

Book Reviews

G. P. Baroowah, *Tea: Legend, Life and Livelihood of India*. Assam, India: Red River/LBS Publications, 2006. 148 pages.

Lydia Gautier, *Tea: Aromas and Flavors around the World*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2006. 192 pages.

Mary Lou Heiss & Robert J. Heiss, *The Story of Tea: A Cultural History and Drinking Guide*. Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 2007. xiv + 418 pages.

Beatrice Hohenegger, *Liquid Jade: The Story of Tea from East to West*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006. xiv + 320 pages.

Laura C. Martin, *Tea: The Drink That Changed the World*. Tokyo: Tuttle, 2007. viii + 248 pages.

From Asia to the World

Anyone who has recently been paying attention to the media must know about the purported health benefits of drinking tea. Research has shown that tea offers powerful antioxidant protection, stimulates the metabolism, protects against heart disease and cancer, and lowers cholesterol and blood sugar levels.¹ Around the world, nearly 3.5 billion cups of tea are consumed per day, with Turks and the Irish drinking the most, per capita. Despite the health claims, tea is only the sixth-most consumed beverage in the United States (after water, soft drinks, coffee, beer, and milk), with 80 to 85 percent being consumed as iced tea. All tea—herbal infusions and tisanes aside—is brewed from processed leaves of *Camellia sinensis* varietals, plants native to the hilly regions of northeastern India, southern China (Sichuan and Yunnan provinces), and northern Laos, Myanmar, and Thailand. Today, though, tea is available and consumed in virtually every country and is cultivated in some fifty tropical and semi-tropical countries on six continents. How did this Asian plant become so popular? And what is so compelling about its story that warranted the publication of these five books within just two years?

All five works reviewed here address the question of the popularity of tea; and the authors of all five offer their own perspectives and frameworks for understanding this plant and its historical, cultural, social, political,

economic, and environmental impacts on the world. If you have time to read them all, you will be saturated with colorful descriptions, memorable stories and biographies, scientific details, fascinating trivia, and a desire to rush to a tea purveyor so you can seek out new varieties of tea to try for yourself.

An Indian Perspective on Tea

Although indigenous to northeastern India, tea was not profitably cultivated there until the middle of the nineteenth century, when most of India was under control of the British East India Company. Today, India and China are the world's largest producers of tea. In India, tea estates are located in the northeast (Assam and West Bengal) and south (Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Karnataka). With some 1.25 million full-time workers, the tea industry is second only to the Indian railways in the number of employees.

In *Tea: Legend, Life and Livelihood of India*, G. P. Baroowah, a poet, columnist, and economist with many years of management service in the Indian tea industry, offers a charmingly disorganized yet lovely coffee table-style book on the impact of tea in India and on the world. This oversize work is filled with marvelous full-color two-page spreads that detail the production and manufacturing of tea, its Indian environment, and the lives of tea plantation workers. Baroowah bookends his work with a fictitious story of a British manager of a tea plantation but then gets serious with sections on the history of tea, the classifications and processing of tea, the development of the tea industry and tea culture in India, health benefits of tea, and suggestions for the future of the Indian tea industry. Each chapter opens with a poem or salient quotation about tea from the likes of Confucius (551–479 B.C.E.), Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941),² and Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936).

The history Baroowah presents is a bit skimpy, but the material about life on Indian tea plantations makes this work stand out. Baroowah offers a helpful discussion of the development of the agro-industrial tea workforce in the mid-nineteenth century, when laborers were imported into various regions (especially Assam) from other parts of the country to clear jungle and work on the newly established tea plantations. Although he claims that members of the so-called tea tribes were “slowly integrated into the larger milieu of Assam” (p. 105), the rise of militancy there—and also in Sri Lanka—toward the end of the twentieth century was undoubtedly due to lingering ethnic frictions. Also interesting are his descriptions of welfare projects undertaken by the Indian tea industry, dating from the establishment of the Prince of Wales Technical School in Assam by a (British) co-founder of a major tea group in 1865. And Baroowah describes the role of tea (and tea companies) in protecting the environment (e.g., helping to fight

erosion) and assisting in the repopulation of endangered species (e.g., the pigmy hog, white-winged wood duck, and freshwater dolphins).

