

## REVIEWS

Xu Xi and Mike Ingham eds., *City Voices: Hong Kong Writing in English, 1945 to the Present*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2003, xv + 402 pp. ISBN:962-209-604-2 (hbk); 962-209-605-0 (pbk).

Keep talking  
Make words live longer.  
Add vitamins to words.  
Write poems full of You-s and I-s.  
(‘Keep Talking’ Mani Rao, 332)

There are plenty of vitamins in the words that make up *City Voices*. At times the writing is as crowded and boisterous as Mongkok, but there are also moments of quiet gracefulness. Here, for instance, is Louise Ho’s poem ‘Well-spoken Cantonese’ (287).

How praise the beauties of a gracious man  
Except that they are the graces of a beautiful man?  
Tone, stress, diction, timing, all combine  
To make the texture of his voice:  
So rare anywhere  
But rarest of all, here.  
His modulated resonance  
Creates a civilized space  
Or a proper silence,  
Which was not there  
Before he spoke.

*City Voices* is the first significant anthology of Hong Kong poetry and prose written in English. There have been other collections of poetry, but none that cover both prose and poetry, and none with the range of this anthology. It features writing by 70 authors, covering the period from the 1950s until the present. Not all of these authors still live in Hong Kong, as is typical of many of the city’s ‘flexible citizens’, but all have, or have had, a close relationship with the city. Readers familiar with Hong Kong’s English-language literature will encounter those they know already, but they will also discover new voices. As Xu Xi notes in her introduction, ‘In compiling this anthology, the goal was to provide as representative – if not as comprehensive – a selection as possible to reflect the voices over time. Selections are from previously published work, although a small number of unpublished pieces are included. There is also

a final section of new voices, chosen from the work of creative writing students and other emerging writers' (17).

The prose section of the anthology features excerpts from novels, short stories, essays and memoirs. The novel selections begin with extracts from Han Suyin's *A Many Splendored Thing* (1952) and Richard Mason's *The World of Suzie Wong* (1957). All the excerpts are short, but well chosen and sufficient to give a taste of the larger work. With those novels I had not read, there was enough in the extract to allow me to decide if I wanted to read more, as I did with C.Y. Lee's *The Virgin Market* (1965), Lily Chan's *Struggle of a Hong Kong Girl* (1986) and Mimi Chan's *All the King's Women* (2000). For authors like Timothy Mo, where there is much to choose from, the selections are intelligent: nothing from the demanding but also problematic *An Insular Possession* (1986), but short extracts from *The Monkey King* (1978) and *Sour Sweet* (1982), as well as *Renegade or Halo*<sup>2</sup> (although perhaps we didn't need all three). Other novels represented here include Lin Tai-yi's *Kamphoon Street* (1964), Christopher New's *The Chinese Box* (1965) and *A Change of Flag* (1990), Martin Booth's *The Iron Tree* (1993), Simon Elegant's *A Chinese Wedding* (1994), Nury Vittachi's *Asian Values* (1996), and Xu Xi's *Hong Kong Rose* (1997) and *The Unwalled City* (2001).

The short stories, along with the poetry, form the richest part of the collection. The stories chosen date back only to the 1980s, with most from the last ten years. Many of these stories I had not read before, but my favourite remains one I had, Alex Kuo's 'The Catholic All-star Chess Team' (2000). Nury Vittachi figures prominently in the essay selections, as would be expected. Perhaps there might have been a few more essays, as it is a form that has been prominent in Hong Kong literature. The memoir excerpts are taken from Austin Coates' *Myself a Mandarin* (1968), Elsie Elliot's *Crusade for Justice* (181) and Jackie Chan's *I am Jackie Chan* (1998, co-authored with Jeff Yang).

The poetry section begins, of course, with Edmund Blunden's 'Hong Kong House' (1962), which is discussed by Elaine Ho in her article in this issue of *NZJAS*. The range of poems selected for inclusion shows that Hong Kong's English-language poetry is both vibrant and diverse. I began the review with two of the poems that appeal to me, but there is such a wide variety of poetry included that it is impossible to convey the richness of this part of the anthology in a brief review. Established poets are well represented, with selections from the work of Ho Hon Leung, Jim Wong-chu, Alex Kuo, Leung Ping-kwan, Lawrence Wong and Louise Ho. But there are also poems by Agnes Lam, Mani Rao, Tim Kaiser, Jam Ismail and Madeliane Slavick.

The last part of the anthology is devoted to 'new voices' and includes more poems, some short stories and excerpts from unpublished material, all of which indicate that English-language literature is alive and well in post-handover Hong Kong. Nury Vittachi's literary magazine *Dimsum* has played a crucial role in promoting and publishing new

writing, both prose and poetry, as has the Hong Kong Writers Circle, championed by Xu Xi and Lawrence Grey, and the short story awards sponsored by the *South China Morning Post*. To give just one example of what these ‘new voices’ are like: Ted Mathy’s poem ‘Please’ begins ‘M’goi M’goi M’goi M’goi/ There is a beautiful Cantonese boy ...’ (2002). There is more, of course, but you will need to get the anthology to find out just what.

In his introductory essay, ‘Writing on the Margin’, Mike Ingham notes that the anthology ‘was envisaged partly, but not exclusively, as a teaching and learning tool’ (12), and he offers some useful suggestion on how it might be used in this way, particularly for those working within the Hong Kong education system. But I would also hope that the book finds its way to those involved in the teaching of colonial and post-colonial literature outside of Hong Kong, as they will find much in here that is of value. In this introductory essay, Ingham also raises questions about the long-term future of English-language literature in a Hong Kong that is increasingly part of the People’s Republic of China. Provocatively, he asks, ‘If the Hong Kong fiction-reading population is more than adequately served by Chinese-language fiction, not to mention the plethora of other fictions in or translated into English, and the overseas market is trained to appreciate no better than *Wild Swans* and other identikit sob-stories constructing a particular image of “China”, does this necessarily mean that Hong Kong English writers are doomed to a kind of literary twilight zone, struggling to get published and then remaining largely unread and ignored?’ (3).

This is an important question. It may be that literature in English will continue to thrive as one of China’s minor languages, and, indeed, it may become a literature of choice for many who wish to escape the constrictions of the dominant language community (a ‘minor literature’ to use Deleuze and Guattari’s term).<sup>1</sup> If this is the case, then this anthology may come to play an important role in the development of literature in China, especially as it captures so well the creative surge of the mid-to-late 1990s, which, Ingham suggests ‘will be seen as a creative watershed’ for Hong Kong writing in English (14). Alternately, it may be that as Hong Kong becomes more integrated into the Chinese world, as younger people find their futures tied more and more into the mainland, and as Mandarin supplants English as the second language to Cantonese in the city, that writing in English will struggle to survive. If that is the case, this anthology will represent a particular moment in time, a moment that marked the passing of the colonial era and its immediate post-colonial shadow that was then submerged by Hong Kong’s absorption into the greater Chinese community. We will have to wait to see which of these two scenarios more closely resembles the future of English-language literature in Hong Kong. But in either case, what we have in this

<sup>1</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, trans. Dana Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

anthology is in itself a rich and vibrant collation of what Hong Kong meant for many different people at a particularly interesting period in its history. Not only that, it contains plenty of good writing to interest all readers, not just those concerned about the fate of Hong Kong.

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Pratapaditya Pal, *Himalayas: An Aesthetic Adventure*, with contributions by Amy Heller, Oskar von Hinüber, and Gautama V. Vajracharya, Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, in association with the University of California Press, Berkeley, and Mapin Publishing, 2003, 308 pp., 232 colour & 7 b/w illustrations. ISBN: 0-520-23901-6 (cloth); 0-520-23900-8 (pbk).

This splendid volume more than lives up to its title, if the word adventure is taken to imply an exciting journey through unfamiliar territory. A catalogue of a major exhibition held at the Art Institute of Chicago (April-July 2003) and at the Sackler and Freer Galleries in Washington D.C. (October 2003-January 2004), it presents – at a very reasonable price – fine reproductions and extensive descriptions of 187 works, 70% of which have not previously been published or publicly exhibited. These works are arranged in chronological order according to the three principal geographical areas they come from – Nepal, the Western Himalayas, and Central/East Tibet (including Bhutan) – and comprise statues, paintings, book covers, illustrated manuscripts, jewellery and ritual objects. The earliest pieces date from the 6th century, the latest from the 19th, and both Buddhism and Hinduism are richly represented. For the renowned Asian art historian Pratapaditya Pal the exhibition represents the fulfilment of a dream to collect together the finest examples of Himalayan art, and we have every reason to be thankful for the tenacity with which he pursued that dream. Such an array of masterpieces is unlikely to be assembled again for a long time, and the catalogue is bound to become a landmark in the field. As one would expect, Pal's descriptions of the individual works are generally of the highest standard, well-written and informative, with attention paid both to the aesthetic qualities of the pieces and to their historical and religious significance. If I could raise one minor quibble with his approach, it is his use of a simplified transcription system for Sanskrit which dispenses entirely with diacritical marks. Unfortunately this yields awkward forms like Lichchhavi for Licchavi, and tends also to mask occasional mistakes, like Mahishasuramurdini for

Mahiṣāsuramardinī (75), Indrasala for Indraśaila (116), and *mayuraprichchha* for *mayūrapiccha* (218).

A list of personal favourites in the collection would rapidly get out of hand. As a teacher of Buddhism ever on the lookout for images with which to illustrate undergraduate classes, I was particularly excited by the stunning gilded copper images of the bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Tārā from Nepal (Cat. Nos. 11, 13). Equally striking are the Buddhist goddess of uncertain identity (Cat. No. 18), again from Nepal, the cosmic Buddha from Kashmir or the Gilgit area dated by the inscription on the image to 714 (Cat. No. 63), and the 8th-century Śiva with Kumāra and Gaṇeṣa in gray schist from the same general area (Cat. No. 67).

The paintings are also breathtaking, but there is space here to mention only a few of them. Cat. No. 133, for example, is a truly splendid depiction of Amitāyus, remarkable for the palette of colours used by the artist. The name Amitāyus does not literally imply immortality, as Pal claims (204), but indicates that the lifespan of the Buddha in question is so long as to be beyond measuring. Early Chinese translations of the *Larger Sukhāvativyūhasūtra* make this absolutely clear by describing the eventual *parinirvāṇa* of this Buddha. Strictly speaking, therefore, it would be best to avoid translating Amitāyus as “Infinite Life,” as Pal does on page 269, where the so-called Vase of Immortality (Tib. *tshe bum*) would also be better referred to as a Vase of Longevity.

Cat. No. 101, a 14th-century *thangka* from West Tibet or West Nepal, presents an unusual depiction of the birth of the bodhisattva Siddhārtha, with smaller panels representing the departure from Tuṣita, the conception (here we see the elephant disappearing into Māyā’s side), the prediction of Asita, the Great Departure, and the return of Channa and the riderless Kaṇṭhaka to Kapilavastu to announce the prince’s disappearance. An interesting feature of the main image is the cross of eight lotuses in mid-air, representing the infant Siddhārtha’s first steps in the four directions. A similar element can be seen in the relevant panel of the very fine 12th-century *thangka* from central Tibet appearing as Cat. No. 121.

Cat. No. 128, a *thangka* portraying four Kagyupa lamas, is something of a mystery as far as identification is concerned. The interpretation arrived at by Luczanits and Heller suggests that the top pair are Gampopa and Phagmodrupa, while the bottom pair are the latter’s students Jigten Gonpo and Taglung Tagpa Chenpo. However, as Pal remarks, if this is true the bottom pair ought to be the same age. Indeed, it rather looks as though the images of Gampopa and Phagmodrupa have simply been repeated, with a change in *mudrā* for the latter, and different figures in the background. The composition remains a puzzle.

To turn back to the statues, some of the stone and metal images of Buddhist or Hindu deities are large and imposing creations, while other miniature items like the tiny 8th-century panel representing scenes from the life of the Buddha (Cat. No. 69) or the 10th-century wood and ivory

Vajravārāhī (Cat. No. 80) – again, both from the Jammu-Kashmir area – are impressive for their intricately detailed workmanship. Throughout the volume one continues to be amazed by the complexity and fineness of the images, both two-dimensional and in the round, which are often not well served by the scale on which they have been reproduced. Many had me reaching for my magnifying glass, but it would take a much more powerful lense than mine to reveal all the fine detailing and magnificent artistry of some of these compositions, whether they be brass images from West Tibet (see, e.g., Cat. No. 87), *mandalas* from Nepal and Central Tibet (e.g., Cat. Nos. 32–33, 130, 155) or *thangkas* depicting the life of Milarepa from Eastern Tibet (e.g., Cat. No. 164). In this respect only the publication of these images on the web – as exemplified by the Himalayan Art Project Web Site at [www.himalayanart.org](http://www.himalayanart.org) – will enable one to study them properly (unless of course one has access to the real thing).

Certainly one needs a magnifying glass to be able to examine the inscriptions some of these objects bear, many of which appear on the front of the images and can thus be seen in the photographs. The volume offers a substantial bonus in the form of separate sections on these inscriptions, written by Gautama V. Vajracharya (Sanskrit and Newari from Nepal), Oskar von Hinüber (Sanskrit from Kashmir), and Amy Heller (Tibetan). Since many of the works have not been published before, the inscriptions not only throw light on their production and use, but also represent a valuable addition to our knowledge of the religious and political history of the Himalayan region. In that light it is unfortunate that the treatment of the inscriptions is rather patchy. The translations of the Nepalese and Kashmiri inscriptions seem generally to have been handled very carefully, but at least they are always transcribed in full, and therefore it is possible for specialists to address any remaining problems. They are full of interest. To take up two examples, the brief record of the date (714 C.E.) and donors on Cat. No. 63, a “Cosmic Buddha with Royal Adorants,” gives their titles as *paramopāsaka* (not *paramopasāka* as transcribed) and *paramopāsikā*, which von Hinüber translates as “foremost among laymen/laywomen.” The occurrence of these titles in inscriptions connected with Mahāyāna Buddhism is addressed by Gregory Schopen in his paper “Mahāyāna in Indian Inscriptions,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 21 (1979), pp. 1–19, a paper to which Cat. No. 26 is also relevant. To my knowledge the precise meaning of the terms *paramopāsaka/paramopāsikā* has not been addressed, so it is not clear whether it is simply self-congratulatory, or whether it refers more objectively to a social category of leading lay adherents who claimed the title by being members of the local ruling families. The latter implication is suggested in this case by the fact that Saṃkarasena is a treasurer, his putative wife Devaśrī a princess. The next item, Cat. No. 64, a very similar image of a “Buddha with Bodhisattvas and Royal Adorants” from the same atelier one year later (715), is both

superb and historically important. Yet it is not until one looks at the inscription that one realizes that the image has been printed back-to-front. What is worse, Pal's description has clearly been based on the mistakenly inverted photograph, and so all his lefts and rights need to be switched (thus Maitreya stands to the Buddha's right, to which position the pair of royal donors needs also to be restored). When one scans the image and flips it, it becomes apparent that the *mudrā* of the central Buddha is exactly the same as that on Cat. No. 63 (or would be if that Buddha still had all his fingers), and the inscription becomes legible. One sees that occasionally alternative readings may be suggested, e.g., before *cakāra* there is one akṣara omitted from the transcription which I cannot make out, although it is surplus to the requirements of the metre in any case; *śrīmac* instead of *śrīmāc*; *paurṇamāsyam* (recte: *paurṇamāsyām*) instead of *paurṇamāsyā*. Further, *Namovuddhāya* as the name of the queen looks decidedly odd (what then would the case ending be?), when *namo buddhāya* as a simple salutation to the Buddha would fit perfectly well; the queen's name is apparently just Śamādevī (Queen Irene, perhaps?). Quite plausibly, von Hinüber interprets *guṇodadhi* (ocean of virtues) as an epithet of the king Nandivikramāditya, whereas Pal takes it as the proper name of a minister and the third donor. The donor figure on the Buddha's left, however, may be the *kalyāṇamitra* Vikhyātarakṣita mentioned in the last line. Clearly the inscription is an important source of information on royal patronage of religion in 8th-century Kashmir, and will repay further close study.

