern Chinese Reactions to Western Missionary Iconography

ANTHONY E. CLARK, *University of Alabama*

Although most recent scholarship related to Western imperialism in late Imperial China has centered on conflicts surrounding the Boxer Uprising (1899–1900), this study explores earlier modes of religious representation that contributed to those conflicts. Here, such works as the *Bixie jishi* 辟邪紀實 (A record of facts to ward off heterodoxy), *Mingchao poxie ji ba juan* 明朝破邪集八卷 (Ming Court anthology of exposing heresy in eight *juan*), and other documents held in Vatican archives are used to consider how missionary iconography was (mis)interpreted and (mis)represented by native Chinese elite through the late Ming 明 (1368–1644) and Qing 清 (1644–1912) eras. Close investigation of these works reveals that the Western image of the Crucifixion precipitated condemnatory reactions by Confucian literati. According to indigenous Chinese, the image of the crucifix evidenced a man who was resolutely "un-Confucian"—both "unfilial" and "correctly condemned."

Sheiks and Samurai: Léon Roches and the French Imperial Project

DANA IRWIN, *Emory University*

Although largely unknown today, French diplomat Léon Roches (1809–1901) had a lengthy career in service that delineated the shape of French imperial interests during the nineteenth century. He served during the formation of French control over North Africa and during the dissolution of Japan's Tokugawa (1603–1868) shogunate. His life illustrates the major French discourses surrounding colonial areas; and his cultural assumptions informed the decisions of his *politique personelle*. By restoring a place to Roches in the history of the French Empire, we can better understand the influence of cultural discourses on international policy.

Ezra Pound's Poetic Mirror and the "China Cantos": The Healing of the West

QINGJUN LI, *Middle Tennessee State University*

Of all non-Asian figures in twentieth-century American literature, Ezra Pound (1885–1972) had the most overt relation to China. Pound made Confucianism an integral part of his project of rethinking the future of the West and committed himself to updating

Confucian values to correspond to social changes in the modern world. In this article, the author analyzes Pound's Canto XIII and Cantos LIII, LV, and LVI from the "China Cantos," arguing that Pound used poetry as his medium to mirror those Confucian values that he felt were indispensable for the healing of Western civilization and culture. Pound's use of Chinese characters and concepts in his "China Cantos" therefore acts as an intaglio, mirroring onto the reader the truth that Pound believed: Whenever Confucian ideas were put into action, the human experience was the better for it; and if the West could appropriate these ideals and values, its decay could be healed.

Jack London's Influential Role as an Observer of Early Modern Asia

DANIEL A. MÉTRAUX, *Mary Baldwin College*

For his novels and short stories, Jack London (1876–1916) is regarded as one of America's most popular writers. Less known today is the fact that he was also an astute observer of East Asian politics, societies, and peoples. Working as a journalist for several newspapers and magazines, he filed numerous articles and essays covering the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5) and even foresaw the rise of Japan and China as world powers. This article provides an overview of London's journalistic and literary contributions about Asia, his insights into Asian ethnic and political complexities, and his vision for pan-Asian/American cooperation.

Sustainability of India's Welfare System in the Context of Globalization: A Comparative Study of Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu

SAI MA, *School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University*

In the globalization–welfare debate, the key questions are whether and how welfare states sustain themselves in the face of increasing international capital mobility and national competitiveness. This article situates the Indian case within the debate by examining India's sub-national welfare programs and systems. By analyzing the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme and the Tamil Nadu Pension Scheme, the author identifies welfare program design as an important factor in explaining the sustainability of state-level welfare systems. The author argues that the liberal and means-tested feature of the protective regime in Tamil Nadu tends to divide constituents' support for welfare expansion, leading, in turn, to lower public spending. On the other hand, the promotive nature of the welfare system in Maharashtra enhances universal social rights and thus shapes a broad political coalition among social welfare supporters, resulting in higher public spending.

The Relationship between Sufis and Inner Asian Ruling Elites

TIMOTHY MAY, *North Georgia College & State University*

Sufism flourished during the thirteenth century in the Middle East and Central Asia. The Mongol conquests have been given much credit, at least for the spread of Sufism, since Sufis immigrated—as did many others—to safer regions to avoid the destruction of war. Afterward, a variety of relationships developed between Sufis and Inner Asian elites during the period of the Mongol Empire, in the successor khanates, and eventually in other Inner Asian kingdoms. Still, Sufism and its relationship with Inner Asia, particularly among the Inner Asian elites, remains a largely neglected area of study. This article examines the historiography of the field and synthesizes what is known of the relationship between Sufis and Inner Asian elites. By examining Sufism and its position and attitudes from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, one can see a metamorphosis of this relationship from one of hostility to one of mutual benefit.

Chains of Elusiveness: Buson and Kitō's "Momosumomo" *Haikai* Sequences
CHERYL A. CROWLEY, *Emory University*
"Momosumomo" ももすもも (Peaches and plums) is a collection of *haikai* 俳諧 linked-verse sequences composed in 1780 by Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716–83) and his main disciple, Takai Kitō 高井几董 (1741–89). Unlike most Japanese linked verse—normally written in a single session—the two sequences of "Momosumomo" were composed by letters exchanged over a period of several months. What resulted are sequences that demonstrate not only the unpredictability and surprise that is customary in *haikai* but also a level of restraint and subtlety that is unmatched in other *haikai* of this period. This article explores the verses of "Momosumomo" as examples of ways that eighteenth-century *haikai* poets exploited the ambiguity and indeterminacy of the linked form to create sequences where voice, point of view, and identity shift with each successive link, resulting in collaborative works that create numerous loosely connected but discrete narratives.

The Tower of Power's Finest Hour:
Stupa Construction and Veneration in the *Lotus Sutra*
JOHN M. THOMPSON, *Christopher Newport University*
The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, also known as the *Lotus Sutra*, has a marked devotional orientation, with much of the devotionalism centering on the building of stupas, or Buddhist burial mounds. This article examines several important passages in the *Lotus Sutra* that center on the construction and veneration of stupas. In addition, the author provides examples of the influence that images of stupas found in the *Lotus Sutra* have had on the arts and cultures of East Asia. He argues that that the implications of stupa-related passages in the *Lotus Sutra* can reveal crucial aspects of East Asian Buddhism and can challenge Western stereotypes about the religion.

Ambiguous and Amiss: Li Shangyin's Poetry and Its Interpretations
LI ZENG, *University of Louisville*
One striking feature of Li Shangyin's 李商隱 (ca. 812–58) poetry is its ambiguity, which has fascinated and frustrated generations of critics and scholars, giving rise to widely divergent interpretations. Through an analysis of Li Shangyin's famous poem "Jin se" 錦瑟 (The ornamented zither) and a survey of representative interpretations of his poetry by different schools in history, this article describes some of Li Shangyin's ambiguous characteristics and points out the inappropriateness and harmfulness of the interpretations that have resulted from misuse of certain criteria derived from the Chinese tradition of canonical exegesis. Believing that Li Shangyin's creation of highly ambiguous semantic structures in his poems was more for aesthetic than for political considerations, the author suggests that, in reading Li Shangyin's ambiguous poems, one should allow flexibility in terms of their topical references so as properly to grasp and appreciate the ambiguous significance.

Scholarly Notes

Placing "Qinghai Studies" in the Field of China and Inner Asia
CHIA NING, *Central College*
In this scholarly note, Chia Ning argues for the creation of a field of Qinghai 青海 studies to recognize the unique historical and cultural contributions of present-day Qinghai Province, China, a multiethnic region in the Chinese hinterlands that has been influenced by Tibetan, Mongol, Han Chinese, and Muslim populations over the centuries.

Digital Music Success in China: Suggested Guidelines for Foreign Firms

HOWARD H. COCHRAN JR. & DAVID J. MOSER, *Belmont University*

In this scholarly note, nine guidelines are recommended to foreign firms seeking to sell digital music in China as firms attempt to access one of the fastest-growing and most significant country markets for entertainment product sales in the world. A complementary piece is Jessica Gisclair's "The Dissonance between Culture and Intellectual Property in China."

Contagion: Thinking about Cholera in Nineteenth-Century Burma

PETER A. COCLANIS, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

In this scholarly note, Peter Coclanis utilizes fragmentary evidence relating to an outbreak of cholera in Burma in the early 1840s to open up a discussion about issues relating to narrativity and historical method more generally.

Asia in World History: Notes on Pedagogical Scholarship

LUCIEN ELLINGTON, *University of Tennessee at Chattanooga*

After discussing high school and undergraduate students' problematic perceptions toward world history, Lucien Ellington describes four pedagogical works that can help students better understand the role of Asia in history—and that can help instructors teach about Asia more effectively in world-history survey courses.

The Dissonance between Culture and Intellectual Property in China

JESSICA GISCLAIR, *Elon University*

In this scholarly note, Jessica Gisclair explores various complexities of culture and jurisprudence with respect to intellectual property rights in China. This piece provides a useful supplement to Howard H. Cochran Jr. and David J. Moser's suggestions for foreign firms breaking in to the Chinese music market.

The Consolidation of Place and Punishment in Seventeenth-Century Japan: Kanazawa Prisons and Criminal Justice

DAVID NELSON, *Austin Peay State University*

In this scholarly note, based on archival research carried out for his doctoral dissertation, David Nelson examines the use—and eventual discontinuance—of several methods of capital punishment in seventeenth-century Kanazawa, Japan.

A Culture in Decline: The Mississippi Delta Chinese

JOHN G. THORNELL, *North Carolina Wesleyan College*

John Thornell documents the history of Chinese settlers in the Mississippi Delta in this scholarly note, quoting from, among other sources, interviews carried out in 2000 as part of an oral history project funded by the Mississippi Humanities Council.

The *Tian Zu Hui* (Natural Foot Society): Christian Women in China and the Fight against Footbinding

BRENT WHITEFIELD, *Valparaiso University*

In this scholarly note, Brent Whitefield suggests that the Christian missionary–led campaign against footbinding in late nineteenth-century China missed the opportunity to create a connection between the Gospel and the ethics of abolition: women were emancipated, but Christianity was not widely spread as a result.

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Volume 30 (2008), pp. xvi–xx

Contributors

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Founding a Scholarly Journal for the Southeast Conference

HOWARD M. FEDERSPIEL
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In this invited essay, Howard Federspiel, the founding editor of the journal that today is the *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*, reflects on the journal's 1979 origins.

Origins of the *Annals* of the Southeast Conference

The predecessor journal of the *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* was called the *Annals* of the Southeast Conference, Association for Asian Studies. It was first prepared in 1979 and distributed at the annual meeting of the Conference in January 1980, in Columbia, South Carolina. The first volume stated that the publication was intended "to serve as a partial record of the annual meeting . . . [and accordingly] contains a listing of attendees, a complete and corrected outline of the program, abstracts of most presentations and the complete text of nine selected papers." I was listed as the editor and two long-time members of the conference, Robert C. Mildram (University of Tennessee at Chattanooga) and John S. Thomson (Central Intelligence Agency), both of whom passed away in the late 1990s, were the associate editors.

The idea for the *Annals* grew out of my own experience as program chair at the 1979 meeting in Lexington, Kentucky. Several of the conference members were concerned that the great effort that went into organizing the scholarly program should have a record and that recognition should be given to some of the leading papers. As John Thomson stated at the time: "If we keep minutes of the business meeting, how much more appropriate [it is] that there should be an intellectual record. After all, we are a scholarly conference." In the 1970s, meetings of the Southeast Conference were often held in the Carolinas, so I usually drove to the meetings with two colleagues of mine from Winthrop University, John R. C. James and Nolan Jacobsen. On two occasions we discussed the feasibility of such an effort, and John and Nolan urged me to undertake the project. Since John James had been secretary–treasurer of the Conference since 1970 and

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had access to its leaders, he agreed to clear the path for me. He did just that; so when I raised the issue at a meeting of the leadership council in 1979, the officers, particularly that year's president, Austin Creel of the University of Florida, received the proposal very warmly and immediately charged me to undertake the task. The officials at Winthrop University also agreed to offer some publication support. Just afterward, though, I moved to Ohio to take up an administrative position at the Newark Campus of The Ohio State University, and my superiors there thankfully agreed to provide the same level of support as Winthrop had been willing to give.

My initial letter to participants of the Conference, which outlined the project and asked for abstracts and submissions of complete papers, met with a positive response. No one refused to send an abstract, and about twenty papers were submitted to be considered for inclusion. Such was the general trend over the first five years, i.e., that I garnered abstracts without much difficulty and always received enough strong papers to have a good competition. We decided and announced that publication in the *Annals* would not preclude later publication elsewhere, since it was the view of the editors that many papers were really "works in progress" and that the authors undoubtedly would then want to place the finished research in other journals of their particular disciplines. Slightly more controversial was the stipulation that only presentations at the annual meeting would be considered for inclusion, as it disappointed many scholars who had other manuscripts in hand that had not been presented. For the next four years, I turned down about two articles per year submitted by "outsiders"; and a few of the rejected authors expressed their pique at not being allowed to contribute. It was the fourth editor, Larry Kessler (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), who ultimately changed the policy; and I immediately wrote to him to say I supported the change.

Editing, Producing & Distributing the *Annals*

I encountered no great difficulties in the editorial process the first year, as the associate editors—John Thomson and Bob Mildram—were friends of mine, and we coordinated without difficulty, using mail and telephone for the most part, since the Internet was still only in its experimental stage. We used reviewers from the Conference who were regarded as accomplished in the subject matter they were reviewing: no one turned us down for that task. As well, word-processors were only then appearing on the academic scene, so all material had to be laboriously typed and retyped before we had a manuscript that was generally free of errors. My office secretary and her student assistants did the work, becoming identified with the project and interested in turning out a good product that would reflect well on all of us. Then came the most difficult part of the process: duplicating the manu-

script and getting it ready for distribution. I had to deal with the campus copy office, which was under the jurisdiction of a business manager who allowed work on the journal only when all university-related projects had been completed. The office workers interpreted this low priority as meaning that the project did not need to be done at all. But with a lot of cajoling, the finished copies were ready on the evening of my departure to the annual meeting. Consequently, I had to take them as part of my baggage, which was very heavy (and I had to pay for excess luggage at the airport as well). The duplication problem was resolved later that year, and copies were thereafter always ready earlier so they could be shipped to the conference site rather than having to be brought with me personally.

Copies were distributed by the local arrangement personnel at the reception area, and every conference registrant was given a copy. A few weeks later, copies were sent to regular members who did not attend the meeting. As I recall, the initial run was 200 copies, and about 150 of them were distributed at the 1980 annual meeting. The reaction was encouraging. Everyone knew the issue was forthcoming, since so many had sent in abstracts and papers for inclusion, so there was a lot of curiosity about the final product. Members carried their copies with them, and conference attendees could frequently be seen browsing or reading various parts of the journal. Actually, I received complaints from two panel chairs that some people read the *Annals* during presentations rather than paying attention to the proceedings of the panel! I was unmoved by those complaints, believing that presentations would still get as much attention as they normally got; after all, distractions are a regular fact of life.

Growth & the Future of the *Annals*

During the annual business meeting, I received several requests by members to become part of the editorial process. As a result, Andrea McElderry of the University of Louisville was brought on as an associate editor, and we expanded the list of readers and consultants. In addition, many people arrived at subsequent annual meetings with their abstracts in hand and finished papers they believed were ready for consideration. I remained editor for another four years—through Volume V of the *Annals*, distributed at the 1984 annual meeting in Atlanta—and then passed responsibilities over to Hal French of the University of South Carolina. In my final report, I cited an old adage as my reason for stepping aside: "Friends come and go, but one collects enemies." That ended my service on a light note. In fact, the real reason for stepping down as editor was that I was posted abroad as a project director for an overseas development project.

The concept for the *Annals* was homegrown and related entirely to what many of the members perceived the needs of the Conference to be at that

time. No conscious effort was made to replicate what other regional conferences of the AAS were doing, and the design was strictly what we worked out as feasible at the time. In reviewing the first several volumes of the journal, I am still satisfied with the early results, as they accurately reflect the work of the Conference at that time. But I am equally pleased with recent issues of the *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*, which show that the scholarship of the Southeast region has kept pace with the tremendous expansion of our field in the last thirty years. I have considerable professional pride in having been the founder of such a fine, lasting institution.

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Early Modern Chinese Reactions to Western Missionary Iconography

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Although most recent scholarship related to Western imperialism in late Imperial China has centered on conflicts surrounding the Boxer Uprising (1899–1900), this study explores earlier modes of religious representation that contributed to those conflicts. Here, such works as the *Bixie jishi* 辟邪紀實 (A record of facts to ward off heterodoxy), *Mingchao poxie ji ba juan* 明朝破邪集八卷 (Ming Court anthology of exposing heresy in eight *juan*), and other documents held in Vatican archives are used to consider how missionary iconography was (mis)interpreted and (mis)represented by native Chinese elite through the late Ming 明 (1368–1644) and Qing 清 (1644–1912) eras. Close investigation of these works reveals that the Western image of the Crucifixion precipitated condemnatory reactions by Confucian literati. According to indigenous Chinese, the image of the crucifix evidenced a man who was resolutely "un-Confucian"—both "unfilial" and "correctly condemned."

Anti-foreign Responses to Western Missionaries

This article follows Eric Reinders' (2004) excellent study of European missionary imaginations of China, but from the other direction. Reinders notes that the phrase *Borrowed Gods* in the title of his book "refers to the appropriation of other peoples' religions, such as for the purpose of creating an Other-image with which to contrast a self-image" (xiv). In other words, he explores how the religio-cultural manifestations of Chinese culture are re-interpreted, re-represented, and re-constituted into a convenient European dichotomy, making Chinese religions and culture into a contrasting Other, necessarily inferior to Western Christianity. To keep this study to a reasonable length, I have focused my discussion on indigenous Chinese reactions and re-representations of Western missionary crucifixion iconography, suggesting that this phenomenon functioned in two directions.

After the First Opium War (1839–42), a stream of understandably anti-foreign pamphlets began to circulate in northern China. One of the most acrid anti-foreign texts to emerge during the late nineteenth century was the *Bixie jishi* 辟邪紀實 (A record of facts to ward off heterodoxy), authored

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under the *nom de plume* of Tianxia diyi shangxin ren 天下第一傷心人 ("the world's most heartbroken man").[1] Its primary target for attack was Catholic missionaries, most particularly the Jesuits who had entered China in 1574. First published in 1861, this work contains several inventive narrative and imagistic representations of Western missioners; among them are illustrations of priests worshipping a grunting pig, removing the fetus from a pregnant woman, gouging out the eyes of a convert, and behaving indecorously with Chinese women. Henry Blodget (1825–1903), a Protestant missionary in China during the late nineteenth century, described such a work as "filled with the most loathsome obscenity and the grossest misinterpretations and falsehoods. Nothing could be more calculated to foment disturbances in the minds of the ignorant people" (letter from Blodget to N. G. Clark, October 24, 1870, quoted in Fairbank 1957, 502). The *Bixie jishi* is in fact replete with imaginative descriptions, such as Catholics copulating after Mass, Westerners who worship menstrual fluids, and other similarly bizarre accounts.[2]

One of the illustrations in the *Bixie jishi* depicts a stately magistrate ordering two lictors to shoot arrows at a crucified pig while another decapitates three goat-headed men with the character *xi* 西 (Westerner) on their chests (fig. 1). The caption reads 射豬斬羊 ("Shooting the Pig [Jesus] and Beheading Goats [Foreigners]"). The provenance of the iconographic re-representation of Christ on a cross as a pig finds its origin in a convenient pun. When Jesuit missionaries such as Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666) discussed how to translate the words "God" and "Catholic" into Chinese, the term finally settled on for "God" was *Tianzhu* 天主, "Lord of Heaven"; and the term for "Catholic" was *Tianzhujiao* 天主教, the "Lord of Heaven Religion."[3] The last two characters for "Catholic," *zhujiao* 主教, sound similar to the graphs for "pig grunt" (豬叫, pronounced "*zhujiao*," with different inflection). Thus, in popular Chinese parlance, Catholics were said to be worshipers of a grunting pig, and depictions of Catholic priests venerating a pig became commonplace (fig. 2); depictions of the crucifixion were rendered with a grunting pig. Native Chinese conundrums vis-à-vis the Western missionary image of the crucifixion, however, swept beyond merely homophonic punning; there were more substantive cultural antagonisms with the very concept of a crucified man and Western modes of its artistic depiction.

Ambivalent Reactions to Jesuit Learning

Before I discuss the iconographic antipathies that arose in early modern China as missionary presence grew in the rural provinces, I should note that there was nonetheless a deep literati appreciation of Jesuit erudition. In fact, the first Qing 清 (1644–1912) emperor, Shunzhi 順治 (r. 1644–61), held the

FIGURE 1 "Shooting the Pig [Jesus] and Beheading Goats [Foreigners]." *Source*: *Bixie jishi* 辟邪紀實 [A record of facts to ward off heterodoxy], 1871 edition, plate 18. Reproduced in Cohen (1963, figure 9). With permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City.

Jesuit von Bell in such high regard that he called him "grandfather." But the evident esteem for Western missionaries was often somewhat duplicitous. The Ming 明 (1368–1644) philosopher Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602) expressed rather high accolades for Matteo Ricci in a letter he wrote to a friend, but not without concluding with a rather penetrating question:

> Xitai [Matteo Ricci] is a man from the regions of the great West who has traveled over 100,000 *li* to reach China. . . . Now, he is perfectly capable of speaking our language, writing our characters and conforming to our conventions of good behavior. He is an altogether remarkable man. . . . His manner is as simple as can be. . . . Among all the people I have ever seen, there is not his equal. . . . But I do not really know what he has come to do here. I have met him three times and I still do not know what he is here for. I think it would be much too stupid for him to want to substitute his own teaching for that of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius. So that is surely not the reason. (Gernet 1985, 18–19)[4]

Despite Ricci's obvious acumen, Li Zhi asked what nearly all of the Chinese intellectuals of his time asked: Why is he here? And, Does he really

FIGURE 2 "[Foreign] Devils Worship the Pig Spirit." *Source*: *Bixie jishi* 辟邪紀實 [A record of facts to ward off heterodoxy], 1871 edition, plate 1. Reproduced in Cohen (1963, figure 4). The characters on the side of the pig, 耶穌, identify it as "Jesus." With permission.

intend to replace the teachings of Confucius with his—those of a man represented as a criminal? For Li and the majority of his fellow Chinese, substantial obstacles had to be overcome before Ricci's mission could make sense to them: perhaps one of the largest was the Christian iconographic tradition brought to China by zealous missionaries, especially the image of the crucifixion.

Missionary crucifixion iconography generated several Chinese responses. On the one hand, the crucifix was perceived as a Western tool for sorcery, and this initial reaction was exacerbated by the fact that representations of nudity were prohibited by the Chinese courts. Depictions of disheveled hair were also a common trope for indicating demonic presence. On the other hand, Christ's crucifixion was—by Chinese judiciary standards—viewed as a just execution. The Chinese literati of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then, could not imagine honoring, much less worshipping, a rightly condemned criminal.

Chinese responses to the crucifixion were inherently pejorative, based on the hallowed Confucian tenets of filial piety. That is, classically trained

Chinese literati were predisposed to reject such an event and therefore concluded that the foreign man who was crucified was, for several reasons, simply an "unfilial son." This response was further complicated by the missionary insistence that Jesus had no natural father. But Nestorian missionaries of the seventh and eighth centuries were more successful than the Catholic ones who arrived much later, in large part because they did not expose or venerate crucifixion images. Many of the successes and failures of Christian missions in China have been precipitated by how Christ's suffering and death were disclosed and represented. The problem of Chinese reactions to the crucifix was additionally an unfriendly point of contention between the Jesuits, who recommended a gradual disclosure of the mystery of Christ's execution, and the Franciscans and Dominicans, who maintained that the Jesuits were approaching apostasy by "hiding" Jesus' crucifixion.

Crucifixion Iconography as a Sign of Sorcery

One of the most historically noted Chinese responses to the image of the crucifixion is an encounter Ricci had with the court eunuch Ma Tang 馬堂 (fl. 1590s). Ricci and some of his confreres had set out for Beijing in 1600 with a cache of gifts for the emperor, hoping to secure the emperor's good will and, eventually, his conversion. They were intercepted and confined in the nearby city of Tianjin, and it was there that the eunuch emptied Ricci's bags on the pretense that he had heard from the capital that the Jesuits were hiding a store of precious stones. After setting aside some reliquaries and a chalice for Mass, which he intended to keep, Ma found a crucifix. Ricci recalls in his journal that "of all the things he saw, nothing aroused his ire more than the suspended figure of Christ on the cross. He accused them of carrying this charm for the purpose of killing the King by enchantment. 'Unfortunately,' he said, 'this thing was made, as anyone can see, for no other purpose than to bewitch one with poisonous sorcery'" (Ricci 1953, 365). Despite Ma Tang's villainization in missionary accounts, his reaction to the crucifix, painted with the blood of Christ's wounds as it was, is quite understandable from a Chinese perspective. In light of Chinese tradition, such images of what appeared to be a wild-haired, near-nude man were normally considered to be evil.

Ma Tang's reaction to Ricci's crucifix is better understood in light of the writings of another seventeenth-century Chinese intellectual, a Buddhist monk named Xingqian 性潛 (1602–70). The monk writes in his work *Ranxi* 燃犀 (Lighting the [rhinoceros] horn) that Christ's crucifixion was contrary to all five of the Confucian virtues. He reserves his most adamant critique for the depiction of Jesus on the cross, stating that "his image with disheveled hair and a naked body which gives him [the appearance] of a

malicious devil is not proper [禮]" (in Criveller 1997, 385). Xingqian's discomfort with the near-nude depiction is clear. The origin of his critique of the image's "disheveled hair," however, is less apparent on first reading the text.

Wild hair is one of China's common tropes for a malevolent ogre; indeed one of the most hallowed Confucian classics, the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Commentary of Mr. Zuo), contains a famous anecdote including such a figure. This work was required to be memorized for the civil service exam of Imperial China, so all educated literati were quite familiar with its contents. Under the tenth year of Duke Cheng 魯成公 (581 B.C.E.), the text recounts a dream had by Duke Jing of the state of Jin 晉景公 (r. 599–581 B.C.E.):

> 晉侯夢大厲，被髮及地，搏膺而踊，曰：「殺余孫，不義。余得請於帝矣！」壞大門及寢門而入。公懼，入于室。又壞戶。 (Yang 1981, 849)
>
> Duke Jing dreamt that he saw a huge ogre with disheveled hair that hung down to the ground, beating his chest and leaping around. . . . The ogre broke down the main gate of the palace, and then the door to the inner apartments, and came in. The duke fled in terror to his chamber, but the ogre broke down that door as well. (Watson 1989, 120–21)

With such images as this one of a disheveled-haired demon pursuing one to the point of death, it is understandable why the eunuch Ma Tang and the Buddhist monk Xingqian would have perceived the nude image of a "wild-haired" man nailed to a cross somewhat discomforting. One excellent example of such a crucifixion depiction can be seen in Jesuit missionary Giulio Aleni's (1582–1649) 1637 *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* 天主降生出像經解 (Illustrated life of our Lord Jesus Christ), which includes a woodblock print of Christ's execution: he and the other two crucified men are mostly nude, and Christ's hair is disheveled (fig. 3).[5]

Christ as Rebel

Another Chinese criticism of the image asserted that it depicts the just execution of a political criminal. According to Chinese jurisprudence, modeled as it was after precedents located in Confucian classics, Jesus stirred up the common people, an activity that appeared similar to such popular rebellions as those of the millennial White Lotus Sect 白蓮教, which continued to re-emerge throughout the late Imperial era.[6] In addition, rarely does Chinese sentiment allow that a convicted criminal is completely without guilt, as the Catholic missionaries insisted. In 1665, a Confucian official named Yang Guangxian 楊光先 (1597–1669) published an anti-Christian work entitled *Budeyi* 不得已 (I cannot contain myself). In it, Yang reacts to forty-five engravings depicting the life of Jesus that von Bell had presented

FIGURE 3 "Jesus Nailed to the Cross." *Source*: Giulio Aleni, *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* 天主降生出像經解 [Illustrated life of our Lord Jesus Christ] (Fujian, 1637). Reproduced in Dunne (1962, 277). The original of this edition is held at the Vatican Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Prima Racc. III 339. Another copy is held in the Jesuit Archives, Rome. With permission.

to the emperor. In his essay on the images, Yang attacks the image of the crucifixion, asserting that:

> The pictures depict how Jesus was nailed to death by law. These pictures would make all people know that Jesus was put to death as a convicted criminal, so that not only would scholar–officials not write prefaces for

> their [Christian] writings, but people of the lower classes would also be ashamed to believe in that kind of faith. . . . [The images depict] the people applauding Jesus, Jesus being nailed on the cross, and Jesus on the cross. This will show all the world that Jesus was not an orderly and law-abiding person, but a subversive rebel leader, who was convicted and executed. (Criveller 1997, 393)

The image of Christ crucified merely supported Christ's misconduct rather than illustrated a noble martyr.[7]

Another Chinese writer, Xie Gonghua 謝宮花 of Fujian, went beyond simply suggesting that Christ was justly killed as a subversive rebel, stating that since Christ was unable to acquit himself, he certainly could not acquit others, as was taught by the missionaries (Gernet 1985, 120–21). Xie states in the *Poxie ji* 破邪集 (Anthology of exposing heresy) that:

> 天主耶穌因妖言惑眾。且被法氏釘死。不能自赦。焉能爲人赦乎。
>
> The Lord of Heaven, Jesus, confused the masses with his odd speech, and was thus condemned by the law to be nailed to a cross and die. If Jesus was unable to get himself acquitted, how then could he acquit others?[8]

The accusations Chinese officials made against Jesus were not novel. One of the most important political values of the time was societal harmony, and the Christ of the crucifixion was guilty according to orthodox Confucian tenets of stirring up the people. To disrupt social order was viewed as subversive, a rightly punishable crime according to orthodox literati assumptions.

Ricci understood these cultural views; he had read (indeed memorized) the classic works that informed the Confucian tradition, and he set out to be more cautious than his fellow missionaries had regarding such Christian teachings and images as the mystery of the crucifixion. In a letter written in 1585, Ricci notes that images of the life of Jesus or of the Blessed Virgin Mary are acceptable, "but not of the Passion, since they do not yet understand it" (Criveller 1997, 235). Indeed, in the entirety of his *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 (*True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*), Ricci does not mention the crucifixion a single time. But in addition to the problem of the apparent justness of Christ's crucifixion due to his "stirring the people," he was also understood to be unfilial.

Christ as "Unfilial" Son

One cannot adequately assert how prominent the voice of Confucius was in how imperial Chinese officials viewed filial piety, and certainly the most influential text regarding Confucius' teachings about being a good son is the *Xiaojing* 孝經 (*Classic of Filial Piety*).[9] The text, ostensibly a dialogue between Confucius and his disciple Zengzi 曾子, begins with the assertion

that, "Now, filial piety is the root of virtue and the origin of education" 夫孝，德之本也，教之所由生也 (Confucius 1959, 2). Hence, one must first be filial toward his or her parents before he or she can be considered virtuous. The text continues: "One's body, hair, and skin, are received from his mother and father, and so he would not dare [allow] his body to be harmed: this is the beginning of filial piety" 身體髮膚，受之父母，不敢毀傷，孝之始也 (2). This line remains the most cited of the entire *Xiaojing*. The idea that our body is given to us by our parents, and that we are obliged to keep it from harm, was, and is today, expected of any truly filial child. The implication here was clear to the Chinese gentry: Jesus was unable to protect the body given to him by his parents.

If to protect our body is the beginning of filial piety, what, then, should be its end? Confucius continues to note that one "should stand on his own and carry out the Way, raising his name among later generations in order to bring glory to his father and mother. This is the end of filial piety" 立身行道，揚名於後世，以顯父母，孝之終也 (4). Being filial thus begins with caring for the body given to one by his or her parents and ends with making a good name of oneself in order to bring honor to one's parents. In fact, one of the most unfilial acts is to be executed as a criminal, for it both harms the body and leaves behind an ignoble reputation. In a later passage, Confucius states that a filial child's "words fill the kingdom and no one [has cause] to speak of his faults" 言滿天下無口過 (14). Giving cause for others to complain about what one has said or done is itself an unfilial act. The accounts of the life and death of Christ—and his speeches that stirred the people, then—were indeed full of examples that troubled Chinese literati.

Another source for Confucius' teachings on the matter filial piety is the *Lunyu* 論語 (*Analects of Confucius*), a text that any highly literate Chinese would have entirely memorized. The second saying in the text quotes not from Confucius but from his disciple Youzi 有子:

> 其爲人也孝弟，而好犯上者，鮮矣・・・君子務本，本立而道生・孝弟也者，其爲仁之本與・
>
> Of men who are filial and brotherly, while also fond of offending against their superiors, there are few indeed. . . . The gentleman attends to the root; for once the root is established the Way is born. Is not filial piety and brotherly love the root of benevolence? (*Lunyu* 1.2)

This passage is interpreted to imply that one who is filial to his parents and treats his brothers with good conduct will be less inclined to rebel against his superiors. That is, one of the Confucian reasons for observing filial piety in the home is that such behavior transfers to the larger society. A good son in the home is also to be judged by his behavior outside the home—by his ability to avoid offending his superiors. The Confucian literati of late

Imperial China viewed Christ's inability to retain a peaceful and obedient relationship with his superiors—i.e., the officials of the synagogue and the Roman authorities—as a sign of his unfilial conduct at home.

There is another reason Chinese literati viewed the crucifixion as a failure of Jesus' ability to be a properly filial son, namely, his apparent inability to serve his mother according to Confucian rituals after she died. Because he died before his mother, he could not fulfill his obligation to look after the welfare of her spirit according to traditional expectations. In the *Lunyu* (2.5), Confucius states that to be filial a son one must "serve his parents according to the rites when they are alive, bury them according to the rites when they die, and then make sacrifices [to their spirits] according to the rites" 生，事之以禮；薨之以禮，祭之以禮. Confucius exhorts the filial child to protect his or her body because the obligation to look after one's parents according to prescribed ritual continues even after one's parents have died. The crucifixion represented more than merely the just execution of someone who failed to avoid offending his superiors; it also represented the failure of a son to carry out his ritual obligations. In effect, Jesus' crucifixion represented his abandonment of his mother.[10]

The Nestorian Cross & the Catholic Crucifix

In light of these Confucian tenets, it stands to reason that Nestorian missionaries warranted less criticism during the Tang 唐 dynasty (618–906) than did the Catholic missionaries of the Yuan 元 (1260–1368), Ming, and Qing, due in large part to their different iconographic traditions.[11] The early Catholic missionaries imagined that they were the first Christians to evangelize the Chinese people; however, fifteen years after Ricci's death in Beijing in 1610, the famous 781 Nestorian stele was unearthed at Xi'an.[12] The inscription on the stele, authored by a missionary named Adam (景淨 Jingjing), recounts the history of Nestorian missions in China, beginning with the arrival of Alopen (阿羅本 A Luoben), a Syrian follower of Nestorius (c. 382–451), the fifth-century Patriarch of Constantinople.

We know that Alopen's successes in China were astonishing because of an edict issued in 845 by the Tang emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 841–46), in which he ordered the closure of all foreign temples, including Buddhist and Nestorian. He wrote: "As for the foreign Bonzes (monks) who come here, to make known the Law which is current in their Kingdom, there are about 3,000 of them, both from Tachin and Mu-hu-po. My command is that they also return to the world so that in the customs of our Empire there be no mixture" (quoted in Cary-Elwes 1957, 32). The monks from Da Qin were Syrian Nestorian, and those of Muhubo were most likely a modest contingent of Zoroastrian believers. Together, Catholic and Protestant missions never reached the high number of Nestorian monasteries in China, a fact that

speaks to the comparative success of the Syrian missionaries. Roman Catholic missions at their height in China around the year 1700 totaled only about 140 priests of various orders and congregations (Standaert 2001, 557–58).

One reason for the Nestorian success can be located in the theology of the stele's inscription, which reads, in part: "Accordingly, our Tri-une [God] divided His [Godhead]" 於是我三一分身. That passage reveals the Nestorian dogma that in Christ the two parts represent two distinct natures united in one moral person.[13] Furthermore, we find in another line the assertion that the followers of Christ "bear with them the seal of the cross" 印持十字 , thus bringing with them a symbol of their faith, resembling—as it states in the original Chinese—the character for "ten" 十 (Legge 1888, 6–7). It is significant that the Nestorian seal, or cross, did not depict Christ crucified. It was, according to the stele, merely a symbol, or seal, of their office as Christian missionaries. The cross represented at the top of the monument has no corpus, nor do any of the Nestorian crosses unearthed in archeological finds.[14] The possibility of offending Confucian sensibilities with the image of a crucified son was thus absent in Nestorian iconographies, as the Nestorian cross was perceived more as a simple symbol than as a gruesome object of veneration with a tortured man on it.

Inner Antagonisms: Jesuit versus Mendicant Uses of Crucifixion Iconography

Even though Ricci, who well understood indigenous Chinese aversions to such an image, endeavored to reveal the image of Christ crucified at a more opportune time, other missionaries did not share his insight or view. Ricci intended first to prove the existence of God founded on the Scholastic reason of Thomas Aquinas (1225–74); only afterward did he intend to disclose the more culturally problematic components of Catholic theology. Others, like Gaspar de la Cruz (d. 1570), a Dominican, set out to convert the Chinese with the same methodology his confreres had employed in the Philippines. As Columba Cary-Elwes recalls, de la Cruz "set about overthrowing idols whenever he could lay his hands on them" (1957, 109).[15] As expected, the local Chinese officials ejected him forthwith, and he ended his days at Ormuz, on the Persian Gulf. Another friar, Juan Bautista de Morales (1597–1664), like most other Dominicans and several Franciscans, sought to convert China by means of the habit, the crucifix, and preaching in the streets. It was indeed de Morales and several of his confreres who instigated the Rites Controversy of the eighteenth century. For them, the Jesuits were "hiding" the crucifix, a sign that they were in fact being converted by the Chinese.[16] Cultural animosities involving missionary iconography were only exacerbated by the Rites Controversy.

After the Controversy had played out, the Qing emperor occupied himself with the swift evacuation of Catholic missionaries. In 1814 the last Jesuit in Beijing died, leaving nearly all of the Catholic churches in China quite empty. In the end, emperor Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1661–1722) disclosed in an edict what were his previously tempered sentiments regarding the Jesuit priests he had earlier patronized:

> As for the doctrine of the Occident which exalts T'ien Chu (Lord of the sky), it is equally contrary to the orthodoxy (of our sacred books), and it is only because its apostles have a thorough knowledge of the mathematical sciences that the State uses them—beware lest perhaps you forget that. (quoted in Cary-Elwes 1957, 160)

Kangxi's edict represents well the attitudes of several intellectuals of the time, viewing the presence of foreign missionaries foremost as a means of accessing scientific knowledge; foreign religion had little pragmatic utility in their view. Kangxi also stated in a letter to the Jesuits that he could not understand their idée fixe on a world they had not yet entered, rather than focusing one the one they presently occupied. Indeed, the religious teachings of the missionaries were merely tolerated for the sake of their scientific contributions to the Celestial Kingdom.

(Mis)interpretation & the Conflict of Cultures

Finally, I shall quote from what is certainly the most famous Christian work written in Chinese, Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi*. The text consists of a dialogue between a Western scholar (*xishi* 西士) and a Chinese scholar (*zhongshi* 中士). The Chinese intellectual states, at the end of the work, "My body comes from the Lord of Heaven, and I have long been ignorant concerning the Lord of Heaven's doctrine" 吾身出自天主，而久昧天主之道 (Ricci 1985, 456). The Chinese scholar has awakened from his former ignorance and admits that his body actually came from the Lord of Heaven. Such a statement is a denial of Confucius' assertion that filial piety begins with honoring the body that we have received from our parents rather than from a foreign "Lord of the sky." Despite Ricci's efforts to withhold the image of Christ crucified for fear that it might scandalize the Chinese before they were prepared to apprehend its nuanced meanings, he overlooks that the image connotes more than just a wild-haired demon or a justly executed criminal. Ricci's text redirects the hallowed ideal that filial children must protect their bodies, as they derive from their parents: the *Tianzhu shiyi* asserts that our bodies derive from the Lord of Heaven, and hence former conceptions of filial piety are overturned.

Not long after Ricci's generation of Jesuits had been buried or left China, as such missionary images as the crucifixion became increasingly noticeable on the Chinese landscape, native responses became correspond-

ingly more virulent. One rather rancorous song, popular near the end of the nineteenth century, illustrates this point. The song was one of many such ditties disseminated in order to instruct Chinese how to deal with those who had converted to Christianity; it centers its aggression on the image of the crucifixion. The song exhorts its listener to:

> 地下畫個十字架，
> 畫個妖精架上掛，
> 叫他屙堆屎尿饒他吧·
>
> Draw a cross on the ground,
> draw the demon [who] hangs on it,
> and tell the convert to discharge a pile of urine and excrement on it if he wants to be unbound. (Hung and Shan 2000, 252)

Just as in the crucified pig [Jesus] illustrated in the *Bixie jishi*, this popular song dilates on the crucifixion as the focus of its indignation. The required form of apostasy (背教), in fact, was to invite (or more often force) Chinese converts to trample a cross or crucifix placed on the ground. Japan employed similar means to coerce or force apostasy. Joseph Jennes notes that "as early as 1631, tortured Christians had been urged to trample upon a crucifix" in a ceremony was known as *fumi-e* 踏絵, or "trampling on a holy image" (1973, 166).

In addition to the illustration in the *Bixie jishi* of the magistrate ordering his lictors to "shoot the pig [Jesus] and behead the goats [foreigners]," another image in the same series functions as an exhortation to "beat [foreign] devils and burn their books" (fig. 4). The violence carried out by both the native Chinese and foreign powers, especially during the Boxer Uprising (1898–1900), resulted in the deaths of several tens of thousands of people. This is the most terrible aspect of this period of cultural conflict. My intention is not to impugn the good intentions of the missionaries living in late Imperial China or to villainize the Chinese who reacted to their presence. Surely the missionaries' work was not easy, and cultural misinterpretation and conflict is perhaps inevitable in such a context as theirs. De Morales had witnessed his Dominican brother Francisco Fernandez de Capillas (1607–48), now declared a saint, tortuously executed for his open displays of Christ's crucifixion and public preaching, an event that moved de Morales to even greater zeal.[17] The missionaries could not have anticipated that such a hallowed image in their own tradition would, in the end, contradict persistent Confucian values. In a very real way, the image of one peoples' religious piety (indeed, salvation) represented what equated to the collapse of civil society to another.

FIGURE 4 "Beating [Foreign] Devils and Burning Their Books." *Source*: *Bixie jishi* 辟邪紀實 [A record of facts to ward off heterodoxy], 1871 edition, plate 10. Reproduced in Cohen (1963, figure 4). With permission.

Notes

[1]Although the Hunan *Bixie jishi* 辟邪紀實 may have been the most extensive treatise against Christianity, a later work—published in 1919—by Zhu Zhixin 朱執信, a Marxist supporter of Sun Yatsen 孫逸仙 (1866–1925), includes an almost equally caustic tract entitled "Yesu shi sheme dongxi?" 耶穌是甚麼東西 (What kind of thing is Jesus?). Jessie Lutz notes that "while the *Bixie jishi* concentrates on the activities and teachings of the evangelist within the Chinese context, Zhu adds details on the role of the church in Western history and the textual criticisms of Western scholars. The nineteenth-century document denigrates Christianity with scatological accounts of church rituals, while the twentieth-century article scoffs at the validity of the Gospels and the virtue of Jesus" (1988, 19). Another anti-foreign work that dilates on Western missioners is the 1640 Ming work by Xu Changzhi (1997).

[2]For an exhaustive account of nineteenth-century anti-foreignism with a discussion of the *Bixie jishi* see Cohen (1963). Cohen notes that the *Bixie jishi* "was so explosive in content that it was banned by the Chinese authorities in at least three provinces" (45). A Chinese source with an excellent account of anti-foreign activities during the late Qing is Zhang Ze (1992).

[3]There are several good studies regarding the thorny problem of translating Christian terms and ideas into Chinese characters. See, for example, Medhurst (1847, 1848,

1849); Spelman (1969). The question of which Chinese character best matches Christian terms and ideas was, in the end, less of a Jesuitical dilemma than a Protestant one. For this issue, see Girardot (2002). Also, for a somewhat polemical discussion of the "term question," see Wolferstan (1909), especially chapter 2. In addition to these texts, other useful general works on Jesuits in China include Dunne (1962); Mungello (1989); Rienstra (1986); Ross (1994); and Ryan (1965).

[4]For a general sketch of Ricci's activities in China see Ning (1964); Xianhua Xiaozu (1983). Ricci's complete works in Chinese are Ricci (1986). See also Gronin (1955); Spence (1983).

[5]Discussions of Aleni's illustrated volume can be found in Criveller (1997, 233–53) and Grafton (1993, 274–75). One notable fact about Aleni was that, later in his ministry, he changed his mission approach, moving away from Ricci's court- and science-centered method to a more popular level. From 1621 to 1624, early in his mission, Aleni lived in Hangzhou and authored numerous books concerning Western science and education, including *Jihe yaofa* 幾何要法 (Essentials in geometry), *Wanguo quantu* 萬國全圖 (Map of ten thousand countries), and *Xi xue fan* 西學凡 (A general account of Western studies). Hangzhou was a cultural center for Chinese intellectuals, and it made sense for him to devote himself to the production of more scientific works, since he was likely still influenced by Michel Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Ricci's top-down model of conversion. But once he moved to poorer Fujian in 1625, Aleni was among the common people, and his writings became less scientific, more concentrated on issues of devotion and piety. This latter period is when he produced woodblock images of the crucifixion, something Ricci would have been less willing to do.

[6]For a study of popular movements in late Imperial China see Chesneaux (1972).

[7]Matteo Ricci adopted more of an accommodationist approach, and he understood that there were aspects of Christian belief and devotion that would need to be adjusted in the context of China to facilitate easier cultural digestion. Ricci acknowledged that there were intrinsic cultural aversions in China to such images as Christ's Passion; and, despite the Jesuit practice of meditating before the crucifix, he decided to withhold some aspects of Christianity until the Chinese were more prepared. Ricci wrote to his Superior General in 1596: "We only venture to move forward very slowly . . . it is true that up till now we have not explained the mysteries of our holy faith, but we are nonetheless making progress by laying the principle foundations." Quoted by Joseph Shih, in his introduction to Ricci and Trigault (1978, 38). See also Charbonnier (2007). Ricci sought to interpose such ideas as Christ's crucifixion more gradually.

[8]Xie Gonghua, in *Poxie ji* 4: 428. This passage appears in *juan* 6 in the original woodblock edition. An alternative translation of this passage is in Gernet (1985, 120–21).

[9]For information regarding the provenance of this text see Boltz (1993, 149).

[10]One can add an additional problem to this indictment: Christ died without leaving an heir. This criticism had already been leveled against Buddhist and Catholic clergy who lived celibate lives. The most often cited passage in support of this accusation against Christ (and all men who died without an heir) is from the *Mencius* 孟子, wherein Mencius asserts, "Of unfilial acts there are three, and not having an heir is the worst" 不孝有三，無後爲大" (Yang 1992, 245).

[11]For a history of the Eastern Church in China see Luo (1996).

[12]Several studies comment on the discovery and meaning of the Nestorian tablet, including Bernard (1935); Feng (1970); Legge (1888); Saeki (1916, 1951); Vermander (1998); plus several articles published in the journal *Monumenta Serica*.

[13]For the Chinese text of the stele and a translation, see Legge (1888, 4–6).

[14]Besides the well-published images of the cross at the head of the Nestorian stele, there have been an increasing number of archeological finds related to the Eastern Nes-

torian Church in China during the twentieth century that have revealed similar crosses. Of the unearthed depictions of the Nestorian cross, not a single image of Christ's body has been located. See the many excellently photographed crosses in Halbertsma (2005, esp. 130, 134, 136, 141–42, 146, 148, 150, 154, 156, 158–69).

[15]Such direct and aggressive missiological methods were common among the mendicant Orders. As Charbonnier (2007, 251) writes, these friars adopted a very different attitude from the Jesuits: "On the other side were the Dominicans, Franciscans, Vincentians, and the Paris Foreign Missions, who were struggling with popular superstition in the countryside and who had fewer contacts with the scholar-gentry. They tended to preach first the Cross of Jesus Christ and salvation through grace, even though this might scandalize those who were wise in the eyes of the world."

[16]Although this accusation may be largely true in terms of iconographic representation of the crucifixion, Jesuits were much more willing to depict Christ's execution in written works. One late Ming work (Aleni, Rudomina, de Mattos, and da Cunha 1872) contains explicit passages devoted to the pious contemplation of the suffering Jesus. This work even contains a semiotic explication of the cross.

[17]For an encyclopedic and painstaking history of the Dominican missions in China, including a long account of Francisco Capillas, see Gonzalez (1952).

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 23–40

Sheikhs and Samurai: Léon Roches and the French Imperial Project

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Although largely unknown today, French diplomat Léon Roches (1809–1901) had a lengthy career in service that delineated the shape of French imperial interests during the nineteenth century. He served during the formation of French control over North Africa and during the dissolution of Japan's Tokugawa (1603–1868) shogunate. His life illustrates the major French discourses surrounding colonial areas; and his cultural assumptions informed the decisions of his *politique personelle*. By restoring a place to Roches in the history of the French Empire, we can better understand the influence of cultural discourses on international policy.

Roches & His Historians

The cherry blossoms were in bloom and the sun shone majestically on the Japanese coast as a ship carrying the new diplomatic envoy from France neared the harbor. The approaching Europeans were left breathless at the landscape of what was often referred to in France as "the mysterious archipelago." After disembarking, they encountered "Orientals," who wore elaborate hairstyles and clothes of fine silk, seemingly confirming the mystical images of the Far East they had read of in France. Léon Roches (1809–1901), the French representative to the Japanese government, reached Yokohama in April 1864. His recent appointment to Japan withdrew him from his previous post as Consul-General to Tunis. Roches welcomed this assignment, in part hoping to use it as a means to gain a position in the Foreign Ministry on the Quai d'Orsay of Paris (Ericson 1978, 12). Roches spoke no Japanese and was unaware of the political turmoil facing the current government. The only knowledge of Japan he possessed had been gleaned from the few books he managed to peruse before voyaging to Asia. Roches ultimately served as the French delegate during four of the most eventful years of Japanese history. Though he failed to achieve the goals set forth by the Foreign Ministry, his legacy has remained important and merits consideration in regard to the French imperial project of the nineteenth century.

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Although Roche's time in the diplomatic corps coincided with important events in the history of French foreign policy, no full-length biography of Roches exists in any language. One reason may be because his career spanned three continents and thirty-five years. His papers are scattered in a variety of archives, and each segment of his career poses different questions to the historian. Scholars have begun to investigate his career in Algeria, especially because of his relationship with the famous resistance fighter Abd al-Qadir (1808–83). Several works have approached Roches' time in Japan: the works of historians Marc David Ericson (1978), Jean-Pierre Lehmann (1980), Meron Medzini (1971), and Richard Sims (1998) hoped to answer the question as to why Roches aligned himself with the Tokugawa shogunate during the 1868 Meiji Restoration. These authors have tied Roches' decision to French trading policy, to his own *politique personelle*, and to shifts within the colonial claims of European powers in Asia. No scholar, as of yet, has investigated what Roches' career meant for the development of the French Empire of the nineteenth century.

What would befit a serious study of the diplomatic career of Roches would be a discursive analysis of the type that Michel Foucault (1926–84) endorsed in his body of work. The reigning assumptions about the East, masculinity, and France's place in global society helped define how diplomats created policy in imperial situations. Roches was placed in contexts of which he knew little; and his beliefs about race, nation, and citizenship were maintained throughout his life. These discourses helped shape Roches' understanding of Japan and the actions he took in order to affect what he believed should be the policy of France toward Japan. The inevitability of the Meiji Restoration was not apparent in 1867, and Roches found the reigning shogun to be sympathetic. Roches had a penchant for the adventurous and endorsed a vision of manhood that privileged a warrior ethos. Roches' entire life was a pursuit of the glories of the spiritual soldier.

Roches before Japan: "A Handsome Swashbuckler"

Léon Roches was a flamboyant character, known as both "a handsome swashbuckler" and "an excellent Frenchman" (Lehmann 1980, 275). He was attracted to adventure and to others who could satiate his desire for the exotic. He was an imperial *colon* for most of his life, spending only his childhood and final years in France. The majority of his adult life was spent in North Africa, and his final four years in diplomatic service were spent in Japan. His life sheds light on the French imperial project and its many veiled and secretive attempts to attain hegemony.

Roches traveled unique networks of diplomacy. He was one of the first French diplomats to spend time in both the Middle East and the Far East. His experience serving the Bey (Chieftain) of Tunis for three years in the

1830s, before he received a governmental post, colored all his later actions. Roches represented an extreme version of French foreign policy; his personal views and experience trumped the actual policy set by his superiors. He often met the consternation of his superiors, who complained that he never followed orders. In Japan, he would brag to his diplomatic colleagues that he followed his own *politique personelle*, regardless of what the ministers in Paris had to say. Roches, however, was careful not to put such boasts in writing (Lehmann 1980, 266).

Though less famous, Roches is striking as a French counterpart to British explorer Richard Francis Burton (1821–90). Burton, known for his translation of *The Book of One Thousand and One Nights* (1885–88), traveled across most of Africa and Asia during the second half of the nineteenth century. Both Burton and Roches would make pilgrimages to Mecca disguised as Arabs—Roches in 1841 and Burton in 1853. Burton did not take a governmental post until he was forty years old, but Roches took his first diplomatic position when he was twenty-one. Burton's fame rests largely on the impressive amount of publications he made during his life. His fast-paced accounts of travels into Central Africa and Mecca—and his translation of Arabic literary texts that emphasized their sexuality—have remained widely read to this day. Roches, on the other hand, published only one account of his journeys, *Trente-deux ans à travers l'Islam* (Thirty-two years through Islam [1884]). Roches' turgid prose could not compare with Burton's accounts, imbued as they were with the excitement of his journeys. Burton fashioned himself as the consummate Romantic adventurer, while Roches never attracted a comparable amount of attention to himself.

Burton and Roches differed in another important aspect: their relation to Arabic culture. Both men had "gone native" for periods of their life, donning traditional Arab garb and becoming fluent in Arabic. Many European travelers wholeheartedly threw themselves into their adopted culture. Famous exemplars of this tradition, along with Roches and Burton, include T. E. Lawrence (1888–1935) and Gertrude Bell (1868–1926), who are credited with creating the modern state of Iraq. For some who gave up their European past, they were making a political statement by renouncing the West; others maintained a tense relationship between the cultures they discovered and their cultures of origin. Burton maintained his practice of Arabic customs throughout much of his life, but Roches treated his transformation into an Arab as a mere youthful phase (Roches 1999, 45). Roches treasured much of what he saw in the North African culture in which he lived, but he also believed that North Africa would benefit from modernization. As for many Europeans in Africa and Asia, Roches attempted to find a way to maintain the traditions of a society while also bringing it into the modern world. In later life, Roches found that modernization and tradition were sometimes mutually exclusive.

Roches was born in Grenoble in 1809 to parents who had participated in the French Revolution: His great aunt was Madame Roland (1754–93), who presided over the salon of the Girondins. After finishing his baccalauréat and excusing himself from law school, Roches joined his father in Algeria in 1832. The following decade, spent in North Africa, became a formative time for Roches, and the relationships he formed with the Muslim elite provided him with a template on which to base his future diplomatic relationships. His father had been an original member of the expedition sent to tame the Algerian wilderness and determine the viability of agriculture in the arid environment. Roches was entranced by the contrast between the lush seaside towns and the sand dunes of the inland areas. He enjoyed awaking early to ride his stallion across the desert as the sun rose (Lehmann 1980, 277). Beyond the landscape, which he found intoxicating, the local customs of the people formed a large part of the thirty-year odyssey in these lands that he considered his home.

Insights into Roches' character are provided by his two-volume memoir, *Trente-deux ans à travers l'Islam*, first published in 1884. His story is structured as a melodrama, replete with a tale of forbidden love with a Muslim girl named Khadidja, the daughter of a local Muslim official. Roches fell in love with the daughter of the sheikh when he met her at the house of a widow he occasionally visited. "When she dared raise her eyes to me," Roches wrote of his first encounter, "I could ascertain that they were of the deepest azure blue, surmounted by perfectly arched eyebrows and curved eyelashes. . . . I was under her charm from that moment" (Roches 1999, 12). Roches' desire to speak to the girl forced him to learn Arabic and North African customs. Both were afraid of the repercussions they would face if they were caught. Their clandestine affair went on for years, even after Khadidja was married—against her will—to a local Muslim notable. Roches himself married a woman presented to him by the Bey of Tunis, Al Hussayn II (r. 1824–35). When Khadidja's husband discovered the lovers in a secret rendezvous, he flew into a rage, forbidding his wife to see Roches again. Khadidja replied, "I cannot make such a promise when he is the man I love" (Roches 1999, 73). Khadidja was whisked away by her husband to the oasis town of Ain Mahdi. Unbeknownst to Roches, al-Qadir had ordered him to lay siege to the city. Afterward, Roches learned that Khadidja had died during the blockade. Even after her death, Roches set out "to acquire new favors in the love of Khadidja, who, like all lettered Muslim women profess the greatest admiration for courageous men" (Roches 1999, 23). The echoes of Romeo and Juliet are heard amid the exotic world of North Africa; and, within the narrative, Roches embellished the facts to create an image of himself as a great masculine lover and adventurer.

The most important relationship Roches forged during this time was with Abd al-Qadir, who remains an important symbol of nascent Algerian

nationalism. He was, in Roches' words (1999, 32), "a man of genius and heart." Roches saw the emir, a functionary of the Tunisian state, as an individual who desired to "regenerate his nation, civilize it and enter upon the same glorious path as that which Muhammad Ali [1769–1849] had resolutely marched in Egypt with the aid of France" (1999, 36). At this time, Roches began to navigate the difficult terrain of his identities with Oriental customs and his French background. He was drawn to the romantic aura of the landscape and people, but he fervently believed that the French ideal of civilization should be respected. The conflict between his attraction to the exotic and his faith in civilization manifested itself in his personal journey with Islam. Al-Qadir could not allow any infidels into his intimate circle of advisers, and he presented Roches with an ultimatum: either convert to Islam or leave al-Qadir's side. Roches convinced the emir that he had converted; yet Roches wrote in his memoir that no such thing occurred (1999, 55–67). Roches played a double game of convincing the Muslim elite around him of their common faith while secretly maintaining his Catholic faith. Newspaper accounts, after Roches had achieved the position of Consul-General in Tunis, accused Roches of being Muslim. Roches' experience of "indigenization" became more complex as he took a Muslim wife—whom he would later abandon—and an Arabic name, Omar oul'd Roches (Omar son of Roches).

Meanwhile, Louis-Philippe (r. 1830–48) continued to pursue a vigorous foreign policy and began to violate the terms he had signed into law with the 1837 Treaty of Tafna. When French troops began to encroach on the Bey's territory, war erupted between Tunis and the French in 1839 and would continue until 1847. When fighting began, Roches could no longer continue his close relationship with al-Qadir. This moment represented the end of the Frenchman's infatuation with the emir. Roches realized that al-Qadir was not interested in the advice he provided to the Bey about political consolidation and modernization. At age thirty, Roches found himself with neither a career nor a home. A stint as an interpreter for the army parlayed itself into Roches' upward trajectory in diplomatic service.

After a dangerous journey to Mecca, Roches journeyed to Rome in 1842. In the Eternal City, Roches had a profound spiritual experience near the tomb of St. Peter. He was convinced suddenly through "tearful sobs" to become a Jesuit missionary (Roches 1999, 395). Jesuit priests greeted the news of Roches' conversion with delight. One father even exclaimed: "We can send M. Roches to convert the Muslims" (Roches 1999, 397). Roches met with Pope Gregory XVI (1765–1846), who questioned him about the ongoing war against al-Qadir, ending the papal audience with praise of the current general of French forces, Thomas Bugeaud (1784–1849). When Bugeaud heard of Roches' plans to become a missionary, he became furious. He immediately sent letters to Roches stating in no uncertain terms that if

Roches continued to entertain these notions of becoming a priest, the general would be forced to declare him a deserter (Roches 1999, 498). With his dreams of becoming an evangelical crushed, Roches returned to Algeria to finish his service to the army. His newfound faith, however, would not desert him, leading to the problem of how to deal with issues of religion as a representative of the French government.

Until he finally achieved a coveted position as Consul-General to Tunis in 1855, Roches dallied in the army and lowly posts in the diplomatic corps. He resented the fact that his superiors forbade his entry into religious service, but he found the rewards of diplomatic employment far better, both in terms of fame and finances. In 1857, Roches prepared the *'Ahd al-Aman* (Pact of security), which forced groups of nomadic Berbers to become sedentary. For the French, a turn to agriculture would mean these Berbers would become civilized (Lorcin 1995, 15). The agreement provided the French with control over these territories and gave Tunisians, both Muslim and Christian, equal status before the law. Notions of liberty, equality, and fraternity were articulated in this document, but the limits of universalism met its bounds in "the rule of colonial difference." Because of the treaty's stipulation that all Tunisians were equal in the eyes of the law, the Bey of Tunis believed that Europeans could be prosecuted as well. Roches and the French delegation reacted virulently to this judgment, demanding that all cases involving Europeans (as either defendants or plaintiffs) would be heard by European judges (Abi al-Diyaf 2005, 5–14). In 1860, the Tunisian state passed a constitutional charter, but the financial crisis of Algeria proved that French-style rule was unacceptable in North Africa. By the end of Roches' tenure in North Africa, the area was facing severe crises, and Roches, most likely, was searching for a way out of the quagmire. The opportunity to go to Japan presented itself, and Roches accepted the position of Consul-General gladly.

French Discourses about Japan: Linguistic, Artistic, Exotic

After Roches was appointed Consul-General to Japan in 1864, he tried frantically to learn everything he could about the country (Roches 1999, 410). A French–Japanese dictionary did not even exist until 1866. Fortunately, Roches' interpreter when he reached Japan was Mermet de Cachon (1828–89), the very man who would compile this first French grammar of Japanese (Beasley 1995, 98). Few books existed in French regarding the Japanese language, but numerous works were dedicated to Japanese culture. During the 1850s and 1860s, a burgeoning discourse began to grow around Japan. The isolation of the island nation provided the European imagination with the image of the Japanese as a vestibule of pure "Asianness." For some, it held a spiritual purity in contrast to the ongoing degradation of the

West. For others, it was a land of savage barbarians. After Commodore Matthew Perry's (1794–1858) symbolic entry into Edo in 1854, the isolationist policy of the Tokugawa shogunate was effectively ended.

The Goncourt Brothers (Edmond [1822–70] and Jules [1830–96]), famous French literary critics, claimed to have "discovered" Japanese art in 1861 (Lambourne 2005, 65). Regardless of the hyperbole of the Goncourts, the first recorded experience of French knowledge of Japanese art forms occurred in 1850, when Felix Braquemond (1833–1914), a Parisian art dealer who specialized in rare imports from the East and avant-garde French art, opened a crate of ceramics. The packing materials used to protect the porcelain were copies of woodblock prints by Hokusai 北斎 (1760–1849) and Hiroshige 広重 (1797–1858). Braquemond believed he had stumbled upon examples of ancient Japanese art and became entranced with the *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 genre. Braquemond's circle of friends, who included Claude Monet (1840–1926), Édouard Manet (1832–83), and Edgar Degas (1834–1917), were equally enthralled with these images of the "floating world." The fascinating flatness of Japanese perspective found a welcome audience with this group of artists who were attempting to codify their own philosophy of art.

Looted goods, placed on European auction blocks in the spring of 1861, were brought to Paris after the raiding of the Old Summer Palace of Peking during the Second Opium War (1856–60); they further piqued the yen for Asian art (Hevia 2003, 161). Elisa Everett (1982, 12) has argued that only this small cadre of controversial artists found the woodblock prints to be the bearers of new innovations in aesthetics, since the majority of the bourgeoisie dismissed Japanese art as "primitive." The 1870s movement known as *japonisme*, however, inspired interior design and art across middle-class Parisian homes (Silverman 1989, 20). The Impressionists, in fact, wanted to save Japanese art from becoming a bourgeois fad, commercialized and emptied of its value. In the eyes of these artists, *chinoiserie*, the eighteenth-century fascination with the porcelains and silks of China, had met this very fate. The techniques of Japanese prints infused French art with new vitality, and these artists believed it was their duty to protect it from becoming "*japonaiserie*" (Berger 1992, 43).

The artists were, of course, wrong as to the meaning of this Japanese art. They believed they had found "traditional" Japanese paintings, images unsullied by any Western influence. *Manga* 漫画 (whimsical pictures) and *ukiyo-e*, however, were innovations of the eighteenth century, not a style present from time immemorial. They were the product of a new courtier culture, a group that had been denied a role in the political sphere and relegated to artistic production. Hokusai and Hiroshige did not achieve their work simply through a study of traditional Japanese techniques, but were, in fact, deeply influenced by Dutch landscapes (Sullivan 1973, 41). For

Europeans, however, these works were windows into a foreign culture that offered new insights into art.

Ukiyo-e provided European artists with "a new way of seeing" (Berger 1992, 20). Vincent van Gogh (1853–90) felt his eye had been transformed by Japanese art. "The more you see things with a Japanese eye," he wrote to his brother Theo, "the more subtly you perceive color. Do you see what these simple Japanese teach us almost amounts to a religion?" (Berger 1992, 125). By the time Roches was posted to Japan in 1864, many artists had begun to incorporate this Japanese style into their own work. James McNeill Whistler's (1834–1903) *Symphony in White* and *Caprice in Purple and Gold* (both 1864) portray French women surrounded by "Asian" artifacts, such as woodblock prints, kimonos, lacquered tables, and painted screens (Lambourne 2005, 34–35). Imagery of kimonos and samurai became pervasive during the 1860s. The different cultural traditions of China and Japan were often conflated, resulting in bizarre images that contained both geisha and Chinese coolies. The European understanding of Japanese aesthetics—neither scholarly nor well informed—would help define policy in Japan.

The cultural discourses about the exoticism of the Far East had lasting consequences, because the ministers sent to Asia often brought the sense of mysticism and fear of barbarity with them on their official travels. Jean-Baptiste Gros (1793–1870) helped construct a treaty between the French and Japanese in 1859; but the confusion that Europeans had toward the East was made apparent when he referred to the shogun as "Emperor" and the Japanese officials as "Mandarins" (Sims 1998, 24). Roches was a product of these discourses. Having no knowledge of the Far East, he turned to the self-dubbed experts of Japanese culture in France to learn of the land to which he was headed. Before his arrival, he decided that certain viable traditions would be maintained, but modernization would only improve the Japanese people. His condescension and paternalism to the Japanese is evident in a letter he wrote to his Parisian superiors shortly after his arrival: "The character of the Japanese essentially distinguishes them from other Oriental people. . . . We must act towards them with goodwill and dignity, critically but with justice; we can often appeal to their sentiments of honor and to the pride found among all of them, even among the lowest classes. . . . They are gay, lively and communicative; they are disposed towards us as well as to other foreigners: whatever will be the material development of English power in this country, they run to us alone for reforms" (Medzini 1971, 88).

French Diplomacy in Japan before Roches: Religion, Civilization, Silk

The French never ranked as a prime player in the affairs of East Asia. The Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, British, and even Americans played far greater

roles in the opening of China and Japan than had the French before 1840. After the French defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756–63), they abandoned their positions in India. The role of the French was hindered, in part, by the consuming domestic events of the French Revolution (1789–99), Napoleonic Wars (1801–15), and succeeding Restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy (1815). After a decade in power, the Restoration faced a severe "crisis of legitimacy" in the mid-1820s (Kroen 2000, 5). After a lavish and extravagant coronation in 1825, Charles X (1757–1836, r. 1824–30) sought to restore the Church to what he believed was its exalted position during the Ancien Régime (fourteenth to eighteenth centuries). An economic crisis, spurred by bad harvests, placed artisans and farmers in a dire financial situation, while growing student movements debated the merits of a constitutional monarchy that would limit the powers of the king (Spitzer 1987, 221). Charles tried to muster popular support for his regime through the spectacular military conquest of Algeria in the spring of 1830, but the acquisition of North African lands could not mask the growing dissent of his subjects.

Much of the resistance to Charles X stemmed from his support of the Jesuits, whom the Pope had reestablished in 1814 but whom the French parliament refused to recognize. Numerous pamphlets were circulated over the course of the decade that accused the Jesuits of masterminding dastardly plots to gain control over French education and even of overthrowing the government. Liberal detractors of Charles accused him of being a "crypto-Jesuit" (Buckley 1999, 12). Although Charles signed ordinances into law in 1828 that forbade the Jesuits from teaching, the allegations of his collusion with the priests did not end. The king's final defeat occurred two years later when he was exiled after the July Revolution. Charles' successor, Louis-Philippe, the so-called "Bourgeois King" (1773–1850, r. 1830–48), spent his reign attempting to avoid the pitfalls into which Charles had fallen.

After the 1830 Revolution, a concerted effort was made to separate the activities of the state from the aims of the missionaries, both domestic and foreign. The French state feared that religious organizations would require domestic concessions if inroads were made in foreign territories by the missionaries. During the Chinese Opium War of 1840–42, French priests were refused the direct assistance of French arms (Fay 1997, 336). The Société des Missions-Etrangères, which the Pope in 1831 gave the sole right to proselytize Japan and Korea, carried out their endeavors through their own limited resources. The missionaries found their greatest support in France when their members were martyred at the hands of Asian "barbarians" (Buckley 1999, 23). If Asian nationals attacked French citizens, the state, by the end of the nineteenth century, found it imperative to impose sanctions on governments that allowed such acts to take place. Even with the formal

separation of church and state within France in 1906, the state was still confronted with the dilemma of how much support should be given to missionaries.

The *mission civilatrice* (civilizing mission) of the French was the cornerstone of their foreign policy, and it still maintains a central part of French rhetoric (Conklin 1997, 12). Those deemed "uncivilized" by the French would rectify their ways by learning the language and culture of France. As one British colonialist wrote about the efforts of the French government to civilize Africans: "The French are trying to turn Africans into good Frenchmen; we British are trying to turn them into good Africans" (Cooper 1996, 116). A severe contradiction met the universal dictums of French political thought: If all people were created equal, why were the Africans, Muslims, and Asians so vastly different? Even if they learned to speak French and discarded their "traditional" garb, they still somehow failed to be entirely French. The French government's official position was to work with the elites and governments of other countries in order to bring them the fruits of modernity. The civilizing discourse that defined French policy overseas was at the heart of the mission in the Far East, as a memorandum circulated around the Quai d'Orsay in 1866 clearly stated: "We can count on the shogun's interested cooperation, and by this cooperation hope to civilize Japan" (Sims 1998, 67).