Although his book was intentionally written for the “lay reader” (p. 9), Baroowah occasionally forgets that some readers of English may be unfamiliar with the Indian patois: He uses such terms as *dhaba*, *sahib*, *lakh*, *bigha*, and *paise* without definition.³ A text similar in scope and design, cited by Baroowah, is D. K. Taknet’s *The Heritage of Indian Tea: The Past, the Present, and the Road Ahead* (Jaipur, India: Indian Institute of Marwari Entrepreneurship, 2002). In short, Taknet’s work offers greater detail on almost all the topics covered by Baroowah.

The Appreciation of Tea

Like Baroowah’s book, Lydia Gautier’s *Tea: Aromas and Flavors around the World* is a lavishly illustrated coffee-table specimen. In producing this beautifully designed book on the experience and appreciation of tea, Gautier, an agricultural engineer who specializes in tropical agronomy, was aware that significant contexts require illumination, including history, science, aesthetics, and the relation of tea to culture. Major chapters cover the history of tea, agronomy and tea processing, tea tasting, and compatibilities of tea with other worlds of taste. Gautier explores tea “as a gastronomic product in its own right” (p. 5) and thus includes five (gourmet) recipes. Just try to imagine fresh foie gras poached in a crushed coffee-bean crust with truffles and Yunnan red tea (p. 162)!

What Gautier does not leave to the imagination is the relation between tea and the local conditions of its growth: borrowing from wine nomenclature, such attributes as soil, climate, and exposure contribute to the *terroir*, or “sense of place,” of tea. Processing also affects the finished product, and Gautier clearly explains how teas of the six classic tea colors of white, green, yellow, red, blue-green, and black—codified in China during the Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644)—are processed. Theoretically, any tea leaf can be processed into any “color” of tea, although certain varieties grown in certain locales better suit certain processing methods. Gautier also does a remarkable job describing—both visually and textually—the Japanese tea ceremony and the Chinese *gong fu cha* 工夫茶 tea-appreciating technique. Her scientific background shines when she presents a fascinating table outlining the chemical composition of a fresh tea leaf: polyphenols, alkaloids (including caffeine), protids, organic acids, glucids, lipids, chlorophylls, mineral salts, and volatile substances (p. 86). She explores the material culture of tea, a “product imbued with a strong cultural dimension” (p. 110). Her notes and visuals on tasting and tea grading are superb. (After all, she was instrumental in the creation of the École du Thé, a training center for the tasting and culture of tea, at Le Palais des Thés in Paris.)⁴ And once more

borrowing from oenology, she describes—again both visually and textually—thirty-two *grand cru* (“great growth”) teas. Of the five books reviewed here, Gautier’s *Tea* is the only one to offer comments on tea as an ingredient in perfume and cosmetics.

An Encyclopedia of Tea

In *The Story of Tea: A Cultural History and Drinking Guide*, veteran tea traders Mary Lou Heiss and Robert Heiss present a veritable encyclopedia of tea. Their hefty tome, a 2008 International Association of Culinary Professionals Cookbook Awards finalist in the single-subject category, also explores ways in which differences in *terroir* and production result in the diversity of color, flavor, and quality of brewed tea. They investigate the history of tea, the life of a tea bush, manufacturing processes, brewing methods, tea customs, health benefits, ethics in the tea trade, and cooking with tea. Color photographs are aplenty; and one strength of the Heisses’ volume is the numerous photographs showing stages of various tea-processing techniques. Most of these photographs were taken by the authors themselves during their many tea expeditions: “Our search for fine tea draws us back time and time again to Asia,” they write in the preface (p. ix).

Their 142-page chapter entitled “Journeying along the Tea Trail” could almost be a book in and of itself: the Heisses offer sections on China, Japan, Korea, India, Russia and Georgia, Taiwan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Nepal, Africa, Vietnam, Thailand, and other tea-growing countries—including the United States, where tea is grown in Hawai‘i (Kona) and on a plantation on Wadmalaw Island, South Carolina. Historical and manufacturing information that appears elsewhere in the book is often repeated in this chapter. For example, yellow tea has a brief entry in the chapter on manufacturing (pp. 70–71) as well as in this chapter (pp. 162–63). The repetition also invites contradictions: “In all, 108,000 acres of tea gardens are under cultivation in Vietnam” (p. 244), but “Today the total amount of land in Vietnam under tea cultivation is 185,000 acres” (p. 248). Many such repetitions or inconsistencies can be found throughout the book, especially when the numerous sidebars are included. A statement in a sidebar (p. 141) about tasting a fifty-year-old *pu-erh* 普洱 tea in Dali, Yunnan, is repeated almost word for word on page 308.