When we come to the Tibetan material, however, the situation is less satisfactory. For example, the inscription on the magnificent 11th-century bodhisattva triad from West Tibet (Cat. No. 87) has been incorrectly transliterated in several places. Fortunately the enlarged image which serves as the frontispiece to the volume enables the correct reading to be made out. Thus *lta bas mi 'joms* (Heller's "overwhelming to see") is clearly *lta bas mi ngoms* ("which one never tires of seeing"), and *drin can pha ma gnyis kyi tshed du bsngo* (Heller: "dedicated for the (long) life of the two kind parents, the father and the mother") has, as far as I can determine, *ched* instead of the otherwise puzzling *tshed*, and should therefore be translated "is dedicated for the benefit of (my, i.e. Nam mkha' grags') two gracious parents." Vajrapāṇi is referred to as *mthu stobs dbang phyug gsang ba'i bdag po*. If we translate this in the same way as the references to Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, then Heller's "lord of esoteric energy Vajrapāṇi" should be "lord of power Guhyakādhipati," this being a common way of referring to Vajrapāṇi.

Cat. No. 98 is a page from a manuscript copy of the Prajñāpāramitā. The text is that of the Perfection of Wisdom in 100,000 Lines (108,000 on 289 is a misprint). It would be more accurate to say, reversing Heller's terms, that here we have the final page of the 7th volume (*dum bu*, as designated also by the letter Ja, 7th in the Tibetan alphabet), and of the 24th section (*bam po*) of that text. The layout,

orthography and so on resemble the manuscripts of Tabo monastery, among which remarkably few illustrated folios like this survive. Pal is unable to identify the monk depicted on the right, but he could possibly be Subhūti, the Buddha's chief interlocutor in this text. That the halo here does not necessarily indicate "deification" can clearly be seen from Cat. No. 104, where Śāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana are also depicted with haloes. Another magnificent manuscript cover and lavishly illustrated page appear as Cat. No. 104. These two pieces come from a copy of the Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000 Lines (for Aṣṭasahasrikā on 158 read Aṣṭasāhasrikā). The folio depicts the story of Sadāprarudita and his quest to hear the dharma from the bodhisattva Dharmodgata, whose name is normally translated in Tibetan as Chos 'phags, "Raised up or exalted by or in the dharma." Chos 'phags therefore does not render Ārya Dharma in Sanskrit, as Heller would have it on p. 290.

One also notes various problems with Heller's treatment of the inscription on Cat. No. 114, which clearly demands more careful study in view of its historical import (it provides an inventory of objects deposited in a funerary stūpa made for 'Gos Lotsāba, 1392–1481). Similar concerns could be raised about Cat. No. 126, where the last page of the manuscript in question does not in fact mention Maudgalyāyana (the disciples named are Subhūti, Śāriputra and Ānanda); or Cat. No. 165, where the line *dge ba byang chub chen por bsngo* does not mean "May all beings attain the virtue of the bodhisattva" (thus Heller on 294) but "The merit (from commissioning this thangka) is dedicated to great awakening"; or Cat. No. 172, where transcription and translation both suffer from errors; and so on. In the light of the uneven quality of the work in this section, it is to be regretted that the important inscriptions on these Tibetan works have not always been transcribed in full, let alone translated, even though a brief summary of the content is normally given. Thus readers are in no position to verify the interpretations themselves, and so, in those cases where the pieces have not already been published, will simply have to wait for more reliable studies to appear.

To return to a previous point, however, the inscriptions are a bonus addition to the catalogue, and even if they raise problems to which solutions are still outstanding, that scarcely detracts from the value of the book as a whole. When one considers the poor survival rate of much Himalayan art, due to the ravages of time and natural forces and the depredations of human vandalism (much of it ideologically inspired), we can only be grateful that so many sublime masterpieces have beaten the odds to stand, side by side, in this exhibition and in this volume. Pratapaditya Pal's dream has indeed been realized as an aesthetic adventure for us all to experience. That is no mean achievement, and we salute him most gratefully for it.

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Paul U. Unschuld, *Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen: Nature, Knowledge, Imagery in an Ancient Chinese Medical Text*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003, vii + 520 pp. ISBN: 0-520-23322-0 (hbk).

With his most recent book, *Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen: Nature, Knowledge, Imagery in an Ancient Chinese Medical Text*, Paul Unschuld, the prominent German historian of medicine, has made another important contribution to scholarship on Chinese medicine and civilization. This book, on the most important classic in traditional Chinese medicine, will become a classic itself. It will serve as an essential work for scholars of the history of Chinese medicine and science, and of Chinese civilization in general. It will also be a useful reference for practitioners of Chinese medicine, especially those who have difficulties in accessing the paradigmatic text directly, and for anyone who is interested in having a taste of the complexity of Chinese medicine.

Along with agriculture and arts, Chinese medicine constitutes an essential element of Chinese and East Asian culture, and it is still alive today, not only in China but worldwide. Contrary to what is widely assumed, but as one of Unschuld's earlier influential books *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas*, has firmly established, medicine and health care in the history of China has never been a homogenous system, but consists of many related but distinctive traditions. Traditional Chinese medicine, as we are familiar with it today, that is the medicine of systematic correspondence, is merely one, albeit the most significant one, of several different conceptual paradigms of healing. Far from being merely the empirical collection of thousands of herbs and a variety of other therapeutic methods like acupuncture, Chinese medicine, especially this medicine of systematic correspondence as formulated and expressed in the *Huang di nei jing*, has a complicated epistemology.

The *Huang di nei jing* 黃帝內經 (often abbreviated as the *Nei jing*, usually but misleadingly translated as *The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine*) has long been the paradigmatic work of the theories of traditional Chinese medicine and continues to be the vital foundation for contemporary practitioners of this medical system. The *Nei jing* has two parts: the *Su wen* and the *Ling shu*, each with eighty-one books or chapters. It takes the format of long dialogues between Huang Di, one of the ancient founders of Chinese civilization, and his advisors. The *Ling shu* is more technical about the meridians (channels) and acupuncture, while the *Su wen* deals with a series of general issues relating to human existence and its relationship with nature, as well as health, illness and diseases, and healing. As a result, the *Nei jing*, especially the *Su wen*, is not only the crucial Chinese medical classic, but also an important text of Chinese philosophy and culture. The foundational role the *Nei jing* plays in traditional Chinese medicine is akin to the role that anatomy, physiology, biochemistry and pathology play in the modern biomedical system.

Based on the key literature from a great number of ancient and modern studies on the *Nei jing*, Unschuld offers the English-speaking world a comprehensive and original exploration of the ancient medical text. Elegantly, he presents not only a systematic analysis of the *Su wen*, but also a series of insightful interpretations of Chinese medicine and culture in general.

The six chapters of this book can be classified into three parts: 1) a history of the *Su wen* as a medical classic; 2) a survey of the contents of the *Su wen*; and 3) the *Su wen* in the context of cultural history. The first part consists of chapters one to four, which respectively discuss the bibliographic history of the *Su wen*, the meaning of the title, pre-eleventh century texts and commentaries, and the major Chinese and Japanese commentaries since the edition of the Imperial Editorial Office of 1057. The second part, Chapter Five, is the major body of Unschuld's book. It surveys the contents of the *Su wen* from the philosophical foundation of Chinese medicine – the Yin-Yang and the Five-Agents doctrines – and medical theories of the body, including its organs, vessels, blood and *qi*; from pathogenic agents such as wind to a variety of diseases like malaria, coughs and limpness; from the principles and methods of medical examination and diagnosis to various therapies, including bloodletting and acupuncture, diet, and material medica. This survey, a summary of the *Su wen*, is actually an eloquent presentation of the theories of Chinese medicine.

As exemplified in his previous books, such as *Medical Ethics in Imperial China* (1979), *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (1985) and *Medicine in China: A History of Pharmaceuticals* (1986), all published by the University of California Press, Unschuld has developed a distinctive approach to the history of medicine in China and the sociology of medical knowledge. Methodologically speaking, in this book he once again employs what he has called a perspective of “historical anthropology”. On the other hand, the approach of Unschuld is very different from that of Needham. Unschuld focuses on the historical logic of medical ideas within China and their interactive relationship with the socio-cultural environments, and thus is more China-centred than Needham, who concentrated on discovering modern science and technology in Chinese texts. In the third part of this book, an extensive and substantial epilogue, entitled “Toward a Comparative Historical Anthropology of Medical Thought,” Unschuld gives another statement about his general methodology by putting medical ideas in the *Su wen* in their historical context and from a Chinese-Western comparative perspective.

The one-hundred-page appendix of this book can be read as an independent monograph on the Chinese climatological theory called “doctrine of five periods and six *qi*”, a theory that will be unfamiliar to most Western readers. Most of the texts included in the *Su wen* were written during the first, second or third centuries B.C.E and presumably compiled in the first or second century. But, one-third of the entire text

was added by Wang Bing in the eighth century. This addition outlines the doctrine of the five periods and six *qi* through which Chinese attempted to establish and explain the relationship between the long-term changes of climate and the pattern of human diseases. With assistance by Zheng Jinsheng, a leading historian of Chinese medicine in China, and Hermann Tessenow, Unschuld explores this extremely sophisticated theory for the first time in the West to my knowledge.

This book is the introductory volume to the complete English translation of the *Su Wen* with comprehensive and detailed annotations, which will be published in several subsequent volumes by the University of California Press.

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Jane Buckingham, *Leprosy in Colonial South India: Medicine and Confinement*, Basingstoke & New York, Palgrave, 2002, xi + 236 pp. ISBN: 0-333-92622-6 (hbk).

Leprosy is a bacterial disease that is difficult to contract and rarely fatal, yet has been imbued with questions of religion and morality, raised issues regarding confinement and power, and both provoked horror and aroused curiosity. The curiosity generally comes from those who do not have the disease, while for the person with leprosy their life has often experienced some form of stigma and marginalisation as others recoiled in horror at the disfigurement of the sufferer.

Situated against such an emotive background, Jane Buckingham's study of leprosy in colonial south India, from the early years of British institutional care in the Madras presidency in the early 1800s to the passing of the Government of India's Lepers Act in 1898, is a sympathetic account that examines how the encounter with medicine and the law shaped the exercise of colonial power for the person with leprosy. Of the three presidencies, Madras, the furthest from the seat of colonial authority in Calcutta, had the lowest proportion of leprosy sufferers but provided more government-supported facilities. Although approaching her subject through general issues such as policy and practice or ideas about leprosy and scientific developments, Buckingham's focus is on what this meant for the individual person. She shows that leprosy sufferers at least had the power of resistance, and occasionally negotiation, and concludes that the diffusion of power made both law and medicine limited 'tools of empire'.

Buckingham grounds her study in the context of the dynamic relationship between British and indigenous medicine. During the nineteenth century the British view of the disease and the sufferer changed considerably, so that by the end of the period a modern scientific understanding replaced an earlier humoral approach. Yet an accurate diagnosis, despite the research from Norway where leprosy was still endemic, remained difficult, which further added to problems, such as concealment, surrounding the statistical endeavour of colonial authorities. In the early nineteenth century the typical leprosy sufferer was seen to be Indian or Eurasian, male, poor and vagrant, but by the end leprosy had been found among the Indian middle classes and, to their utmost concern, Europeans found they could also contract leprosy. Meanwhile Indian understanding of the disease and the position of the sufferer in Indian society changed little. In Hindu tradition the ritual pollution of the person with leprosy affected family and community relationships. Proscriptions could most affect Brahmins, but were, however, largely ignored by other groups who mostly continued to live and work as usual. Under Moslem law leprosy sufferers were not excluded from inheritance nor subject to becoming outcastes. In practice socio-economic status had most effect on the place in Indian society of the person with leprosy.

Chapter two considers leprosy sufferers in British institutional care situating the discussion around the issue of the person being a patient or, in the light of Foucault and much subsequent work, prisoner. Throughout the period medical institutional care was not a fiscal priority for colonial authorities and developed slowly. The British focused on the poor and vagrant, but as Buckingham shows with the patients' protests about their diet at the Madras Leper Hospital in the 1870s, the lowly leprosy sufferer was not a passive subject of British power. In southern India, for much of the period, efforts to confine came from local medical and charitable authorities and involved disputes and negotiation with both presidency governments and the Government of India. At all levels the relationship was complex and for the person with leprosy their status 'ambiguous', which 'became clear only when they tried to leave the institution' (37).