The initial opening of Japan in 1854 created a scramble for power, as many European nations hoped to create a beneficial trade policy with the shogunate (Totman 1980, 34). The French, interested in exporting their goods to Japan without the threat of protective Japanese tariffs, simultaneously hoped for Japanese luxury items at reduced costs. The British were the most invested in establishing an advantageous arrangement with the Japanese, mainly due to their imperial position in Asia through their possessions of India and Hong Kong. The French, however, maintained a key position in the diplomatic negotiations that occurred in the aftermath of Japan's open-door policy.

French interest in Japan centered on two economic aspects. First, the French did not want to be excluded from a possibly lucrative deal on imports and exports with the Japanese nation. Second, the French were in desperate need to find means to breathe life into their flagging silk industry, and the import of Japanese silkworms was seen as a possible amelioration of the troubles in that sector. Much of the French economy, which even in the 1860s lacked diversification in comparison to England and Germany, was reliant upon the silk markets of Lyon and the Drôme (Medzini 1971, 76). A pestilence had eradicated much of the French silkworm population in 1863, and new species imported from the Middle East could not adapt to the foreign climate. Japanese silkworms, first brought to France illegally in 1861, were conducive to the atmosphere of the central regions of the country, and

they even produced more silk than the original French species. The Japanese guarded the export of the insects carefully, and part of Roches' mission was to devise a plan wherein the French would receive the most worms for the cheapest price.

The French were willing to contribute intellectual and diplomatic fervor to this endeavor; however, they could not supply the same amount of military reinforcements as the British. Napoléon III (1808–73, r. 1852–72) was in a delicate position: his involvement in the Chinese Opium War, Mexico, and territorial skirmishes in Africa resulted in the weakening of morale and the loss of resources, as the army was stretched beyond its means. The French hoped Japan was politically stable and troops would not be necessary. As the Civil War (1861–65) preoccupied the Americans, the French posted its first representative to Japan in 1859, Duchesne de Bellecourt (1817–81). The Foreign Ministry hoped to protect its national interests, but Bellecourt proved disastrous in his position (Sims 1998, 61). For most of his term, he was unaware of the impending political entropy—partly because the officials of the shogunate hid their troubles. Not until the very end of his assignment did he begin to suspect that the shogunate was facing a political crisis. It became the duty of Roches, the second French Consul-General in Japan, to navigate the modernization of the Japanese.

The Arrival of Roches in Japan: Political Alignment, Political Struggles

When Roches arrived in Japan in 1864, he was at a serious disadvantage, not knowing the language or culture of Japan. The Consul-General of Japan was a prestigious position, and he would be only the second person to hold the position since Japan had reopened its ports to foreigners. No records in the archives detail how the Foreign Ministry came to the belief that Roches was the right man for the job. Roche's expertise in Algeria came from his knowledge of Arabic and involvement with local elites, but he had no such proficiency in the Japanese context. The foreign minister, Drouyn de Lhouys (1805–81), in his letter to Roches asking him to take the appointment, requested that Roches continue "to display his combination of prudence and firmness" (Lehmann 1980, 284). The letter contained no other information as to what was occurring in Japan either politically or economically. Although Roches' predecessor, Bellecourt, had begun to believe that the Tokugawa shogunate's control was unraveling, Roches was never informed of these suspicions. During the first year of his sojourn in Japan, Roches fumbled around aimlessly, unsure of French aims in the region and the political culture of the regime, with which he sought a direct working relationship.

Roches faced a series of troubles when he realized that French policy in Asia was so ambiguous. Lhouys informed Roches that France could not and would not provide military support to the Japanese. Roches was not to become involved in Japanese domestic issues, but he was ordered to maintain the economic interests of his homeland "at all costs" (Lehmann 1980, 291). French contradictions in policy manifested themselves in issues of religion. Japanese treaties did not allow missionaries to access the interior of the country, but the government was compelled to support any of its citizens in the area. As Bellecourt wrote: "Above all [the government] could not countenance abandoning the right of protecting the missionaries under any circumstances" (Lehmann 1979, 381). Roches maintained a moderate approach to the problem of the Christian religion in Japan. He continually told Father Bernard Petitjean (1829–84), who had been appointed a Vicar Apostolic to Japan in 1866, not to proselytize too fervently or he could be the one to blame for any subsequent violence. Petitjean took umbrage to Roches' warnings and responded with a terse note stating that the missionaries were "the glory of God." If the Japanese hurt these men of God, they would pay for their sins in the next world (Lehmann 1979, 355). Roches came under attack from members of the religious community and the press, who claimed he had converted to Islam while in Algeria (Lehmann 1980, 289). This attack may have compelled Roches to include in his memoirs the tale of his Christian rebirth in Rome.

As his first task as Consul-General, Roches had to contend with the insurrectionary forces across Japan, which were attacking foreigners. Radicals had been agitating for the expulsion of aliens for several months, reaching a crescendo in the spring of 1864. They carried out violence under a slogan of *sonnō jōi* 尊王攘夷, a statement of supreme imperial loyalty: "Revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians." In both the Satsuma and Chōshū regions, rebels were leading battles against the shogunate, whose armies were unequipped and poorly trained. Centralized control over the army or the state was non-existent, and the shogunate looked to the foreign powers for aid. Upon Roches' arrival, the European ministers were mounting an attack against insurgents at the port of Shimonoseki (Jansen 2000, 252). Roches—contradicting his official orders—provided French troops to the European coalition to defeat the Chōshū rebels.

The Shimonoseki Indemnities sought payment for the costs of those killed in the first attacks of 1863 and the cost of the resulting military expedition. The British believed the sanctions were so harsh that the shogunate would rather open the ports at Shimonoseki and Hyōgo than pay the fines. The government, however, preferred to pay the penalties. These crises forced Roches to devise a strategy to protect French interests, so he drew on his vast experience with North African elites to form his policy. Roches aligned himself with the shogunate because it was the recognized govern-

ment of Japan. The oppositional forces, especially to Westerners, seemed like bands of marauders capitalizing on a complicated situation (Lehmann 1980, 286). Roches committed a mistake while investing so personally in his relationship with the shogun. When he realized that Tokugawa Yoshinobu 徳川慶喜 (1837–1913), the fifteenth and final Tokugawa shogun, could no longer claim power, it was too late to turn back.

Roches' relationship with Japanese leaders was established quickly. On October 15, 1864, Roches reported to his superiors back in Paris: "I can even add that the *roju* [*rōjū* 老中, shogunal elder council] have given me proofs of consideration and trust of which I believe it unnecessary to render account to the department but which give me hope of fruitfully fulfilling the mission which the government of the Emperor [Napoléon III] has entrusted to me" (Sims 1998, 48). After Tokugawa Iemochi 徳川家茂 (1846–66, r. 1858–66) died, Tokugawa Yoshinobu succeeded to power. With his prized position as an advisor to the shogunate assured by the *rōjū*, Roches provided the new shogun with copious amounts of advice. Yoshinobu appreciated Roches' help, thanking the minister "for the excellent counsel which you have not ceased to give to the Japanese government since your happy arrival in this country" (Sims 1998, 54); but Yoshinobu found himself awkwardly situated. Yoshinobu did not want to give into foreign demands, but his support among his own people was slipping away. Moreover, Roches' promises of success seemed so tantalizing. If the shogun only modeled his army on that of France, recommended Roches, then Yoshinobu would become a leader akin to Napoleon. By 1867, the shogun took to wearing a French uniform. At this moment, although he prized Japanese traditions, modernization compelled a swift rejection of the samurai way.

Roches did not seek to maintain the structure of the shogunate as he found it; rather, he advised that the shogun should centralize his own power and wrest any power from the regional *daimyō* 大名 (feudal lords). Before Yoshinobu had come to power, Roches had set about conducting a series of administrative reforms (Honjo 1935, 23). In March 1865, upon the request of the minister, Léonce Verny (1837–1908) arrived in Japan to develop a modern shipyard and naval base at Yokosuka, at the mouth of Tokyo Bay. Furthermore, Roches established a modern mint and French schools for regime officials and their sons (Sims 1998, 82). The government requested arms and Roches gladly provided them, along with a cadre of trained French military officers. Most of these actions were taken without the knowledge of either Roches' colleagues in Japan or his superiors in France.

Roches hoped Yoshinobu would effect further change in the organization of Japanese government by instituting a council of which the shogun would hold a firm majority and thus quell any dissenting opinion. Roches' own experience with Abd al-Qadir in Algeria influenced this position.

Roches was attracted throughout his life to men who embodied a form of masculinity that was based on a warrior ethos. Men of the sword represented for Roches the ideal form of manhood. The young Meiji Emperor (1852–1912, r. 1867–1912) had been sheltered from the world and was unable to rule properly in an environment so tense. The success of the supporters of the Emperor was in no way inevitable at this period, as American diplomats worried that the Meiji Emperor was "ignorant of the true state of things" (Diplomatic Correspondence 1869, 648).

The Quai d'Orsay originally supported Roches in his endeavors in Japan. Even as late as February 1867, the ministry assessed Roches' place as such: "M. Roches has been able to obtain so legitimate an influence in this country, which owes to him its transformation since 1864, that he corresponds and on several occasions when the Japanese ministers have wished to have a plan adopted by their sovereign they have asked him to support it" (Sims 1998, 56). These days of Roches' crowning glory would come to a crashing end when a variety of circumstances conspired to place Roches' policies and plans of action in serious doubt over the course of the following year. By the following February, Roches would leave Japan, disgusted and dispirited.

The Downfall of Roches: End of the Shogunate, End of Roches' Career

When the Marquis de Moustier was appointed foreign minister in October 1866, Roches' fortunes began to change. In a missive from the minister to Roches in May 1867, Moustier told him not to become involved in Japanese politics, only to maintain French interests. Moustier viewed Roches with a suspicious and indignant eye. He found Roches impertinent and unwilling to communicate news to Paris. Part of the withdrawal of French support for Roches came from the unease they felt at what would happen to Anglo–French relations (Sims 1998, 61). The French and British maintained support for shogunal power before 1864 because they believed the regional *daimyō* and those siding with the Emperor were anti-foreign. Harry Parkes (1828–85) and his predecessor, Rutherford Alcock (1809–72), questioned this assumption and were the first to seek a redress in British policy. Now that the British were beginning to believe that supporting the Tokugawa regime would no longer be viable, the French diplomats in Paris began to agree; but Roches continued to advise and support the shogun. The French did not want to risk angering the British Foreign Office. Moustier, by the time he had reprimanded Roches, had already begun to distance the Foreign Ministry from the shogunate by declining to declare its support for the shogun's claim to sovereignty across Japan.

With the alliance of Chōshū and Satsuma, bitter rivals before 1866, the reign of the Tokugawa shogunate was nearing its end. The forces of the

shogunate could not match the combined strength of these revolutionary troops, armed as they were by European powers (Totman 1980, 5). In January 1868, the Meiji Emperor dissolved the shogunate. Yoshinobu's resignation came after a decisive defeat on the battlefield. By this point, the course of history seemed inevitable to many members of the diplomatic corps. "We could hardly expect," wrote American Secretary of State William Henry Seward (1801–72) to his deputy, "anything less than serious political changes as a consequence of the sudden entrance of Japan into relations with the other nations" (Diplomatic Correspondence 1869, 634). Roches watched the events transpire with consternation and guilt. He had become a deleterious asset of the government. The French state would now have to negotiate with a Japanese government against which the French delegate had fought and conspired. Roches began to draw up his own resignation.

On February 18, 1868, the American minister to Japan, Robert Van Valkenburgh (1821–88), wrote to Secretary of State Seward of Roches' "sudden" announcement of leaving his post in Japan and returning to France (Diplomatic Correspondence 1869, 648). Roches cited personal reasons for his swift decision. He also informed his colleagues that having been "a warm supporter of the Tycoon, and that having been driven from this part of this country, and pronounced in rebellion by the Mikado, he felt he had to return to France and make his explanations to his government in person" (Diplomatic Correspondence 1869, 665). On February 20, Roches met with Yoshinobu. The bitterness of the former shogun was apparent as he told the French minister: "my mind and my heart are unchanged. I shall remain faithful to my duties" (Diplomatic Correspondence 1869, 716). Moustier, however, could not allow Roches to leave without a successor in place, especially during a time of crisis, so Roches would remain in Japan until June.

Violence continued throughout the spring of 1868. In March, anti-foreign Japanese soldiers attacked Parkes on his way to an audience with the Emperor in Kyoto (Diplomatic Correspondence 1869, 709). That same month, retainers of the Daimyō of Tosa attacked a French steamer, the *Dupleix* (involved in the original bombardments of Shimonoseki), killing eleven French sailors. The negotiations around this assault would be Roches' final official duty. In his final letters to Moustier, Roches displayed his bitter disappointment: "I undertook a work of civilization which now appears to have been beyond my strength, and yet I still hope to carry it to its final conclusion" (Lehmann 1980, 301). Roches returned to France and wrote his memoirs of his time in North Africa. He never wrote about his service in Japan. He died at the age of 91 in 1901. What Roches had hoped would be the final crowning achievement of his long career became his greatest disgrace.

The (Double) Legacy of Roches

Roches' involvement left a double legacy: one to the Japanese and one to the French. Although Roches' political alignment proved fateful in Japan, he succeeded in certain reforms—such as those of the navy and military—that continued after the Meiji Restoration and his departure (Medzini 1971, 180). Roches had regaled Japanese officials with tales of Napoleon's successes across the battlefields of Europe. The diminutive emperor became a symbol of military might for the Japanese to emulate. This model was replaced with that of Bismarck (1815–98) after the French defeat at the hands of the Prussian Army in 1870; but the administrative reforms Roches created remained in place.

For the French, Roches reinforced the cultural fascination with Japan. Roches' created the Japanese Pavilion at the Parisian World Exposition of 1867, which was an unmitigated success. The Parisian press deemed the Japanese representatives at the fair "the Frenchmen of the West" (Hokenson 2004, 102). The art, including *manga*, *ukiyo-e*, and *netsuke* 根付 (ornamental sash fasteners), inflamed the growing craze of *japonisme*, which reached new heights in the 1870s. In Paris, shogunal representatives found individuals from their bitter rivals from Satsuma in possession of their own booth at the Expo: Roches had placed the civil wars of Japan on literal display. Most spectators, however, unaware of this political altercation, were instead seduced by the spectacle of Oriental arts and performances. The French constructed the Japanese world as filled solely with samurai and geisha but felt they understood this culture because of their own relationship to the notions of *gloire* and *grandeur*. The fears aroused by the foreignness of these Asian bodies were assuaged by the supposed Japanese commitment to nobility. The French began to believe they had a complete understanding of the island nation. "by the time I arrived in Japan," Pierre Loti (1850–1923) wrote in his enormously successful novel, *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887), "I already knew what to expect; I had seen the landscape of Japan on every woman's fan" (Loti 1965, 13). Madame Chrysanthemum became Puccini's Madama Butterfly—who, in turn, became *Miss Saigon* (1989) and David Henry Hwang's *M. Butterfly* (1988)—and gave to succeeding generations a sense of "Japanese" behavior. The lure of the Orient was, and remains, strong. The French recognized an affinity between the two cultures because the two nations held seemingly common bonds in the pursuit of civility and honor, even if the Japanese maintained certain "barbaric" practices. Japan continued to hold the French entranced throughout the twentieth century, as evidenced by Roland Barthes' (1915–80) *Empire of Signs* (*L'Empire des signes*, 1970).

The career of Léon Roches represented many of the most important contours of the French imperial project of the nineteenth century. He spent

time in East Asia and North Africa, areas of the nation's most important colonial claims. Diplomats like Roches traveled the globe to impart a certain style of civilization to the territories they believed lacked fundamental aspects of civility. The civilizing discourse that Roches promoted still holds an exalted place in French politics as current president Nicolas Sarkozy (b. 1955) attempts to deal with Muslim immigrants, whom many French believe have not yet become sufficiently attuned to the ways of the country. Roches never questioned his notions of civilization and believed that France, however flawed, held a model for all nations to follow. But, in the end, Roches learned the most from those whom he believed he was teaching.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 41–54

Ezra Pound's Poetic Mirror and the "China Cantos": The Healing of the West

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Of all non-Asian figures in twentieth-century American literature, Ezra Pound (1885–1972) had the most overt relation to China. Pound made Confucianism an integral part of his project of rethinking the future of the West and committed himself to updating Confucian values to correspond to social changes in the modern world. In this article, the author analyzes Pound's Canto XIII and Cantos LIII, LV, and LVI from the "China Cantos," arguing that Pound used poetry as his medium to mirror those Confucian values that he felt were indispensable for the healing of Western civilization and culture. Pound's use of Chinese characters and concepts in his "China Cantos" therefore acts as an intaglio, mirroring onto the reader the truth that Pound believed: Whenever Confucian ideas were put into action, the human experience was the better for it; and if the West could appropriate these ideals and values, its decay could be healed.

Pound's Interest in China

No non-Asian figure in twentieth-century American literature had a more overt relation to China than did Ezra Pound (1885–1972). Pound's engagement with China has been the focus of a rich critical literature, with the most recent addition being *Ezra Pound and China*, edited by Zhaoming Qian (2003). Qian's volume is the first collection to be devoted entirely to an exploration of Pound's career-long relationship with China, unveiling and illuminating how Pound's engagement with China broadened the textual, cultural, and political boundaries of the modernist period in American literature.

Pound made Chinese Confucianism an integral part of his project of rethinking the West and its future (Hayot 1999, 511). Feng Lan (2005, 3–11) divided Pound's interests in Confucianism into three phases: imitative, creative, and comprehensive. The first phase is represented by Pound's famous *Cathay* (1915) and his 1928 translation of the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學)[1] into English from Guillaume Pauthier's French version. In his introduction to Pound's *Selected Poems*, T. S. Eliot (1888–1965), referring to *Cathay*, wrote that Pound was "the inventor of Chinese poetry for our time"

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(1987, 14–15). Eliot meant that Pound's translations of Chinese poets had been put into the language, context, and thought patterns that made it possible for twentieth-century Western readers to understand and appropriate their meanings. The second phase of Pound's relationship with Confucianism spanned from the early 1930s to the end of World War II. What characterized his commitment to Confucianism during this period was his effort to revivify and update Confucian values in order to meet the need for social change in the turbulent Western world of the time. The poetry he composed during this period was saturated with allusions to the merits of Confucian ideals and values. During this second phase, Pound's belief in the value of Confucianism for the West is most evident in the "China Cantos," published in 1940 (Cantos LII–LXI of *The Cantos*). The third phase of Pound's relation to Confucianism began with the end of World War II. During this period, he moved to an intensified quest after the Confucian vision that he could follow only by means of a serious engagement and translation of Confucian texts. With such a mindset, Pound translated into English three of the four Confucian classics: *The Great Learning*, *Unwobbling Pivot* (*Zhongyong* 中庸), and *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語); and he began a translation of the *Mencius* (*Mengzi* 孟子). During this period he also edited and translated the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經).

In this article, I am most interested in the second phase of Pound's involvement with Confucianism. During this period, Pound came to appreciate the way in which Confucian ideas were put into action through a survey of Chinese history. He intended for the Western world to find from Confucianism the remedy for healing its own wounds. He held up a mirror to China, and the result is evident for us to see in Cantos LII–LXI of his extraordinary epic poem, *The Cantos*.[2]

Pound's Poetic Mirror

In his early cantos, Pound's descriptions of historical eras and events were usually based on primary sources and detailed studies. He used *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* in Canto XXXI and Charles Adams' *The Works of John Adams* for Canto XXXII. However, when he turned to Chinese history in Cantos LII–LXI, he chose as his source Joseph-Anna-Marie de Moyria de Mailla's (1669–1748) massive thirteen-volume work, *Histoire generale de la Chine* (1777–85). De Mailla was a French Jesuit, and his history of China was a translation of the Qing 清 dynasty (1644–1912) version of the most respected work concerning diversified aspects of Chinese history, the *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑒綱目 (Outline and digest of the comprehensive mirror for aid in government), compiled by the great Neo-Confucian thinker Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200).

Zhu Xi's work is a detailed account of Chinese history interpreted from the point of view of Confucian morality. It is not an academic history meant to report only facts. On the contrary, it is a cautionary tale, designed to instruct emperors and ministers by holding up heaven's mirror of judgment to the past and the lives of those who lived it (Nolde 1983, 26). According to a long-standing Chinese view, each generation's appropriation of history comes as it holds up a mirror to the past and learns from the mistakes and virtues of those who have come before. In the West, mirrors are regarded as reflecting devices; they have nothing to contribute in themselves. They report only what they see and make no judgments or criticisms. However, in China, mirrors have a voice; they tell stories laden with judgment. For example, in chapter 1 of the ancient Daoist work *The Journey to the North* (*Beiyou ji* 北游記), the Three Pure Ones tell the unperfected Xuantian Shangdi 玄天上帝 that he may find out about his true identity only by using "Heaven's Reflecting Mirror" (*zhao tian jing* 照天镜) that reveals truths and falsehoods, good and evil in the past. Only when the past is viewed in this mirror will Xuantian Shangdi know the meaning of his life and be able to follow the Way of Heaven (*dao* 道) (Seaman 1987, 52–53). Those who complied and edited the *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* believed it represented notes and commentaries from centuries of scholars who had read Heaven's Reflecting Mirror.

Hugh Kenner (1972) argues that Pound held a similar view of history. He writes that "the Key to Pound's method throughout the *Cantos* is his conviction that the things the poet sees in the sea of events are really there. They are not 'creations' of his. Similarly, the values registered in the poem are not imported and affirmed by the poet, but discerned by him in the record of human experience" (62). Pound felt that he found, in the long history of China, Confucian solutions to the problems of dehumanization, oppression, and violence for which the Western intellectual tradition had failed to account. Through his cantos having to do with China, Pound uses poetry as his medium to mirror those Confucian values that he feels are indispensable for the healing of Western civilization and culture.

Cantos LII–LXI emphasize that Chinese history, because it was firmly rooted in Confucian morality yet in spite of periodic set-backs, always kept alive a tradition of what it meant to have responsible government and healthy human relationships (Dekker 1963, 180). For Pound, these ordering norms were to be found in Confucianism, as expressed in the *Daxue* and the *Lunyu*. In fact, when Eliot asked Pound what he believed, Pound said, "I believe the *Ta Hsio* [*Daxue*]" (Nolde 1983, 19). Like the *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* before him, Pound's *The Cantos* is also a morality tale. In canto after canto, Pound holds up the mirror in which Western readers can see both the frailty and potential of their civilization. In the "China Cantos," Pound shows how China's past proves the adage that history is ideas put into

action. In this case, it is the nobility of Confucian ideals that Pound admires and recommends. In 1938, during the months he was preparing the "China Cantos," Pound wrote in *Guide to Kulchur* (1938, 276): "Before thinking that old-age pensions, medical relief, educational endowments etc. etc. etc. are news, one shd. at least glance at a summary of the chinese [*sic*] story." From Pound's point of view, politicians and statesmen had not made a difference in the stability of Western culture through reason and government machinations. Pound thought that perhaps a poet could hold up a mirror that would reveal the answers that lay in Confucianism and reflect to the readers of his era the moral truths he found in Chinese history. These truths, Pound believed, were indeed translatable to the West (Furia 1984, 82).

Pound's Introduction of Confucius in *The Cantos*

Pound formulated his rather unquestioning belief in the greatness of classical Chinese Confucianism twenty years before he wrote the "China Cantos." In the early twentieth century, he felt that the Western world was on the verge of a renaissance, and he thought that the source of that new awakening lay in the East. Pound wrote: "The first step of a renaissance, or awakening, is the importance of models for painting, sculpture or writing. We have had many 'movements,' movements stimulated by 'comparison' . . . . The last century rediscovered the middle ages. It is possible that this century may find a new Greece in China" (1987, 228). For Pound, China, by means of its Confucian-based ideology, should shed light and enlightenment on the rest of the world.

Undoubtedly, Pound was drawing part of his inspiration from a 1936 work by Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908) entitled *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry*. This work not only influenced Pound to develop his ideogrammic method but also led him to the firm conviction that the West could not ignore Chinese history and culture because there was much to learn from it.[3] In this work, Fenollosa said of the West: "The duty that faces us [the West] is not to batter down their [the Chinese] forts or exploit their markets, but to study and come to sympathize with their humanity. . . . We need their best ideals to supplement our own—ideals enshrined in their art, in their literature and in the tragedies of their lives" (1936, 4). Clearly, Fenollosa conveyed his idea that many values embedded in the history of Chinese civilization would benefit and help cure the problems of the West.

Recognizing Fenollosa's work as the background of Pound's writing leads us to conclude that we should not treat Canto XIII, which introduces the reader to Confucius, separately from the "China Cantos." Even though it belongs to Pound's first group of sixteen cantos written in 1925—whereas the "China Cantos" were not even in rough typescript until February 1939

and not published until January 1940—understanding Canto XIII is important. As George Dekker (1963, 4) notes, "the implications of this canto must be grasped if we are to understand the rest of the poem."

As one of the preeminent imagistic poets, Pound always carefully set the scene for his images in *The Cantos*. Therefore, his choice of setting in Canto XIII is an important one. Instead of setting the scene in the Roman Coliseum (XII) or the Inferno (XIV), Pound embedded Confucius' action in Asian culture: in the numerous temples that have edified people's minds, generation after generation; in the forest that connects people to nature, just as Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–82) and Henry David Thoreau (1817–62) advocated; and in the river that washes away the dirt from people's minds and then nurtures and nourishes the healthy growth of the good seed in their hearts. Canto XIII begins in this way: "Kung walked / by the dynastic temple / and into the cedar grove, / and then out by the lower river, . . ." (1948, 58). In contrast to his expression of the disorder and twisted desires that have led to war in the West and caused its disillusionment and deterioration, Pound's view of Confucius was filled with compliments and admiration. He wrote: "And Kung gave the words 'order' / and 'brotherly deference' / And said nothing of the 'life after death'" (59).

In this canto, Pound revealed many of his strategies for making textual choices and priorities for conceptual emphasis. We must pay careful attention to the incidents from the *Analects* that Pound chose. From among the twenty-two books of the *Analects*, Pound used the episode of Confucius asking his disciples what they will do, since no officials seemed to be asking them for advice. He rewrote the passage from the *Analects* to have Confucius encourage each of his disciples to follow his own nature. Pound selected the case of Yuan Jang, who pretended to be wise but was foolish and worthless because he was not doing anything of practical benefit for the people. He also reported the master's warning that rulers often seek to buy an educated person's loyalty and turn it to the service of a corrupt and immoral master. Finally, he offered Confucius's reminder that only the ruler who knows how to control himself and practice internal stillness of desires can bring order to his country. In his selections, Pound implied that these are central questions for any society, and he left no doubt that he thought Confucius has the answers to them. The beautiful penultimate lines of Canto XIII underscore that a person's character is the most important accomplishment of a human being: "And Kung said, 'Without character you will / be unable to play on that instrument / Or to execute the music fit for the Odes'" (60). Pound understood the quintessential element of Confucian morality to be its emphasis on character. The individual with great character will give order to a state, create a family of worth, and make history honorable (Dekker 1963, 7).

In his comments on the *Daxue*, Pound made an observation that illumines Canto XIII and reveals his intention in giving such a prominent place in *The Cantos* to Chinese material. He summarized Chinese history and mirrored its virtues to the West by writing (1954, 29–30): "The men of old wanting to clarify and diffuse throughout the empire that light which comes from looking straight into the heart and then acting, first set up good government in their own states; wanting good government in their states, they first established order in their own families; wanting order in the home, they first disciplined themselves; desiring self-discipline, they rectified their own hearts." The final three lines of Canto XIII reveal Pound's intention to transmit the teachings of Confucius and with them the much-needed wisdom of China. Pound remarked: "The blossoms of the apricot / blow from the east to the west, / And I have tried to keep them from falling" (1948, 60). In this way, Pound explicitly communicates that he wanted to preserve the insights of Confucianism for the West.

The final lines of the Canto XIII are Pound's mirrored poetic reflections on a little-known tradition about Confucius. According to one legend, Confucius often taught his students in a small pavilion outside his native city of Qufu 曲阜. This pavilion was called the "Apricot Pavilion" because a giant apricot tree grew nearby. In these lines, Pound speaks in the first person, portraying Confucius's teachings as apricot blossoms. He makes a promise to keep Confucius's teachings from falling away. The blossoms are blowing from the East to the West, and Pound is taking up the responsibility of preventing them from falling by the wayside to dry up and be forgotten. He keeps this promise fifteen years later with the publication of the "China Cantos," catching the teachings of Confucius like apricot blossoms floating in the wind and allowing them to take shape in the poetry he holds up as the mirror of history. In *The Exile*, Pound wrote: "The drear horror of American life can be traced to two damnable causes: 1. The loss of all distinction between public and private affairs. 2. The tendency to mess into other people's affairs before establishing order in one's own affairs, and in one's thought. . . . The principle of good is enunciated by Confucius; it consists in establishing order within oneself" (Cookson 1973, 216). From the 1920s to 1940s, Pound looked upon himself as the first real interpreter of Confucius to the English-speaking world (and to America, specifically); and he reflected the same concerns as did Fenollosa over the neglect of a study of China's humanistic texts (Nolde 1996, 25).

The "China Cantos"

Cantos LII–LXI deal almost exclusively with the need for each new generation to revisit the merits of the Confucian tradition (Cookson 1985, 21). In Canto LIII, Pound writes his appraisal of the venerable sage ruler, Cheng

[Shang] Tang 商湯 of the Shang 商 period (1600–1100 B.C.E.). He reports that Cheng reminded himself of the importance of this task each day by having the motto "day by day make it new" inscribed on his bronze wash basin. Pound (1948, 11) writes that Cheng Tang

wrote MAKE IT NEW	新
	日
on his bath tub	日
Day by day make it new	新

The Chinese characters to the right of the poem, 新日日新 (*xin ri ri xin*), are included by Pound to complement the last English line, "Day by day make it new." This four-character expression corroborates a well-known viewpoint associated with Pound—that he was one of the most prominent spokespersons for experimentation and reform in modern American literature. At the same time, it is also an example of Pound's use of palindrome, a word or a sequence of words that reads—letter for letter—the same backwards as forwards. As such, in Pound's choice of these four characters, the first two are mirrored by the second, and vice versa. Pound's utilization of palindrome in this expression demonstrates his conviction that both the past and the present, the East and the West, literally regardless of direction, can find illumination and "sentence" (in the meaning of Geoffrey Chaucer) from the idea underlying this idiom.[4] Embedded in this skillful literary mechanism is Pound's point that he found in China's history the ways in which rulers continually made Confucianism "new." In order to find the harmony and virtue he found in China, the West would have to mirror these values and practices. Pound realized that his readers stood in a different place and time from those in Chinese dynastic history, but this is nonetheless the promise and challenge he set before them. He wanted the greatness of the sage rulers who grasped Confucianism for their own age to be seen in the mirror—and for those standing in their own age to reflect an appropriation of Confucianism that would not alter its essence but would embody a new expression of it.

The four characters of *xin ri ri xin* reflect the motto of *The Cantos* as a whole, stressing the need for each reader to hold up his or her life, family, state, and world to the mirror of the past and make something new every day. These characters function as an image to teach that each new generation had to find its own way to apply Confucian sensibilities. Pound's use of this text for a Western readership represents his effort to stress that the West can be redeemed by Confucian values taken from China.

Pound's use of Chinese characters in *The Cantos* is an illustration of his skill as an imagist who used visual poetry to mirror history. The characters

are not merely the replication of Chinese characters; instead, they are pictures shown in the poetic mirror, jolting the reader, layering the meanings in the linguistic text itself, and becoming a part of the poems' references and allusions in much the same way that Eliot used allusions in *The Waste Land*. As visual images, the Chinese characters in *The Cantos* both clarify and extend Pound's viewpoint and meaning. The text as a mirror reflects living signs and not words alone. This lesson Pound learned from Fenollosa, who taught Pound to think of characters as evolving through history and taking into themselves the meanings of events. In fact, when Pound presented the "China Cantos" as a unit to New Directions Publishing, he wanted a title page for them bearing the single ideograph *cheng* 正, meaning *true*, *real*, or *authentic*. Such was his strategy for communicating his belief that the "China Cantos" contained the authentic values and true ways for human community. Moreover, the "China Cantos" was the only section of *The Cantos* Pound wanted to adorn with ideograms in such a manner (Nadel 1997, 163).

Pound employed the same ideogrammic technique in other cantos of the "China Cantos." He turned Chinese characters into pictures and used them to represent concrete ideas that other poets might try to portray in words. Most characters he chose are not pictograms—they do not actually portray concrete objects, but they are ideograms communicating more than a word, often an entire sentiment or philosophical truth or imperative, such as "Make it new." In Canto LVI, Pound (1948, 48) digressed from de Mailla's history and held up his poetic mirror full of Chinese ideograms to offer the reader a summary of the full panorama of China's past up to the Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century.

YAO, CHUN, YU controller of waters 堯
Bridge builders, contrivers of roads 舜
gave grain to the people
kept down the taxes
Hochang, eunuchs, taoists and ballets 禹
night-clubs, gimcracks, debauchery
Down, down! Han is down
Sung is down
Hochang, eunuchs, and taozers
empresses' relatives, came then a founder
saying nothing superfluous
cleared out the taozers and grafters, gave grain
opened the mountains
Came taozers, hochang and debauchery
And literati fought fiercer than other men to keep out the
mogul

Pound used a visual image as his imprimatur of Confucian authenticity to indicate what constitutes good leadership and a society in which individuals could flourish. The characters for the names of the great sage kings heralded by Confucius as the models for moral life, Yao 堯, Chun [Shun] 舜, and Yu 禹, are to the right of the poetic narrative and offer a sweep of history as a talisman of truthfulness. Of these kings, Pound wrote in Canto LIV, "Virtue is the daughter of heaven, YU followed CHUN / and CHUN, YAO having one root of conduct" (1948, 24). In the narrative lines of the canto, Pound summarized why these rulers are worthy of emulation. They built bridges and roads, and such efforts indicate their understanding of the common man's situation and the importance of commerce and economy. They did not tax the people more than they could pay. They emptied the granaries to feed the common people rather than use the storehouse to line their pockets with riches and extravagance. They taught people to rely on the good within them and the bonds of responsibility between them rather than to trust in the religious fantasy of the "taozers" (Daoists) and "Hochang" (Buddhists). But Pound meant for Yao, Shun, and Yu to stand for the good ruler in all his aspects, just as Confucius also thought. The names are images used to remind the readers of these kings and their authenticity as true rulers. The task of a ruler, as it is of an ordinary person, is to make new the teachings of Confucius in his own era. Each of the three great rulers practiced the virtues of care for the poor and the common peasant (LIV), exempted them from taxes (LV), and followed the Confucian *dao* by making it new in his own age. Hence, his reign was stabilized and prosperous.

In addition to cantos LIII and LVI, Pound's mirror in Canto LV (1948, 36) offers another visual display by means of thirteen characters taken from the *Daxue* and designed to express the Confucian ideal of a good ruler:

仁者,以財發身

仁者,以身發財,不

Pound did not translate these characters in *The Cantos* because he used them here as images, not words. However, elsewhere he translated them in this way (1969, 83): "A *ren* king is known by his spending on the people, a

king who is not *ren* by his taking from the people" (*ren zhe, yi cai fa shen, bu ren zhe, yi shen fa cai*). Pound's focus on the Chinese character *ren* 仁 is significant. In Confucianism, *ren*, meaning "benevolence and kindness," is the central virtue that must be possessed by a person (Ames and Rosemont 1998, 54). It is formed by combining the character for "person" (人) with the number "two" (二), indicating the stress placed on human interrelatedness and social harmony at the heart of Confucianism. In the cantos that follow LVI, Pound calls attention to the worthy Confucian exemplars who outlawed mutilation of criminals,[5] built halls devoted to Confucius, diminished the legal reasons for death and exile, discontinued the corvée requirement, drove out the taozers turning from their superstitions, and made the Hochang return to work. All of these rulers found ways to "make it new" in their own generation by establishing the value of interdependence and harmony over the ideals of absolute individuality and competition.

Pound noticed as well that leaders in Chinese history who did not find ways to make Confucius's teachings new invariably implemented changes that brought destruction. Pound illustrated this oft-repeated pattern in his remarks on the Hongzhi Emperor, Zhu Youtong, known in *The Cantos* by his temple name, Hsiao-tsung (Xiaozong 孝宗, 1470–1505). From this emperor, Pound's poetic mirror reflects the Chinese character for change, *bian* 變, but this time—in Canto LVII (1948, 59)—the mirror offers a warning to Western society:

> another Lord seeking elixir
> seeking the transmutation of metals
> seeking a word to make change
>
> 變
>
> HOAI of SUNG was nearly ruined by taozers
> HIEN of TANG died seeking elixir

Whenever injustice, high taxes, frivolous palace life, inhumane treatment of criminals, and thirst for war take hold, these are signs of change; but, for Pound, those redirections of culture that abandon the way of Yao, Shun, and Yu were the same as deserting Confucius's teachings. Pound associated these destructive and debilitating actions with a turn to religion by the ruler. Rulers who were not *ren* dabbled in the religion of the taozers, seeking immortality through their elixirs; and they put burdens on the poor and hungry by using resources to open thousands of temples to curry the favor of the Buddhists rather than to aid those in need. Tu Weiming (1992, 4) holds that Pound had a clear understanding that "the religiousness of Confucianism does not rest on the mysterious atmosphere of a personal God, but rather on the solemnity, transcendence, and infinity of the self-

development of the individual." Pound insisted that Confucianism was humanism, not a transcendent religion. Feng Lan (2005, 147) concludes: "For Pound, one particular advantage of Confucianism was its unswerving humanist orientation, which places the human individual, not the Divinity, in the centre of its theological considerations." In Canto LVI, Pound used 變 to communicate not just the history of China but the enduring universal truth that, when rulers turn their attention away from the vast needs of their people and focus on transcendent quests, they deviate from their primary responsibilities and fail to live up to the people's expectations. Most often, their sovereignty would subsequently collapse. This kind of change is dangerous and destructive.

De Mailla's history of China reports that heaven (*tian* 天) will find a way to show its displeasure at the abandonment of Confucian values and ideals, but this displeasure is not thought of as a divine judgment upon humanity. As used in this sense, *heaven* does not refer to a transcendent, personal deity who will punish the ruler or people. The displeasure of heaven refers to a set of catastrophes which people would be prepared to manage if they were walking the Confucian way. Pound's poetic mirror converts de Mailla's narrative into these lines from two consecutive cantos in the "China Cantos." The first is from Canto LV (1948, 39):

> Dry spring, a dry summer
> locusts and rain in autumn
> and beyond that, lack of specie
> tax collectors inhuman.

The second is from Canto LVI (1948, 48):

> all mulberries frozen in Pa Yang
> Where were two million trees and beyond that
> Literati fought fiercer than other men
> Hail breaking the trees and walls
> in I-Tching-tcheou
> Crops gone.

Likewise, while de Mailla spends pages describing the fall of the Yuan 元 dynasty (1271–1368), Pound summarizes it all in one line (1948, 54), using the ancestral epigram for the courtesy name of Confucius, Chung Ni, in his poetic mirror:

> Mongols are fallen
> from losing the law of Chung Ni 仲尼
> (Confucius)

As Pound drew the "China Cantos" to a conclusion, he quoted Yung-cheng (the Yongzheng 雍正 emperor, r. 1722–35) of the Qing dynasty. Pound said that Yongzheng was an able scholar and student of the true sages. Yongzheng emphasized the importance of each person making it new every day by using the character for "happiness" (*fu* 福) in this way in Canto LXI (1948, 84):

> A man's happiness depends on himself,
> not on his Emperor
> If you think that I think that I can make any man happy
> you have misunderstood the FU
>
> 福

Pound wrote these lines to underscore the importance of each individual's following a Confucian way of life. In so doing, he anticipated work that is now being continued by the so-called New Confucians.[6] The New Confucians are current thinkers in China and North America who seek to appropriate Confucian values for use in the rising postmodern, globally interdependent world.

Pound's "China Cantos" as an Intaglio

As a humanist discourse against the malaise and decay of modernity, Pound's "China Cantos" occupies a significant place in the history of Western engagement with Confucianism. In fact, Pound did something that even the New Confucians have not yet tried: He held up a mirror to China's long history to show how Confucian values, when appropriated for each new age, may stabilize the political system and allow the individual to flourish. Pound never tried to write a strictly objective history of China. Instead, he offered Confucian values as a model for society and human relationships. Pound felt these values are part of the permanent foundation of common humanity, the deviation from which leads universally to despair and violent exploitation of others (Lan 2005, 194).

In Canto LXXIX (1948, 64), from the "Pisan Cantos," Pound takes two characters from the *Analects* and deliberately uses them to express his theme that words can act as mirror images, but their effect lies in what the reader does with them. He adopts the Confucian concept *ci da* 辭達, which means "to use words to get ideas across," in the following way:

> the imprint of the intaglio depends
> in part on what is pressed under it

the mould must hold what is poured into it
in
discourse
what matters is
to get it across e poi basta[7]

辭達

Pound's "China Cantos" acts as an intaglio. The components of the work mirror onto the reader the great truths that Pound believed: Whenever Confucian ideas are put into action, the human experience is the better for it. If the West could appropriate these ideals and values, its decay and destruction could be healed.

Notes

[1]Pound used his own Romanization system for Chinese characters, but he was acquainted with the older British system known as Wade-Giles. To avoid the idiosyncrasy of Pound's system and to make it easier for the reader to follow the references as they come up in scholarly writing on *The Cantos*, John Nolde (1983, 435–40) includes an appendix that puts Pound's system alongside the Wade-Giles system for many Chinese names and dynasties. In this article, except when quoting from Pound, I use the *Hanyu pinyin* system.

[2]All quotations from *The Cantos* in this article are taken from the 1948 New Directions compilation of Cantos I–LXXXIV. A *canto* is one of the main or larger divisions of a long poem, but scholars of Pound often refer to Pound's cantos as standalone units.

[3]It is now generally agreed that Fenollosa's essay is filled with various misunderstandings about the Chinese language; consequently, Pound's appropriation of the work has also been criticized, as has his understanding of Chinese characters exclusively as ideograms. One essay exploring Fenollosa's grasp of Chinese and his influence on Pound is Kennedy (1964).

[4]Near the end of the General Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer uses the word *sentence* to mean "best teaching" or "best lesson or insight about life."

[5]For an example of how the Confucian stance against the mutilation of criminals affected Christian proselytization in China, see Anthony Clark's "Early Modern Chinese Reactions to Western Missionary Iconography" in this volume (pp. 5–22).

[6]In China, these thinkers are known as *xiandai xin rujia* 现代新儒家 (modern new Confucians), and they are represented by Xiong Shili 熊十力 (1885–1968), Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 (1909–96) and Tu Weiming 杜維明 (b. 1940). See especially Tu (1985, 1993). In the United States, the New Confucians include Tu, Robert Neville, Henry Rosemont Jr., and Roger Ames, as well as other thinkers identified by Neville (2000). For a set of essays on the works of the key figures in this current movement, see Makeham (2003). And see pp. 232–34 of this volume for a review of a recently published collection of essays in honor of Henry Rosemont Jr.

[7]*E poi basta* is Italian for "and that is enough."

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 55–66

Jack London's Influential Role as an Observer of Early Modern Asia

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For his novels and short stories, Jack London (1876–1916) is regarded as one of America's most popular writers. Less known today is the fact that he was also an astute observer of East Asian politics, societies, and peoples. Working as a journalist for several newspapers and magazines, he filed numerous articles and essays covering the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5) and even foresaw the rise of Japan and China as world powers. This article provides an overview of London's journalistic and literary contributions about Asia, his insights into Asian ethnic and political complexities, and his vision for pan-Asian/American cooperation.

London the Journalist, Novelist & Essayist

Nearly a century after his death, Jack London (1876–1916) remains one of the most popular and beloved American writers. He is famous for his adventure stories in the Yukon, Polynesia, and across America; but he was also a renowned socialist and fabled journalist whose brilliant nonfiction work *The People of the Abyss* (1903) depicted the poverty and squalor of the low end of life in the capital of the British Empire. What is certainly less known about Jack London is that he was also an astute observer of Asia. His journalistic coverage of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) and his essays and short stories provide not only excellent coverage of the war but also a detailed view of social and political conditions in East Asia at the turn of the twentieth century. What makes London even more interesting was his ability to discern the potential power of both Japan and China and to predict their respective rises to dominance later in the twentieth century.

London's firsthand essays and photographs on the Russo-Japanese War present a very clear, in-depth picture of the early phase of the conflict. He filed at least twenty-four articles, each several thousand words long, to the Hearst newspapers. In his articles, he not only presented his own views of the development of the war but also analyzed the development of Korea, Japan, and China in their struggles to modernize and thus defend them-

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selves from the onslaught of Western imperialism. London's Russo-Japanese War articles, if ever published as an anthology, might well make the best contemporary work on the subject. His analyses of East Asian development, especially his views on the downtrodden state of China and its potential for greatness, were especially perceptive. London made uncanny predictions of a future Japanese invasion first of Manchuria and later of China, and he predicted China's rise as a world power. Any student of early twentieth-century Asia would do well to read London's insightful analyses that addressed political, economic, social, and cultural themes.

London was a very prolific essayist and fiction writer who prided himself on composing at least a thousand words a day. Many collections of his essays appeared during his lifetime, but, oddly, he never published his Asian essays as a whole. (A small handful appeared more or less randomly in other anthologies.) A much later collection of his journalistic essays (Hendricks and Shepard 1970) includes some of his war correspondence in Asia and Mexico, mixed with his avid sports reporting; but this collection makes no effort to highlight London's Asian pieces. A full, in-depth study of London's Asian writings would be an invaluable contribution to the field of early modern East Asian history.

One must remember, however, that London was much more a journalist, novelist, and essayist than a scholar of Asian affairs. Still, he was certainly not ignorant of the complexities of Asian culture and history. A dedicated reader of scholarly works on Asia, he consumed everything he could find by writers like Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904), whose work he lavished with praise in his essays. London very correctly focused on the role that China's conservative governing "learned classes" had on slowing the modernization of the country. London wrote that China would progress only when its masses rose up and overthrew their masters. On the other hand, London occasionally missed certain important elements and formulated several stereotypical views of various Asian societies. For example, he wrote that the Japanese were a nation of warriors who decried commerce (1909), ignoring the critical role of the merchant class throughout Japanese history.

London's Travels to the East: The Stirrings of a New Asia

London made two trips to Japan and East Asia during his brief lifetime. In 1893, at age 17, he signed on to the sealing schooner *Sophie Sutherland*, bound for the coast of Japan. He spent a raucous time in the Bonin Islands (today known as the Ogasawara Islands) and had a chance to explore Yokohama when his ship stopped there on its return to San Francisco.[1] London vividly described the trip itself in his acclaimed 1904 novel, *The Sea-Wolf*, but he did not mention anything in the novel about his stops in the Bonin Islands, Tokyo, or Yokohama while on the voyage. After his return, he

wrote several short stories based on his time in Tokyo and Yokohama, including "Story of a Typhoon," "Sakaicho, Hona Asi and Hakadaki," "A Night's Swim in Yeddo Bay," and "O Haru."[2] These stories reflect a deep affection for Japan and its people, especially those from the lower classes. They are also among the first pieces composed by the young writer.

London demonstrated his ability to depict the lives of ordinary Japanese in "O Haru" (1897), where he described the Japanese geisha:

> The *geishas* or dancing-girls are the brightest, most intelligent and most accomplished of Japanese women. Chosen for their beauty they are educated from childhood. Not only are they trained in all the seductive graces of the dance and of personal attraction; but also in singing, music, and the intricate etiquette of serving and entertaining; nor are their minds neglected, for in wit, intelligence and repartee, they excel. In short, the whole aim of their education is to make them artistically fascinating. In class, they occupy much the same position as do our actresses, and though many are frail beauties that grace the tea house festivals, here and there will be found gems of the purest luster.

A decade later, when he had already achieved fame as a novelist and short-story writer, he became the premier American correspondent covering the Russo-Japanese War.[3] His services as war correspondent and photographer for the conflict had been sought by *Collier's*, the *New York Herald*, *Harper's Magazine*, and the Hearst Press.[4] The latter had made the best offer, and going off to war had definite advantages for him besides financial gain. He would be well paid, would have a splendid adventure, and would be able to develop considerable material for future novels and stories.

London was both a keen observer and, as already noted, a hugely prolific writer. The only Western reporter to reach the front in northern Korea (along the Yalu River) and, later, in Manchuria, London's many lengthy dispatches not only describe the travails of war but also provide fascinating descriptions of people and life in Korea and Manchuria. When the Japanese eventually brought his reporting to a halt,[5] he wrote a series of lengthy essays wherein he compared the modernization processes of Japan, Korea, and China and made bold but surprisingly accurate predictions about the rise of China as a modern superpower in the late twentieth century.

London's essays on Korea, Japan, and China provide a penetrating analysis of the state of each of these nations a century ago. London clearly saw the stirrings of a New Asia, one that, when fully awakened, would directly challenge the West for world supremacy. He saw little use for Koreans, whom he found to be a physically powerful but immensely ignorant and servile people, totally unable to save their own country from wrack and ruin. London admired the Japanese not only for their unique ability to modernize so quickly but also for what he forecasted as their potential to awaken Asia from its sleep and to lead it to its renaissance vis-à-vis the West. But it was China, once awakened by the Japanese, that he predicted

would thrust small Japan aside and itself rise as the world's preeminent superpower by 1976.

London's View of Korea & Koreans

London actually spent most of his time in Asia traveling through Korea. When he arrived in Tokyo aboard the S.S. *Siberia* on January 25, 1904, after a difficult three-week Pacific crossing, he discovered to his horror that the Japanese had no intention of permitting foreign correspondents to travel to the front lines. Very strict censorship rules were in force, but London was not going to let a few Japanese censors get in his way. While other foreign correspondents passed the time in Tokyo-area bars and begged Japanese officials to let them join Japanese forces marching north in Korea, London caught two rattle-trap steamers in early February that took him to the southern port city of Busan and then along the Korean coast to Chemulpo, where he began a long march to Manchuria in tandem with Japanese forces.

The Japanese military was surprised when London suddenly showed up in Korea, but they were preoccupied with the movement of their own forces and tended to ignore London as long as he kept a low profile and did not interfere with Japanese military operations. London employed a Japanese civilian translator and a young Korean assistant as they moved north, just ahead of the Japanese army.

As he traveled from Seoul to Manchuria, London wrote numerous reports in which he offered his in-depth analyses of Koreans, Japanese, and Chinese. London was writing in an era when many of his fellow Californians had developed a strong sense of racial prejudice against Asians, especially those Japanese and Chinese immigrants who had settled in and around the San Francisco area. On occasion, London reflected some of these prejudices in his novels and essays, especially when he was writing about Koreans; but he more often showed genuine sympathy and respect for the Asians he encountered. In that sense, most of London's writing differs greatly from the anti-Asian diatribes found in many newspaper articles and books of the period.

London had little faith in the ability of Koreans to save their nation, but he was full of praise for the Japanese and Chinese, whose rise he predicted in his early writings: "The menace to the western world lies not in the little brown man [the Japanese], but in the four hundred millions of yellow men should the little brown man undertake their management. The Chinese is not dead to new ideas; he is an efficient worker, makes a good soldier, and is wealthy in the essential materials of a machine age. Under a capable management, he will go far. The Japanese is prepared and fit to undertake this management" (quoted in O'Connor 1964, 220).

One of London's first dispatches in early March 1904 belittled the Koreans as follows (quoted in Hendricks and Shepard 1970, 44):

> A stalwart race are the Koreans, well muscled and towering above their masters, the [Japanese] "dwarfs" who conquered them of old time and who look upon them to-day with the eyes of possession. But the Korean is spiritless. He lacks the dash of Malay which makes the Japanese soldier that he is.
>
> The Korean has finer features, but the vital lack in his face is strength. He is soft and effeminate when compared with the strong breeds, and whatever strength has been his in the past has been worked out of him by centuries of corrupt government. He is certainly the most inefficient of human creatures, lacking all initiative and achievement, and the only thing in which he shines is the carrying of burdens on his back. As a draught animal and packhorse he is a success.

London (1904b) developed an even more damning view of Koreans by the time he reached Manchuria in June 1904:

> War is to-day the final arbiter in the affairs of men, and it is as yet the final test of the worth-whileness of peoples. Tested thus, the Korean fails. He lacks the nerve to remain when a strange army crosses his land. The few goods and chattels he may have managed to accumulate he puts on his back, along with his doors and windows, and away he heads for his mountain fastnesses. Later he may return, sans goods, chattels, doors, and windows, impelled by insatiable curiosity for a "look see." But it is curiosity merely—a timid, deerlike curiosity. He is prepared to bound away on his long legs at the first hint of danger or trouble.
>
> Northern Korea was a desolate land when the Japanese passed through. Villages and towns were deserted. The fields lay untouched. There was no ploughing nor sowing, no green things growing. Little or nothing was to be purchased. One carried one's own food with him and food for horses and servants was the anxious problem that waited at the day's end. In many a lonely village not an ounce nor a grain of anything could be bought, and yet there might be standing around scores of white-garmented, stalwart Koreans, smoking yard-long pipes and chattering, chattering—ceaselessly chattering. Love, money, or force could not procure from them a horseshoe or a horseshoe nail. . . .
>
> They have splendid vigour and fine bodies, but they are accustomed to being beaten and robbed without protest or resistance by every chance foreigner who enters their country.

London wrote about the material poverty of the Korean people. He especially disliked the *yangban* 兩班 aristocracy, which he claimed to be ruthless in its suppression of the Korean people. He gave several examples where the Japanese would pay for food and supplies taken from a Korean village. The local aristocrat would collect money from the Japanese but would give only a quarter of it to the villagers, pocketing the rest for himself. Some of London's most compelling photographs from the war are of Korean refugees, dressed in white, showing the devastating plight of war on civilians. Especially poignant is London's (1904b) description of a young girl, perhaps no more than six or seven, carrying a younger sister on her back, a bandage covering the younger girl's hand, and a terrible, worried expression on her sister's face.

London on Japan

As a journalist, London was quite annoyed with Japanese government officials because they refused to allow Western reporters to actively cover the war at the front and because Japanese army officials and police detained him several times when he took pictures in sensitive areas or wandered too close to the front lines. Nevertheless, despite his disdain for Japanese officialdom, he certainly respected Japan's ability to modernize so quickly, and he often befriended ordinary Japanese. He employed a string of Japanese menservants during the last dozen years of his life, and he developed close friendships with each of them. London was sure that Japan was headed for greatness as a major world power, equal to the West not only in military and industrial power but also in terms of the depth of its religious and cultural heritage. He reported an exchange with a Japanese civilian after the Japanese army had won a battle in Manchuria—"Your people did not think we could beat the white. We have now beaten the white" (1904a, 107)—as evidence of Japan's self-confidence in its efforts to gain great-power status.

Americans, London noted, were infatuated and often surprised by Japan because of their ignorance of Japanese history and civilization. They had created an image of the Japanese based on their own culture and then expected Japanese to behave in a manner predictable to Americans. The reality, however, was that "we know nothing (and less than nothing in so far as we think we know something) of the Japanese. It is a weakness of man to believe that all the rest of mankind is moulded in his own image, and it is a weakness of the white race to believe that the Japanese think as we think, are moved to action as we are moved and have points of view similar to our own" (London 1909).

London respected Japan's extraordinary ability to modernize while other Asian states had not: "Japan is the one Asiatic race, in that alone among the races of Asia, she has been able to borrow from us and equip herself with all our material achievement. Our machinery of warfare, of commerce, of industry, she has made hers" (1909). London reflected that Japan had also developed a taste for empire-building like the West. He wrote that the Japanese are

> a race of mastery and power, a fighting race through all its history, a race which has always despised commerce and exalted fighting.
>
> To-day, equipped with the finest machines and systems of destruction the Caucasian mind has devised, handling machines and systems with remarkable and deadly accuracy, this rejuvenescent Japanese race has embarked on a course of conquest the goal of which no man knows. The head men of Japan are dreaming ambitiously, and the people are dreaming blindly, a Napoleonic dream. And to this dream the Japanese clings and will cling with bull-dog tenacity. (1904b)

London commented frequently on the collective nature of Japanese culture. While he admired and respected many individual Japanese, especially

certain Japanese generals who showed great courage and fighting skill, he was amazed at the Japanese ability to coalesce and at the high degree of patriotism he found. Writing in late 1904, he stated that:

> The Japanese is not an individualist. He has developed national consciousness instead of moral consciousness. He is not interested in his own moral welfare except in so far as it is the welfare of the State. The honour of the individual, per se, does not exist. Only exists the honour of the State, which is his honour. He does not look upon himself as a free agent, working out his own personal salvation. Spiritual agonizing is unknown to him. He has a "sense of calm trust in fate, a quiet submission to the inevitable, a stoic composure in sight of danger or calamity, a disdain of life and friendliness with death." He relates himself to the State as, amongst bees, the worker is related to the hive; himself nothing, the State everything; his reasons for existence the exaltation and glorification of the State.
>
> The most admired quality to-day of the Japanese is his patriotism. The Western world is in rhapsodies over it, unwittingly measuring the Japanese patriotism by its own conceptions of patriotism. "For God, my country, and the Czar!" cries the Russian patriot; but in the Japanese mind there is no differentiation between the three. The Emperor is the Emperor, and God and country as well. The patriotism of the Japanese is blind and unswerving loyalty to what is practically an absolutism. (1904b)

London's observations here come from an article that he entitled "The Yellow Peril" (1904b). *Yellow peril* was a derogatory term of the period meant to demean the squalor and poverty that typified Asia in the eyes of so many Western writers and political leaders. Although London used this expression in his title, his writing contradicted the typical view toward Asians. London respected both the determination of the Japanese to save their nation through modernization and the hard work and endurance of the Chinese whom he had encountered.

London on China & Predictions for the Future of East Asia

London also had considerable admiration for Chinese civilization and predicted that, when its people "woke up," it would become a world superpower, becoming so powerful by 1976—he predicted—that the nations of the West would rally together to curtail China's dominance. He found the Chinese to be intelligent, clever, pragmatic, and extremely hardworking. Tragically, however, China had been held back by a conservative governing elite who feared innovation and who looked to the glories of their nation's past, shunning chances to learn from the technologically superior West or from the recent achievements of the Japanese. London believed that the only hope for the Chinese would be a revolution from below, because the lethargic literati who governed China did so with an iron hand. The rulers would make no concessions to modernize China, for to do so would cause

them to lose their power and wealth. The real tragedy, noted London, was that so little had changed in China for centuries because the "government was in the hands of the learned classes, and . . . these governing scholars found their salvation lay in suppressing all progressive ideas." He continued as follows (1904b):

> The Chinese is the perfect type of industry. For sheer work no worker in the world can compare with him. Work is the breath of his nostrils. It is his solution of existence. It is to him what wandering and fighting in far lands and spiritual adventure have been to other peoples. Liberty to him epitomizes itself in access to the means of toil. To till the soil and labour interminably with rude implements and utensils is all he asks of life and of the powers that be. Work is what he desires above all things, and he will work at anything for anybody. . . .
>
> Here we have the Chinese, four hundred millions of him, occupying a vast land of immense natural resources—resources of a twentieth-century age, of a machine age; resources of coal and iron, which are the backbone of commercial civilization. He is an indefatigable worker. He is not dead to new ideas, new methods, new systems. Under a capable management he can be made to do anything. Truly would he of himself constitute the much-heralded Yellow Peril were it not for his present management. This management, his government, is set, crystallized. It is what binds him down to building as his fathers built. The governing class, entrenched by the precedent and power of centuries and by the stamp it has put upon his mind, will never free him. It would be the suicide of the governing class, and the governing class knows it.

London predicted that a Chinese revolution and future ascendancy would be triggered by a Japanese invasion of China. Looking to the future in 1905, London conjectured that Japan would never be satisfied with control over Korea. Just above Korea lay Manchuria, with its huge deposits of coal and iron, the very ingredients that Japan would need to expand its industrial empire. South of Manchuria lay four hundred million highly disciplined workers who, if harnessed by the Japanese, could become the factory workers and miners who would make Japan a truly great world power.

London's predictions for the future of East Asia are found in a 1906 short story, "The Unparalleled Invasion."[6] In this story, London foretells of the rise of China in 1976 as a threat to world peace and how the Western powers combated this threat through the use of biological warfare. Japan, after its victory over Russia, had moved into Manchuria and then China and had persuaded the Chinese to work with the Japanese as kindred brothers. This collaboration included building a vast modern Chinese army that was to be at the disposal of the Japanese, but then something happened that the Japanese had not counted on: The Chinese woke up. They realized their great power and own potential. It was time for China to throw the Japanese out and to seek its own fortune in world affairs! London (1906) described the situation as follows:

> China rejuvenescent! It was but a step to China rampant. She discovered a new pride in herself and a will of her own. She began to chafe under the guidance of Japan, but she did not chafe long. On Japan's advice, in the beginning, she had expelled from the Empire all Western missionaries, engineers, drill sergeants, merchants, and teachers. She now began to expel the similar representatives of Japan. The latter's advisory statesmen were showered with honours and decorations, and sent home. The West had awakened Japan, and, as Japan had then requited the West, Japan was not requited by China. Japan was thanked for her kindly aid and flung out bag and baggage by her gigantic protégé.

In the story, London predicted that Japan would go to war with China to be able to use China as a great workshop for their expanding industries, but he felt that this invasion would awaken the Chinese to the extent that they would drive out the Japanese and then become an industrial and military power in their own right. Japan then would become a peaceful nation no longer interested in remaining a major military power. China, too, was not a war-like nation—her strength lay "in the fecundity of her loins"; and by 1970 the country's population stood at a billion and was spilling over its boundaries. However, in 1970, when France made a stand for Indo-China, China sent down an army of a million men, and "the French force was brushed aside like a fly." France then landed a punitive expedition of two hundred fifty thousand men and watched as it, too, was "swallowed up in China's cavernous maw." Then, as China expanded, Siam fell, the southern boundary of Siberia was pressed hard, and all other border areas from India to Central Asia were absorbed as well as Burma and what is now Malaysia.

As the story continues, the Great Powers of Europe came together and decided that the Chinese threat must be eradicated. They sent a great military and naval force toward China, which, in turn, mobilized all of its forces. But although the great armies approached each other, there was no invasion. Instead, on May 1, 1976, an airship flew over Peking, dropping tubes of fragile glass that fell on the city and shattered. In due course, all of China was bombarded with glass tubes filled with microbes and bacilli. Within six weeks, most of Peking's eleven million inhabitants had died from a pandemic sparked by virulent forms of every infectious disease, including smallpox, scarlet fever, yellow fever, cholera, and the bubonic plague. Before long, much of the rest of China experienced the same catastrophe, and much of the country became an empty wilderness. London concluded his story by commenting on the downfall of China:

> Such was the unparalleled invasion of China. For that billion of people there was no hope. Pent in their vast and festering charnel-house, all organization and cohesion lost, they could do naught but die. They could not escape. As they were flung back from their land frontiers, so were they flung back from the sea. Seventy-five thousand vessels patrolled the coasts. By day their smoking funnels dimmed the sea-rim, and by night their flashing searchlights ploughed the dark and harrowed it for the tiniest escaping junk. The attempts

> of the immense fleets of junks were pitiful. Not one ever got by the guarding sea-hounds. Modern war-machinery held back the disorganized mass of China, while the plagues did the work.
>
> But old War was made a thing of laughter. Naught remained to him but patrol duty. China had laughed at war, and war she was getting, but it was ultra-modern war, twentieth century war, the war of the scientist and the laboratory. . . . Hundred-ton guns were toys compared with the micro-organic projectiles hurled from the laboratories, the messengers of death, the destroying angels that stalked through the empire of a billion souls.
>
> During all the summer and fall of 1976 China was an inferno. There was no eluding the microscopic projectiles that sought out the remotest hiding-places. The hundreds of millions of dead remained unburied and the germs multiplied themselves, and, toward the last, millions died daily of starvation. Besides, starvation weakened the victims and destroyed their natural defences against the plagues. Cannibalism, murder, and madness reigned. And so perished China. (1906)

It is highly ironic that London so clearly foresaw Japan's eventual seizure of Korea and Manchuria—and its long, difficult invasion of China. Most importantly, he saw that Japan would not be satisfied with the mere defeat of Russia and the seizure of Korea and small parts of southern Manchuria. He foresaw that the Japanese would want to become the powerhouse of Asia and that they would come to realize that they would benefit if they could employ the power of four hundred million Chinese working on their behalf. History tells us that Japan did indeed invade Manchuria for its fertile land and rich natural resources in 1931 and that it subsequently invaded China to force the Chinese to accept Japanese supremacy in Manchuria. A number of Japanese industrialists did indeed build profitable factories in several Chinese cities, and the Japanese military even installed its own puppet Chinese government in China. London correctly predicted that Japan's incursion into China would so enrage the Chinese that they would rise up and expel the Japanese. This awakening of the "sleeping dragon" of China was what, according to London, led to that nation's emergence as a major world power.

London the Internationalist

Many writers have accused London of being a racist and white supremacist. For example, his essays after leaving Manchuria have frequent references to the "Yellow Peril." In his 1904 article by that name, he wrote that the "yellow" Chinese and "brown" Japanese might one day embark on an adventure that would shatter the domination of the West. London's many political speeches as the Socialist Party candidate for mayor of Oakland, California, and elsewhere made it clear that he felt socialism would work only in advanced societies and would fail in less developed societies—until the inferior races were able to advance themselves sufficiently.

Although London may well have harbored some beliefs leaning toward white supremacy, he clearly admired many of the Asians he encountered and strongly urged a forum where East and West could exchange views and ideas on an equal basis. These are hardly the thoughts of a racist; rather, they are the words of a true internationalist. He resolved that Hawai'i was the ideal place for this encounter to take place and, in 1915, urged the creation of a Pan-Pacific Club where people of all races could meet to discuss the issues of the day.

In one of his last essays, "The Language of the Tribe," London described what he perceived to be some of the reasons for cultural misunderstanding between Japanese and Americans. He saw the Japanese as a patient and calm people, while Americans are hasty and impatient in their daily lives. According to London, these and other extreme differences made it difficult for Americans to understand the Japanese and to accept their immigrants to the United States as citizens. Needed was a place where both Americans and Japanese could come together and better understand their respective cultures. He wrote: "A Pan-Pacific Club can be made the place where we meet each other and learn to understand each other. Here we will come to know each other and each other's hobbies; we might have some of our new made friends of other tribes at our homes, and that is the one way we can get deep down under the surface and know one another. For the good of all of us, let's start such a club" (Wichlan 2007, 126).

London traveled extensively over the course of his short life. He encountered people of many cultures and empathized with the suffering of the downtrodden not only in the United States but also in Europe, East Asia, and the South Pacific. Yet he lived in California at a time when many of his neighbors supported openly racist legislation against the many Japanese and Chinese immigrants who had settled there. London took the time to know many foreigners as individuals and realized their potential worth as fellow human beings. Even as a very young writer he wrote stories and essays where he sympathetically portrayed the suffering and aspirations of Japanese, Chinese, and Inuit characters. His reporting in Manchuria emphasized the Chinese potential for greatness and the remarkable progress that the Japanese had made in the late nineteenth century. His writing on the squalor in London showed the disdain that people in Britain had for unfortunate individuals in their own country.

Jack London, unlike many writers of his time, was an internationalist who made a genuine effort to get to know the people and cultures in the lands that he traversed. His call for a Pan-Pacific Club was his final appeal for the West to remove its stereotypical view of Asians as inferior people who needed Western domination for their own good. He wanted his readers to get to know people of other cultures as real people. He also correctly foresaw the rise of a powerful new Asia and hoped that the West would develop peaceful and respectful relations with emerging nations like Japan and China.

Notes

An earlier version of this article appeared as "Jack London Reporting from Tokyo and Manchuria: The Forgotten Role of an Influential Observer of Early Modern Asia," Asia Pacific: Perspectives *8 (June 2008), 1–6.*

[1]For accounts of his adventures aboard the *Sophie Sutherland,* see Kingman (1979, 42–46) and O'Connor (1964, 50–55). Even though they lie 1,000 km south of Tokyo in the Pacific Ocean, the Ogasawara Islands—an archipelago that includes Iwo Jima—are administered as a village of Tokyo.

[2]Several of these stories were initially published in 1895 in *Aegis*, the Oakland (California) High School literary magazine, before appearing in other collections. London attended Oakland High School upon his return from the *Sophie Sutherland* adventure.

[3]Many renowned American journalists were sent to cover the war, including Richard Harding Davis (1864–1916), but London was the only one who managed to provide firsthand coverage of the war from the front lines. Davis and other reporters found themselves marooned in Tokyo because they lacked London's boldness in seeking and actually finding passage from Japan to Korea.

[4]London was also a respected photographer whose detailed images of the Japanese army in Korea and Manchuria were published in many newspapers.

[5]Japanese officials often warned London to stay away from the front lines in Korea and Manchuria. They frequently detained London, took away his camera, and finally expelled him from Korea and Manchuria in summer 1904 because of his failure to abide by Japanese censorship laws.

[6]In 1910 "The Unparalleled Invasion" was published by *McClure's Magazine* in book form, with the same title, together with several other short stories.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 67–83

Sustainability of India's Welfare System in the Context of Globalization: A Comparative Study of Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu

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In the globalization–welfare debate, the key questions are whether and how welfare states sustain themselves in the face of increasing international capital mobility and national competitiveness. This article situates the Indian case within the debate by examining India's sub-national welfare programs and systems. By analyzing the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme and the Tamil Nadu Pension Scheme, the author identifies welfare program design as an important factor in explaining the sustainability of state-level welfare systems. The author argues that the liberal and means-tested feature of the protective regime in Tamil Nadu tends to divide constituents' support for welfare expansion, leading, in turn, to lower public spending. On the other hand, the promotive nature of the welfare system in Maharashtra enhances universal social rights and thus shapes a broad political coalition among social welfare supporters, resulting in higher public spending.

Why the Indian Case Is Important

With the dramatic rise in international capital mobility and steadily upward trends in trade integration since the 1970s, the welfare states of Western countries have faced growing efficiency and financial pressure. In some countries, such as the United Kingdom, welfare benefits—including pensions, unemployment, and social assistance schemes—have, to some extent, been scaled back. In other countries, such as Sweden, the governments have maintained welfare spending in response to negative aspects of globalization. Accordingly, sustainability of welfare states has become the subject of controversy in the ongoing globalization–welfare debate. However, neither empirical research nor theoretical debate focuses on the welfare systems of non-Western countries such as India.

In the Indian case, the government welfare system has seemed to decline since the 1991 reforms, as implied by declines in both the Social Sector Expenditure (SSE)–GDP ratio and the SSE–Total Expenditure (TE)

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ratio. The share of social-sector expenditure in total expenditures declined from 38.5 percent in 1990–91 to 29.7 percent in 2004–5. As a ratio of GDP, too, social-sector expenditure declined during that same period, from 6.1 percent to 5.4 percent. However, one methodological question has to be dealt with before one can conclude that India has retrenched social spending during the post-reform period. In India, the state governments—rather than the central government—incur the bulk of social-sector expenditures. The percentage shares of the states and of the center in the early and late 1990s are compared in table 1, where the contribution of the sub-national governments to social-sector expenditures is substantial and much larger than that of the center.