Given its length (over 400 pages), the Heisses’ volume should offer the last word on tea; but certain explanations are lacking. For example, the Heisses mention the mixing of salt into tea in western China, Tibet, and Mongolia (pp. 10–11, 343, 345), a tradition that dates from the Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907); but they do not explain why salt was used. (Gautier does: Salt counteracts the bitterness and highlights the natural sweetness of tea.) Likewise, the Heisses use but do not explain the term “fannings” (broken

leaves that are “fanned” away after processing and often end up in teabags) or the nomenclature of “orange pekoe,” likely named for the Dutch royal house (Oranje-Nassau) and a Westernization of the Chinese *pak ho* 白毫 (Cantonese pronunciation of “white hair”), which refers to the hairy down on young tea leaves.

Repetition, inconsistencies, inverted images (see, e.g., pp. 100 and 117), inexplicable diacritic usage, and errors in Japanese terms aside (for example, the authors thrice write of “Rinsai”—instead of *Rinzai*—Buddhism; and they translate *shincha* 新茶 as “first pick” and *ichiban cha* 一番茶 as “new tea” on p. 45: these translations should be reversed), the Heisses offer a wealth of cultural, historical, and scientific information about tea and tea appreciation. Most compellingly, perhaps, is that their passion for tea is evident on almost every page.

Stories of Tea

Beatrice Hohenegger’s intelligent offering, *Liquid Jade: The Story of Tea from East to West*, is, from one perspective, a book of trivia (e.g., “Queen Elizabeth I had rotten teeth,” p. 98). But she has woven together bits and pieces from numerous historical documents to tell a compelling story. Hohenegger, a freelance author, will guest curate a traveling museum exhibition on the history and culture of tea in 2009: *Liquid Jade* will make a useful companion piece to the exhibit. Her book is soundly structured and includes numerous (nicely captioned) monochrome images, but the typeface for the page numbers is cryptic to the point of rendering the numbers useless. Her use of macrons for Japanese names and terms is idiosyncratic; and her explanation of the Chinese character for tea, *cha* 茶 (p. 180), which Gauthier and the Heisses describe accurately, is somewhat misleading.

Hohenegger’s book is organized into four parts: a section focusing on tea in Asia; a section focusing on tea in the West; a section of tea-related trivia (entitled “Curiosities, Obscurities, Misnomers, and Facts”); and a section on contemporary issues, including human rights and fair-trade tea, wherein she traces the roots of the modern organic movement to China and India. Each of her forty-three short, essay-like chapters opens with a fascinating epigraph from literature or a historical work relevant to tea. “Because *Liquid Jade* is mostly a historical book” (p. 278), Hohenegger uses Wade-Giles transliteration throughout; but she includes a useful appendix listing names and terms in both Wade-Giles and Pinyin. She also includes a helpful appendix of Chinese dynasties and Japanese chronological periods, plus a substantial bibliography and a thorough index. She handles citations in an elegantly unobtrusive manner.

In the sections on East and West, Hohenegger demonstrates her skill at portraying the lives of various individuals, including Lu Yu 陆羽 (733–804),

the Sage of Tea; Tang poet Lu Tong 盧同 (790–835); Song emperor Hui-zong 徽宗 (1082–1135); naval admiral Zheng He 鄭和 (1371–1433);⁵ and Qing scholar and diplomat Lin Zexu 林則徐 (1785–1850). Indeed, her portrayals are mere snapshots of these fascinating individuals; but her presentations are certainly enough to pique interest to learn more. As for India, Hohenegger provides the political and economic background necessary to understand, at least on a basic level, the British colonial involvement there with respect to tea. Skilled at contextualizing themes and events, reductivistically at times, Hohenegger drapes the sweeping narrative of history around the hot commodities and events of the times. For example, she labels tea as the “trigger” of the slave trade (p. 101)—in that Britain’s need for sugar (from the Caribbean) was fueled by its obsession for tea (from India). She therefore ultimately portrays tea as the “unwitting vector of boundless human misery on an intercontinental scale” (p. 102). And, at times, she is more tongue in cheek in her conclusions: “As a whole, tea suggests an undeniable sense of peaceable moderation while coffee evokes vivid images of road rage. After all, there is no Japanese coffee ceremony” (p. 229).