Chapter three looks at colonial medicine in the indigenous context. Initially British treatment of leprosy was largely directed by the medical officers involved with looking after leprosy patients, and not surprisingly these patients had their own beliefs and practices about their condition. In southern India a strong Tamil tradition of Siddha medicine existed as well as the Ayurvedic medicine of the Sanskrit tradition which was dominant in the north. In the early nineteenth century both British and Indian medicine shared, for example, the idea of disease resulting from the imbalance of humours, but differed considerably over the role of the gods. The British were also willing to learn from indigenous systems. The relationship changed, however, during the century as the indigenous was increasingly portrayed as inferior, although might still be used as a

resource for colonial medicine. Until the discovery of Dapsone in the 1940s the British believed leprosy was incurable, although quite a lot could be done particularly to reduce the external signs of the disease. Neither British nor Indian medicine had a specific medicine for leprosy, but both believed in the importance of physical cleansing. For much of the nineteenth century British leprosy treatment – as chapter four discusses – was mostly a matter of utilising the most effective remedy available, from whatever tradition. Indian medical treatment was often expensive and so the poor began using British institutions which offered free treatment, although once inside the walls patients preferred treatment from within the indigenous tradition and used European medicine generally as a last resort. Patients also resisted treatment and sometimes ran away. Ironically the end of the century brought not British dominance in the treatment of leprosy but British and international support for chaulmugra oil, the principal indigenous Indian remedy.

Chapter five examines the development of leprosy research and colonial medical science. During the first half of the nineteenth century leprosy was not a priority for colonial authorities, although by the 1850s considerable exchange of medical information occurred at a lower level both among the British colonies and between the British colonies and their European counterparts. Colonial science while being partly dependent on what was happening in Britain was also developing its own dynamic. Medical societies and medical journalism provided a forum for discussion and dissemination of scientific medical research. In the 1860s the British government, during a period of expansion and consolidation of crown rule in India, began to take a direct interest in leprosy and exert influence on what happened at the local level of the colonial periphery. Collecting information throughout British colonial possessions the Royal College of Physicians Leprosy Committee's *Report on Leprosy*, published in 1867, was the first official British governmental and professional investigation into leprosy in India. By the end of the century leprosy research occupied a wider role both within the empire and European scientific enquiry.

From the early 1870s political concerns both within Britain and India and between them increasingly drove leprosy treatment and research, as Buckingham discusses in chapter six. The Royal College of Physicians was keen to use the issue of leprosy in the colonies to promote their emerging professional status in Britain. Yet despite increasing government regulation medical officers in Madras used discretion in implementing government trials, and both local British-developed and indigenous treatments remained an important element of their medical care at the local level. In the mid-1870s the focus of the international debate about leprosy shifted from cure to containment following Norwegian proof that leprosy was contagious. Critical to the developing process of bringing in legislation to control leprosy was the struggle both for superiority and the control of information about leprosy between the

sanitary department and the Indian Medical Service, the fear of contagion after the death of Fr Damien at Molokai in 1889 – although this also increased in Britain the sense of responsibility for those with leprosy – and the resulting 1890-91 Leprosy Commission to India.

Finally, chapter seven deals with the confinement of leprosy sufferers from the introduction of the 1889 Leprosy Bill through to the passage of the 1898 Lepers Act which saw in effect the leprosy hospital become a prison for vagrants with leprosy. Indian middle-class response to the 1889 bill strongly objected to blurring class and caste distinctions and sanctioned, as did the British, confinement for those of low status. Nevertheless to only confine vagrants with leprosy did not satisfactorily deal with what was necessary for disease control. A key problem, as the Leprosy Commission's report confirmed a little later, was that even if leprosy was contagious not enough was known about how the disease was transmitted. The Commission recommended the use of bye-laws to regulate the leprosy issue. Two strands to the legislation question were becoming defined: the disease and the sufferer. A further bill was introduced in 1896 and subjected to major negotiation and amendments before being passed, but in practice, although introduced in some parts of India, the 1898 Lepers Act was to have little effect on those with leprosy. Neither the will to enforce nor the money to build was in abundance in colonial India.

Jane Buckingham's book is well-written and nicely produced, with biographies of those involved (generally colonial), clear chapter notes and bibliography – although I could not find Cohn (25) referenced in either notes or bibliography. A map of India also would have been helpful. For people more familiar with the modern terms lepromatous and tuberculoid it is necessary to remember that the nineteenth century British term tubercular leprosy referred to lepromatous leprosy (9). It was also not really until the late nineteenth/early twentieth century that hospitals generally become associated with cure rather than care and used by a wider cross-section of society.

These minor comments aside, this study is a welcome addition both to the history of leprosy and to the developing medical historiography of India. Leprosy is a slow-progressing endemic disease, while much of the work on disease in colonial India has been about epidemic diseases with a high mortality. The difference is important, because epidemics require urgent responses from authorities and these may be desperate and draconian in nature. Buckingham's study reveals a more negotiated response that also reflected some of the practical issues surrounding dealing with the disease in the nineteenth century. Leprosy is a spectrum disease and the disfigurement that people associate with leprosy does not affect everyone or in the same way. It is very easy to conceal the disease if the only sign a person has for years is a small white anaesthetic patch on a part of the body that is not normally visible. Discovering that leprosy was contagious was one thing, but how should authorities have

tried to control the disease when they were not sure how it was spread? Finally, Buckingham emphasises the important point that colonial medicine did not develop in a vacuum. People with leprosy, as with other illnesses, had their own beliefs and practices about what to do and did not necessarily want to abandon these. After all, when colonial medicine did not even have a cure for leprosy why should people automatically accept colonial medicine as superior?

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Crystal Bartolovich & Neil Lazarus eds., *Marxism, Modernity and Postcolonial Studies*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, x + 290 pp. ISBN: 0-521-89059-4 (pbk).

One of the more pressing issues that haunt postcolonial studies has been the relationship to Marxism. There are some like Aijaz Ahmad, for instance, who unequivocally condemn postcolonial studies for disinheriting the heritage of Marx(ism); others, such as Gayatri Spivak, who maintain a much more slippery relationship to Marxism; and still others like Homi Bhabha who situate the critical force of postcolonial studies in terms of its indebtedness to Marxism. What is clear from this brief signalling of some of the key scholarly articulations is that the relationship between postcolonial studies and Marxism is far from settled. Rather, it remains in contest and this edited collection of thirteen contributions exploring the relationship between postcolonial studies and Marxism, which emerged out of a conference entitled “Rethinking Marxism,” can be located within the debates that preoccupy postcolonial studies. The book situates itself at one end of the spectrum of relationships to Marxism and declares its position very early. It is clearly a book that champions a productive dialogue between postcolonial studies and Marxism on the ground that the critical underpinnings of both are intertwined in various ways. More precisely the book sets out to advance a “strong and visible Marxist postcolonial studies” (1) by emphasising the disavowal of Marxism within postcolonial studies while entrenching the urgency of revitalising the disavowed Marxist heritage in theorisations of the postcolonial. This is its aim, which is set forth through an exploration (and exhibition?) of what Derrida in the *Spectres of Marx* calls the various “spectres of Marx,” as evidenced by the thrust of the twelve essays that are framed by a precise and cogent “Introduction” by Crystal Bartolovich.

This point, on the multiplicity of spectres of Marx haunting the social scene, is taken on board in this book as demonstrated by the range of essays that address various ‘moments’ in the postcolonial project where a necessarily powerful relationship between postcolonial studies and Marxism can be charted. The variety of essays, when set against the collective and unified declaration of the book demonstrates a vision of the heritage of Marxism that is firmly against a singular and idealised version of Marx. It is within such an overlapping domain — the debate on postcolonial studies and Marxism, and the call for a heterogeneous Marxist heritage in poststructuralist critique — that such a book is located. And this is a location that is immensely precious.

The collection of twelve essays is neatly divided into three sections entitled “Eurocentrism, ‘The West,’ and the world”, “Locating modernity”, and “Marxism, postcolonial studies, and ‘theory’” on the premise that “these mark flash points in the longstanding disputes between ‘Marxist’ and ‘postcolonialist’ scholars, as well, of course as areas of crucial study and argument within both Marxism and postcolonial studies” (16). The first section is made up of four essays. The first argues, through a historical reading of East Asia’s premodern mode of production, that the capitalistic mode of production is not simply a Western phenomenon. Rather, the characteristics that frame what we now address as Western capitalism are much more mixed and contaminated. Such an argument is original but it fails to show the link between the fetishisation of the West in much of postcolonial studies and the heritage of Marx. The second essay does what the first does not: it calls into question the unproblematic staging of the West in much postcolonial critique which leads not only to a polarisation that plays into a logocentric system that privileges the West as harbingers of modernity, but more crucially assumes (because of its very own fetishisation of the West) “the internality of Marxism to ‘modernist’ narratives of modernity. It sits very poorly, therefore, with Marx’s paradigmatic insistence on the globality of capitalism as an historical formation. This is a point that Marxists need to emphasize strongly in their ongoing contestation of the prevailing concepts of postcolonial studies” (63). In the same vein, August Nimtz, in the third essay argues against locating the Marxist project in the kernel of Eurocentrism because the revolutionary project found recourse in “Russia as the revolutionary vanguard” (66), and in the anticolonial struggles in Algeria, India, and Mexico. The point here is that the postcolonial dismissal of the heritage of Marxism for its Eurocentricity is rather hasty considering that much of what Marx offers to the proletariat (seen in the image of the English working class) comes not from within the conditions of the working class but also from the struggles of the colonised in the colonies of the Empire. This point is developed by Pranav Jani who explores the relationship between Marx and the 1857 Revolt in British India to dismiss the charge of Eurocentrism that has been laid against Marx by Edward Said amongst

others for Marx's view of "the destruction of precapitalist Asian societies as progressive and tragically necessary for the advancement of capitalism" (82). The author demonstrates, through a close reading of thirty-one journal articles by Marx during the period of insurrection, that Marx does not silence the "agency of the colonized subject" (88). On the contrary, when Marx is read through the idea of the "double mission" (84) as Aijaz Ahmad suggests, the 'agency of the colonized subject' can be located in a paradoxical, powerful and disruptive space within the "dialectic of structure and agency operating in colonial India ... [which] envisions 'Indian progress' as a product of *struggle* against colonialism" (86). To read the colonial condition of domination within India in these terms moves away from "simply pitying Indians as the representatives of a dying civilization" (85), which is both a mark of the colonial attitude as well as the legitimising ground of the colonial project, and attempts to theorise the agency of the colonised in terms of the struggle for emancipation. To render Marx's contribution to the revolutionary anticolonial struggles in this way serves to challenge charges of Marx's complicity in the project of colonisation and disrupts the categorisation of Marx as Eurocentric.

The second section furthers the earlier problematisation of the 'West' and 'Eurocentrism' that haunts the dialogue between postcolonial studies and Marxism by exploring discourse of modernity. More specifically, the essays in this section address the *location* of modernity and attempt collectively to displace any kind of unproblematic conceptualisation and situating of the project of modernity. In terms of postcolonial studies, such an intervention is useful because the postcolonial situates itself in and against an unproblematised notion of modernity, one that is the property of the West. This latter issue is shown to be problematic in the first essay by Cleary who foregrounds the Irish experience as a case in point to challenge any kind of ideological or geographical conception of modernity as 'Western'. Benita Parry adds to this theme through a return to the "anticolonial discourses producing materialist accounts of class conditions under colonialism, grounded in a Marxist humanism, seeking to install an ethical universality and a universal ethic" (134). The call here is not for some kind of utopic anticolonialism, nor is it a nostalgic lament for an earlier mode of critique. Rather it is a response to the resistance within postcolonial studies to class analysis, which ends up overlooking "an articulation of a distinctive modernity" (143) that emerges from anticolonial critique. Parry's point here is that it would be reductive to conceptualise anticolonial struggles as attempts to extinguish, or somehow remove the conditions of modernity that accompanied the colonial project precisely because what is at stake in anticolonial struggles is the "pursuit of a condition which colonialism sought to withhold from subjugated peoples, and which capitalism was generically incapable of fulfilling ... [which] initiated struggles invoking resilient and constantly reinvented indigenous traditions in envisaging

alternatives to the existing social order” (148). Anticolonial struggles were thus attempts to deliver a variation on the version (and vision) of modernity that did not constitute the colonised peoples. The call for a variation of modernity is furthered in the essays by Gopal and Scott which problematise the idea of modernity in terms of gender and race. Gopal convincingly argues, through recourse to the work of Rashid Jahan, that “a young Muslim woman in [colonial] India” (150) who writes about sexual harassment, birth control and pregnancy is exemplary of how the colonised reappropriated the trope of modernity and pushed it in a different direction, one that is critical of the patriarchal system of the colonised world, the colonial project as well as the complicity of the colonised woman in sustaining colonial and patriarchal hegemony. In turn, Scott makes an interesting connection between racism and capitalism, suggesting that “modern racism [is] ... the result of a collision between a new system of production — the plantation slavery ... — and a new ideology — possessive individualism” (169). Through a historical reading spanning from the period of ancient slavery to African slavery, Scott argues that the discourse of slavery was not racialised per se but only became so through the institutionalisation of a specific mode of production, mainly capitalism and hence any kind of critique of modernity for its racialisation processes must begin from a Marxist critique of the political economy of the mode of production.

The third section explores the relationship between Marxism and postcolonial studies under the heading of theory. The first essay questions the heritage of postcolonial theory to Marxism in terms of the emergence of postcolonial theory into a theoretical field dominated by a Marxist enterprise; the second, emphasises that postcolonial theory and Marxism can enter into productive dialogue by recasting the question of the representability of the subaltern through “the labour theory of value itself” (218); the third mourns the absence of non-metropolitan positions in Marxist theory while the final essay explores the possibility (and plausibility) of reaffirming the notion of authenticity as an attempt “to think concretely about the lived realities of colonial and postcolonial existence” (243).

As suggested above, this is a highly commendable book that is situated crisply within the central concerns that animate postcolonial studies. It brings together a range of critical interlocutions that share a certain ambivalence (or even suspicion) toward the postcolonial project, specifically in terms of the absence of a (re)affirmation of a Marxist heritage, in a period of rapid transnational-capital growth and accumulation. While I applaud the demand made on postcolonial studies, it must be reiterated that such a demand is made only to certain sectors within postcolonial studies and not to postcolonial studies in totality (the book does not declare this). This is because postcolonial studies itself is a heterogeneous field, where various positions vie for affirmation and legitimacy. More specifically, there are postcolonial critical positions that

are deeply entrenched with a materialist Marxist paradigm such as the interventionist historiography of Subaltern Studies which locates the revolutionary force of Marxism in the body of the Indian peasant (the repressed other of Indian nationalism) as the site of colonial rule, anti-colonial struggle and postcolonial emancipation. This is why, I would suggest, a much more clear demarcation of postcolonial studies and a clearer articulation of how postcolonial studies is imagined would have served this collection well.

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Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing Home, Home and History in Late Colonial India*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003, x + 202 pp. ISBN:0-19-514424-4 (hbk); 0-19-514425-2 (pbk).