After this methodological adjustment, one important fact about the Indian case attracts attention: Despite an overall declining trend, the fiscal priority for the social sectors (indicated by SSE–TE and per capita SSE) has shown a divergent trend across the states in the post-reform years. Some states, such as Maharashtra (in western India), have shown a rare increase in shares of social-sector expenditure in total expenditures, while other "traditional welfare states," such as Tamil Nadu (in southeast India), have faced a clear decline in similar areas. This article explores the welfare programs and systems at the sub-national level in India.

This piece is structured as follows: The next section offers a review of relevant literature and presents a framework for the analysis of welfare program sustainability. After that, the history and designs of two state-specific programs are discussed, and their effects on the sustainability of the programs are compared. The subsequent section constructs a welfare-spending index in order to conceptualize the welfare regimes in Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. The final portion presents concluding remarks, caveats, and directions for future work.

Welfare State & Literature Review

The Globalization–Welfare Debate

A large body of work has focused on the globalization–welfare debate. The theoretical basis for this debate was laid by Karl Polanyi (1886–1964) and advanced by John Ruggie through the concept of "embedded liberalism" (Polanyi 1944; Ruggie 1982). They have separately conjectured that the state must make a broader commitment to social welfare in order to temper the "pernicious effects" of international markets. Their concerns have stimulated theoretical and empirical enthusiasm about the consequences of globalization on welfare states and their policies. Thus far, three main arguments have been made concerning the relationship between globalization and social welfare spending: the "efficiency thesis," the "compensation thesis," and the "statist thesis." Conventional wisdom—the efficiency thesis—

TABLE 1 Share of States in Total Social-Sector Expenditures in India

Category	Share of States (%)	
	1990–91	1998–99
Medical & public health	90.7	89.3
Education, art & culture	90.3	88.1
Water supply & sanitation; family welfare	93.5	85.9
Housing	71.4	44.6
Urban development	85.7	93.1
Labor & employment	60.3	60.4
Socal security & welfare	92.3	89.2
Other[a]	18.4	21.2
Subtotal for social services	84.4	82.3
Rural development	90.3	64.2
Total	85.2	80.0

SOURCE: Sen (2003, 151), Table 6.2.1. Values originally computed from data available in the *Indian Public Finance Statistics*, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, 1995, 2001.

NOTE: Information in the table reflects percentages of actual expenditures by the center and state.

[a]Includes scientific services & research, broadcasting, information & publicity.

suggests that all states, regardless of their partisan compositions and national differences, would embrace neo-liberal policies in order to maintain international competitiveness in a globalizing world. As a consequence, governments would find it more difficult to protect citizens from market-generated risks and inequalities.

The compensation thesis challenges this argument by demonstrating that international market exposure actually induces greater government spending on redistribution programs that compensate for market-generated inequalities. Cameron (1978), Katzenstein (1985), and Rodrik (1998) have demonstrated that there has been a positive relationship between trade exposure and government social spending throughout much of the twentieth century. Garrett (1998) extended these arguments by analyzing the ability of labor-market institutions. He argued that globalization has in fact strengthened left-labor movements; and, if labor markets are highly centralized and well developed, labor and government can effectively coordinate economic performance with redistribution policies.

As distinct from scholars who put labor at the center of studies, members of the third group of scholars (e.g., Swank 2002) think of state institutions as a more important factor, thus advancing the statist thesis. Swank disputed the systematic and direct linkage between international capital mobility and social welfare policies by examining the national institutions of three different types of welfare states.[1] He concluded that the domestic political institutions in these countries (e.g., national electoral systems and decision-making mechanisms) mediate the adverse influences on social welfare from globalization.

The Search for an Indian Welfare Model

The above-mentioned arguments apply only to developed countries and do not sufficiently explain the changing trend of welfare spending in the Less Developed Countries (LDCs), such as India. This thesis is worth exploring because there has been a good deal of discussion about an Indian model of economic development, yet analysis of its welfare components is still in its infancy.

In Indian studies, two broad categories of explanations have been offered to explain variation in macroeconomic policy outputs. One category of explanations takes a bottom-up approach, indicating that redistributive policies are promoted along social cleavages, such as by caste, religion, and language. In the case of welfare-policy making, social institutions are employed, such as trade unions and labor movements, in explaining the possible expenditure patterns of labor welfare. Scholarship on trade unions argues that in the LDCs, such as India, unions are less capable of defending their welfare benefits than their European counterparts because of collective-action problems (Rudra 2002).[2] Rudolph and Rudolph (1987) referred to this situation as "involuted pluralism," arguing that fragmentation and multiplicity certainly complicate labor-management negotiations and are often exploited by management. However, this categorization operates at the national level and thus robs social welfare programs of variation at the state level. For example, in Kerala (in southwestern India), trade unions have historically been successful in collective bargaining with the state government in terms of social welfare issues, while Tamil Nadu cannot even see short-lived unity among its extremely fragmented trade unions. Moreover, this labor-centered literature, which maintains that the growth of a welfare state depends on a well-organized labor movement, ignores the fact that Indian labor unions are socially weak, given that most of them represent merely formal-sector workers, excluding large numbers of informal-sector workers. These unorganized laborers, which account for over 90 percent of the workforce, are the most disadvantaged by privatization and globalization and lack formal democratic means by which to negotiate with governments (Candland 2001).

The second category of explanations is based on a top-down model, emphasizing the role of the state apparatus—the polity's systems of collective group and electoral interest representation, as well as its structure of decision-making authority. Proponents of these explanations claim that the performance of governments is related either to the strong–soft state distinction (Rudolph and Rudolph 1987) or to the extent of deinstitutionalization of the Indian state (Kohli 1991) or specific party organizations (Kohli 1987) and party systems (Chibber and Nooruddin 2004; Palshikar and Yadav 2003). The most recent literature (Jenkins 2004; Sinha 2005) has found that lower levels of government, with their autonomy and capacity, have an independent or even intervening impact on the formulation and implementation of economic policy. However, these arguments are mainly focused on economic growth and investment flows in the reform years, leaving important welfare aspects of economic reforms untouched.

Rather than following the above-mentioned literature and treating policy as the result of political forces, I take policy as the *cause* of those forces: it often dramatically reshapes social, economic, and political conditions. Using past major policies as starting points, I argue that the long-term adoption of specific public policies provides incentives and resources for particular groups and that such policy responses lead to unintended consequences. According to Skocpol (1992), two major types of policy feedback are, first, the transformation of state capacities and, second, changes in social groups and their political goals and capabilities. The former type of policy feedback changes the incentives/resources of government elites, who create administrative possibilities to affect future prospects for new policies. The latter type of policy feedback provides motivations/resources for beneficiaries to mobilize in favor of programmatic maintenance or expansion. Over time, policy regimes will come into being with specific mechanisms, influencing the policy options in current and future years. The following section discusses the design of two state-specific welfare programs in India. Under the higher demand for reallocation of social spending in response to globalization, how does welfare-program design accordingly affect the welfare supply?

A Tale of Two States: Maharashtra & Tamil Nadu

India has achieved a GDP increase of around 6 percent annually since it embarked on economic reforms in the 1990s. However, rapid economic growth has only fueled demands for greater redistribution, especially since this growth is seen as increasing inequality. For instance, high economic growth generated job and income insecurity. Private enterprises used labor-displacing technologies to enhance labor productivity. Private employers who faced the rigid labor market in India favored short-contract and lower-

wage laborers to reduce overall production costs. Employment opportunities were thus reduced, especially for unskilled workers. In fact, employment growth in the formal sector has slowed since the mid-1980s and even stagnated in the 1990s. Casualization of employment increased considerably, from 27.2 percent to 33.2 percent, in the same time period. Another concern is the rising prices for basic goods such as food, water, elementary education, and health. For example, the relatively sharp increase in the prices of food grains has had adverse implications for the income levels of poor households. These changes highlight the imperatives of adequate social-security policies as well as sources to finance them.

Facing substantially increasing demands for social-security policies and funds, Indian state governments have responded differently. While some social programs and related spending have been actively expanded, others have been retrenched. This section takes a closer examination of the globalization–welfare nexus in two selected regional states, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, where many social and economic conditions were similar at the early stage of economic reforms, and where the central difference lies in divergent trends of welfare spending.

Maharashtra is India's third-largest state (after Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh) and is located on the western coast, with Bombay (the Indian financial and business center) as its capital city. Maharashtra had a population of 96 million in 2001. In comparison, Tamil Nadu is less than half the size of Maharashtra yet has about two-thirds of its population. It is a southern state, sited on the eastern coast, with a population of 62 million. Chennai, the capital city, is the base for the large Tamil movie industry. Despite the differences in geographic and demographic terms, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu are both capital-rich states, accounting for 28.32 percent of total private investments in India (Maharashtra, 18.43 percent; Tamil Nadu, 9.89 percent). They are also similar in terms of levels of human development and fiscal deficits.[3] All these factors imply that they are exemplary candidates to test the effects of policy contrasts on social-sector expenditure over the reforming years.

Rather than focusing on general redistribution programs (such as education and health), I focus on two specific programs at the state level which improve the well-being of vulnerable groups: employment guarantee schemes and pension schemes. I examine to what extent the programs are accessible to the poor; how program designs have influenced mobilization of the poor; and how program implementation affects government officials' political calculations.

Maharashtra: Employment Guarantee Scheme

Originating in 1965, the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) was designed as a state-level response to adverse economic and

demographic trends in rural Maharashtra. It guarantees employment at a defined wage, which is fully financed by the state. Since the bulk of the state's cultivated area is located in drought-prone areas, the EGS began as a relief program during the 1970–73 drought years, but it has continued to be used as a long-term anti-poverty program. In 1977 the EGS received statutory basis and has been operative as such from 1979. The law declares that "every adult person in the rural areas in Maharashtra shall have a right to work, that is, a right to get guaranteed employment . . . in accordance with the provision of this Act and the Scheme made thereunder."[4] After gaining statutory status, the EGS has consistently claimed between 10 to 14 percent of the total development budget of Maharashtra.[5]

Working as a promoter, the EGS has generated some unexpected benefits. First, by making an employment entitlement, the EGS promoted the rural poor to realize their common interests, to facilitate their collective political action, and to demand employment opportunities directly from the state. Influential organizations were aligned to lobby the government on the EGS and also on other welfare programs for the rural poor. For example, the Lal Nishan (Red Flag Party) in Ahmednagar district has supported the organization of the Ahmednagar Shett Mazdoor Union. Its leaders claim a membership of five thousand, of whom three thousand were organized as EGS workers. The Maharashtra Rajya Shett Mazdoor and Employment Guarantee Scheme Workers Samanvya Samiti were formed in 1981, with communicating with the government on how to resolve continuous local-level conflicts during EGS implementation as the main objective. More practically, the EGS design of concentrating large numbers of workers in one place helped to weaken social differences.[6] EGS sites thus became starting points for cooperative labor, irrespective of caste and sex. For instance, Joseph (cited in Dev 1995) analyzed the case of Rashin Village of Ahmednagar district, where the Dalit workers were organized not only to prevent caste discrimination in wages and nature of work but also to restructure the Panchyat (elective village council) and ensure Dalits' active participation in day-to-day Panchyat decision-making. Such influence was later extended to other villages. Also, the EGS discouraged sexual barriers and inequality. At least 40 percent of EGS workers are women, with wage rates equal to those for men. With employment opportunities outside their households, women have also been encouraged to be more active in public life.

Second, the EGS placed workers under a single employer (the state) rather than multiple and dispersed ones. Such direct relationship with the state has facilitated bilateral negotiation between the government representatives and the workers when disputes occur. Also, provision of employment by the EGS protected the workers employed in the private sector from exploitation by local elites. These provisions encouraged their politi-

cal independence and thus made rural politicians more responsive to demands of the poor (Echeverri-Gent 1988). Both the ruling and opposing parties had to compete for the resources generated by the EGS. For instance, the long-ruling Congress Party gained more political benefits than any other party due to its domination of Maharashtra's rural politics. In addition, the opposition parties also used the EGS as an important strategy to expand their memberships. The Janata Party's Shett Mazdoor Panchayat (Farm Laborer Assembly) claimed a state-wide membership of 24,000. In other words, the presence of the EGS has become another important factor that political parties have to consider in electoral competition—in addition to the traditional support from rural institutions that are dominated by elites: sugar cooperatives, district central cooperative banks, and private educational associations among them. As a result, the establishment of multiple political channels to represent workers' interests made politics more responsive to their perceived needs and thus increased the possibilities for sustaining relevant welfare spending, even in the context of globalization.

Third, besides the framing of rules and enactment of laws, the delivery system of the EGS also created circumstances conductive to collective political action by the rural poor. The processes of planning, budgeting, executing, and reviewing the EGS remain autonomous from other government departments. More specifically, the EGS is administered through an elaborate organizational setup. Initial planning is generally done by the Revenue Department, while implementation of EGS projects (e.g., irrigation, public works, agriculture—including soil conservation and forestry) is carried out by the various technical departments. The revenue department coordinates the technical departments, which are audited by the EGS committees (comprised of officials from the revenue and technical departments, politicians, and—at the state level—academic experts) that have been established at the state, district, and subdistrict levels. Echeverri-Gent (1988) argued that such matrix organizational structure is particularly suitable for an organization with competing objectives, each of which is equally important to achieve. I would further argue that the Revenue Department's coordination of work performed by the various technical departments and their decentralized planning have promoted job creation from a lower level, which has led to the sustainability and scalability of the EGS. For instance, when a work demand is made at the subdistrict level, the district and the state levels would ensure its realization in case of lapses at the lower level. Moreover, the direct negotiations within the EGS committees provide possibilities of reframing rules and monitoring implementation such that the program remains responsive to the poor. As a result, although the demand for EGS employment can be quite volatile, the well-structured administrative system guarantees the sustainability and scalability of the EGS in Maharashtra.

Tamil Nadu: Pension Schemes

Like the demand for rural employment–guarantee programs, the demand for pension schemes, especially old-age pension schemes, has been increasing quickly in the context of globalization. Two unique features of the Indian setting call for attention. First, the number of people above age 60 is growing at 3.8 percent per year. In 1991, the Indian population over age 60 was estimated at 70 million. This number will reach 113 million by 2016 and 179 million by 2026. Demographic data also suggest that life expectancy has been rising rapidly. Second, roughly 67 percent of earners have annual incomes greater than Rs 25,000 and can make pension contributions, but their meager contributions alone cannot support the entire system. The remaining 33 percent must inevitably rely on government programs when they reach old age. Many are poor and have no savings (Shah, 2005). Facing growing demand of pension spending, however, India has not been able to provide a comprehensive, population-wide pension system. Well-organized pension systems exist only for formal-sector employees in government, semigovernment, local, and private sectors, accounting for only about 10 percent of the workforce. Employees in the unorganized sectors have no formal security and welfare benefits either during their working lives or old age.[7]

Among all the Indian states, Tamil Nadu is renowned for its well-established pension schemes for the vulnerable poor. In Tamil Nadu, pensions are provided to five target categories of varying age groups, namely, old-age people (above 60), deserted wives, destitute widows, destitute physically handicapped, and destitute agricultural laborers. Introduced in 1962, the Old-Age Pension (OAP) Scheme was one of the pioneer pension programs in India, focusing only on those above the age of 60. The destitute widow pension scheme and the OAP scheme for the physically handicapped were introduced in the 1970s; and the schemes for deserted wives and destitute agricultural laborers were added in the 1980s.

Before 1989, these pension schemes were financed mainly by the government. For instance, social security for the elderly is a contractual arrangement that the elderly sign with the government. The government, in turn, finances social security by taxing the working young. In view of the high financial burden due to pension expenditures, reforms of the pension system have become critical in order to move gradually toward a contribution-based pension system.[8] Thus, such a contract between the laborers and the state was liberalized by the ruling Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam government in Tamil Nadu in late 1989; the contract is characterized by cost containment, modest contributory public sources, and private social protection. From 2003–4, the New Pension System has been implemented nationwide so that payment responsibility can be taken away from the government.

Different from promotive programs, protective programs are designed irregularly and are difficult to classify. The OAP scheme provides a typical example. First, its liberal and means-tested character has tended to divide

constituents' support for welfare expansion. Under the welfare-fund model, workers joined the fund, contributed to the growth of the fund, and received various types of social-security benefits in areas such as health, education, housing, recreation, water supply, burial allowance, gratuity, and old-age pension. Volunteer contribution paid into the pension accounts in different areas displayed quite different personal preferences, thereby dividing welfare demands among workers. In addition, the narrowly targeted pension schemes divide the beneficiaries into different age groups: the elderly (above 60), destitute widows (age limit 40), agricultural laborers (age limit 60), and deserted wives (age limit 30). As a result, pension retrenchment for one age group is less likely to ignite resistance from members of other age groups.

Second, the administrative system of pension schemes has not been as well structured as that for promotive programs (such as the EGS). India does not have any sort of universal citizen identification number. The lack of such a code limits the ability to conceive of a complex pension system, which makes targeting and scalability a difficult problem. Take the OAP scheme as an example: it is an administrative challenge to target those who are above the age of 60, as most of them never had birth certificates. Third, the liberal pension system based on two-party contributions (those of workers and employers) determines the indirect and complex relationship workers have with the state. Moreover, the feature of volunteer contribution resulted in the fact that workers withdrew contributions easily and frequently, which also played a dampening role in sustaining the pension system.

Conceptualization of Welfare Regimes in India

Was the fiscal retrenchment of pension programs an isolated event or part of a widespread fiscal deterioration in social sectors experienced in Tamil Nadu? Was the fiscal sustainability of the EGS program a representative case in the state of Maharashtra? A detailed examination of these states during the reform period brought to the fore several interesting trends in terms of both the level and structure of social-sector expenditures. In Maharashtra, the state maintained the ratio of social-sector spending to total expenditures at pre-reform levels, with a steady increase since the mid-1990s. Conversely, Tamil Nadu has seen a clear decline in social-sector expenditures as a share of total expenditures. In the mid-1990s, Maharashtra surpassed Tamil Nadu and took the lead (fig. 1). (Karnataka, which lies between Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, has also seen a declining trend.) The Maharashtra–Tamil Nadu contrast can be substantiated by per-capita social-sector expenditures. The gap between Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu has been increasing, with Maharashtra spending more on social sectors in the reform years (fig. 2).

Despite divergent levels of welfare spending, the structure of social-sector expenditure in Maharashtra and Tamil has been sustained, as shown

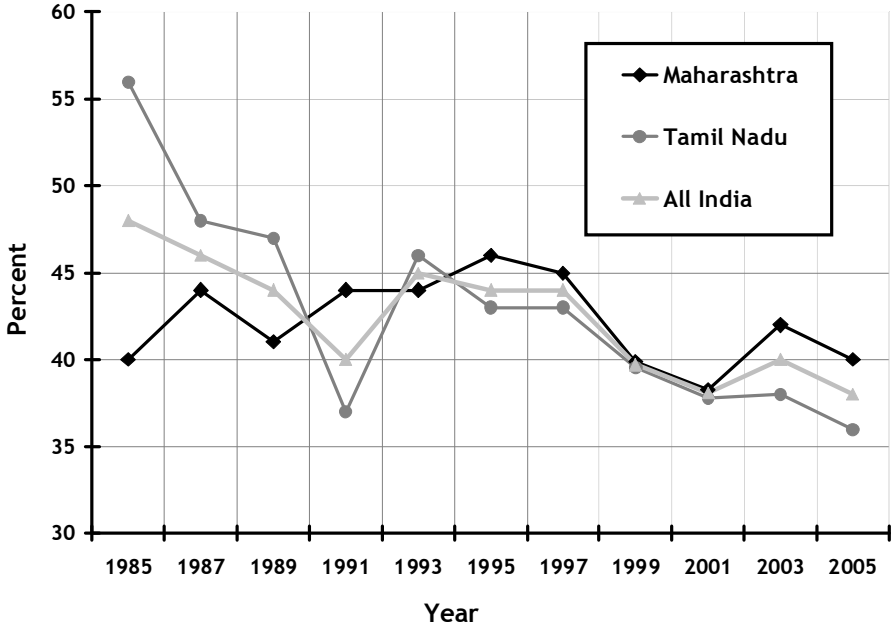

FIGURE 1 Social-sector expenditures as percentages of total expenditures in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, with Indian average, 1985–2005.

by the welfare regime indices (table 2). The welfare regime of Maharashtra, characteristic of promotive social-security measures, sustained its emphasis on such programs as rural employment and welfare programs for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, whereas the protective welfare regime in Tamil Nadu maintained its special emphasis over various protective measures such as pension schemes. Interestingly, the period of economic reforms served to reinforce this lopsided emphasis rather than to correct the distorted nature of social-sector expenditures.

What, though, about "social security"? Both narrow and broad definitions of the term are prevalent. According to the International Labour Office (1958), the provisions of social security were aimed at providing relief mainly to workers from specific contingencies. The concept was widely adopted in developed countries, but its application was problematic in developing countries, which are characterized by large informal sectors and high levels of poverty. Drèze and Sen (1989, 16) extended the scope of the term *social security* by arguing that the provision of social security in developing countries needs to be viewed broadly and "essentially as an objective to be pursued through public means rather than as a narrowly defined set of particular strategies."

Drawing from the above conceptual insights and from empirical lessons provided by state-level experiences in India, it is necessary to formulate

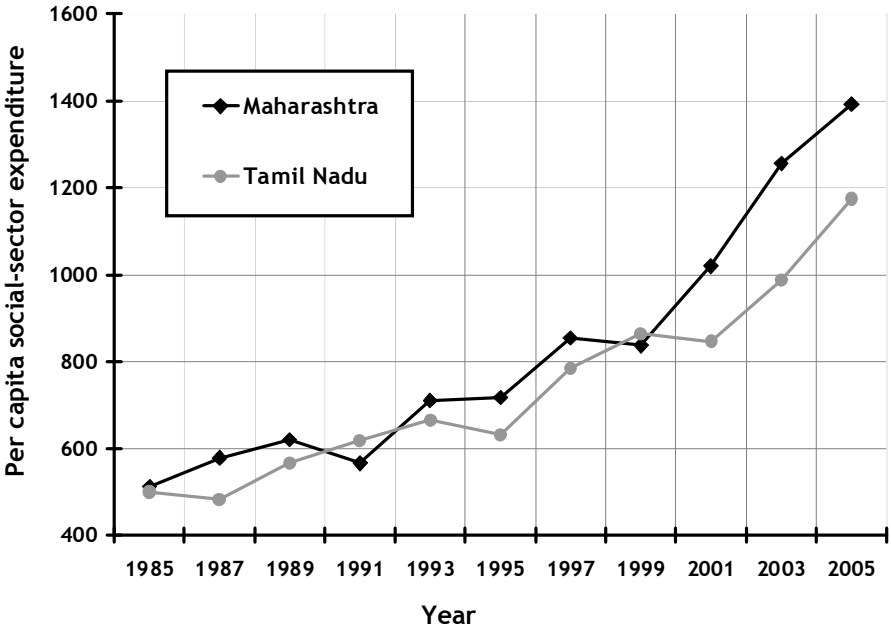

FIGURE 2 Trends of per capita social-sector expenditures in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, 1985–2005 (in rupees, with deflator).

working definitions of sub-national welfare regimes. In order to define social-security regimes adaptive to India's situation, I employ Drèze and Sen's (1989) wider definition of social security, which comprises two broad components, namely, promotive and protective social security. *Promotive social-security measures* refer to the expansion of basic population capabilities, which must be viewed as a long-run challenge. *Protective social-security measures* are concerned with protection from a decline in living standards as might occur in unexpected circumstances, such as economic recession or famine. It comprises specific measures for protecting the poor against deprivation but not to the same extent as promotive measures.

The definitions can be reflected in state-level budgetary allocations; and a tentative categorization could be as follows: The provisions of education, housing schemes, employment-guarantee programs, special schemes for entitlements, and basic capabilities for lower castes in government jobs and higher educational institutions are included in promotive social security. Protective social-security measures consist primary of health care through government health-care centers, public distribution systems, supplementary nutrition schemes, specific measures such as old-age pensions (for the destitute, widowed, physically disabled, and informal-sector workers), and social insurance and other benefits through the institution of welfare funds.[9] For comparable reasons, I have created two indices as the core indicators

TABLE 2 Conceptualization of Welfare Regimes in Maharashtra & Tamil Nadu

Category	1985–86	1988–89	1991–92	1994–95	1997–98
Promotive Index					
Maharashtra	103	101	104	103	102
Tamil Nadu	82	91	91	86	92
All India	100	100	100	100	100
Protective Index					
Maharashtra	90	95	87	93	93
Tamil Nadu	134	118	120	131	116
All India	100	100	100	100	100

NOTE: Indices calculated from *A Study of State Budgets, 1985–2005*, a data source owned by the Reserve Bank of India.

to classify the welfare regimes in India. The two indices are expressed as follows:

$$\textit{Promotive Index (State K)} = 100 \times \frac{\text{government expenditure on promotive programs in State K}}{\text{average government expenditure on promotive programs across 14 major states}}$$

$$\textit{Protective Index (State K)} = 100 \times \frac{\text{government expenditure on protective programs in State K}}{\text{average government expenditure on protective programs across 14 major states}}$$

According to these two indices, I define the regional states with promotive indices higher than 100 as "promotive welfare regimes" and those with protective indices greater than 100 as "protective welfare regimes." The former covers those that are prone to spending on promotive social security programs. Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh (the largest and most populous state in southern India) are the representative states. The latter category concerns those states that tend to spend more on the protective programs, such as Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

Such categorization becomes clearer upon examination of the reform period when Indian states had to reallocate public spending between economic and human development. The protective welfare regimes were more likely to face retrenchment, while promotive welfare regimes tended to be expanded or at least sustained. In my case studies, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu both show higher-than-average welfare spending at the beginning of

economic liberalization, but the two have significant divergence over time. Policy contrasts are likely to magnify this divergence.

Sustainability of Welfare Regimes to Be Reconsidered

A liberalized economy with higher growth trajectories tends to crowd out social expenditures to an unprecedented extent and to impair the state's capability in providing committed social-sector services. Facing similar pressures to retrench welfare spending, state governments have responded differently toward human-development programs. Program design is one structural factor that causes promotive welfare regimes to overtake protective regimes in terms of sustainability and scalability. Socially, promotive welfare programs are designed to be provided on demand to all. Such design creates large, cohesive constituency groups (the rural poor in the EGS case) that are organized around relatively generous, universal programs. As such, promotive welfare regimes provide notable veto points against welfare schemes and expenditure retrenchments through programmatic alliances and collective actors. Consequently, state governments characterized by promotive welfare regimes (such as in Maharashtra) are reluctant to retrench social programs and reduce welfare spending.

In the case of protective welfare regimes (such as in Tamil Nadu), interests are divided across liberal and cost-containment programs. Forging broad political coalitions in support of welfare expansion in response to increasing capital mobility is therefore more difficult. In other words, such program fragmentation across multiple protective schemes can lead to opportunities for proponents of retrenchment and neoliberal reform to employ "divide-and-conquer" strategies. As a consequence, social schemes tend to be tightened and welfare spending tends to be trimmed.

In addition, the promotive programs probably coordinate more easily with other developmental activities than do the protective programs. The EGS made a clear shift in the late 1980s toward integrating itself with other rural-development activities (Dev 1995). For example, the Jawahar Well Scheme and Integrated Rural Development Program have been combined with the EGS. The objectives of those programs, together with the EGS, are to promote employment to rural people in their own villages, to reduce pressures on the land, and to help village development (Maharashtra Planning Department 1992). In contrast, the protective programs seem difficult to integrate with each other because of the means-tested design. For instance, apart from the OAP Scheme of 1962, other pension measures, mostly introduced in the mid-1970s, were limited in scale (Guhan 1993).

Two caveats are important. First, it is inappropriate to contend that promotive welfare regimes clearly expand in the years of economic liberalization. As a matter of fact, in the late 1980s, the mobilization incited by

welfare demands declined. It is commonly argued that the ideology of globalization and economic liberalization had started finding acceptance among the Indian elite. The liberal, market-oriented design of welfare programs thus has been widely accepted among policymakers. Simultaneously, conflicts regarding strategies and ideologies among the leadership of social movements have created further dissension within the movements and have weakened their collective power. All these factors affected the implementation of promotive programs such as the EGS. Moreover, the volatile employment demand increased heavy administrative burdens. Droughts, natural calamities, and seasonal changes cause dramatic shifts in demand. Sudden increases also overload administrative personnel and resources.

Second, the traditional typology of social-security designs—promotive and protective—was created based on the objectives of these measures (Drèze and Sen 1989; Guhan 1993). In this article, I have suggested that the conceptualization of welfare regimes be based on the designs of relevant programs, with the promotive design more macroeconomic, sectoral, and institutional—and with the protective design consisting of more narrowly targeted safety-net measures that provide relief to those not covered by promotive measures. The approach in this article is to provide a preliminary classification of relevant welfare programs according to the above rules. Such efforts are yet to be sophisticated or effective enough for extended analysis. Thus, the various mechanisms for welfare delivery in India call for further investigation through answering the following inquiries: Who gets benefits? How generous are those benefits? How are the benefits administered? In what circumstances can the beneficiaries under the particular programs be mobilized and organized? And to what extent can mobilization and organization affect the current welfare policy options in India?

Notes

[1]Esping-Andersen (1990) grouped contemporary Western welfare states into three categories: social democratic, conservative corporatist, and liberal.

[2]Furthermore, Rudra (2002) argued that growing numbers of low-skilled workers relative to skilled workers, coupled with large surplus-labor populations, exacerbate the collective-action problems of labor in LDCs and make it increasingly difficult for them to organize.

[3]According to the Maharashtra Economic Survey 2002–3, the gross fiscal deficits as percentages of gross state domestic product in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu are 4.1 percent and 4.3 percent, respectively. As for human development indicators, these two states were very similar at the beginning of the economic reforms in terms of life expectancies, adult literacy rates, and death rates.

[4]Cited from the Maharashtra Government, Planning Department, 1981.

[5]The percentage declined in the late 1990s and early 2000, partly because of political changes and partly due to fiscal adjustment. Since the early 2000s, public spending on the EGS has rebounded.

[6]As Echeverri-Gent (1998) noted, especially in a multi-stratified society like India, such design can help expand the social awareness among the working poor of various castes and communities.

[7]India's pension system includes four major components: (1) the *civil-servant pension*: an unfunded defined-benefit (DB) scheme that applies to government employees; (2) the *Employee Provident Fund Organization*: a blend of a defined-contribution system (the "Employee Provident Fund") and a DB system (the "Employee Pension Scheme") that applies to private firms with over twenty employees; (3) the *public provident fund*: a tax-exempt savings mechanism that appeals to tax-paying, self-employed individuals on voluntary bases; and (4) the *social welfare pension schemes*: these cover the otherwise uncovered sector (approximately 90 percent of the Indian workforce).

[8]According to the Reserve Bank of India Report on State Finances in 2002–3, Tamil Nadu ranked first among all states in terms of pension expenditure, accounting for 10 percent of the expenditure of the total country.

[9]This categorization requires further investigation.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 84–101

The Relationship between Sufis and Inner Asian Ruling Elites

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Sufism flourished during the thirteenth century in the Middle East and Central Asia. The Mongol conquests have been given much credit, at least for the spread of Sufism, since Sufis immigrated—as did many others—to safer regions to avoid the destruction of war. Afterward, a variety of relationships developed between Sufis and Inner Asian elites during the period of the Mongol Empire, in the successor khanates, and eventually in other Inner Asian kingdoms. Still, Sufism and its relationship with Inner Asia, particularly among the Inner Asian elites, remains a largely neglected area of study. This article examines the historiography of the field and synthesizes what is known of the relationship between Sufis and Inner Asian elites. By examining Sufism and its position and attitudes from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, one can see a metamorphosis of this relationship from one of hostility to one of mutual benefit.

The Need to Examine the Early Sociopolitical Role of Sufis

Sufism, a mystical and emotive form of Islam, spread and flourished during the thirteenth century in the Middle East and Central Asia. The Mongol conquests have been given much credit, at least for the spread of Sufism, since Sufis immigrated—as did members of many other groups others—to safer regions to avoid the destruction of war. Later, as the Mongols of the Il-Khanate of Persia (1260–1335); the Jochid Khanate (1260–1480), known popularly as the Golden Horde; and the Chaghatayid Khanate (1260–1360) converted to Islam, Sufis played a major role in the conversion of the Mongols. Later still, Sufis played a central role in the affairs of the successors of the Mongols, not only in matters of religion but also in politics. Yet, beyond the scope of religion, what exactly was that role? And how have scholars approached it? How did the Sufis fit into the political structure of a nomadic and often alien court, government, and social structure, one that was tolerant of all religions but, at the same time, aggressively punished any religion that threatened its power? Although the issue of conversion of Inner Asian elites cannot be avoided in this discussion, the focus will be on these other important questions.

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The Period of Mongol Invasions

Although initial contact between Inner Asians and Sufis—called thus because they tended to wear course woolen robes known as *ṣūf*s—occurred prior to the 1219–60 Mongol invasions of the Middle East and Central Asia, it is more appropriate to begin this study with the 1219–20 Mongol invasion of the Khwārazm Empire. Prior to this invasion, a different milieu existed. The Saljūqs and other Oghuz Turkic groups were Muslim. Islam spread among them fairly quickly; and due to intermittent warfare and trade between Dar al-Islam (the "Abode of Islam," or Islamic world) and Dar al-Harb (the "Abode of War," or non-Islamic world) across the Syr Darya River, the Turks who migrated into the Middle East were not unfamiliar with Islam. Furthermore, the Mongol invasions were catastrophic in the sense that, to much of the sedentary world, the Mongols were an enigma. No one knew much about them prior to the invasions; it was difficult to understand their tolerance of all religions; and, in the Islamic and Christian worlds, the Mongols were seen a punishment from heaven. Thus, not only did the Mongol invasions manifest a real political and economic instability but they also created a true spiritual crisis for many Muslims and Christians. For the purpose of this study, however, the discussion will be directed only to the impact upon Muslims.

According to Potter (1994, 77), the Mongol invasions of Iran were crucial for Iran's religious identity—and perhaps for the identity of the Islamic world in general. Tensions between Sunni and Shī'a subsided; and the differences in the interpretation of the *Sharī'a* (Islamic Law) among the four Sunni schools of law, which sometimes led to large-scale riots, became less important. Although Sunnis rejoiced over the destruction of the 'Ismā'īlīs in Northern Iran, the end of the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258 meant that supreme political authority—more importantly, legitimization—came no longer from the caliph but through one's descent from Chinggis Khan (ca. 1162–1227).

Although Ibn Taymīyya (1263–1328) and perhaps others accused the 'Ismā'īlīs of encouraging the Mongols to invade, rumors existed that Caliph al-Nāṣir (r. 1180–1225) requested Chinggis Khan's aid against the Khwārazmshāh, Muḥammad II. Interestingly enough, the 'Ismā'īlīs informed the Mongols where the last Khwārazmshāh was located (ibn al-Athir 1979, 495). Despite accusations from both sides, many Sufis, particularly the Kubrāvīyya order, saw the Mongol invasions of Khwārazm and, subsequently, the rest of the Middle East to be the result of ninety years of misrule by non-Muslims—and for misconduct to Sufis. According to Sufis, the execution of a prominent Sufi, Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī, by Muḥammad II in 1219 was the true cause of the Mongol invasions (Lewisohn 1992, 30). The result of the invasions, they believed, would cause the meaningless forms of

Islam to disappear. In addition, they thought that the invasions were punishment for insincere believers, like Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh, who, in the eyes of some, were essentially infidels or worse (Lewisohn 1995, 57–58).

What the Sufis did not realize is that the Mongols did not come to correct the injustices toward "the friends of God," as the Sufis were often called, but to avenge the massacre of a Mongol-sponsored trade caravan. Furthermore, all Muslims in the region witnessed the sheer ferocity and power of the Mongol armies—and that no one was safe from their wrath.

Indeed, the Mongol invasions drained the populations of Mawarannahr, Khurāsān, and much of Iran. Not only were thousands killed through war (as well as during the hardships that followed) but thousands also migrated to safer regions. Many of the refugees were Sufis. The kingdoms of Fars, Azerbaijan, Rūm, and Luristan were all safe havens for the refugees. Even after Mongol armies reached these areas, they submitted rather quickly and thus were spared the wanton devastation that Khurāsān experienced. Most of the Sufis, it should be noted, went to Rūm or Fars, as their respective rulers offered the most patronage and protection (Jamil 1986, 21).

From the beginning of his reign, 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 1219–37), Saljūq sultan of Rūm, provided support and shelter for scholars and Sufis. Among the most famous who took refuge in Konya, the Saljūq capital, was Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn (1207–73). Indeed it is from his long stay in Rūm that Jalāl al-Dīn is best remembered today as Rūmī, the famous Sufi poet and mystic. He fled from Balkh in the Khwārazmian Empire to Konya in 1219, the same year that the Mongol invasions began.

Saljūq state officials also patronized Sufi refugees. Not all of the Sufis who arrived in Rūm fled from the Mongols. Indeed, Abū Bakr of Shīrāz, located in present-day Iran, and many Sufis—such as Sufi poet Shaykh Maṣalaḥ al-Dīn Sa'dī (d. 1291), who had been banished by the Salghūrid ruler of Shīrāz, Abū Bakr ibn Sa'd (d. 1260)—took refuge in Rūm. Still, the largest influx occurred in the 1220s when the Mongols arrived in Fars (Jamil 1986, 25). Thus, under such conditions and patronage, Sufism flourished in some regions. One scholar, K. M. Jamil, saw the period of Mongol rule prior to the Il-Khanate (1260–1335) as "a great time for the propagation of Sufi ethics" (1986, 31). Indeed, in these areas Islam transformed from an emphasis on legalism and outward piety to inward contemplation and spiritual growth. This transformation supported the rise of a popular religion often frowned upon by more formal Muslim jurists.

Many Sufis remained in Rūm and Delhi until the 1250s, when a new wave of Mongol conquests brought a stable civilian administration. Thus Shaykh Maṣalah al-Dīn Sa'dī, Shīrāz's most famous son, finally returned to his hometown in 1256. From the safety of their refuge, the Sufis proclaimed that God punished only nations that deserved it, particularly during the 1220s as the Mongols attacked only the former possessions of the Khwā-

razmshah in Central Asia and Northwestern Iran. Fars submitted in 1231 without a fight to the Mongol general, Chormaqan Noyan (d. 1241). Rūm remained independent from Mongol domination until 1243, when Chormaqan's successor, Baiju (fl. 1230–60), defeated the Saljūqs at Köse Dagh. Thus, during this period, the Sufis could delight in the misfortunes of the Khwārazmshah and his family, who were relentlessly pursued by the Mongols.

Rumors also existed that the success of Chinggis Khan was due to his "humble supplications before God" (Jamil 1986, 33–34). This rumor should not be misconstrued as praise for the Mongols but, rather, that even an infidel who demonstrated humility before God could work miracles. Overall, the Sufis thought that the Mongols would perish due to hubris. The Mongols' reliance on the merits of their own deeds would lead to their fall, according to Sufi philosophers. Goodness and greatness were granted only through Allah's favor. All of the Mongols' accomplishments were for naught unless they understood this, for Allah could revoke his favor at any moment (Jamil 1986, 33–35).

While the Sufis consoled themselves with this belief, the Mongols coincidentally held a similar view. (K. M. Jamil, who is perhaps the only scholar actually to examine the reaction of the Sufis to the Mongol invasions, overlooked non-Islamic sources in his evaluation of events.) Although it is doubtful if the Sufis knew of the Mongols' belief, the Mongols admitted that their accomplishments were only with the favor of heaven. In a letter to Pope Innocent IV (ca. 1195–1254), Güyük Khan wrote:

> These words of thine I have also not understood. The eternal God has slain and annihilated these lands and peoples, because they have neither adhered to Chingis Khan, nor to the Khagan, both of whom have been sent to make known God's command, nor to the command of God. Like thy words, they also were impudent, they were proud and they slew our messenger–emissaries. How could anybody seize or kill by his own power contrary to the command of God? . . . From the rising of the sun to its setting, all the lands have been made subject to me. Who could do this contrary to the command of God? (Dawson 1955, 85–86)

The Work of K. M. Jamil

As mentioned earlier, several scholars believe that the era of the pre-1260 Mongol invasions was a critical time not only for Islam but also for the growth of Sufism. Yet, of all of the periods in which Central Asia and the Middle East were under Inner Asian rule, this period has received the least attention. On its own, K. M. Jamil's *Sufis in the Mongol Era* (1986) is woefully inadequate to address this period, since half of the volume is devoted to Sufi doctrine and not to Sufi political, diplomatic, or social actions. It is fortunate, however, that Jamil's endeavors are in print. He examines how Sufis flourished by obtaining the patronage of the rulers of, for example,

Rūm and Fars. Thus, while Jamil has not pursued Sufi interaction with the Mongols, he has done much to further our understanding of the impact of the Mongols on Sufism on the fringes of the Mongol Empire and in reaction to the Mongols. He also investigates why Islam and Sufism not only survived but also grew during the period of Mongol invasions, a time wherein contemporaries themselves believed that the end of Islam might be drawing near. Jamil's conclusion is that in this time of temporal and spiritual crises, having faith and solace in religion was the only avenue of condolence open to Muslims (1986, 49). The emotive spirituality of Sufism, as found in the Sufi brotherhoods and Sufi-derived popular religion, provided more tangible comfort and expression than the staid Sunni practice.

Although arguing with his assessment of the situation is difficult, Jamil's methodology is somewhat flawed. Because he did not consult non-Islamic sources, he missed insights as to how another religion viewed the Mongols as the harbingers of doom. Of course, Jamil may simply have not wanted to use a comparative approach; yet his bias against the Mongols is nevertheless apparent. Jamil deplored the death of Sufis at the hands of the Mongols. In his writing, it is unclear whether he felt that the Mongols intentionally targeted the Sufis or whether they were just often victims of unfortunate circumstances (1986, 27–29). Although the Mongols' toleration of all religions is well known, during the plundering of cities and in warfare, it is doubtful if the common Mongol soldier cared if an individual was of a particular religion or a holy man.

On the other hand, Jamil examines how the Sufis, when not in flight, preached for total resistance against the Mongols. They essentially espoused a guerilla war against the Mongols. Furthermore, they urged Muslim leaders to unite against the Mongols. Much like the similar efforts of Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshah, they went unheeded (1986, 35). One may wish however, that he had explored this aspect more in his work.

The Work of Leonard Lewisohn

Another scholar who has ventured into the study of the Sufis during the period of the Mongol invasions, Leonard Lewisohn, has done so by studying the poetry and literary works of the Sufis. Most of his work, however, is centered on the Il-Khanate era (1260–1335). Like Jamil, Lewisohn has noted that the Mongol invasions prompted the flowering of Sufism in Persia. To Lewisohn, "the most significant change which did occur during the Mongol period was the establishment of Islam on a Sufi foundation" (1995, 83). All of the Sufi orders within Central Asia and Persia—such as the Kubrāvīya, Nurbakshīya, Naqshbandīya, and Ni'matu'llāhīya—grew, probably due to economic advantages given to mosques and *khānqāh*s (houses or hospices where Sufis lived and gathered) built during the reign of the Il-Khans, the period during which many of the orders came into ex-

istence. Nonetheless, the same situation may be applied to Sufis prior to the Il-Khanate. This similarity should not be construed as a preference by the Mongols toward Islam during the period of the invasions, but rather as a general policy of toleration. Mongol nobility were well known for their charity toward religious figures and places. Although they were Nestorian Christians, Sorqoqtani (d. 1252), Doquz Khatun (d. 1265), and other princesses often donated money to mosques, madrasas (schools), Buddhist temples, and other shrines.

Lewisohn's work, particularly in his research into Sufi poetry, is very insightful. He observed that Sufis used poetry as a form of social commentary. Much of it was directed against the Shī'a for bringing in the Mongols, perhaps alluding to the 'Ismā'īlīs' alliance with the Mongols against the Khwārazm Shāhs (May 2004). Other poems were directed against the Mongols (Lewisohn 1995, 28–29).

In general, however, Lewisohn's work is rather sedentary centric, as he does not appear to understand the Mongol culture. One example is that he wrote that Buddhism was the state religion of the Mongols. He concluded that this situation forced the Muslims to tolerate the presence of Buddhism and that it was also "leading among the factors to the rise in the popularity of Sufism" (1992, 32). Although the influence of other religions may have led to a more syncretic form of Islam, which often appears to be the guise of Sufism, Buddhism was certainly never the state religion of the Mongols. Certain Khans during the Il-Khanate era may have had a predilection for it; but the Mongols did not establish a state religion—except in the cases of Uzbek Khan in the Golden Horde and Ghazan Khan in the Il-Khanate, which, in both cases, was Islam. Even Kublai Khan (1215–94), who perhaps was the most important proponent of Buddhism, never made it the official religion, although, to Muslims and Daoists, the favor given to Buddhists certainly gave it the appearance of a state religion. Furthermore, shamanistic elements appear to be more common in Sufism than Buddhist elements, particularly among antinomian Sufis.

It is difficult to agree with Lewisohn's opinions concerning the works of Rashīd al-Dīn and Juvainī, two Persians who served in the Mongol administration. Often he compares the Mongols to the Nazis of the twentieth century; and he compares Rashīd al-Dīn, Juvainī, and the non-nomadic officials of the Mongols to the officials in the Vichy government of France: unwilling accomplices, but with little choice but to cooperate (1995, 58–59). He also declared that there was a greater freedom of speech and thought in the Mongol period than during the Saljūq period, which helped accelerate the rise of Sufism (1992, 32). Yet, how can one relate freedom of speech to a totalitarian regime? The Mongols could not be considered a democracy, but neither could they be classified as a totalitarian government.

Certainly, the military adroitness and dominance of the Mongols could be compared with the German Wehrmacht of the Nazi era; but, in spite of the number of casualties inflicted by the Mongols on civilian population, the Mongols neither established an Auschwitz nor committed genocide, with the exception of the Tatars during the rise of Chinggis Khan. (And that was more a matter of practicality and revenge for previous offenses committed by the Tatars. Furthermore, the Mongols tended to eliminate only the elite figures of a group and then simply absorb the rest of the tribal populace.)

Moreover, it is questionable if one may compare Rashīd al-Dīn or Juvainī to Vichy officials. Although both rose to positions of prominence, Rashīd al-Dīn as the *wazīr* of the Il-Khanate and Juvainī as the governor of Baghdad, their writing is neither lavish praise of nor apologia for the Mongols. One cannot deny, though, that they do write favorably of the Khans and certain members of the Mongol court. Yet they also praise many of the enemies of the Mongols. Juvainī, for example, writes in glowing terms about perhaps the most elusive and frustrating of the Mongols' enemies: Jalāl al-Dīn. Furthermore, Juvainī was delighted when the Mongols destroyed the 'Ismā'īlī' strongholds in Iran (Juvainī 1998, 722–23). Lewisohn's criticism of Rashīd al-Dīn and Juvainī, while valid on the point that they held a pro-Mongol bias, is misplaced, particularly when he states that freedom of speech and thought existed within the Mongol realm. Nonetheless, Lewisohn's contribution to the study of Sufism in the medieval period cannot be ignored; but scholars must be cautious about his interpretation of Mongol power relationships.

The Work of Monika Gronke

A third scholar who has ventured into the topic of Sufism in the invasion period is Monika Gronke. She acknowledges that Sufism played a political role in that the Sufis worked with the Mongols but also organized rebellions and resistance against them. One example of rebellion was that of Maḥmūd Tarabi, who led the revolt of Bukhara in 1239–40 (Gronke 1997, 207). The relations of the Sufis toward the Mongols, however, are more of a sidebar to her focus, which is popular religion in thirteenth-century Iran.

The central point of Gronke's work is that shaykhs, or Sufi leaders, would and did become rivals. Often their followers actually became engaged in combat. These battles further caused their followings to be somewhat fluid. Often shaykhs on the losing end of these rivalries saw their followings dwindle as the adepts transferred loyalties to other shaykhs or, perhaps disillusioned, even abandoned Sufism altogether and adopted a more orthodox form of Islam (1997, 216).

Gronke also takes a Weberian stance in viewing that Islam, like most religions, has a division between "high" religion and popular religion. She

does, however, recognize that it is difficult and often impossible to determine where Sufism ended and orthodoxy began (1997, 206–7). Her work is well researched and written; one may only hope that she continues to work in this time period and perhaps broaden her research focus.

The Il-Khanate Era (ca. 1265–1340)

The majority of work concerning Sufism and the Mongols, or any other Inner Asian groups, falls in the period of the Il-Khanate of Persia, roughly between 1265 and 1340. The Jochid Khanate (more popularly the "Golden Horde," 1260–1480) and the Chaghtayid Khanate (1260–1360) must also be included here, although both khanates existed longer than did the Il-Khanate.

During this period, the Mongols began to convert to Islam and see it as the dominant religion. Why and how the Mongols converted is beyond the scope of this study. Still, a brief review of the conversions is necessary to understand the context of the era. The traditional view of the role of Sufis among the Mongols during this period was that they were instrumental in the conversion of both the Mongols and the Turkic tribes associated with them. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü was perhaps the first to espouse the opinion that the similarity between the Inner Asian shaman and the Muslim mystic made the Sufi the natural agent for the Islamization of the Mongols (Köprülü 1993, 11; Amitai-Preiss 1999, 27). The syncretic appeal of the Sufi eased the transition.

Reuven Amitai-Preiss, on the other hand, takes another view. He argues (1999, 28–29) that the conversion of the Il-Khanate was due to moderate or institutional Sufis who were close to the ruling circles and not to the more extreme Sufis or dervishes to which Köprülü alludes. The dervishes and antinomian Sufis were closely tied to the shamans of Inner Asia as they either resembled them or had defeated them in religious and magical feats. And although the term *dervish* has become associated with Sufism in general, in the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, a dervish in the eyes of the establishment was one who combined asceticism with deviant behavior in action and physical appearance.

The first Il-Khan to convert was Tegüder b. Hülegü (r. 1282–84). Some writers believed that he was converted as child after exposure to the influence of Aḥmadīya and Rifā'īya Sufis. Tegüder was actually more involved with Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who could be classified as somewhere in between the antinomians and the institutional Sufis. Al-Raḥmān, somewhat of a Rasputin, ingratiated himself with the female nobility through legerdemain rather than through Islam. The Mongol elite and the 'ulamā' (the collective body of Sunni jurists, scholars, and theologians), on the other hand, had little respect for him and considered al-Raḥmān simply a dervish

(Amitai-Preiss 1999, 30–31). Naturally, after Tegüder fell from power, al-Raḥmān's influence also declined.

The next ruler was Arghun (r. 1284–91), who maintained a more orthodox form of Islam, although he also visited the tombs of certain Sufi saints—but this, according to Amitai-Preiss, may have been not for devotion but for "celestial insurance" (1999, 32–33). In addition, Sufis, whom Ahmet Karamustafa would classify as "institutional" or more mainstream, frequented the court. These included the Kubrawī shaykh, 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnāni (d. 1336), and Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ḥammūya, also a Kubrawīya Sufi, who later converted Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304) to Islam. Amitai-Priess's rationale that the institutional Sufis rather than the antinomian Sufis and dervishes were the true key to Mongol conversion is largely due to activities during this period.

Although many Mongols still retained shamanic practices, many of these had been suborned through syncretic forms of Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. As the Mongol court grew increasingly sophisticated in culture and tastes from the time of Chinggis Khan, so did their religious sensitivities. Throughout the era of the Mongols, debates between religious authorities took place in the Mongol court. The travel accounts of William of Rubruck (ca. 1220–93) and John of Plano Carpini (ca. 1180–1252) provide vivid accounts of these encounters. Prior to the breakup of the Mongol Empire, most of the contestants all returned home thinking that they had won the debate and converted the Khan (May 2006). After the dissolution of the Empire, the various khanates vied for power and influence beyond their own borders. One such conduit was through religion. During the Sufi visits, we see also a new purpose in the religious debates: determining a religion. Whereas conversion from shamanism to another religion appears to have been conducted via a duel between shaman and other contender, in the cosmopolitan court of the Il-Khans, religion was decided through oratory. One such debate involving Simnānī and Buddhist monks lasted eighty days, with Simnānī emerging triumphant.

After Ghazan's conversion to Islam, Sufis became more prominent. Indeed, several were in Ghazan's entourage at all times as scholars and administrators. His relations with Sufis, however were not untroubled. When he heard of a conspiracy of Sufis against him, the Sufis were rounded up and executed. Keeping with general Mongol tradition, religion was fine, as long as it did not interfere in politics. Still, Ghazan was inducted into Sufism in 1303. He wore a woolen cloak and was secluded from court for forty days on a retreat. It is not clear, however, if Ghazan truly understood the symbolism of the cloak. Amitai-Preiss believes that many scholars have read too much into his induction into Sufism (1999, 34). Much like the Christian popes and kings who heard rumors that the Mongol khans were Christian, most scholars of Sufism also focus too much on this event and ignore Mongol tradition and custom.

Another example of scholars fixating on unsubstantiated claims is that, although dervishes did exist in the royal circles of the Il-Khanate, the sources clearly reveal that the moderate Sufis exercised more influence and power (Amitai-Preiss 1999, 34–35). Yet why was this? Amitai-Preiss suggests three factors. The first was that the Mongol khans were influenced by the scholars and administrators who were of the 'ulamā' or who were institutional Sufis. Second, the Mongols may have also remembered the role of Sufis in rebellions. Third, antinomian Sufis, by definition and nature, rejected patronage by the authorities. Therefore, they could never be a true influence at the court (1999, 36–37).

Amitai-Preiss has not limited himself to examining only the relations between the court and Sufis. Although he acknowledges that the position of the average Mongol toward Sufism is not well known, there is some evidence that younger Mongols were attracted to the dervishes. In many ways, this inclination mirrors the disestablishment attraction of modern youths. Here may be another reason why the Mongol elite did not support Tegüder, because his mentor, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, cultivated a following of younger Mongols (Amitai-Preiss 1999, 37).

Amitai-Preiss's research does not indicate any evidence that the Il-Khans were attracted to Sufism because of a resemblance to shamanism. And if it did, Amitai-Preiss asks, then why did the Mongols reject the antinomian dervishes who had more in common with the Inner Asian shaman than they did with the institutional Sufis (1999, 38–39)?

Leonard Lewisohn's work in the Il-Khanate period focuses once again on the poetry and other literature of the Sufis; but he also looks at the patronage of Sufism by the Il-Khan's court. In this period, the literary works of the Sufis indicate a peaceful and advantageous relation with the Mongols. As for the Mongols, their relationship with the Sufis is best indicated through their patronage of Sufism and Sufis. It was due to their patronage that Sufism perhaps experienced a renaissance (Lewisohn 1995, 72–74). The Mongol Khans, their amirs, and administrators took the lead in providing economic assistance to the Sufis. Mongol leaders and administrators established *waqf*s (religious endowments) to support the *khānqāh*s of various orders, including those of antinomian Sufis (1995, 111). Öljeitü Khan (r. 1304–16) even built a mausoleum for Bayazid al-Basṭāmī (d. 874), a Sufi who is best known for his utterances while in an ecstatic state. Although Sufis looked upon these utterances as proof of Basṭāmī's intimacy with the divine, the 'ulamā' viewed him as blasphemous. During this time, Tabriz, the Il-Khanate's capital (in present-day northwestern Iran), was a center of Persian literature and Sufism. Evidence of Sufi support for the Il-Khanate and vice versa is illustrated by the fact that some Sufis composed lengthy poetic eulogies for Khans, mourning their deaths (1995, 76).

The Sufis & the State during the Il-Khanate Era

The growing relationship between the Sufis and the state has been noted by several scholars. As Sufis often played an integral part in the conversion of Inner Asian leaders, Sufis often became the primary religious authorities within the court (Potter 1994, 55). As noted previously, they occasionally gained influence by debating rival religions; but, with the adoption of Islam, their only true competition came from members of the 'ulamā'. Furthermore, the conversion of the Khans often led to the conversion of the army, which in turn led to a quicker assimilation into Iranian or Turkic society. Thus we have seen an expansion in the role of the Sufi in the Il-Khanate from that of just a spiritual leader of Muslims to a diplomat in the service of the state. This new position evolved into a standard role for Sufis throughout the history of Inner Asian ruling elites.

Under Il-Khanid patronage, Sufism flourished and reached new heights. Al-Rūmī, Sa'dī, and Ṣafī al-Dīn (the founder of the Safavid Sufi order) were among the beneficiaries of Il-Khanid support for Sufism. Between the years 1304 and 1365, the number of shrines related to Sufis increased, often because of economic support from a representative of the Il-Khans (Potter 1994, 78–79). Indeed, the munificent patronage of Sufism by the Mongols—and the resulting impact of Sufism on other areas across the Il-Khanate—has gained new appreciation (Lane 2003). The most significant religious event in the Il-Khanate era, however, was the rapid spread of Sufis. No longer were they just individuals and small bands, as they were prior to and during the period of Mongol invasions (Potter 1994, 78). Rather, they became large movements that included lay supporters and often a network of *khānqāh*s. Perhaps it is the spread and growing popularity of Sufism among the population—and among the Mongols—that necessitated the political and diplomatic role of Sufis, often in the form of mediators.

Even in 1246, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn, a Suhravardī Sufi, negotiated the surrender of Multan (in present-day Pakistan). Not only did the Mongols peacefully capture the city, but the shaykh was also able to ransom the lives and property of the citizenry (Potter 1994, 92–93). Nowruz, the Il-Khan general, used the Sufis Shihāb al-Dīn 'Ismā'īl and Qotb al-Dīn to mediate the release of a prisoner. This example is only one of many (Potter 1994, 93). Gronke determined that even antinomian Sufis were involved in diplomacy. Ghazan and Öljeitü often used Qalandars, perhaps the most well-known antinomian sufi group, in diplomatic ventures; Baraq Baha was one such example (Gronke 1997, 214–15). As I discuss below, Inner Asian elites continued to use Sufis in their diplomatic endeavors even after the collapse of the Il-Khanate.

Devin DeWeese on Sufism during the Il-Khanate Era

Perhaps the most important work on Sufism among Inner Asian–ruled societies is Devin DeWeese's 1994 monograph, *Islamization and Native Re-*

ligion in the Golden Horde, a study that spans from the Mongol period well into the Timurid (1365–1500) and Shaybānid (1500–98) periods of Central Asia. DeWeese's methodology is essential to comprehend: he examines Sufism from an Inner Asian perspective rather than from just a traditional Arab–Persian standpoint. DeWeese investigates how becoming a Muslim affected one's identity among non-Muslim Inner Asian groups. Although his study is related to conversion, it also falls into the domain of relations among Sufis, Muslims, and non-Muslims. In short, DeWeese argues that by becoming a Muslim, one assumed a new identity. The example he uses (1994, 60–66) concerns a Kalmyk prince who converted to Islam but was unable to convince his father or any other Kalmyks to convert. (Kalmyks were Mongols who moved to the Volga River in the seventeenth century.) The Kalmyk prince was ostracized and essentially considered dead by his family. In a setting such as this one, making the decision to convert to Islam had serious consequences. Perhaps this example may be applied to earlier scenarios and to hypotheses why there are no records of common Mongols converting to Islam until after the conversion of Khans. If a Khan converted, then one had protection, a precedent, and could therefore maintain one's identity.

DeWeese also uses sources in a manner from which many scholars could learn. By examining conversion narratives and epics, DeWeese is able to define cultural principles and also the viewpoint of the Inner Asian natives. Previously, scholars had relied primarily on etic sources. In the study of history, one may question the value of ancient oral accounts, many of which were passed down through the centuries before being transcribed. DeWeese's approach may also be applied to the use of hagiographies, which are often the only sources available for studying the lives of Sufis outside the Middle East.

So what, then, is their value in historical research? Oral tradition and hagiographies do indeed have little historical value in terms of sequence and reliability of events, but they do reveal much about the social history, spiritual beliefs, and other information that is not normally included in official histories (Gronke 1997, 208). DeWeese is perfectly aware of the problems of using the emic oral tradition and the etic hagiographies. Yet he asks this question: "Does popular oral tradition borrow tales from written venues, or from Sufi lore transmitted within a narrower community, and distort or 'degrade' them, or do literary hagiographies . . . assemble, and often imperfectly transmit (or purposefully 'domesticate') narratives circulated for decades of centuries in oral venues ranging from the public to the formal?" (1999, 410).

The answer to DeWeese's question varies according to the respective source. Yet it remains a question that scholars must consider anytime they use hagiographies or oral sources. Indeed, much of what we know about the

Mongols prior to their invasion of China or Central Asia is from *The Secret History of the Mongols*, one of the very few authentic sources from a Mongol perspective concerning the rise of Chinggis Khan. First recorded as early as 1229, its final version is thought to have taken form during the reign of Möngke Khan (r. 1251–59). Although it does contain some very important historical data, which can be verified through triangulation with other sources, the true value of *The Secret History of the Mongols* is in understanding the culture, society, and mindset of Chinggis Khan and the Mongols. In doing so, one may then gain greater insight into the motives and the actions of the Mongols once they are outside of Mongolia.

DeWeese carries this idea to his other work. Although his research on the Golden Horde is pioneering, it is not exhaustive. One can hope that DeWeese may return to it one day. Most of his attention, however, has been directed to the successors of the Mongols: the Timurids, the Shaybānid Uzbeks, and the Mughals.

The Post-Mongol Period

The study of Sufism in Central Asia within the Shaybānid Uzbek Empire is still in its infancy. In one of his articles, DeWeese (1999) examines the Yasavīya, a Sufi order that followed the teachings of Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm Yasavī and which eventually died out in Central Asia. His research, however, indicates that the Yasavīya order was also known by two other names: "Jahrīya," indicating the vocal *dhikr*, which was a spiritual identity; and the "*masha'ikh-i turk*," or the Turkic shaykhs, which became a distinct ethnic group from at least the thirteenth century (390).

DeWeese's approach to this group is somewhat different from the methodology he used to study the Golden Horde. Besides the Yasavīya, other *tarīqah*s (Sufi orders) within Central Asia also operated in the Persian world. For example, the Kubravīya and the Naqshbandīya came from the Persian world into the Turkic. The Yasavīya, however, originally came from a Turkic environment and then entered the Persian world. It did so during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "precisely during a period that saw the reinvigorated domination of Inner Asian steppe traditions in Central Asia, in political and social terms" (DeWeese 1999, 414). Although this article is not intended to examine specific orders, in order to fully appreciate the historiography of relations between Sufis and the Inner Asian elites, I must briefly focus on the Yasavīya order, as it was initially an Inner Asian *tarīqah*.

Central Asian Sufi Orders: Themes in the Emerging Study of the Yasavīya

Three major Sufi orders existed in Central Asia: the Naqshbandīya, the Kubravīya, and the Yasavīya. The Yasavīya order spread among the pri-

marily nomadic and Turkic population of Central Asia, while the Naqshbandīya and the Kubravīya spread among the urban and Iranian populations. A rivalry emerged between the Naqshbandīya and the Yasavīya—but it was also a bit of a partnership, as they proselytized largely among different population groups (DeWeese 1996, 186). Eventually, the Naqshbandīya assimilated the Yasavīya.

Prior to DeWeese's efforts, the Yasavīya had received little attention from scholars, whereas the Naqshbandīya had received much more, especially in the last twenty years, with Hamid Algar being the foremost scholar of this movement. One of the leading factors for the paucity of scholarship on the Yasavīya was due to the existence of Soviet Union. Not only did the Soviet Union isolate the region but, more importantly, it also impeded the study of any religion even by their own academics. Sufism in particular was frowned upon as a scholarly topic (DeWeese 1996, 181–82). Thus, much of what we know of the Yasavī tradition came from sources produced by the Naqshbandīya. These sources, in return, have received virtually no critical analysis, especially in terms of historical context or motivation. What is even more amazing is that the Yasavīya themselves adopted many of these sources as their own (DeWeese 1996, 185).

Two themes emerge in the study of the Yasavīya tradition. The first is the process of Islamization of the non-Muslim populations in Mawarannahr (between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers in Central Asia) and Khurasan (modern eastern Iran and part of western Afghanistan) after the Mongol invasions. The second theme is the "communal and political implications of the adoption of Islam by members of the Chingisid [*sic*] dynasties and/or the tribal elite," a familiar theme from DeWeese's work on the subject (1996, 196). Furthermore, the Yasavīya came to reflect and mold the processes of assimilation of Islam and made Islam meaningful to Central Asian society. Also possible is that the Sufi orders competed for converts among the Inner Asian elites.

In DeWeese's study of the Yasavīya, one of his primary sources is the *Lamaḥāt min nafaḥāt al-quds* (The shining spot of a holy reputation), written by ʻĀlim Shaykh of ʻAlīyābād. Compiled in 1626, it is perhaps the most important Persian source produced by Yasavīya members. The work provides an excellent understanding of the rivalry between the Yasavīya and the Naqshbandīya, but it focuses on Mawarannahr and ignores other regions of Yasavīya activity. Still, the *Lamaḥāt* demonstrates that the Yasavīya was not just a Turkic- or nomadic-oriented *tarīqah*, which is currently the prevailing thought. It demonstrates the Yasavīya ventured into the primarily Persian urban world as well (DeWeese 1999, 413). The *Lamaḥāt*, however, relies heavily on oral tradition; but DeWeese believes that it was written in direct response to literary sources on the Yasavīya produced by the Naqshbandīya. ʻĀlim Shaykh wrote it in Persian, although he knew

and had written tracts in Turkic before. ʻĀlim Shaykh attempted, through the *Lamaḥāt,* to compete with the Naqshbandīya on their own ground: the Persian world (DeWeese 1999, 413).

The Kubravīya Order

DeWeese does not limit himself to the Yasavīya. In his research on the Kubravīya, DeWeese argues that there are two tendencies in studying the Kubravīya (1992, 122). The first is that scholars usually ignore the order's efforts in Central Asia. Second, a belief exists that the Kubravīya doctrine was simply a transitional phase to militant Shiʻism. In order to understand what actually happened to the order in Khurasan and Central Asia, one must examine hagiographies.

Of course, the same problems arise with the hagiographies of the Kubravīya as with any other order. One must question their validity on points of historical accuracy; but, as with all hagiographies and oral traditions, they are still useful for constructing social and cultural histories. Much of what is included in the hagiographies is fanciful, just as the mythical elements in Inner Asia oral traditions, but they are also vehicles to convey information about the relationship between Sufis and the ruling elite. One example is the hagiography of Sayyid ʻAli Hamadānī, a fourteenth-century Kubravī Shaykh. Much of his hagiography describes, in somewhat veiled terms, his hostility to the rise of Timur-i Leng (r. 1370–1405), the Central Asian conqueror known in the West as Tamerlane (DeWeese 1992, 121–22). Much like many political polemics, the authors could not directly express their true feelings. Rather, they relied on allusions and metaphors, much like Sufi poetry during the Mongol invasions and the Il-Khanate period. Still, we cannot depend solely on written records for comprehending the relationship between Inner Asian elites and Sufis. After all, Timur-i Leng built a mausoleum in 1389 for Aḥmad Yasavī (1103–60) in the town of Turkistan (in present-day southern Kazakstan) over two hundred years after the shaykh's death (DeWeese 1992, 122; today the mausoleum is a UNESCO World Heritage site). Thus, while some Sufis might criticize the Inner Asian elites, many continued to find support from them.

Sufis & Inner Asian Elites after 1335

What, then, was the role of the Sufis in relation to the Inner Asian elites after 1335? Muḥammad Shaybāni (d. 1510), student of Ḥāfiẓ al-Bukhārī and founder of the Uzbek Empire, was heavily influenced by the teachings of Aḥmad Yasavī. The Yasavīya tradition provided an interface for the Sharīʻa and the heritage of the Chinggisid princes. The 'ulamā', however, doubted the sincerity of the religious beliefs intermixed with military and imperial aspirations. According to Andras Bodrogligeti (1994, 48), Shaybāni used the social teaching of the Yasavīya Sufis in order to create a supra-tribal

community, essentially an 'umma (Islamic community) of Turks. Their loyalty was to Islam and not to individual tribes. The stress was laid on popular support through the Sufis and on the loyalty and cohesiveness of the Turkic Muslim community. Furthermore, just as Aḥmad Yasavī emulated the Prophet Muḥammad, so did Shaybāni—especially as the leader of a community, leader of the forces of Islam, and enforcer of the Sharī'a. Shaybāni was very spiritual and tried to be a model Muslim (Bodrogligeti 1994, 52). In this manner, he attempted to appease the 'ulamā' in the cities of Mawarannahr, even though the Sufis within the empire were of greater importance in legitimizing his rule.

The result of Bodrogligeti's research reveals that when the Yasavīya were proselytizing among the Uzbeks, they used a "low-level" literary idiom. This idiom eased conversion, but equally important was that it became the language of popular literature and was much different from the traditional Arabic–Persian idiom. Furthermore, both commoners and elite used it (Bodrogligeti 1994, 47). Thus the Sufis were also actively involved in creating higher culture for the Uzbeks.

Potter's research examines the debate among Sufis during that period regarding whether they should cooperate with state officials. Ultimately, for many orders, such as the Naqshbandīya and the Ṣafavīya, this cooperation was critical for their success. Another school of thought was that to cooperate with the state was a form of corruption. The Chistis of India, in particular, espoused this view (Potter 1994, 80).

Timur-i Leng, although he displayed a preference for the Naqshbandīs, demonstrated respect for all Sufis. But, then, Timur was always the ultimate pragmatist. The Timurids were not the only Central Asian royalty to have an affiliation with the Naqshbandīs. Despite the Yasavīya ties of Shaybāni, the Uzbeks grew increasingly closer to the Naqshbandīya order, perhaps because the Yasavīya were incorporated into the Naqshbandīya. Foltz (1996, 230) has noted that "by the end of the fifteenth century in Central Asia it had become imperative for anyone with political aspirations to have Naqshbandī support since . . . it was by patronizing the order that political figures" maintained and strengthened their relationships with commoners.

Under the Naqshbandī shaykh, Khwāja 'Ubaydullāh, the order adopted a doctrine to actively influence political leaders for the betterment of the lives of the common Muslim. Considering the Uzbek and Timurid respect for the Naqshbandīya order, it was only natural that, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Naqshbandīs often acted as intermediaries between the Uzbeks and the Timurids, both of which were vying for power in the same region (Foltz 1996, 230).

Thus the Naqshbandīs and other Sufis increased their roles as envoys and literati among the Inner Asian courts, and they also made conscious

efforts to become more involved in politics. Eventually, the influence of the Naqshbandīs grew to the point where they gave assistance to Timurid landlords and officials and also legitimized the rule of Uzbeks, the Timurids, and—later—the Mughals. In return, the ruling elite provided them with *waqf*s and mausoleums, among other forms of economic support (Buehler 1996, 210).

The Sufi Influence in Inner Asia

Thus we see an indirect action of Sufis. As the Inner Asian nations converted to Islam, the Chinggisid factor in ruling declined. Although many leaders, such as Timur-i Leng, always sought a Chinggisid to sit on the throne in order be seen as a legitimate ruler among the other Chinggisids, it was the influence of the Sufis who legitimized the rule of the Inner Asian elite among the sedentary people. As Islamization increased among the nomads, the Chinggisid factor waned. True, the Mughals and the Uzbeks still traced their lineage to Chinggis Khan, but it was less important than during the time of Timur. It should not be thought, though, that the Sufis' actions in politics could ultimately have deposed a Khan. Buehler sums up the stance of the ruling elite best: "Sufis were useful to the Mughals but were not considered invincible; when the boundaries of political acceptability were transgressed, the emperor quickly reminded the Sufis that they were still his subjects: often violently" (1996, 222).