The Impact of Tea

Like Hohenegger, Laura Martin, in *Tea: The Drink That Changed the World*, offers a reductivistic social history (à la recent works by Alan and Iris Macfarlane, Roy Moxham, and Tom Standage).⁶ The subtitle makes clear her main point. “Much of tea’s history illustrates the never ending human story of class division—of greed, power, and wealth on one side and of hunger and poverty on the other,” she suggests (p. 4). Martin is somewhat casual with her references, but readers familiar with some of the more popular works on tea will recognize material from the Macfarlanes and William Ukers’ 1935 classic, *All About Tea*.⁷ She solves the potential problem of diacritic inconsistencies by using no macrons at all for Asian names or terms given in her text. Also, not all of her numerous illustrations—especially reproductions of tea advertisements—are captioned; but several of the illustrations are apparently by the author herself.

Martin efficiently takes care of the particulars in a brief opening chapter on the agronomy, production, processing, classifying, and grading of tea. Thereafter, her work is structurally similar to Hohenegger’s, in that she progresses from East to West, with chapters on tea in China and Korea; tea in Japan (including a stand-alone chapter on the Japanese tea ceremony); British involvement in India, China, and Ceylon; and tea in the United States. In a brilliant organizational move, she relegates certain information to a bevy of appendices: information on tea-growing countries, tea professionals’ terms for describing tea, a list of choice teas, brewing instructions,

cooking with tea, tea and health, and herbal “teas” (which are not teas at all and are thus perhaps the only irrelevant inclusion).

As a horticulturalist and botanical illustrator, Martin’s interests shine forth in this book. She is the only one to explain the nomenclature of tea’s botanical name: “The name *Camellia* came from a Moravian Jesuit named Georg Joseph Kamel (1661–1706), who studied Asian plants. The species name, *sinensis*, means ‘from China’” (p. 145). She explains that hillside planting provides better drainage, which is necessary for tea plants (p. 32). And she even offers a sidebar on growing your own tea: “*Camellia sinensis* prefers the same growing conditions that azaleas and rhododendrons do” (p. 11).

Of all the works portrayed here, Martin’s offers the most on the contents of Lu Yu’s *Classic of Tea* (*Chajing* 茶经). She also offers some of the most detailed information on how pottery and ceramics were historically made in China and Japan—and how the evolution of tea artifacts paralleled changes in favored processing techniques throughout the Ming dynasty, from brick tea to powdered tea to loose tea. She delivers trivia, as well; for example, tea was introduced in New Amsterdam (New York) in 1647 by the Dutch *ten years* before it was introduced to London (p. 182)! But her presentation is not perfect: she conflates oxidation with fermentation (pp. 15, 19, 101) and offers an etymology of the Japanese term *wabi*, of the *wabi-sabi* 侘寂 aesthetic relevant to the Japanese tea ceremony, that is uncommonly supported in Japan.

Tea for Today & Tomorrow

This short review does not do justice to the vast amount of information about tea provided in these five works. Most interesting, perhaps, is how approaching tea as an object of study requires attention to matters encompassing a wide range of disciplines and fields: agronomy, botany, chemistry, nutrition, medicine, engineering, art, architecture, aesthetics, literature, material culture, history, religion, political science, economics, marketing, and more. Certain authors, befitting their backgrounds, necessarily favor certain topics and approaches. But the five works reviewed here have numerous commonalities. All mention the Chinese legend of Shen Nong 神農 (and the purported discovery of tea as a beverage in 2732 B.C.E.); Lu Yu and his *Classic of Tea*; Japanese tea ceremony (*chanoyu* 茶の湯); Catherine of Braganza (1638–1705, wife of Charles II and purported popularizer of tea in Britain); the Boston Tea Party (December 16, 1773); and health claims of tea. Most mention the legend of Bodhidharma (ca. early fifth century C.E.), with respect to the “discovery” of tea; the role of Sen Rikyū 千利休 (1522–91) in the development of Japanese tea ceremony; Robert Bruce and Charles Bruce, with respect to the earliest cultivation of tea in Assam in the first half of the nineteenth century; the mid-nineteenth century Opium

Wars; Robert Fortune (1812–80), with respect to learning tea secrets from the Chinese; Thomas Lipton (1848–1941), with respect to the cultivation of tea in Sri Lanka and the marketing of tea in the West; and the role of clipper ships and “transatlantic regattas” prior to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the rise of the steamship.