What counts as an archive? Can private memories of home serve as evidence of political history? What does it mean to say that home should be seen not simply as a dwelling-place for women's memory but as one of the foundations for history? These are the questions Antoinette Burton explores in her examination of the ways in which three twentieth-century Indian women – Janaki Majumdar (1886-1963), Cornelia Sorabji (1886-1954), and Attia Hosain (1913-1997) – used records of house and home 'to claim a place in history at the intersection of the private and the public, the personal and the political, the national and the postcolonial' (4). In her reading of the various records left by these women, Burton seeks to challenge the view that only certain types of archival material provide a legitimate basis for historical understanding. Indeed, she argues that 'in the face of the tangible connections between memory and politics, memory and reform, memory and history that this book unearths, it becomes impossible to dismiss autobiographies, family histories, and other memory-bilia as merely fictional and therefore as secondary or even supplemental to archival sources for getting at historical agency and conditions' (27). In other words, this is a book rich not only in terms of the perspectives it offers on late colonial India, which are significant in themselves, but also in terms of the epistemological and methodological issues it raises for all historians.

In the introductory chapter, 'Memory Becomes Her', Burton integrates feminist and postcolonial scholarship into a powerful argument about how the dominant concerns of professional history might be re-shaped to open new perspectives on past, present and future. For those

unfamiliar with such scholarship this chapter is an excellent introduction to these dynamic fields, while for those already engaged with such concerns there is much in what Burton has to say that will interest and stimulate. Central to her argument is the notion that ‘the fiction that History continues to tell itself is that there ever was such a thing as the “private” – that quintessentially gendered domestic space-in-time – when in fact the discipline has been instrumental in reproducing the private as women’s domain’ (28). Imagining home is as political an act as is imaging the nation, thus her extension of archive to include the space of house and memories of home deconstructs the binary opposition that interprets private/feminine/fiction against public/masculine/history. This is intended not only to rescue domesticity from ‘the oblivion of history’ but also to rescue History from the ‘triumphalist representations’ of imperialist and nationalist discourses (16).

The central chapters of the book engage with the archival legacies of each of the three women. For Janaki Majumdar that legacy comprises a “Family History”, and Burton devotes the first of these three chapters to exploring the resonances that flow from this “precious record”.<sup>1</sup> Janaki was the daughter of W.C. Bonnerjee, the first President of the Indian National Congress, a man committed to refiguring inherited structures in order to establish a modern household as the basis for a modern nation. Janaki’s “Family History” explores the implications of this for her mother Hermangini. After returning from England, where he had studied law, Bonerjee refused to seek readmission to his caste. Janaki believed this was the greatest hardship her mother had to face, ‘in part because it represented such a departure from tradition, in part because it foreshadowed the unconventionality of things to come’ (39). The intrusion of modernity would require Hermangini to make continual adjustments in her daily life. This, of course, meant a break of purdah, which was especially significant when it came to the preparation of food. For an orthodox Hindu Brahmin girl to eat food cooked and handled by a Muslim, and to eat meat, particularly beef, was a terrible ordeal. Similarly, her husband insisted on entering the kitchen, crossing the boundary that separated women and servants from the “man of the house”. When his children were born WC decided they needed to be educated in England, despite the fact that he had to remain in Calcutta to attend to his law practice. Thus Hermangini had to take the children to another country and care for them there in order to meet her husband’s expectations for them. Throughout this period of her children’s education they moved constantly back and forth between London and Calcutta, thus it is significant that ‘Janaki chose to represent the 1880s and 1890s not as the moment when organized Indian nationalism emerged but rather as a period of extended struggle for the preservation of the family household by her mother’ (35). In exploring this struggle she demonstrates how the

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<sup>1</sup> Burton has helped see this into print: Janaki Majumdar *Family History* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003).

domestic life of this one family was, in a multitude of ways, imbricated in aspirations towards modernity and nationhood.

Cornelia Sorabji (1886-1954), a Parsi Christian who had trained as a barrister at Oxford between 1889-92, is Burton's second subject. Sorabji devoted her life to two related projects: improving conditions for *pardahnashin* (secluded women) and publicising those conditions to reform-minded audiences in India and Britain. Antifeminist by her own definition, Sorabji was also an ardent antinationalist. For instance, she shared the view that child-marriage and child-motherhood were evidence of the fact that India was unfit for self-government. She emphasised the sacred character of zenana life and the indispensability of purdah for preserving Indian identity in the context of modernity. Sorabji saw much that was wrong with the nationalist projects in 1930s India, especially where women were concerned. Nevertheless, Burton argues that 'To consign her work to "women's history" – or worse, to write it off as unrepresentative of mainstream political trends of the period because of her staunch antiprogressive positions – would [...] do a disservice to the complexities engendered by the crises of colonial modernity to which Sorabji was a witness'. Rather, she suggests we 'read them as evidence of colonialism's often unpredictable intersections with modernity, their mutually constitutive tropes, and, above all, their multiple unanticipated genealogies' (99).

The third chapter is devoted to Attia Hosain and, in particular, a reading of her partition novel *Sunlight on a Broken Column*, which, Burton suggests, anticipates the convictions of many contemporary historians of partition who are now keen to explore new and previously undervalued sources.<sup>1</sup> She endorses Mushirul Hasan's claim that works such as Hosain's novel *Sunlight* can illuminate aspects of the partition experience only dimly covered in the official record and archive, but contests the way Hasan sees these simply in terms of 'small histories' (family histories) that supplement but do not disrupt the dominant discourses about partition, 'without necessarily challenging the politics of traditional archival readings or the gendered status of memory and its relationship to history itself' (106).<sup>2</sup> Hosain wrote *Sunlight* in London, and from the perspective of a descendent of a landowning Muslim family from Oudh. At the heart of the novel is a house and home, Ashiana, modelled on houses Hosain inhabited when growing up. Burton argues that this novel is 'more than simply a domestic fiction or the familial face of partition.' Rather, she suggests 'it may also be read as an effort to lay claim to home as a legitimate, persuasive, and ultimately irrefutable partition archive: evidence of the desire to dwell in history when house

<sup>1</sup> Attia Hosain *Sunlight on a Broken Column* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1988).

<sup>2</sup> Mushirul Hasan *Legacy of a Divided Nation: India's Muslims Since Independence* (Boulder: Westview, 1997) 62. For a discussion of the new literature on partition see Tony Ballantyne 'History, Memory and the Nation: Remembering Partition,' *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 5, 1 (June, 2003): 195-205.

and home have become uninhabitable. The novel is, in short, a historical argument about the impossibility of dwelling comfortably at home in the wake of the unspeakable violence of the past' (106).

In a brief epilogue Burton returns to the wider issues she has been interested in exploring through her analyses of the domestic archives of these three women. She notes the resurgence of a desire to shore up the official archive against challenges such as those in her book, and sees the latter volumes of the recent *Oxford History of the British Empire* (1998-99) as a prominent example of this tendency. While this particular *History* reflects the pressures postcolonialism has placed on imperial history, Burton notes that these are issues of much wider concern, as can be seen from the debates surrounding the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the public attention generated by Holocaust deniers. In New Zealand these issues are most obvious in the tensions between academic and Tribunal history. And in all of these cases the interrogation of archival evidence, 'what counts, what doesn't, who possesses it, and who lays claim to it as a political resource', is not about theory, as some suggest, but about 'the very power of historical explanation itself' (138). This is where Burton's challenge to the epistemological and methodological foundations of academic history is most telling, and it is the reason why the book should reach a wide audience. In archiving the domestic she is not suggesting that this will result in a more comprehensive, more truthful history. Her argument is more radical than this. In exploring the subtle implications of dwelling she offers a powerful and sophisticated meditation on the very nature of historical understanding itself.

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Jan P. Hogendijk and Abdelhamid I. Sabra, eds., *The Enterprise of Science in Islam: New Perspectives*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2003, 386 pp. ISBN: 0-262-19482-1 (hbk).

The vast, cultured, and cosmopolitan Islamic world dominated the study of the exact sciences – mathematics, astronomy, astrology, geography and optics – between 800 and 1450 C.E. This stimulating and important book explores the remarkable richness and variety of the Islamic scientific traditions in the exact sciences that flourished during this almost seven hundred year period and slightly beyond. It brings to a wide scholarly

audience revised versions of papers originally presented at a conference on the history of Islamic science held at the Dibner Institute, MIT in 1998.

Most of the chapters discuss the circulation and transmission of scientific knowledge either within the Islamic world or within and between Islamic, Christian, and Jewish cultures. Paul Kunitzsch reviews what we know about the cross-cultural transmission of Hindu-Arabic numerals, while Charles Burnett explores the transmission of Arabic astronomy to Christian Europe directly from the Eastern Islamic world, via Antioch, a different route from most Arabic science which came through Spain. Reflecting the book's concern with the exact sciences, three contributors focus mainly on Islamic astronomy (Burnett, Pingree, Samsó), five on mathematics (Kunitzsch, Berggren, Sesiano, Dold, Djebbar), and two on optics (Sabra, Kheirandish). Several widen the lens to analyse the relationship between exact sciences and other fields such as natural philosophy and theology, architecture, medicine, outsiders' views of mathematics, or medieval debates on scientific method. Two contributors focus on radically different types of Islamic mathematicians (Berggren and Dold), while three (Djebbar, Langermann, and Samsó) explore Islamic science in particular geographical areas: al-Andalus (Islamic Spain and Portugal) and the Maghrib (Northwestern Africa). I found especially interesting the chapters on architecture, medicine, and Gerhard Endress's survey of 'Mathematics and Philosophy in Medieval Islam,' which focused largely on influential outsiders – astronomers and philosophers – views of mathematics.

The chapters are written by experts in their fields, most of whom aim primarily to enlighten fellow specialists rather than to engage the general reader. Most closely analyse (often unpublished) primary sources, usually scientific texts, in Arabic and other languages. I found it a pity that the editors did not in their introduction step back from the details and sketch at least the outlines of a 'big picture' of Islamic science during the period under review. Such a sketch might briefly have summarized what we know about the relationship between science, theology, and society in the Islamic world in all its intellectual and geographical variety. The non-specialist reader would then have been able to assess how far the 'new perspectives' presented in this book altered the old 'big picture.' I suspect they fill in details more than they radically revise our understanding. Still, each chapter in this impressive collection substantiates the book's claim that 'the Islamic scientific tradition was even richer and more profound, and with more complex relations to other cultures' than has been previously recognised. That conclusion leaves the question of the subsequent fate of Islamic science in the modern world both perplexing and important. What happened? It seems a pity that neither contributors nor editors addressed, even briefly, this important issue.

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John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003, 682 pp. ISBN: 0-520-23075-2 (hbk).

This is a big book in every sense – in the sweep of its coverage, in its deep scholarship and in its sheer physical bulk. It provides an impressive range of regional case studies to demonstrate the numerous ways in which the global environment was transformed before the so-called industrial revolution. Richards' curiosity carries him to Taiwan, China, Japan, Britain, Russia, South Africa, the West Indies, Mexico, Brazil, the Antilles, eastern North America, Siberia and the cod fisheries and whaling grounds of the Northern hemisphere. Generally his brisk, no nonsense prose carries the reader along with him, while the succinct summaries will make this an exceptionally useful textbook. Numerous excellent maps help readers key into areas of the globe with which they be unfamiliar. On the whole he avoids declensionist excess by noting examples where human interventions improved environments; for example, where grazing animals enhanced savannahs and grasslands. Generally Richards succeeds admirably in taking the reader around the world in 600 pages.

Throughout Richards reminds us that as William Cronon, Donald Worster and others have demonstrated, there are very close links between economic and technological history and environmental history. This book reinforces the important point that globalisation began well before the twentieth century and that the expansion of various Asian as well as European countries accounted for many important changes to landscapes and environmental systems. The creation of the world economy, in short, produced environmental impacts of truly global proportions. Rapid advances in the building of sailing ship and map making helped overcome the tyranny of distance long before the railway train and telegraph, let alone the internet. Major improvements in 'organizational capacity and efficiency' also led to greater exploitation of natural resources. Richards argue convincingly that without the 'protected space' and 'public order' offered by modern states that development would have been greatly retarded. What humans gained the environment tended to lose as biodiversity shrank and some species even disappeared. Invading species simplified ecosystems. Pioneers wasted the abundance of newly discovered lands to the extent that many modern depletions and problems can be traced directly to the early modern era. Serious attempts at land management only came after pioneers stayed for several generations and learnt the details of 'micro climates, soil textures, vegetation cover and water cycles'. On the one hand property rights helped provide security, but, on the other, encouraged speculation which ran counter to sustainable practise. Providing the energy to support the massive expansion of both population and economic activity became a major problem because burning wood proved unsustainable. Only Japan attempted to maintain its forests and even the Tokugawa regime struggled

to prevent exhaustion of this supply of fuel. Fossil fuels, especially coal, eventually provided a way out of the *cul de sac* that held back human progress and economic growth. By the end of this era, around the early 1800s, the frontier was no longer endless, nor resources inexhaustible. Some rethinking had to occur when new territories were no longer so readily available for exploitation and settlement.

Consequently, Richards pays particular attention to empires and imperialism, even if such developments are often dismissed as mere 'mercantilism' in comparison with the tighter and more formal relationships of the nineteenth century. This focus means that he pays much attention to what was once called political economy, that is, the intersections between economic drives, the push for power and intellectual justifications of both acquisitiveness and the will to dominate. Environmental historians must be conversant, therefore, with the rise and fall and oscillations of empires of every kind, as well as with the ways in which environments set limits upon the ambitions of various, emperors, kings and war lords.

The reader gains all sorts of fascinating insights from this approach, which helps to explain much about modern China, Japan, and Latin America as well as Europe and North America. Richards makes clear that Chinese attempts to manipulate the environment to support its large population long predates communism, while Japan's concern with protecting its own resources while exploiting those of others happened well before industrialisation. Similarly, the reckless developmentalism of modern Brazil can be traced directly to its colonial era, just as modern Britain's manipulated, drained and tamed landscape was formed by the process of enclosure from the Tudors onwards. Perhaps as an American scholar Richards under emphasises the impact which the British had upon the environments of such far flung ex-colonies as the one in which I live. India, the rest of Africa and the 'Middle East' are also somewhat neglected, but such total coverage would probably require three volumes. It would have been helpful if a little more consideration had been given to the intellectual and religious frames which helped justify the drive for resources and new territories. The contributions made by indigenous peoples to the massive environmental transformations of this era are also largely absent, but incorporation of that story would probably require four volumes.