In conclusion, Sufism flourished indirectly because of the Mongol invasions. Over time, roles of Sufis in politics and their relationships with the Inner Asian ruling elite grew, as did their influence in the Islamic world. Ultimately, many Sufi orders became consciously and intimately involved with the court. Yet the Khan could always break their influence. In terms of historiography, much work is yet to be conducted on Sufism in relation to the ruling elites and in Inner Asia in general. The common approach seems to be through the analysis of hagiographies in conjunction with the standard official histories and documents, but more work through emic sources is necessary. Only then will scholars have a better understanding of how Sufis fit in the Inner Asian world.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 102–18

Chains of Elusiveness: Buson and Kitō's "Momosumomo" *Haikai* Sequences

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"Momosumomo" ももすもも (Peaches and plums) is a collection of *haikai* 俳諧 linked-verse sequences composed in 1780 by Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716–83) and his main disciple, Takai Kitō 高井几董 (1741–89). Unlike most Japanese linked verse—normally written in a single session—the two sequences of "Momosumomo" were composed by letters exchanged over a period of several months. What resulted are sequences that demonstrate not only the unpredictability and surprise that is customary in *haikai* but also a level of restraint and subtlety that is unmatched in other *haikai* of this period. This article explores the verses of "Momosumomo" as examples of ways that eighteenth-century *haikai* poets exploited the ambiguity and indeterminacy of the linked form to create sequences where voice, point of view, and identity shift with each successive link, resulting in collaborative works that create numerous loosely connected but discrete narratives.

The Linked-Verse Community of Eighteenth-Century Japan

"Momosumomo" ももすもも (Peaches and plums) is a collection of *haikai* 俳諧 linked-verse sequences composed in 1780 by Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716–83) and his main disciple, Takai Kitō 高井几董 (1741–89). Unlike most Japanese linked verse, which was normally written in a single session, the two sequences of "Momosumomo" were composed by letters exchanged between Buson and Kitō over a period of several months. What resulted are sequences that demonstrate not only the unpredictability and surprise that is customary in *haikai* linked verse but also a level of restraint and subtlety that is unmatched in other *haikai* of this period.

The two-verse sequences of "Momosumomo" exemplify the ways that eighteenth-century *haikai* poets exploited the ambiguity and indeterminacy of the linked form to create sequences where voice, point of view, and identity shift with each successive verse, resulting in works that create numerous loosely connected but discrete narratives. Although this quality of elusiveness is typical of all linked verse to some extent, the "Momosumomo" sequences are especially good examples; and the poets' letters offer us

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unique insight into the kinds of negotiations that were central to the composition of these complex, collaborative works.

The practice of writing sequences was itself a community-building exercise, and "Momosumomo" was both a reinforcement of and a challenge to this process. That is to say, even though linked verse was falling out of fashion during this period, collaborative verse was nevertheless composed one way or another, albeit in somewhat unorthodox or even truncated forms. Furthermore, while other forms of *haikai* increasingly became the focus of most of the work of other *haikai* poets, Buson's Yahantei 夜半亭 (Midnight studio) School continued to make the composition of linked verse an important part of their practice. This situation was in large part because Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–94) and his followers, whom the Yahantei poets admired, used this technique to express and reify their identity as the members of a community. The Yahantei poets continued to do so to emphasize their community not only with each other but also with the venerable tradition of the Bashō School.

Bashō & Linked Verse

Much eighteenth-century *haikai* poetry was deeply deferential, referential, and even reverential to that of Matsuo Bashō. This was with good reason: Bashō and his disciples transformed *haikai* from a somewhat disreputable offshoot of the classical linked verse form called *renga* 連歌 into a major genre of its own. This transformation was related to the great flowering of popular cultural forms in the late seventeenth century—among them the kabuki theater of Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門 (1653–1725) and the *gesaku* 戯作 fiction of Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642–93). Bashō's innovations gave a form of poetry that at the time was largely regarded as a frivolous pastime a level of literary legitimacy previously reserved for the classical forms *waka* 和歌 and *renga*.

Bashō's frequent journeys earned him a following all over the country, and the energy and devotion of his closest disciples created large and highly influential communities of poets devoted to the study and practice of his teachings in one form or another. As a result, the *haikai* of the eighteenth century was significantly shaped by the next-generation followers of Bashō, who were divided into two main groups: the urban and the rural *haikai* schools, each of whom claimed to espouse the true ideals of Bashō. To some extent, both were correct: the urban poets emulated Bashō's early style, which emphasized wit and wordplay; and the rural poets admired his later, more austere style of *karumi* 軽み (lightness).

Buson, Kitō & the Yahantei School

Yosa Buson was born twenty-two years after Bashō died. The most important writer of *haikai* of the eighteenth century, Buson was also a painter; and the alternative source of income that he was able to count on from his painting enabled him a degree of freedom in his poetry that he would not have had otherwise.

The Yahantei School was founded in the early part of the eighteenth century by Buson's mentor, *haikai* poet Hayano Hajin 早野巴人 (1676–1742). After Hajin's death, Buson did not reopen Yahantei until 1770, when he had gained a substantial following not only as a painter but also as a poet. Affiliates of Yahantei included Tan Taigi 炭太祇 (1709–71), Matsumura Gekkei 松村月渓 (1752–1811, also known as Goshun 呉春), and the poet who was eventually to become the school's third and last leader, Kitō. Buson was a relatively indifferent leader, and he reserved most of his energy for his paintings. As a result, he left much of the editorial work of Yahantei's anthologies up to Kitō.

Yahantei was at the forefront of what came to be called the Bashō Revival movement. While Yahantei was not one of the Bashō-style schools, its members frequently consorted and collaborated with poets who were, such as Katō Kyōtai 加藤暁台 (1732–92) and Ōshima Ryōta 大島蓼太 (1718–87). Furthermore, in letters and prefaces to anthologies, its members were openly critical of poets who did not hold to what they defined as Bashō's highest principles. Such poets included those both inside as well as outside of groups that claimed some affinity with Bashō. Yahantei members found the works of some such poets bland and derivative; they saw others as merely greedy for the high student fees a Bashō connection could attract.

Much of Buson's reluctance as Yahantei's leader may stem from the fact that he had a capable colleague in Kitō; but, on the other hand, Yahantei also served a different purpose for Buson: It provided him with a dependable source of new clients for his paintings. In this sense, Buson was little different from the majority of the commoners—both urban and rural—who composed *haikai*. In other words, *haikai* was as important for its potential for social networking as it was for artistic or literary expression—perhaps something like Facebook today is for our students or perhaps even ourselves. As we shall see, this aspect is directly related to its origins in the collaborative form of linked verse.

Linked Verse in Eighteenth-Century Japan

The history of linked verse in Japan begins far before either Buson or Bashō. The classical linked verse form, *renga*, had its heyday in the medieval period. *Renga* is derived from *waka*, the thirty-one-syllable poem that

was the aristocracy's main form of literary expression. The origins of *renga* were supposed to be of the greatest antiquity, and possibly even divine. For example, Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320–88) identified *renga* with an exchange in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書記 (Japan chronicles, eighth century) between legendary hero Yamato Takeru 大和武 and an old man he met while passing through Tsukuba 筑波 (in present-day Ibaraki Prefecture) (Nijō 1961, 74, 76–77).[1] During the medieval period, the composition of *haikai* or "nonstandard" linked verse served as comic relief between sessions of composing the intense and very challenging *renga*, somewhat like the function served by *kyōgen* 狂言 in the Noh 能 theater; and these *haikai no renga* 俳諧の連歌 were typically not recorded.

However, with the rise of urban-commoner culture in the early modern period, members of lower-status groups (like merchants and farmers) began to embrace *haikai* for a variety of reasons—in part because the customary exclusiveness of classical forms did not apply to *haikai*, but also because composing *haikai* with friends and business associates was a pleasurable activity.

What made *haikai no renga* compelling for its practitioners is the thing that makes it interesting for this discussion: its collaborative aspect. Although the examples of *haikai* that are most famous today are all in the genre's shortest form, the seventeen-syllable *hokku* 発句, the majority of *haikai* composed in roughly the first half of the early modern period were in the form of linked verse. Composition involved groups of people—often the leader of a school and his disciples—gathering on a specific occasion and composing verses alternating between seventeen and fourteen syllables each, typically ending up with a sequence thirty-six links long. Because the rules of creating linkages were complicated, and because composition was supposed to be spontaneous, one member of the group functioned as the scribe and moderator, ensuring that each verse conformed to the necessary requirements before recording it. Since no verse with the exception of the opening one—the *hokku*—could be written without reference to the verse that immediately proceeded it, poets had to be able to compose quickly and on the spot, like players responding to the moves of an opponent in a game. Consequently, little room existed for revision after the fact.

Playful as it was in terms of content, an activity like composing *haikai* was extremely demanding if done well. Poets had to internalize a complicated set of conventions and to compose their verses extemporaneously and quickly in front of a group. Despite its challenges, by the early decades of the eighteenth century, the genre had developed such a following that there was an abundant supply of handbooks and teachers available to deliver instructions on how to compose *haikai* in such a way as to impress one's companions. However, the success of *haikai* actually led to the decline of formal thirty-six-link sequence composition, as practitioners shifted to forms that could be composed alone or in dialogue only with one's teacher.

Most prominent among these forms was *maekuzuke* 前句付 (verse pairs): a *tsukeku* 付句 (a seventeen-syllable "linking verse") written to connect to a *maeku* 前句 (a fourteen-syllable "previous verse") to form a single mini-sequence. Although *maekuzuke* actually derived from the canons of conventional linked verse and was originally used as a form of instruction for beginning poets, it became popular as a game during the Genroku 元禄 period (1688–1704). *Maekuzuke* was, however, looked down on by poets with more literary aspirations, like Bashō and his successors, who tended to prefer *hokku*. This preference was with some justification: *maekuzuke* became a kind of competition, where students vied with one another to see whose *tsukeku* could get the highest marks from their teachers—often with cash prizes, and even gambling, involved.

One aspect that *hokku* and *maekuzuke* had in common, however, was that both could be written outside of the kind of gathering that was customary in linked-verse composition. It was still possible to participate in verse gatherings in the eighteenth century; but, for many poets, these events centered on winning a better grade on your verses than your friends did. Alternatively, teachers set up correspondence course–style programs where tuition took place by letter.

As indicated, then, collaboration in *haikai* did not necessarily require propinquity, and much of the exchange within *haikai* communities took place at a distance. Publication of verses was of course of central importance. Aside from that, however, poets and their disciples also took advantage of the relatively good communications and travel infrastructure that developed in the Edo 江戸 period (1603–1868), exchanging messages both within the same urban areas and across the countryside. The emphasis that the frequently itinerant Bashō put on travel, for instance, can be attributed in part to the practical factor that it was possible for him to keep in touch with disciples and patrons both on the road and after returning home. A large number of Bashō's letters are extant, and they provide a good supplement to the more formal treatises on poetics both he and his senior disciples authored.

Buson's Letters: "Momosumomo" & Its Context

In the case of Buson, who wrote very little about *haikai* theory, almost everything we know about his views on *haikai*—especially his own compositions—comes from letters. A surprisingly large number of them survive: *Buson shokanshū* 蕪村書簡集 (Collected letters of Buson) contains 246. The letters are an excellent source of insight into the working life of a poet and painter in Kyoto in the late eighteenth century. Many of them are addressed to patrons, negotiating the details of painting orders with a bit of *haikai* criticism thrown in; others are expressions of goodwill to the impor-

tant *haikai* poets of the day. Some of the most interesting letters are to members of the Yahantei *haikai* group, written in the latter part of his life and offering perspective on the practices and habits of *haikai* circles. Perhaps most numerous and intimate, however, are the letters Buson wrote to Kitō, his most important disciple.

Kitō's father Kikei 几圭 (1689–1762) had been a leading disciple of Buson's mentor, Hayano Hajin; and Kitō and Buson's friendship endured throughout the thirty-five years that Buson lived in Kyoto. Buson and Kitō had an active correspondence (some sixty of the letters collected in *Buson shokanshū* are addressed to Kitō, more than to any other recipient), especially when one of them was traveling. One of these letters indicates that Kitō might not have been as wholeheartedly admired by others in Buson's circle as he was by Buson.[2] Nevertheless, Kitō was enormously energetic and productive and had his own group of disciples in addition to serving as Buson's assistant in the Yahantei.

"Momosumomo" was written over a period of nine months: from the third to the twelfth month of Anei 安永 9 (1780). Buson's account of its composition in the preface is slightly counterfactual: he claims that the work originally consisted of four sequences; but the letters indicate that only two were really written. However, the preface does account for the title of the work, a play on words:

> I laughed and said, "The greatness of *haikai* is that in truth it has change, and in truth it is without change; for example, it is similar to going around a racetrack, running after people. It is like those running ahead are somehow chasing after those coming up behind. How can one know the difference between 'ahead' and 'behind' in change? I just express the things in my heart day by day: today it is the *haikai* of today; tomorrow, the *haikai* of tomorrow. I call this anthology 'Momosumomo.' It is a palindrome, without beginning or end. To be thus is the main intention of this collection." (Ogata and Yamashita 1994, 193–94)

In other words, Buson chose the palindrome *momosumomo* for the title of the work to emphasize its circularity.

Kitō's description of the work's composition, included in a letter he sent to a disciple along with the manuscript, tells a much different story:

> Long ago, in 1780 I think it was, one day I went to visit the Master at Yahantei. The time was spring, when the blossoms were falling, and the birds were singing, an evening when even the traces of spring were indistinct. The rain began to fall gently, and when there were no visitors to disturb the quiet, the Master himself lit the lamps, and sitting up straight in his seat said, "[. . .] I have been amusing myself with *haikai* for some fifty years, and by and by I am approaching my seventh decade. I still have yet to produce *haikai* I can be proud of; these days, as I expected, you have already matured in *haikai*. As an experiment, we two should do a two-person sequence." We composed two *hokku* for summer and winter, and we—master and disciple—composed more than one hundred verses, and days

> passed into months until we completed the sequences, making them correct, studying their variations, and polishing individual verses. (Ōiso 1975, 104–5)

Kitō's letter gives an indication of the intense perfectionism that he and Buson brought to their work. The long process of drafting and revising the "Momosumomo" sequences over the course of several months was very different from the typical procedure of composing all the verses during a single session. Moreover, the process describes a much less spontaneous genesis than Buson's introduction suggests.

The earliest of Buson's "Momosumomo" letters to Kitō is dated on the twelfth day of the third month of Anei 9. The latest is dated the fifth day of the eleventh month of the same year. Another letter, dated the twenty-second of the twelfth month, is addressed to Buson's disciple Hyakuchi 百池 (1749–1835) and requests assistance with publishing arrangements.[3] It was not always the case that Buson was too far away from Kitō for the two to meet in person: Kitō did spend several weeks in Osaka during this period, but, otherwise, both were in Kyoto and saw each other frequently. Many of the letters mention enjoying the previous night's linked verse session or speak of plans for meeting the following day. Couriers were often Buson's disciples, like Hyakuchi, who happened to be passing between the two poets' houses; otherwise, the missives were carried by household employees.

Buson's tone of politeness and tolerance for Kitō's views is quite striking. Although Buson generally was not sparing in his criticism of other poets, his letters to Kitō show none of that. Rather, the letters include a great deal of tentativeness, even though Buson is Kitō's teacher. In most cases, Kitō ignores Buson's suggestions, even when Buson makes very precise arguments about what needs improving, following up with remarks to the effect that Buson will "talk with you [Kitō] when I see you." Kitō seems to have won the argument almost every time.

I will discuss three of the letters that offer a good representative sample. Parenthetically, I have identified the suggested verses and whether they ultimately appeared in "Momosumomo." The source for all cited letters is Ōtani and Fujita (1992); *BSKS* stands for *Buson shokanshū* (Collected letters of Buson).

[*BSKS* No. 119] Anei 9 [1780], 7月23日

Sorry I missed the verse session the other day. I'm feeling better now. Don't worry about me.

fuyu kodachi tsuki kotsuzui ni iru yo kana
冬木だち月骨髄に入夜哉
Winter trees—
a night when the moon
sinks into the bone

Kitō [*Verse 1 of Sequence 2; included*]

kutsu oto samuki saimon no soto
沓音寒き柴門の外
The sound of footsteps
cold outside the gate
[*Proposed as Verse 2 of Sequence 2; not included*]

kono ku Rō To ga samuki harawata
此句老杜が寒き腸
This verse Du Fu might have written
chilled to the guts
[*Proposed as Verse 2 of Sequence 2; included*]

Toshi o utaeba samuki shita
杜を諷えば寒き唇
Reciting Du Fu's poems
makes one's lips grow cold
[*Proposed as Verse 2 of Sequence 2; not included*]

Please choose the best from among these, and, when you've settled on it, go ahead and compose Verse 3.

The next letter, written two days later, continues to discuss the opening verses. Buson writes:

[*BSKS* No. 120] Anei 9, 7月25日

What about the Verse 2 for the *ryōgin* 両吟 [two-person sequence] of the other day? It's still not finished.

botan chirite uchikasanarinu ni san pen
牡丹散て打かさなりぬ二三片
Peony petals scatter
and pile up
two, maybe three

Buson [*Verse 1 of Sequence 1; included*]

uzuki hatsuka no ariake no kage
卯月廿日のあり明の影
On the twentieth of the fourth month
in the pale light of dawn

Kitō [*Verse 2 of Sequence 1; included*]

Your Verse 2 is extremely splendid; go ahead and start working on Verse 3. I think I'm going to forget about the "Brambles in bloom" sequence because the "Peony" one is better.

fuyu kodachi tsuki kotsuzui ni iru yo kana
冬木だち月骨髄に入夜哉
Winter trees—
a night when the moon
sinks into the bone

Kitō [*Verse 1 of Sequence 2; included*]

kono ku Rō To ga samuki harawata
此句老杜が寒き腸
This verse Du Fu might have written
chilled to the guts

Buson [*Verse 2 of Sequence 2; included*]

gori ni issha kashikoki shisha o negiraite
五里に一舎かしこき使者を労て
Every five miles
inns lavishly welcome
the grand emissary

Buson [*Verse 3 of Sequence 2; included*]

That takes care of the second and third verses. Quickly think of something for four and five. Because readers will lose interest in the sequence if the first six verses are too heavy, a fluid verse here is good; your "winter trees" verse has a melancholy feel to it, really, the beauty of a poem by Du Fu. That's why I added Verse 2 as I did. For the third one I imagined an imperial Chinese emissary being sent to a neighboring country and thought of a scene where he stops over at teahouses every five miles. My methods in these two verses are unusual, and I can't fully discuss them with you in writing, so we'll talk more when we meet.

The third letter we will look at is dated about two months later. It is the only example where Buson's comments actually compelled Kitō to change something:

[*BSKS* No. 125] Anei 9, 9月24日

About the *ryōgin* [i.e., the "Momosumomo" sequences]: I'll have Hyakuchi deliver this tomorrow. Revise those four or five verses exactly as you think.

itōshi to kawarite uta o yomi neran
いとをしと代ッてうたをよみぬらん
"How pitable!"
perhaps I'll offer
to write the verse instead

Buson [*Verse 13 of Sequence 2; included*]

kunichi wa kiku no sakari nari keri
九日は菊の盛なりけり
On the ninth day
the chrysanthemums were at their fullest

Kitō [*Proposed as Verse 14 of Sequence 2; not included*]

Wouldn't you rather change this verse? It's just my opinion, but the chrysanthemum verse I think maybe doesn't have much of a connection with the one that precedes it. A *yariku* やり句 [easy verse] should have an especially strong

> connection to the verse that it follows. However, it's not a bad verse, so do what you think is best.
>
> As for the "fortune teller" verse you've put after "the sound of Noritsune's bowstring,"[4] it's not a link that has a strong grasp of the previous verse, but it does somehow have the feeling of a connection, so let's think of what should follow it. In any case tomorrow we can talk about this at the Bashō Hermitage.

A major virtue of the "Momosumomo" sequences is not that they show great differences with linked verse composed in a single session but, rather, that the letters Buson and Kitō exchanged provide such unusual insights into their strategies as poets. As these examples show, elusiveness was at the center of linked verse, and how to manage it was the linked-verse poet's greatest challenge.

In other words, it was precisely the ambiguity of the *maeku*, the previous verse, that made linking possible: poets had to get the balance right between providing enough information to make the situation described sufficiently vivid and not providing enough information, thus shutting off the possibility of the poet writing the *tsukeku*, the following verse, making an interesting connection. The "Momosumomo" letters show this search for balance: the only instance Kitō actually alters a verse is where Buson points out that it is too vague. It is not clear whether Kitō's reluctance otherwise to edit his verse is because of his great skill or simply because of his confidence in his own ability. In any case, Buson also seems to have shared this confidence in Kitō's ability.

"Momosumomo" & Aspirations for Artistic Perfection

Two-person sequences like those in the "Momosumomo" collection were not generally common in linked-verse composition, because it is harder to ensure variation with only two voices. In this sense, the unusual circumstances of the sequences' composition were a help rather than an obstacle. Writing over the course of months enabled greater time for reflection and allowed the poets a better chance at overcoming the challenges of a two-person sequence, but doing so also enabled them to balance delicately their strengths and weaknesses as poets, as well as the continual shift between impressiveness and restraint that kept the sequences interesting.

Evident in almost everything Buson's Yahantei Studio produced is a distinct perfectionism: this fastidiousness is true of his paintings as well as in the *haikai* collections he edited or published. It appears that a collaborative, spontaneous form like linked verse was not Buson's favorite medium of expression; indeed, relatively few sequences were published in which he contributed more than a few verses. Perhaps it is for this reason that the "Momosumomo" sequences, his most accomplished, employed an unconventional method that maximized the opportunity for editing and revision.

Given his perfectionism, then, why did Buson feel compelled to compose linked verse? I would argue that the reason is because of the strong identification of the form with his predecessor Bashō—that is to say, with a kind of *haikai* that transcended what he viewed as the vulgarity of the *haikai* of many of his contemporaries. The Yahantei poets and their allies were very conscious of being heirs to Bashō's great legacy. Buson in particular was eager to be known as someone who espoused the virtues Bashō extolled; but, for his entire life, he seems to have remained uncertain that he was quite up to the task of achieving Bashō's level of apparently effortless excellence. It seems that writing linked-verse sequences by letter enabled Buson to take part in Bashō's great tradition yet still allowed him the opportunity to closely control the work that he produced. As a result of this slow and painstaking method, he and Kitō were able to manage this elusive verse form with a level of skill otherwise unmatched in the *haikai* of the late eighteenth century.

Appendix: The Two Sequences of "Momosumomo"

This appendix includes the two sequences of Buson and Kitō's "Momosumomo" in their entirety, with my own English translation. For an annotated translation of the first sequence, see Crowley (2007, 152–64). Japanese texts below are essentially identical to those in Yamamoto (1971).

Sequence 1: "Peony petals scatter"

1. Buson 牡丹散て打かさなりぬ二三片	Peony petals scatter and pile up two, maybe three
2. Kitō 卯月廿日のあり明の影	On the twentieth of the fourth month in the pale light of dawn
3. Kitō すはぶきて翁や門をひらくらむ	Coughing, an old man seems to be opening the gate . . .
4. Buson 聟のえらびに來つるへんぐゑ	A ghost has come to choose an adoptive son-in-law
5. Buson 年ふりし街の榎斧入て	At the crossroads an old nettle tree is hacked at with an ax
6. Kitō 百里の陸地とまりさだめず	A hundred-*ri* highway without a fixed abode

7. Kitō
哥枕瘧落たるきのふけふ
Visiting places famous in poetry
he took ill, and has fallen under a fever
yesterday and today

8. Buson
山田の小田の早稲を刈比
In the mountain farms' small fields
it's time to harvest the early rice

9. Kitō
夕月に後れて渡る四十雀
Later
than the twilight moon
homing sparrows fly

10. Buson
秋をうれひてひとり戸に倚
Filled with autumn's melancholy
approaching the gate alone

11. Kitō
目ふたいで苦き薬をすゝりける
With eyes shut tight
he swallows down
the bitter medicine

12. Buson
當麻へもどす風呂敷に文
He sends back to Taima
a letter in a *furoshiki*[5]

13. Kitō
隣にてまだ聲のする油うり
Next door
we can still hear the voice
of the oil peddler

14. Buson
三尺つもる雪のたそがれ
Three feet of snow
piled up in the twilight

15. Kitō
餌にうゆる狼うちにしのぶらん
A starving wolf
may be hiding
inside

16. Buson
兎唇の妻のたゞ泣になく
The housewife with the harelip
cries and cries

17. Kitō
鐘鑄ある花のみてらに髪きりて
At a flower-filled temple
where there was a bell-casting
she takes the tonsure

18. Buson
春のゆくゑの西にかたぶく
Spring departs
sinking in the west

19. Buson
能登どのゝ弦音かすむ遠かたに
The sound of Noritsune's bowstring[6]
grows fainter
in the distance

20. Kitō
博士ひそみて時を占ふ
The fortune teller secretly
takes a reading of the hour

21. Buson
粟負し馬倒れぬと鳥啼て
A bundle of millet
the horse stumbled, and just then
a bird called out

22. Kitō
椁咲散る畷八町

Sandalwood trees bloom and fade, along
the long pathway between the paddies

23. Buson
立あへぬ虹に淺間のうちけぶり

A faintly visible
rainbow over Asama's
smoke

24. Kitō
勅使の御宿申うれしさ

The joy of receiving so grand a guest
as an imperial messenger

25. Buson
江に獲たる簀の魚の腹赤き

Taken from the river
the fish in the basket
are red-bellied

26. Kitō
日はさしながら又あられ降

Though the sun is shining
hail falls again

27. Buson
見し戀の兒ねり出よ堂供養

"Come out,
beloved acolyte!"
the temple festival

28. Kitō
つぶりにさはる人にくき也

Loathsome are people
who muss one's hair-style

29. Buson
十六夜の暗きひまさへ世のいそぎ

Even during the time between
sunset and moonrise on the sixteenth day
everyone is busy

30. Kitō
しころ打なる番場松本

The sound the mallet makes
from Banba to Matsumoto

31. Kitō
駕舁の棒組足らぬ秋の雨

There are not enough people
to carry a palanquin
in the autumn rain

32. Buson
鳶も鴉もあちらむき居る

Kites and crows
staring into space

33. Kitō
祟なす田中の小社神さびて

Under a curse,
the small shrine in the fields
is forbidding

34. Buson
既玄番が公事も負色

It already looks like
Genba has lost the lawsuit

35. Buson
花にうとき身に旅籠屋の飯と汁

A long way away from cherry blossoms
in the lodging house
there is rice and soup

36. Kitō
まだ暮やらぬ春のともし火

It is not completely dark yet—
lanterns of spring

Sequence 2: "Winter trees"

1. Kitō 冬木だち月骨髄に入夜哉	Winter trees— a night when the moon sinks into the bone
2. Buson 此句老杜が寒き腸	This verse Du Fu might have written chilled to the guts
3. Buson 五里に一舎かしこき使者を勞て	Every five miles inns lavishly welcome the grand emissary
4. Kitō 茶に疎からぬあさら井の水	He neglects nothing in preparing tea brewing it with clear, pure well-water
5. Kitō すみれ啄雀の親に物くれん	Violets, a mother sparrow tries to hide her chicks
6. Buson 春なつかしく疊帋とり出で	Wistfully thinking of springtimes long ago I take out a folded notepaper to write
7. Buson 二の尼の近き霞にかくれ住	Two nuns, who live not far away hidden in the mists
8. Kitō 七ッ限ㇼの門敲く音	At four o-clock in the afternoon there is the sound of knocking at the gate
9. Buson 雨のひまに救の粮やおくり來ぬ	During a break in the rain the emergency provisions have at last gotten through
10. Kitō 弭たしむのとの浦人	They shoot from their bows the men of Noto no ura
11. Buson 女狐の深き恨ミを見返りて	The vixen looks over her shoulder with deep rancor
12. Kitō 寐がほにかゝる鬢のふくだみ	Around a sleepy face, hair in disarray
13. Buson いとをしと代ㇼてうたをよみぬらん	"How pitiable!" Perhaps I'll offer to write the poem instead
14. Kitō 出船つれなや追風吹秋	Heartless are the autumn winds that chase the ship setting sail for exile

15. Buson
月落て氣比の山もと露闇き

The moon sets
on the mountainside of Kehi,
the dew is dark

16. Kitō
鹿の來て臥す我艸の戸に

Deer come and lie down to rest
by the grass hut

17. Buson
文机の花打拂ふ維摩經

I brush fallen flowers from my desk
and take out the *Vimalakirti Sūtra*[7]

18. Kitō
頭痛を忍ぶ遅き日の影

Trying to ignore a headache
in the long, late twilight

19. Kitō
鄙人の妻にとられ行旅の春

She leaves on a spring journey
to become the bride
of a country client

20. Buson
水に殘ㇼし酒屋一けん

After the flood
only the brewery was left standing

21. Kitō
荒神の棚に夜明の鷄啼て

From the shelf
that holds the Kitchen God's shrine
a rooster is crowing

22. Buson
歳暮の飛脚物とらせやる

In the year-end bustle
the courier comes for a pick-up

23. Kitō
保昌が任もなかばや過ぬらむ

Yasumasa's term
must be
half over already

24. Buson
いばら花白し山吹の後

Bramble roses are white
against faded yellow *yamabuki*[8]

25. Kitō
むら雨の垣穂とび越ㇲあまがへる

Sudden storm
a tree-frog
leaps over the brushwood fence

26. Buson
三ッに疊んで投 ふるさむしろ

We hurriedly fold up
the mats we'd been airing

27. Kitō
西國の手形うけ取小日のくれ

A remittance arrives
from Kyūshū
in the late afternoon

28. Buson
貧しき葬の足ばやに行

He rushed off
to the poorly attended funeral

29. Kitō
片側は野川流るゝ秋の風

On the side of the river
the bank was ravaged
by the autumn wind

30. Buson 月の夜ごろの遠きいなづま	The night, faint with moonlight and distant lightning
31. Buson 仰ぎ見て人なき車冷じき	Looking out, there was a carriage that appeared empty and cold
32. Kitō 相圖の礫今やうつらし	The pebble he threw just now must have been a signal
33. Buson 添ぶしにあすらが眠うかゞひつ	She checks to see if the fellow lying next to her is really sleeping
34. Kitō 甕の花のひらひらと散	Petals fall, fluttering from the flowers in the vase
35. Kitō 根繼する屋かげの壁の下崩に	As they repair the pillars in the shadow of a wall some small shoots sprout
36. Buson 巣つくる蜂の子をいのり呼	Building a hive, the bees say a prayer for their offspring

Notes

[1]Because of this association, *renga* was sometimes called "the way of Tsukuba" 筑波の道.

[2]In an undated letter, probably written in the early 1770s, Buson consoles Kitō for what appears to have been hostility from other members of the group (Ōtani and Fujita 1992, 57–59).

[3]The timeline for Buson's letters is as follows:

Month	Day	Topic
3	12	First reference to "Momosumomo"
7	23, 25	23: Verses 1 & 2 of Sequence 2
		25: Verses 1 & 2 of Sequence 1; Verses 1, 2 & 3 of Sequence 2
8	3, 5	3 & 5: Verses 8 & 9 of Sequence 2
9	24	Verse 13 of Sequence 2; Verses 19 & 20 of Sequence 1
11	1, 4, 5	1: Verses 27 & 28 of Sequence 2; Verses 30 & 31 of Sequence 1
		4: Verses 27 & 28 of Sequence 2
		5: Verses 27, 28 & 29 of Sequence 2
12	22	Buson writes to Hyakuchi about publishing details

[4]See appendix, sequence 1, vv. 19–20.

[5]A *furoshiki* 風呂敷 is a square of cloth used to wrap parcels.

[6]Taira Noritsune 平教経 (1160–85) died by drowning in the Western Sea in the famous Genpei 源平 War (1180–85) battle of Dan-no-ura (off the Shimonoseki Straight). Buson cleverly reinterprets the "sinking in the west" (*nishi ni katabuku* 西にかたぶく) in the *maeku* of the previous verse to refer to Noritsune's death.

[7]The *Vimalakirti Sūtra* (in Japanese, the *Yuimagyō* 維摩經) is considered to be one of the most profound of the Indian Mahāyāna Buddhist sutras.

[8]A *yamabuki* 山吹 is a Japanese globeflower (*Trollius japonicus*) in the buttercup family.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 119–36

The Tower of Power's Finest Hour: Stupa Construction and Veneration in the *Lotus Sutra*

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The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, also known as the *Lotus Sutra*, has a marked devotional orientation, with much of the devotionalism centering on the building of stupas, or Buddhist burial mounds. This article examines several important passages in the *Lotus Sutra* that center on the construction and veneration of stupas. In addition, the author provides examples of the influence that images of stupas found in the *Lotus Sutra* have had on the arts and cultures of East Asia. He argues that that the implications of stupa-related passages in the *Lotus Sutra* can reveal crucial aspects of East Asian Buddhism and can challenge Western stereotypes about the religion.

The Centrality of Stupas in the *Lotus Sutra*

Few texts have played as significant a role in Asian history as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (The sutra of the lotus of the wonderful law, or *Lotus Sutra*). Although this text espouses most major Buddhist doctrines and has provided fodder for many Buddhist thinkers, including Zhiyi 智顗 (538–97), Saichō 最澄 (767–822), and others, its primary importance lies at the folk level. Simply put, the *Lotus Sutra* is a major source of popular lore and practice for ordinary Buddhists.[1] Indeed, even a casual reading shows that the text has a strong devotional orientation, most of which centers on *stūpa* (Buddhist memorial mounds). Throughout the *Lotus Sutra*, passages abound where Śākyamuni—the historical Buddha—recommends that his faithful followers build stupas, even providing detailed instructions for their construction and ritual veneration. At other times, exquisitely decorated stupas magically erupt on to the scene, much to the amazement of the assembled *saṇgha* (Buddhist community). Clearly, stupas loom large in the *Lotus Sutra*. In this article, I examine several passages in the *Lotus Sutra* centering on stupa construction and veneration, as well as some examples of the influence that images of stupas from the *Lotus Sutra* have had on the arts and cultures of Asia. I contend that a careful examination of such passages can

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reveal crucial aspects of Buddhism that may challenge and expand common notions of what "Buddhism" actually is.

The Nature of Stupas in East Asia

Despite recent depictions in Western media as a somewhat exotic cross between psychotherapy and self-improvement, Buddhism, like most world religions, has traditionally had a strong devotional orientation, particularly among the laity; many Buddhists regularly visit holy sites to make offerings and pray. The most important Buddhist shrines are stupas, dome-like mounds housing relics, texts, or other precious articles. In the *Dīghanikāya*, a collection of early discourses, the Buddha tells his followers: "Whoever lays wreaths of flowers, or puts perfumes, or adds color [to the *stūpas*] with a devout heart will reap benefit and happiness for a long time" (Mitchell 2002, 31).

Across Buddhist tradition, several terms are used for such memorial structures—stupa, *caitya*, *chedi*, *dagoba*, *tope*, *ta*, *gorintō* 五輪等, pagoda—the sheer variety of which may cause confusion. According to the early twentieth-century Buddhologist Giuseppe Tucci (1988, xi–xvii), *stūpa* is a Sanskrit term dating to the Vedas that originally referred to the top or upper part of a head (topknot hairstyle) or tree, pillar, or something "heaped up"—a summit. *Caitya* is another Sanskrit term that often refers to memorial mounds, although it and similar terms may refer more broadly to any object of veneration (1988, xiv). (The term seems to have originally been associated with Vedic fire altars, known as *citi*.) *Caitya* was rendered into Pali as *cetiya* and elsewhere in Southeast Asian countries as *chedi*. In Sri Lanka, the most common term is *dagoba*, which derives from the Sanskrit *dhatugarbha* (element or relic storehouse). In East Asia, the Sinhalese *dagoba* gradually became "pagoda," although this derivation is subject to debate.[2] The latter term, perhaps most familiar to English speakers, also refers to towers constructed for reasons other than those that are strictly religious. Stupas, however, generally have a commemorative religious functions. For the sake of simplicity, I will use the term *stupa* in its most generic sense, as an umbrella term encompassing all such Buddhist memorial structures.

Actual stupa structure has undergone various changes over the centuries. Numerous varieties of stupas abound; they vary by location, orientation, age, shape, materials, and whether they were designed to house relics, images, or texts.[3] Early stupas were simple mounds of earth or clay; but, over time, they became progressively larger and more dome-shaped. Other elements were gradually added until the stupa attained its "classic" form: a large structure surrounded by a *vedikā* (fence, seemingly derived from fences surrounding Vedic-era villages) with access granted by way of four gates (*torana*) located in each of the cardinal directions. The main portion of

the structure is the large hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*) surmounted by a square railed platform (*harmikā*) in the center of which is a pole (*vaṣṭi*) from which ascend a series of parasols (*cattravali*). Some scholars suggest that this pole derives from tree-cults commemorating the Buddha's enlightenment under the Bodhi tree, since early depictions of stupas show them crowned by trees with parasol-shaped leaves (Harvey 1991, 77–79). The pole and parasols have strong associations with royalty (kings and princes are often depicted as being sheltered by parasols in Asian art); but they unfortunately tend to attract lightning, leading to the destruction of numerous memorial sites throughout history. One can frequently find one or two tracks around the stupa for circumambulation, usually in a clockwise fashion. The majority of stupas are freestanding; but stupas have also been incorporated into or inside temples and worship halls. (See fig. 1 for the progression from stupa to pagoda as Buddhism spread across Asia.)

Symbolically, stupas are very rich structures, and numerous interpretations of their symbolism have arisen over the centuries. One of the most common views is that the stupa is a stylized depiction of the Buddhist cosmos, laid out in the form of a great *maṇḍala* (lit., "circle," a symbolic diagram) centering on Mount Sumeru, the mythical mountain anchoring the world in which we live. More concretely, the stupa stands for Buddha's simultaneous presence and absence. This paradox is important for understanding the dynamics of the stupa and its use in the *Lotus Sutra*. As a memorial, the stupa testifies to the Buddha's absence (he is no longer alive) and is a vivid reminder of the impermanent nature of existence as well as a sign pointing toward nirvana, the ultimate goal of the Buddhist path. Yet as the physical repository for relics or other sacred objects, the stupa stands for the Buddha's continual presence, providing a point of contact, a place for the *saṇgha* to assemble and meet Buddha. By journeying to a stupa, the faithful thus gain access to Buddha's sacred power even long after his earthly passing.

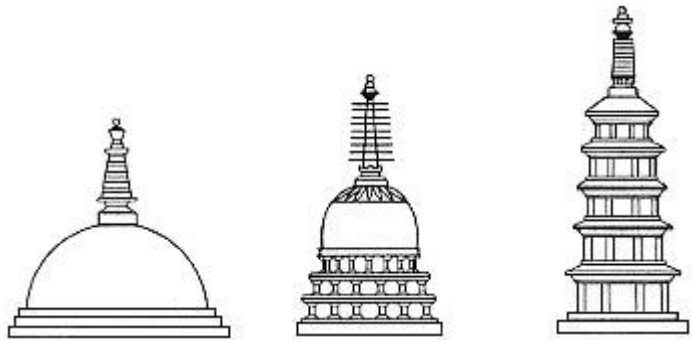

FIGURE 1 Architectural progression from stupa (left and center) to pagoda (right). Each structure has components representing the "Great Elements" (Mahābhūta of the Pali Canon) of earth, water, fire, air, and space. With permission of the Buddha Dharma Education Association Inc., Tullera, New South Wales, Australia.

Not surprisingly, stupas have proven to be extremely popular and can be found all over the Buddhist world. Stupas reside in most temple complexes and typically are the most conspicuous structures there. Moreover, abundant evidence points to stupa cults going back to the earliest centuries of Buddhist history. In various modified forms, such as the East Asian pagoda, we find stupas or stupa equivalents at almost all sacred Buddhist sites.[4]

The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism & the Significance of the *Lotus Sutra*

Stupa veneration enjoyed great popularity under the patronage of early Buddhist rulers such as Ashoka (304–232 B.C.E.) but became particularly prominent near the beginning of the Common Era, when a new religious movement, the Mahāyāna ("Great Vehicle"), began to appear, spreading northwest from India into Central Asia and eastward into China. From China, Mahāyāna Buddhism spread to Korea, Japan, and Vietnam—areas where it still dominates today.[5] From the beginning, the Mahāyāna movement was critical of the early Buddhist emphasis on monks and their personal spiritual development. Followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism perceived such "monkish" pursuits as not in keeping with the compassionate spirit of the Buddha, whose aim was to aid *all* beings. For Mahāyānists, this meant that the laity needed a larger, more active role; and along with this elevation in status for the laity came a deeper emphasis on the veneration of stupas as well as a more devotional orientation toward such sacred sites. Lay Buddhists had already developed a tradition of making pilgrimages to holy sites marked by stupas. Over time, certain lay Buddhists attached themselves to specific stupas as caretakers and guides. Some scholars even surmise that the Mahāyāna tradition began at such sites, with the first *bodhisattva*s ("wisdom beings," saintly figures) being especially devout lay people who took it upon themselves to maintain stupas and deliver sermons to those who came to worship (Hirakawa 1990, 270–74).

Scholars also mark the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism by the appearance of "new" texts purporting to be sermons of the historical Buddha yet with a more expansive and inclusive style. Mahāyāna sutras stress the universal capacity of *all* beings to attain Buddhahood and depict the Buddha himself as a god-like being who, along with hosts of bodhisattvas and other cosmic beings, continually seeks to aid the myriads of beings enmired in *saṃsāra* (the beginning-less cycle of birth and death). The *Lotus Sutra* is a prime example of such a genuinely Mahāyāna text. Mysterious in origin, it presents the historical Buddha seated on "Vulture Peak" (Mount Gridhrakuta), preaching an extended sermon to a rapt audience of myriads of monks, nuns, laity, gods, bodhisattvas, and numerous other supernatural beings. Unlike his early discourses (such as the *Dharmacakrapravartana sūtra*, or

"Sutra on setting in motion the Wheel of Dharma," wherein he lays out the basics of the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path), in the *Lotus Sutra* the Buddha reveals wondrous teachings on a truly cosmic scale, using soaring rhetoric to convey his messages, often punctuating his point with dazzling special effects (including radiant lights filling multiple worlds, hordes of bodhisattvas emerging from the depths of the earth, and a gigantic jeweled stupa appearing from nowhere to float suspended in the heavens). Moreover, in the *Lotus Sutra*, the Buddha proclaims that he is not just an Indian prince who attained nirvana under the Bodhi tree but a transtemporal being who, through unlimited wisdom and compassion, manifests in all times and places to lead all beings to salvation. Indeed, so powerful is this message that the Buddha states that even the text of the sermon itself can lead the faithful to Eternal Awakening.

Textual claims to the contrary, however, scholars generally agree that the *Lotus Sutra* is not the transcript of a sermon spoken by Siddhartha Gautama (at least not in *toto*) but rather an anthology of mini-sermons, hymns, parables, and stories assembled over the course of many years. Yet despite its composite character, the work is united by the Buddha's acceptance of all beings—regardless of their flaws and differing levels of wisdom—and his repeated assurances that they will attain Buddhahood. By turns amazing, overwhelming, and deeply moving, the *Lotus Sutra* is a masterpiece of world literature that has fascinated scholars, monastics, and lay people for centuries. As the late Wing-tsit Chan (1990, 221) noted, "More lectures have been given, more research conducted into its subject matter and terminology, and more commentaries written on it [the *Lotus Sutra*] than on any other Buddhist scripture."[6]

Passages on Stupas in the *Lotus Sutra*

Perhaps given the strong popular focus of both stupa worship and the *Lotus Sutra*, it should come as no surprise that the latter has a great deal to say about the former. Indeed, stupa construction and worship play an important role in thirteen of the twenty-eight chapters found in Kumārajīva's (344–413) translation of the *Lotus Sutra*.[7] Because of their recurring appearances, citing only a few examples of stupas in the *Lotus Sutra* will suffice.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In this, the *Lotus Sutra*'s opening scene, we find the Buddha seated in deep *samadhi* (meditation) before his expectant audience. Suddenly a supernatural ray of light bursts forth from his brow to illuminate the eighteen thousand worlds, revealing multiple Buddhas preaching and inspiring numerous monks, nuns, bodhisattvas, laymen, and laywomen. Several miniscenes depict worship and devotion, clearly echoing events from the life

story of the historical Buddha. Each of these scenes, moreover, has the same ending. As the text says, "Further, there could be seen how, after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* [final extinction], a stupa . . . of the seven jewels would be erected with the *Buddhaśarīra* [relics of the Buddha]" (Hurvitz 1976, 4). At this point, the illuminating vision concludes with audience members exclaiming at such "extraordinary," "lustrous," and "wondrous and supernatural" signs.

This first chapter quite literally sets the stage for the rest of the sutra, and we see that stupas are already part of the scene. These stupas are clearly of importance in that the *Lotus Sutra* draws our attention to them with enticing descriptions—a theme that appears again and again whenever stupas are mentioned in the sutra—and shows the cast of characters engaging in proper ritual devotion to the stupas. Moreover, the fact that each miniscene closes with the construction and veneration of a stupa underscores the centrality of stupas in Buddhist religiosity. From this point forward, the universe of the *Lotus Sutra* effectively surrounds its audience (and the readers) with a network of thousands of stupas.

Chapter 10: Instructions to the Bodhisattva Medicine King

Although stupas show up in various places over the next few chapters, until close to the sutra's halfway point, the Buddha does not make absolutely clear that stupas are integral to the Buddha path, and, indeed, intimately related to the *Lotus Sutra*. Here the Buddha explains to the great bodhisattva "Medicine King" (Bhaiṣajyarāja) the proper way of preaching and honoring those who preach the *Lotus Sutra*:

> O Medicine King! Wherever it [the *Lotus Sutra*] may be preached, or read, or recited, or written, or whatever place a roll of this scripture may occupy, in all those places one is to erect a stupa of the seven jewels, building it high and wide and with impressive decoration. There is no need even to lodge *śarīra* [relics associated with a sacred person] in it. What is the reason? Within it there is already a whole body of the Thus Come One. This stupa is to be showered with offerings, humbly venerated, held in solemn esteem and praised with all manner of flowers, scents, necklaces, silk banners and canopies, music skillfully sung and played. If there are persons who can see this stupa and worship and make offerings to it, be it known that these persons are all close to *anuttarasamyaksambodhi* [highest perfect enlightenment]. (Hurvitz 1976, 178–79)

Once again, we have the insistence on stupa veneration, this time described in detail and explicitly connected to preaching, recitation, and general devotion to the *Lotus Sutra* itself. Moreover, those who engage in such activities are proclaimed as being close to enlightenment.

This passage, coming as it does from the very lips of the Buddha to one of the foremost bodhisattvas, is particularly important as a declaration of the centrality of stupa worship for the Buddhist faithful. Such sentiments are echoed elsewhere in the *Lotus Sutra*, for example, in chapter 2, where

the Buddha praises anyone who worships or constructs stupas—even in the simplest, most playful manner—as having "achieved the Buddha path" (Hurvitz 1976, 38–39). Another similar passage comes in chapter 12, wherein the Buddha declares to his audience that the fantastic stupa to be constructed by Devadatta (a rival monk who even tried to the kill the Buddha on several occasions) in a future lifetime will be a major aid for many beings in achieving the stages of *arhat*, *pratyekabuddha*, and the "non-backsliding" stage of the bodhisattva path (Hurvitz 1976, 197).[8]

Chapter 15: Emergence of the "Pilgrim" Bodhisattvas

Slightly more than halfway through the twenty-eight chapters of the *Lotus Sutra*, we find yet another passage where a stupa plays a central role, in this case as the focus of pilgrimage. Here the Buddha has just finished assuring his devoted retinue of bodhisattvas from the far reaches of the cosmos who are anxious to preserve his wondrous sutra from being lost that their fears are unfounded; he has untold myriads of followers from within this very realm (the "Sahā-world," i.e., *our* world) who are already devoted to preserving and preaching the sutra's message. At once, the earth splits open and innumerable ("incalculable thousands of myriads of millions" of) bodhisattvas burst forth from the hidden depths and head immediately to the gigantic central stupa that has previously emerged before the assembled faithful and in which Śākyamuni (along with the previous Buddha Prabhūtaratna, "Many Jewels") temporarily resides.[9] The text then describes a near-perfect example of how high-ranking (royal?)[10] monastic beings should pay homage to their superiors, bowing to their feet and performing obeisance: "Doing three turns of rightward circumambulation and paying humble respects with palms joined, they lauded them [the Buddhas] with varied bodhisattva-praises, then stood off to one side, with joyful expectation looking up at the two World-Honored Ones" (Hurvitz 1976, 226).

This passage portrays a scene in marked contrast to the earlier, more celebratory, examples of stupa veneration. Although various reasons might exist for such contrast, the most obvious is simply the fact that the bodhisattvas here are high ranking (they are explicitly given the title *mahāsattvas*, "great beings") and are monastic, hence bound by specific rules of decorum as laid out in the *vinaya* (monastic discipline). For example, in most branches of Buddhism, monks and nuns are forbidden to play music or own luxurious items of the sort presented to the stupas by worshippers in other passages of the *Lotus Sutra*. Thus, their veneration in this passage is more proper and sedate (as befitting those seeking to calm the passions), essentially mimicking the rituals of reverence displayed by monastic disciples when they approach the living Buddha. Still, however, the message is clear: even those of high rank or monastic standing can (and should) pay homage to the stupas; stupa veneration is open to (and recommended for—

perhaps even required of) all members of the *saṇgha*.[11] Even more interesting, though, is that fact that such textual descriptions of veneration have striking parallels with accounts of stupa veneration by monastic pilgrims such as Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–64),[12] suggesting that the sutra descriptions are based upon everyday practices, were treated as "instruction manuals" by real-life monastics, or both. In any event, this passage from chapter 15 offers us an intriguing (albeit idealized) view of the stupa as the focal point of religious pilgrimage—yet another devotional act that remains popular in Buddhism to this day. Implicitly, the *Lotus Sutra* is calling the faithful (both lay and monastic) to do the same.

Chapter 11: The Many-Jeweled Stupa

Undoubtedly, however, the most famous example of a stupa in the entire *Lotus Sutra* appears in chapter 11, when a glorious multi-storied, jewel-encrusted structure suddenly manifests itself before the wondering eyes of the assembly. Generally regarded as the climax of the *Lotus Sutra* (it occurs roughly at the central point in the text itself), the lavishly described event is the literary equivalent of a Hollywood movie scene replete with all manner of special cinematographic effects. Here the miraculous appearance of the stupa itself appears to be the main attraction, only to be followed by the revelation that it houses within its depths the living body of a former Buddha, Prabhūtaratna. So famous is this scene that it warrants an extensive quotation:

> At that time, there appeared before the Buddha a seven-jeweled stupa, five hundred *yojanas* [a large distance, measuring several miles] in height and two hundred and fifty *yojanas* in breadth, welling up out of the earth and resting in mid-air, set about with sundry precious objects. It had five thousand banisters, a thousand myriads of grotto-like rooms, and numberless banners to adorn it. Jeweled rosaries trailed from it, and ten thousand millions of jeweled bells were suspended from its top. *Tamālapatracandana* [fragrant incense made from a rare flowering tree] scent issued from all four of its surfaces and filled the world; its banners were made of the seven jewels, to wit, gold, silver, *vaidūrya* ["cat's-eye gem": a precious substance, perhaps beryl or lapis lazuli], giant clam shell, coral, pearl, and carnelian; and its height extended to the palaces of the four god kings. The thirty-three gods rained down on it divine *mandārva* flowers . . . The other gods, dragons, yaksas, gandharvas, asuras . . . humans and non-humans, numbering a thousand myriads of millions, made offerings to the jeweled stupa of all manner of flower perfumes, necklaces, banners, and skillfully played music, reverently worshipping it, holding it in solemn esteem, and singing its praises. (Hurvitz 1976, 183)

Following this spectacle, a voice erupts from inside the stupa, which then opens to reveal the former Buddha Prabhūtaratna, who praises Śākyamuni, proclaiming that he has come from his own pure Buddha realm to hear Śākyamuni preach the *Lotus Sutra*. He then invites Śākyamuni to join him on his "lion's seat" throne inside the stupa, which the latter does.

Even in print, this scene of the enormous jeweled stupa is dazzling. Hypnotic, even hallucinatory, it challenges our ordinary experience of space and time, transforming our visual field. The stupa here is the very center of the sutra. When it magically appears from the depths of the earth, the entire assembly, filled with "Dharmajoy" at a sight such as they have never seen before, sings its praises. Adorned with all manner of jewels—clear, hard, precious, shining substances—it is essentially a portion of the distant Buddha Realm "Jewel-Pure," the paradise over which Prabhūtaratna presides. Stretching through the heavens, the stupa's radiant presence contrasts sharply with the polluted and decaying Sahā world in which we normally dwell. As testament to the power of the *Lotus Sutra*, the former Buddha even promises to manifest himself (via his stupas, by implication) wherever the *Lotus Sutra* is preached; henceforth, intoning the sutra itself will suffice to bring forth the Buddha's presence. Once again, we see the close alliance between stupas and the *Lotus Sutra.* Prabhūtaratna's invitation to Śākyamuni to join him on his throne underscores oneness of all Buddhas and the immense power of the *Lotus Sutra*: it has, as it were, the strength of *two* Buddhas (not just one).

Common Themes in Stupa Passages from the *Lotus Sutra*

Although the *Lotus Sutra* includes other examples of stupa worship, the examples discussed above rank among the most significant, for both their place in the sutra itself as well as their implications for the type of Buddhism the text presents. Probably the most obvious function of such scenes of stupa veneration in the *Lotus Sutra* is to illustrate basic Mahāyāna doctrines, most especially the increasingly transcendent view of the Buddha. Indeed, in the *Lotus Sutra*, we find the Buddha elevated to god-like status, far surpassing the view often presented in the early Buddhist scriptures. Yet this Cosmic Buddha is, if anything, even more compassionate than his earthly manifestation, constantly working to enlighten all sentient beings (monastic and lay, human and non-human) in all worlds. The stupa is a perfect expression of such universal compassion, as it provides ready access to the Buddha's saving power. As a structure for housing sacred relics, the stupa is even the historical Buddha's stand-in, his abiding presence in absentia. In addition, in the *Lotus Sutra*, the Buddha ties stupa veneration to promises of great reward, adding that veneration of stupas provides a concrete boost in practice for those striving along the Buddhist path.

Passages in the *Lotus Sutra* that focus on stupas are also consistently marked by lavish descriptions. Indeed, one of the hallmarks of the text is its vivid, enticing imagery surrounding stupas. To cite yet another example, at one point in the sutra, the Buddha predicts the future Buddhahood of his disciple Maudgalyāyana because of his meritorious worship. In the Buddha's words:

> I now tell you that this Great Maudgalyāyana with divers implements shall make offerings to eight thousand Buddhas, doing them deference and honor. After the Buddhas' extinction, for each he shall erect a stupa-mausoleum, whose height shall be a thousand *yojanas*, whose length and breadth shall be each five hundred *yojanas*, and which shall be filled with gold, silver, *vaidūrya*, giant clam shell, agate, pearl, and carnelian, these precious seven. With a multitude of flower garlands, paint-scent, powdered scent, burnt incense, cotton canopies, and banners he shall make offerings. When that [time] is past, he shall again make offerings to two hundred myriads of millions of Buddhas, in the same way. (Hurvitz 1976, 127)

The language is overwhelming, hyperbolic. Far from a simple, austere path of ascetic striving, we find that the stupa scenes of the *Lotus Sutra* exemplify what the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order term a "Buddhism of Abundance," standing in marked contrast to the relative poverty of earlier forms of the Buddha Dharma (Madhyamavani Online). All told, such descriptions of abundance are stirring, powerful inducements to visit stupas not only to pay homage but also just to gaze in awe at one's surroundings. Also within such passages may be hints of visualization practices (*buddhānusmṛ ti*, "remembrance of the Buddha") that have been popular at both the lay and monastic levels for centuries, particularly in Pure Land forms of Buddhism (see Corless 1995).

Seen from another angle, stupa imagery in the *Lotus Sutra* forms the basic framework of the sutra itself. Rhetorically speaking, the examples of stupa veneration in the *Lotus Sutra* discussed above are positioned quite prominently within the text: at the opening, at the climax, at the start of the second half, and in other conspicuous locations. Moreover, several of these passages clearly echo other passages in the text concerned with stupa construction and veneration.[13] The result, from a strictly textualist perspective, is an intriguing and subtle thematic stupa network; one cannot, as it were, go far into the sutra without encountering a stupa, just as one cannot venture far into a Buddhist region without encountering a real stupa that symbolically marks the Buddha's presence and influence.

It seems more than likely, as well, that the stupa passages in the *Lotus Sutra*, with their dazzling rhetoric and large-scale social context, also serve as liturgical guides by presenting idealized examples of stupa worship. That is, scenes such as we find in chapters 10 and 11 (Hurvitz 1976, 178–79, 183) are not necessarily *descriptive* (that is, describing actual situations) so much as *prescriptive* (presenting scenes that the Buddhist faithful should seek to enact): they have clear resonance with accounts of stupa worship found at different points in Buddhist history.[14] Going even further, we could argue that passages in the *Lotus Sutra* concerning stupas even have a strong *performative* dimension in that the text itself helps engender a properly worshipful state of affairs. The text not only enjoins the enshrining of an actual copy of the sutra in a stupa but also explicitly commands its readers (or lis-

teners) to erect a stupa to commemorate those beings who have read, written, recited, preached, and practiced the sutra at the specific spots where such actions have taken place (Hurvitz 1976, 254–56). Reading, writing, reciting, preaching, and engaging in the practices outlined in the *Lotus Sutra* makes *us* worthy of veneration and commemoration with stupas, just like the Buddha. The clear implication, then, is that the *Lotus Sutra* can transform its practitioners into Buddha, a feat that entails the full consecration of stupas at all places where the *Lotus Sutra* has been manifested. Theoretically, this process of consecration could expand to encompass the entire cosmos.

Influence of the *Lotus Sutra*'s Supas on Asian Art & Culture

The influence of the *Lotus Sutra* on Asian culture—through literature, poetry, drama, art, and more—is, of course, quite well known. Famous novels such as *Journey to the West* and *The Tale of Genji* are replete with references and allusions to the *Lotus Sutra* and its teachings. However, what is often overlooked is the fact that much of the explicit influence centers on images of stupas from the *Lotus Sutra.* Just as in the case of the stupa passages in the text itself, so here the examples are so numerous that I can cite only a few.

One of the most obvious examples of the influence of the *Lotus Sutra* on popular art and culture is in the numerous paintings and statues of the Buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna found in Silk Road art at Dunhuang, China, and at other sites throughout Buddhist Asia (see fig. 2). Such images often show both Buddhas seated side by side within the fantastic jeweled stupa. Although depictions of stupas enshrining Buddha figures are common in Buddhist art and may not necessarily point to any specific scriptural influence, inspiration for images of side-by-side Buddhas has clearly come directly from the chapters of the *Lotus Sutra*. Moreover, scholars maintain that, in some cases, such images were used as focal points for meditation and worship (Miya 1989).

The connection between stupa images inspired by the *Lotus Sutra* and ritual practice has been very strong, particularly in East Asia. Depictions of the *Lotus Sutra*'s great jeweled stupa (with the two Buddhas seated in the middle) have also found their way into mandalas constructed for special ritual meditation. In particular, monks from the Japanese Tendai 天台 sect use such mandalas during the *Taimitsu* 台蜜 ritual (a portion of the *Hokke Hō* 法華法, "Lotus Rite") to eradicate "sin," create merit, and foster awakening. There is, in addition, evidence that such rites influenced Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–82), undoubtedly the most (in)famous devotee of the *Lotus Sutra* in Buddhist history (Stone 2004).

During Japan's Heian 平安 period (794–1185), devotion to the *Lotus Sutra* expressed itself in a flurry of production of hand-inked copies of the

FIGURE 2 Votive stupa with Buddha figures, 58.5 cm tall, Sarnath Site Museum, Uttar Pradesh, India, 1969. Carved from beige sandstone, this stupa is one of numerous examples illustrating the widespread identification of the Buddha (or other holy personages) with an actual stupa; the latter marks the presence of the former. Courtesy of John C. and Susan L. Huntington, The Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Related Art, College of the Arts, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

sutra. In some cases, the entire text of the *Lotus Sutra* has been inscribed in the form of the great stupa enshrining both Buddhas (fig. 3). In other instances, the text of the sutra has been painstakingly transcribed with each Chinese character drawn seated in a lotus flower on a pedestal, or surrounded by a stupa. This artistic convention illustrates the popular view that "each character in the *Lotus Sutra* is a living Buddha" (Stone 2004, 474.)

Finally, various priests and scholars during the Middle Ages in both China and Japan compiled a number of collections of wondrous popular tales about the *Lotus Sutra* as part of their ministry. As to be expected, stupas appear quite frequently in some of them. One of the most intriguing concerns the Japanese poet–monk Jitsuin (late tenth century), who was devoted to reciting and expounding upon the *Lotus Sutra* to anyone who would listen. According to the tale, on his deathbed, Jitsuin had a vivid dream of the many-jeweled stupa from chapter 11 of the *Lotus Sutra* and was assured that this blessing was a sign of his imminent rebirth in the Pure Land (Dykstra 1983).

It is quite telling that each of the examples from popular art and culture discussed above centers on stupas, confirming their centrality to the *Lotus Sutra*. Artworks—both elite and popular—typically reflect their larger cultural contexts, and in many cases are major vehicles for the spread of religious ideas. Based upon these examples, we might suggest that the depiction of stupas in the *Lotus Sutra* is a major factor in the sutra's popular appeal.

Implications for Understanding Buddhism

What, then, are we to make of all this? Does this popular, devotional orientation in the *Lotus Sutra* that so often centers on stupas mark a major shift in Buddhism from earlier forms? Certainly many scholars have concluded as much. Mahāyāna Buddhism in general is more lay oriented and was closely aligned with the growth of stupa worship along with the appearance of various "new" sutras (such as the *Lotus Sutra*) that have much more cosmic, even "theistic" characters.[15] Indeed, the *Lotus Sutra*, with its remarkable cast of divine characters and central attention to stupa devotion, may be the epitome of such works. One cannot extrapolate, however, that stupa worship is an exclusively Mahāyāna practice (as such veneration predates Mahāyāna Buddhism by centuries) or that stupas do not play a large role at the popular level in other forms of Buddhism, such as the Theravāda tradition.[16]

Still, one cannot deny that the *Lotus Sutra* exudes a distinctive ethos that differs tremendously from earlier, pre-Mahāyāna texts. And it is surely no coincidence that the *Lotus Sutra* continually focuses on the concept and practice of *upāya* ("skilful means"), both as an explicit topic of discussion between the Buddha and his interlocutors as well as through various illus-

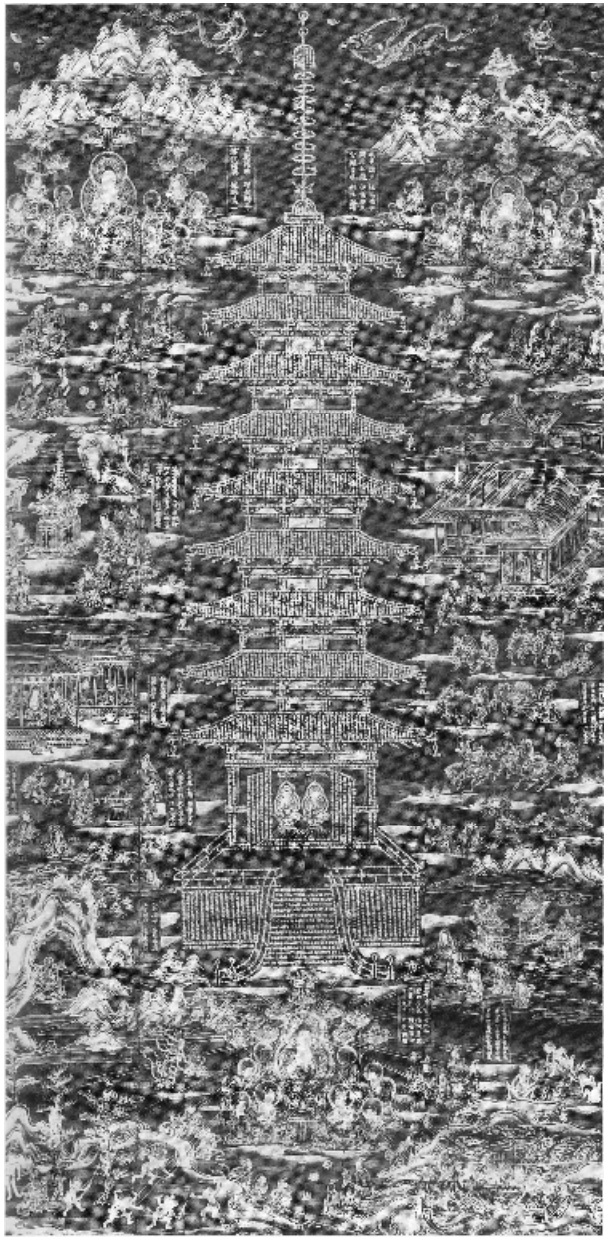

FIGURE 3 Fascicle one of the *Lotus Sutra Mandala* (*Kinji hōtō mandara* 金字宝塔曼陀羅); one of a set of eight hanging scrolls held at the Nara National Museum, Japan. Depicts Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna seated side by side and is an example of a *moji-tō* 文字塔 ("text stupa"), a text which is itself written in the form of a giant stupa. Gold and silver ink on dark blue paper, 111.5 × 58.7 cm. Ryūhonji 立本寺, Kyoto, thirteenth century. From George J. Tanabe Jr. and Willa Jane Tanabe, eds., *The Lotus Sutra in Japanese Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), image 6 between pp. 84–85. Reprinted with permission of the University of Hawai'i Press.

trations (analogies, parables, and the like). Although the concept of *upāya* has multiple dimensions, it often refers to the manner in which Dharma is taught: those skilled in *upāya* pitch the teachings to their particular audiences with the intention of piquing their interest and spurring them on to further study and cultivation. At least initially, this practice will usually entail making the Dharma as attractive as possible to the widest population. In this regard, stupa veneration would seemingly be tailor-made to appeal to large numbers of ordinary people. The depictions and discussions of stupa construction and veneration in the *Lotus Sutra*, coupled with their promises of rewards (up to and including full-blown Buddhahood), would be enticements addressed to both the Buddhist faithful and potential converts. Such phenomena typically appear during inclusive and expansive phases of any major world religion. Perhaps, then, we could view the use of stupas in the *Lotus Sutra* as a subtle but ingenious form of religious marketing. Clearly it has proven quite successful, as reflected in widespread influence of the *Lotus Sutra* on Asian cultures and beyond.[17]

Invariably, of course, such discussion promotes critical reflection on what Buddhism actually is. Certainly, in the West, the prevailing image of Buddhism tends to be that of an exotic, otherworldly, and highly individualistic way of life centering on meditation and withdrawal while eschewing notions of "faith." In part, this popular image is due to early Western scholarship, but it is still a rather common depiction in various world-religion texts.[18] Perhaps, as well, this image is encouraged by contemporary marketing of Buddhism as a form of "spirituality" geared toward individual cultivation and consumption—to say nothing of popular media fascination with "celebrity Buddhists" such as Orlando Bloom, Kate Bosworth, Leonard Cohen, Richard Gere, Herbie Hancock, Steven Seagal, and Tina Turner. Such depictions of "Buddhism," while undeniably appealing to certain segments of the American population, promote a rather limited and skewed view of the Dharma. Such views often overlook the forms of Buddhism actually practiced in predominantly Buddhist societies—forms of Buddhism that are typically very communal and familial, with a strong practical (concrete and this-worldly) focus. Scholars are slowly compensating for this shortcoming, but we still have a long way to go. It is interesting to note, however, that the growing attention to popular forms of Buddhism by Western scholars parallels an increase in stupa construction at Buddhist sites in the West. Even more intriguing is the fact that several of these Western stupas are explicitly tied to the *Lotus Sutra*.[19]

In any event, what we see in the *Lotus Sutra* is far more messy and chaotic than either the common Western conception of Buddhism or the pristine scholarly version presented in many college textbooks. Within the pages of the *Lotus Sutra*, we are confronted not with the simple admonitions of a wandering Indian monk but with mind-blowing imagery and spectacle,

recurring exhortations to have faith and to worship, and constant assurances that we are not alone: the Buddha and various divine beings know and care about us, and they repeatedly reassure us of our ultimate salvation. In the *Lotus Sutra* is a type of Buddhism that is highly exuberant and joyful, transcending lines of sex, ethnicity, sect, and class. It is an emotional religion that taps into and works with the primal power of joining with others in acts of worship. And it has enormous appeal for ordinary people. My students almost uniformly express shock and confusion when studying the *Lotus Sutra* and its devotional forms of Buddhism, but this initial reaction is inevitably replaced by curiosity and a childlike delight in the fantastic textual imagery. Many of them speak of their desire to see and visit stupas, perhaps even join in rituals of veneration, if only "for the heck of it." Although we still might be seeing the lure of the exotic in such statements, I will suggest an alternative explanation: Perhaps studying the *Lotus Sutra* with an eye toward popular views and practices (especially those centering on stupas) can actually evoke a deep "Buddhist perspective" (*adhimukti*, the capacity to recognize and respond to the Dharma) that is more widespread than we might otherwise acknowledge.

Notes

[1]In this article, I use the terms *folk*, *popular*, *lay*, and *ordinary* interchangeably to designate the basic devotional aspect of Buddhism versus the "elite" or more scholarly/intellectual levels—a common and useful distinction often made by scholars of religion. Although the latter has tended to manifest itself more often in monastic settings, I recognize that many (if not most) Buddhist monastics have actually had strong devotional orientations.

[2]Possible roots include the Dravidian term *pagoda/pagavadi* (itself derived from the Sanskrit *bhagavadi*, "goddess," especially in reference to Kali) or the Persian *butkada* (temple). Liang (1984) maintains that it comes from the Chinese *ba jiao ta* 八角塔 (eight-cornered tower), a term that referred to the octagonal towers that were often constructed during the Middle Ages.

[3]According to Tucci (1988, 13–24), Tibetan tradition holds that there are eight fundamental stupa forms, each based on the original Indian prototypes erected at the eight major sites associated with the historical Buddha's life.

[4]For a detailed discussion of the various types of stupas, including their symbolic meanings, see Snodgrass (1985).

[5]Historical evidence suggests that Mahāyāna Buddhism arose from early schisms among the *saṇgha*. It seems likely that early Mahāyāna Buddhism does not mark a sharp break with older forms of Buddhism but was the product of tendencies already within Buddhist tradition that were encouraged by the major social changes in India at that time. Certainly by the third and fourth centuries, new Buddhist ordination lineages were distinguishing themselves from older forms of Buddhism, which they referred to pejoratively as "Little Vehicle" (*Hīnayāna*). Nonetheless, Mahāyāna Buddhism continued to be practiced alongside these older forms for centuries.