The only problem with such a broad approach to environmental history is that it has produced a very large book. It may be prejudice but it strikes me that any book over 400 pages is basically running out of control. Had Richards, therefore, defined environmental history a little more narrowly and precisely he might have been better able to control some of the detail on economic drivers and political machinations. This is not to detract from his superb scholarship and extraordinarily wide reading because the book works as both environmental and world history. It's just that perhaps it should have been titled something like – 'A set of

regional studies of the early modern world with particular attention to the environment'. Few though will disagree with Richards' final clarion call that in the post-frontier phase of human history: 'Wise and responsible management from local scale to the global scale is the only possible strategy'.

In summary, despite my quibbles this is a major contribution to both world and environmental history which will stand as a work of landmark importance. It is highly recommended reading for anyone researching or teaching in early modern, world, economic, or environmental history.

Reviewed by TOM BROOKING  
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Judith Shapiro, *Mao's War Against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China*, Cambridge & New York, Cambridge University Press, 2001, xvii + 287 pp. ISBN: 0-521-78680-0 (pbk).

*Mao's War Against Nature* is a fascinating and detailed history of the disastrous Maoist years both for the environment and the Chinese people. It is the second book of the Cambridge Studies in Environment and History to deal with China, after *Sediments of Time*.<sup>1</sup> Shapiro's central tenet is that there is 'a congruence between violence among human beings and violence by humans towards the nonhuman world' and that Mao Zedong's suppression of Chinese nature mirrored his suppression of Chinese people (1). Mao played a central role in orchestrating the exploitation of China's people and environment, but so, Shapiro shows, did other factors as well. Adherence to Soviet development models, the support of other party members, and the tradition of imperial projects aimed at 'taming' nature all contributed to environmentally destructive policies.

Shapiro adopts a thematic approach to each chapter, dealing with in turn the effects of political suppression, utopian urgency, dogmatic conformity and state-directed population relocations on the Chinese environment and people. Her first chapter looks at the consequences of Mao's suppression of intellectual discussion through the experiences of two victims of such purges, demographer Ma Yinchu and hydraulic engineer Huang Wanli. Ma Yinchu, a brilliant and formerly highly

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Elvin and Liu Ts'ui-jung eds, *Sediments of Time: Environment and Society in Chinese History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

respected demographer, warned that unless measures were taken to restrain China's large and growing population, it would check economic development. Hydraulic engineer Huang Wanli criticised the design of the Sanmenxia (Three Gate Gorge) Dam, cautioning that the lack of sluice gates encouraged the build up of silt. Both men fell victim to the Anti-rightist purges as Mao, having first encouraged intellectuals to speak up with the Hundred Flowers campaign, now vented his hatred against them. Ostracised from their profession and peers, physically and emotionally abused, their fate, notes Shapiro, typified that of many other intellectuals during this period. Their abuse also had lasting environmental consequences for China. Repressing critics meant many environmentally unsound and foolhardy projects went ahead because experts were too afraid or unable to criticise them. China's population problems and polluted waterways, eroded hills and other environmental disasters, Shapiro notes, also can be attributed to Mao's legacy of intellectual suppression.

Chapter two charts China's environmental history into the late 1950s, beginning with Mao's utopian disaster, the Great Leap Forward (GLF). Seized by the desire to industrialise China and catch up with Great Britain in steel production, the GLF became notable for frenzied attempts at smelting worthless metal utensils and fanciful reporting of production to meet ever-unrealistic quotas. An exercise in mass mobilisation, the GLF saw Chinese wage war on nature, cut timber to meet the fiery needs of furnaces, move earth to create dams, while also engage in a war with sparrows to prevent them from eating grain. 'The conquest of nature and the prosperity of humankind were believed to be at hand through the miracle of socialism', writes Shapiro (67). By 1960 miracle had turned into disaster: famine was ravaging the country; many forests and environments lay waste. Mao, forced out of the political limelight, 'rested' in Lushun.

As Shapiro demonstrates in chapter three, Mao's political comeback, typically, rested on an assault on nature and humans. In 1964 Mao urged the nation-wide imitation of the Dazhai Brigade's efforts of self-reliance in overcoming the destruction wrought by flooding. Summarised in the slogan, 'In Agriculture, Learn from Dazhai', Shapiro asserts that Mao soon raised up Dazhai's workers and their agricultural methods as a model of revolutionary vigour to be slavishly applied across the whole country, regardless of topography or climate. Terracing must follow the Dazhai model; tools must be the same as those used in Dazhai; and so on. If following the Dazhai model demonstrated loyalty to Mao, Shapiro notes that questioning its appropriateness invited attack, possibly worse. Models impelled many other campaigns during this period. 'Take Grain as a Key Link', for instance, involved the heedless overemphasis on grain production, often in areas totally unsuitable to its growth. With the in-filling of the Dianchi wetlands, Shapiro shows how ideological struggle and the transformation of nature were merged together. On one level,

transforming the wetlands symbolised the strength of communist ideals over nature. On another, it symbolised an attack on Mao's enemies. Maoists attacked critics of reclamation, accusing them of 'reptilianism', an epithet used by Maoists as a criticism of the slow pace of economic development advocated by Liu Shaoqi. Remoulding nature also mirrored the remoulding of human nature. As Shapiro observes, 'Purging and rebuilding the lake was seen as a ritual enactment of purging and rebuilding the mind' (128). Military style organisation of society and military-like internal struggle likewise mirrored military style attacks on and struggles against nature. By using models, too, Shapiro contends that Mao Zedong Thought triumphed revolutionary will as a means of transforming the physical environment.

Chapter four deals with the last of Mao's attacks on China's citizens and environment, his policy of forced relocations of people and industry. In the late 1960s, fearing military attack from the Soviet Union or United States, Mao initiated his 'Third Front' policy, which involved removing industry and military to inland locations, hopefully away from the frontline of any war. The siting of the Panzihua Iron and Steel Mill in Southwest Sichuan typified the policy decisions of many newly created or relocated industries of the Third Front. Riding roughshod over many technical recommendations and safety considerations, Panzihua was constructed amid mountains and caves, and with unseemly haste. In an area bounded by mountains, chimneys could not flush out pollutants, while a lethal cocktail of chemicals was allowed to flow uninterrupted into the Jinsha River. Health problems and environmental despoliation resulted. Just as the Third Front moved industry into fragile areas, so Shapiro shows that the Educated Youth Movement moved people into ecologically fragile rural areas. Mobilising about 20 million youth, Mao sent them to join village production teams or the Production-Construction Army Corps (PCAC). The PCAC, organised along quasi-military lines and charged with opening up China's wastelands and defending its borders, had a profound and detrimental affect on the environment. As Shapiro details in a case-study, those sent to Xishuangbanna (Yunnan) destroyed a great deal of the biodiversity for which the region was famous. Ironically, the experience of destroying nature turned one former Educated Youth into an environmentalist.

In her final chapter, Shapiro sums up Mao's legacy and comments on the state of the environment and human rights in contemporary China. Shapiro finds many of Mao's policies still in operation, albeit in attenuated form: a centralised party bureaucracy, the imposition of models, forced relocations (such as the Three Gorges Project), high population, pollution, lack of free speech, ambiguity of land rights. Shapiro, like other environmentalists such as anti-dam protester Dai Qing, highlights the importance of free speech in environmental protection and the need to educate Chinese about basic environmental facts. Economic development, Shapiro notes, also creates new problems. Despite a raft of new

environmental legislation, economic development is often still given priority over environmental protection. The inability of the Chinese state to fully implement environmental protection and a population unable to speak out on environmental matters may well undermine Shapiro's hopes of environmental protection and free speech. Nor will it necessarily follow, as Shapiro suggests, that increasing free speech will bring about greater environmental protection. While, as Lynch argues, the Chinese state no longer has total control over the Chinese populace, nor has a civil society developed.<sup>1</sup>

Despite Shapiro's excellent style, a country plunging from one environmental and human disaster into the next makes for depressing reading at times. In this sense *Mao's War Against Nature* follows the 'environmental apocalypse' approach to the writing of environmental history, an approach that constructs a narrative of environmental destruction and loss set against human greed and folly.<sup>2</sup> Very often narratives such as these obscure complexity and eschew nuances. Judith Shapiro's work is no different in this respect. As Peter Ho has recently shown, environmental policies during the Maoist years were not the total environmental disaster Shapiro – and others – portray. The "Take Grain as a Key Link" policy, for instance, was not as lopsidedly geared towards grain self-sufficiency as Shapiro makes out. Ho demonstrates that for China's northern rangelands (including parts of Inner Mongolia, Tibet, Gansu and Ningxia) the Grain-first movement did not cause widespread environmental degradation of these areas. While some areas slavishly grew grain, others emphasised the integrated agricultural development of different kinds of land use. Other campaigns inaugurated at the same time as the Dazhai model, such as Learn-from-Wushenzhao (Uxin Banner) which upheld the need to encourage sustainable development and the protection of rangelands, do not receive discussion, let alone mention, by Shapiro. As Ho observes, the Chinese state was not simply the monolithic entity Shapiro and others have portrayed.<sup>3</sup>

Policy implementation within the Chinese state varied by place and time. Indeed, the challenge with writing about China is translating its vast geographical and numerical size into a comprehensive and comprehensible narrative, while also being aware of nuances. Some recent books on China's contemporary environment circumvent size and

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel C. Lynch *After the Propaganda State: Media, Politics, and "Thought Work" in Reformed China*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1999.

<sup>2</sup> I borrow the concept, loosely, from John Mackenzie, 'Empire and the ecological apocalypse: the historiography of the imperial environment', in Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin, eds, *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies*, Edinburgh, Keele University Press, 1997.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Ho 'Mao's War Against Nature? The Environmental Impact of the Grain-First Campaign in China', *The China Journal*, 50 (July, 2003): 37-59. On the Chinese state see also, for instance, Kenneth G. Lieberthal and David M. Lampton eds, *Bureaucracy, Politics and Decision Making in Post-Mao China*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992.

complexity through an almost blind worshipping of statistics, as if to bury the reader with figure after figure will illuminate China's environmental policies and problems. In contrast Shapiro skilfully interweaves interviews, as well as reports and images, statistical data and official publications, to produce a deeply personal perspective on the Mao years both for humans and nature, while also relating these back to the overarching political themes of the period. Yet, as Shapiro's work shows, a narrative element of environmental disaster can also obscure difference and nuance.<sup>1</sup> Seen in this light then, Shapiro's tenet, that policies from the Maoist period created many environmental problems, can be accepted only by recognising that the implementation and effects of this policy varied by area and time. Her thesis on the symmetry between Mao's suppression of the Chinese people and nature holds. Even if they did not have the intended results, as Shapiro shows many of Mao's campaigns, such as his vision of revolutionary will physically transforming nature and morally transforming people, tied together the suppression of nature and humans.

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Rachel May and John Minford eds., *A Birthday Book for Brother Stone: for David Hawkes, at Eighty*, Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press, 2003, xi + 365 pp. ISBN:962-996-111-3 (hbk).

This is a most unusual, yet very engaging book. Rachel May and John Minford, daughter and son-in-law of David Hawkes, invited over 40 of David's friends to contribute towards a book to be given to him on his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday. There are poems, personal reflections, stories and paintings, a musical score for *Songs of the South*, calligraphy, essays and, of course, translations, all brought together to celebrate the life and work of not only a great translator but also someone well-loved by many.

It is pleasing, in this journal, to note the distinctive New Zealand-related contributions. Apart from the translations and editorial work of Rachel and John, there is a lovely Chinese piece – preface and poems – from Margaret South, Clare Golson's personal tribute from the perspective of a Chinese-NZer and some fine translations by Duncan Campbell. Then there is Steven Balogh's reminiscence of Beijing during the late 1940s when David and his wife Jean were living there and which features the New Zealander Max Bickerton. Balogh tells stories of the

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<sup>1</sup> With regard to environmental history and narrative, see William Cronon's essay 'A place for stories: nature, history and narrative', *Journal of American History*, 78, 4 (March, 1992), 1347-1376.

puppet shows put on by Hetta Crouse and Bickerton to entertain the expatriate community and, to illustrate these, he includes hand-painted photographs from one of these shows. This particular show, 'Under the Shadow of the Bomb', which celebrated the victory of communism and lampooned MacArthur and the 'imperialists', so polarised one audience that it ended in a punch-up, involving not only Bickerton but also Hetta's husband, William Empson (yes, he of *Seven Types of Ambiguity* fame). This story, along with others in the collection (Michael Sullivan's 'The Spanish Doctors', for instance), brings to mind George Kates' wonderful memoir *The Years that Were Fat*, and captures something of the excitement of life in China during the period from the 1930s to the early 1950s.<sup>1</sup>

There is much more to this birthday book than these NZ-related contributions, however. About half of the contributions are personal responses to David's books, especially *Songs of the South* and *Story of the Stone*. Some of these are suitably idiosyncratic, such as Brian Holton's rendering of some of the *Songs* into Scots in 'Frae the Nine Songs: A Wee Pendicle ti "Suddron Sangs" bi Dauvit Hawkes' and also Liu Ts'un-yan's reflections on translation in 'Green-stone and Quince'. Then there are the more straight-forward contributions from colleagues and students who suggest the importance of David's translations for their own work, such as Pang Bingjun's account of the powerful affect of reading the first volume of the *Stone* translation during the Cultural Revolution, Laurence Wong's poem 'The English Stone', Chow Tse-tsung's suggestion for the origins of the title 'The Red Chamber Dream', Colin Huehns musical scores in 'Six Settings of the Nine Songs by Qu Yuan' and Tao Tao Liu's essay on Hu Shi and the *Stone*.

My favourites amongst the other contributions, those not framed as direct responses to David's own work, include Göran Malmqvist's haiku, Anthony C. Yu's translations of lyrics by Wu Zao, John Gitting's story 'The Vegetarian Outrage of 1895' and Jacques Pimpaneau's affectionate account of the way David treated his students (that is before he resigned his chair at Oxford in order to live in rural Wales and devote himself to translation). But there is much more to this book than can be conveyed in a brief review. To give readers something of a feel for the book, here is Vikram Seth's contribution, 'for David Hawkes':

Happy the man who, not at Heaven's will,  
At eighty sits, or stands, or lies down still;  
Who, fugitive as moonlight on the pine,  
Keeps to his whims, declining to decline,  
Empty of self, yet seeing all in all –

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<sup>1</sup> See George N. Kates *The Years that Were Fat: Peking, 1933-1940*, Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1988. This was also a period when many other New Zealanders either visited or were living in China, as the recent books on Robin Hyde and R.A.K. Mason have shown.

Summer in frost, the scent of spring in fall.

Most of the contributions are no more than ten pages long, thus this is a book to dip into, and one that will keep drawing readers back for more. Perhaps appropriately, the only other book that this resembles, to my knowledge, is *Madly Singing in the Mountains*, the posthumous appreciation put together for Arthur Waley.<sup>1</sup> But how much more sensible it is to make it a 'birthday book', a gift to someone who Denis Twitchett describes as 'the best living translator' of Chinese literature and culture and 'one of the nicest people to grace our profession'.

Reviewed by BRIAN MOLOUGHNEY  
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Joshua S. Mostow, Norman Bryson, & Maribeth Graybill eds., *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2003, 291 pp. ISBN: 0-8248-2572-1 (hbk).

Framing explanations for art experiences in concepts formulated outside the cultural or temporal context of one's subject is problematic. The study of Japanese art history has been particularly susceptible. The equation of Kitagawa Utamaro's frank representation of sexual themes with some notion of moral degeneration by early twentieth century commentators is an example. Conversely, as Joshua S. Mostow explains in the introduction to *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field*, the broad but decontextualised celebration of *shunga-e* throughout the 1980s and 1990s has led to uncritical, and often misdirected evaluation. The solution sensibly proposed by the ten contributors to this volume is to find explanations for visual phenomena located in Japan rather than in the West, and on socio-cultural contexts consistent with those in which these visual experiences occurred, rather than from a standpoint in the twenty-first century. This being the case, the decidedly contemporary focus here on the relations of gender and power may seem a little misplaced, but as Chino Kaori clarifies in the opening paper of the collection, the

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<sup>1</sup> Ivan Morris ed., *Madly Singing in the Mountains: An Appreciation and Anthology of Arthur Waley* (Berkeley: Creative Arts Book Company, 1981). Interestingly, Waley also had a significant New Zealand connection; his wife was Alison Grant, a poet whose contributions (13 poems) to Quentin's Pope's 1930 anthology of New Zealand verse, *Kowhai Gold*, were second only to those of Eileen Duggan. For her account of their relationship see Alison Waley *A Half of Two Lives: A Personal Memoir* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982).

terminology of gender/power relations may be that of the 1990s, but the fact of these relations is nothing new.

Superficial readings of several of these papers may encourage an interpretation of gender/power relations as those of binary opposites – along the lines perhaps of a (male) dominant/(female) submissive paradigm. Thus Ikeda Shinobu, in ‘The Image of Women in Battle Scenes: “Sexually” Imprinted Bodies’ describes a powerful opposition between the representation of women as victims on the one hand, and male warriors as oppressors on the other, in the *Night Attack on the Sanjō Palace* (*Sanjō-den yo-uchi no maki*) scene from the Kamakura era *Illustrated Scrolls of the Tales of the Heiji Era* (*Heiji monogatari emaki*). In ‘Images of Women in National Art Exhibitions during the Korean Colonial Period,’ Kim Hyeshin explores the state management of ideological applications of art through the institution, from 1922 Sōnjōn, the officially sanctioned and supervised Korean Fine Art Exhibitions. Under the control of Sōnjōn, ‘..representation of the colonial landscape as lonely and impoverished and of figures in traditional dress as submissive’ (141) is juxtaposed against the authority of colonial government.

For David Pollack (‘Marketing Desire: Advertising and Sexuality in Edo Literature, Drama and Art’) this binary model provides a foundation for an explanation of how art works frame or condition the social construction of identity. Arts experiences are described as active agents in the development of a culture of persuasion, a primary force in the arrangement of a relation of a (male) dominant gaze and a (female) submissive ‘Other.’ While the language by now seems clichéd, the argument remains persuasive. Chigusa Kimura-Steven (‘The Otherness of Women in the Avant-garde Film *Woman in the Dunes*’) redeploys the terminology in an exploration of the dialectic between misogyny and objectified subjugation.

To accept each of these arguments only as dialectic arrangements of binary opposites – ‘male/female’, ‘dominant/submissive’ – is to miss both the complexities and subtleties present in their content however. Ikeda’s construction is that of male victor/female victim, but it embraces also relations of class, and couches its argument for a gender/power/class relation within the broader patterns of pictorial decision-making within the art-world institutions of the period. Similarly, the gender/power relations of colonial Korea are described within the broader contexts of ethnic and political relations.

The broad pattern underpinning the description of these more complexly interweaving relations is established through the book’s stated objectives of explaining each set of experiences in relation to its own time and context. Thus Joshua S. Mostow, in ‘The Gender of *Wakashu* and the Grammar of Desire,’ rather than considering ‘same-sex’ and ‘opposite-sex’ relations in terms of a late twentieth century opposition of heterosexuality and homosexuality, attempts to reconstruct a

‘gender/sexuality system’ for seventeenth century Japan (52). In this instance, power and control are seen not simply as dimensions of two-way male/female, male/male or female/female relations, but as a complex web of reciprocal and interweaving relations between men (*otoko*), wives (*onna*), prostitutes (*jōrō*) and ‘youngmen’ (*wakashu*) as illustrated in a seventeenth century album of *nanshoku* (lit. ‘man-colour’) *shunga-e*.

In some instances, these essays directly challenge the stereotype of a male/dominant, female/submissive opposition. Chino Kaori’s landmark paper ‘Gender in Japanese Art’ directly challenges the notion of this simple opposition construct.<sup>1</sup> Chino argues that gender qualities of ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ are not diametrically arranged opposites as much as qualities positioned in relation to one another in a sort of ‘gender continuum’. Their relation was underpinned, during Heian times, by corresponding distinctions between *kara-e* or ‘Chinese, or ‘Chinese-within-Japan’ painting, and *yamato-e*, or ‘Japanese painting’, and corresponding conventions in calligraphy, and between parallel notions of public/private and inner/outer. The result is not so much a straightforward binary relation as a multi-layered binarism within which there might be some degree of flux – a relation within which, for example ‘men could move through the “masculine” and “feminine” realms at will, while women, except for special occasions, were confined to the “feminine” realm’ (26–27). Ironically perhaps, given the greater flexibility of male positioning in this construct, Chino argues that during the Heian period, and at significant times since, the favoured domain within the ‘gender continuum’, for both men and women, lay in the ‘feminine’:

The people of the Heian period [...] effected a self-definition, that is, an identity for themselves, that was not ‘public’, not ‘outer’, not ‘pretence’, but the most intimate, deeply familiar and comfortable Japan-within-Japan (25).

Interestingly, when Gunhild Borggreen (‘Gender in Contemporary Japanese Art’) describes the development of a ‘feminine sensitivity’ as a definable domain in recent Japanese art practice, she finds also a corresponding ‘slippage’ amongst some male participants, and describes some essays into this territory (189–197).<sup>2</sup>

The accepted givens for each of these papers are that gender identities are social constructs; that gender relations are intricately enmeshed with power relations; and that visual experience – through media of painting, printing, drawing, *manga*, film or calligraphy – is a powerful force for the construction and maintenance of gender identities

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<sup>1</sup> Chino Kaori’s paper is the earliest in the collection. It was first delivered in 1993 at the Eastern Regional Conference of the Art History Association of Japan (Bijutsushi Gakkai).

<sup>2</sup> Though as Borggreen notes: ‘Male artists may apply the same styles or subject matter, but the discourses about how to interpret the images are different’ (180).

and social positioning. In some of these papers the converse is also explored: that is, the proposition that gender and power relations may condition or shape artistic outcomes. Chino, for example, describes the manifestation of ‘feminine’ qualities (she includes ‘small, delicate and gentle’) in stylistic idioms, in qualities of pictorial composition, brush-mark, linear quality and pictorial harmony (28-9). For Kim the desolate settings and submissive women subjects are parts of an implicitly approved iconography. Sharalyn Orbaugh (‘Busty Battlin’ Babes: The Evolution of the *Shōjō* in 1990s Visual Culture’) explores the impact of hybridized gender categories on both the iconographic and stylistically baroque excesses of representations in *anime* and *manga*. Norman Bryson (‘Westernising Bodies: Women Art and Power in Meiji *Yōga*’) explores the institutionalized mechanisms of this relation between gender and style through the Meiji fascination with the Eurocentric masculine construct of the ‘bohemian’. The phenomenon is not, perhaps, surprising given its similarities to the Tokugawa construct of the ‘floating world’ and its associated aesthetic sensibilities.

In some instances the claims of contributors to this volume may seem to be provocative. There is plenty of evidence, especially in contemporary literature, for the maintenance of a tendency towards the ‘feminine’ as described by Chino in the intercourse of Heian aristocracy and literati, and the mode survives in urban Edo, in, for example, the figural representations of Suzuki Harunobu, but is there evidence of a corresponding relation elsewhere in the population? Ikeda’s argument of the pornographic intent and effect of the *Night Attack on the Sanjō Palace* is founded on the graphic representation of bared breasts in the women-victims of the attack, yet to Western eyes these representations are so stylized and diagrammatic as to appear de-sexualised; perverse, certainly, but hardly pornographic. Yet as Ikeda explains, seen in terms of Heian period graphic conventions, and the politics of patronage of its time, the picture is, quite precisely, one of objectification and degradation.

Less convincingly, Doris Croissant (‘Icons of Femininity: Japanese Painting and the Paradox of Modernity’) claims an inconsistent construct with early *nihonga* painters like Tsuchida Bakusen, for whom the pictorial conventions of *ukiyo-e* provided both eroticised sources and models for more prudish representations:

In contrast to the voyeuristic delight in *yōga* nudes, *nihonga bijinga* directed itself towards edifying female viewers. In Meiji-period *bijinga* the ideal of female beauty had lost its formerly overt association with the erotic culture of Edo pleasure quarters (137).

Given their explicit debt to identifiable figural models in *ukiyo-e* and *shunga-e*, and to representations of the nude female figure by Gauguin, Manet (*Olympia*) or Goya (*Maja*), together with the implicitly patronizing effect of ‘primitivist’ modes, it is difficult to see Bakusen’s nude and semi-

nude figures as anything but erotically charged. Similarly, Croissant's brief explanation of the aesthetic sensibility of *iki* avoids mention of its essential character of sexual provocation.<sup>1</sup>

The common thread running through each of these essays is the construction of gender/power relations. The closeness of this focus is positioned against a much more broadly ranging field. Its contributors embrace visual experiences from Heian times, through Tokugawa, through Restoration modernization to the present day. Wisely, I think, its authors tend to avoid using the term 'art', preferring instead to arrange their enquiries under the umbrella of 'the visual field.' This strategy seems entirely appropriate for a range of investigations that examine scroll painting, *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints, calligraphy, pornography, film, *anime* and *manga*. Perhaps more surprisingly, but quite legitimately, the essays also embrace a range of differing notions of gender, from Chino Kaori's arrangement of 'masculine' and 'feminine' within a broader continuum, to Ikeda's subtle interplay of gender and class, through the four gender categories identified by Joshua S Mostow, to Sharalyn Orbaugh's explanation of hybrid gender types in *anime* and *manga*.

In celebrating complexity, difference, and change in cultural habits, the book encourages a degree of divergent thinking and debate more suitable to its subjects than the narrowly constructed pathways of dualist reductionism. It is these differences, as much as the central focus of this volume, that make it a provocative, stimulating read.

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Matthew Allen, *Identity and Resistance in Okinawa*, London, Rowman & Littlefield, 2002, 264 pp. ISBN 0-7425-1714-4 (pbk).

*Identity and resistance in Okinawa* is about one small Japanese island, Kumejima, which the author discusses in terms of identity formation within island life, Okinawa Prefecture and Japan. The book divides into three parts: 1. Memory, locality, and history; 2. Mental health, shamanism, and identity; and 3. Regionalism and identity.

In part 1, Allen provides a thorough introduction to Okinawa, especially concerning history, geography, politics, and society in

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<sup>1</sup> '...*iki* is the "essence" [*sui*] of coquetry', Kuki Shūzō, trans., John Clark, *Reflections on Japanese Taste: The Structure of Iki*, Sydney, Power Institute, 1997, 44.

contemporary Japan. Kumejima is outlined in detail, and the early part of the book provides an essential background to this peripheral Japanese island. In the opening pages, the author shows his theoretical positioning by drawing on the works of such writers as Bourdieu, Bhabha and Sarup. One leaves the introduction with a strong sense that cultural identity for the people of Kumejima, as well as for Okinawans, is negotiated in complex ways as a result of national cultural diversity, something that is not always foregrounded in discourses on Japanese identity.

In 1999, education in Kumejima radically changed. The Nakazato Board of Education introduced a “living history” programme that has created opportunities for the children of Kumejima to understand the past through stories as told by war survivors. The aim of this programme is deeply rooted in helping Kumejima children understand who they are and where they come from. The programme is essentially about creating awareness of the diverse cultures of Okinawa and to reassess Okinawan, Japanese and American historical narratives that have so often been imposed in Japanese state education.

The book’s second chapter explores the phenomenon of locality and diaspora on Kumejima. The author discusses the concept of home and challenges the ways it might be understood by the people of Kumejima. Here, one begins to understand the complexities of this peripheral island: “by looking at the margins (Torishima) of a society (Gushikawa) on the margins (Kumejima) of Okinawa, itself marginalized within Japan, we get a sense of how identity is negotiated and how the referencing of the other is a critical component of defining oneself” (76).

Chapter 3 looks at dialect and dialectics. Here, Allen examines how dialect is used to foster cultural identity and local pride. It is in this chapter that the reader begins to get a real sense of the author’s research methods. As an historian, Allen is naturally interested in the history of the island, and this is certainly reflected in the detailed description of social events of the island throughout the twentieth century. However, in Chapter 3 one realises that the author is also undertaking an ethnography of the island. It is this approach, with the intricate historical referencing, that makes the book fascinating and of particular interest to scholars across a number of fields. This approach continues to the last chapter of the first section, where the author examines the interconnectedness between society and educational organizations. Chapter 4 looks primarily at the tensions created between national, prefectural and local ideals in education. Again, one learns about the island being on the margins, perhaps on the “periphery of a periphery” (110).

Part 2 of the book moves to different areas of inquiry. In this section, the topics are mental health, shamanism and identity. Chapter 5 is fascinating. The author looks at the dialectics between indigenous (i.e., local to the island and prefecture) forms of medicine and those of non-Okinawan Japan. It seems that islanders employ shamanism and psychiatry when appropriate, and they even mix the two if necessary. In

this chapter and the next two, Allen maintains his study of contested identities. It is here that one gains a further understanding of the complex relationship the island has with other parts of Japan. Indeed, it is through this approach that the reader can see the intricacies of what might be termed multicultural Japan.