[6]Several English translations of the *Lotus Sutra* have been made. The oldest, Kern (1884), was translated from an eleventh-century Sanskrit manuscript, although Henry

David Thoreau (or, more likely, one of his acquaintances) translated a single chapter from an 1852 French translation some decades earlier. The version by Soothill (1931), while generally accurate, is abridged. Watson (1993) is very accessible. The most scholarly version, however, is Hurvitz (1976). A full, heavily annotated translation of the standard Chinese version of the *Lotus Sutra* that includes comparisons with Sanskrit versions, Hurvitz's translation is a masterful piece of Buddhological scholarship. In this article, I cite Hurvitz's translation.

[7]Several ancient versions of the *Lotus Sutra* are still extant. The oldest version, in fragments, is in Chinese and dates from the later third century. The translation by Central Asian scholar–monk Kumārajīva is the most popular and has essentially remained the most authoritative version for the past fifteen hundred years.

[8]The *arhat* ("worthy one," also rendered as *arhant*) is someone (usually a monk) who has achieved nirvana yet is inferior to a Buddha. Commonly understood to be the spiritual ideal of Hīnayāna Buddhism, Mahāyāna texts often denigrate the *arhat*. In the *Lotus Sutra*, however, the *arhat* is merely a temporary stopping point on the path to full Buddhahood. A *pratyekabuddha*, by contrast, is someone who has attained full enlightenment through his or her own efforts yet does not help others to progress. The "nonbacksliding" (*acala*, "immoveable") stage of the bodhisattva path is fairly self-explanatory, referring as it does to the point (usually the seventh or eighth stage) at which an aspirant will never regress, thus signifying a virtual assurance of impending Buddhahood.

[9]The appearance of this great-jeweled stupa occurs in chapter 11 of the *Lotus Sutra* and, in many respects, marks the climax of the work. Because of its importance as an example of stupa veneration, I have saved discussion of it for last.

[10]Traditionally, bodhisattvas are depicted with royal trappings in Buddhist art, as "Dharma princes" (or princesses) or "vassals" of the Kingly Buddha.

[11]This recommendation for stupa veneration on the part of monastics marks a significant departure from earlier Buddhist tradition; early texts stress that stupa worship is a "lesser" way, fit only for laity. In Buddhist artwork from the early centuries before the Common Era, monks are conspicuously absent from depictions of stupa veneration.

[12]See, for instance, Beal (2003, 57–58).

[13]For instance, in the passage from chapter 10 cited above, the centrality of stupa construction in the Buddhist path is echoed in both chapters 2 and 12.

[14]See, for example, accounts of stupa festivals found in the *Sanbōe* 三宝絵 (Illustrations of the three jewels), a collection of Buddhist tales complied by the medieval Japanese official Minamoto Tamenori 源為憲 (d. 1011) (Kamens 1998, 279).

[15]According to Kajiyama (1995, 144), a lay-oriented "Buddhism of faith" (versus the "Buddhism of truth" found in monastic circles) began to form among adherents of stupa cults relatively early in Buddhist history, prior to the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

[16]Stupas are major sites of worship and pilgrimage in the predominantly Theravādin countries of Southeast Asia. Moreover, there is a strong devotional component to Buddhism in such countries. See Gombrich (1988, 118–26).

[17]One example can be found in the spread of Sōka Gakkai 創価学会, a lay-oriented form of Buddhism focusing on veneration of the *Lotus Sutra*. Although it began as an offshoot of the Japanese Nichiren 日蓮 sect, Sōka Gakkai has become a truly international movement, claiming followers in practically every country of the world. For relevant commentary that has appeared in this journal alone, see, for example, Métraux (2003, 2007).

[18]See, for example, the depiction of Buddhism in Smith (1991, 82–153).

[19]For a good example, see Pine Mountain Buddhist Temple (listed in references).

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 137–50

Ambiguous and Amiss: Li Shangyin's Poetry and Its Interpretations

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One striking feature of Li Shangyin's 李商隱 (ca. 812–58) poetry is its ambiguity, which has fascinated and frustrated generations of critics and scholars, giving rise to widely divergent interpretations. Through an analysis of Li Shangyin's famous poem "Jin se" 錦瑟 (The ornamented zither) and a survey of representative interpretations of his poetry by different schools in history, this article describes some of Li Shangyin's ambiguous characteristics and points out the inappropriateness and harmfulness of the interpretations that have resulted from misuse of certain criteria derived from the Chinese tradition of canonical exegesis. Believing that Li Shangyin's creation of highly ambiguous semantic structures in his poems was more for aesthetic than for political considerations, the author suggests that, in reading Li Shangyin's ambiguous poems, one should allow flexibility in terms of their topical references so as properly to grasp and appreciate the ambiguous significance.

The Poetry of Li Shangyin: Allusive & Enigmatic

In *The Poetry of Li Shang-yin: Ninth-Century Baroque Chinese Poet*, the only monographic translation and study of Li Shangyin 李商隱 (ca. 812–58) in English so far, James J. Y. Liu writes: "Li Shang-yin has been both admired and condemned for the highly allusive character of much of his poetry" (1969, 246). Few scholars of Chinese poetry would question this statement. In fact, not only does allusion figure prominently in Li Shangyin's poetry, but also it is recognized that allusion is abundantly common in premodern Chinese poetry in general. As Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465–522) said: "Writers before the time of Ch'ing (Qing) [or Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju (Sima Xiangru)] and Yuan [or Wang Pao (Bao)] mostly wrote out of their natural inclinations, and seldom took advantage of the experience of others; but after the time of [Yang] Hsiung (Xiong) and [Liu] Hsiang (Xiang), many writers began to quote the works of past authors to help them in their own writing" (Shih 1983, 493). Being a later poet, Li Shangyin naturally inherited this tradition of allusion. Writing in the shadows of many great poets,

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however, Li Shangyin distinguished his practice of borrowing from that of others. He presented in his poetry a continuum of forms that started with the use of overt allusions and then moved on with a tendency to reduce the more visible marks of borrowing through subtly internalizing his allusions or drawing on their atmospheric qualities. Moreover, in his search for images and voices throughout the literary tradition for his own poetry, he "explores strange and fascinating worlds of passion and fantasy that none of the other poets has explored" (Liu 1969, 250). In the wide range of his allusive sources, apart from canonical works to which most of his predecessors and contemporary poets alluded, Li Shangyin called upon out-of-the-way tales, anecdotes, and mythological and legendary stories.

If allusiveness is a striking feature in the Li Shangyin corpus, his frequent, creative, and assimilative employment of allusions contributed to another conspicuous characteristic of his poetry: enigma. In Li Shangyin's poetry, these two attributes seem inseparable: Enigma is by definition interwoven with allusiveness, especially his cryptic allusiveness; and allusiveness, in turn, is integral to the epithet of enigma. To a large extent, these two constitutive elements of Li Shangyin's poetry play a fundamental role in Li Shangyin's poetic ambiguity, which, nevertheless, has been mainly appreciated intuitively.

To study Li Shangyin's poetic ambiguity systematically in order to see how it contributes to the process of his poetic signification is an ambitious and complex project that deserves full-length presentation elsewhere. It is my interest in this article, however, to discuss, first, some of Li's ambiguous poetic characteristics and traditional treatments of them. Instead of understanding these characteristics as highly crafted artistic effects, traditional critics and commentators have often regarded them as mere results of the poet's sociopolitical circumstances and considerations. Second, I critically survey divergent interpretations of Li Shangyin's poetry that have arisen over the centuries due to his ambiguity. Demonstrating and problematizing these interpretations of Li's poetry are meaningful and useful activities, because a thorough knowledge of these interpretations—with all their problems—is necessary for our future exploration of Li Shangyin's poetic ambiguity.

Ambiguity of Li Shangyin's Poetry: "The Ornamented Zither" as an Example

Historically, the ambiguous characteristics of Li Shangyin's poetry have received much attention, both positive and negative, by both traditional critics and modern scholars. In traditional critical writings on poetry, referred to as *shihua* 詩話 (remarks on poetry), Li Shangyin's poetry is often associated in Chinese with the descriptors *yinpi* 隱僻 (hermetic), *shenpi* 深僻

(enigmatic), or *huise* 晦澀 (recondite), all of which could be in one way or another associated with ambiguity. Although many critics, for various reasons, denounced the ambiguous character of Li's poetry, positive attitudes toward it have been seen in quite a few critical writings since the Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279). Ye Xie 葉燮 (1627–1703), for example, viewed Li Shangyin's quatrains as follows: "Li Shangyin's seven-character quatrains are invested with profound meanings and worded in indirect expressions. They are unsurpassed and can truly exist incomparably for centuries" (Guo 1979, 74).

The following famous remark on Li Shangyin's poems by Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (1873–1929) provides an example of one modern reader's positive reaction to the characteristic of ambiguity: What such poems as "The Ornamented Zither," "The Walls of Emerald," and "The Holy Lady's Temple," and so forth, "are about I cannot determine. I cannot even explain the literal meaning line by line. Yet I feel they are beautiful, and when I read them, they give me a new kind of pleasure in my mind. We must realize that Beauty is many-sided, that Beauty is mysterious by nature. If we still acknowledge the value of Beauty, we cannot lightly brush aside this kind of writing" (Liang 1937, 50).[1]

Although their understanding of the significance of ambiguity as a mode of Li Shangyin's poetry remained intuitive, these critics have shown the pervasiveness of this characteristic in the Li Shangyin corpus, especially regarding poems composed in the form of "regulated verse" (*lüshi* 律詩). Regulated verse, which became mature in the High Tang 唐 period (ca. 713–66) thanks to great achievements in it by poets like Du Fu 杜甫 (712–70), has very restricting rules yet at the same time affords opportunities for highly compact and complex verbal structures as well as subtle and cryptic poetic effects. For his allusive and multifaceted poetic utterance, Li Shangyin seems to have found a perfect outlet in the form of regulated verse. Many of his poems that reveal his esoteric worlds and complicated feelings are composed in such verse. To exemplify how the poet employs this poetic form to communicate things that are unintelligible and give rise to different readings of them, let us turn to his seven-character regulated-verse poem titled "Jin se" 錦瑟 (The ornamented zither), perhaps the most famous (and most controversial) poem by Li Shangyin:

錦瑟無端五十弦，一弦一柱思華年。
莊生曉夢迷蝴蝶，望帝春心托杜鵑。
滄海月明珠有淚，藍田日暖玉生煙。
此情可待成追憶，只是當時已惘然。

The ornamented zither, for no reason, has fifty strings;
Each string, each bridge, recalls a youthful year.

Master Chuang [Zhuang] was confused by his morning dream of the butterfly;
Emperor Wang's amorous heart in spring is entrusted to the cuckoo.

In the vast sea, under a bright moon, pearls have tears;
On Indigo Mountain, in the warm sun, jade engenders smoke.

This feeling might have become a thing to be remembered,
Only, at the time you were already bewildered and lost.

(Liu 1969, 51)[2]

Starting with the ornamented zither, a musical instrument which is both real and legendary, this poem conveys the poet's complicated feelings with great passion as well as in a very ambiguous way. Largely, the unintelligibility of the poem comes from its composition of complex allusions and juxtaposition of images which are highly metaphoric, metonymic, and contrasting. The allusion to the zither, for example, functions, first, as a concrete image and therefore immediately produces certain senses and images for the reader. Once the allusion—to the legend in which the god Taidi 太帝 ordered the fifty-stringed zither played by a goddess broken in half to subdue the extremely sorrowful tone it produced—is realized, however, the allusive quality of the image thickens the sadness evoked by these senses and allows us to experience a more profound human feeling through the remainder of the poem.[3] Intrinsically, the poem's ambiguity begins with the poet's incorporation of a plaintive mood by drawing on the atmospheric quality of this allusion. Also, as the fifty-stringed zither is played "each string, each bridge," so are the past years recalled one by one; the zither can thus be taken metaphorically to represent man's life.

The second couplet can further exemplify the poem's ambiguous attributes. The first line of the couplet refers to a famous anecdote in the *Book of Zhuang Zi* (*Zhuang Zi* 莊子, also known as the *Nanhua jing* 南華經). In that story, the legendary Daoist master Zhuang Zi (fourth century B.C.E.) says that he once dreamed he was a butterfly and could not know if he was a butterfly dreaming he was Zhuang Zi or Zhuang Zi dreaming he was a butterfly (Zhuang Zi 1977, 2.22b). Alluding to this well-known story, the phrase immediately presents both a question—What is real and what is unreal?—and an image invested with the poet's lost or perplexed feeling, or that of frustration or even despair. The second line of the couplet alludes to the myth of Emperor Wang 望帝 named Du Yu 杜宇, an ancient ruler of Shu 蜀. About him, there are several different stories of which we have this version: "Emperor Wang sent Bie Ling to be in charge of the floods and, after Bie Ling left, seduced his wife. He felt ashamed of his own action af-

terwards and was convinced that Bie Ling was a morally better man; he then turned his kingdom over to Bie Ling. When Emperor Wang left, a cuckoo was just then calling" (Liu and Yu 2004, 1580). The key element of the alluded story—that Emperor Wang disappeared or died of shame and spiritually transformed himself into a cuckoo—reminds one of a guilty, lonely ghost yet also evokes associations with tragic love. Thus, in this couplet, the poet seems to be recalling his past experiences and feelings; and, as Zhuang Zi was at a loss when waking up from a dream and Emperor Wang entrusted his unhappy soul to a sobbing cuckoo, he is bewildered and lamenting what has really happened (or what might have happened).

More imagistic but as cryptic as the preceding couplets, the third couplet of the poem presents a poetic world that is exquisite and gentle, yet vast and majestic. Although this couplet is highly allusive, functioning as an organic part of the total poetic pattern, allusions here—as good examples of Li's assimilative use of allusion—possess some amplified vitality, which is to a certain extent independent of the allusiveness. The first line of the couplet, for instance, cannot be fully understood without knowledge of its allusions. But, even one who is unaware of these allusions "could pertinently grasp the metonymic bonds that unite the images," as Francois Cheng notes; the bonds are those "between the sea and the moon (interaction), between the moon and the pearls (shine and roundness), the pearls and tears; . . . and finally, the image of the tears, being that of liquid element (and because the expression 'sea of tears' exists in the language), rejoins itself to that of the sea" (1982, 88). Needless to say, the images evoke a solitary and melancholy feeling.

Certainly, though, the poetic effect of this line will be increased by actualization of the allusions that bear the images. One of the several possible alluded texts that are assimilated in this line goes like this: "Beyond the South Sea there are mermaids ('shark people') who live in the water like fish, but spin like women on land; their weeping eyes can exude pearls" (Graham 1965, 169). If the color and shape of pearls seen in the distance look like the shedding of tears, the tear shedding–like pearls were originally exuded from mermaids' weeping eyes, according to this allusive source. Thus, tears become pearls and pearls seem like tears, the two melancholy images being mingled together against the vast moonlit sea. Such personified, disconsolate pearls, precious and beautiful, can be further associated with the image of an undetected pearl left in the vast sea, since the line may also allude to the expression *canghaiyizhu* 滄海遺珠 (a pearl left in the vast sea), referring to someone whose talent is not appreciated (Liu 1969, 51). The poet's artful manipulation of the ambiguous sources of allusions has therefore made the already melancholy image in the line even more mournful and despairing.

Indigo Mountain, in the second line of the third couplet, refers to Mount Lantian (*Lantianshan* 藍田山, also called *Yüshan* 玉山). The mountain was said to be located to the south of Chang'an 長安 and was famous for its fine jade. A few texts have been considered by commentators as possible allusive sources, two of which contain relevant implications for this reading. The first is the "Ziyu zhuan" 紫玉傳 (The story of purple jade) cited by Cheng Mengxing 程夢星. According to this story, Purple Jade, the daughter of the King of Wu 吳, died of a broken heart when she lost the young man she loved; and her ghost disappeared like smoke when her mother tried to embrace it (see Gan 1937, 16.108). As suggested by the alluded story, the precious jade is seen existing only from a distance: once one wants to reach it, it vanishes.

Cited by Feng Hao 馮浩 (1719–1801) as the source for the allusion, the next text seems closer to Li Shangyin's line. It is a remark which Sikong Tu 司空圖 (837–908) attributed to the Tang poet Dai Shulun 戴叔倫 (732–89): "The scene presented by a poet is like the smoke which issues from fine jade when the sun is warm on Blue Mountain (Lan-t'ien [Lantian], 'Indigo Field'); it can be seen from a distance but not from close to" (Graham 1965, 170). Obviously, Dai is here speaking about the effects of poetic language. Yet the feature of jade given in Dai's description echoes that in the first alluded story and thus reinforces the suggestion engendered by the allusion: the shimmery jade can be seen only from a distance and cannot be reached. Moreover, the similar words used in Li Shangyin's and Dai's texts indicate that there might have been an unknown or lost source from which both Dai's and Li Shangyin's allusions derived. Symbolically, the inaccessible jade at the sun-warmed Indigo Mountain may stand for life, which appears beautiful and inviting in certain ways but is, in the end, mysterious and unapproachable. The poet seems in a daze when he meditates on his past. Or, more particularly, he is bewildered when he meditates on his experience of unattainable love or his poetic achievement.[4] Apart from their allusive characteristics, images in this line also function as representations of immediacy and establish a few contrasts with images of the previous line.

The simultaneous activation of the terse and fragmented imagery and the cryptic and contradictory allusion in the third couplet is not only harmonized with the plaintive mood and complicated feelings in the preceding couplets but also adds emotional and intellectual dimensions to the significance of the poet's comprehension of life in the final couplet. The final couplet, taken from the linguistic parallelism and the compressed imagistic structure of the central couplets, brilliantly tells that all the past experiences and feelings "might have become memories to be cherished; only, even at the time they occurred, one was already bewildered and could not be sure they were real" (Liu 1969, 56–57). Here, the "feeling" of love in particular and for life in general becomes a "bewildered feeling" (*wangqing* 惘

情). This, to a great extent, indicates Li Shangyin's lucid comprehension of life: life takes place, so does love; and even at the time when it happens, it is obscure and confusing. Thus, that life is unreal and dreamlike is emotionally and intellectually foregrounded here. Structurally, this couplet "reinforces the linear chant inaugurated in the first couplet," since the zither "seems to have been transformed into a song, a song that is none other than the poem itself" (Cheng 1982, 90).

The difficulty of this poem lies largely in its intrinsic ambiguity, which, when approached inappropriately, has provided possibilities of so many seemingly viable interpretations of the poem. Different, often mutually exclusive, interpretations of the poem have existed since the Song dynasty. Some regard the poem as Li Shangyin's memory of his deceased wife; some think the poem to be a lament over his misfortunes in life; others hold a view that the poem is an introduction to the poet's collected poems; still others say this is a love poem written for a maid or concubine named Jinse in the household of the poet's political patron, Linghu Chu 令狐楚 (Liu and Yu 2004, 1581–97). Although the exclusiveness of the different interpretations of the poem shows that critics and scholars have attempted to eliminate the semantic ambiguity of the poem, the divergence exemplifies the enigmatic features and the very existence of compound signification in the poem.

Poems like "The Ornamented Zither" do not appear randomly in the Li Shangyin corpus; rather, they comprise a certain portion of it. Traditional critics usually linked ambiguity and associated phenomena in Li Shangyin's poetic compositions with the sociopolitical situation of the poet's time and his personal experiences. After all, throughout his life, Li Shangyin was stuck with factional disputes between his patrons and never achieved high official rank. Shen Deqian 沈德潛 (1693–1769), for instance, held this opinion when remarking on Li Shangyin's metaphorical features: "Li Shangyin's recent-style poems are oblique and many-layered and excel in criticism and parable. In them metaphor is often used to express his feelings, because, since he had encountered difficult times, he had to be enigmatic" (Guo 1979, 217). Criticism like this gives attention only to sociopolitical factors while ignoring the poet's artistic consciousness, which had a lot to do with his dialectical understanding of his poetic heritage and his unique sensibility toward poetic effect.

Various Schools of Interpretation of Li Shangyin's Poetry

Li Shangyin's ambiguous characteristics—and traditional misunderstanding and treatments of them, as exemplified above—have given rise to widely divergent interpretations of his poetry, which can be traced to the late period of the Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644) when the Buddhist Dao Yuan 釋道源 began to annotate Li's works. Although brief critical comments

are seen in some *shihua* during the Song and Yuan 元 (1271–1368) dynasties, extensive commentaries and annotations did not appear until the early Qing 清 dynasty (1644–1912). The year 1659 saw the first complete annotated edition of Li Shangyin's work, Zhu Heling's 朱鶴齡 (1606–83) *Li Yishan shiji* 李義山詩集 (Collected poems of Li Shangyin). In the preface, Zhu argued that Li's works revealed sociopolitical events and disclosed the poet's political situation and his ambitions in the language of romantic passion between a man and woman.

Following Zhu, quite a few distinguished scholars carried out comprehensive studies on Li Shangyin's poetry. As some scholars of Li Shangyin have concluded, however, there are mainly three schools, each of which has contributed to a particular interpretation of Li Shangyin's poetry (Liu 1969, 27–31). The first school, in line with Zhu's view, is led by Feng Hao and Zhang Ertian 張爾田 (1874–1945). In his well-known work *Yuxisheng shiji jianzhu* 玉溪生詩集箋注 (A complete annotation of Li Shangyin's poetry), Feng painstakingly collected and absorbed the studies by previous and contemporary critics and scholars. However, in this fruitful annotation, which surpasses all previous similar works and remains the standard edition of Li Shangyin's poems, Feng basically sees in many of Li Shangyin's poems veiled references to the Linghus, the poet's patrons. Zhang, in his *Yuxisheng nianpu huijian* 玉溪生年譜會箋 (A comprehensive commentary on the biographical chronology of Li Shangyin), still the most authoritative work on Li's life, developed Feng's views. Both Feng and Zhang saw Li Shangyin's ambiguous poems as personal allegories involving the poet's relation with his political patron Linghu Tao 令狐綯. Some love poems that express powerful passion and feeling, for example, are taken either as revelation of the poet's ardent desire for Linghu Tao's patronage or as reflection of his own frustrations in his official career. Scholars in this school thus believe that Li Shangyin, throughout his life and as reflected in his ambiguous poems, "was dominated by his desire for official advancement and his remorse over having lost the patronage of the Ling-hu [Linghu] family by his marriage with Wang Mao-yuan's [Maoyuan's] daughter, and his most celebrated poems are reiterations of such feelings" (Liu 1969, 27).

Represented by some scholars in the first several decades of the twentieth century, the second school interprets Li Shangyin's ambiguous poems, especially the poems without titles, as personal accounts of various clandestine love affairs that the poet had with certain Daoist nuns and court ladies. The best-known advocate of this view is Su Xuelin 蘇雪林 (1897–1999). Su's book *Yuxi shimi* 玉溪詩迷 (The poetic riddle of Li Shangyin), which focuses on unveiling the love affairs of Li Shangyin rather than on interpreting texts, has had considerable influence on modern literary historians and critics.[5] In Su Xuelin's opinion, "every poem of his is an extremely amo-

rous and extremely passionate love poem; and his poetry, except for a small portion, exclusively describes his adventures and love affairs" (1988, 2). Holding this kind of theory, scholars of this group try hard to search for evidence for the "real" love affairs between Li Shangyin and those nuns or court ladies. In interpreting Li Shangyin's poems, especially love poems, they take general words and images as specific "secret codes." According to Su, many of Li Shangyin's poems contain obscure references to a secret love affair between Li Shangyin and two court entertainers, the sisters called "Flying Phoenix" and "Agile Phoenix." For instance, in her interpretation of the poem "Qiyue ershiba ri ye yu Wang Zheng er xiucai tingyu hou zuo" 七月二十八日夜與王鄭二秀才聽雨後作 (Written after a dream, while listening to the rain together with candidates Wang and Zheng, on the twenty-eighth night of the seventh month), Su says that the poem is about a dream and was written when the poet, after he left the court, recalled in front of his friends what had happened there between him and the two sisters (43–51). Additionally, Su thinks that allusions to Daoist goddesses in many of Li's poems refer to one, named Song, of the sisters who were Daoist nuns (36).

The third school includes twentieth-century scholars like Gu Yiqun 顧翊群 and Sun Zhentao 孫甄陶. Most scholars in this group, as pointed out by James Liu, share the views that "Li's poems that involve Taoist nuns are not autobiographical love poems but satirical poems about imperial princesses who had taken Taoist vows" and that "many of his other ambiguous poems are also political in nature, alluding to imperial concubines, courtiers, and eunuchs" (1969, 28). Both Gu and Sun are inclined to interpret Li Shangyin's ambiguous poems either on the basis of historical and political background or in light of the poet's personality and character. To them, many of Li's poems are satires of the court and political factions (Gu 1958, 1–5; 156–59).

In addition to the three schools, some other less influential groups exist, one of which deserves mentioning here. This group is represented by two Qing scholars, Lu Kunceng 陸昆曾 and Qu Fu 屈復 (both fl. eighteenth century), who share a view that is different from all others. Both Lu and Qu think that readers of Li's poems should interpret Li's poems according to their subjective feelings (*zhuguan qingzhi* 主觀情志), although they, too, think the poems have fixed meanings intended by the poet. Their interpretation, to a certain extent, is therefore a decoding of the intended meaning of the poet through the poem itself rather than from outside sources.[6]

Problems with the Existing Interpretations of Li Shangyin's Poems

The interpretations surveyed above are all amiss. They mainly show different concerns about the person of Li Shangyin; and in each case, they are

biased toward certain characteristics of the man known to history. They ignore intrinsic, artistic mechanisms of Li Shangyin's textual composition, which usually play a very important role in signifying poetic meaning. Taken together, these seemingly divergent interpretations are actually founded upon two reigning criteria in the tradition of exegesis: *zhi ren lun shi* 知人論世 and *yi yi ni zhi* 以意逆志. The former refers to knowing the ancient people by considering the ages in which they lived, whereas the latter means that one uses his or her understanding to trace the meaning of a work to what was originally in the writer's mind. Starting with Zhu Heling, interpretations of Li Shangyin have followed these conventional criteria. By applying them, many critics and scholars in Li Shangyin studies have tried to explain the so-called anomalies in Li Shangyin's poetry. To see clearly the essential problematics of interpretations of his poetry, we need to probe this exegetical tradition in some detail.

Both of the exegetical criteria are derived from the teaching of Mencius 孟子 (ca. 372–289 B.C.E.), whose use of them, however, was for different purposes. In the *Book of Mencius* (*Mengzi* 孟子), Mencius says:

> The good knight in the village befriends the other good knights in the village. The good knight in the state befriends other good knights in the state. The good knight in society befriends other good knights in society. But, if the good knight in society finds that there are not enough good knights to befriend, he can still have converse with the men of antiquity, chanting their songs, and reading their works. . . . Can he befriend them without knowing them? He can, for he can have converse with their world. Thus he still has friends. (Dobson 1966, 72)

Here, we can see that the *zhi ren lun shi* idea basically refers to the matter of morality; that is, through reading literary texts, one can experience and imitate the spiritual integrity of the ancient man. It is obvious that the final purpose of reading is to improve the moral spirit, the text itself being no more than a medium by which the reader achieves that purpose. Further, Mencius here points out that to imitate the ancient man's spirit, one should not only read his works but also learn about his life, time, and other facts that are outside his own literary works but can be obtained from other texts. Although *zhi ren lun shi* is concerned with one's moral and spiritual cultivation, *yi yi ni zhi* apparently provides a method for reading the *Book of Poetry* (*Shi jing* 詩經): "Therefore, one who explains the [*Book of*] *Poetry* must not rely on its embellishment so as to do violence to the language, nor on the language so as to do violence to the intention [of the poet]. If he uses his mind to trace the meaning to the intention [of the poet], he will be successful" (Chow 1968, 156).

My understanding of Mencius' idea here is that when one tries with his or her mind to meet "what the author intended to say," he or she should not be limited or misled by the rhetorical elements, ignoring meanings con-

veyed in words. To be able to know what the author really meant, however, one should not just depend on what the words might seem to say, for those meanings might not reveal the author's intention. To truly understand the author's intention, one should exercise his or her own thinking apart from taking care of the reading. The *yi* 意, in Zhao Qi's 趙岐 (d. 201) commentary, refers to one's *xinyi* 心意 (mind). In my understanding, the *xinyi*, besides its comprehensive capacities, should have some ratiocinative ones. The *yi* is thus seen as referring to one's subjective relation to what is putatively on the author's mind.

Historically, the establishment of the two criteria for literary interpretation began with the Han 漢 (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) annotation of the *Book of Poetry*. By interpreting the meaning of a poem through fixing its background, the "Great Preface" (*Da xu* 大序) to the *Book of Poetry* by Mao 毛 showed the tendency of literary interpretation in accordance with Mao's understanding of *zhi ren lun shi*. This interpretive frame was subsequently established by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) when he interpreted the *Mao shi* 毛詩 (Mao's annotated *Book of Poetry*). In terms of *yi yi ni zhi*, both Mao and Zheng used the criterion to interpret those poems or parts of poems in the *Book of Poetry* that communicate with the reader through "comparison and affective image" (*bi xing* 比興); while using this criterion, they often went beyond the limit expressed in Mencius' original idea. If there were any problems with the interpretation of the *Book of Poetry* by the reputed author of the "Great Preface" and Zheng Xuan, as Yan Kunyang 顏昆陽 argues (1991, 107–18), it should be understandable, since what these scholars tried to do with the *Book of Poetry* does not fundamentally belong to literary activity, rather, it belongs to the activity of the studies of Classics which aim at establishing moral as well as political values through interpretations and explanations of the Confucian Classics.

After the Six Dynasties 六朝 period (222–589), literary activity became self-conscious, and it departed from the realm of the Classics. In the situation where literary features were taken as they were, literary criticism or interpretation should have also adjusted itself in accordance with the new concepts. That is to say, when scholars use such criteria as *zhi ren lun shi* and *yi yi ni zhi* to inform their critical methods, they should realize their limits while practicing literary interpretation. However, as Yan further points out (1991, 3–31), the way the Han scholars interpreted the *Book of Poetry* by means of these two criteria above had not developed throughout the dynasties and was used almost unchanged by scholars during the Qing dynasty when they annotated the works of Du Fu, Li He 李賀 (790–816), and Li Shangyin.

Framed in such an exegetical mold, critics and scholars in Li Shangyin studies, on one hand, have tried to dig up the hidden references in Li

Shangyin's ambiguous poems by depending on histories, biographies, and other external materials, neglecting the functions of poetic language. On the other hand, they have attempted to twist or justify any discrepancies between a word, a line, or a whole poem and the "reality" they have tried to see by hypothesizing upon the poet's intentions. Thus, the first and the third kinds of interpretations demonstrated earlier dismiss the love topic in Li Shangyin's poetry and explain it as political allegory, seeing in Li Shangyin only Qu Yuan's 屈原 (ca. 340–278 B.C.E.) "Lisao" 離騷 (Encountering sorrow), which, by means of love expressions—such as the image of the "fairest" (*meiren* 美人)—reveals Qu's political wishes. The second school, trying not to read Li Shangyin allegorically, rebuilds, however, the poet's biographical love life simply by reading Li Shangyin's poetry as autobiography. Because of their affiliation to the exegesis of the *Book of Poetry* and their unawareness of the fact that "obscure and ambiguous passages are as much a part of the text's semantic structure as its clearest passages" (Riffaterre 1983, 10), these problematic interpretations largely reduce or even destroy the complex and rich meaning inherent in Li Shangyin's poetry.

The Puzzling Strength of Li Shangyin's Poetry

To maintain what is actually in Li Shangyin's obscure and allusive poems so as to properly grasp and appreciate the ambiguous signification of his poetry, we need to allow flexibility in terms of topical references in our readings of them. Indeed, "ambiguity is intrinsic, inalienable character of any self-focused message, briefly, a corollary feature of poetry. . . . Not only the message itself but also the addresser and addressee become ambiguous" (Jakobson 1987, 85). In my opinion, Li Shangyin's unique poetic presence lies in the puzzling strength of his poetry. In other words, correlating multiple readings or interpretations of a poem by him generates a distinctive poetic effect. It was through this effect that Li Shangyin differentiates himself from other great poets, such as Du Fu, a master of precision in the use of allusions. This understanding of Li's ambiguity and associated phenomena deserves lengthy discussion elsewhere. To conclude this article, however, I must point out that we must come to appreciate the highly poeticized world of Li Shangyin's poems, including "The Ornamented Zither," in order to understand Li Shangyin as I have suggested. In such a subtle and oblique poetic world, the integration of allusion and imagery into a complex rhetorical and imagistic structure makes it possible, on one level, for the poet to juxtapose contrasting images—the clear moonlit night and the vague warm daytime; the wetness in "sea" and "tears" and the dryness in "mountain" and "smoke"; and "things that cannot coexist. . . : moonlight and sunshine, sea and land, present sensations and emotions and past experiences, what actually happened and what is imagined" (Liu 1969, 208).

On another level, though, the poet is simultaneously able to write about his hopes and bewilderments, to have remembered his wife and a lover, or to have thought of his poetry and meditated on his political life. The symbolism and implications in "The Ornamented Zither," as in many other poems in the Li Shangyin corpus, are so rich and indefinite that we, the modern readers, while recognizing that the poem is a composite of particular events and emotions, feel it "is essentially typological rather than particular and can be 'reused' in other circumstances" (Owen 1990, 117).[7]

Notes

The research for this article was partially funded by an Intramural Research Incentive Grant from the Office of the Senior Vice President for Research, University of Louisville.

[1]I have slightly modified the translation offered by Liu (1969, 31–32).

[2]The original Chinese text is from Feng (1780, 493).

[3]For the alluded story, see *Han shu* (1970, *juan* 25 *shang*).

[4]As suggested by scholars, the jade in this line can be taken as a symbol of an unattainable woman (Cheng 1982, 89) or as a reference to Li Shangyin's poetic excellence (Qian Zhongshu's 錢鐘書 opinion, quoted in Zhou 1986, 2–3).

[5]Even in recently published works on Li Shangyin, we see Su's influence (see, e.g., Bai 1991).

[6]As Lu explains (1985, *xu* 2), his annotations and interpretations of Li Shangyin's *jin ti* 近體 (recent-style) poems are based upon the poetic texts themselves.

[7]In Owen's (1990, 117–18) view, poetry has a normative aspect which allows it "to be flexible in reference to a variety of particular situations" and to be reused by another person—e.g., a reader of it—for his or her personal circumstances. Viewed in this light, a poem's "mode of meaning is given as essentially typological" and cannot be entirely reduced "to the poet's own particular circumstances." Moreover, "by not seeking to determine the particular historical ground (though assuming in a general way that some poems may have referred to *some* historical ground)," our understanding or interpretation of poetry can become active and remain open.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 151–58

Placing "Qinghai Studies" in the Field of China and Inner Asia

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In this scholarly note, Chia Ning argues for the creation of a field of Qinghai 青海 studies to recognize the unique historical and cultural contributions of present-day Qinghai Province, China, a multiethnic region in the Chinese hinterlands that has been influenced by Tibetan, Mongol, Han Chinese, and Muslim populations over the centuries.

The Importance of Qinghai in the History of China & Inner Asia

From my examination of the formation of present-day Qinghai 青海 during the transition between the Ming 明 (1368–1644) and Qing 清 (1636/44–1912) dynasties, a visible and valid new field emerges in the broad study of China and Inner Asia: *Qinghai studies*. Connecting the heartland of Tibet (Xizang 西藏) in the south and southwest, China Proper in the east, Mongolia (through present-day Gansu 甘肃) in the north and northeast, and Chinese Central Asia (present-day Xinjiang 新疆) in the northwest (see fig. 1), Qinghai became a distinct administrative unit beginning with the reign of the Yongzheng 雍正 Emperor (r. 1723–35). Manchuria was also involved in this connecting land area, in the sense that the Manchu court of the Qing moved into Qinghai as the dynastic authority. Today, the history of this connecting land has remained unspecified in the study of China and Inner Asia.

"Tibetan studies" and "Mongol studies," each with enough active scholars worldwide, have long been recognized as established academic fields. In the United States, the historical study of Chinese Central Asia (Xinjiang) has also developed within the past two decades; today, a body of scholarship worthy of being called "Xinjiang studies" exists. Since the late 1980s, several important articles and books have been published on the Manchu people and their history; thus, "Manchu studies" has likewise emerged. When approaching Chinese history, therefore, the four major components of the historical Inner Asian "frontiers"—Manchuria, Mongolia, Xinjiang,

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FIGURE 1 Political map of the People's Republic of China, with Qinghai 青海 and surrounding administrative divisions identified. (Dashed lines indicate contested borders.) Unlabeled public domain image from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:China_Qinghai.svg.

and Tibet—have become regionally specified studies. Together with the long-existing Chinese studies that focus on historical China Proper, all of the major regions of China and Inner Asia seem to be covered.

Omitting Qinghai from these studies, however, seems unwise. Many decisive events in the history of China and Inner Asia would lose their origin if the Qinghai influence were ignored. Eleven such occurrences are described below.

- If Tsong Khapa (1357–1419), a native of Huangzhong in Qinghai, had not developed the *Dge lugs pa* (Yellow Hat) School of Tibetan Buddhism, the later institution of the Dalai Lama would not have had such a rich religious foundation. In addition, the Tar Temple, built in Huangzhong in 1577, would not function as one of the six most influential *Dge lugs pa* centers in the Tibetan Buddhist world.
- If the third Dalai Lama (1543–88) had not traveled through Qinghai on his way to meet the Tümed Altan Khan (1508–82),

who titled him "Dalai" in 1577, the third Dalai would not have been able to leave a great religious legacy to the Qinghai region. Moreover, the title of "Dalai Lama" in the whole of the Tibetan Buddhist world would hardly exist, unless it had arisen from another event at another time.

- If the Chahar Ligdan Khan (1592–1634) had not taken with him "the Eight White Yurts, or shrine of Chinggis Khan, to Kökenuur" (the Mongolian name for Qinghai), he possibly would have made himself less—rather than more—"unpopular" with other Mongol groups (Atwood 2004, 335).
- If Ligdan Khan, accordingly, had not failed in his battles against the rising Manchus—and had not died in 1634, he possibly would have been able to enhance his ruling capacity over the Mongols and establish a competent power in Qinghai to confront the Manchus.
- If the Khoshud Güüshi Khan (r. 1642–55) had not moved into Qinghai in 1636 and destroyed the Khalka Tsogtu Khan—the enemy of the *Dge lugs pa* School—at the Battle of Olango (Bloody Hill) in the Qinghai Lake region in spring 1637, the *Dge lugs pa* School's influence over the Tibetan Buddhist world would undoubtedly be different today.
- If the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–82) had not proclaimed Güüshi the "king" (in Mongolian, *khan*) of Tibet on April 13, 1642 (Atwood 2004, 211), or granted Güüshi the "title and seal of Tenzin Choskyi Gyalpo (Religious-king and Holder of the Buddhist Faith)" (Shakabpa 1984, 105)—and if Güüshi (with his Khoshuds ruling over Qinghai) had not venerated the power of the fifth Dalai Lama, then the Tibetan–Khoshud relationship and the Khoshud influence over Qinghai would have developed quite differently.
- If the Güüshi Khan and the fifth Dalai Lama had not decided on the matter of sending an envoy, Sechen Chogyel, to visit Qing Taizong Hong Taiji in Mukden in 1637, both the Güüshi–Manchu relationship and the Manchu–Tibetan relationship would have evolved differently.
- If the Kangxi 康熙 court (1662–1722) had not entitled the Qinghai Mongols (the descendents of Güüshi) after vanquishing the Zünghar leader Galdan in 1697—and if they had not transferred the seventh Dalai Lama from the Tar Temple to Lhasa in 1720 after defeating the Zünghar invasion of Tibet that began in 1717, the history of the Dalai Lama and the power balance between the Qing and the Zünghar would undoubtedly have been different.

- If the Yongzheng court had not pacified the 1723–24 rebellion of the Qinghai Mongols led by Lobzang Danjin, the political map of the Qing after the Yongzheng reign would have been affected.
- If the Grand Minister Resident of Xining 西宁 (an official position that originated in 1725) had not drawn the territorial boundaries of present-day Qinghai in 1731, the region commonly known today as Qinghai would possibly not even exist.
- If the Jangkya line of reincarnations at the Youning Temple (built in 1604, northeast of Xining in the present-day Huzhu Tu 互助土 Autonomous County of Qinghai) had not assisted the Kangxi and the Qianlong 乾隆 (1736–95) emperors in Mongolian affairs, the Manchu–Mongol relationship would have taken a different turn.

There is no doubt that without these Qinghai "happenings," the history of China and Inner Asia would have to be rewritten. Accordingly, a focused regional history known as Qinghai studies would create a home base for investigation into these decisive events and would encourage a focused examination of Qinghai influence.

Emigration, Immigration & Perspectives on the Sociohistory of Qinghai

The key historical players in Qinghai came from a variety of ethnic groups: the Amdopas (people of Amdo) who lived there generation after generation in their *tusi* system; the Tibetan Buddhist clerics from the religious network and hierarchy centered in the heartland of Tibet; the immigrant settlers and powers (Mongols, Muslims, Han Chinese groups, and the Qing power, for example); and the emigrant dignitaries (such as the Jangkya Khutuktu to Inner Mongolia and the Qing to Beijing). Following the footsteps of these key players in and out of Qinghai, one can discover that they were often influential enough to have a vital impact on the surrounding regions and even sway the various local histories. Local powers even initiated some important changes at the level of the central government: One convincing example is the appearance of the new *Lifanyuan* 理藩院 branch—that of the Grand Minister Resident of Xining.

In several respects, Qinghai has a unique history with its own heritage. In terms of ethno-cultural natures, geo-political settings, frontier or non-frontier categories, social organizations, leadership types, and governing systems, Qinghai obtained its status as a land where several civilizations intertwined. Qinghai was a part of the historical Amdo, "one of the three major ethno-linguistic regions of Tibetan cultural geography" (Yeh 2003, 499), and was one of "Tibet's outer provinces" (Gruschke 2001). Here lived the Amdopas, the descendants of Tibetan soldiers from Ü-tsang, who came to fight the forces of Tang 唐 China (618–907) and intermarried with the

local Qiang people. According to Ming and Qing records, they had inseparable religious ties with the heartland of Tibet and were identified as *fan* 番 or *fanzi* 番子.

The history of Qinghai was a specific part of the Mongol history as well. The "Monguors" (or the later named Tu people), under their Chagaan (or Tsaghan Nom-un) Khan, had already lived in Qinghai since the Yuan 元 dynasty (1271–1368). When the Shunzhi 順治 court (1644–61) became involved in Qinghai by following the Ming pattern of the court–local correlation through entitlements to the Tibetan Buddhist leaders, the Qinghai Amdopas experienced stormy relationships with repeated waves of Mongol groups, the Ordos, the Tümeds, and the Khoshuds, who eventually came to dominate the Amdopas. After Güüshi Khan, the Mongols in Qinghai evolved into eighteen branches. From the official Qing point of view, after the Yongzheng court established the office of the Grand Minister Resident of Xining, Qinghai was no longer a Mongol-occupied region but a part of the Qing Empire.

The increasing Muslim and Han Chinese population further augmented the character of Qinghai in terms of its ethnic, social, cultural, economic, and political diversity during the Ming–Qing transition. Together, the ethno-cultural affinity with the heartland of Tibet, the political entanglement with Mongol groups, the relationship with the Qing Manchu court through the Grand Minister's administration, and the daily social and economic contact with the Muslim and the Han population, all helped shape the exceptional history of Qinghai.

Cartography & Administrative Identity in Qinghai

None of the four major Inner Asian societies of the Qing had a major political center comparable to Xining, the political center of Qinghai, in association with the Chinese *junxian* 郡縣 (province–country) system. Starting from Jincheng Jun in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) and Xining Jun in the Wei 魏 dynasty (420–549), the Yuan dynasty placed Xining Zhou within Gansu Province; during the Ming dynasty, Xining Wei was placed within Shaanxi 陝西 Province. These Chinese *junxian* decisions, weak and unstable, demonstrate the desire of the imperial authorities to integrate the region of Qinghai into China Proper. Carrying on this tradition, the Kangxi court shifted Xining from Shaanxi province to the newly reformulated Gansu province in 1667. The further promotion of Xining as a *fu* 府 (prefecture) came in 1738. This association with the Chinese system, even if not always effective, draws another line between Qinghai and the other Inner Asian regions.

The notable uniqueness of Qinghai during the Qing dynasty was the administration of the Grand Minister Resident of Xining under *Lifanyuan*

supervision by the central government. In 1723, the Yongzheng emperor sent Changshou, vice minister of the Board of War, to manage Xining, which at that time was the most important battleground between Lubzang-Danzin and the Qing troops. After Changshou was captured while delivering Yongzheng's edict to Lubzang-Danzin, the court quickly decided to set up a permanent office in Xining with a stabilized connection to the central government. Thus the first Grand Minister was appointed to Danai in 1725. With his official responsibilities crossing both ethnic and administrative lines, he was unusually given authority over the Qinghai Mongols in the banner system, the Qinghai Amdopas in their traditional *tusi* system, and Xining Prefecture with a Chinese-style administration. The distinct local–central connection here was linked through dual routines. The Grand Minister–*Lifanyuan*–emperor routine was a non-Chinese practice, and the Xining Prefecture–Gansu Province–central government–emperor routine followed Chinese tradition. The "atypical" local management and local–central connections defined Qinghai as an administrative region similar neither to China Proper nor to Inner Asia.

The shaping of the Qinghai territory was closely related to the resettling of the Amdopas. When the Grand Minister divided the territory of the Qinghai Mongols from that of Xining Prefecture in 1724, the Amdopas were set free from the Khoshud Mongols. Further administrative demarcations of the Amdopas came in 1728 and 1731–32. The local officials from the heartland of Tibet, Sichuan 四川, and Shaan-Gan 陝甘 were called to meet four officials sent by Danai. The seventy-nine Amdo tribes between the heartland of Tibet and Xining were placed under two administrative authorities: thirty-nine were assigned to the Grand Minister Resident of Tibet in Lhasa, and forty were assigned to the Grand Minister Resident of Xining. The numerous other tribes were placed in the surrounding Sichuan, Yunnan 云南, and Gansu provinces, which became the permanent arrangement of provinces. From then on, the Qing court identified the Amdo *tusi* by following these administrative categories, such as *tusi* at the border of Sichuan, *tusi* under the Grand Minister Resident of Xining, and *tusi* under the Grand Minister Resident of Tibet. After development of the *junxian* system at the Qinghai–Gansu border, the Amdopas there were referred to as *tusi* of Xining, *tusi* of Taozhou, *fanzi* of Xunhua, and *fanzi* of Guide.

The Qing court's appointment of the Grand Minister Resident of Xining in 1724 after the Grand Minister Resident of Tibet (in 1709) administratively separated Qinghai from the heartland of Tibet. Through these geographical and administrative demarcations, the Yongzheng court parted the Amdopas from the Mongols. And by the administrative divisions among the Amdopas, the Qing parted the Amdo Tibetans in Qinghai from those in Sichuan, Yunnan, and Gansu. The official enforcement of these administrative divisions, however, did not change the basic identity of the Amdopas. Their

tribal social structure, *tusi* leadership, and Tibetan Buddhist religious clergy continued throughout the remainder of the Qing dynasty.

"Qinghai": The Name & Future of Qinghai Studies

The finalization of the regional name of "Qinghai" had much to do with the Yongzheng Emperor's use of it in his instructions to the *Lifanyuan*. By the Qianlong reign, the name was adopted in all the *Lifanyuan* and other official documents in the Chinese language. All previous names—including the Mongolian name, Kökenuur; the Tibetan name, *Cuiwanbu* (transliterated from Chinese sources); and the Chinese name, *Xihai* 西海 (Western Sea)—were subsumed under this new, distinct administrative sector inside the Qing Empire. As a result, Qinghai became a province in the Republic of China in 1929, the fourth-largest province with fourteen counties. Since 1949, Qinghai has remained a province of the People's Republic of China.

Even such a brief historical review makes it clear that Qinghai has a notable history with its own character and significance. Currently, this region's history is approached as a part of Tibetan studies (or Amdo studies, more specifically) and is also associated with Mongol studies. However, the history of Qinghai should grow as a particular local history within Qing studies as well. Such a development would, in return, enrich all the fields upon which it touches.

Although extremely understudied at present, some recently published and on-going scholarship is notable. For example, Gruschke's multivolume *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet's Outer Provinces* (2001) focuses its entire first volume on the "Qinghai part" of Amdo. My recent conference presentation (Chia 2007) and unpublished manuscripts on the *Lifanyuan* branch—the Grand Minister Resident of Qinghai—are opening the study of Qing governance in the Qinghai frontier. Rohlf's (1999) dissertation on Chinese immigrants in Qinghai during the period after the founding of the People's Republic of China has pioneered research on immigrants within Qinghai studies.

Resources for and awareness of a Qinghai-focused study have been growing. Inside China, a number of reprints of historical materials and scholarly monographs on Qinghai have offered valuable research supplies and academic studies since 1980. A sample of publications includes Pu (2001); *Qinghai difang jiuzhi wuzhong* (1992 reprint); *Qinghai lishi jiyao* (1980); *Xining fuzhi, Xining weizhi* (1993 reprint); and Yang (1982 reprint). Recent English publications on Amdo studies also support Qinghai studies. Some such publications include Huber (2002), Normantas (1994), and Sujata (2005). Baumer and Weber (2005) also consider issues related to Amdo and Kahm, and they include a discussion of Qinghai.

Reflecting Qinghai's historical role as a part of several civilizations and its reality in a highly diverse human environment, Qinghai studies—as a regional field of research—will face enormous challenges from the various perspectives, interpretations, and explanations regarding the participating populations and their political powers. Qinghai studies can offer the academic community opportunities to look at a part of the human experience which has no straightforward elucidation but nevertheless has its own lines of local development, larger world involvement, and self-defined centers. The successful reconstruction of this region's past would depend on scholarly cooperation among academics with different disciplinary loyalties and specialties. If carried out under the aegis of Qinghai studies, such a reconstruction would intensify the entire field of China and Inner Asia.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 159–65

Digital Music Success in China: Suggested Guidelines for Foreign Firms

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In this scholarly note, nine guidelines are recommended to foreign firms seeking to sell digital music in China as firms attempt to access one of the fastest-growing and most significant country markets for entertainment product sales in the world. A complementary piece is Jessica Gisclair's "The Dissonance between Culture and Intellectual Property in China" (pp. 182–87).

Digital Music in China: Nine Suggestions for Foreign Firms

China holds enormous potential for the nascent but rapidly developing digital-music industry. According to the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry, China is the world's twenty-seventh largest music market, with total retail sales in 2006 of US $121.2 million (Butler 2007). China's share of the world market is likely to continue to increase due to the growing middle class with increasing discretionary income. As economic history has shown, consumers become no longer satisfied with purchasing only necessities as income levels rise, so spending on various forms of entertainment—including music—will grow. Consequently, foreign record companies are understandably eager to sell recorded music in such a large market that until recently was largely closed off. If a foreign firm is to reach this large and growing market, the following nine guidelines should be helpful in designing a successful strategy to sell digital music in China.

Suggestion 1: Make Use of Guanxi

More often than not, the success or failure of an enterprise in China, regardless of the form or intensity of entry, resides in interpersonal relationships among the stakeholders—known in China as *guanxi* 關係, 关系 (Luo 2007). *Guanxi* means "relationship" and is similar to the Western notion of networking. *Guanxi* involves a network of relationships that can

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help minimize frustration and risk. *Guanxi* is more than good relationships with existing business partners; the concept encompasses political as well as personal *guanxi*. Firms that select Chinese partners with wide-reaching *guanxi* are more likely to perform well than those that have minimal or no relationships in China.

Business *guanxi* will expedite objectives by making useful connections with suppliers, distributors, retailers, lenders, attorneys, customers, and more. Political *guanxi* uses relationships to plot a successful course through bureaucratic mazes and to shield firms legally from encroaching governmental challenges. Personal *guanxi* demonstrates a concern for individual and family matters that may be an essential prerequisite for commercial success. Tapping into a network of relationships is neither unethical nor illegal. *Guanxi* recognizes that the conduct of commerce is always in the context of relationships.

When a foreign digital-music firm finds itself within a network of relationships, the foreign firm must act with honor as well as confer respect on other members of the network, a concept known as "face" (Kim and Nam 1998). Giving, receiving, creating, maintaining, and restoring "face" is a necessary ingredient to receiving favor from members of the network. Consequently, the actions taken by a foreign digital-music firm reflect on the firm as well as on the members of the *guanxi* network in which the firm resides. The Chinese would prefer, out of a sense of obligation, to conduct business with their friends; so positive relationships are essential. If relations sour, the support network could lockout the foreign firm.

Suggestion 2: Prefer Regional Growth Strategies

Large cities and the coastal areas of China are experiencing unprecedented growth; and this growth will continue as 150 million surplus workers begin to leave rural China for urban areas in search of higher-paying jobs providing discretionary income (Central Intelligence Agency 2006). These growth patterns profile the regional demand patterns for Internet services, a primary medium for digital-music delivery.

Nearly 66 percent of all Internet users in Chine live in East and Central China, with approximately half of these users residing in Guangdong, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang provinces. These provinces, with the addition of Beijing and Shanghai, host almost 50 percent of the 135 million IP address available in China today (China Internet Network 2008). Consequently, any foreign digital-music endeavor should contemplate a regional strategy in partner selection so as to dominate key markets first. These large cities are key markets for both personal computer and mobile phone usage.

Although Internet users are predominately concentrated in coastal areas, foreign digital-music firms and their partners should keep abreast of governmental initiatives set forth in the five-year economic development

plans, especially as those plans seek to construct a modern telecommunications infrastructure further inland. Cities and provinces in the path of telecommunications development should be part of a digital-music strategy.

Suggestion 3: Utilize Internet Delivery

As of December 2007, there were 210 million Internet users in China, of which 78.0 percent have broadband Internet access and 66.7 percent report going online from home (China Internet Network 2008, note 5). Current users represent a population penetration rate of 15.9 percent, ahead of India (at 5.3 percent) but behind Europe (43.4 percent) and rates in excess of 70.0 percent in the United States and Japan (Internet World Stats). Although the penetration rate in China is lower than that of developed countries, the absolute number of users is greater than the entire population of some developed countries. As China's middle class continues to grow, this penetration rate will rise, and the absolute numbers will continue to expand as well.

The demographic characteristics of Internet users in China indicate that 69.0 percent are under the age of 30 and 50.9 percent are under the age of 24 (China Internet Network 2008, note 5). Purchasers of digital music are also consistent with these age profiles. Because of the government policy of "one child" per family, China, like the Western world, is confronting an aging population with population growth slowing to approximately 0.63 percent per year (China Internet Network 2008, note 4).

In 2005, 119.6 million people in China were between the ages of 15 and 19, about 9.1 percent of the population of 1.31 billion. By the year 2010, the 15–19-year-old population will shrink to 102.6 million (7.7 percent of the estimated total population of 1.34 billion). In 2005, 193.5 million Chinese citizens (14.8 percent) were between the ages of 20 and 29. By 2010, the number of 20–29-year-olds will rise to 215.3 million (16.1 percent). By 2010, 317.9 million people between the ages of 15 and 29 will reside in China (Economist Intelligence Unit). Maintaining the 15.9 percent Internet penetration rate, 50.5 million 15–29-year-old users will have Internet connectivity.

Despite a low population growth rate and an aging population, the absolute number of Internet users will continue to grow. The average Internet user spends 16.2 hours per week online; 86.6 percent of users listen to music online; 71.2 percent of users download music via the Internet; and 94.2 percent of users agree that the Internet enriches their entertainment life (China Internet Network 2008, note 5). Consequently, foreign digital-music firms should consider the Internet a necessary first medium of delivery.

Suggestion 4: Deliver by Mobile Phone

In the United States, downloads of single songs from online stores such as Apple's iTunes have proven to be the most popular digital-distribution format. However, what works in the United States and in other highly de-

veloped economies may not work as well in China. Although download and subscription services will play an important role in the growth of the digital-music market in China, the primary growth stimulant is likely to be mobile digital-music delivery.

Out of a total of 453.6 million mobile phone subscribers in China, approximately 50.4 million individuals access the Internet through mobile phones. The number of subscribers is projected to rise to 575.2 million by 2010, with 63.9 million individuals accessing the Internet through mobile phones (if current ratios hold). Approximately 20 percent of mobile phone users are between the ages of 20 and 24. By 2010, this percentage would represent approximately 115 million mobile phone subscribers. Even assuming no growth, at the current Internet penetration rate of 9.4 percent with mobile devices, this age group alone would represent a potential market of 10.8 million users by 2010. The majority of mobile phone users, approximately 50 percent, are between the ages of 25 and 35. By 2010, this percentage would represent 262.6 million users; and, with constant Internet penetration, rates could represent another 24.7 million customers to access digital-music delivery through their phones.

Approximately 34 percent of Chinese Internet users access the Internet by visiting Internet cafés, locations that may not be well suited for a digital music–download model, since those without their own computers will not likely store music file downloads unless they own portable storage devices. By 2010, China will be home to 150 million personal computers, but nearly four times as many mobile phones will be in use. Clearly, then, mobile devices are likely to be a primary Internet and digital-entertainment access point as the mobile industry continues to evolve beyond phone calls and text messaging (China Internet Network 2008; Economist Intelligence Unit).

Suggestion 5: Use Joint Ventures with Chinese Companies as an Entry Strategy

Under Chinese law, foreign record companies are unable to operate in China as wholly owned enterprises and consequently must form joint ventures with Chinese partners (International Intellectual Property 2007, 14–15). Beyond the basic consideration of finding an established and trustworthy partner, two strategies in choosing such a partner seem prudent.

One strategy involves choosing a Chinese record company to help develop and market local Chinese recording artists. Due to differences in language and culture, finding and developing Chinese artists will give foreign companies an important advantage over competitors merely selling recordings by non-Chinese artists. A productive business synergy could result from a joint venture with a Chinese record company that has an existing roster of popular Chinese artists and is capable of finding and developing more such artists. Moreover, established Chinese record companies would likely have experience with managing related business opportunities such

as concerts, TV shows, sponsorships, and digital distribution to mobile phones.

Another strategy involves choosing a Chinese partner that is capable of digitally distributing recordings in China. Such companies might include telecoms, Internet service providers, and mobile service providers. A key consideration for the foreign company would be to partner with a Chinese company that has a well-established distribution network in place that is able to reach a large percentage of Chinese consumers. An example of this strategy is provided by a joint venture between Warner Music Group and China Unicom (one of China's biggest mobile service providers). The joint-venture company, Warner Music China, sells music downloads, ringtones, and other digital content to China Unicom subscribers.

Suggestion 6: License & Adapt Core Products

Along with their management expertise, foreign digital-music firms are able to provide another core asset to the Chinese digital-music joint venture: international music content. Licensing music catalogues is an effective first step toward an evolutionary entry strategy that, in the longer term, will also seek to develop local talent for China and abroad. Licensing has the advantage of reducing the cost of market entry while allowing the foreign firm to assess local experience, overcome foreign direct-investment ownership restrictions, and avoid some of the pioneering costs of market development. However, the application of the license may embody several forms other than just the song itself, e.g., reproduction, streaming, performance, royalty, and distribution licenses. Because content is also found in many mediums such as ring tones, ring-back tones, sound clips, and music videos, foreign digital-music firms should allow for the adaptation of their content to Chinese preferences in order to leverage success.

Suggestion 7: Adopt a Synergistic Business Model

Several business-to-consumer digital-music models for the Chinese market will likely emerge as both new technology and the purchasing preferences of consumers become manifest. Familiar approaches such as Internet e-tailers or content providers currently exist on the Mainland, and new approaches such as mobile delivery are gaining ground. In any model, ease of use and payment will influence success. Mobile delivery embodies both advantages by providing a medium for easily acquiring and storing digital music while allowing for charges via mobile billing (rather than having need for a credit card). Additionally, mobile delivery increases the security of digital media by working with firms that respect intellectual property rights.

Foreign digital-music firms may want to take advantage of this environment by using multiple delivery methods rather than an exclusive approach. By combining various business-to-consumer models, foreign digital-music

firms may achieve greater overall success while allowing local partners to incur some of the development costs in exchange for the content and management expertise of the foreign enterprise.

Suggestion 8: Take Advantage of Price Elasticity

The Internet may be one of the fastest-growing industries in China, and digital music may be one of the fastest-growing segments of that industry. However, demand is still a function of product price, so the price elasticity of demand will affect total revenue. Digital music is likely to be elastic in that an increase in price will not generate a sufficient increase in revenues to offset the decline in the number of units sold. Digital music is more of a discretionary purchase that competes with other consumption choices. Lowering price could see a greater percentage increase in units sold than the percentage decline in price so that both revenues and profits rise. Consequently, a pricing strategy that enters the market with a low price point in reference to substitutes will likely be met with greater success.

Suggestion 9: Enforce Intellectual Property Rights

Piracy is a significant concern for foreign firms wanting to distribute music digitally in China. Some estimates suggest that 90 percent of the recorded music sold in China originates from illegal sources and therefore poses a competitive disadvantage (International Federation 2006). Companies must take steps to mitigate these risks as much as possible.

Contrary to popular opinion, China's efforts to develop a legal framework for the protection of intellectual property have been substantial. However, the primary responsibility for such enforcement falls on intellectual property owners. There has been a significant increase in civil copyright infringement lawsuits filed in China by domestic as well as foreign copyright owners. The year 2004 witnessed a 71-percent increase in the number of copyright infringement cases filed in China over the previous year, indicating a growing wiliness on the part of copyright owners to enforce their rights (Intellectual Property Watch 2005). Strong local legal counsel familiar with Chinese law is a necessary component of an offensive corporate strategy and should not be an afterthought resulting from a defensive response to infringement.

Keys to Digital Music Success in China

China's economy has grown dramatically in recent years, and higher standards of living for Chinese consumers have resulted in increased demand for music and other forms of entertainment. As broadband and mobile Internet access continues to increase, foreign companies will have even greater opportunity to offer digital-music services in China. However, the overall

success of the digital-music industry in China is likely to depend on one or more of the aforementioned guidelines.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 166–76

Contagion: Thinking about Cholera in Nineteenth-Century Burma

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In this scholarly note, Peter Coclanis utilizes fragmentary evidence relating to an outbreak of cholera in Burma in the early 1840s to open up a discussion about issues relating to narrativity and historical method more generally.

Introducing a Post-Colonial Inversion

Much is still unknown about Burma in the first half of the nineteenth century; indeed, much is still unknown about Burma (Myanmar) even today. In the first half of the nineteenth century, one part of the country, the isolated Tenasserim Provinces—the elongated stretch of land snaking down the southeast coast of the country—seemed particularly remote. Ceded to Great Britain after the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824–26), the Tenasserim Provinces—Maulmain, Tavoy, and Mergui—started to register on some Western minds and balance sheets once British capital began to penetrate Lower Burma in the 1830s and 1840s.[1] In 1837 an English-language newspaper was established in the region's largest town, Maulmain, capital of British Burma between 1827 and 1852.[2] Although nineteenth-century runs of this newspaper are incomplete, extant issues from the 1840s allow us to get at least some sense of goings-on in the region. The following extracts from this newspaper, known as the *Maulmain Chronicle*, shed some light, for example, on a terrible cholera epidemic that "visited" various parts of Burma in 1842 and 1843. Even so, much remains obscure.[3]

Such obscurity is not necessarily all to the bad, for it allows us interpretive space to think about, even to meditate upon, the meaning(s) of historical representation/documentation, particularly regarding areas where conventional historical sources are scarce and description perforce likely to be "thin" in Geertzian terms. More specifically, the cholera "visitation" to Burma cuts to the heart of epistemological questions of great importance to historians today. To cite an obvious example, does an epidemic—or even a disease—occur only if someone is there to record it? You know, *esse est*

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percipi—to be is to be perceived—as Bishop George Berkeley, the great eighteenth-century immaterialist, might have put it. Put another way: We know all about the great cholera "waves" of the nineteenth century—1832, 1849, 1866, and the like—but what about "quotidian" outbreaks in and around the so-called Indian subcontinent, where the disease was endemic? Is it enough to say cholera was endemic in such areas, then to cut and run? Moreover, if the past is a foreign country, as David Lowenthal (1985) provocatively suggested two decades ago, what to Westerners is the Burmese past? A universe unto itself?

Nor is that all. Although the above questions are themselves extremely interesting, I am equally concerned here with the subject–object problem inherent in all historical documentation. With this question in mind, I try to raise some issues relating to this concern by employing an ancient narrative strategy—a chronicle, as it were—in such a way as to open up and destabilize the very idea of documentation. For even a chronicle, which in Hayden White's (1980) view is rather resistant to subjectivity effects, is marred/marked by the same. Indeed, the seemingly straightforward register of "facts" and "events" reprinted below arguably tells us as much about the cultural assumptions and conventions of the Western documentarians as about that which they purport to document: a cholera epidemic coursing through Burma in 1842 and 1843. Let us call our methodological conceit "documentary inversion" and move on to the chronicle itself to illustrate briefly what we mean.[4]

The "facts" that prove most compelling in this text, at least to me, pertain as much to mid-nineteenth-century Europeans as they do to cholera and to the indigenous population of Burma: to the positivist conceptions of knowledge held by Europeans, that is to say, and their ambitious and imperious attempts to survey, map, and manipulate information; to their increased numeracy and newfound recourse to statistical evidence marshaled and arrayed; to their confident, if deeply flawed, theories of disease etiology; and to their thinking about "primitive" cultures and ethnographic hierarchies. And, as the entry for February 1, 1843, suggests (see p. 171), to their Romantic, almost modern regard for affect and sensibility.[5]

The trajectory of a dreadful disease is traced to some degree as well, of course, but it is the contagion of assumptions and ideas held by globalizing European authorities and revealed, however inadvertently, in the chronicle that I wish to call attention to here. I encourage readers to approach the text below in this inverted, post-colonial way. In so doing, you, too, may find illumination even in a place so "obscure" as the Tenasserim Provinces of Lower Burma in the early 1840s.

The *Maulmain Chronicle*

August 31, 1842

We hear from Burmah that the cholera is raging throughout the country with dreaded fatality. The inhabitants of Amarapoora have suffered extremely. It has entered the Court and taken off the Mya-waddee-Woon, one of the king's most substantial friends. The Pagan-Meag-thamee, sister of his Majesty, and prominent in the history of the late revolution, has fallen a victim to this desolating malady. Other officers and men of rank have also fallen.

September 7, 1842

We have still the most melancholy accounts of the fatal effects of the cholera among the inhabitants of the interior of Burmah. We hear of whole villages on the banks of the river having become desolate, the inhabitants either cut off by this frightful malady, or having sought to escape its ravages by fleeing for safety to other parts of the country. We presume none who are attacked ever recover, as the Burmese are wholly unacquainted with the use of any of the remedies which the science of medicine has provided in more enlightened countries.

We do not hear that the cholera has yet reached Rangoon. Should it, however, prevail at that place, we shall have no reason not to expect its appearance amongst our own population on this side of the river. It would be benevolent and show but a proper regard for the lives of the natives, were our public authorities to cause the goungs [leaders, chiefs] and some of the principal men among the natives, perhaps also their physicians, to be made acquainted with some of the ordinary remedies used in cases of cholera, that they might be, even in a small degree, prepared to meet its attacks.

September 14, 1842

We learn that the Cholera is on the decrease in Burmah. It is reported, and we have no reason to dispute the truth of the report, that not less than 10,000 in Amarapoora alone have fallen victims to this disease. Among the members of the Court, we hear the Mya-wa-dee Woongyee, (a relative of his Majesty) one of the Princesses, a son of the Prince of Prome, a daughter of the Prince of Pakan, an Atwen-woon, a Woon-douck, and several other officers of rank, have died. In Rangoon the Cholera has carried off great numbers. Notwithstanding the great mortality which has prevailed almost throughout the country, the native reports are to the effect that the King is preparing to come down to Rangoon with an "*immense army*."

October 12, 1842

We are sorry to state that among the native inhabitants of the town, there have been within a week past, a more than ordinary number of deaths, by cholera, than usually happens at this change of the season. Their superstition has suggested to them various absurd means to drive the demon from the place, but as yet without success. We understand that there were thirteen deaths between sunrise and sunset yesterday.

October 19, 1842

The reports of deaths during the last week of Cholera are on Tuesday 11th, 13; Wednesday, 23; Thursday, 18; Friday, 33; Saturday, 16; Sunday, 20;

Monday, 35; Tuesday, 26; Total 184. Of these a large proportion are said to have been priests. This probably has proceeded from the nature of their food, which is collected by them in the morning from the charitably disposed and kept for hours in the collecting pots till it becomes cold and sour. An idea has got abroad among the people that a dram or two of arrack[6] during the day is likely to prove a good preservative from the disease, in consequence of which the arrack shops are doing an unusual quantity of business, and no doubt have their emissaries abroad to foster the delusion. So much has the alarm spread among the people that they have given up all idea of assembling this year for the Boat Races, and herein they are wise, as, so long as the disease is known to be in the place, the strong exertion, the exposure, and the crowd, are likely to increase the tendency to it. As yet, there are no indications of the disease among the European residents, and we believe but very few natives of India have fallen victims to it. We have not heard whether it has yet appeared at Martaban to disturb the contemplated festivities there.

The disease here must be different from that which prevailed in Burmah, inasmuch as it appears to yield to the remedies of the Native Doctors who are successful in numerous instances, while at Ava no medicine had the slightest effect, and those attacked died in a few hours.

Since the above was written we learn that the Cholera has extended to Martaban where the mortality has been comparatively equal to what has taken place here. We regret to learn that a seaman of H.M. Brig *Britomart* has been carried off by the disease, but this is the only instance that has yet occurred among the Europeans. It is satisfactory to know that the majority of attacks yield to the remedies applied by the Native Doctors when administered at the earliest stage of the disease.

October 26, 1842

The following are the daily reports of deaths by Cholera since our last, and we are glad to perceive an abatement of the disease:—On the 19th inst. 43 deaths; 20th 47; 21st 36; 22d 47; 23d 51; 24th 35; 25th 21; total 280; grand total since the 11th inst. 464.

November 2, 1842

The number of deaths from Cholera during the week amount to 138, and we are happy to find that the daily mortality is considerably on the decrease. The deaths which we have been enabled to report in this paper have taken place within the limits of the town only, and do not include those in the country, in some parts of which the mortality is said to have been comparatively greater than in the town. Several large villages, such as Kudo, Kotoun, and Zathabyeen, are said to have been deserted by their inhabitants who have retired into the interior. Many villages have shut themselves up and deny all access, the creeks leading from the rivers to some of them being barred up. In the Martaban districts, and especially at and around Bileng, the mortality is said to be very great. We have not learnt whether the epidemic has entirely left Rangoon or not, but as no allusion to the subject is made in the latest letters from that place, we presume that it must at least have very sensibly abated. The next accounts from the southward will enable us to judge of the course the disease may have taken, whether down the coast of the Peninsula or eastward towards Siam. If the latter, its effects among the dense population of the capital, Bankok, will be awful.

November 9, 1842

We are sorry to have to notice the continued prevalence of the Cholera among the native population. There was some appearance last week of an abatement of the disease, but since then the number of deaths daily have been nearly the same. The returns are as follow:—On the 2d 12; 3d 16; 4th 15; 5th 21; 6th 15; 7th 18; 8th 11; total during the week 108 deaths. The whole amount of the returns of deaths since the first appearance of the Cholera in town is 710. Most of these were Burmese, who, from some cause which no one probably can assuredly ascertain, seem to have been peculiarly susceptible of the disease.

November 16, 1842

The number of deaths by Cholera since our last, are reported as follows: —On the 9th 9,—10th 16,—11th 9,—12th 9,—13th 15,—14th 10,—15th 9,— total 77.

November 23, 1842

The following are the daily returns of deaths by Cholera, during the past week: viz., 16th 5,—17th 7,—18th 8,—19th 9,—20th 8,—21st 10,—22d 8,— total 55. We regret to learn that the Cholera has again made its appearance in Rangoon, where it is ravaging those parts of the town that suffered least on the former visitation. Its effects are said to be more speedily fatal than before and the number of deaths to be great. The idea of the King visiting that place this season seems to be nearly given up, and it is now supposed either that some high official will be sent down from the Capital to superintend the casting of the Bell, or that the Governor of Rangoon himself will be invested with this important function. Several vessels appear to have lately sailed from Rangoon for Calcutta, but on the whole the port is said to wear a deserted aspect. The number of native craft from the Coromandel Coast has greatly fallen off this year, owing, we believe, to some annoyances to which they were subject on the part of the Government, last season. Rangoon has indeed sadly fallen from her former high estate, which is to be attributed to the vicious measures of the present Central Government, for her advantages and resources are as great as they ever were, and require only a fostering hand to develope [*sic*] themselves. It was confidently expected, when the present King gained the throne, that his enlightened mind would have been directed to the encouragement of trade, and that Rangoon would have materially benefitted by his measures; but these expectations have been sadly disappointed, and the royal visit of last year appears to have almost put the finishing hand to her prosperity by causing the forcible removal of the inhabitants to a site unfavorable to their avocations.

November 30, 1842

We are glad to say that the Cholera has nearly disappeared from the town, and that during the past week not more than one or two deaths have occurred daily.

December 7, 1842

We learn from Tavoy and Mergui that the Cholera began to prevail at the former place in the early part of last month, where from the 10th to the 28th

the number of deaths amounted to 71; and at the latter place 5 had died between the 25th and 30th.

December 21, 1842

Some weeks ago we dropped the insertion of the cholera reports, as the disease seemed almost to have disappeared. We understand, however, that generally since then, there have occurred 6 or 8 deaths weekly, and that the returns of the past seven days amount to 10 deaths.

December 28, 1842

We understand that the number of deaths by cholera reported during the week past, amount to six.

January 4, 1843

We hear by private letters from Tavoy and Mergui, that the cholera has been more fatal in its effects in those places, in proportion to the amount of population, than at Maulmain. Deaths are almost daily still occurring at Maulmain, and we hear it prevails greatly among the Karen villages in the interior.

January 11, 1843

The deaths by Cholera still continue to average nearly one a day. Last evening a Burmese priest, while eating rice, fell down and instantly expired.

January 18, 1843

We are sorry to say that the cholera apppears [*sic*] to be on the increase again in this town. During the last week 30 deaths occurred.

We hear from Tavoy and Mergui, that the cholera has been uncommonly fatal in both those places. At Tavoy up to the 12th inst. the number of deaths had amounted to 700, and at Mergui, to the 8th inst. to 340, in a period embracing about two months. The above returns do not extend to the surrounding villages.

January 25, 1843

The Police returns of deaths by cholera, during the last week, we are sorry to say, amounted to 53.

February 1, 1843

It has been intimated to us that the prominent manner in which we have noticed the reports of deaths by Cholera, has a disagreeable effect on the minds of some of our readers. We have therefore directed this week's report to be inserted in a less conspicuous place, that those whose feelings are likely to be disturbed may avoid noticing it.

* * *

CHOLERA REPORTS

The deaths by cholera during the last week as reported at the Police were 64.

From Mergui we hear the cholera continues to prevail with fatal effects. The number of deaths from the 9th to the 21st inst. were 92. By our latest accounts from Tavoy we learn that the disease there had considerably abated.

February 8, 1843

We are glad to be able to state that the cholera at Tavoy and Mergui has very much subsided; after having prevailed to a degree of fatality seldom known. The effect of it has been, not only a great destruction of life, but to cause an abandonment of the harvest which was just beginning to be ripened on the appearance of the disease. The fields were forsaken while the paddy was being reaped, and the Authorities, we hear, employed the convicts to gather in what portion of the grain they were able, but still great quantities of it were destroyed. We hear that many fields, in this province, were also abandoned for a similar reason. We have not heard that the price of rice has yet been affected by these circumstances, and we should hope that it might not be, as it has been sufficiently high for some two years past.

* * *

CHOLERA REPORT

The deaths by cholera during the last week as reported at the Police were 22, the whole of whom, except one, were adults.

February 15, 1843

CHOLERA REPORT

The Police reports of deaths by cholera during the past week, were 107, besides others, strangers from Tavoy and Rangoon, who are known to have died, but whose deaths have not been reported.

February 22, 1843

CHOLERA REPORT

Number of deaths on Thursday last		7
Do.	Friday	7
Do.	Saturday	7
Do.	Sunday	11
Do.	Monday	11
Do.	Tuesday	15
Do.	Wednesday	9
Total		67

March 1, 1843

CHOLERA REPORT

Number of deaths on Thursday last		21
Do.	Friday	20
Do.	Saturday	11
Do.	Sunday	20
Do.	Monday	17
Do.	Tuesday	7
Do.	Wednesday	13
Total		109

March 8, 1843

CHOLERA REPORT

Number of deaths on Thursday last		5
Do.	Friday	6
Do.	Saturday	5
Do.	Sunday	4
Do.	Monday	2
Do.	Tuesday	3
Do.	Wednesday	1
Total		26

March 15, 1843

There appears to be, we are glad to say, some abatement in the number of victims to cholera among the native population of the town—within the last week, only 19 deaths having been reported to the Police. Not so, however, we learn, on the opposite side of the river, where its ravages are truly frightful. It is a circumstance deserving particular attention, that this disease during its 5 months prevalence here, has been, with very few exceptions, confined to the native Burmese, among whom, within the precincts of Maulmain only, during the above period, not less, we presume, than fifteen hundred have been taken off by death. This remarkable discrimination observable in the progress of the disease throughout this region, would seem to indicate that the cause of the disease is not to be attributed to any peculiar state or change of the atmosphere.

* * *

CHOLERA REPORT

Number of deaths on Thursday last		7
Do.	Friday	4
Do.	Saturday	1
Do.	Sunday	1
Do.	Monday	3
Do.	Tuesday	2
Do.	Wednesday	1
Total		19

March 22, 1843

CHOLERA REPORT

Number of deaths on Thursday last		3
Do.	Friday	1
Do.	Saturday	0
Do.	Sunday	0
Do.	Monday	2
Do.	Tuesday	2
Do.	Wednesday	0
Total		8

April 5, 1843

CHOLERA REPORT

For the week ending Wednesday morning the 29th–ult. 11 deaths.
For the week ending this morning, the 5th, 4 deaths.

April 19, 1843

CHOLERA REPORT

The reports of deaths by cholera during the last week were on Thursday 2, Friday 1, Saturday 1, Sunday 3, Monday 4, Tuesday 5, Wednesday 5, Total 21.

April 26, 1843

CHOLERA REPORT

The reports of deaths by cholera during the last week were, on Thursday 5, Friday 4, Saturday 3, Sunday 1, Monday 4, Tuesday 1, Wednesday 5, Total 23.

May 24, 1843

We are sorry to observe that several fatal instances of Cholera have occurred among the privates of H.M. 84th Regiment, within a few days past—the consequence, probably, of too free an indulgence in the fruits of the season, particularly pine-apples which are now cheap and abundant.

May 31, 1843

The progress of Cholera among the men of H.M. 84th Regt. has, we hear, been nearly or quite arrested. The almost immediate change from extreme heat and dryness to a cloudy sky and abundance of rain may in part have removed the cause of the disease.

* * *

CHOLERA REPORT

The report of deaths by Cholera among the native population during the week ending May 24th.—Thursday 2, Friday 1, Saturday 1, Sunday 1, Monday 0, Tuesday 3, Wednesday 2, total 10.

The report of deaths by Cholera among the native population during the last week were on Thursday 8, Friday 2, Saturday 1, Sunday 1, Monday 1, Tuesday 1, Wednesday 1, total 15.

[no further mention]

Notes

[1]On the First Anglo-Burmese War in general and the 1826 Treaty of Yandabo in particular, see, for example, Hall (1981, 625–41); Tarling (1992).

[2]The port city of Maulmain (also known as Moulmein and today known as Mawlamyine or Mawlamyaing) had a population of almost 30,000 by the early 1840s. The total population of the sparsely settled Tenasserim Provinces as a whole—including four British infantry regiments and a small number of Western civilians—was only about 130,000 at that time. See the *Maulmain Chronicle*, June 16, 1838; July 31, 1839; June 30, 1841.

[3]Cholera almost certainly originated in Asia and was long endemic in parts of the Indian Subcontinent. In recent decades, a number of scholars have argued, however, that Western-inspired war and trade in South Asia led to a series of cholera epidemics in the region and, indeed, sparked the four great pandemics that struck the West in the nineteenth century. See Arnold (1993, 159–99); Morris (1976, 21). On Western misperceptions in the 1840s regarding the etiology of cholera, see, for example, Johnson (2006). On the broader epidemiological experience in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century, see, for example, Owen (1987); Rimmer and Allen (1990). On the European morbidity and mortality experience in nineteenth-century South and Southeast Asia (including Tenasserim), see Bamber (1993); Curtin (1989); Taylor (1993). Also see Committee of the Statistical Society (1840, 1841); Sykes (1847); [Tulloch] (1842). On the broad contours of disease morbidity and mortality in colonial Burma, see Coclanis and Bassino (2008); Richell (2006). On the British mortality experience in Tenasserim specifically, see Coclanis (1999). For basic statistical data on nineteenth-century Burma, see especially Saito and Kiong (1999).

[4]Such inversion is, of course, similar in many ways to the concept of "oppositionality" employed by a number of post-colonial writers. For good introductions to post-colonial writing, see Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1995, 2002); During (1999, 169–230).

[5]On these developments, see, for example, Adas (1989); Barrow (2003); Cullen (1975); Curtin (1989, esp. 39–61); Desrosières (1998); Edney (1997); Headrick (2000); Michie and Thomas (2003); Porter (1986); Richards (1993); Winichakul (1994).

[6]From the Arabic word meaning "sweat," arrack is a strong, fiery liquor distilled from the fermented sap of coconut palms, molasses, rice, or other materials.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 177–81

Asia in World History: Notes on Pedagogical Scholarship

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After discussing high school and undergraduate students' problematic perceptions toward world history, Lucien Ellington describes four pedagogical works that can help students better understand the role of Asia in history—and that can help instructors teach about Asia more effectively in world-history survey courses.

Teaching Asia More Effectively

Pedagogical scholarship adds to the knowledge and understanding of teaching.[1] This essay is a discussion, with attendant suggestions, on how to teach Asia more effectively in introductory high school and undergraduate-level world-history survey courses that are required for either high school graduation, university admission, or undergraduate general education. The assumption of this essay is that only a small minority of world-history survey students at any of these levels will have unusually strong backgrounds or interest in world history.

How to teach about Asia more effectively in world history is an important question. Despite substantial progress in addressing the issue during the past decade and a half, probably no Asianist in this country interested in world history is satisfied either with current understanding about how to teach Asia effectively or with our students' levels of rudimentary knowledge about Asia.

Examining Problematic Student Perceptions

About two-and-a-half years ago, I began to grope toward working on two observed problematic student perceptions that I consider critical in addressing this issue. The first is a vague notion that in history, Europe was dynamic while Asia was static. Europe was the source of most of the world's greatest ideas, while a much different Asia was characterized by stagnant and static societies ruled by Oriental despots and peasant populations.[2]

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Asian societies had little or no freedom, prosperity, or prospects of social mobility. The second problematic perception is that Asia and Europe had little or no interaction through much of history.

Most readers are familiar with the "California School" of Asian and world historians, whose cutting-edge scholarship challenged the conventional wisdom that Europe and "modern" are synonymous—and that nineteenth- and early twentieth–century Europeans either imposed modernization upon Asians or that Asians modernized by copying Europeans.[3] Although the works of California-School scholars have deeply influenced my own thinking and teaching, for the most part, I find their work not useful in disabusing world-history survey students of the stereotypes described in my introduction for two reasons.

The most important is that these scholars vastly overestimate how much knowledge the typical survey student possesses about European history. Although many students believe that, historically, Europe was advanced and Asia was backward, they also have little prior knowledge of European history. Much of the focus of the California School lies clearly upon comparative history and rigorous critiques of Eurocentric presumptions that rationalism, private enterprise, commercial economies, and science coupled with variants of Judeo-Christian values meant that, until recently, only the West could be advanced and "modern."

If students do not have rudimentary knowledge of European topics such as the scientific revolution, the three Enlightenments, John Locke (1632–1704), Adam Smith (1723–90), and the interplay between religion and nationalism, they tend to be more confused by an approach to world history that involves extensive comparisons. Comparisons that focus upon one narrow topic such as Keith Knapp's (2007) excellent article on the question of whether at any point in its history Imperial China had a "medieval period" can be effective; but broad-based comparative arguments tend to be lost upon world-history survey students because of their lack of extensive prior knowledge about European history, even in Eurocentric forms.

A secondary reason that I refrain from using extensive content from the California School in introductory world-history survey courses is my agreement with the school's sympathetic critics that, in some cases, these scholars replace a Eurocentric narrative with an Asia-centric counter narrative. As is the case with Eurocentric narratives, a counter-narrative that minimizes European contributions to world history potentially impedes the development of a genuine world-history survey that includes serious study of both Asia and Europe—and the connections between them (see Carton 2006).

Introducing Four Pedagogical Works for World History

In the remainder of this essay, I briefly describe four world-history pedagogical works: a brief essay, a Web-site component, a book, and a chapter from an edited volume. I believe each to be an effective basic tool in assisting survey students to understand that, in world history, no clear dichotomy can be drawn between "dynamic and modern Europe" and "backward Asia"—and that mutual interaction and influence have occurred between Europe and Asia since antiquity.

Murphey, Rhoads. "The Shape of the World: Eurasia." In *Asia in Western and World History: A Guide for Teaching*, ed. Ainslie T. Embree and Carol Gluck, 7–13. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997.

In the first sentence of this masterful seven-page essay, the author asserts that his purpose is "to enrich the student's understanding of Western civilization by pointing out its interconnections with Asia throughout history." Murphey uses concrete examples—such as the range of interactions among Southwest Asia, the Greeks, and South Asia in antiquity; the influence of the Silk Road; the export of a religion of Asian origin, Christianity, to early South Asia; and Columbus's intimate knowledge of Marco Polo's journal—to lucidly achieve his purpose.

Asia for Educators. "The Song Dynasty in China (960–1279): Life in the Song Seen through a 12th-Century Scroll." New York: Columbia University, 2004. http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/song.

In this component of a superb East Asia pedagogical Web site, chief consultant and noted textbook author Conrad Schirokauer and his colleagues use an artifact, the ca. twelfth-century Beijing Qingming Scroll (*Qingming shanghe tu* 清明上河图), as the central teaching visual to help students understand that a case can be made that "modernity" as we understand it began in the Song 宋 period (960–1279). Students learn about private entrepreneurs; variants of economic freedom and limited government; and impressive commercial, technological, and cultural vibrancy in this era of Chinese history by examining close-ups of various urban scenes from the scroll and through accessing related readings, maps, and other materials.

Gordon, Stewart. *When Asia Was the World*. Philadelphia, PA: Da Capo Press, 2007.

This book is highly recommended as an assigned student reading for university or high school instructors (assuming that the latter group of educators have students who are reading at least on grade level). In this 191-page book, Gordon examines Asia from 500 to 1500. Most of the chap-

ters focus on both famous (e.g., Ibn Battuta [b. 1304], Babur [1483–1531], and Xuanzang 玄奘 [ca. 602–64]) and little-known individuals to impart significant understanding of the Pan-Asian networks, interactions, commerce, and religions that made Asia the center of the world during the period addressed. The book includes excellent maps and photographs as well as notes, suggested readings, and an index. Gordon's work offers a highly readable and superb use of biographical vignettes as mediums for the impartation of historical understanding.

Spence, Jonathan. "Western Perceptions of China from the Late Sixteenth Century to the Present." In *The Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization*, ed. Paul S. Ropp, 1–14. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990.

Jonathan Spence incorporates a range of viewpoints about China in this chapter, ranging from those of Voltaire (1694–1778) to Benjamin Franklin (1706–90) to Hegel (1770–1831). Spence clearly illustrates how visions of China—or an imagined China—affected the thought and, in some cases, actions of influential Westerners, thereby problematizing student notions that China and the West were absolutely separate worlds.

Creating an Approach to Teaching about Asia in Survey Courses

The above works, in my opinion, add to our understanding and knowledge of how to teach about Asia in introductory world-history survey courses. They also have the potential to position students who take additional history courses to understand more sophisticated analyses of Europe and Asia, such as those of the California scholars. (For some examples, see the works in note 3, below; see also Fowler 1998 and Landes 1998.) As I continue to work on the topic of teaching Asia in the world-history survey course, I welcome responses from readers who share an interest in this topic.

Notes

[1]The late Ernest Boyer (1990) first defined teaching or pedagogical scholarship in his expanded definition of scholarship that included four kinds: discovery, integration, application, and teaching.

[2]Although many others have used the term, Montesquieu (1689–1755) is credited with first popularizing the notion of "Oriental despotism" as the type of government pertaining to a lawless society based on the equality of subjects in fear and powerlessness (see Arjomand 2004).

[3]See, for example, works by such scholars as Andre Gunder Frank (1998); Kenneth Pomeranz (2000); R. Bin Wong (1997); and Robert B. Marks (2006), who provides a good introduction and discussion of some of the ideas of the California School.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 182–87

The Dissonance between Culture and Intellectual Property in China

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In this scholarly note, Jessica Gisclair explores various complexities of culture and jurisprudence with respect to intellectual property rights in China. This piece provides a useful supplement to Howard H. Cochran Jr. and David J. Moser's suggestions for foreign firms breaking in to the Chinese music market (pp. 159–65).

A Changing China

For centuries, China has been a leading civilization steeped in cultural identity and national perseverance. China has always strived to protect its sovereignty from outside influence. John Gannon, former National Intelligence Council chairman, stated that "the Chinese are acutely aware of their history, intensely proud of their ancient civilization, and sometimes wary of the United States with its global reach and infectious popular culture" (1998, 10). The United States and other Western countries have imposed upon non-Western countries and cultures to use the West as a construct of their own identity. Since the nineteenth century, China has adapted to the modern world; and, as a result, it has changed its perception of self, culture, and cultural identity (He 1995). The rapid expansion of globalization into Chinese society poses a tremendous challenge to China.

During the last quarter century, China has changed from a "centrally planned system that was largely closed to international trade to a more market-oriented economy that has a rapidly growing private sector and is a major player in the global economy" (Central Intelligence Agency 2008, 6). This change has made China the second largest economy in the world after the United States (Central Intelligence Agency 2008, 7). Considering that China, with 1.3 billion inhabitants, represents one-fourth of the world's population, no one should be surprised about its global impact. One measurable impact is China's estimated 162 million Internet users (China Internet Network 2008, 10).

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The number of Internet users has led to much attention toward China's inadequate protection of intellectual property rights (IPR). For example, China has been placed on the "Priority Watch List" by the Bush administration's Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR). America has been pressuring China to ensure that "American intellectual property rights are protected, . . . that China's trading regime operates transparently, and that promises to grant trading and distribution rights are implemented fully and on time" (Office of the U.S. Trade 2004, 2). The dispute continues as to what to do about China.

Some argue against the United States pressuring other countries about intellectual property rights. According to Robin Gross (2007), IP Justice executive director, the USTR policy "smacks of imperialism by forcing countries to change their laws and social practices to conform to U.S. interests." Gross asserts that the U.S. policy reflects narrow corporate interests of powerful lobbying groups from the movie, recording, and pharmaceutical industries. Rather than argue for more (or fewer) copyright-protection policies, some advocate the need for all foreign governments to "assure access and use rights to keep a balance between the rights of copyright owners and the rights of users" (Loren 2002, 143).

China has an interest in establishing and maintaining itself as a cooperative global power. However, it faces cultural and intellectual dissonance when it comes to IPR. This commentary examines some of the complexities of culture and jurisprudence in relation to IPR along with recent changes made by China to accommodate demands from foreign countries for protection of IPR. It discusses what is realistic with the jurisprudence of intellectual property in China.

China's Philosophical Underpinning

A country's culture is defined as a "collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from [those of] another" (Hofstede 1991, 5). Chinese culture, in particular, has been defined as a set of relationships defined by Confucian doctrine (He 1995). The primary orientation of Chinese culture is toward mutual reliance, which is based on the *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 of Chinese philosophy (He 1995). One distinction is the Confucian notion that all forms of creativity are for the collective; any copying or imitating is a high form of flattery, honoring one's ancestors (Sills 2006). For example, a Confucian scholar is expected to engage in the dissemination of knowledge through teaching while not engaging in the unethical behavior of making a profit. Until recently, little regard was given to the Western idea of intellectual property rights, so China lacked effective laws to stop the practice of copyright violations until the 1990s.

Mutual reliance and sharing for the good of all have been most important for centuries in China, quite unlike the American belief of ownership

of copyright and profit protection for the copyright holder. Since the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) took control of the country in 1949, the Confucian tradition of sharing and copying creative works has been followed (Montgomery and Fitzgerald 2006, 408). Thus, a cultural perspective of Confucian doctrine is reflected today in Chinese intellectual property views among CCP members. According to Lehman (2006, 6), "the dim view of private property taken by communism, as well as its view of intellectuals as workers producing a product for the public good, would not lead one to expect respect for private intellectual property among those educated in communist ideology." Changes in Chinese thinking about intellectual property will be slow, bogged down by centuries of traditional ethical beliefs and political ideology. In addition, the Chinese Ministry of Culture will have a heavy hand in the outcome of many intellectual property disputes, since it supervises the cultural market and related laws and regulations (Mertha 2005, 15, 122).

However, this situation does not mean foreign companies should wait for Chinese thinking to change; rather, they should be proactive in learning about Chinese culture and the significance of Confucian doctrine. Lehman (2006, 8) states that "the basic problem with enforcing intellectual property rights in China is not legal or based on stages in economic development, but arises from intellectual and cultural dissonance." The Great Firewall of China may not fare well against the Internet, but as CBSNews.com technology analyst Larry Magid has said, "the question U.S. tech companies have to answer is whether business interests combined with the possible positive effect they might have on openness outweigh the risk of being seen collaborating with an oppressive regime" (*CBS News* 2006). Clive Thompson (2006) writes that those who "live and breathe" Chinese culture can understand Chinese government regulations; but these regulations are bewildering to foreign Internet companies, which lack the intuition of Chinese companies.

China's Judicial System

China is slowly moving toward the American model of intellectual property (Lehman 2006, 1). Economic reform in China has led the way for new laws that protect copyright in traditional media and in digital format (Lu 2006, 64). However, copyright holders face dilution of their work due to the rapid expansion of Internet users, the unauthorized copying and distribution of copyrighted works, and lax enforcement of existing laws (Feng 2002, 161). "Given the traditional Chinese view that ethics trump law, it is not surprising that importing Western views of intellectual property into Chinese law has little effect on daily behavior," writes Lehman (2006, 8). Illegal downloads and software piracy are as common in China as is checking the weather online (Thompson 2006).

Although some are hopeful about the efficacy of China's emergent intellectual property laws, "bureaucratic, political and social factors, including corruption, continue to play an important role in the way copyright law is experienced and applied" in China (Montgomery and Fitzgerald 2006, 412). A case on point is the Chinese government's announcement that it will train government officials in ethics in an effort to curtail corruption, "improve the supervisory system, strengthen the oversight of the use of power and cooperate more with international anti-graft programs" (*Financial Times* 2007).

Contrary to popular belief, since the early 1990s, China has been moving from a state-controlled system to a rule-of-law system and, in the process, has begun reforming many areas of IPR law, including copyright. Chua (2006, 137) explains that some of the areas include improving the qualifications of judges, introducing a limited form of discovery, and enforcing judgments more systematically. Yet China is burdened with ineffective management and enforcement of copyright law due to personnel and budgetary shortages—and due to other powerful bureaucracies that often pursue different priorities (Mertha 2005, 119). Since its accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001, China has become a member of the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property (TRIP) group. TRIP requires signatories to adopt minimum standards of protection for intellectual property rights (Sills 2006, 6). China also belongs to international conventions concerning intellectual property, such as the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literacy and Artistic Works and the Geneva Phonograms Convention. Despite these and other agreements, China fails to correct inconsistencies within its IPR laws, fails to provide transparency of legal decisions, and fails to enforce penalties (Sills 2006, 7). In response to this criticism and foreign government pressures, the Chinese Supreme People's Court has extended penalties for music and movie piracy and has ordered lower courts to begin hearing piracy cases filed by companies and individual citizens (*Associated Press* 2007).

Chinese laws are slowly moving to meet the demands of the international community concerning intellectual property. In China, there is no stigma attached to taking any amount of intellectual content. In fact, Baidu, a Chinese search engine, specifically designed an interface to assist with illegal downloads (Thompson 2006). Until China has its own body of intellectual property that needs protection, it will not move quickly to make substantial changes in its present laws. According to Mertha (2005, 118–19), part of the problem is that "China's first copyright law was shaped by foreign pressure, with the result that foreigners enjoy[ed] greater legal protection under China's Copyright Law than China's own citizens." But, as Chinese enterprises develop their own intellectual property and seek protection, that trend is changing (Chua 2006, 155).

Despite these concerns and philosophical differences, Western businesses are drawn to China's Internet potential because of "growing prosperity, technological advances and a more liberal attitude by the Chinese authorities [which] means the Internet is becoming an easier and more popular place to do business" (Stamp 2005). As an outcome of the delay in legal reform, many foreign-based businesses are relying on alternative methods to avoid copyright violations and to resolve disputes. It is not uncommon to have one high-tech company rat out the competition in the hopes that the competitor will suffer consequences for its violations (Thompson 2006). Other companies, such as Phillips (the Dutch electronic company), focus on educating consumers about how to detect pirated goods (Sills 2006, 7). Creative industries are adopting a Creative Commons license approach that would allow a copyright owner to distribute material online for the world to share, access, and reutilize without fear of prosecution for infringement (Montgomery 2006, 415). Companies like Adobe have developed tracking devices to find counterfeit products on the Internet and relay that information to the authorities for prosecution (Sills 2006, 13). The music industry uses digital rights management systems to protect against unauthorized access and copying (Loren 2002, 134). Finally, the U.S. government has taken a stronger stance against China's copyright piracy. According to U.S. Trade Representative Susan Schwab, in 2007 the United States filed two copyright piracy cases against China with the World Trade Organization (Crutsinger 2007).

Keys to Future Change in China's Intellectual Property Laws

"Whereas Americans tend to think in terms of years or decades, the Chinese think in terms of centuries and dynasties. It is an important distinction," remarked Gannon (1998, 10). Today, with much exposure to outside influence, Chinese cultural identity and national perseverance has been significantly transformed (He 1995). China's laws concerning intellectual property are changing, but it will take some time to see any significant improvements. First, foreign pressure may result in changes in China's intellectual property law, but it will not ensure efficiency or enforcement. Those issues are deeply rooted in China's judicial and bureaucratic structure. Second, the judicial system is not the only interpreter of the laws in China. The Chinese Ministry of Culture will have a heavy hand in the outcome of many legal disputes. Third, not everyone in the world believes protecting intellectual property rights is in the best interests of all. Some Western and Eastern countries see intellectual property rights as an infringement on expression, a threat to critiques, and an obstacle to learning. Fourth, foreign governments must keep the pressure on China to conform to internationally acceptable standards of copyright laws. None of these suggestions is easy for developing countries that lack infrastructure, financing, and political stability or government support; but all are necessary if China and others intend to be cooperative,

global leaders in the digital world. What is realistic is that changes in intellectual property rights in China will take more time.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 188–95

The Consolidation of Place and Punishment in Seventeenth-Century Japan: Kanazawa Prisons and Criminal Justice

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In this scholarly note, based on archival research carried out for his doctoral dissertation, David Nelson examines the use—and eventual discontinuance—of several methods of capital punishment in seventeenth-century Kanazawa, Japan.

The Consolidation & Centralization of Criminal Punishment

This essay examines criminal punishment in seventeenth-century Kanazawa 金沢, capital of Kaga 加賀 domain, in order to show early modern Japan's process of consolidation and centralization of authority as a local institution. Although Kanazawa's seventeenth-century penal practices were founded on medieval expressions of power, the violent, retributive nature of such punishment was reduced over the course of the century and enveloped by a domain policy of benevolent government. This policy is apparent in the abolition of the most violent forms of capital punishment inherited from the *sengoku* 戦国 (warring states) period, which lasted from the mid-fifteenth century to the early seventeenth century. Bureaucratic institutions, such as the office of town magistrate, reshaped the personal nature of feudal justice. As judicial authority came to rest in the hands of salaried officials, penal practices coincided more with a peaceful, prosperous society no longer characterized by the instability and brutality of constant warfare that had shaped *sengoku*-period forms of punishment.

The consolidation and centralization of criminal punishment in Kanazawa as an issue of authority is apparent in the physical location of police and judicial organs of state. Over the course of the seventeenth century, authority over criminal justice was transferred to the office of town magistrate. At first, Kanazawa had no unitary system of judicial administration and oversight. In fact, the town magistrate's office lacked a permanent headquarters until 1636. Without a permanent base of operation, the town

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magistrate's office had no prison. Punishment grounds also lacked cohesive central organization, being located along the fringes of Kanazawa city proper. After 1636, however, the situation changed, as the office of town magistrate, prisons, and punishment grounds were consolidated into one location under the jurisdiction of the town magistrate.

Creation of an Integrated Prison System

The first prison in Kanazawa, originally for holding prisoners of war, was located within the castle walls (Morita and Heki 1934, 1: 287–88). The castle prison's original function became obsolete by 1590, after Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536/37–98) established hegemony over Japan (McClain 1982, 21–25; Kazamaki 2001). In a pragmatic decision to utilize existing facilities, this prison, under control of the judicial magistrate, also held detainees of the town magistrate (Morita and Heki 1934, 1: 287–88, 466–69, 471–72).

The castle prison finally closed in 1637 after the completion of the judicial magistrate's office, with its own internal holding facilities. One year earlier, the town magistrate moved into a confiscated residence and was also outfitted with a prison (Morita and Heki 1934, 1: 287–88, 466–69, 471–72).[1] From 1637 on, the town magistrate's office began to accrue more responsibilities over not only incarceration but also criminal punishment, regardless of jurisdictional authority. Although the office of the judicial magistrate had its own prison (its prisoners were samurai, warranting different treatment from that of commoners),[2] staffing of the judicial magistrate's prison came to rest with the town magistrate. By the nineteenth century, a subordinate of the town magistrate held the keys for both magistrates' prisons (Inoue and Iwata 2000). Furthermore, after 1650, the domain ordered rural magistrates to send their delinquents to the town magistrate's prison to await punishment (Morita and Heki 1934, 1: 287–88, 466–69, 471–72).

As the primary holding facility in Kanazawa, the town magistrate's prison served an important criminal investigative function, outfitted as it was with an interrogation room for use in ongoing investigations (Tanaka 1966, 233). Suspects who were reticent to speak, however, could be subjected to harsh methods of coercion. In such cases, the prison interrogation room served as a torture chamber to extract the confession necessary to resolve crimes during the Edo 江戸 period (1603–1868) (Ishii 1963, 81–84; Botsman 2005, 38).[3] The town magistrate's prison, in its role as an interrogation facility, was an invaluable asset in the judicial process that formed one aspect of the centralized responsibilities of the town magistrate's office.

Other Punishment Grounds in Kanazawa

The town magistrate's prison also became the central location for punishment by the mid-seventeenth century. Until this time, the most prominent punishment grounds were located near three major entries into the city proper: Saigawa Bridge, Asanogawa Bridge, and the Miyanokoshi Gate. By the late seventeenth century, the Miyanokoshi Gate punishment ground, located along the thoroughfare that connected Kanazawa and its coastal port of Miyanokoshi, disappeared in the expansion of the city's commercial center of Yasue and Ōmi wards. Other less prominent sites suffered the same fate in the face of Kanazawa's rapid growth (Morita and Heki 1934, 3: 205–6; Wada 1920, 4: 1096–99, 1209–10, 1226–27).

The punishment grounds near the Saigawa and the Asanogawa Bridges, in use prior to Maeda 前田 rule (1583–1868), remained in the same location, even when the city pushed beyond its natural defenses—the Saigawa and Asanogawa Rivers—and continued in use until the Meiji 明治 period (1868–1912). However, the role these grounds played in the penal process changed. The town magistrate's prison came to serve as the city's primary punishment ground in the 1660s. From this time on, the actual execution of domain justice was performed behind closed doors. Nevertheless, the Saigawa and Asanogawa punishment grounds retained their function in the display of domain power; the severed heads of the executed were displayed with signboards prominently placed to announce to passersby the victims' crimes and their resulting punishments (Morita and Heki 1934, 2: 353–54; 3: 424; Wada 1920, 4: 1098–99, 1190).

As these events demonstrate, the town magistrate's prison became the focal point of all aspects of the investigative and judicial processes in Kanazawa. All criminals held in this prison, even those under the jurisdiction of other magistrates, received punishment there. The town magistrate's prison became a centralized institution for the administration of domain justice in the city of Kanazawa at the same time that the office and its subordinates were converted into a bureaucracy of public officials in the service of the domain (Nelson 2007).

Punishment as an Expression of Domain Power

Just as the disparate parts of Kanazawa's judiciary were consolidated over the seventeenth century into a centralized early modern penal system, the expression of domain power in the form of punishment also changed. This shift was partially due to the peaceful climate Japan experienced in the seventeenth century. With the end of civil war, Kaga authorities sought to restrict the private use of violence by asserting that violence was the prerogative of public authority. However, even the domain's use of violence, such

as punishment, decreased in intensity. The abandonment of many cruel aspects of inherited *sengoku*-period punishment methods reflected the new era of peace enjoyed by Japanese society.

Punishment was a visual expression of a warlord's power: It reinforced the warlord's public authority, and the exaction of pain and the extravagant nature of punishment gave convincing, emotive evidence of the absolute nature of the ruler's justice (Foucault 1995, 55–57). Public forms of punishment also informed subjects of the seriousness of the crimes as well as the social standing of the condemned. To quote Foucault (1995, 34), punishment "correlates . . . the quality, intensity, and duration of pain with the gravity of the crime, the person of the criminal, the rank of his victims. There is a legal code of pain. . . . Punishment does not fall upon the body indiscriminately or equally."

Forms of Capital Punishment in Seventeenth-Century Kanazawa

In seventeenth-century Kanazawa, the most prominent forms of *sengoku*-period capital punishment still practiced were saw-pulling, ox-pulling, boiling alive, drawing and quartering, burning at the stake, crucifixion, and beheading (Tomizu n.d., ca. 1890). These punishments can be ranked in that order according to the spectacle and amount of pain inflicted. The most notorious crimes, from the perspective of a warlord, were those that threatened the social hierarchy upon which his power was constructed. The most offensive crime, then, was the murder of one's samurai master, a crime punishable by *nokogiribiki* 鋸引き (saw-pulling). In its original medieval form, the murderer was locked in a small box that was buried in the ground, with only his head and neck protruding. Two saws were placed on either side of his head, with a sign attesting to his crime and permission for anyone to use the saw on the helpless man's neck. In this manner, the general public was invited to participate in the ritual of condemnation, humiliation, and punishment.[4]

With the passage of time, however, the public expression of helplessness of the offender and the powerful, vindictive will of the warlord were lessened, even for those guilty of socially despicable crimes. Real saws were replaced by symbolic bamboo saws, and passersby were no longer allowed to participate (Ishii 1964, 58–59). Instead of dying by saw, the prisoner was removed from the box after two days on public display and crucified (Tomizu n.d., ca. 1890; Ishii 1964, 58–59). After 1647, this *sengoku* punishment was retired in Kaga domain and was never revived.

Those guilty of attempted murder of their masters faced *ushizaki* 牛裂き (ox-pulling). This punishment involved tying the culprit's arms to one ox and legs to another ox (or each limb to four separate oxen); then the animals were driven in opposite directions until the body was torn apart (To-

mizu n.d., ca. 1890).[5] As with saw-pulling, this punishment was discontinued; it was last sentenced and enacted in 1667 (Morita and Heki 1934, 2: 396–99; Tomizu n.d., ca. 1890).[6]

Kamairi 釜入り (boiling alive) was applied to serial arsonists or for crimes such as the murder of the head of a merchant household. Just as saw-pulling and ox-pulling were removed from the repertoire of Kanazawa capital punishment, *kamiari*, too, faded into oblivion after 1666 (Tomizu n.d., ca. 1890).

Typically, arsonists faced the flames themselves as a sort of poetic justice, a re-creation of the crime that they had committed (Foucault 1995, 44–45).[7] Burning at the stake, however, was reserved not only for arsonists but also for those involved with murderous conspiracies or even those who lied to domain officials (Morita and Heki 1934, 2: 396–99; Yamada 1931, 190–92). It was not regularly employed, although it was used almost as much as the three previous punishments combined. Kanazawa witnessed the final use of burning at the stake in 1690 (Tomizu n.d., ca. 1890).

By far, the most common form of execution in seventeenth-century Kanazawa was *haritsuke* 磔 (crucifixion).[8] Unlike the previous capital punishments, this form of punishment continued to be used until the end of the Edo period. The Japanese form of crucifixion was an agonizing death in which the criminal was tied, spread-eagle fashion, to a stake with horizontal beams attached for the arms and legs. Two spearmen then stabbed the body repeatedly, until sufficient pain had been afflicted. The spearmen then gave the victim the coup de grâce by simultaneously stabbing the criminal in either side or the neck, twisting their spears to ensure death (Ishii 1964, 53–56).

The Concealment of Punishment in the Town Magistrate's Prison

The most important aspect of these punishments was the visual impact through pain-filled imagery publicly displayed at the punishment grounds. However, as the implementation of punishment was relocated to the town magistrate's prison, much of the visual, public nature of these *sengoku* punishments was nullified. For this reason, most of these elaborate, showy executions were abandoned. Saw-pulling engaged the public, calling for their participation (although actual involvement was rare). The spectacle of boiling a criminal alive, burning him at the stake, or having oxen rip apart a living body lost purpose without an audience to appreciate the visual, horrific value. If the only spectators were the officials commissioned to conduct and witness the triumph of the will of the state, what was the point of spending so much time and exerting so much effort?

For an early modern bureaucracy of limited numbers, the efficient execution of justice was the only practical method of operation. Crucifixion

required only two spearmen, a stake, and crossbeams, all of which were reusable. Beheading and dismemberment, universally known forms of punishment, likewise required little preparation and supplies beyond a skilled swordsman. By abandoning other *sengoku* punishments, oxen, a large pot, firewood, and other materials need not be wasted.

At the same time, the removal of violence from public view, even when conducted under the authority of the domain, can be seen as a further attempt to reduce the level of violence in society. After decades of peaceful rule under the Tokugawa political system (1603–1868), the heavy-handedness of many forms of *sengoku* punishment was no longer necessary to motivate domain subjects to obedience. The elimination of these elaborate punishments indicates a diminished drive to use violence among the new generation of ruling elite who had never known the vicissitudes of war and hardship. Both samurai administrators and domain subjects, in general, seem to have come to rely more on rules and regulations than on the fear of violence and retribution as a means to maintain law and order. However, those who flaunted the law and social hierarchy were still subject to formal discipline, and capital punishment still remained an acceptable punishment for a wide variety of crimes.

The spread of Neo-Confucian philosophy among the samurai elites during the seventeenth century undoubtedly contributed to the decreased severity of punishment. The Confucian principle of benevolent government, championed by Maeda Daimyō Tsunanori 綱紀 (r. 1645–1724), further justified this decades-long decrease in the domain's use of violence. The abolition of the above-mentioned punishments occurred under Tsunanori's reign. Such changes represent the culmination of Kanazawa's kinder, gentler exercise of authority.

The use of violence in the form of punishment, however, remained a necessary tool for effective government, a fact recognized even by Tsunanori. The centralization of criminal punishment in the town prison served to reduce commoners' exposure to public displays of violence. The concealment of punishment and the abandonment of elaborate forms of execution were domain officials' attempts to find a balance between the desire to create a dual image of benevolent government and one of unassailable authority. Violence inflicted upon lawbreakers became an abstract concept. Instead, violence was imbedded in the remains of punishment displayed at the former punishment grounds. These gory remnants were merely stark reminders of domain retribution that awaited those who challenged its authority. The majority of townspeople in the late seventeenth century undoubtedly sought peaceful, prosperous lives; they needed no vivid demonstrations of violence to remind them of the requirements of conformity to societal norms determined by domain elites. Doubtless, domain officials—themselves the products of affluence, without knowledge of civil war—

likewise found it easier to abandon the brutal practices of the past. Instead, they could attend to their duties, not as bloodied warriors but as public servants of an emerging early modern society in one of the most prosperous domains of Tokugawa Japan.

Notes

[1]Regarding the establishment of the office of town magistrate, see Morita and Heki (1934, 1: 44–45).

[2]In Edo, all prisoners were housed in the same complex but were segregated by status. See Ishii (1963, 94–119); Katō (1994, 58–61).

[3]No detailed records exist regarding the use of torture in Kanazawa, but methods were probably similar to practices in Edo. See Ishii (1963, 86–95); Botsman (2005, 36–38).

[4]For a brief analysis of public participation in punishment, see Foucault (1995, 58–59).

[5]See also *Kojien* 広辞苑, 5th ed., s.v. "牛裂き [Ushizaki]."

[6]See also *Kaga han keiji kiroku sakuin* 加賀藩刑事記録索引, 1583–1868.

[7]The re-creation of the crime in the form of punishment allowed onlookers to "see" the crime and make a clear, causal connection with the punishment. This practice reinforced the "righteous" exercise of the lord's authority.

[8]At least forty-five crucifixions were recorded between 1656 and 1690. See *Kaga han keiji kiroku sakuin*.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 196–202

A Culture in Decline: The Mississippi Delta Chinese

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John Thornell documents the history of Chinese settlers in the Mississippi Delta in this scholarly note, quoting from, among other sources, interviews carried out in 2000 as part of an oral history project funded by the Mississippi Humanities Council.

Chinese in the Mississippi Delta

In 2003, the long-vacant Chinese Mission School building in Cleveland, Mississippi, was finally demolished. In this small Delta town, with a population less than 14,000, a vacant lot now stands where a residential school for Chinese children once flourished. The demolition of the school building parallels the gradual demise of the culture that supported it. Greenville (population 41,500), thirty-five miles from Cleveland, was home to forty-two Chinese grocery stores in 1951. Now Greenville has ten. From 1960 to the present, the population of Delta Chinese has declined by one-half. A culture with a Delta-wide population of Chinese involved in all aspects of community life and accentuated by Chinese grocery stores, Chinese mission schools, and churches has been relegated to a largely invisible presence. The Chinese struggle for survival is particularly poignant because of the proud accomplishments of the culture in the face of what seemed to be insurmountable obstacles.

The factors associated with the presence of a Chinese population in the Delta can be traced to the end of the Civil War in 1865. The war afforded freedom to four million slaves who had been the cornerstone of an agricultural economy. Planters, faced with the loss of the core of their labor force, responded by experimenting with foreign labor. Chinese and, later, Italians were recruited as part of this experiment.

Labor conventions were held to discuss the possibility of recruiting Chinese workers. In June 1869, at a meeting in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, cotton planters organized the Arkansas River Valley Emigration Company. Its purpose was to attract Chinese labor, who could be obtained in "great num-

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bers and at cheap rates, and made efficient in the cultivation of cotton, and are proof against the malaria of the climate" (Cohen 1984, 78).

Locating in the Mississippi Delta to work in farming seemed a harsh way to fulfill the goal of making money to support families back in China, although in many ways the Delta was preferable to the more populated West Coast, where discrimination against Chinese laborers working on the railroads and in the mines was well documented among Chinese. Their dream of making money in farming was short-lived, however. Exploitation by planters, low economic returns from their labor, and the extreme physical demands of farm life contributed to failure of the experiment.

As Delta Chinese left the farms, many found an opportune economic niche in black neighborhoods. Historically, Southern blacks had depended on goods acquired in commissaries as part of a credit system designed to keep them in a state of peonage. Post–Civil War blacks gained purchasing power, providing the Delta Chinese an opportunity to make a living by opening small businesses, mostly grocery stores. For Southern blacks, who sought relief from the plantation-based commissaries, and Chinese, who saw new financial opportunities as merchants, the union was a merger of self-interests.

In addition to farm laborers–turned merchants, other Chinese came to the Mississippi Delta. Some left the railroads in California. Early twentieth-century Chinese came to escape domestic turmoil in China, most notably after the downfall of the Imperial Manchu dynasty in 1911 (Quan 1982, 6). Also, Delta Chinese sponsored extended family members to join them to work in the grocery stores.

"Between Black & White": Challenges to Life in the Mississippi Delta

As the Chinese began to consider the Delta to be a permanent home, they encountered challenges, most notably social isolation. The small population and fairly large geographical spread precluded the development of Chinese enclaves such as Chinatown in San Francisco. In order to make progress on assimilation, the Chinese were forced to find ways to gain acceptance in the white community while trying to avoid alienation of their black customer base. The Chinese were careful to curry favor with black customers who were their economic lifeline but were increasingly attentive to strengthening links with the white community. Many Chinese families began sending their children to one of the churches favored by the community. They contributed to causes and programs favored by white community leaders. Some even anglicized their Chinese family names.

Beyond courting the favor of whites, it was also necessary to acknowledge the duality of Jim Crow law. The Delta Chinese began to distance themselves socially from blacks, hoping they could escape Jim Crow dis-

crimination themselves. Being "between black and white," the subtitle of James Loewen's (1971) book on the Mississippi Chinese, aptly describes the dilemma they faced. How they responded to that cultural gulf provides useful insights into the character and culture of the Delta Chinese.

From the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 to the Gong Lum court case of 1927, a clear pattern of overt discrimination, sanctioned by the federal government, was evident. Equally insidious was the personal discrimination the Chinese encountered, as described in anecdotal comments based on their memories of growing up in the Delta. Audrey Sidney (2000) recalls racial slurs such as "chink" being used, and, upon applying for a teaching job in Greenville, being told that "only Caucasians could teach in the white public schools of Greenville." Annette Joe tells the story of applying for a teaching job and being told by the school superintendent, "I am not ever going to hire anybody like you," to which she replied, "Well, how am I?" His reply: "Well, you are Chinese" (Joe and Joe 2000). Freeda and Hoover Lee remember white farmers refusing to send their children to the Louise public schools because Chinese children were allowed to attend (Lee and Lee 2000).

Some Chinese made the effort to move from their homes above or beside the grocery store into white neighborhoods, but they were typically denied the opportunity to do so. Audrey Sidney's realtor told her family "he couldn't sell [them] a house in any white neighborhood" (Sidney 2000).

The normal Chinese response to prejudice was to refuse to become victims. Juanita Dong explained it as follows: "You just got to remember you have a handicap. You are just going to have to overcome it" (Dong and Dong 2000). Bobby Jue provided the most common response—namely, that "that is the way things were at that time" (Jue and Jue 2000).

In a conversation with the author on April 15, 1997, Audrey Sidney stated that "sometimes we are mistreated. We may go home and talk about it, but we don't demonstrate." The notion that being Chinese was a "handicap" exemplifies the attitude that it really wasn't society that needed to change its view of the Chinese but the Chinese who needed to work harder. As Juanita Dong put it, "We were always just told you need to work 20 to 25 percent better than anybody else to get to the same place. That was a given" (Dong and Dong, 2000).

Acceptance in the White Community: Opening the Door to Education

The cumulative effect of strengthening links with the white community coupled with sanctioning Jim Crow law afforded Chinese a degree of privilege in small Delta towns. Chinese frequented public places where blacks could not. Their stores attracted white customers. For the first time, Chinese saw social acceptance within their grasp.

Of all the benefits associated with acceptance by the white community, the most important was access to the white schools. The language in the Mississippi Constitution of 1890 did not address education for Chinese, although it did include a clear mandate for a dual school system for blacks and whites. The lack of credibility of the dual-system concept in Mississippi was apparent to the most casual observer. James Vardaman ran for governor in 1904 on a platform that included elimination of funding for black public schools. Black public schools were open as few as four months a year, and black teachers earned one-fifth of what white teachers made.

Black public education was not a viable option for the Chinese, to whom cultural identity was defined in terms of academic achievement. One Chinese educational researcher put it this way: "To do well in school is to be Chinese" (Siu 1992, 8). Moreover, Confucian tradition valued education and the teacher in particular.

Rejecting the black public schools forced the Delta Chinese to make hard decisions. In a few small Delta communities, Chinese were able to attend the white public schools. Home-schooling, paid tutors, or sending children back to China or out of state to get an education were the most common alternatives.

To Court in 1924: *Gong Lum v. Rice*

Attending the white schools was preferred, but that option depended on the benevolence of the local school district. Typical of such towns was Rosedale, Mississippi, a small community located in Bolivar County on the Mississippi River. Rosedale had an active Chinese population whose members had worked hard at being accepted by the white community. The benefits of that hard work included enrollment for Chinese children in the white schools. Gong Lum, whose grocery store was frequented by both blacks and whites, had numerous white friends, and his family was active in one of the local churches. A white couple served as godparents to his two daughters. The two girls, along with some other Chinese children, were attending the white schools of Rosedale without incident. In the fall of 1924, however, the school district informed the Chinese children they could no longer attend the white school.

The Lums decided to file suit against the school district. The suit, *Gong Lum v. Rice*, was first heard in the circuit court of Bolivar County shortly after the suit was filed that fall. The plaintiff's lawyers made two primary arguments. First, they presented the case that the Lum children were not members of the colored race. Second, they challenged Rosedale's compliance with *Plessey v. Ferguson*, which required separate but equal facilities. The judgment favored the Lums. The defendants—namely, the school

authorities and state of Mississippi—filed an appeal with the Supreme Court of Mississippi.

There the arguments by the state were twofold: that the clear intent of the framers of the Constitution was to separate the education of whites from all other races, and that Chinese were non-white. The Lums argued that the 1890 constitutional requirement of separate schools applied only to two races: black and white.

The Mississippi Supreme Court ruled that the Lums were not entitled to attend a white school, and the decision of the lower court was reversed. The Lum attorneys filed an appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court.

After hearing the Lum family's appeal of the state ruling, Chief Justice William Howard Taft delivered an opinion affirming the ruling of the Mississippi Supreme Court, rejecting the notion that Chinese citizens were denied equal protection of the law by being classified among the colored races. He concluded that Chinese were provided an "education equal to that offered to all, whether white, brown, yellow, or black" (Horowitz and Karst 1969, 159).

Although tangential to the plight of the Chinese, *Gong Lum v. Rice* became a landmark case. One legal writer suggested that, by the case, "the validity of school segregation clearly was settled" (Horowitz and Karst 1969, 160). Another landmark case, the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education*, would reverse the decision to uphold *Plessey v. Ferguson*.

Chinese Mission Schools in the Mississippi Delta

Even in the face of the *Gong Lum* decision, the Chinese rejected the black schools. Instead, they partnered with the white churches in which they had become members. These churches offered another post–*Gong Lum* alternative: the establishment of Chinese mission schools in some Delta communities. The schools were residential, with no set grade levels for different ages and with a blended curriculum based on a traditional U.S. model with some Chinese education. The schools entailed a partnership wherein local school officials provided some financial support for a teacher and the sponsoring church supported construction and maintenance of facilities. The children were taught by a white teacher during the regular school day and received supplemental instruction in Chinese from Chinese tutors in the evenings. The local churches, which were usually Baptist, mandated religion as part of the school curriculum and also exercised decision-making responsibility over the school.

The Chinese Mission schools provided children an education comparable to that of whites. It also showed the white community that, by refusing to attend the black schools, the Chinese were deserving of social acceptance.

The advent of World War II gave the Delta Chinese further opportunities to prove themselves worthy of white acceptance. Some enlisted in the armed services, others engaged in rigorous fund-raising in support of the war effort, and all demonstrated their patriotism. The alliance between China and the United States had cemented a special bond against a common enemy, Japan. The enthusiasm with which the Delta Chinese embraced the war effort made a favorable impression on the white community. The participation of numerous Delta Chinese was documented and appreciated.

After World War II, attitudes toward the Chinese seemed to change. On April 15, 1997, in a conversation with the author, Martha Miller, a teacher at the mission school in Cleveland suggested that it "no longer seemed fair to treat the Chinese differently." Edward Joe stated that "a war is bad, but after the Second World War, a lot of people came back. They accepted Chinese a lot more" (Joe and Joe 2000). Ultimately, Delta Chinese children gradually began to enroll in the white public schools. The Delta Chinese "Baby Boomer" generation was a product of Mississippi's white public schools.

A high-quality public education enabled the Chinese to affirm their cultural commitment to education, but the cost was high. The idea of taking over the family grocery store and remaining insulated from the outside world became less attractive to educated children. Many of the baby boomers pursued economic and further educational opportunities elsewhere.

A Commitment to Chinese Culture Now & into the Future

Many Delta Chinese saw the grocery store as a cultural linchpin. It enabled families to live and work together toward common economic and social goals. It also served as a setting for transmitting Chinese culture from generation to generation. Integral to that transmission was the rigorous work ethic that defines Chinese culture, a work ethic that was integrated into every aspect of daily life. Families worked eighteen-hour workdays in the grocery store. The Delta Chinese who remain view the work ethic learned in those stores as their legacy to later generations of Chinese who have left the stores but retained the work ethic as a basis for new and successful careers elsewhere.

An article in the September 9, 1994, issue of the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in Mississippi, commented on the gradual demise of the Chinese culture in the Delta. According to author Carmen McCollum, the Chinese mission churches, which "upheld Chinese traditions and gave people a place to gather, talk, and worship," were dying out. The Greenville, Mississippi, church, with two hundred or more members in the 1970s, was down to a congregation of thirty. The mission church in Clarksdale had closed, and the one in Cleveland had only a handful of

members. "The old corner grocery store operated by the Chinese family is dying out" as young Chinese college graduates move away to bigger cities for better jobs, remarked McCollum. Delta Chinese families continue to decline in number, with reunions centered on the funerals of pioneers who lived their lives working in the grocery stores and supporting their families. Those extended families now return from places like California, Texas, and New York to pay their respects. With no plans to return permanently, though, these Chinese ultimately leave the Delta behind.

The Chinese have made invaluable contributions to the quality of life in the Delta by serving as town mayors and as leaders of civic clubs and churches—and by being involved in all facets of community life. Their stores and businesses have played an important role in the Delta economy. Their commitment to educational excellence has been a model for all the citizens of the Delta. The fear is that the legacy of their unique culture will be lost and their sacrifices forgotten. Future generations of Delta citizens must ensure that does not happen. We must preserve the heritage of the Chinese in the Mississippi Delta.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 203–12

The *Tian Zu Hui* (Natural Foot Society): Christian Women in China and the Fight against Footbinding

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In this scholarly note, Brent Whitefield suggests that the Christian missionary–led campaign against footbinding in late nineteenth-century China missed the opportunity to create a connection between the Gospel and the ethics of abolition: women were emancipated, but Christianity was not widely spread as a result.

The Eradication of Footbinding in China: Emancipation without Proselytization

One of the greatest success stories for missionary-led reforms in late Imperial China was the campaign to abolish the binding of women's feet. Less than two decades of concentrated effort against the custom transformed an atmosphere of near-universal acceptance into one of widespread rejection, all with minimal assistance from a sympathetic government and without recourse to legal remedies. It would be difficult to adduce many examples of missionaries anywhere successfully defeating a firmly entrenched tradition in such a hostile atmosphere, in so little time, and without use of force. Furthermore, it is nearly universally acknowledged, even within China, that the initiative for the anti-footbinding campaign came from the foreign, mostly missionary, community.

Yet while missionaries are credited with raising Chinese consciousness to the cruelty and waste of the custom, they were far less successful at achieving their stated goal of a Christian China. Even less ambitiously, they were not successful in convincing the Chinese that the movement against footbinding was, in any meaningful way, Christian. Why were missionaries unable to build on the success of the anti-footbinding movement to gain converts to the faith they propagated? This is a question to which scholars of the missionary movement in China may wish to turn some attention. Here I will but tentatively suggest that the rhetoric of the anti-footbinding

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movement did not offer distinctly Christian objections to the practice and thus constituted a missed opportunity, at least for Protestant missionaries in China, to posit a connection between the Gospel and the ethics of abolition. By emphasizing and even inventing Confucian objections to the practice, missionaries allowed the Chinese falsely to conclude that the rationale for unbinding came from within the Chinese tradition. Christianity would not get the credit it deserved for creating both a movement and an atmosphere that brought liberation to hundreds of millions of women.

An Introduction to the Practice of Footbinding in China: The *Sine Qua Non* of Nubility & Nobility

Women in Imperial China faced many burdens as a consequence of their sex. They were expected to demonstrate obedience to the most important man in their lives, be it father, husband, or son. They were not granted full admission to their husband's family and yet they bore the burden of producing a male heir, were made to revere the ancestors of the husband's family, and were pressured to remain widows after their husband's death in honor of his memory and in support of his parents. They could obtain divorces in only the most extreme and notorious circumstances, but they could be abandoned for such "offenses" as childlessness. This was the plight of most Chinese women from at least the beginning of China's written history; this plight was reinforced by the Confucian orthodoxy that developed by the second century B.C.E.

However, the greatest indignity suffered by Chinese women was the mutilation they suffered at the hands of their own mothers and grandmothers when their young feet were bound to produce "three-inch lilies." Though the term *footbinding* is conventionally applied to this practice, simply wrapping a foot will not sufficiently stunt its growth. *Footbreaking* might be a more accurate description of the procedure. The initial breaking in of the foot was sufficiently brutal that, at least in rare cases, some girls died of gangrene or other complications. Moreover, enduring consequences surpassed the excruciating pain this procedure inflicted. As one recent scholar (Hong 1997, 289) puts it: "the intense physical sufferings brought about by the process of breaking and binding the feet in early childhood produced a passivity, stoicism and fatalism that effectively 'bound' not only the feet but also the mind and the emotions." It is precisely this control over the mind and emotions that supporters of the practice sought.

Whatever the emotional effects of the first binding, the physiological consequences were life long. Women were condemned to hobble with an altered gait and to bear wounded appendages with restricted circulation that resulted in dead and rotting flesh. The binding procedure prevented the wounds from healing, resulting in a foot that resembled a bovine hoof.

Though small feet were deemed attractive, they could never be exposed; women found the sight and smell of their own feet nauseating.

Many theories about the origins of footbinding exist, none more persuasive than the others. What is certain is that it was virtually unknown in the Tang 唐 dynasty (early tenth century) and had come into general use by the end of the Song 宋 dynasty (thirteenth century). The likeliest theory suggests that it started in the imperial courts and became a fashion among upper-class elites. From thence developed a vicious circle: once it became fashionable, it greatly enhanced the marital prospects of small-footed women; and once it became sufficiently popular, it greatly diminished the chances of marrying off a daughter with natural feet.

The possible reasons for the fashionability of the practice have also excited considerable debate since Westerners first took note of the curious and exotic custom. Whether it was the result or cause of footbinding, it seems that a male sexual fetish related to the foot developed at some point in Chinese history. Indeed, everything associated with the bound foot, including the sight of "three-inch lilies," the shoes (since the crippled feet were rarely seen *au naturel*), and the limp that resulted from the maiming were reported to excite the passion of Chinese men. Whatever the reason, footbinding eventually became a *sine qua non* of nubility and nobility.

Footbinding was never mandated by law but was enjoined by custom. The penalty for noncompliance was drastically diminished marital prospects and social opprobrium. Throughout history, some groups in China did not observe the practice. Most notable among these were the Hakka 客家 people of southern China and any number of ethnic minority peoples throughout the empire. The Manchus, who came to rule China as the Qing 清 dynasty from 1644 until the end of the Imperial era in 1912, never adopted the practice. In fact, though opponents of the practice emerged as early as the Song dynasty, it was the Qing emperor Kangxi 康熙 (1654–1722, r. 1661–1722) who first enacted a ban on footbinding, though this ban was largely ignored and subsequently dropped.

Just as the origins of footbinding are disputed, so is its ultimate demise. Practically the only fact on which scholars agree is that footbinding is no longer practiced in China. Evidence suggests that the practice began to decline after 1890 and dropped off rapidly after 1900, disappearing almost entirely in some areas by 1920 and confined thereafter to the hinterlands (Gamble 1943, 183). However, at least one Western observer reported as late as 1929 that fines equivalent to $20 had not induced many of the women in parts of Shandong province (not the remotest of outposts) to unbind their feet, and that renewed campaigns and increased penalties were in order (Webber 1927, 1929). The Communists, upon their rise to leadership in 1949, seem to have succeeded in eradicating the custom once and for all.

The last shoe factory producing three-inch shoes for women halted production in 1998.[1]

Organizing the Movement against Footbinding

The role of Westerners in anti-footbinding movements in the last quarter of the nineteenth century is a well-studied phenomenon. The result of this scholarly attention has been a strong consensus about the decisive nature of missionary involvement in the abolition movement.[2] The first-known Western anti-footbinding society, *Jie Chan Zu Hui* 截纏足会, was organized in 1874 in the city of Amoy (present-day Xiamen) (*Chinese Recorder* October 1895, 497). This society spawned similar, though less formal, efforts in many large Chinese cities. Anti-footbinding meetings offered rare opportunities for the foreign community and the Chinese population to mix and discuss issues. Sympathetic Chinese took notice and created their own organizations. The famous literatus and writer Kang Youwei 康有爲 (1858–1927) started an anti-footbinding society in Canton (present-day Guangzhou) as early as 1883 (Hong 1997, 65).

The movement to banish footbinding was bolstered in April 1895 when a group of women, mostly missionary wives, formed the *Tian Zu Hui* 天足会 (Natural Foot Society) (*Chinese Recorder* May 1895, 237). The *Tian Zu Hui* was not specifically a missionary entity, as many of its members and leadership were not in the missionary community. It is hard to imagine that the distinction meant much to the Chinese, or indeed to the Westerners, but the unaffiliated nature of the society was meant to widen its prospects for cooperation across ethnic, social, and religious lines.

The society was founded and directed by the charismatic Alicia Little (1845–1926), wife of a prominent British merchant and writer, Archibald Little (1838–1908). She arrived in China in 1887 and made an effort, unusual among expatriates, to learn the language and culture of the Chinese. She shared her husband's interest in writing and produced at least ten volumes (some of which are still consulted by scholars of the period) during her two decades of residence in China. Mrs. Little was neither a missionary nor the wife of a missionary. It is difficult to say with certainty the degree to which she sympathized with or supported the missionary enterprise. Some of her fictional work, which includes stories of apostate missionaries, suggests that she did not endorse many aspects of missionary work. As she would befriend and find common cause with many missionary women, it is doubtful that she ever fully expressed her reservations about Protestant efforts to Christianize China.

The *Tian Zu Hui*, in fact, was closely associated with the Christian Literature Society for China (CLS) and relied on it for translation, publication, and dissemination of its written materials (Little 1899, 149).[3] The CLS pro-

vided a flurry of articles in its Chinese language monthly, *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報 (The globe magazine), on the question of footbinding in the years after 1895 (see *Wanguo gongbao* 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898).[4] The CLS became identified with the leadership of the movement and helped attract the attention of leading Chinese officials.[5]

One of the most successful efforts in this vein was the preparation of a memorial on footbinding by the women of the *Tian Zu Hui* for presentation to the Empress Dowager in October 1896. Because of the complicated protocol for the transmission of such a missive, it seems clear that the memorial never reached the Empress's desk. Nevertheless, it caught the attention of officials at the Zongli Yamen 總理衙門 (Bureau of Foreign Affairs), who responded to the substance of the memorial as follows:

> In reply we beg to state that the memorial of the [*Tian Zu Hui*] evidences the fact that the object in view is to do good. But the usages and customs prevailing in China are different from those of Western countries. The binding of feet is a practice that has been in vogue for a very long time. Those who oppose the binding of their children's feet are not compelled to do so, while on the other hand, those who wish to carry out the practice cannot be prevented from doing so. Custom has made the practice. Those in high authority cannot but allow the people to do as they are inclined in the matter . . . they cannot be restrained by law. (*Chinese Recorder* 1896, 617)

The response reveals both the pusillanimity and complacency of the Qing officialdom, heralding its impending collapse.

Contact with important government officials was frequently facilitated by *Tian Zu Hui* campaign tours to many of China's major cities. These tours were very successful for the society's recruiting efforts, enlisting new members and spinning off local organizations, and they often attracted crowds in the hundreds. The organized events featured not only speakers but also used the latest Western technologies to advantage. Attendees were sometimes treated to photographs and primitive X-rays comparing bound and unbound feet (*Chinese Recorder* 1900, 260). One such tour in February 1900 managed to secure for Mrs. Little an audience with the Viceroy Li Hongzhang (1823–1901), a high-ranking Qing scholar–official. Li gave little concrete support to the movement and even expressed some concern about the effects of millions of emancipated women on the survival of the dynasty (*Chinese Recorder* 1900, 261). However, the mere earning of an audience with so august a figure was a feather in the society's cap.

The name of the organization was also an advertisement for its strongest argument against footbinding. *Tian Zu Hui* literally means "Heavenly Foot Society." The adjective "heavenly" in this case is used to denote that which is natural or in conformity to the way of nature.[6] Within both of China's major native philosophical traditions, appeals to nature are taken seriously. The Confucian seeks to discern what is in accord with *tianming* 天命 (the will of

heaven). The Taoist is encouraged to seek to conform as much as possible to the way of nature. Though the *Tian Zu Hui* was not the only organization dedicated to its cause, the idea of the "natural foot" became a synecdoche for the anti-footbinding movement. The society was the focal point for the forging of arguments against the practice—arguments which, more often than not, appealed to Chinese notions of the Way of Heaven.

Though it is hard to imagine that footbinding would have survived China's modernization, it seems clear that missionary opposition helped to hasten its extinction. Efforts on the part of the Qing officialdom to discourage and even ban the practice had failed; and there is even evidence to suggest that, in the late Qing era, the custom was as ubiquitously and strictly followed as at any time in the previous millennium (Gamble 1943, 182). Stimulus for change from the Chinese literati, the only conceivable direction from which opposition might be expected, was minimal. Most scholars, Western and Chinese alike, concede that the Western and Christian role was vital in raising an issue that even sympathetic scholars were hesitant to address. However, the adjectives "Western" and "Christian" are interchangeably applied when describing the spirit behind the anti-footbinding movement. This fact raises at least two questions which have received less attention: What, if anything, was distinctively Christian about the anti-footbinding movement? And were there specifically Christian arguments marshaled against the custom?

Missionary Arguments against Footbinding

At least as early as 1870, missionaries were putting their objections to footbinding in print in the Chinese language and receiving mostly favorable responses. Missionary editorializing on the subject accelerated in the 1890s, with the support of the *Tian Zu Hui* and others. One representative issue published in the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* in December 1895 featured a cover article entitled "Foot-binding: Two Sides of the Question," which offered, in part one, refutations of reasons normally offered in support of the practice and, in part two, reasons why footbinding is a "bad custom." The article was translated into Chinese and was primarily meant for distribution among the general populous. The anonymous opinion writer, compiling the thoughts of many Western and Chinese thinkers on the subject, refuted common support for the practice that included the fact that it is an old custom, that it looks nice, that it is fashionable among the higher classes, that it preserves female chastity, and that to discontinue the practice would invite community odium or derision.

More remarkable was the second section which offered seven reasons to resist footbinding (bracketed glosses are my own):

1. Because it is contrary to nature.
2. Because the wives of all the sages and the old ancestors did not bind their feet.
3. Because it hinders the free movements of the body. [*It is responsible for sterility (!) and other gynecological problems.*]
4. [Because] It sometimes causes death, for instance, by fire or in floods. [*It prevents expeditious escape.*]
5. [Because] It is in the way of women earning money. [*Foreigners hesitate to employ footbound women, as do factories that require women to stand at machines for protracted periods.*]
6. Because it has very bad consequences in the social relations. [*It prevents women from carrying out their household duties as daughters, mothers, and wives.*]
7. [Because] It is a cruel custom, making the hearts of mothers hard even to their own children. [*Mothers generally do the crippling.*]

(*Chinese Recorder* December 1895, 552–53)

The line of reasoning featured in that article is typical. Objections to footbinding usually fell into the above categories: concerns for women's health; harm to economic and educational opportunities; and appeals to natural, Confucian, or even Taoist principles.[7]

Dr. John Dudgeon wrote from the perspective of a physician in a May 1870 issue of *Chiao-hui hsin-pao* 教會新報 (Church news), offering some details about the physiological damage done to bound feet and rather creatively asserting that women with bound feet would likely produce fewer children, owing to their compromised circulatory systems. He blamed Chinese parents in whose hands lay the ability to desist from this practice (Bennett 1983, 143). His appeal was calculated to arouse Confucian indignation at a practice that may prevent some women from fulfilling their most important duty to their parents: the production of a grandson heir.

Confucian arguments against the practice were difficult to sustain. The hard truth was that no custom did a better job of enforcing and reinforcing the Confucian duties of a woman than footbinding. Laying aside the specious assertion that it caused sterility, footbinding made it more rather than less likely that a woman would attend to her obligations to the men in her life. It physically bound her to the home, made her economically dependent, rendered her useless for labor outside the home, and made her more the object of her husband's sexual desire. All of these factors made the woman more likely to succeed in fulfilling the cardinal duty of a Confucian woman: the production of a male heir for her husband's family line. Nothing kept women in line quite as effectively as footbinding.

A Missed Opportunity for Christian Missionaries

At some point, Christian opinion among the Chinese turned decisively against the practice. Yet, beyond pronouncements about the sinfulness of the practice, distinctly Christian reasoning was absent. The failure to seize

on the issue as a Christian cause is particularly surprising, as footbinding was fated to eventual extinction. It was clear that it could not survive China's modernization, it was not favored by the ruling dynasty, and there did not exist a coherent pro-footbinding line of reasoning for any educated person to advance. The only defenses of the practice, rarely passionate, were from scholars who believed that to oppose footbinding was to attack Chinese traditional culture (see Bennett 1983, 144)—and the related and tautologous argument that unbinding women's feet would make them undesirable marriage candidates.