Part 3 is about regionalism and identity. This is the shortest part of the book (just two chapters in less than forty pages), but maintains the authors drive to explore the idea of identity at an even further level of study. The penultimate chapter looks at tourism and describes in detail some of the complex issues relating to regional identity. The history and description of tourism on Kumejima make very interesting reading. Okinawa is certainly known in Japan and beyond as a place where tourists go, but for Kumejima, tourism on this small island has made a major impact in recent years. The island is marketed in terms of its natural beauty. Like many other tourist places in Japan, Kumejima is sold in terms of its environment. For example, in a brochure of one hotel one reads about coral reefs, nature parks, emerald waters, lush greenery, etc. It is here, however, that the island is sold as part of Okinawa, thus blurring island identity within wider hegemonies.

Chapter 9 is a succinct exploration of several contemporary issues relating to multivocal or multicultural Okinawa. Allen summarizes some of the ideas underlying the whole book in this chapter with such comments as:

Faced with daily crises of identity, people situate themselves within more immediate, less widely imagined community boundaries [...] Where the margins of identity intersect, where the notion of who people are alters to accommodate or resist others, we can see how systems produce new and dynamic forms of identity, sometimes fragmented, but often innovative (234).

The last part of the book, however, could have been longer. The author begins to explore regionalism, but neglects to make substantial comparisons with other regions in multi-regional Japan. As a way of contextualizing this subject area, the reader might be helped with an explanation of and comparison with other peripheral regions in Japan.

There are several other points of criticism. The orthography used to transliterate Japanese terms is not so helpful to read. Long vowels are shown without the more usual macron, but with an extra vowel added (there are many words that have vowel elongation omitted altogether). While this system is certainly correct, it is unusual and at times awkward to follow. Nevertheless, the book is extremely well referenced; it has several black and white illustrations help contextualize the island under study (the quality of the prints is not so good, and some colour photographs would have been useful); and it has a glossary of selected

Japanese terms (one wonders, however, why it does not include more terms, and, moreover, why it does not include *kanji*).

This is a very well written book. The subject of study might be one small island on the periphery of Japanese society, culture and geography, but the topics written about within the study will be of interest to scholars from many fields. The author carefully and cleverly uses ideas from, for example, contemporary cultural studies, anthropology and history to produce a fascinating representation of an aspect of Japanese society that is so often obfuscated in discussions of what it means to be Japanese. Indeed, what Allen has done is elaborate on the idea of multi-regional, multicultural Japan. *Identity and resistance in Okinawa* certainly makes fascinating reading for anyone interested in Japan.

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Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II*, trans. Suzanne O'Brien, New York, Columbia University Press, 2000, 253 pp. ISBN: 0-231-12033-8 (hbk).

In Japan, the existence of the so-called 'comfort women,' or the victims of Japanese military sexual slavery, had been long known among historians, feminists and war veterans. However, the figure of these women never constituted Japanese public memory, and hardly entered international consciousness. This changed in December 1991, when a former comfort woman, Kim Hak Sun and others filed a lawsuit against the Japanese government at the Tokyo District Court, demanding apology and compensation over the sexual slavery they had suffered under the Japanese military. Since then, the 'comfort women' have become and remained as one of the most controversial 'current issues' of the contemporary Japan. Mass media, academics, school teachers, feminists and citizens' groups – all joined in the heated discussion over whether Japan should apologise, compensate, and in what ways. No longer the stories of sexual enslavement by the Japanese military are confined within the private memories of these women and war veterans: they have become a matter of national memory and the public discourse. No longer are their stories just a matter of the mere past: they have emerged at the centre of Japanese attempt to construct its present and the future of the country beyond the legacy of the W.W.II. Indeed, the 'comfort women'

became a symbol for Japan's difficult attempts in coming terms of the war responsibility and the legacy of the militaristic past.

The author of this translated book, Yoshimi Yoshiaki, has been at the centre of the development of the 'comfort women' issue in the 1990s. He is the historian who first discovered, in 1992, some official documents that proved the Japanese government's involvement in setting up the 'comfort stations,' putting the whole 'comfort women' controversy into motion. Since then, he has been energetically involved with the 'comfort women' issues both academically and politically. The Japanese original of this book of Yoshimi's has become an essential reading in understanding the reality of the 'comfort women' system, and its translation is greatly beneficial for both researchers and students who are interested in this issue.

Chapter one looks at the early establishment of the comfort stations in China, from the very first example in 1931 Shanghai to the later mass establishment of the comfort stations, and traces how it developed into an intricate system of collecting, transporting, and exploiting the women by 1938. Yoshimi examines the direct and indirect involvement of various agents, including elite military officers, Home Ministry, the Ministry of War, the Police, and the Government-Generals of Korea and Taiwan, in setting up comfort stations, revealing the systematic nature of these operations. Following the detailed examination of documentary evidence, he concludes that '[I]t is clear that the Japanese army and the state were definitely involved in the establishment of military comfort stations and the rounding up of comfort women' (65) – an important point, as one of the most contentious points within the 'comfort women' debate today has been over the government's involvement, which has an implication on the current Japanese state's legal responsibility, formal apology, and compensation.

In this chapter he also carefully examines the rational behind the setting up of the 'comfort stations.' One of the main reasoning that appeared at the beginning of the system was that such facilities would stop Japanese soldiers from raping local Chinese women: the soldiers' sexual frustration was to be released at the 'comfort station,' diminishing the necessity of rape elsewhere. There were indeed many rapes committed by Japanese troops in China prior to the setting up of the 'comfort stations,' and evidence suggests that this troubled the Japanese Headquarters greatly as it created strong anti-Japanese sentiments amongst the local Chinese population. However, in reality, the 'comfort women' system did not prevent rapes in the occupied areas. As Yoshimi correctly points out, '[i]t is impossible to prevent rape on the one hand while officially sanctioning sexual violence on the other' (66). The 'comfort women' system, which was conceived as an 'option for resolving the troops' sexual problems' (45), violated women's right, and shared the same principle as that of rape. Yoshimi challenges the other main rational behind the emergence of the 'comfort stations,' too. This

was the idea that controlled and regulated facilities should prevent venereal disease amongst Japanese soldiers. Ironically, Yoshimi points out, the establishment of the 'comfort station' have in reality caused the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. This is because the examinations of the soldiers who used the 'comfort stations' were not conducted vigilantly. The number of army personnel who contracted sexually transmitted diseases increased from 11,983 in 1942 to 12,587 in 1944 (72).

Chapter two examines the expansion of the operation into Southeast Asia and the Pacific after Japan started the war against the US and its allies in 1941. Similarly to China's case, Japanese military invasion into Southeast Asia and Pacific was accompanied with many incidents of rapes. The Judicial Department Chief Oyama, attributed rapes in Thailand and Burma to the 'insufficient comfort facilities' (80). And so women were drafted in Taiwan and Korea, and transported to Southeast Asia and the Pacific. This was carried out under the central control by Ministry of War, which exercised jurisdiction over travel of these women and also supervised the 'comfort stations' in terms of prevention of venereal disease and general hygiene.

Yoshimi classifies the military comfort stations into three types: 1) those directly managed by the military and used exclusively by the military personnel; 2) those managed by civilian operators with supervision by military personnel or civilian military employees; 3) those open to the general public, but with priority to the military personnel. There were also some stations that were designed for the exclusive use of the high-ranking officers, where most women were ethnically Japanese. The 'comfort stations' for lower-ranking soldiers held Korean, Chinese, or Southeast Asian women. Overall ethnic proportion shows that majority of the women were from Korea and China.

Chapter three and four look at the process of the drafting of the 'comfort women' and their lives in the 'comfort stations' in some detail, based on the testimonies of the victims and memoirs of soldiers. There were significant differences in the kind of women drafted and how they were rounded up. For example, most Japanese 'comfort women' were over 21 years old, and engaged with prostitution, whereas most Korean women were young girls from poor families; they were often deceived in terms of the nature of the job, and in some cases forcefully taken. In Taiwan, too, many women were told that they were to work in a hospital or a restaurant. In China and Southeast Asia, military was often directly involved in drafting, which they often conducted with force. These differences within the often homogenised category of the 'comfort women' is one important aspect that emerges from this book. Yoshimi's account also details the everyday lives of the 'comfort women,' and here, too, there emerges certain differences. He looks at the reality of the tight army control, the registration system, the regulations for the use of the stations, the violence the women suffered, as well as psychological pain

and use of drug, through ample use of testimonies by former comfort women themselves.

Chapter five moves away from historical accounts of the 'comfort women' system, and analyses it in the light of international law, war crime, and sexual violence against women. An important point Yoshimi makes is that there was an element of 'ethnic discrimination' (154). This is made particularly clear through his examination of the Semarang 'comfort stations,' where Dutch women were forced into sexual slavery before the stations were closed after 2 months of operation, following the order of the 16<sup>th</sup> Army Headquarters. The Semarang Incident is the only case where the 'comfort women' system was recognised as a war crime and where victimisers were tried in the postwar court as Class B and C war criminals. Yoshimi points out the discrepancy between the attitudes of the Japanese army headquarters towards European and Asian women in terms of recognising that forcefully drafting women for the purpose of sexual slavery was a war crime.

The last chapter looks at the immediate postwar period, and touches upon the issue of the 'comfort stations' for the Allied Forces. The demand for establishing 'comfort and pleasure facilities' in order to prevent rapes of Japanese women by the US soldiers came from Japanese citizens including Japanese women, and the government ordered the construction of comfort stations as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> August 18<sup>th</sup> – only 3 days after Japan's defeat. The notion that 'comfort station' system is a violation of women's human rights seems to have existed neither in Japan nor in the Allied Powers. Yoshimi also briefly discusses the similar facilities to the Japanese military 'comfort stations' that were established around British, American, Russian and German militaries, and suggests that the structure and nature of the each military led to a specific form of such facilities. This approach opens up a path towards understanding the 'comfort system' not as a uniquely Japanese violence born out of the essentialised Japanese culture but within the broader context of war and sexual violence we have witnessed globally in recent history.

At the same time, Yoshimi is adamant that the 'comfort women' system as a 'multiple violation of human rights' (205) was supported by the discriminatory attitudes towards women held by Japanese military and Japanese men. From this perspective, he traces the historical development of the sexist consciousness and attitudes including the licensed prostitution in the Tokugawa period, Meiji civil law, as well as the sex tourism and 'nudity flooding television' (205) in contemporary Japan. Yoshimi is critical of Japanese society and Japanese men, suggesting that the sexism 'came from modern Japan itself, where culture sanctioned male sexual self-indulgence [...] the fulfilment of male sexual desire regardless of the dignity and human rights of women. (200). A rather depressing situation, were it not for Japanese men like Yoshimi himself, who manage to live beyond this cultural dictation.

Finally, this book comes with a 'Translator's Introduction,' which provides useful background information. It locates the 'comfort women' issue in the contemporary Japanese politics around the memory of the war, Asia-Japan relationship, and revisionist/nationalist attempt of rewriting history. Overall, this is an indispensable book for anyone who is interested in the 'comfort women' issue.

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Leith Morton, *Modern Japanese Culture: The Insider View*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 2003, 290 pp. ISBN: 0-19-554089-1 (pbk).

Japan has long been an object of fascination and frustration for many: the irresistible tale of a country forced to open up and embrace modernization, only to devour at break-neck speed all the lessons the West had to offer. Japan's post-war story is just as dramatic: rising from the ashes of defeat to become a formidable force that struck fear into the (economic) hearts of countries and corporations all over the globe. The back cover of Leith Morton's book plays on this inscrutable image, beginning with the often heard mantra "modern Japan is an enigma" and promising to explain how this "profoundly complex" culture has evolved by examining the Japanese thinkers (the "insiders" of the sub-title) that have helped to shape the way the Japanese view themselves. While I am wary that such people do in fact influence the general public's self-perceptions (one might argue that Barry Crump is an influential New Zealand thinker but not everyone feels an affinity for hunting and bush shirts), Morton's text is undeniably valuable in that it addresses the problem of the lack of material available in English regarding two giants of modern Japanese thought, Yanagita Kunio and Yoshimoto Takaaki, as well as other less well-known but nevertheless important intellectuals.

In the general introduction Morton stresses the ground-breaking nature of his work: that is, it makes previously untranslated texts available for the first time to English-language readers. The framework for study, and the point of Morton's originality, is "insider discourse." So who exactly are these insiders? Morton describes them as "writers whose language and social and cultural background are explicitly Japanese" (2). I was a little skeptical of this definition and couldn't help wondering about the position of groups such as *zainichi-kankokujin* (those of Korean parentage but born and raised in Japan), or if, for that matter, language, social and cultural background always fit together so neatly to create an

“explicitly Japanese” identity. And although Morton draws mainly on the work of Japanese scholars, he also quotes numerous English-language researchers (“outsiders” if we stick to the above definition) who write about Japanese culture, particularly in the sections on mass culture. I therefore remained slightly unconvinced about the “insider/outsider” paradigm; later on Morton acknowledges the ambiguity and fluidity of these terms when he notes that Yoshimoto Takaaki, “like all contemporary insider critics, at times takes outsider perspectives” (155). I also thought that mention of the Japanese concepts of *uchi* (inside) and *soto* (outside) might have been an interesting addition to Morton’s discussion.

Chapter One, “Interpreting Culture in Modern Japan,” begins with a summary of insider/outside discourse both in Japan and the West, then draws extensively on two works by psychologist Minami Hiroshi which discuss most of the major *Nihonjinron* (Japanese ethnocentric discourse) theorists of the twentieth century. Morton pauses from time to time in his reading of Minami to scrutinise figures such as Kuki Shuzo and Maruyama Masao more closely, and introduce scholarly works not discussed by Minami, such as those by poet Soh Sakon and novelist Shimao Toshio. There is much information to absorb in this densely packed chapter, from the internationalization of Japanese culture, to religiosity and English-language views of Japanese ethnocentricity.

Chapter Two, “Yanagita Kunio and the Origins of Culture,” is devoted to an overview of the famed creator of *minzokugaku* (ethnology) and an examination of the critical reception of his works by contemporaries. Morton engages in a reading of four of Yanagita’s major “case studies,” an analysis which leaves no doubt in the reader’s mind that Yanagita’s thesis of the origins of the Japanese has indeed “had an enormous impact on the post-war obsession with the question of national identity” (98). Morton’s lucid and lengthy translations provide valuable insight for those unable to access Yanagita’s challenging texts.