This lack of theological reflection and imagination represented a missed opportunity for Christian missionaries to associate the work of anti-footbinding with the Gospel, especially since it turns out to have been a successful movement. Some missionaries understood and regretted the failure of this connection. One wrote: "I wish the truth, as it is in Jesus, was taking hold of the upper classes as anti-footbinding seems to be doing" (*Chinese Recorder* 1898, 203). As much as the missionaries opposed practices such as ancestor veneration, an ancient and enduring aspect of Chinese culture, they could have put forward religious grounds for opposing footbinding, which proved not to be an enduring or essential feature of Chinese culture.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the tide had clearly turned, and most of the leading thinkers had been converted to the anti-footbinding persuasion. Many women, with the support of their fathers and husbands, were unbinding their feet; and many were making oaths never to bind the feet of their daughters or to marry women who had been thus crippled. Though there were other important factors involved in the development of public opinion against footbinding, the role of Western and native Christians can hardly be overstated. In 1902, a year when the CLS published and distributed 12,090 tracts on behalf of the *Tian Zu Hui*, sufficient pressure was brought to bear on the government to elicit an edict abolishing the practice (Christian Literature Society for China 1902, 29). The Empress issued a ruling against footbinding, which, though stopping short of an outright prohibition, represented strong repudiation of the practice.[8] The edict did not put a stop to footbinding, but the tide had already turned against it.

The founding leadership of the *Tian Zu Hui*, convinced that its work had been accomplished, turned the organization over to Chinese women to manage in 1906. In relinquishing the reins, Mrs. Little summarized the beliefs of the Western women involved: "The work . . . has been done, public opinion has been changed and the setting free of all the little girls of China from the bondage of a most cruel custom is merely a question of time" (*Chinese Recorder* 1907, 34).[9] Time was not on the side of the Western missionary enterprise in China, however, which ended, without considerable additional growth, in 1951. After 1907, Protestant missionaries became more firmly divided between those with a traditional understanding of mis-

sionary work as the winning of converts to the faith and those for whom the national salvation of China consisted of such achievements as the defeat of this "most cruel custom" of footbinding.

Notes

[1]See http://www.sfmuseum.org/chin/foot.html. This date lends credence to the view that footbinding had become rare by the 1920s. The factory still accepts custom orders from centenarian footbound customers.

[2]See for example, Chau (1966); Drucker (1991); Hong (1997); Tao (1994). A recent article in a government-controlled newspaper in Shanghai even asserted that the *Tian Zu Hui* was the first society to decry footbinding in China (*Shanghai Star* 2000).

[3]Christian Literature Society director and British Baptist missionary Timothy Richard (1845–1919) asserted that the rapid growth of concern for this issue dates from the publication of these tracts (1907, 2: 97).

[4]One prominent publication of the CLS, Allen (1902), included discussion of the footbinding problem in vol. 4 of its third edition.

[5]For example, Duke Kung Hui-chang, a descendant of Confucius, wrote a letter to the CLS condemning footbinding (*North China Herald* 1897, 791).

[6]Some Western scholars have made much of the rhetorical value of the "heavenly foot" ideal. See, for example, Ko (2007, ch. 1). Certainly the term "heaven" is ambiguous enough to appeal to both Christian and Chinese religious sentiment. It is not clear in the use of the name, however, that the organizers meant anything beyond the use of heaven as a metaphor for nature.

[7]Many other possible objections exist. Ebrey (1999, 11) offers a list of "the six most dominant ways of framing footbinding: fashion, seclusion, perversity, deformity, child abuse, and cultural immobility."

[8]The decision not to issue a proscription was apparently an acknowledgment of the difficulties of enforcement and the potential for heavy-handedness on the part of local officials. It was seen by some Western observers as emblematic of the weakness of the Qing central control (*North China Herald* 1902, 214).

[9]The next year the Littles returned to Britain, and Mr. Little died shortly thereafter. Mrs. Little lived until 1926, active as a traveler and writer until her final months.

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 213–60

Book Reviews

G. P. Baroowah, *Tea: Legend, Life and Livelihood of India.* Assam, India: Red River/LBS Publications, 2006. 148 pages.

Lydia Gautier, *Tea: Aromas and Flavors around the World.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2006. 192 pages.

Mary Lou Heiss & Robert J. Heiss, *The Story of Tea: A Cultural History and Drinking Guide.* Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 2007. xiv + 418 pages.

Beatrice Hohenegger, *Liquid Jade: The Story of Tea from East to West.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006. xiv + 320 pages.

Laura C. Martin, *Tea: The Drink That Changed the World.* Tokyo: Tuttle, 2007. viii + 248 pages.

From Asia to the World

Anyone who has recently been paying attention to the media must know about the purported health benefits of drinking tea. Research has shown that tea offers powerful antioxidant protection, stimulates the metabolism, protects against heart disease and cancer, and lowers cholesterol and blood sugar levels.[1] Around the world, nearly 3.5 billion cups of tea are consumed per day, with Turks and the Irish drinking the most, per capita. Despite the health claims, tea is only the sixth-most consumed beverage in the United States (after water, soft drinks, coffee, beer, and milk), with 80 to 85 percent being consumed as iced tea. All tea—herbal infusions and tisanes aside—is brewed from processed leaves of *Camellia sinensis* varietals, plants native to the hilly regions of northeastern India, southern China (Sichuan and Yunnan provinces), and northern Laos, Myanmar, and Thailand. Today, though, tea is available and consumed in virtually every country and is cultivated in some fifty tropical and semi-tropical countries on six continents. How did this Asian plant become so popular? And what is so compelling about its story that warranted the publication of these five books within just two years?

All five works reviewed here address the question of the popularity of tea; and the authors of all five offer their own perspectives and frameworks for understanding this plant and its historical, cultural, social, political,

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economic, and environmental impacts on the world. If you have time to read them all, you will be saturated with colorful descriptions, memorable stories and biographies, scientific details, fascinating trivia, and a desire to rush to a tea purveyor so you can seek out new varieties of tea to try for yourself.

An Indian Perspective on Tea

Although indigenous to northeastern India, tea was not profitably cultivated there until the middle of the nineteenth century, when most of India was under control of the British East India Company. Today, India and China are the world's largest producers of tea. In India, tea estates are located in the northeast (Assam and West Bengal) and south (Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Karnataka). With some 1.25 million full-time workers, the tea industry is second only to the Indian railways in the number of employees.

In *Tea: Legend, Life and Livelihood of India*, G. P. Baroowah, a poet, columnist, and economist with many years of management service in the Indian tea industry, offers a charmingly disorganized yet lovely coffee table–style book on the impact of tea in India and on the world. This oversize work is filled with marvelous full-color two-page spreads that detail the production and manufacturing of tea, its Indian environment, and the lives of tea plantation workers. Baroowah bookends his work with a fictitious story of a British manager of a tea plantation but then gets serious with sections on the history of tea, the classifications and processing of tea, the development of the tea industry and tea culture in India, health benefits of tea, and suggestions for the future of the Indian tea industry. Each chapter opens with a poem or salient quotation about tea from the likes of Confucius (551–479 B.C.E.), Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941),[2] and Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936).

The history Baroowah presents is a bit skimpy, but the material about life on Indian tea plantations makes this work stand out. Baroowah offers a helpful discussion of the development of the agro-industrial tea workforce in the mid-nineteenth century, when laborers were imported into various regions (especially Assam) from other parts of the country to clear jungle and work on the newly established tea plantations. Although he claims that members of the so-called tea tribes were "slowly integrated into the larger milieu of Assam" (p. 105), the rise of militancy there—and also in Sri Lanka—toward the end of the twentieth century was undoubtedly due to lingering ethnic frictions. Also interesting are his descriptions of welfare projects undertaken by the Indian tea industry, dating from the establishment of the Prince of Wales Technical School in Assam by a (British) cofounder of a major tea group in 1865. And Baroowah describes the role of tea (and tea companies) in protecting the environment (e.g., helping to fight

erosion) and assisting in the repopulation of endangered species (e.g., the pigmy hog, white-winged wood duck, and freshwater dolphins).

Although his book was intentionally written for the "lay reader" (p. 9), Baroowah occasionally forgets that some readers of English may be unfamiliar with the Indian patois: He uses such terms as *dhaba*, *sahib*, *lakh*, *bigha*, and *paise* without definition.[3] A text similar in scope and design, cited by Baroowah, is D. K. Taknet's *The Heritage of Indian Tea*: *The Past, the Present, and the Road Ahead* (Jaipur, India: Indian Institute of Marwari Entrepreneurship, 2002). In short, Taknet's work offers greater detail on almost all the topics covered by Baroowah.

The Appreciation of Tea

Like Baroowah's book, Lydia Gautier's *Tea: Aromas and Flavors around the World* is a lavishly illustrated coffee-table specimen. In producing this beautifully designed book on the experience and appreciation of tea, Gautier, an agricultural engineer who specializes in tropical agronomy, was aware that significant contexts require illumination, including history, science, aesthetics, and the relation of tea to culture. Major chapters cover the history of tea, agronomy and tea processing, tea tasting, and compatibilities of tea with other worlds of taste. Gautier explores tea "as a gastronomic product in its own right" (p. 5) and thus includes five (gourmet) recipes. Just try to imagine fresh foie gras poached in a crushed coffee-bean crust with truffles and Yunnan red tea (p. 162)!

What Gautier does not leave to the imagination is the relation between tea and the local conditions of its growth: borrowing from wine nomenclature, such attributes as soil, climate, and exposure contribute to the *terroir*, or "sense of place," of tea. Processing also affects the finished product, and Gautier clearly explains how teas of the six classic tea colors of white, green, yellow, red, blue-green, and black—codified in China during the Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644)—are processed. Theoretically, any tea leaf can be processed into any "color" of tea, although certain varietals grown in certain locales better suit certain processing methods. Gautier also does a remarkable job describing—both visually and textually—the Japanese tea ceremony and the Chinese *gong fu cha* 工夫茶 tea-appreciating technique. Her scientific background shines when she presents a fascinating table outlining the chemical composition of a fresh tea leaf: polyphenols, alkaloids (including caffeine), protids, organic acids, glucids, lipids, chlorophylls, mineral salts, and volatile substances (p. 86). She explores the material culture of tea, a "product imbued with a strong cultural dimension" (p. 110). Her notes and visuals on tasting and tea grading are superb. (After all, she was instrumental in the creation of the École du Thé, a training center for the tasting and culture of tea, at Le Palais des Thés in Paris.)[4] And once more

borrowing from oenology, she describes—again both visually and textually—thirty-two *grand cru* ("great growth") teas. Of the five books reviewed here, Gautier's *Tea* is the only one to offer comments on tea as an ingredient in perfume and cosmetics.

An Encyclopedia of Tea

In *The Story of Tea: A Cultural History and Drinking Guide*, veteran tea traders Mary Lou Heiss and Robert Heiss present a veritable encyclopedia of tea. Their hefty tome, a 2008 International Association of Culinary Professionals Cookbook Awards finalist in the single-subject category, also explores ways in which differences in *terroir* and production result in the diversity of color, flavor, and quality of brewed tea. They investigate the history of tea, the life of a tea bush, manufacturing processes, brewing methods, tea customs, health benefits, ethics in the tea trade, and cooking with tea. Color photographs are aplenty; and one strength of the Heisses' volume is the numerous photographs showing stages of various tea-processing techniques. Most of these photographs were taken by the authors themselves during their many tea expeditions: "Our search for fine tea draws us back time and time again to Asia," they write in the preface (p. ix).

Their 142-page chapter entitled "Journeying along the Tea Trail" could almost be a book in and of itself: the Heisses offer sections on China, Japan, Korea, India, Russia and Georgia, Taiwan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Nepal, Africa, Vietnam, Thailand, and other tea-growing countries—including the United States, where tea is grown in Hawai'i (Kona) and on a plantation on Wadmalaw Island, South Carolina. Historical and manufacturing information that appears elsewhere in the book is often repeated in this chapter. For example, yellow tea has a brief entry in the chapter on manufacturing (pp. 70–71) as well as in this chapter (pp. 162–63). The repetition also invites contradictions: "In all, 108,000 acres of tea gardens are under cultivation in Vietnam" (p. 244), but "Today the total amount of land in Vietnam under tea cultivation is 185,000 acres" (p. 248). Many such repetitions or inconsistencies can be found throughout the book, especially when the numerous sidebars are included. A statement in a sidebar (p. 141) about tasting a fifty-year-old *pu-erh* 普洱 tea in Dali, Yunnan, is repeated almost word for word on page 308.

Given its length (over 400 pages), the Heisses' volume should offer the last word on tea; but certain explanations are lacking. For example, the Heisses mention the mixing of salt into tea in western China, Tibet, and Mongolia (pp. 10–11, 343, 345), a tradition that dates from the Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907); but they do not explain why salt was used. (Gautier does: Salt counteracts the bitterness and highlights the natural sweetness of tea.) Likewise, the Heisses use but do not explain the term "fannings" (broken

leaves that are "fanned" away after processing and often end up in teabags) or the nomenclature of "orange pekoe," likely named for the Dutch royal house (Oranje-Nassau) and a Westernization of the Chinese *pak ho* 白毫 (Cantonese pronunciation of "white hair"), which refers to the hairy down on young tea leaves.

Repetition, inconsistencies, inverted images (see, e.g., pp. 100 and 117), inexplicable diacritic usage, and errors in Japanese terms aside (for example, the authors thrice write of "Rinsai"—instead of *Rinzai*—Buddhism; and they translate *shincha* 新茶 as "first pick" and *ichiban cha* 一番茶 as "new tea" on p. 45: these translations should be reversed), the Heisses offer a wealth of cultural, historical, and scientific information about tea and tea appreciation. Most compellingly, perhaps, is that their passion for tea is evident on almost every page.

Stories of Tea

Beatrice Hohenegger's intelligent offering, *Liquid Jade: The Story of Tea from East to West*, is, from one perspective, a book of trivia (e.g., "Queen Elizabeth I had rotten teeth," p. 98). But she has woven together bits and pieces from numerous historical documents to tell a compelling story. Hohenegger, a freelance author, will guest curate a traveling museum exhibition on the history and culture of tea in 2009: *Liquid Jade* will make a useful companion piece to the exhibit. Her book is soundly structured and includes numerous (nicely captioned) monochrome images, but the typeface for the page numbers is cryptic to the point of rendering the numbers useless. Her use of macrons for Japanese names and terms is idiosyncratic; and her explanation of the Chinese character for tea, *cha* 茶 (p. 180), which Gautier and the Heisses describe accurately, is somewhat misleading.

Hohenegger's book is organized into four parts: a section focusing on tea in Asia; a section focusing on tea in the West; a section of tea-related trivia (entitled "Curiosities, Obscurities, Misnomers, and Facts"); and a section on contemporary issues, including human rights and fair-trade tea, wherein she traces the roots of the modern organic movement to China and India. Each of her forty-three short, essay-like chapters opens with a fascinating epigraph from literature or a historical work relevant to tea. "Because *Liquid Jade* is mostly a historical book" (p. 278), Hohenegger uses Wade-Giles transliteration throughout; but she includes a useful appendix listing names and terms in both Wade-Giles and Pinyin. She also includes a helpful appendix of Chinese dynasties and Japanese chronological periods, plus a substantial bibliography and a thorough index. She handles citations in an elegantly unobtrusive manner.

In the sections on East and West, Hohenegger demonstrates her skill at portraying the lives of various individuals, including Lu Yu 陆羽 (733–804),

the Sage of Tea; Tang poet Lu Tong 盧同 (790–835); Song emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1082–1135); naval admiral Zheng He 鄭和 (1371–1433);[5] and Qing scholar and diplomat Lin Zexu 林則徐 (1785–1850). Indeed, her portrayals are mere snapshots of these fascinating individuals; but her presentations are certainly enough to pique interest to learn more. As for India, Hohenegger provides the political and economic background necessary to understand, at least on a basic level, the British colonial involvement there with respect to tea. Skilled at contextualizing themes and events, reductivisticly at times, Hohenegger drapes the sweeping narrative of history around the hot commodities and events of the times. For example, she labels tea as the "trigger" of the slave trade (p. 101)—in that Britain's need for sugar (from the Caribbean) was fueled by its obsession for tea (from India). She therefore ultimately portrays tea as the "unwitting vector of boundless human misery on an intercontinental scale" (p. 102). And, at times, she is more tongue in cheek in her conclusions: "As a whole, tea suggests an undeniable sense of peaceable moderation while coffee evokes vivid images of road rage. After all, there is no Japanese coffee ceremony" (p. 229).

The Impact of Tea

Like Hohenegger, Laura Martin, in *Tea: The Drink That Changed the World*, offers a reductivistic social history (à la recent works by Alan and Iris Macfarlane, Roy Moxham, and Tom Standage).[6] The subtitle makes clear her main point. "Much of tea's history illustrates the never ending human story of class division—of greed, power, and wealth on one side and of hunger and poverty on the other," she suggests (p. 4). Martin is somewhat casual with her references, but readers familiar with some of the more popular works on tea will recognize material from the Macfarlanes and William Ukers' 1935 classic, *All About Tea*.[7] She solves the potential problem of diacritic inconsistencies by using no macrons at all for Asian names or terms given in her text. Also, not all of her numerous illustrations—especially reproductions of tea advertisements—are captioned; but several of the illustrations are apparently by the author herself.

Martin efficiently takes care of the particulars in a brief opening chapter on the agronomy, production, processing, classifying, and grading of tea. Thereafter, her work is structurally similar to Hohenegger's, in that she progresses from East to West, with chapters on tea in China and Korea; tea in Japan (including a stand-alone chapter on the Japanese tea ceremony); British involvement in India, China, and Ceylon; and tea in the United States. In a brilliant organizational move, she relegates certain information to a bevy of appendices: information on tea-growing countries, tea professionals' terms for describing tea, a list of choice teas, brewing instructions,

cooking with tea, tea and health, and herbal "teas" (which are not teas at all and are thus perhaps the only irrelevant inclusion).

As a horticulturalist and botanical illustrator, Martin's interests shine forth in this book. She is the only one to explain the nomenclature of tea's botanical name: "The name *Camellia* came from a Moravian Jesuit named Georg Joseph Kamel (1661–1706), who studied Asian plants. The species name, *sinensis*, means 'from China'" (p. 145). She explains that hillside planting provides better drainage, which is necessary for tea plants (p. 32). And she even offers a sidebar on growing your own tea: "*Camellia sinensis* prefers the same growing conditions that azaleas and rhododendrons do" (p. 11).

Of all the works portrayed here, Martin's offers the most on the contents of Lu Yu's *Classic of Tea* (*Chajing* 茶经). She also offers some of the most detailed information on how pottery and ceramics were historically made in China and Japan—and how the evolution of tea artifacts paralleled changes in favored processing techniques throughout the Ming dynasty, from brick tea to powdered tea to loose tea. She delivers trivia, as well; for example, tea was introduced in New Amsterdam (New York) in 1647 by the Dutch *ten years* before it was introduced to London (p. 182)! But her presentation is not perfect: she conflates oxidation with fermentation (pp. 15, 19, 101) and offers an etymology of the Japanese term *wabi*, of the *wabi-sabi* 侘寂 aesthetic relevant to the Japanese tea ceremony, that is uncommonly supported in Japan.

Tea for Today & Tomorrow

This short review does not do justice to the vast amount of information about tea provided in these five works. Most interesting, perhaps, is how approaching tea as an object of study requires attention to matters encompassing a wide range of disciplines and fields: agronomy, botany, chemistry, nutrition, medicine, engineering, art, architecture, aesthetics, literature, material culture, history, religion, political science, economics, marketing, and more. Certain authors, befitting their backgrounds, necessarily favor certain topics and approaches. But the five works reviewed here have numerous commonalities. All mention the Chinese legend of Shen Nong 神農 (and the purported discovery of tea as a beverage in 2732 B.C.E.); Lu Yu and his *Classic of Tea*; Japanese tea ceremony (*chanoyu* 茶の湯); Catherine of Braganza (1638–1705, wife of Charles II and purported popularizer of tea in Britain); the Boston Tea Party (December 16, 1773); and health claims of tea. Most mention the legend of Bodhidharma (ca. early fifth century C.E.), with respect to the "discovery" of tea; the role of Sen Rikyū 千利休 (1522–91) in the development of Japanese tea ceremony; Robert Bruce and Charles Bruce, with respect to the earliest cultivation of tea in Assam in the first half of the nineteenth century; the mid–nineteenth century Opium

Wars; Robert Fortune (1812–80), with respect to learning tea secrets from the Chinese; Thomas Lipton (1848–1941), with respect to the cultivation of tea in Sri Lanka and the marketing of tea in the West; and the role of clipper ships and "transatlantic regattas" prior to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the rise of the steamship.

Across the board, however, all five books fail to deliver useful maps. The two largely political maps provided by the Heisses (pp. 5, 30)—the only maps in any of these works—do not point out any of the particular regions they and the other authors describe, including Anhui, Assam, Darjeeling, Fujian, Sichuan, and Yunnan. Readers must therefore consult external maps in order to understand better the very geography of tea.[8]

If I had to limit my library to but one of these five books on tea, I would choose Gautier's beautiful volume, even though the glossy pages of Gautier (along with those of Baroowah and Heiss and Heiss) are difficult to read at length, unless the lighting is just right. Gautier's work, for me, provides a perfect balance of well-organized, information-dense text and artistic, evocative images. Steep yourself in any or all of these recent books on tea, and you will be richly rewarded.

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Notes

[1]See, for example, Johnny Bowden, *The 150 Healthiest Foods on Earth* (Gloucester, MA: Fair Winds Press, 2007), 264–68.

[2]Also known as Gurudev, the Bengali poet Tagore was Asia's first Nobel laureate, winning the 1913 Nobel Prize in literature.

[3]Here are my definitions: *dhaba*: diner-like roadside restaurant serving local fare in India and Pakistan; *sahib*: "sir," "master," or "lord"; *lakh*: one hundred thousand; *bigha*: an area of land, generally less than an acre; *paise*: one-hundredth of a Bangladeshi taka or an Indian, Nepalese, or Pakistani rupee.

[4]Their informative English-language Web site is here: http://www.palaisdesthes.com/en/.

[5]For an account of Zheng He's naval adventures and their ramifications, see James R. Holmes, "'Soft Power' at Sea: Zheng He and China's Maritime Diplomacy," *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* 28 (2006): 95–106.

[6]Alan Macfarlane and Iris Macfarlane, *Green Gold: The Empire of Tea* (London: Ebury, 2003); Roy Moxham, *Tea: Addiction, Exploitation and Empire* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003); Tom Standage, *A History of the World in Six Glasses* (New York: Walker & Company, 2005).

[7]William H. Ukers, *All About Tea*, 2 vols. (New York: Tea and Coffee Trade Journal, 1935). All three works with bibliographies—Gautier, Heiss and Heiss, and Hohenegger—cite this reference; Martin cites Ukers as a source for at least two images.

[8]"With a map," according to Hugh Johnson, "distinctions and relationships become clear. Things fall into place." Good maps are therefore "more than aids to navigation." *The World Atlas of Wine: A Complete Guide to the Wines & Spirits of the World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1971), 8.

John L. Esposito & Dalia Mogahed, *Who Speaks for Islam? What a Billion Muslims Really Think*. New York: Gallup Press, 2007. xvi + 204 pages.

Mansoor Moaddel, ed., *Values and Perceptions of the Islamic and Middle Eastern Publics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. xx + 355 pages.

A "Global War" or a "Global Struggle"?

Seven years now separate us from 9/11, and the United States apparently has a public relations problem. Though few in the press and even fewer scholars have embraced the U.S. government's prescribed solution, since January 2008 the United States no longer has been officially engaged in a "Global War on Terrorism," or GWOT. That month, at the direction of the Department of Homeland Security, U.S. government officials were directed to jettison the GWOT from their vocabulary. At least until January 2009, when new wordsmiths arrive in Washington, Homeland Security would have it be said that the United States is pursuing a "Global Struggle for Security and Progress," the newly preferred war-moniker for the final Bush year.

In the precise sense George Orwell anticipated, in his 1946 essay "Politics and the English Language," that "the great enemy of clear language is insincerity,"[1] this announcement of the death of the official term "GWOT" is insincere. On the ground in Afghanistan and Iraq, from the air in Pakistan and Somalia, and throughout the world in less visible ways, Muslims are still being detained and are still dying at the hands of the U.S. Armed Forces in the year 2008. Our state, if not our whole nation, remains at war. But naming it a "war on terrorism" is said to be breeding a misunderstanding of American purposes. In an age in which it is now officially inconvenient to refer to the enemies of the United States as "*jihadis*" or as "Islamists," how shall we think about our potential adversaries? With descriptors such as "Islamic terrorist" and "*Salafist*" also forbidden, how shall we speak of the actual enemies of the United States?

In different ways, these two new books embrace the rationale for this search for a new lexicon. John Esposito and Dalia Mogahed use findings from survey research among Muslim publics to describe a struggle different from the one Americans have come to know. They argue: "Muslims truly reject terrorism" (p. 95), only a "fringe minority support it" (p. 182); so the modern collision of cultures must be "an 'out group' activity as any other violent crime" (p. 95). Both books demonstrate the authors' perceptions of the inadequacy of code words such as "the clash of civilizations," a phrase that spread in the decade following Samuel P. Huntington's (of Harvard) use of the phrase as the title of a summer 1993 *Foreign Affairs* article.[2]

Esposito & Mogahed: Popular Press Masquerading as Scholarship

Esposito and Mogahed feign to present an academic study, but Gallup's preference for mass audiences has ensured that footnoting to their polls' findings, orientation to existing social science theories, and information about the surveys' methodologies are all minimized. An appendix supplies a brief (four-page) overview on this latter point, but it is cursory and is oddly paired with a chatty, ten-page second appendix that describes the history of carrying out these polls. Only high points of the methodologies emerge; and, while cryptic asides reveal, for example, that geographic "areas that threaten the safety of interviewing staff are excluded" (p. 169), no further guidance is provided regarding what this practice did to undermine the representativeness of any national sample in the heart of this research, the 2005–6 Gallup World Poll. Nor are full results of the national samples themselves ever provided in the book, limiting the utility of the volume to a *SERAS* reader who will look, in vain, to find particular information about the distinct views of those Muslims polled in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Uzbekistan, or other Asian states listed as included by Gallup.

A mere 166 pages of large-print text suffice for Esposito and Mogahed to extrapolate the opinions of one billion Muslims. Despite this brevity, direct quotations of anonymous individuals' views manage to be included on many pages, suggesting they emerged as responses to open-ended survey questions. Many didn't. Included among these illustrations are cherry-picked remarks lifted out of context from many other sources; and nearly all of the most arresting anecdotes have no connection to the Gallup surveys other than that they support the editors' perspective on what "Muslims really think." Stylistically, this book appears to have been designed to be leafed through while waiting in an airport, as its numerous boxed sidebars pack summaries of what seem to be key survey findings to assist those too busy to pore over the short book itself. Readers who penetrate the breezy, bullet point–riddled narrative will discover no complete tables, no charts comparing Asian Muslims' views with Middle Eastern Muslims' views; even a list of the questions asked in the actual surveys is absent from the book.

Most readers of Esposito and Mogahed, therefore, are likely to linger over sidebars that leap out to report what seem to be key facts. The impression conveyed advances most the belief that massive misunderstandings have guided the Bush administration's approach to the post–9/11 global security situation. Consider this arrestingly editorial sidebar on page 97: "There are 1.3 billion Muslims today worldwide. If the 7% (91 million) of the politically radicalized continue to feel politically dominated, occupied, and disrespected, the West will have little, if any, chance of changing their

minds." That heady mix of (apparent) survey results and conjecture appears directly adjacent to this conclusion in the text that "about 9 in 10 Muslims are moderates." On page 182, we learn that "there is no significant difference in the level of personal piety between the majority who condemn terrorism and the fringe minority who condone it." Since tables that report the data from which these two insights emerged appear nowhere in the book, the reader cannot discover how large the "fringe" is in key places, e.g., Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, or Indonesia. And just what "moderate" means to Esposito and Mogahed proves equally elusive to the reader. Contradictions are never reconciled between what (by Western standards) appear to be modern views of Saudi women favoring the right to drive an automobile, on the one hand, and survey reports stressing a widespread embrace of a preference to be governed by Islamic *shari'a* law, a decidedly anti-modern set of social and criminal codes, on the other hand.

Moaddel: Sound Scholarship, Useful Conclusions

The breezy and essentially *a priori* conclusions that abound in Esposito and Mogahed are nowhere to be found in the collection edited by Mansoor Moaddel, a volume that gives scholars much stronger guidance. *Values and Perceptions of the Islamic and Middle Eastern Publics* approaches very differently the issue of what Muslims think. Refreshingly, Asian Muslims are included to a greater degree than the title would suggest. Granted, some chapters will reinforce Asian scholars' traditional tendencies to lump Asian residents' perspectives together nominally (e.g., Jordanians, Iraqis) with those of residents of non-Asian, Arabian-derivative cultures (e.g., Algerians, Egyptians). In this vein, widely respected comparative political scientist Ronald Inglehart (University of Michigan) carefully presents results of a survey-based inquiry into attitudes toward democracy in four Arab states. But Inglehart also presents, in another chapter, complete data that compare the worldviews of Islamic publics; this latter chapter can usefully be read by an Asianist to compare South Asians' views with those of other Muslims. Moreover, some of what seems to be focused solely on matters usually outside the purview of Asian studies also turns out to have heuristic value. At a time when the schism between Sunni and Shī'a Muslims is gaining relevance in non–Middle Eastern states such as Pakistan, Inglehart, Mark Tessler (political science, University of Michigan), and editor Moaddel (sociology, Eastern Michigan University) have contributed an illuminating study of the impact of war on levels of xenophobia among social groups in Iraq.

The international team of contributors to the Moaddel study includes major figures in academic survey research. Ten of the twelve chapters are careful empirical studies. Among them, and of greatest interest to scholars of Asian studies, is an excellent seven-nation comparative inquiry into the

implications of attitudes toward economic justice in the context of *shari'a* law by senior sociologists Nancy J. Davis (DePauw University) and Robert V. Robinson (Indiana University). By including Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Indonesia in their survey, Davis and Robinson demonstrate to Asian-focused scholars the importance of weighing public opinion in these Asian countries in comparison to views of Middle Eastern (i.e., Jordanian, Saudi Arabian, Algerian, and Egyptian) publics. Interesting findings emerge. Regarding the importance of *shari'a* as a guide to government, the three Asian samples differ from each other more than they depart from the Middle Eastern publics' views. Majorities in all seven states view it as "important" or "very important" that "good government" be one that "should implement only the laws of the *shari'a*" (p. 141); but nearly a third of Bangladeshis (31.0 percent) and 21.6 percent of Indonesians—yet only 7.5 percent of Pakistanis—dissent from this majority view.

Some of the volume falls beyond even a generous definition of Asian studies, but engaged readers will nevertheless be drawn to read more about, for example, how Moroccans and Egyptians responded to 9/11 (Moaddel and the American University in Cairo's Abdul-Hamid Abdul-Latif). Thus the volume succeeds: All contributions proceed after having been built around solid orientations to recognizable academic literature across the social sciences. Each chapter speaks to the adequacy of major theories appropriate to its focus and to the study of Asia, ranging from modernization and development theories, to the impact of an oil-export economy on state formation (the "rentier state" hypothesis), to cross-regional debates about key features of democratic transitions. Throughout, the volume employs and reports clearly about appropriate methodologies to engage important questions, rooting its topical and contemporary focus in a manner to enlarge the needed realm required for policy thinking.

The editor has done a superb job orienting the book overall within accepted methods and questions central to comparative study in the social sciences. Of greatest personal interest is Tessler's comparative study of how Islamic identity has affected attitudes toward democracy in the North African Maghreb region plus the nominally Asian state of Jordan. The portrait that emerged shows considerable variation in the preferences of different national samples regarding the degree of proper influence for Islam over politics and public life. Greatest enthusiasm for religion in politics was found in Egypt, and lowest enthusiasm for it turned up in Algeria—i.e., in the setting in which the greatest amount of political violence has accompanied struggles between secular and Islamist groups. Two of the conclusions that emerge from Tessler's research merit special attention: "support for political Islam does not lead to unfavorable attitudes toward democracy" (p. 120), and "cultural explanations alleging that Islam discourages or even prevents the emergence of support for democracy are misguided, indeed,

misleading" (p. 122). Would this conclusion also be true in predominantly Muslim states in Asia? Further inquiries on these matters that focus on Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia will likely follow.

Reading into Guidance for the Future

Tessler carefully avoids leaping atop a soapbox to pronounce policy implications, but American readers in 2008 would be well advised to feel less constrained. As the nation debates alternative courses amid three taxing wars, guidance from those familiar with a sound analysis of facts surely should be preferred over guidance based solely on prejudice or half-baked marketing theories. Recent tinkering by the Bush administration in the realm of diction has suggested our war difficulties best can be finessed by essentially "re-branding" key terms used to describe a continuing, even broadening, conflict that must be won militarily. Closer attention to the analysis of the diverse preferences of Muslim peoples—such as those provided by the contributors to the Moaddel volume, on the other hand, might point us toward changed policies. In light of the short-lived but long-abandoned "Democracy in the Middle East" initiative of the George W. Bush era, one ironic feature of that change might well be a renewed emphasis on overcoming the several difficult obstacles to promoting genuine democracy not only in the Middle East but also throughout the Muslim world, including in South and Southeast Asia.

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Notes

[1]George Orwell, "Politics and the English Language." Reprinted in *Essays*, ed. John Carey (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 954–67: 964.

[2]Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993): 22–49.

Peter D. Hershock, *Buddhism in the Public Sphere: Reorienting Global Interdependence*. London: Routledge, 2006. x + 229 pages.

Since the 1990s, Peter Hershock, coordinator of the Asian Studies Development Program at the East–West Center in Honolulu, Hawai'i, has been developing a Chan Buddhist response to important elements of contemporary life in an increasingly interdependent world. In works such as *Liberating Intimacy* (1996), *Reinventing the Wheel* (1999), his edited volume *Changing Education* (2008), and various essays published in the *Journal of Buddhist*

Ethics and *Philosophy East and West*, Hershock, true to both his Buddhist and philosophical trainings, has addressed the pressing issues of technology, education, ecology, and authority.[1] In doing so, his primary purpose has been not only to engage in cross-cultural philosophizing but also to show how suffering and trouble can be effectively responded to by availing ourselves of the ancient teachings of Buddhism.

In his essay "Hope for the Future," His Holiness the Dalai Lama claimed that "each of us has the responsibility for all humankind. It is time for us to think of other people as true brothers and sisters and to be concerned with their welfare, with lessening their suffering."[2] It is apparent that Hershock shares the Dalai Lama's viewpoint when he claims that this "book emerged out of twin concerns": "The first is that globally deepening interdependence has been meaning greater inequity and manifestly less-sustainable practices across a wide range of sectors—from the social and economic to the political and cultural—both within and among societies. The second is that our predominant means for critically engaging global interdependence seem not to be up to the task, and are actually at considerable odds with the emerging twenty-first century realities of truly complex relationality and accelerating change" (p. 1).

The Buddhist themes of interdependence, critical engagement, complex relationality, and impermanence are directly relevant today. Complex interdependence, however, calls for a complex response. Hershock's approach is to "clarify the values, intentions, and practices animating prevailing ways of thinking about and responding to these emergent realities, and to reflect on what it would mean to engender a value coordinating redirection of the interdependencies constitutive of both the public sphere and of our lived experiences within it" (p. 1). In so doing, Hershock wants us to understand that this is neither a book of Buddhist apologetics nor an argument for why we should become Buddhists. In this work, he writes that "no particular vision of the good or any particular set of corrective societal structures and institutions will be forwarded" (p. 4). Herein Hershock follows ancient Buddhist teachings elucidated in specific texts from the Pali canon and Mahāyāna tradition, especially Chan.

Hershock is careful to note that the global challenges facing us today also pose challenges to Buddhist practitioners. That is, there are "no traditional Buddhist discourses on environmental protection, institutional health care, technological change, media ethics, global economics, human rights, or the privatization and commodification of education" (p. 2). His task, then, is a hermeneutic one: improvisational interpretation of ancient Buddhist texts in the light of contemporary situations. *Buddhism in the Public Sphere*, then, is "a book of improvisations, in a Buddhist key, on issues of immediate and substantial significance" (p. 2).

Instead of offering a Buddhist plan that will direct us toward a preconceived destination, Hershock applies Buddhist thought to reflect on the challenges to the public good created by emerging social, economic, and political realities associated with increasingly complex global interdependence. In addressing eight significant junctures of global interdependence—the environment, health, media, trade and development, the interplay of politics and religion, international relations, terror and security, and education—Hershock proposes what a Buddhist alternative might look like, given its emphasis on impermanence, emptiness, and interdependence. His goal, in a manner of speaking, is "to intimate new means and meanings of virtuosity" (p. 4). Relational virtuosity depends upon our establishing and maintaining an improvisational flexibility that allows us to see each moment as it has come to be in the moment of its arising and to enable us to respond with skill, thereby adding value to our circumstances.

Part of Hershock's on-going project has also been to show how the Western project of modernity—with "its core values of universalism, certainty, autonomy, and control, and its claims of global validity for such central and explicitly hierarchic oppositions" (p. 5)—has created our current sedimented matrix of values, intentions, and practices. Although it can be argued persuasively that the values, intentions, and practices arising in western Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries—from Renaissance to Enlightenment—were a godsend to the people of those times, Hershock demonstrates how these same values, intentions, and practices are *no longer* producing beneficent eventualities but are, in fact, the direct contributing factors to the declining viability of the public good. In other words, the values, intentions, and practices of the Age of Reason are failing to develop, establish, and sustain differences that truly make a difference. In his chapter "Health and Healing: Relating the Personal and the Public," for instance, Hershock shows how "the prevailing mainstream conceptions of health in health policy" have been locked into the binary opposition of "disease or of well-being" (p. 40). On the former and quantitatively biased account, health "is simply the absence of disease or abnormality" (p. 41). Conceiving of health as well-being is a qualitatively biased perspective that sees health as "healthy functioning" (p. 41). Barely more than restating the phenomenon without explaining it, health-as-well-being is conceived by the World Health Organization as "a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not simply the absence of disease or infirmity" (p. 41). Hershock shows us that each aspect of contemporary Western life is marked by this "is" versus "is-not" opposition. A Buddhist response to this cultural opposition consists "of calling to critical account the *entire spectrum* of beliefs and practices arrayed between any such opposed positions" (p. 105; original emphasis). Such practice, according to Hershock, engages both ends of the continuum by going crosswise to reveal the middle ground.

The use of the phrase "live engagement" by Hershock is meant to convey both a response to the Enlightenment matrix of values, intentions, and actions and a revision of preconceived notions we may hold concerning Buddhism's history of social engagement. The phrase "Engaged Buddhism" is often invoked today to signify a recent development in the social ethics of Buddhism, a movement from the monastery to the world. Hershock, however, argues—by referencing early Buddhist texts such as the *Digha Nikaya*, *Sutta Nipata*, and *Majjhima Nikaya*—that the Buddha's public teaching was often directed to the suffering pervasive in governance and other social practices. Indeed, he notes that "Buddhism throughout its history has been 'socially engaged' and intimately attuned to what we now refer to as issues of public good" (p. 7). The Buddha's Middle Way, applied to the public good, took the form of "facing the world, going crosswise," which "means demonstrating appreciative and contributory virtuosity in the opening of new and ever more liberating paths of shared meaning-making" (p. 11). The Buddha's method of going crosswise to prevailing oppositions was not a denial of sociality but an improvisational virtuosity meant to shift human activities and eventualities from unwholesome (*akusala*) to wholesome (*kusala*) outcomes. Thus, Hershock focuses on karma as the central concern of a Buddhist response to suffering and trouble in the world today.

Not simply reducing karma to a pattern of causality obtained in mind–body activity, Hershock instead shows how karma is a complex interaction among our values, intentions, and actions. Hershock notes that "most Western Buddhists (and many contemporary Buddhists outside the West) do not take karma with the seriousness it deserves" (p. 9). The focus on karma in bringing about difference that can truly make a difference is the strength of this work. Whether he is writing about the environment, trade, development, governance, or education, Hershock shows that subtle shifts in our karma can make a huge difference in the way we relate to others and the world we live in. Hershock insists that

> we live in a karmic world in which our interdependence is irreducibly meaningful and in which responding effectively to experienced troubles or difficulties—whether in the realm of the private or the public—ultimately entails recognizing their roots in competing or conflicting values, intentions, and practices. Succinctly stated: seeing our world as karmic is seeing that *all experienced eventualities arise as outcomes/opportunities that are meticulously consonant with patterns of our own values–intentions–actions*. . . . In a karmically ordered world importantly and fundamentally shaped by values and intentions, no situation—regardless of appearances to the contrary—is finally intractable. A world and a life shaped by karma are continuously open to meaningful revision. Indeed, in such a world, it is the *differences* in our karma that enable us each to *make a difference*. (p. 9, original emphases)

From this view we can conclude that interdependence is both a coordinated and coordinating relationality based not on sameness but on differ-

ence. Enlightenment virtues of tolerance and cooperation, though, insist—however inadvertently or ironically—on a certain level of sameness, usually the sameness indicative of the dominant powers.

Upon reading *Buddhism in the Public Sphere*, one will notice that as Hershock rehearses his Buddhist conceptions of cross-cultural concepts such as improvisational virtuosity, effective relationality, appreciative and contributory virtuosity, and dramatic maturity, much repetition and playful variations of these terms and phrases occur. What might be construed as a weakness, though, turns out to be a strength because it allows Hershock to show how the shift from one area of concern, say, the environment, to another area, such as education, also entails a certain amount of nuance and flexibility—*skillfulness*—on the part of one concerned with acting for the public good. Such a conclusion certainly sets a high standard for anyone active in the public sphere; but, then again, Hershock makes no promises that acting for the common good will be easy or quick. He points out that Buddhist education or training, "a three-part system comprising wisdom (*prajñā*), attentive mastery (*samādhi*), and moral clarity (*śīla*)" (p. 195), is an open-ended and dynamic process that is neither "amenable to analysis into basic competencies that can be acquired in a standard sequence" nor "something that one might hurry up and finish" (p. 194). Buddhist education thus stands as a challenge to conventional forms of Western education.

Does Hershock's presentation imply that he thinks the only way to alter the destructive course we are on is to become a Buddhist practitioner? No; but there is, indeed, a sticking point that Hershock admits when he notes that questions about faring well in responding effectively to suffering and trouble have been traditionally responded to in terms of establishing and maintaining one's appreciative and contributory virtuosity: "find and enter into [a] horizonless, trusting relationship with an enlightened master" (p. 201).

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Notes

[1]Peter D. Hershock, *Liberating Intimacy: Enlightenment and Social Virtuosity in Ch'an Buddhism* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1996); Peter D. Hershock, *Reinventing the Wheel: A Buddhist Response to the Information Age* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1999); Peter D. Hershock, Mark Mason, and John N. Hawkins, eds., *Changing Education: Leadership, Innovation and Development in a Globalizing Asia Pacific* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008).

[2]Dalai Lama, "Hope for the Future," in *The Path of Compassion: Writings on Socially Engaged Buddhism*, ed. Fred Eppsteiner (Berkeley, CA: Parallax & The Buddhist Peace Fellowship, 1988), 3–8: 8.

David Jones, ed., *Buddha Nature and Animality*. Fremont, CA: Jain Publishing, 2007. xii + 223 pages.

While, as with most edited volumes, the quality of the chapters in this book varies, as a whole, *Buddha Nature and Animality* offers fresh Buddhist insight into the nature of contemporary ecological problems—problems that produce untold suffering for humans and non-humans alike, and problems that routinely threaten species, ecosystems, and even the biosphere with extinction. Ironically, the volume's central questions focus primarily on neither "Buddha-nature" nor "animality" but rather on the nature of "humanity"—humanity in relation to its own animality and to its animal, natural, and religious environments. This interesting though anthropocentric posture is to be understood, I think, in light of the contributing authors' intentions to mitigate problems that are, for the most part, created by humans, or are, at least, exacerbated by their actions. Importantly, as is acknowledged by at least one of the volume's contributors (Bret W. Davis of Loyola College in Maryland), anthropocentrism also has a long history in Buddhism, which has often, if not typically, maintained important distinctions between humans and other animals—e.g., the unique ability of humans to make "enlightened" (or "enlightening") decisions about their actions and thereby propel themselves and others toward liberation. Regardless of their stances toward the appropriateness of anthropocentrism for the Buddhist tradition, most of the authors nevertheless approach the meanings and relations of the interrelated concepts they explore with eyes toward elucidating the ethical implications—both personal and social—of these meanings and relations for humans.

The approach of the authors is, moreover, decidedly Buddhist in orientation. Each writes from the perspective of Buddhism, at least in part, for an audience who shares his or her Buddhist commitments. Most favor Chan/Zen, or, at least, Mahāyāna traditions. The book's most important contributions stem from this Buddhist orientation, with several of its better chapters clarifying and advancing Buddhist thinking about the important and timely issues they address. Jason M. Wirth (Seattle University), Thomas A. Forsthoefel (Mercyhurst College), Peter D. Hershock (East–West Center), Harriette Grissom (University of North Carolina at Asheville), Bret Davis, and David Jones (Kennesaw State University) are especially to be commended in this regard. Each, according to his or her own philosophical style, makes clear how traditional Buddhist thinking and practice is relevant for the contemporary world, at least for those who hold Buddhist worldviews. Although there is not space here to consider any of their contributions in detail, in sum, all the contributions to this volume converge around a view of ecological interrelatedness, where value is ascribed to beings by virtue of their mutual participation in the realization of self and

others in the on-going play of universal Buddha-nature, emptiness, and dependent origination that both surrounds and constitutes us. Recognition of this interrelatedness not only should lead us to value animals and ecosystems more highly than we currently do but also should help us to see in them (at least) reflections of Buddha from which we can learn directly about ourselves and the most sublime truths.

In addition to developing Buddhist thought on ecological issues, the contributors to the volume wish also to contribute to contemporary Western philosophical discourse about ecology and the rights of animals. How well the volume does so is open to debate. Most of its contributions are certainly thought provoking, and their emphases on interrelatedness resonate with much of the discussion as it is already occurring among Westerners. What is lacking, I think, is sufficient attention to the kinds of concerns that are bound to arise for Western philosophically minded readers. The most important of these is the one that people are probably most reluctant to address in this "postmodern" age, which has to do with the intellectual plausibility of the Buddhist worldview entailed and presumed within these discussions. As Hershock maintains, such a Buddhist perspective is important because it reveals the "meaningful" rather than merely the "factual" interrelatedness of all phenomena, as does Western science. Understanding that it was not the intention of the authors to engage in apologetics on behalf of Buddhist metaphysics, I would still contend that if they want their offerings to contribute to the discussions of Western philosophers, the contributors should have better addressed questions (uncomfortable as they may be) about the factuality of the kind of interrelatedness—i.e., Buddha nature, karma—they describe and take for granted in their chapters. It still matters, even in this postmodern age—and even among philosophers and theologians—whether the metaphysical claims that undergird their worldviews are reasonably accurate descriptors of the reality we encounter through our senses. If not, then it is hard to see the relevance of such discussions for "secular" academic philosophy.

Still, this volume makes important contributions to contemporary discussions about the relevance of traditional Buddhist beliefs and practices for the contemporary world. For this reason, it is likely to be of interest to scholars occupied with its subject matter and those who are interested in discovering radical alternatives to contemporary forms of Western, or, at least, Anglo-American philosophizing.

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Marthe Chandler & Ronnie Littlejohn, eds., *Polishing the Chinese Mirror: Essays in Honor of Henry Rosemont, Jr.* New York: Global Scholarly Publications, 2008. viii + 432 pages.

This festschrift in honor of the distinguished American philosophical interpreter of traditional Chinese thought, Henry Rosemont Jr., offers something for nearly everyone who has an interest in the many fields with which Rosemont has shared his considerable intellectual gifts: comparative philosophy, East Asian studies, linguistics, political theory, and religious studies, to name only the most prominent of these. What is most striking about this volume is not the extent to which its contributors either agree or disagree with Rosemont's work. In fact, even when the contributors disagree with Rosemont, they tend to do so less in a corrective manner and more in a way that completes or complements Rosemont's own arguments. Rather, what distinguishes *Polishing the Chinese Mirror* is the extent to which Rosemont's scholarly contributions have created the conditions and context for a comparative philosophical and religious discourse of truly rich dimensions and depth. While contributors certainly indulge in laudatory hyperbole—Michael Nylan (University of California at Berkeley) says that Rosemont "is more like the Mencius of my imagination than anyone else" (p. 267)—in the end, the volume transcends the usual merely congratulatory tone of festschriften to attain a genuine spirit of intellectual give-and-take between a beloved teacher and his many gifted students. This spirit is evident throughout the collection, both within each chapter and in Rosemont's responses at the volume's conclusion.

In Rosemont's *A Chinese Mirror: Moral Reflections on Political Economy and Society* (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1991), he writes that "the more openly and deeply we look through a window into another culture the more it becomes a mirror of our own. . . . [I] hope that the American Dream will one day be replaced by a more universal dream, one that can be shared by all peoples, holding their humanity in common" (p. 7). By providing an alternative way of being human, traditional East Asian thought and practice can thus provide a way for North Americans to attain critical perspective on their own thought and practice and to work toward a more inclusively human future. Rosemont claims, in *Polishing the Chinese Mirror*, that "given that one of [his] major goals . . . has been to bring about greater philosophical dialogue . . . [his] work can be seen to be pretty much a failure," insofar as the number of doctoral programs in the United States where students can study Chinese philosophy can still be counted on "only one hand . . . [with] fingers left over" (p. 361). Yet the twenty essays collected in this volume represent philosophical voices both Asian and Western, old and young, and go some distance toward assuaging Rosemont's sense of "failure."

The contents of this volume are too many, too deep, and too varied to lend themselves to quick summary in this review, but a few highlights must be mentioned. Erin M. Cline (University of Oregon) contrasts Rosemont's account of Confucian personhood with that of John Rawls, "placing him somewhere between the Confucian and Western positions" (p. 87) outlined in Rosemont's work, which performs the important service of pointing out commonalities between Chinese and Western philosophical anthropology and political theory. Both Ni Peimin (Grand Valley State University) and Eric Hutton (University of Utah) take up Rosemont's concern for Confucian thought as a resource for those who cherish liberty. Ni argues that Confucianism "denies the freedom of indifference, and . . . endorses the freedom of spontaneity" (p. 105), by which he means that "Confucian democracy" requires passionate commitment on the basis of deep human feelings and experiences of inter-relatedness with other human beings, out of which one may act spontaneously in ways that strengthen those relationships. While Hutton flatly calls the Confucianism of Xunzi 荀子 "undemocratic," he shows how Xunzi is less "un-democratic" than Plato, insofar as Xunzi (like Plato) doubts the intellectual and moral qualifications of common people but (unlike Plato) "insists that 'Anyone on the streets can become a Yu [i.e., a sage]'" (p. 318), and that this commonality between the masses and the rulers presumed by Xunzi renders him less vulnerable to the accusations made by Karl Popper against Plato. Michael Nylan and Harrison Huang (University of California at Berkeley) demonstrate how what David Wong (Duke University) calls "an enduring theme of Rosemont's work . . . that we are not by ourselves, that we are not strangers, and that we enter into each other's identities" (p. 331) is evident in Mencius' little-noticed claim that pleasure is central to the good life—that "doing good requires little more than the capacity for enjoyment—delighting in . . . a frank acknowledgement that we are all human" (pp. 263–64). Finally, Harold D. Roth (Brown University) shows how Rosemont's emphasis on "the natural tendencies of human beings and the political organizations that can best be developed to harness and direct them" (p. 290) can help us understand the often-hidden moralistic and political aspects of the Daoist tradition, as found in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子.

Occasionally, one wonders at why a particular contribution was made. Tu Weiming's (Harvard University) essay, while cogent and learned, seems to be, at most, indirectly or implicitly connected to Rosemont's work. Even Rosemont himself sometimes seems puzzled. Regarding Jeffrey Dippmann's (Central Washington University) essay on "Daoist civility" and "polite Daoists," Rosemont wonders, "what could Lao Tan, Zhuangzi, Liu An or Liezi have to do with these?" (p. 389). There are other examples of this kind of gap or void between Rosemont's work and the contributions of those who wish to honor him. Personally, however, the most interesting

disagreement—civil though it may be—is between Rosemont and one of this volume's editors, Ronnie Littlejohn (Belmont University). Littlejohn argues for the early Confucian concept of *tian* 天 (heaven) as one that entails extrahuman intentionality as well as agency. Rosemont, while accepting that "all early Confucians linked *tian* with agency" (p. 385), argues that the nature of *tian*'s agency is "causal much more than . . . intentional-causal" and thus claims that "we will better understand Confucius, his disciples, and the contexts of the numerous specific passages in which *tian* appears if we do not attribute conscious intention to 'it'" (p. 385). Rosemont's resistance to the quasi-theistic reading of *tian* arises from his goal of "describ[ing] authentic religious experience in ways fully consonant with all that we must accept in the way of modern science . . . and in such a way as to not denigrate those experiences even if they do not transcend the human realm" (p. 388). Such disagreements in the volume are instructive insofar as they underscore the constant tensions between commensurability and incommensurability, on the one hand, and intelligibility and unintelligibility, on the other, that underlie all meaningful efforts in comparative philosophy.

It is fitting, perhaps, that some of the strongest and last words in the volume are Rosemont's, even though the words are borrowed in part from another: "If asked, 'When will all philosophers take Asian thought seriously?' I can only reply by quoting Max Planck, who, when asked when all physicists would accept Einstein's theories replied 'when all those who don't have died off'" (p. 362).

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Chen Guidi & Wu Chuntao, *Will the Boat Sink the Water? The Life of China's Peasants*. Translated by Zhu Hong. New York: Public Affairs, 2006. xxvi + 229 pages.

The media in the West inundates us with news of China's economic miracle. There are glowing reports of the tall skyscrapers and the new technological marvels of Shanghai and Beijing—wonders such as the world's fastest train that whips travelers from the Shanghai Pudong International Airport to downtown in just a matter of minutes. Conversely, we hear about the unbelievable pollution found in China's air and about China's unbelievably dirty waters; but what we do not often hear about is the misery still prevalent among the nation's hundreds of millions of peasants.

Historians often describe Mao's (1893–1976) communist movement as a revolution of the peasants and the land. Deng Xiaoping's (1904–97) reforms were supposed to give the peasantry rights to their own land and greater

control over their destinies. When I accompanied a Fulbright seminar across much of China in the summer of 2006, I heard that, since 1980, the country's per capita gross domestic product had increased ninefold and that hundreds of millions of Chinese had been lifted out of poverty. But when wandering the streets of Beijing and other towns and villages, one sees signs of poverty, much of it very intense, everywhere.

Chen Guidi and Wu Chuntao, two leading Chinese writers and investigative journalists who are a husband-and-wife team, have written a book, originally published in 2004 in Chinese (*Zhongguo nongmin diaocha* 中国农民调查 [Investigation into China's peasants]) but recently translated into English by Zhu Hong as *Will the Boat Sink the Water? The Life of China's Peasants*, where they conclude that China's economic miracle is happening despite, not because of, China's 900 million peasants. Several years ago, they went to Wu's native Anhui Province, one of the poorest areas in China, to investigate the conditions of peasants there. They asked one very basic question: Have the peasants been betrayed by the revolution undertaken in their name by Mao and his successors? Their response is a very disturbing and emphatic "Yes!" Told principally through four dramatic narratives of particular Anhui people, we get a vivid portrait of the pain, poverty, and corruption that China's peasants face every day.

We see that the living conditions of many peasant families have not really improved at all since the Communist Revolution—that was supposed to have been realized on their behalf—and that Chinese leaders today are just as oppressive and corrupt as they were before the revolution. Chinese peasants are, note the authors, truly the voiceless in modern China. They are also, perhaps, the reason that China will not be able to make the great social and economic leap forward, because, if it is to leap, it must carry the 900 million with it.

The four case studies described in this book offer very detailed portraits of the struggles that peasants face in various villages. The story of one corrupt and cruel village official, Gao Xuewen, gives one much of the flavor of the book:

> To begin at the beginning, Gao Xuewen was universally hated in Gao Village. Ever since worming his way to the position of village chief, the man had been walking on clouds with his nose in the air, seeming to have even forgotten the surname of his own ancestors. No matter how many documents and directives were passed down from the Party Central Committee on relieving the peasants' burden, the amount of taxes and dues in Gao Village still depended on Gao Xuewen's word. You had to pay exactly what he ordered, and not a cent less. Opposing Gao was tantamount to opposing the people's government, even the Party. If you were so unfortunate as to get into his bad books, he had no compunction against cursing and striking you. Not enough to be beaten and abused, the injured party was obliged to apologize before the matter was allowed to end. (p. 68)

Readers of this book may well reach the conclusion that China's Communist Revolution, rather than being a particularly good thing for the nation's peasants, was in fact an unmitigated disaster for most. We see how local authorities abuse, cheat, vastly overtax, and physically abuse peasants in their villages and regions. Those so abused have no recourse; and when a few brave souls do raise their voices, they and their families are often arrested on trumped-up charges or even physically attacked or killed. The writers help us understand some of the corruption, bribery, and intimidation undertaken by dishonest local officials against those Chinese citizens who can bear it the least: the poor peasants. The book also shows the courageous efforts undertaken by some peasants to achieve basic justice in order to be able to get on with their lives.

Chen and Wu have produced an enlightening but highly disturbing book. Their work, for understandable reasons, was banned soon after its publication in China, but tens of thousands of underground copies have circulated throughout the country. It is exactly the kind of book that anybody even remotely interested in China should read, because it gives a much more realistic portrait of the underside of China's economic miracle than is available elsewhere. I have added this book to the reading list for my courses on modern China, and I would urge every other Asian studies instructor to do likewise.

DANIEL A. MÉTRAUX
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Liza Dalby, *East Wind Melts the Ice: A Memoir through the Seasons.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007. xxvi + 320 pages.

Karin Muller, *Japanland: A Year in Search of* Wa. Emmaus, PA: Rodale, 2005. xii + 307 pages.

Kate T. Williamson, *A Year in Japan.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006. 190 pages.

Japan in One Year

As a rule, the people of Japan are extremely conscious that theirs is a culture that values and appreciates the four distinct seasons. When new acquaintances tell me they have visited Japan, I ritualistically ask them what time of year they were there, since, whether expressed through the cuisine or store-window displays or festivals or other celebrations and diversions, the Japan of winter, for example, is indeed a different place from the Japan

of autumn, or summer, or spring. To experience these differences, one must spend at least a year in Japan, as did the authors of the three recently published works reviewed here. Each Western author had her own motives behind chronicling a year—or the idea of a year—in Japan; and the resultant offerings provide varying nuances of complexity and contribution. These three works involve components and characteristics of diary, memoir, almanac, travelogue, history lesson, social commentary, interpretation, and visual representation of the country, people, customs, and traditions of both historical and contemporary Japan. Collectively, they offer a veritable feast of images, portrayed through narrative, poetry, and visual art itself.

Seasonal Reflections on Experiencing Japan

Anthropologist Liza Dalby, the first (only?) Westerner to become a geisha,[1] began her studies of Japan as a sixteen-year-old exchange student in Kyushu in 1966. She opens her latest work, *East Wind Melts the Ice: A Memoir through the Seasons*, with an observation about the Japanese obsession with the natural cycle: Japanese pay incredible attention "to the ephemeral yet steadfastly recurring phenomena of the natural world. Japanese culture is so deeply steeped in this awareness that even canned drinks in vending machines change from summer to fall" (p. xv). With the keen eye of a naturalist and fluent language of a poet, Dalby demonstrates throughout her fascinating work how "Japan offers a way to appreciate fleeting seasonalities that we do not articulate nearly so poetically in the West" (p. 155). Her work, though, proves a remarkable exception to this generalization. Through it, she inspires her readers to be more aware of the sights, sounds, smells, tastes, and feelings of their natural environments. Or at least her work had such an effect on me.

At the heart of this intricately researched and beautifully produced volume, a nonfiction finalist for the 2008 Kiriyama Prize, are seventy-two brief (one- to six-page) essays in the relaxed and unstructured Japanese *zuihitsu* 随筆 style, one for each five-day period identified in an ancient Chinese almanac that influenced the Japanese notion of calendrical time. These seventy-two seasonal periods were famously codified during the third century B.C.E. in the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü*), one of the Five Classics of Chinese literature. On a technical level, then, Dalby's book is an English *saijiki* 歳時記, a personal diary emphasizing the seasons;[2] the calendrical year she chronicles is filled with relevant memories and experiences dating from her childhood in the Midwest through her forty-year interest in Japan. On an effectual level, however, Dalby's work playfully takes her readers through the Japanese seasons with examples from history, literature, and, of course, natural phenomena. Dalby is a gardener, after all, and her work would satisfy even the most pedantic horticulturalist, as she provides Latin names for plants and flowers—and even occa-

sional chemical formulae (e.g., 3, 7-dimethyl-2, 6-octadien-1-ol, a.k.a. geraniol, the fragrance of winter daphne [*Daphne odorata*], p. 26). In emphasizing not only biology but also cultural borrowing from ancient China to Japan, Dalby's book succeeds in demonstrating how "the very idea of the seasons is an intriguing mixture of nature and culture" (p. xx).

Written in an incredibly personal and accessible voice that nevertheless manages to brim with scholarly authority, each of the seventy-two entries begins with a contextualizing paragraph (or two) set off in a sans serif typeface and prefaced with a seal script ornament (ca. eighth century B.C.E.) from the original Chinese calendrical phrase, of which "east wind melts the ice" (東風解凍) is the first. Dalby suggests that the book can be read "horizontally"—reading only these opening paragraphs—to get a sense of the book as an almanac. Naturally, Dalby's year begins not on January 1 but in early February, which marks the beginning of spring, according to the ancient Chinese calendar. From there, her diary progresses through the year, with eighteen entries per season. Part of the joy of Dalby's work is following her logic from prescribed essay title to the contents she has chosen for each entry. The titles themselves are poetic (e.g., "Waving Grasses Wither" at the end of May, "Rainbows Hide" in late November, and "The Copper Pheasant Is Silent" in early December), and Dalby effectively sprinkles her entries with haiku, explaining, en route, what belongs where in Japanese poetry (seasonally), and why. As expected, perhaps, the poems are by the likes of Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–94) and Kobayashi Issa 小林一茶 (1763–1828); but modern poets, such as Terada Kyōko 寺田京子 (1923–74), are not ignored. Highlighting the personal nature of the *zuihitsu* form, Dalby has translated most of the poetry herself. And, as a special treat, she even includes a few of her own Japanese poems (see, e.g., pp. 87, 126, 268).

Dalby's memoir-like musings seem uniquely suited to the *zuihitsu* form: She juxtaposes life in her gardens in Berkeley, California, with life in modern Japan, seventeenth-century Japan, and ancient China in a fascinating journey through time and space. A table in the appendix compares the seventy-two periods of the year across these four temporal and geographical realms. The seventeenth-century Japanese equivalencies are courtesy of Shibukawa Shunkai 渋川春海 (1639–1715), official astronomer to the first shogun; those for modern Japan and Northern California are Dalby's derivations. Although Dalby points out that "none of the seventy-two phenomena picked out to compose this almanac focuses on human activity" (p. 167), some of her more playful modern equivalencies do just that. For example, in late June, when "cicadas sing" in ancient China, "irises bloom" in seventeenth-century Japan, and "trumpet lilies bloom" in Northern California, "air-conditioning [is turned] on" in modern Japan (p. 289).

Essay 42 ("Rice Ripens") provides a wonderful example of Dalby's free-flowing *zuihitsu* style. She begins by considering various terms for rice in

Japanese (*ine* 稲, *kome* 米, *gohan* 御飯, *meshi* 飯), describes *inari* 稲荷 sushi, explores expectations of Japanese mothers (especially with respect to their children's *bentō* 弁当 lunch boxes, which she dubs "tiny masterpieces," p. 167), suggests that the notions of season and weather are frequently confused by Americans, comments on the shared Japanese and Western custom of wearing white only until the end of summer, elaborates on elaborate Heian-era (794–1185) robe color combinations, and mentions an early September drive up the Sonoma coast that immediately called to mind the classic "Seven Autumn Plants." All in one chapter! Furthermore, humor, puns, and wordplay are aplenty. For but one example, from essay 45: "Haiku clubs regularly gather on this evening [of the first full moon of September] to moon over the moon and wax eloquent in seventeen syllables" (p. 179).

Reference works aside, I know few books where such fascinating tidbits—cultural, scientific, and otherwise—appear on every page. Some could be considered trivia, such as the fact that "bamboo flowers and sets seed only once every sixty years" (p. 50); but others, such as the origin of the 108 "snares and delusions" (*bonnō* 煩悩) of the world (pp. 262–63) are unexpected revelations. (I had studied Japanese religion for years and had never understood the mathematics behind why there are precisely 108 *bonnō*. And there an answer was!) Dalby reveals herself to her readers as the type of fascinating person who, for example, would pull off the side of the road to take a closer look at turkey vultures in a tree (p. 280) or who would attempt (unsuccessfully, alas) to make her own tea with leaves plucked from a camellia bush she had introduced to her California garden (pp. 221–22). How I wish I had been at the University of Illinois when she visited in September 2003 (pp. 186–89)!

Dalby offers musings on many abstract yet quintessentially Japanese concepts: *suki–kirai* 好き嫌い (*lit.*, "like/dislike"), *furusato* 故郷 (native place, hometown), and *wabi-sabi* 侘寂 (an aesthetic having to do with "the beauty of extreme understatement," p. 184, in a particularly brilliant essay on ikebana [no. 46]). She also offers description of Heian-period games, rites, rituals, and traditions (e.g., pp. 90–92, 169–70, 195–97) and instructions on how to write *waka* 和歌 poetry (p. 94). She explains how to dry persimmons (pp. 235–36) and even presents recipes for cooking with American kelp (pp. 225–26). Indeed, food rightly plays a prominent role in her entries, since "one of the most popular ways Japanese pay attention to the seasons is by eating" (p. 140). And the fascinating essay on Dalby's involvement with the film version of Arthur Golden's *Memoirs of a Geisha* (no. 44, pp. 174–77) would provide an illuminating read for undergraduates in a course on Japanese or Asian culture, I am sure; she uses an astutely original (and memorable) metaphor of a "sushi sandwich" to describe the hybridized American–Japanese film.

Clothbound in a striking *moegi* 萌黄 ("sprout green"; see p. 24) cover, enjoyment of the book is strengthened by its effective design. (The University of California Press and the author should both be proud.) Line drawings of such natural things as carp, octopi, kudzu, Heike crabs, and even a mythical half plant, half animal called a "borometz" (see it to believe it on p. 195) add to the playfulness of the volume. Her Web site, www.lizadalby.com, mentioned in the afterword, provides additional resources, including a visual journal of the seventy-two seasons and a key to the seal script ornaments in the text.

In short, Dalby's book is a treasure trove of the most fascinating natural and cultural information. Horticulturalists, botanists, ornithologists, mycologists, meteorologists, entomologists, etymologists, gastronomists, artists, and aesthetes of all types will undoubtedly find something of interest within this volume. Moreover, those interested in Asia and Japan—and especially the cultural connotations of the seasons in Japanese art, literature, and poetry—will find the work particularly rewarding. Here is a book I plan to revisit many times throughout the year(s) to come.

A Year of Experiences in Japan

If Dalby's work describes *experiencing* Japan, Karin Muller's 2005 book, *Japanland: A Year in Search of* Wa, describes *experiences* in Japan. An equally personal book, Muller's is neither as avant-garde nor as delightfully eccentric as Dalby's. Muller, in fact, has much precedent: Mass-market stories of a year spent in contemporary Japan by Westerners had become quite popular by the early 1990s, when offerings by Bruce Feiler (1991) and Pico Iyer (1991) appeared.[3] Subsequently, with the recent popularity of *Lost in Translation* and *Memoirs of a Geisha*, a certain general level of Japanese cultural literacy has been assumed in the West: the educated Western reader knows at least something about sumo and judo and karate, sushi, samurai, geisha, hierarchy and formality, ideas of obligation and "saving face," salarymen, karaoke, pachinko, and tensions between tradition and modernization. Within this context of familiarity Muller offers her work.

Muller, a thirty-four-year-old Swiss–American "adventurer" who had previously produced documentaries on Vietnam and South America, initially learned about Japan through judo. (She holds a black belt.) Her admittedly naïve mission was to "become Japanese"—a process that would take "at least a year, maybe more" (p. x). Moreover, her plan was to make a documentary along the way, attempting to gain "more than a superficial glimpse" of Japan's culture and traditions (p. xi).[4] Muller was searching not only for the *wa* 和 (peace/harmony) she experienced while practicing judo but also for something akin to the meaning of life. In one year she wished, in fact, to pry "open the doors to traditional Japan"—a task she

described, midway through her stay, to be "like trying to break into Fort Knox" (p. 179).

Although Dalby could be (and undoubtedly has been) referred to as someone who is "more Japanese than Japanese themselves,"[5] Muller came to a Japan that, at the beginning of her stay, was "utterly alien" to her (p. ix). Echoing a complaint of numerous Western adults who live in Japan, she writes, "it's like I'm six years old again, living by someone else's complicated and incomprehensible set of rules" (p. 91). Perhaps because she was filming a documentary, though also due to repeated assistance from an information officer at the Tourist Information Center in Kyoto, Muller was able to witness and participate in a staggering array of activities that represent both traditional and contemporary Japan: rice harvesting (by hand), sword making, *yabusame* 流鏑馬 (horseback archery) training, sumo training, gateball playing, *yamabushi* 山伏 (mountain ascetic) training, and *taiko* 太鼓 (drum) performing. She watched a kabuki performance, underwent a *kangyō* 寒行 (midwinter purification) ritual, observed the crowds in Tokyo's Harajuku, stayed in a capsule hotel, shadowed a geisha, and began the famous Shikoku pilgrimage on foot. If these lists themselves seem exhausting to read, learning that the author herself unfortunately came down with pneumonia during her pilgrimage, which is recounted near the end of her book, might not come as a surprise. Thereafter Muller gained an insider's look at the Japanese medical system.

Surprisingly, readers do not find out what time of year Muller arrived in Japan until chapter 5 (p. 51), where they learn that she had been there for just two months at cherry blossom time (in March). But earlier, in chapter 4, Muller participated in the famous Sanja Matsuri 三社祭 in Tokyo, which readers familiar with Japan may know takes place the third weekend in May. Thus the astute reader wonders to what extent temporal reality was compromised for the structure of the narrative. Ambiguity over the original language of several conversations reported in the book also heightens confusion.[6] Coupled with the author's frequent use of poetic hyperbole, this ambiguity almost serves to bring the work into the genre of creative nonfiction. Are all readers able to sort out reality from exaggeration?

Reviewers knowledgeable about Japan should have been asked by the publishers to read the manuscript before it was printed, as they would have spotted errors in romanization, usage, and consistency. For example, "Fugisawa," throughout the book, should be "Fujisawa"; "Sinchan" should be "Shinchan"; "Koichi-san" twice appears as "Kouchi-san"; and Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 (774–835), founder of the esoteric Shingon school of Buddhism—and in whose honor the Shikoku pilgrimage is dedicated, is very unnaturally referred to in the text as just "Kobo." Facts and details aside, Muller's giftedness as a storyteller comes out in numerous episodes, including her humorous encounter with politeness on a train (pp. 134–37) and her

hilarious account of trying to get rid of a cumbersome wood-and-oiled-paper umbrella (pp. 219–21).

Does Muller succeed at "unravel[ing] the great ball of Japanese culture" (pp. 190–91)? Her rather anticlimactic conclusion is that conformity "is not a sign of weakness, but rather a great inner strength" (p. 300). In terms of providing accurate, reliable information on Japanese society and culture, Muller's book ultimately suffers from superficiality in its attempts to cover so much territory. The book might nicely complement her four-hour documentary (which I have not seen); but knowledge-seekers who want to move beyond stereotypes or another entertaining read will have to look elsewhere.

A Visual Year in Japan

Kate T. Williamson, author/artist and designer of *A Year in Japan*, will be someone to watch. Just a few years after her graduation from Harvard (where she studied filmmaking), and after spending a year studying art and aesthetics in Japan, she has already authored (or coauthored) and designed four books.[7] Embracing Valerie Kirschenbaum's idea of "designer books," where authors serve as designers, Williamson's offering demonstrates how "visual texts can present truths that purely nonvisual texts cannot."[8] Asianists are lucky that Williamson selected Japan as a subject for her discerning attention.

Indeed, *A Year in Japan* is so much a visual text that many would undoubtedly classify it as an "art book." Where the book ends and the art begins is intentionally unclear. The author's own vivid watercolors and line drawings are the focal point of this visual journal, with accompanying *handwritten* text that itself is, perhaps not surprisingly, artistic.[9] The topics of the no fewer than thirty-five *zuihitsu*-like commentaries, arranged more or less chronologically (from autumn to summer) on un-numbered pages, interpret and add shades of meaning to the accompanying art. The brief comments, ranging from two sentences to four paragraphs, assume, to a similar extent as Muller's book, a general level of familiarity with Japanese culture. Upon this foundation, though, Williamson's images and texts add a level of nuance aided by the author's keen sense of observation and detail. Shining through every narrative, as well, is the everyday nature of things. For example, in "Lunch with a Geisha," Williamson recounts having an informal lunch with the geisha Haruno-san in Kyoto. Near the end of this piece, the mundane seems rather unexpected: "After she finished her [egg] sandwich, Haruno-san lit a cigarette and took a picture of me with her cell phone." Geisha are normal people, too, Williamson seems to be saying, with a wink. This essay is preceded by a colorful, annotated differentiation between a geisha and a *maiko* 舞妓 (an apprentice geisha). What Williamson accomplishes on two pages with two pictures and just fourteen words is quite impressive.

Williamson's ordering and composition of the text are to be commended, as well. Early in the book (in autumn), she follows a translation of a Heian-period poem on the moon with an entry on moon-viewing (where she notes the common Japanese "combination of nature appreciation and social events"); a description and image of *tsukimi dango* 月見団子 (pounded rice covered in sweet bean paste—sweets evocative, not only by name, of moon-viewing); and a series of visuals representing the "rabbit in the moon," the Japanese equivalent of the "man in the moon." The association of food with representative action or event is made throughout the book: a delicious-looking *bentō* appears before a description of the Shinkansen (on which station-purchased boxed lunches, called *ekiben* 駅弁, are commonly eaten); an elaborate *kurisumasu kēki* (Christmas cake) receives a two-page spread before the discussion of Christmas and New Year's in Japan; and festival fare is pictured and described before a discussion of fireworks, light-ups, and the Awa Odori, an August dance festival in Tokushima.[10]

Seasonal images from nature also take the reader/viewer through the Japanese calendar: ripe persimmons on a tree, autumn-tinged maple leaves, plum blossoms, peach blossoms, cherry blossoms, hydrangeas, lotuses. Famous sites are not ignored (though Mt. Fuji, perhaps too cliché for the author, is conspicuously absent): the sand dunes at Tottori, waterfall at Nachi, and the "wedded rocks" (*Meoto Iwa* 夫婦岩) at Futami all make artistic appearances. Williamson explores ground covered neither by Dalby nor Muller by visiting Okinawa. From her stay on Taketomi Island, the reader/viewer is rewarded with paintings of, for example, a tiny *shima* 島 banana, an Okinawan bitter gourd and bitter gourd stir-fry, and a three-stringed *sanshin* 三線 (Okinawan shamisen). Dalby would approve of Williamson's explanation of a traditional dyeing method called *shiborizome* 絞り染め, where she shows ten shades of natural indigo and provides their poetic names; Muller would appreciate the description of sumo wrestlers carrying out everyday tasks (riding the subway and making withdrawals from ATMs). Anyone should be able to appreciate the fresh, artistic approach through which Williamson portrays her year in Japan.

Simply put, Williamson's *A Year in Japan* is a book that deserves to be seen—and shared. For a preview, check out the author's Web site, www.katetwilliamson.com. Undergraduates, especially those with a taste for contemporary art, may well want to become students of Japanese culture after seeing this book.

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Notes

[1]See *Geisha* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), the fascinating ethnography and personal account of her training and life as the geisha Ichigiku.

[2]Formally, a *saijiki* is a glossary of seasonal terms and illustrative examples for haiku composers, but the term also describes the type of seasonal diary-like literary genre exemplified, in English, by Dalby's book. Several of the entries were originally composed by the author in Japanese, in fact. In a fascinating afterword, Dalby offers thoughts on writing in Japanese, a process that allowed her "to use Japanese cultural concepts as springboards" for her own points of view (p. 295). She even answers a question that is frequently asked of me: What is it like to compose in Japanese on a computer? (See p. 297 for her description of the process.)

[3]Bruce S. Feiler, *Learning to Bow: An American Teacher in a Japanese School* (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1991); Pico Iyer, *The Lady and the Monk: Four Seasons in Kyoto* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

[4]Feiler embarked on a similar mission: an attempt to search for Japan's "inviolable core" (*Learning to Bow*, p. 11); and Alan Booth, in *Looking for the Lost: Journeys Through a Vanishing Japan* (New York: Kodansha International, 1995), described a quest for what many Japanese themselves consider to be "truly Japanese" (p. 5).

[5]The phrase is frequently expressed as *Nihonjin yori Nihon-tsū na hito* 日本人より日本通な人.

[6]The confusion is exacerbated by the fact that the reader is unsure of the author's proficiency in Japanese. Early in the book, for example, we learn that the author "can't read Japanese" (p. 13). Late in the book, Muller offers this atypically descriptive contextualization of a conversation with a sacked salaryman: "He used English when he first spoke to me, but since then he's switched to Japanese. Sometimes I understand his words, sometimes not, but always from his expression, I know what he's saying" (p. 233). In his short story "The Fisherman Who Had Nobody to Go Out in His Boat with Him," William Maxwell described such an event as a "strangeness": two individuals "did not speak the same language but, each speaking his own, nevertheless understood each other perfectly." See *All the Days and Nights: The Collected Stories of William Maxwell* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 331–34: 332.

[7]Her first two books, coauthored with Jennifer Butefish and Maria Fernanda Soares, look at the worldwide Hello Kitty phenomenon.

[8]Valerie Kirschenbaum, *Goodbye Gutenberg: Hello to a New Generation of Readers and Writers* (New York: Global Renaissance Society, 2005), 209. Writes Kirschenbaum: "With designer books, we will experience a new flowering of the verbal and the visual arts" (p. 85).

[9]Believing that one's handwriting is telling of one's character, employers in Japan have traditionally required job applicants to handwrite their applications.

[10]Victoria Abbott Riccardi, another Westerner to write of her experiences in Japan, is also careful to emphasize the importance of the seasons—and the seasonality of cuisine—in Japan. In her case, instead of offering art, she flavors her narrative with seasonal recipes. See her *Untangling My Chopsticks: A Culinary Sojourn in Kyoto* (New York: Broadway, 2003).

Yasunari Kawabata, *The Old Capital*. Translated by J. Martin Holman. Emeryville, CA: Shoemaker & Hoard, 2006. xiv + 182 pages.

Translator J. Martin Holman (coordinator of Japanese Studies at the University of Missouri) exhibited samurai patience to wait almost twenty years after his initial 1987 translation of Kawabata's (1899–1972) novel *The*

Old Capital before penning this completely revised version. Why is it so difficult to capture the essence of a Japanese novel or city in an English translation? After the 1987 translation was published, numerous friends, colleagues, and students of Japanese read the English translation of Kawabata's classic city-bound saga of Kyoto (originally published in Japanese in 1962) and wrote to Holman with their suggestions, many of which Holman incorporated into his revision. Among the readers to offer suggestions was Hideki Masaki, who served as the interpreter for Emperor Hirohito from the late 1950s until the Emperor's death in 1989. Like one of the novel's main characters who was devoted to his fabric designs, Holman has returned to the novel and produced a fresh new rendition.

Set in post-War Japan, *The Old Capital* is the story of Chieko, the foundling child of a Kyoto textile merchant family. Kyoto (the "Old Capital") has long stood as the epicenter for everything quintessentially Japanese. Westerners fascinated with the intricacies of traditional Japanese culture continue to flock to the Kansai region of western Honshu, which is regarded as the cultural heart of Japan. The city on the Kamo River is famous for geishas, the tea ceremony, lavishly decorated kimonos, cherry blossoms, architecture, and innumerable Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines. Kyoto abounds with seasonal festivals which provide the backdrop to Kawabata's story, such as the Aoi, the Gion, the Jidai, and the Gozen Fire Festival. "Heian-kyō" 平安京 became the political capital of Japan in 794 C.E. and was known popularly as Miyako 都 or Kyōto 京都. Power shifted to Edo (Tokyo) in the twelfth century, but, ever since, Kyoto has retained its magical hold over the imagination of Westerners and Japanese alike.

Such background is necessary to appreciate Holman's excellent revised translation of Kawabata's *The Old Capital* because Kyoto is as much the protagonist as the young woman named Chieko. Chieko is the daughter of Sada Takichiro, a wholesale dry-goods merchant with an interest in traditional kimono and obi fabric designs, and his wife Shige, who helps him run the slowly declining business. Through a Sophoclean revelation, Chieko learns that Takichiro and Shige are not, in fact, her biological parents. Chieko was stolen or abandoned as an infant, left on the doorstep of one of Kyoto's traditional kimono shops. Takichiro and Shige have related several stories over the years about how they acquired Chieko, but she needs to know the truth. Somewhere on the mysterious Hiei-zan 比叡山 (Mount Hiei) outside of Kyoto amid the straight-growing Kitayama cedars, Chieko's twin sister Naeko works as a rustic village laborer. Chieko and Naeko are physical counterparts, so similar in appearance that Chieko's boyfriend cannot tell them apart. Chieko does not need to consult an oracle to tell her that the truth about her parentage must come out. Such tension provides the narrative framework for *The Old Capital*, but the real achievement of

Holman's revised translation is in the portrayal of the delicate beauty of an obi design or a violet flower. The fact that a middle-aged dry-goods merchant such as Takichiro would spend hours obsessing over his new floral-patterned obi design is just as important as the truth of Chieko's birth.

Perhaps the greatest challenge for the translator is to convey the subtle appreciation of beauty in the minds of the novel's characters. In his Nobel Prize–acceptance speech in 1968, Kawabata discussed the Japanese appreciation for art in terms of harmony between nature's seasons and human relationships: "When we see the beauty of the snow, when we see the beauty of the full moon, when we see the beauty of the cherries in bloom, when in short we brush against and are awakened by the beauty of the four seasons, it is then that we think most of those close to us, and want them to share the pleasure."

Such is an apt summary of *The Old Capital*, even though the story itself concerns the Sada family fortunes. For example, the father, Sada Takichiro, secludes himself in a remote Buddhist temple for several days to attain inspiration for a "heavenly [obi fabric] design." Takichiro is something of a dinosaur, an older gentleman in his late 50s living in post-War Kyoto at a time when the average consumer cares more about the latest electronics than new seasonal kimono patterns. Takichiro laments that most family loom-weaving businesses will probably vanish in the next twenty years, but that does not prevent him from an intense, sensitive devotion to beauty. It is one of Kawabata's favorite themes: the clash of traditional and modern values in post–World War II Japan. As a cloth wholesaler, Takichiro does not need to create new patterns to profit from the sale of goods. However, the lure of tradition and a religious devotion to artistic expression drives him to produce a tribute to his adopted daughter Chieko, who proclaims "Father's designs come from the depth of a spiritual wave" (p. 34). Such is the kind of statement at once typical of Kawabata and usually incomprehensible to the non-Japanese reader.

When Takichiro takes his new design to his friend Sosuke for weaving, he discusses secluding himself in a temple and studying the paintings of Swiss modernist Paul Klee (1879–1940) for inspiration. When Sosuke proclaims ignorance about Klee, Takichiro replies that Klee's paintings "have the quality of a dream that speaks to even the heart of an old Japanese like me" (p. 42). Such is the achievement of this new translation by J. Martin Holman: to speak to the heart regardless of the reader's age or nationality. In Holman's new translation of Kawabata's classic novel, though the fate of Chieko is in doubt, the subtle Japanese appreciation for beauty in art and nature is not.

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Donald Keene, *Frog in the Well: Portraits of Japan by Watanabe Kazan, 1793–1841*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. xiv + 289 pages.

Donald Keene has always skillfully employed depictions of people that assist readers both to realistically envision an individual's life and to gain a better understanding of Japan's history. His acclaimed *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852–1912* (Columbia University Press, 2002) and his lesser-noted but fine work, *Yoshimasa and the Silver Pavilion: The Creation of the Soul of Japan* (Columbia University Press, 2003), are but two excellent examples of the historically meaningful biographies Keene has produced. Keene's biography of Watanabe Kazan 渡邊華山 (1793–1841), samurai, Confucian, advocate of foreign learning, patriot, and—most important of all—painter, is valuable as a portrait of an exceptional man and as a work that depicts the politics and society of Tokugawa 徳川 Japan (1603–1868) in its declining years.

Kazan, born to an impoverished samurai family from the poor domain of Tahara in present-day Aichi Prefecture, grew up in Edo. As a young boy, he aspired to be a Confucian scholar, but his family's situation was so desperate that the leisure of full-time study was economically impossible for Kazan, the oldest of eight children. Kazan witnessed younger brothers placed in Buddhist orders and a sister sent away for employment with a retainer for the shogun in order that his family might survive. Despite poverty, Kazan educated himself in the Chinese Confucian classics as well as Chinese and Japanese literature. Early in his life, Kazan showed talent as a painter and was apprenticed to learn the craft to supplement family income. As a boy Kazan also served as the playmate of the son of the *daimyō* 大名 (feudal lord) to whom the family was pledged.

Kazan came of age in a time when Dutch and foreign learning were becoming increasingly difficult for Japanese intellectuals and policymakers to ignore. Reluctantly accepting his role of domain administrator, Kazan returned to Tahara as a young adult to assume bureaucratic duties and faithfully carried out routine tasks such as managing domain finances while continuing to be a part of Japanese literati circles that were absorbing more and more Dutch and foreign learning. Although the time constraints imposed by his administrative work and his efforts to produce and sell art to support his family never provided Kazan with the time to become a *Rangakusha* 蘭学者, or scholar of Dutch learning, he read voluminous amounts of accounts of life in the West in translation and interacted with like-minded Japanese intellectuals and Dutch visitors in his domestic travels. Most importantly of all, he became renowned in his lifetime as a painter of portraits that increasingly were affected by Western influences. Keene contends that Kazan was the first Japanese portrait artist to depict the individuality of his subjects. Keene's biography includes beautiful reproductions

of some of Kazan's greatest paintings. As an adult, Kazan first painted traditional *bunjin* 文人 (literati-style) landscape paintings with diminutive humans included in the scenery, a style he never entirely abandoned; but he later moved to portrait paintings, including two of the famous writer and calligrapher Ichikawa Beian 市河米庵 (1779–1858) that are striking in their realism.

Kazan is fascinating precisely because he had deep affinities for Confucian-influenced cultural and intellectual traditions yet also intensely sought knowledge of Western ways. Kazan, a patriot who was given the task of supervising coastal defenses in his domain, was imbued with filial piety and went to great lengths to praise and support his mother. At the same time, he looked down upon hide-bound Confucian traditionalists who spurned all Western influences. The title of the volume, "Frog in the Well," is taken from Kazan's writing where he asserted that devotees to blind tradition were like frogs stuck in a well that had no notion of the ocean.

Late Tokugawa Japan was not a society that tolerated open or revealed perpetrators of criticism of the regime. In the wake of the 1837 Morrison Incident, where the Tokugawa government repulsed an American merchant ship seeking trade by cannon fire, Kazan became more critical of government-seclusion policies. Eventually, partially due to the efforts of intellectual opponents who leaked one of his unpublished essays to government officials, Kazan was taken to Edo, imprisoned, tried, and found guilty of treason in 1839. Only the intercession of influential supporters prevented a beheading, and Kazan was sentenced to house arrest in Tahara. In 1840, ashamed that he had disgraced his family and fearful that his banned sale of portraits would bring further troubles, Kazan committed suicide in traditional samurai fashion in a shed adjacent to his home.

Today Kazan has been embraced by numbers of different Japanese because of his filial piety, his patriotism, his devotion to duty, and his fascinating art. Keene somewhat wistfully writes that it was a shame that Kazan was born about twenty or so years too soon, since his approach to learning from the West while retaining core Japanese and East Asian cultural values would have been valued in Meiji 明治 Japan (1861–1912). Be that as it may, scholars and teachers who read Keene's biography of Kazan are certain to gain a realistic feel for this complex and admirable individual—and for late Tokugawa Japan, with all its contradictions.

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Hideaki Matsuoka, *Japanese Prayer Below the Equator: How Brazilians Believe in the Church of World Messianity*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007. xviii + 175 pages.

Many observers in the West tend to view the concept of globalization as the spread of Western culture to the rest of the world, but the situation is in fact far more complex. My American college students have become passionate about aspects of modern Japanese pop culture; and today several new Japanese religions, such as the Sōka Gakkai 創価学会, the Seichō-no-Ie 生長の家, Perfect Liberty (P L *Kyōdan* 教団), and the Church of World Messianity, have found strong support from hundreds of thousands of non-ethnic Japanese throughout the world. Matsuoka Hideaki's *Japanese Prayer Below the Equator: How Brazilians Believe in the Church of World Messianity* is a fascinating case-study of this Japanese religion's rapid growth in Brazil.

The Church of World Messianity (*Sekai kyūsei kyō* 世界救世教), hereafter COWM, is a prominent Japanese "new religion" founded in 1935 by Okada Mokichi 岡田茂吉 (1882–1955), who derived many of his new faith's teachings from Ōmoto-kyō 大本教, an older "new religion" to which he had previously belonged. Greatly influenced by traditional Japanese Shintō, the heart of the religion centers around the concept of *Johrei* (loosely translated as "God's Healing Light"). Okada is said to have received a divine revelation which empowered him with *Johrei*, permitting him to channel the light of God into other people to remove illness, poverty, and strife throughout the world. Matsuoka reminds the reader that the aim of the COWM is to "realize Heaven on Earth," which means "a world without sickness, poverty and war" (p. 50).

Although the COWM is far smaller than very large Japanese new religious organizations like the Sōka Gakkai, its claims of a worldwide following of 800,000 make it one of the larger of Japan's new religions. Like several other of Japan's new religions, the COWM has made a major attempt to proselytize its faith in Brazil, which has one of the largest Japanese populations outside Japan. In Brazil, the Seichō-no-Ie and Perfect Liberty claim 2.5 million and 350,000 members respectively, placing them ahead of the 300,000 members claimed by the COWM.

Matsuoka, a Berkeley-trained Japanese anthropologist and psychiatrist, has done extensive fieldwork in Brazil focusing on why a Shintō-based Japanese religion would find acceptance in a vastly different culture. Contrary to what one might think, the COWM has the highest rate (60 percent) of non-ethnic Japanese participation of all the Japanese new religions in Brazil. A key reason for this development is that, starting in the 1950s, the first COWM missionaries from Japan immediately focused on propagating their faith in non-Japanese communities. Conversions initially came slowly

but increased very sharply in the 1980s and 1990s once the COWM began developing strong roots in various Brazilian communities.

Matsuoka lists five factors that have contributed to the strong success of Japanese new religions in Brazil:

1. Adoption of Portuguese;
2. Training of non-ethnic Japanese-Brazilian clergy;
3. Adoption of the Brazilian way of life and thinking;
4. Support from Japanese headquarters; and
5. Respect of the relationships between Brazilians and Japanese or Japanese culture.

According to Matsuoka, the fact that the COWM closely adheres to the first four items on this list can partially explain its success in Brazil.

Cultural adaptation, however, is not the only reason why these Japanese religions have achieved success. My studies of Sōka Gakkai activities in Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, Australia, and Canada indicate that the Sōka Gakkai's emphasis on individual self-empowerment to attain one's goals in life and achieving benefits (including greater happiness) here and now have won it a large following among better-educated, younger, and more self-motivated natives. Matsuoka voices a similar discovery about the COWM. He quotes Brazilian followers who are attracted by the religion's doctrine that "human beings can change their lives by themselves" (p. 161).

Matsuoka's work is valuable not only because of his study of the COWM in Brazil but also for his extensive introductory analysis of the history and significance of Japanese new religions in general. Because of these extensive background comments, this study is accessible to both specialists and general readers alike. The research and bibliography are superb, and the writing is clear. The author's experience of being on a Brazilian COWM pilgrim bus that was hijacked by four bandits—and the surprising reaction of the pilgrims to this situation—makes for fascinating reading (chapter 6). The only disappointing section of the book is the very brief conclusion that fails to discuss adequately the significance of many of Matsuoka's findings.

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Charles K. Armstrong, *The Koreas*. New York: Routledge, 2007. xii + 210 pages.

When developing a reading list for my college course on modern Korea, I found that it was not easy to find a book that deals simultaneously with both contemporary North Korea and South Korea. My main text, Bruce Cuming's brilliant *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), does have some chapters devoted to North Korea, but Cumings makes

only limited attempts at cross-comparisons. It was only when I read Armstrong's *The Koreas* that I found quite what I needed.

Armstrong, associate professor of history and director of the Center for Korean Research at Columbia University, is one of the leading experts on Korean affairs and author of many books on the subject. His short book covers a wide range of topics on contemporary Korea, including Korea's place in the world, South Korea's rise to globalism, the limits of North Korea's "self-reliance," the Korean diaspora, and the question of unity. Armstrong's clear, analytical writing in these chapters gives the student or general reader an excellent view of what is transpiring on the Korean peninsula today.

Armstrong's last and most interesting chapter, "One Korea, Many Koreas," focuses on the challenging question of Korean unity, which he views more as a distant ideal rather than as a readily attainable reality. He is not optimistic when he notes that "*there has never been a modern, independent Korean nation-state*. The Korean nation has been, and remains, a nation in fragments. Foreign domination, colonization, national division, and diaspora characterize Korea's entire 'long twentieth century' from the late nineteenth century to the present" (p. 168, original emphases). The division of Korea into two mutually exclusive regimes, he argues, contradicts the idea of Korean unity. "But division also reinforces unity as an ideal: the abstract goal of political unification elides both the real differences that have emerged between the two societies since division, and the differences within each of them. It almost goes without saying that after sixty years of radically different political, economic, and social systems, the two Koreas have evolved into two very different kinds of societies" (p. 169). The ideal goal of unity is also hampered by the huge economic gap between the two nations—not only would hordes of poverty-stricken North Koreans swamp South Korea's economy, but the vastly different cultural and social differences that have grown up between the two would make it hard, if not impossible, for people from both countries to live together. The reality is that we now have two very separate Koreas that are not at all amenable to unity anytime soon.

Armstrong's *The Koreas* is a clear and concise analysis of the impact of globalization on both North Korea and South Korea. He discusses the various ways we can look at Korea and Koreans: how in fact there are today many different Koreas—including large Korean communities in the West—and how Koreans and the Koreas look at (and to) each other. Armstrong offers a fascinating interweaving of facts and analyses to demonstrate just how complex the problems of Korea are today. Readers also learn how very important Korea has become in world affairs. There is no other recent publication on Korea that does as good a job in bringing together so much on Korea as does Armstrong's *The Koreas*.

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Michael E. Robinson, *Korea's Twentieth-Century Odyssey: A Short History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007. x + 220 pages.

Michael E. Robinson's latest work, *Korea's Twentieth-Century Odyssey: A Short History*, stands out among a number of recently published "contemporary" works on Korea. Robinson's effort overshadows other publications in Korean studies because of its clear, concise, succinct, and easily accessible writing style. In the preface, Robinson clearly states both his intentions behind writing this new history and the audience he is targeting: "my desire [is] to shape a simple and reader-friendly narrative, one that can be used in college-level courses as well as by the general reader" (p. ix).

Robinson, a Fulbright Scholar in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at Indiana University, draws upon a broad reservoir of his own personal experience and research—as well as upon the works of colleagues—to provide the reader with a modern history of a frequently overlooked country. Robinson follows Korea's troubled past from its isolated stance toward the middle and end of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910) to its divided twenty-first-century present. Emphasized in Robinson's history are foreign intervention, war, economic crisis, internal rebellion, and a revolutionary cultural change. Robinson differentiates autonomous Korea from a negative image of the peninsula as an "appendage" of others in his preface, eight chapters, and epilogue.

Robinson's title is certainly felicitous, because Korea's history has unquestionably been an odyssey. Robinson strongly defends his position that the roots of Korean modernity date not from 1945 but from well into the nineteenth century during the Chosŏn dynasty. In the nineteenth century, Korea's history was one of subjugation. Japan was opened to the United States in 1854, after which Western "modernity" flooded in. Japan, learning from the colonial methods of the West, applied similar tactics to the Koreans in 1876. The Kanghwah Treaty of that year essentially ended the autonomy of the Chosŏn dynasty with respect to Japan, opening the floodgates to a Japanese-flavored modernization.

By 1910, Japan officially annexed Korea as a colony, ending the Chosŏn dynasty and beginning a "colonial period" that Robinson claims to have lasted until at least 1945. In his interpretive narrative, Robinson successfully foreshadows a much later continental/cultural Korean split through the revolutionary resistance movements of this time by examining the different liberal-to-conservative factions of opposition to Japanese rule. He provides evidence of these early schisms in the clear development of numerous socialist and conservative factions developing outside the peninsula. He looks at the tug-of-war interference of the United States, China, and the U.S.S.R. as evidence of the amount of "factionalization" that would lead to the dividing of Korea.

Robinson follows the cultural problems that Korea faced during these times as well. He discusses the pros and cons of Japanese rule, such as the forced assimilation of Korean citizens and the modernization of the country. After the Demilitarized Zone was drawn in 1948, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK: socialist) and the Republic of Korea (ROK: democratic) were established as a result of Cold War role-playing by the Americans and Soviets, combined with the sociopolitical factions of Korean nationalists. Both sides continued to have difficulties in developing their governmental systems. Due in part to its dictatorial government, North Korea (DPRK) had a much more successful start than South Korea (ROK) in terms of economic and political development. In its early decades, North Korea was able to obtain a "head start" and implement its command economy, which prided itself on the philosophy of *chuch'e* 주체, or self-reliance. Comparatively, South Korea's beginnings were much more tumultuous, but the South would prove to be much more successful over time. South Korea, in the aftermath of the schism of the nation, suffered many years from violent struggles for a stable constitutional republic, going through several republics until its eventual success and economic growth. Thus, the roles of North Korea and South Korea are now reversed. North Korea, once the leader of the two, now suffers from extreme poverty at the hands of an oppressive government. South Korea's growing pains proved to be beneficial because it is now one of the fastest-growing economies in the world, in stark contrast to its northern brother.

In his book, Robinson states that many Korean problems were a result of outside interference and internal struggle; he supports this thesis by analyzing social currents of Korean identity dating from the nineteenth century in reaction to outside interference. Although one might be reticent to recommend a historian who has cited so few primary sources, Robinson transcends this potential weakness by drawing on information from his own knowledge as well as on his excellent scrutiny of secondary literature. Robinson's work successfully achieves what it set out to do: it provides the lay reader and scholar alike with a concise history of modern Korea.

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Madhur Jaffrey, *Climbing the Mango Trees: A Memoir of a Childhood in India.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006. xii + 297 pages.

In this charming book, actress-turned–cookbook author Madhur Jaffrey offers a first-person account of life in India during the 1930s and 1940s. Admittedly a "privileged product of British colonial India" (p. 201), she describes a comfortable life: a life filled with months-long summer retreats to

hill stations in the Himalayas, upper-class schooling, and sprawling manses and grounds populated by servants galore—cooks, gardeners, drivers, tailors, personal attendants, and more. The subtitle is accurate, as the work is more memoir than autobiography: Jaffrey is not strictly chronological in her presentation, and she occasionally brings the reader toward the present at the end of a vignette, offering what became of a particular cousin or how someone ultimately fared in his or her profession. She intertwines myth with memory and tells a compelling story of her family—an extended, multi-generational clan—and upbringing in Delhi and Kanpur. Many of the twenty-nine brief chapters, most fewer than ten pages, could effectively stand as essays on their own; some passages, in alternate form, had previously appeared in such venues as the *New Yorker*, *Gourmet*, and the *Financial Times*. Here, her chapters have descriptive titles that read like haiku as they illustrate what is to come: chapter 19, for example, is "Chicken Pox / Soup-Toast and Sewing / A Fancy-Dress Party" (p. 150); and chapter 17 is "Visiting the Old City / The Lane of Fried Breads / Monsoon Mushrooms" (p. 127). Jaffrey includes a brief prologue and epilogue; a family tree—on which she traces her father's line to Raja Raghunath Bahadur (1590–1665), finance minister to Emperor Aurangzeb (1618–1707); thirty-seven black-and-white family photographs, most well captioned; and, in an appendix, thirty-two "family recipes," each preceded by a contextualizing introduction.

Jaffrey was born on August 13, 1933, in her grandparents' "sprawling house" (p. 3) on the bank of the Yamuna River in Delhi.[1] Her family belonged to an upper subcaste of Hindus known as Mathur Kayasthas, who historically were scribes and administrators. She came from a "staid family of fully documented ancestors" (p. 159): "We were a conservative, buttoned-down Kayastha family but with forward-looking, intellectually liberal leanings" (p. 146). With two older brothers and two older sisters (and a younger sister to follow), she was "way beyond the heir and the spare" (p. 39), so her parents allowed her to be outspoken and independent: in short, everything her father, a factory manager, could not allow himself to be.

Like the esteemed British food writer Elizabeth David (1913–92), who also aspired to be an actress, Jaffrey had no reason to learn to cook as a child. In fact, she nearly failed her high school cooking exam—a component of her "lower mathematics" course that included both arithmetic and domestic science. (She ultimately learned to cook, after she moved abroad, through correspondence with her mother.) But, whenever near food, she must have kept her "antennae up and focused" (p. 212). Jaffrey displays a remarkable "taste memory" (p. 5) and is able to present detailed menus of family meals—both the exceptional and the routine, such as the summer luncheon with which she introduces chapter 2 (p. 17) or the breakfasts upon which she feasted with her family before she was old enough to attend

school (pp. 42–43). Once in school (a Catholic convent school in Kanpur, with instruction in English), her boxed lunches—packaged in tiffins, somewhat like Japanese *bentō* 弁当 containers—were delivered midday by the turbaned "bearer," who would prepare a table in the school's communal dining area by spreading out tablecloths and laying out crockery and cutlery. When class was dismissed and Jaffrey and her sisters arrived on the scene, the bearer would open the tiffin-carrier, spread out the containers of still-warm food, and place a serving spoon in each. Later, at Queen Mary's School in Delhi, she would share the contents of her tiffin-carrier (which she now brought to school herself) with Muslim, Jain, and Hindu friends (pp. 175–77):

> Tiffin-carriers were taken apart, tier after tier. What wonders did they contain today? [Muslim twins] Abida and Zahida could be relied upon to bring meats—and what meats they were! Goat cooked with spinach, browned onions, and cardamom, or goat with potatoes, cinnamon, and cloves. . . .
>
> . . . Sudha's food was as Jain as Abida and Zahida's was Muslim. It was completely vegetarian, devoid of onion and garlic, as those bulbs were thought to arouse base passions; devoid of tomatoes and beets, as their color was reminiscent of blood; and contained no real root vegetables (though rhizomes were acceptable), as pulling out roots killed the entire plant. The preservation of life demanded by her religion did not stop her food . . . from being scrumptious in a haughty, austere way, nor did it stop her from sharing her food with us.

Understandably, Jaffrey has much to offer about the food of India; but she also has a personal story to tell—that of a family domineered by her father's father, of an uncle who shunned his wife and own children and bestowed favors on his nieces and nephews, of a beloved cousin who died from rabies, and of members of an extended family who led bifurcated lives: between Muslim and Hindu, Britain and India, English and Hindi (or Urdu). While a student at the Catholic convent school, for example, where she studied "two histories" (British and Indian, p. 19), "what happened at home and what happened at school were unconnected" (p. 56).

Politics in the book, however, are not limited to family squabbles. In relating her family background, Jaffrey explains that her ancestors were royalists during the failed 1857 Mutiny. Children might not be expected to be aware of the purported rationalizations for war, but Jaffrey does include memories of World War II. One such memory involves one of her father's cousins who was not shy about his Nazi sympathies: "My poor father was appalled," she explains (p. 69). Her memories of Partition—when the British Indian Empire was divided into the sovereign states of India and Pakistan in August 1947—and the confusion and fear that descended on Delhi after Independence are particularly poignant. In short, "Delhi as we knew it ceased to exist" (p. 183). Many of Delhi's Muslims (including a number of Jaffrey's school friends) fled to Pakistan and were replaced by refugees from the Punjab. Jaffrey and her mother attended one of Mahatma Gandhi's

massive prayer meetings a few days before his assassination on January 30, 1948; she viewed his funeral procession from the Kingsway (now Rajpath) near the India Gate—the same spot where she and her father had witnessed the unfurling of the new national flag by Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) and Lord Mountbatten (1900–1979) the previous August. Although national and world history are woven throughout Jaffrey's narrative, students studying modern Indian history might be especially interested in chapters 3, 9, and 22.

Delhi cuisine was subsequently affected by the Punjabi influx after Partition. The clay oven (tandoor) and numerous Punjabi specialties were introduced and quickly permeated the newly emergent restaurant scene. These foods—including tandoori chicken, naan (flatbread), and saag paneer (fresh cheese with spinach)—are what much of the world today identifies as "Indian food."

Traditional festivals are described in the book, too, including Diwali (the "Festival of Lights") observed by Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, and some Buddhists at the Indian New Year; and the Hindu spring festival of Holi (the "Festival of Colors"). Indeed, the contrast between tradition and modernity is another undercurrent in the text. Regarding why certain traditions were followed or why places had certain names, Jaffrey offers the following: "Delhi was an ancient, idiosyncratic city. I never asked the questions, and my mother never explained" (p. 130). Elsewhere, Jaffrey's mother "never explained, we never asked, and in India you never know" (p. 41). And "in India, you rarely lose a tradition. You simply layer one on top of another" (p. 147). For example, matchmakers were often ceremonial barbers who consulted horoscopes to determine the suitability of marriage partners. Before one of Jaffrey's uncles married a woman out of love whose horoscope did not "match," "a disastrous marriage ending in the quick death of the bride" was predicted (p. 73). The prophesy was fulfilled when the bride died of typhoid six months after the wedding. Jaffrey does not editorialize further, but her implication is nevertheless that some traditions perhaps best remain unquestioned.

Jaffrey's story essentially ends with her grandfather's death in 1950 and her subsequent departure from India to study acting in London. (But the prefaces to her recipes in the appendix include additional personal stories and vignettes.) Now residing in New York City, Jaffrey was awarded an honorary Commander of the Order of the British Empire by Queen Elizabeth II in 2004 for her achievements in film, television, and cookery and for serving as a cultural ambassador for India in the United Kingdom and United States. This honor, and other facts about her later life—involving, for example, her acting career, her (second) marriage to an American violinist with the New York Philharmonic, and her fame as a cookbook author and television personality—are revealed in her book. These revelations are not braggadocios but are rather included as if to show how her formative

experiences as a child in India have played themselves out, sometimes with irony, but always with reason.[2] Memoirs, indeed, allow their authors the space to make sense of their lives. For Jaffrey, food and family were always primary concerns. When you read her book, make sure a kitchen is near at hand: You will surely be inspired to recreate some of the flavors and aromas that she masterfully describes in her tasty offering.

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Notes

[1]The Yamuna River is pictured on the cover of this volume of the *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*. (See inside back cover for a description of the cover image.)

[2]Writes former *New York Times* restaurant critic Mimi Sheraton about memoirs: "It is much easier to trace past events that determined present circumstances than to predict which current activities will inform our future." See her *Eating My Words: An Appetite for Life* (New York: William Morrow, 2004), 130.

Heonik Kwon, *After the Massacre: Commemoration and Consolation in Ha My and My Lai.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006. xiv + 217 pages.

After the Massacre poses what seems to be, at first, a simple question: How do people remember the civilian massacres in central Vietnam a generation later? In this highly attentive ethnographic work, Heonik Kwon (University of Edinburgh) demonstrates how domestic ritual practice in central Vietnam is contributing to the decomposition of the Cold War's bipolar order.

This book is one among several recent studies of ritual practice in Vietnam, but it is one of the few studies situated in central Vietnam. Most people in Vietnam and the United States are familiar with My Lai, the site of a 1968 civilian massacre by the U.S. military. Less familiar is the massacre at Ha My, a village just south of Da Nang, carried out by Republic of Korea Marines in the same year. While other studies have focused primarily on the consequences of economic reform, Kwon frames his study in terms of the bipolar order of the Cold War. Although these reforms are central to the moral economy of ancestor worship, Kwon focuses on the profound discontinuities in people's historical experiences of the war. In the north, volunteer soldiers fought in distant battlefields (p. 160), but in central Vietnam, the distinction between "civilian" and "soldier" collapsed under the weight of total war. During the war, people in central Vietnam were torn between "this side" and the "other side." After the war, civilian deaths were marginalized as the state commemorated dead soldiers as heroes.

Domestic ritual practice, Kwon argues, unsettled the "command economy" of state-sponsored commemoration through the ambidextrous human position.

In ancestor worship, people orient themselves first toward their ancestral altar and then toward an altar dedicated to ghosts. It is this movement from one side to the other that Kwon names as "ambidextrous." Drawing on fieldwork carried out in central Vietnam between 1994 and 2000, Kwon records sightings of ghosts, speeches by village elders, and testimonies of survivors to demonstrate how civilian deaths were revalued through domestic ritual practice. As people exhumed the dead and made claims on the bones as kin, they contributed to the decomposition of the Cold War. And in commemorating these deaths, people found consolation for the ravages of war.

In chapter 1, Kwon introduces the local system of values that he calls the "bipolarity of death." This bipolarity is based on the duality of life and death, a structural order that distinguishes a "good death," when an individual dies at home of old age, from a "bad death" that happens in the streets. Worse yet is a "grievous death" caused by injustice that imprisons the soul, preventing its liberation from human remains. Kwon invokes the work of anthropologist Robert Hertz to argue for an ambidextrous human body. "Right" and "left" signify more than bodily orientation; they also anticipate the bipolar order of the Cold War. This bipolarity did not end in 1975; it was reinforced in state commemorations that privileged the deaths of soldiers or revolutionary martyrs but marginalized civilian deaths.

In chapter 2, Kwon provides a people's history of the villages and the massacres. Drawing on published reports and testimonies of survivors, he recounts the legendary founding of Ha My, residents' participation in anticolonial activities, and the cautious return of villagers from strategic hamlets just weeks before the massacre. The village, located in a highly militarized zone, had a long history of revolutionary activity. But the villagers also had personal relationships with foreign soldiers. Kwon observes that even villagers had difficulty defining their collective historical identity: Were they Vietcong or not Vitecong?

The "zero-sum coherence" of the Cold War, argues Kwon, was challenged as people reappropriated the civilian dead as kin. In chapter 3, Kwon describes the reburial movement of the 1990s, in which people reclaimed dispersed bodies within the "proprietorship of a kin group" (p. 69). People legitimated their desires for economic prosperity by reconstructing tombs, temples, and houses. These disparate and deeply personalized sites of memory were far more comprehensive than the state's "command economy" of hero worship. Ancestor worship, or the affirmation of genealogical identity, also revitalized the problem of ghosts. In chapter 4, Kwon asks, "When we commemorate an ancestor who died a tragic death, in which direction do we turn—the ancestral side or the ghost side?" (p. 93). Kwon demonstrates the

intimacy and inventiveness by which survivors reconciled commemoration of these tragic deaths within the structures of ancestor worship.

Scholars have identified how state-sponsored tributes to fallen soldiers in the twentieth century have been central to the production of peoplehood. In chapter 5, Kwon draws on the literature of European mortuary practices following World War I in order to examine why the revival of ancestor worship stirred up political debate. While the Vietnamese government promoted the return of the market, administrators regarded domestic rituals as relics of the past. Kwon presents a compelling interpretation of the Heroic Mother, the Vietnamese citizenry's substitute for dead sons, a practice that only concealed the "conceptual and moral crisis embedded in the political institution of war hero worship" (p. 112). At the village level, the disjuncture between state-sponsored hero worship and ritual practice was even more apparent. State memorials could not be integrated into village ritual practice because people demanded the bodies of soldiers be returned to the domain of kinship (p. 117). By attributing individual biographies to the collective mass, domestic ritual practice worked against the state's efforts to consolidate and contain the meaning of sacrifice.

In chapter 6, Kwon examines a specific controversy over the meaning of "self-sacrifice." Based on detailed recollections and subsequent meetings with survivors, Kwon details how survivors of the Ha Gia massacre, which followed just weeks after the Ha My massacre, demanded that civilians be recognized alongside soldiers, thus challenging the state's classification of dead bodies into "civilian" and "soldier." By doing so, the survivors struggled to find ways to liberate the civilian dead from their "unjust deaths" and thus to resolve the crisis in the social foundation of commemoration (p. 127).

In the 1990s, Vietnamese journalists and a Korean historian brought the event to the public, which ultimately led to a delegation from the Korean Embassy to Ha My (p. 144). Chapter 7 examines the controversies over the Memorial for 135 Victims in Ha May, which had been dedicated by Republic of Korea veterans (p. 143). This event did not precipitate reconciliation. It instead sparked a sharp rebuttal from Korean and Vietnamese government representatives over how the event had been memorialized in stone. Vietnamese government representatives insisted on representations capable of "transcending the tragic past, while not forgetting it" (p. 145). In chapter 8, Kwon returns to his original claim: how Vietnamese domestic ritual practice has contributed to the decomposition of the Cold War. He rightly points out that the postcolonial perspective merely reinforces the hegemony of the Vietnamese state's system of values, which has marginalized civilian deaths and altogether excluded the deaths of South Vietnam veterans. Although ancestor worship is also premised on exclusion, it is precisely this exclusion that makes possible the recognition of others. In

this chapter, Kwon presents an extended example of one such ghost, Ba Ba Linh, with whom people enter into individual contracts.

Although Kwon's analysis acknowledges the processes of exclusion, the inequalities generated by ritual expenditures are not the explicit subject of his study. He describes how villagers whose relatives died in smaller events are like "ghosts" in front of the memorials to the massacres at Ha My. He also mentions murmured criticism that some families can afford to hire ritual specialists to perform reburial ceremonies, but others cannot (p. 135). This dilemma, which might have been the focus of another scholar, was not Kwon's project. He reminds his readers that "the new unity of kinship is not an entirely democratic entity" (p. 163). *After the Massacre*'s timely contribution rests in Kwon's careful study of the commemoration of ancestors and ghosts that unsettles the bipolar order of the Cold War. By facing first toward genealogical continuity and then to the fluid yet still place-based, unassimilated others, people who returned to the village disrupted the terrifying logic that contributed to the horrifying civilian massacres.

As is the case with all significant ethnographies, Kwon provides a historically situated study that resonates far beyond the immediacy of the specific locale. His book is a compelling addition to the literature on violence, memorialization, and commemoration. It is a book that should be read by scholars interested in the Cold War, the Vietnam War (or American War), and post-War Vietnam. It offers a timely addition to the fields of comparative religion and war. It also points to the problematic distinctions between "soldier" and "civilians" during war. In *After the Massacre*, Kwon offers a work that is itself a form of commemoration: "all human death—'good death' or 'bad death' and from 'this side' or 'that side'—has the inalienable right to be grieved and consoled" (p. 183).

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Southeast Review of Asian Studies
Volume 30 (2008), pp. 261–69

Program of the 47TH Annual Meeting

Sponsored by the University of South Carolina
Held at the Hilton Oceanfront Resort, Hilton Head
January 18–20, 2008

Friday, January 18

4:00 PM – 7:00 PM	**Registration**
7:00 PM – 8:00 PM	**Plenary Session**: "Overview of the History of Yoga, with Demonstration," STACEY COLLINS, Certified Anusara Yoga Instructor

Saturday, January 19

7:00 AM – 8:30 AM	**Executive Committee Meeting**
8:00 AM – 5:00 PM	**Registration & Book Display**
8:30 AM – 4:00 PM	**Workshop for K–12 Teachers**
8:30 AM – 10:15 AM	**Session I** (*Panels A–F*)
10:15 AM – 10:30 AM	**Break**
10:30 AM – 12:15 PM	**Session II** (*Panels G–L*)
12:15 PM – 1:45 PM	**Luncheon & Business Meeting**, MARK RAVINA, SEC/AAS President, presiding
1:45 PM – 2:00 PM	**Break**
2:00 PM – 3:45 PM	**Session III** (*Panels M–R*)
3:45 PM – 4:00 PM	**Break**
4:00 PM – 5:45 PM	**Session IV** (*Panels S–X*)
5:45 PM – 6:00 PM	**Break**
6:00 PM – 7:00 PM	**Presidential Address**: "Chinese Conceptions of 'Rights': From Mencius to Mao—and Now," ELIZABETH PERRY (*Harvard University*), President, Association of Asian Studies

Sunday, January 20

6:45 AM – 7:30 AM	**Yoga Session** (with STACEY COLLINS)
7:30 AM – 8:30 AM	**Executive Committee Meeting**
8:00 AM – 12:15 PM	**Registration & Book Display**
8:30 AM – 10:15 AM	**Session V** (*Panels Y–DD*)
10:15 AM – 10:30 AM	**Break**
10:30 AM – 12:15 PM	**Session VI** (*Panels EE–JJ*)

Workshop for K–12 Teachers

Popular Religion East & West: Coping with Grief, Loss & Fear
James Leavell (*Furman University*), Facilitator

Panels

A. **Poetry & Place in the Chinese Artistic Tradition**
Paul Winther (*Eastern Kentucky University*), Chair
Robert A. Jones (*University of Louisville*), "Centaurs on the Silk Road: Recent Discoveries of Hellenistic Textiles in Western China"
Li-ling Hsiao (*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*), "The Multiple Voices of a Masterpiece: Poetry and Image in *Spring Saunter on a Mountain Path*, by Ma Yuan (Active 1180–1224)"
Jie Guo (*University of South Carolina*), "The Connoisseur's Eye: The Erotic in Hans van Gulik's Reading of Late Ming Erotic Prints"
Diana Tenckhoff (*Southwestern University*), "Zha Shibiao's Paintings of the Huangshan: Politics, Antiquity, and the Mountains of the Immortals"

B. **India: Identity & History**
David Blaylock (*Eastern Kentucky University*), Chair
Sai Ma (*Johns Hopkins University*), "Declined Social Welfare Regimes in India during the Post-Reform Period"
Hal W. French (*University of South Carolina*), "Gandhi's Grandchildren: The Legacy Continued"

C. **Buddhism in East Asia: Animals & Texts**
John M. Thompson (*Christopher Newport University*), Chair
Barbara Ambros (*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*), "Familiar Bonds Beyond Death: Animal Mortuary Rites in Contemporary Japan"
John M. Thompson (*Christopher Newport University*), "The Tower of Power's Finest Hour: Stupa Construction and Veneration in the *Lotus Sutra*"

D. **From Other to Ren: Asian Studies in a Humanities Course for the Homeless**
Barbara Tucker (*Trident Technical College*), Chair
Mary Ann Kohli (*Trident Technical College*), "A History of Clemente in Charleston"
Sandy Lopez (*Trident Technical College*), "Mentoring Clemente Students"
Katharine Purcell (*Trident Technical College*), "Teaching East Asian Studies in the Clemente Course"

E. **Envisioning China from the Margins of Empires & Nation-States**
Donald Sutton (*Carnegie Mellon University*), Chair
Donald Sutton (*Carnegie Mellon University*), "On 'Blending the Nationalities (*Minzu Ronghe*)': Local Official and Unofficial Perspectives at a World Heritage/Pilgrimage Site in Northern Sichuan"

JOHN E. HERMAN (*Virginia Commonwealth University*), "Ming China's 'Imagined' Multiethnic Southwest"
CHRISTOPHER VASANTKUMAR (*Hamilton College*), "'Nationalities' Beyond the Nation? Overseas Tibetan Compatriots and the 'Chinese' in 'Overseas Chinese'"
JACOB WHITTAKER (*Wake Forest University*), "Thinking about Ethnicity in Early Modern Wuding: Envisioning Han and Yi from Both Sides of the Ethnic Divide"

F. **The Politics of Communism in Mid–Twentieth Century China & Vietnam**
LAWRENCE KESSLER (*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*), Chair
QUAN MANH HA (*Texas Tech University*), "The 'Fire' in Đặng Thùy Trâm's *Last Night I Dreamed of Peace*"
JOSEPH YICK (*Texas State University–San Marcos*), "The Degeneracy of the Guomingang Regime: The Case of *Juntong* in Beiping in 1949"
LAWRENCE KESSLER (*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*), "Saving Zhou Enlai and Other Revolutionary Adventures: A British Businessman in China, 1929–50"

G. **The Application of Technology in the Teaching of Chinese Language: Distance Learning, iPod & Podcast Projects** (Roundtable)
JOHNNY WAGGENER (*Emory University*), Moderator & Panelist
YU LI (*Emory University*), Panelist
HONG LI (*Emory University*), Panelist
JING ZHANG (*Emory University*), Panelist

H. **Japan through Modern Literature & Film: The Uses of Vision & Visual Texts**
CHARLES SHULL (*Lynchburg College*), Chair
ELAINE GERBERT (*University of Kansas*), "Adventures in Seeing: Photography and Language in the Writings of Uno Kōji and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō"
DAVID ROSS (*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*), "Metaphor and the Premodern Mode in Hirokzau Kore-eda's *Maborosi*"
CHARLES SHULL (*Lynchburg College*), "*Okoge* v. *Hush*: Global or Local Lives and Representation"

I. **From the Symbolic to the Everyday: Perspectives of Chinese Cinema**
RICHARD LETTERI (*Furman University*), Chair
VIVIAN SHEN (*Davidson College*), "The Body in Zhang Yimou's *Judou*"
JIWEI XIAO (*Fairfield University*), "From *Eat Drink Man Woman* to *Lust, Caution*: Everyday Detail and Ang Lee's Vision of Reality"
HARRY KUOSHU (*Furman University*), "The Latter Fifth Generation and the Urban 'Status Movie'"
RICHARD LETTERI (*Furman University*), "*Shanghai Dreams* and the Impossibility of Home"

J. **Popular & Elite Spaces in Modern Chinese Literature & Film**
MICHAEL GIBBS HILL (*Columbia University*), Chair
CHRISTOPHER REA (*Columbia University*), "Where Martyrs Learned to Smile: 1930s Shanghai Leftist Cinema and the Unlikely Antecedents of Mao's Divine Comedy"
ANDY RODEKOHR (*Harvard University*), "Crowds and Collective Subjectivities in Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai"
XIAOQING LIU (*University of South Carolina*), "From Larva to Butterfly: Ding Ling's 'Miss Sophia's Diary' and Wei Hui's *Shanghai Baby*"
WENJI ZHOU (*University of South Carolina*), "New Realism or New Occidentalism? The Struggle of the Sixth Generation Films"

K. **Japanese Imperialism & Its Legacies**
NOELL WILSON (*University of Mississippi*), Chair
KAZUO YAGAMI (*Savannah State University*), "Konoe and Hull: Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity and the Monroe Doctrine"
JONATHAN GLADE (*University of Chicago*), "Discarded Memories and Longing for Empire"
MICHAEL BESS (*Georgia Southern University*), "Your Loyal Servant: Yoshida Shigeru and the Chrysanthemum Throne"
DANIEL A. MÉTRAUX (*Mary Baldwin College*), "Religion, Politics, and Constitutional Reform in Japan: How the Sōka Gakkai and Kōmeitō Have Thwarted Conservative Attempts to Revise the 1947 Constitution"

L. **"Regionalizing" the History of Dynastic Change, Trade & Punishment in Premodern East Asia**
JAMES ANDERSON (*University of North Carolina at Greensboro*), Chair
KWOK-YIU WONG (*Susquehanna University*), "Massacre at the White Horse Station: Dynastic Transition and Literati Culture in Early Tenth-Century China"
JAMES ANDERSON (*University of North Carolina at Greensboro*), "'Slipping through the Holes': The Tenth–Thirteenth-Century Sino–Vietnamese Coastal Frontier as a Subaltern Trade Network"
DAVID NELSON (*Austin Peay State University*), "The Consolidation of Place and Punishment in Seventeenth-Century Japan: Kanazawa Prisons and Criminal Justice"
MARC JASON GILBERT (*Hawai'i Pacific University*), "Not in a Fit of Absence of Mind: The British East Indian Company's Empire-Building in Early Eighteenth-Century Borneo"

M. **Japan: An Online Teaching Model**
LUCIEN ELLINGTON (*University of Tennessee at Chattanooga*), Chair
LUCIEN ELLINGTON (*University of Tennessee at Chattanooga*), "Japan in World History"
CRAIG LAING (*University of Tennessee at Chattanooga*), "Japanese Cultural Landscapes"
ALICE TYM (*University of Tennessee at Chattanooga*), "Centripetal Forces in Japan"

N. **Identity & Modernization in the Koreas**
MICHAEL J. SETH (*James Madison University*), Chair
MICHAEL J. SETH (*James Madison University*), "Myths and National Identity: The Case of Korea's Tan'gun"
CHARLES MONTGOMERY (*San Jose City College*), "Representing Industrialization: Infinity and Inversion in Selected Works of Kim Yong-Ik and Cho Sehui"
JU YOUNG JIN (*Indiana University*), "The City of the Specter: The Image of Seoul in Kim Ki-duk's Film, *3-Iron*"

O. **Chinese Overseas: Immigrants, Sojourners, Tourists**
DOROTHEA MARTIN (*Appalachian State University*), Chair
DOROTHEA MARTIN (*Appalachian State University*), "Chinese Migration into Latin America: Diaspora or Sojourn?"
JOHN G. THORNELL (*North Carolina Wesleyan College*), "How Many Steps Are There to the Front Door of Your House? Interrogation of Paper Families during the Chinese Exclusion Act"
JANE MARIE RUSSELL (*Florida International University*), "Seal of Approval: Modern Chinese Outbound Tourism and Approved Destination Status"

P. **Everyday Life, Nation & the World: Perspectives from China & Japan in the 1920s & '30s**
REBECCA KARL (*New York University*), Chair
MAX WARD (*New York University*), "Tenkō and (Inter-)National Crisis in Inter-War Japan"
LORRAINE WONG (*New York University*), "From the Ordinary Life to the Beautiful Life: *Mei*, Life, and Politics in 1930s China"
QIAN ZHU (*New York University*), "Life of the Masses and Mass Politics: A Lost History in 1930s China"
MAGGIE CLINTON (*New York University*), "New Life for the Nation and the World, 1934–37"

Q. **Art, Architecture & Globalization in the Construction of Japanese Cultural Nationalism**
STEVEN E. GUMP (*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*), Chair
MASAKO RACEL (*Kennesaw State University*), "Okakura Kakuzō's East and West"
MOHAMMAD GHARIPOUR (*Georgia Institute of Technology*), "The Transformation of Japanese Architecture from a Modern to Postmodern Age"
ROY STARRS (*University of Otago*), "Japanese Cultural Nationalism in an Age of Globalization"

R. **Political & Social Changes in Contemporary China**
YUSHENG YAO (*Rollins College*), Chair
YUSHENG YAO (*Rollins College*), "Rise of the New Elite in Chinese Villages: A Study of Two Village Elections in Rural Northern China"
HONG ZHANG (*University of Central Florida*), "Venturing into Uncharted Territories: The Phenomenon of Sister Furong"

YUAN GAO (*University of Memphis*), "Deconstructing the Provincial Identity with Fiction: Jia Pingwa"
JAMES YOXALL (*Mary Baldwin College*), "The Effect of HIV/AIDS on the Orphan Population of China"

S. **Religious Practice in Asia: Ecology, Literacy & Ocular Behavior**
WAN-LI HO (*Emory University*), Chair
GERALD CARNEY (*Hampden-Sydney College*), "The Religious Significance of Water Distribution in Vrindavan"
WAN-LI HO (*Emory University*), "Believing in Earthly Pragmatism: Taiwanese Women's Environmental Groups and Interreligious Cooperation"
WILLIAM WOMACK (*Samford University*), "Global Literate Networks and Karen Social Identity in Colonial Burma"
THOMAS B. ELLIS (*Appalachian State University*), "The Eyes Have It: On the Nature of Hindu Ocular Behavior"

T. **The East Asian Economy in the Twenty-First Century: Export Trends, Intellectual Innovation, Property & Clusters**
WILLIAM HEAD (*Robins Air Force Base*), Chair
HOWARD H. COCHRAN JR. (*Belmont University*) & DEAN A. PETERSON (*Nashville Export Assistance Center*), "Asian Merchandise Export Trends"
DAVID J. MOSER (*Belmont University*), "Digital Music Distribution in China: Opportunities and Challenges"
YOUNGMIN JO (*Indiana University*), "The State and Innovation Clusters in Global Networks: A Comparative Case Study of China's Zhongguancun Science Park and South Korea's Daedeok Valley"

U. **Engendering the Nation in Modern China: Women Reformers, Social Authority & Historiography**
KAREN GARNER (*Empire State College*), Chair
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Minutes of the 47TH Annual Business Meeting

Southeast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies
Hilton Oceanfront Resort, Hilton Head, South Carolina
Saturday, January 19, 2008

These preliminary minutes are subject to approval at the 48TH Annual Business Meeting in Atlanta, Georgia.

President MARK RAVINA called the annual business meeting to order at 12:56 PM in Commodore Halls A & B of the Hilton Oceanfront Resort, invoking the second-century B.C.E. *Zhouli* 周禮 (*Rites of Zhou*) to stress the ritual resonance of the event.

Local Arrangements Chair HAL FRENCH officially welcomed the group on behalf of the University of South Carolina, its Walker Institute for International Studies, the Asian Studies Center, and the Department of Religious Studies. This meeting marked the third time that the SEC has met on Hilton Head Island, the earlier meetings being in 1993 and 1995. Only 25 of the 148 registrants for 2008 were at either of the earlier meetings. On all three occasions, FRENCH has been able to work with Hilton events planner DONNA MAHONEY; she and the entire Hilton staff have been most helpful. FRENCH recognized JAMES LEAVELL and his Outreach group—small in number but great in quality. The Outreach program, a K–12 workshop for teachers that is entitled "Popular Religion East and West: Coping with Grief, Loss, and Fear," is being held in Promenade 8; all are welcome to attend its sessions. Also, Scholar's Choice is giving discounts on books on its display table. From the floor, MARC GILBERT reported that University of Hawai'i Press books on display were selling for $20 (hardcover) and $10 (paperback).

President RAVINA introduced AAS President ELIZABETH PERRY (*Harvard*), noting that, among the illustrious scholars who have held the national presidency, she was truly distinguished for the quality and quantity of her work: some fourteen books in seventeen years. He considered the SEC truly privileged to welcome her. Her presidential address, beginning at 6:00 PM, will be "Chinese Conceptions of 'Rights': From Mencius to Mao—and Now." President RAVINA then introduced members of the Executive Committee of the SEC, singling out KEN BERGER as Web Master of the "spiffiest Web page" of the AAS regional conferences.

President RAVINA then asked for the Auditors' Report on the SEC books: HO WAN-LI and MARTHA SHOCKEY reported finding no irregularities.

Minutes of the 2007 Annual Business Meeting in Nashville, Tennessee, which had been distributed by Secretary–Treasurer CHARLOTTE BEAHAN, were approved as written.

Program Chair NOELL WILSON presented the Program Report. Presenters had come from all over the United States, and six had come from abroad—from five different countries—to attend the conference. From a deep and rich pool of applicants, three SEC graduate travel grants were awarded: DONNA MOTE (*Emory*), JANE MARIE RUSSELL (*Florida International*), and SALLY JOLLES (*Florida State*). Program Chair WILSON recognized Local Arrangements Chair FRENCH for his hard work—and the University of South Carolina for its sponsorship of the conference.

Vice President JIM GILLAM, chair of the Nominating Committee, announced the slate of candidates for 2007–8: CHERYL CROWLEY (*Emory*, in absentia) and DANIEL MÉTRAUX (*Mary Baldwin College*) had agreed to stand for the position of Vice President. Nominations were solicited from the floor; there were none. ANTHONY CLARK (*Alabama*) and TOM PYNN (*Kennesaw State*) were the nominees for At-Large Member of the Executive Committee. Candidates stood; and there were no nominations from the floor. Ballots were distributed along with the instructions that only dues-paying SEC members were to vote.

From the floor, ED KREBS highlighted events that would occur in Atlanta during the national meeting of the AAS in April; among them were a lecture on the *Tale of Genji*.

As STEVEN GUMP, the new editor of the *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* (*SERAS*), came forward with his report, President RAVINA commented that most of the other AAS regional conferences that still produced journals of any type had gone fully online with their offerings, but the SEC had gone in the other direction. RAVINA saw as our model the *MMLA Journal*, the journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association, publication in which is recognized as part of a sound tenure portfolio. RAVINA asked the attendees to send the *SERAS* good manuscripts, to ask institutional libraries to order it, and to tell colleagues about it. *SERAS* is now indexed by Thomson Gale, a major indexer; the goal is eventual indexing in Project Muse or JSTOR, as well. Editor GUMP reminded all attendees to be sure to pick up their copy of the 2007 issue, now at the registration desk, and reported that members of the Editorial Board and new Editorial Advisory Board are working to make the *SERAS* an even better journal.

President RAVINA reported that his institution, Emory University, through the Dean of Emory College, the Emory Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the Institute for Comparative and International Studies, and the East Asian Studies Program, had agreed to contribute an annual subvention of $6,000 for *SERAS* underwriting and editorial assistance. Such sponsorship gives a certain luster to the sponsoring institution. He challenged those present to get their school to emulate Emory by stealing the

SERAS for $10,000! He acknowledged and thanked all the Emory deans involved for their generosity.

Council of Conferences (COC) Representative CHARLOTTE BEAHAN reported on the COC meeting held in conjunction with the April 2007 AAS meeting in Boston. The COC solicited input from the SEC Executive Committee and members as to what more the COC can do to serve its regional conferences. Membership in the AAS continues to decline, though revenues have held steady due to the sliding scale of dues (older members pay larger amounts). KEN GEORGE, editor of the *Journal of Asian Studies*, was forced to step down since his institution, the University of Wisconsin–Madison, was unable to continue to provide necessary financial support; as of April 2007, no new editor had been chosen, though candidates were being interviewed at the AAS meetings. ANAND YANG, 2006 AAS president, met with the COC and expressed his regret that more members of the regional conferences did not attend the national meetings.

In her role as Secretary–Treasurer, BEAHAN directed attention to copies of the 2007 Treasurer's Report, placed at each table. She noted that the treasury was unnaturally full on December 31, 2007, because of payments due in 2007 but not actually made until January 2008: $1,000 in annual AAS subvention money and $3,143 in *SERAS* printing costs. If those amounts had been paid in 2007, the SEC would have taken in less than it disbursed. For the organization, *SERAS* is the single biggest expense, and we should therefore be grateful for Emory riding to the rescue with the subvention mentioned earlier by President RAVINA. Finally, Secretary–Treasurer BEAHAN attempted to lay a guilt trip on all those presenters on the program—some thirty plus—who had yet to pay the requisite SEC dues. She promised to be available to collect dues during the remainder of the conference.

President RAVINA asked those present to continue to encourage their students to submit papers for the Undergraduate and Graduate Student Paper Prize competitions. He introduced Past President WILLIAM HEAD, chair of the Graduate Student Paper Prize Committee, who first encouraged faculty members to get their graduate students going: the SEC is more welcoming of presentations by graduate students than some other regional AAS conferences. Three very good graduate papers had been entered in the competition this year; the winner was DANA IRWIN (*Emory*) for his paper, "Sheikhs and Samurai: Léon Roches and the French Imperial Project." His faculty sponsor was MARK RAVINA. IRWIN stood to receive the applause of attendees. He was encouraged to submit his paper to the COC competition for a panel of regional graduate paper prizewinners at the 2009 AAS national meeting in Chicago. His paper will also be published in the 2008 *SERAS*.

LUCIEN ELLINGTON, editor of *Education About Asia* (*EAA*), spoke of the honor of representing *EAA* at his home regional meeting. *EAA* has now been published for twelve years; it is reviewed and scholarly in aim, but the intended audience is non-specialists. *EAA* has three thousand readers, di-

vided evenly between undergraduate teachers and secondary teachers. AAS members can subscribe at a discounted rate of $15 per year (for three issues); non-AAS members can subscribe for $25 per year. The current (Winter 2007) issue focuses on Asian governments, including articles on Japanese politics and Indian democracy. The Spring 2008 issue will look at teaching about marriage and the family in Asia. ELLINGTON solicited thematic and non-thematic articles for future issues. In Fall 2008, the focus will once again be on teaching Asia in world history courses; the deadline for submissions is May 15, 2008. The Winter 2008 issue will approach Asia through youth culture, with a September 10, 2008, deadline for submissions. ELLINGTON also called attention to a series started by PETER FROST that produces fifty-page single-issue booklets for class use in survey-level undergraduate and high school Advanced-Placement classes. Topics include Japanese pop culture, the postwar rise of Asian economies, and teaching about castes.

From the floor, DOROTHEA MARTIN reported that the *Bulletin of World History* has been cooperating with *EAA* to put out a Spring 2009 issue on Asia in world history.

Vice President JIM GILLAM reported that the 48TH annual SEC conference would meet in Atlanta in January 2009, in the facilities of the Emory University Conference Center. HO WAN-LI will serve as local arrangements chair, and DAVID BLAYLOCK will serve as program chair.

Election results were announced as follows: DANIEL MÉTRAUX was elected the next Vice President of SEC; TOM PYNN, First-Year Member-at-Large.

HAL FRENCH drew our attention to the (incorrect) 2007 date on the cover of this year's conference program. Vice President–Elect MÉTRAUX expressed thanks for FRENCH's hard work on this year's conference and for all his past efforts on behalf of SEC. FRENCH then apologized for the exclusion of graduate students from the hospitality session on Saturday night; the reason involved South Carolina rules regarding alcohol at school-sponsored functions.

From the floor, FRANK CONLON (*Washington &* H-Asia) called attention to information on the *Bibliography of Asian Studies* on the AAS display table; he would make sure that the *SERAS* was covered. He encouraged all to look into H-Asia (http://www.h-net.org/~asia/), which helped to overcome the "tyranny of distance" and discipline—and could connect "friends who haven't met yet."

In his closing remarks, President RAVINA thanked Local Arrangements Chair FRENCH and Program Chair WILSON for their hard work, noting that FRENCH had spent many years on the Executive Committee, while this year was WILSON's first. President RAVINA welcomed PYNN and MÉTRAUX to the Executive Committee.

Local Arrangements Chair FRENCH reminded attendees of a yoga session with STACEY COLLINS on Sunday at 6:45 AM in the banquet room, open to all. COLLINS had also led sessions on Friday night and Saturday morning.

President RAVINA adjourned the meeting at 1:42 PM and offered a final reminder of the next annual meeting in Atlanta in January 2009.

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SEC/AAS Executive Committee, 2008–2009

President	James T. Gillam *Spelman College*
Vice President	Daniel A. Métraux *Mary Baldwin College*
Past President	Mark Ravina *Emory University*
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First-Year Member-at-Large	Tom Pynn *Kennesaw State University*
2008 Program Chair	David Blaylock *Eastern Kentucky University*
2008 Local Arrangements Chair	Ho Wan-Li *Emory University*
Council of Conferences Representative	Susan Walcott *University of North Carolina at Greensboro*
SERAS Editor	Steven E. Gump *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

On the Cover

Sunset over the Yamunā River from Brahmar Ghāt in Vrindaban, India, photographed by Jerry Carney (Hampden-Sydney College) in August 2006. Taken during the monsoon season, this image reflects the sacrality of the Yamunā and its essential role in the everyday life of the local residents and pilgrims at Vrindaban, hiding the threats to the river's survival behind a veil of beauty.

Every morning, hundreds of locals and pilgrims gather at Keśi Ghāt to bathe in the river, to wash and dry their *sari*s and *dhoti*s, and to worship the Yamunā, whose temple as a goddess (Yamunā Devī) stands beside the steps leading down to the river. After morning worship, devotees can make their own offerings of incense, flowers, and candlelight to the river. At the end of the day, as the sunset fades to deep twilight, hundreds more come to participate in evening worship, in which the river is worshipped with a huge tree of lights, while individuals' offerings of light float off into the enveloping darkness. A complex religious economy surrounds these transactions with the goddess and supports many *pūjārī*s (those offering worship) and vendors of religious articles around Keśi Ghāt.

The boats and boatmen also participate in this religious ecology and its economic transactions. Boatmen compete to carry pilgrims across the river to worship and bathe on the other shore, where the water is demonstrably cleaner. For pilgrims and tourists alike, a boat ride on the Yamunā is a fine way to see Vrindaban's sites. The boats perform mundane daily service as well, carrying farmers and their produce to the market and allowing cowherds to deliver their fresh milk quickly to vendors.

But this religious culture around the Yamunā is a threatened ecology. Traveling some 850 miles from its source at Yamunotri in the state of Himachal Pradesh until it flows into the Ganges at Allahabad, the Yamunā —the longest tributary of the Ganges—is the river that flows through Delhi, the river one sees from the Taj Mahal in Agra. Full of water during monsoon season (roughly July through October), the Yamunā from Delhi south to Vrindaban is a dead river the rest of the year, composed mostly of human waste and industrial sewage. With international support, the Indian government has initiated a Yamunā Action Plan, but the river remains pressured by new construction and the demands of irrigation for agriculture. Will the sun soon set on this holy river?

If you would like your photograph from Asia to be considered for an upcoming cover of the *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*, submit a *low-resolution* digital version (as a .jpg or .gif file) to the editor (sgump@illinois.edu), along with a brief—and, ideally, educational—description of the contents of the image. Unfortunately, we are unable to publish photographs that show people who are clearly identifiable (unless you happen to have signed releases from everyone pictured).

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A publication of the Southeast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies
ISSN 1083-074X