The following chapter on “Yoshimoto Takaaki and Contemporary Culture” follows much the same approach, with a detailed summary of three of Yoshimoto’s previously untranslated works. Yoshimoto, the author of “well over 100 individual volumes of cultural, social, literary, economic, historical, and political criticism” (105), makes for interesting reading not only because of his colourful life as a major post-war poet, 1960s student activist and prominent intellectual but also because he is the father of *Kitchen*-novelist Yoshimoto Banana, that icon of Japanese popular, as opposed to modern, culture. Morton convincingly argues the case for Yoshimoto’s importance on the modern Japanese intellectual landscape and readers used to only non-Japanese accounts of Japanese post-war literary history will find Yoshimoto’s take on the scene provocative. A significant amount of space is dedicated to summarising the texts and, as such, I sometimes felt like I was reading, instead of writing, a book review (“Chapter two concerns [...] The next chapter is

concerned with [...] Chapter four discusses [...] In chapter five,” 143-146); however, this is inevitable given the author’s aim of introducing untranslated works. At the end of this chapter, I was left wanting to read more of Yoshimoto and hoping that Morton might make the task easier for me by fully translating major texts such as *Masu Imeeji Ron (On Mass Images)*.

Chapter Four, “The Literature of Contemporary Japan,” uses the insider discourse of a number of critics to consider the impact of Mishima Yukio, Oe Kenzaburo, Murakami Haruki and Yoshimoto Banana, among others, on the literary landscape. It is inevitable that some readers will question Morton’s reasoning for choosing the writers he does; personally I felt the selection favoured male writers, although this may perhaps be an accurate reflection of the biased state of Japanese literary affairs towards “women writers.”<sup>1</sup> Morton’s introduction to the major movements in post-war poetry was refreshing, as this is an area in which, compared with fiction, English-language scholarship still lags behind.

In the penultimate chapter, “Mass Culture: TV, Cinema and Manga,” the author nicely works in Yoshimoto Takaaki’s critique of Japanese television, as well as two major studies by English-speaking scholars. I found the sections on cinema (based primarily on one book, Yomota Inuhiko’s *Nihon Eiga Shi Hyakunen [A Hundred Years of Japanese Cinema History]*) and *manga* (comics) lacking somewhat, with both of these areas being of such appeal to the general reader that they warrant fuller explanation. In the section on erotic *manga*, Morton uses English-language scholars almost exclusively, before offering his own reading of the “ladies comics” of Uchida Shungicu, commenting that her manga can be read “as both empowering and liberating in their portrayal of female sexuality” (248). Once again, I was left wanting to know more. In the epilogue Morton covers his bases by stating the pitfalls of being able to offer up but a small taste of the worlds of Japanese modern culture.

Due to the numerous personalities dealt with, this book would have benefited from an appendix listing the names, dates and works of the major players. I also counted seven misspellings of Japanese names in the index – a small point but accuracy is important given that this text is intended for use in introductory and advanced university courses in Japanese studies. However, the effort expended in sifting through and translating numerous texts is to be commended; in that respect, *Modern Japanese Culture* will no doubt be eagerly absorbed by those wanting to know more about contemporary Japanese thinkers (minus the painful task of trying to read them in the original Japanese). Morton for the most part

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<sup>1</sup> For a succinct summary of the inequalities in the Japanese literary establishment see Joan E. Ericson, “The Origins of the Concept of ‘Women’s Literature’ ” and Chieko M. Ariga, “Text Versus Commentary: Struggles over the Cultural Meanings of ‘Woman’ ” both in Paul Gordon Schalow & Janet A. Walker eds, *The Woman’s Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women’s Writing* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

withholds his own opinions, thus allowing the thinkers to speak for themselves and providing the reader with numerous avenues of interest to pursue. This is ideally what such an introductory text should do.

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Takemae Eiji, *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy*, translated and adapted by Robert Ricketts and Sebastian Swann, London & New York, Continuum, 2002, 751 pp. ISBN: 0-8264-6246-4 (hbk).

*Inside GHQ* is an extremely impressive book. It is a translation and a substantially revised and expanded version of a Japanese book that was first published in 1983 by Iwanami Shinsho. It divides into five parts, has eleven chapters and over seven hundred and fifty pages. There are illustrations, maps, diagrams, more than one hundred pages of endnotes, and a substantial bibliography.

Part 1 discusses the allied victory. Chapters 1 and 2, which comprise this part, look at the Pacific War and the first weeks of the allied occupation. The opening chapter sets the scene by beginning with MacArthur's arrival in Japan on 30 August 1945. Japan had surrendered on 15 August the same year after around three-and-a-half years of some of the fiercest warfare of World War II. The first chapter provides an historical background to the Pacific War and the lead up to the Japanese surrender. Covering the various and savage battles that took place on and around the many islands under Japanese rule, the author describes in detail the build up to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on 6 August and of Nagasaki soon after. Emperor Hirohito agreed to capitulate on 14 August and the following day there was a prerecorded radio broadcast made to the nation. Takemae notes the significance of Hirohito's speech: "the Imperial Rescript informed the Emperor's subjects, without using the words surrender or defeat, that Japan would seek peace. It was the first time the people had heard their sovereign's voice" (47). Chapter 2 focuses on the first few weeks of the occupation, providing graphic detail of the aftermath of the war. In this chapter, many of the war and post-war atrocities are described, which includes the Japanese military brothel system as well as the way the occupiers lived: "like neo-colonial overlords" (73). The closing section of this chapter gives a detailed account of the Soviet seizure of the Kuril islands. This sparsely populated group of more than thirty islands to the northeast of Hokkaidō had been a

point of contention between Japan and Russia for a number of years – they still are.

The two chapters that comprise Part 2 of the book are concerned with describing the way the occupation was organised. In these chapters, the author gives a detailed description of the allied control mechanism and the way control was established. One policy that was particularly relevant to the governance of Japan was that unlike the Ryūkyū and Kuril islands, mainland Japan (i.e., the main four islands) was not subject to direct military rule by the occupiers. Instead, MacArthur established a system by which he wielded authority through the civil administration that already existed. Chapter 4 looks in detail at the internal structure of the special staff sections. In this chapter, the author is concerned mainly with the internal and external dynamics of the many sections of the occupying force.

The two chapters in Part 3 are concerned with the genesis of political reforms. Here, the reader sees how MacArthur set out to change Japanese social and political institutions. Even by the time of surrender, a master plan had already been decided, which was then implemented by MacArthur. Chapter 6 explores the political reforms that transformed Japan soon after the war. Of paramount importance for these changes was the retention of the emperor, albeit without his autocratic powers. It is also in this chapter that the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal is examined, which shows the various classes of crimes according to their degree of atrocity. “From October 1945 to April 1951, about 5,700 Japanese were brought before 49 Allied military tribunals [...] A total of 4,405 were convicted, of whom 904 were executed and 475 given life sentences” (251).

The three chapters that comprise Part 4 look at institutional and economic reforms, cultural reforms, and welfare reforms and minorities. As early as March 1948 all of the planned changes in administration and economics had been implemented. What is extremely interesting with these reforms is that the occupation also aimed to transform some underlying Japanese values and beliefs. In Chapter 8, the author looks at cultural reforms. The cultural changes that were implemented are truly remarkable. The nation was transformed in just about every way imaginable, from religion to the media. The topic of welfare reforms and minorities are introduced in Chapter 9. The author outlines in detail many of the issues relating to the new public health and welfare system. An area of Japanese society that is still a highly contentious area is that of the nation's minorities.

The Occupation reforms failed to achieve their full promise for indigenous Ainu, Okinawans, the *Buraku* minority (*Burakumin*) and ethnic Formosans and Koreans [...] MacArthur's command [...] failed to challenge racism in its various dimensions, tacitly

condoning, and in some cases abetting, prejudicial attitudes and behaviour” (435).

The last main part of the book considers policy shift and the aftermath of the occupation. In retrospect, the rapid transformation of Japan in the few years after the war was phenomenal. In these years, Washington's influence was, of course, huge. American anti-communism in its Japanese context is outlined and shows how it “seemed to pervade every facet of American life, becoming a national psychosis” (477). The author describes Japan's “red purge” (480) and how 20,000 suspected leftists were removed from public life (485). The last part of Chapter 10 looks at how after the de-arming of Japan, America then re-armed the nation. A number of important issues are explored in the book's last chapter: “The Legacy of Occupation.” Territorial issues, the constitution, human rights, later political reforms, economic reforms, cultural reforms, health, welfare, and grass-roots democracy are topics that are outlined as important issues in contemporary Japan. The closing pages of the book take the reader to 2001, looking at the life and influences of Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichiro, the 9/11 terrorist strikes on the United States, and the end of the postwar era.

Overall, *Inside GHQ* is a significant contribution to the field of Japanese history. It provides a detailed account of the years following the allied occupation of Japan; a time that transformed the nation from 1945 until today. Also of relevance is that the book was written by a Japanese scholar. The book provides a comprehensive history of a monumental time in Japanese history and an understanding of some of the complexities of the allied occupation of Japan.

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Yoshio Sugimoto, *An Introduction to Japanese Society*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, xiii + 316 pp. ISBN: 0-521-52925-5 (hbk).

Despite a \$10 increase in retail price, the second edition of Yoshio Sugimoto's *An Introduction to Japanese Society* is more or less identical to its predecessor (1997) but for some added tables and updated statistical figures. This makes it a difficult task to constructively go beyond what Ken Henshall wrote in his review of the first edition (*New Zealand Journal of East Asian Studies*, VI, 2, 1998). In short, Henshall concludes

that while the work is a useful, lucid, thorough, and well-organised text on Japanese society, Sugimoto's intensity of approach to dispelling the myth of homogeneous, group-orientated Japan may be a little beyond beginners in the field.

The work's ten chapters cover phases of Western construction of Japan; class and stratification; geographical and generational variety; work and labour; education; gender and the family system; ethnicity and minority groups; the dynamics of the establishment; popular culture and everyday life; and so-called 'friendly authoritarianism.' Each chapter is divided into several related sub-fields, themselves each further broken down. For example, the sixth chapter on gender and the family system includes the sub-fields of 'The Family Registration System and *Ie* Ideology,' 'The Labour Market and Women's Employment Profiles,' 'Sexuality and Control of the Female Body,' 'Marriage and Divorce,' and 'Types of Family.' The chapters are identical to those in the first edition, with the major sub headings very similar too.

Sugimoto uses the series of headings and sub-headings well to break up the text into manageable portions, and pertinent statistics are usually summarised clearly in table form. This makes the main argument clear and easy to engage with, rather than occluded by the wealth of statistical data Sugimoto draws upon. Some of the tables are non-statistical and these neatly and concisely communicate information that would require many words to do so (for example, see Table 9.1 'Comparative dimensions of three types of popular culture' 245).

The writing style itself is transparent, easy to understand, and largely absent of the convolution all too characteristic of academic writing. This is particularly useful given that the text is aimed at students most likely to be in their first year of university study. Furthermore, the way in which Sugimoto structures his discussion at points by starting with traditional or conventional perspectives, moving onto more unusual or overlooked angles, and then developing these into a fairly challenging thesis stimulates reader interest and the further, independent research that his extensive bibliography gives the reader a head start in. While *An Introduction to Japanese Society* is primarily an academic text, these factors also make it an enjoyable read for anyone, whether a student or not.

In addition to the renown of its author and his thorough approach to the diverse and fairly unusual topics he has chosen to address, what distinguishes this textbook on Japan from the plethora of others in its field is that Sugimoto uses both English and Japanese-language sources. He writes in the Preface of having aimed to produce a book that gives the student who would have difficulty reading Japanese critical texts access to present-day, scholarly, Japanese analysis of Japanese society. This gives readers an insight into *emic* aspects of Japanese culture, with Sugimoto defining *emic* areas as those 'specific and peculiar to a particular culture, and meaningful only to its members' (22). This is balanced by

Sugimoto's own perspective which departs in some areas from those of his Japanese peers due partly to him having lived almost twenty-five years in Australia (xii).

Two other aims of Sugimoto's outlined in the Preface are to challenge the traditional academic and social discourses that portray the Japanese as both a homogeneous and group orientated people. Sugimoto achieves this firstly by his choice of topics, as well as his approach to their analysis. It is still fairly unusual, for example, to find Japanese, male academics addressing in their well-read works issues like abortion and contraception from a perspective that is, in Sugimoto's case, reminiscent of feminist argument.

While Sugimoto's approach to Japan is to be commended for its thoroughness, ease of use, and interesting/challenging choice of content, as Henshall suggests, a text purporting to be an introduction to Japanese society may not be the forum for such an undertaking. What *An Introduction to Japanese Society* perhaps lacks is sufficient coverage of the ideas that Sugimoto aims to challenge. While conceptions of Japan such as the extent of *shiken jigoku* or 'examination hell' may be exaggerated in academic or popular literature (115ff), there is some underlying truth to circulating stereotypes, even if the reality is a highly diluted form of ideas that persist. If familiar with both the nature and processes of how the West conventionally understands and constructs Japan, the student is better equipped to later process challenges to prevailing ideas as well as to dismantle the discursive processes by which these have been formed. While Sugimoto does outline six phases of how the West has constructed Japan over time, the ideas of what constituted Japan at each stage are not expounded. Rather, these tend to form the basis of discussion in the subsequent chapters that then continue to develop challenge the ideas.

The tables that enhance Sugimoto's written argument at times include figures that are outdated or suggest trends based on somewhat incomparable variables. For example, Table 2.2 concerns 'International comparison of "middle class consciousness,"' yet the dates of records vary from between 1979 (Australia, Canada, and Singapore) and 2001 (Japan). Also, Sugimoto is very good at using statistics at face value rather than putting them in context. In his discussion of education, for example, the author emphasises the fact that 'less than half' of Japanese students go through *shiken jigoku* (118), yet the figure who do is at least about 40%, and such a large, single group of the population is still statistically important, even if not as big as often portrayed to be. In this and other areas, Sugimoto seems primarily concerned with conveying the latter.

Differences between the first and second editions lie predominantly in the updating or changing of figures cited in stand-alone charts or the main text (e.g. 153), the addition of new tables (e.g. tables 2.2 and 2.4), an expansion of others to include new data or concepts (e.g. table 3.2), and

the addition of some new content. On this last point, at several points in Chapter 4, 'Varieties in Work and Labour' for example, commentary has been added on unemployment and the economic 'recession' of the early 2000s.

*An Introduction to Japanese Society* is pitched at a fairly high academic level due to the nature of topics covered and the way in which Sugimoto approaches their analysis. However, this reviewer would have welcomed such a text in the early stages of Japanese studies. Increasingly, university study concerns the real world, and rather than give us a text that repeats conventional Western constructions and Japanese projections of how Japan is to be seen, in *An Introduction to Japanese Society* Yoshio Sugimoto provides students with a taste of the diversity and conflict that is 'real' Japan – which makes study of this multi-faceted country all the more interesting.

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