Across the board, however, all five books fail to deliver useful maps. The two largely political maps provided by the Heisses (pp. 5, 30)—the only maps in any of these works—do not point out any of the particular regions they and the other authors describe, including Anhui, Assam, Darjeeling, Fujian, Sichuan, and Yunnan. Readers must therefore consult external maps in order to understand better the very geography of tea.⁸

If I had to limit my library to but one of these five books on tea, I would choose Gautier’s beautiful volume, even though the glossy pages of Gautier (along with those of Baroowah and Heiss and Heiss) are difficult to read at length, unless the lighting is just right. Gautier’s work, for me, provides a perfect balance of well-organized, information-dense text and artistic, evocative images. Steep yourself in any or all of these recent books on tea, and you will be richly rewarded.

STEVEN E. GUMP

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Notes

¹See, for example, Johnny Bowden, *The 150 Healthiest Foods on Earth* (Gloucester, MA: Fair Winds Press, 2007), 264–68.

²Also known as Gurudev, the Bengali poet Tagore was Asia’s first Nobel laureate, winning the 1913 Nobel Prize in literature.

³Here are my definitions: *dhaba*: diner-like roadside restaurant serving local fare in India and Pakistan; *sahib*: “sir,” “master,” or “lord”; *lakh*: one hundred thousand; *bigha*: an area of land, generally less than an acre; *paise*: one-hundredth of a Bangladeshi taka or an Indian, Nepalese, or Pakistani rupee.

⁴Their informative English-language Web site is here: <http://www.palaisdesthes.com/en/>.

⁵For an account of Zheng He’s naval adventures and their ramifications, see James R. Holmes, “‘Soft Power’ at Sea: Zheng He and China’s Maritime Diplomacy,” *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* 28 (2006): 95–106.

⁶Alan Macfarlane and Iris Macfarlane, *Green Gold: The Empire of Tea* (London: Ebury, 2003); Roy Moxham, *Tea: Addiction, Exploitation and Empire* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003); Tom Standage, *A History of the World in Six Glasses* (New York: Walker & Company, 2005).

⁷William H. Ukers, *All About Tea*, 2 vols. (New York: Tea and Coffee Trade Journal, 1935). All three works with bibliographies—Gautier, Heiss and Heiss, and Hohenegger—cite this reference; Martin cites Ukers as a source for at least two images.

⁸“With a map,” according to Hugh Johnson, “distinctions and relationships become clear. Things fall into place.” Good maps are therefore “more than aids to navigation.” *The World Atlas of Wine: A Complete Guide to the Wines & Spirits of the World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1971), 8.

John L. Esposito & Dalia Mogahed, *Who Speaks for Islam? What a Billion Muslims Really Think*. New York: Gallup Press, 2007. xvi + 204 pages.

Mansoor Moaddel, ed., *Values and Perceptions of the Islamic and Middle Eastern Publics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. xx + 355 pages.

A “Global War” or a “Global Struggle”?

Seven years now separate us from 9/11, and the United States apparently has a public relations problem. Though few in the press and even fewer scholars have embraced the U.S. government’s prescribed solution, since January 2008 the United States no longer has been officially engaged in a “Global War on Terrorism,” or GWOT. That month, at the direction of the Department of Homeland Security, U.S. government officials were directed to jettison the GWOT from their vocabulary. At least until January 2009, when new wordsmiths arrive in Washington, Homeland Security would have it be said that the United States is pursuing a “Global Struggle for Security and Progress,” the newly preferred war-moniker for the final Bush year.

In the precise sense George Orwell anticipated, in his 1946 essay “Politics and the English Language,” that “the great enemy of clear language is insincerity,”¹ this announcement of the death of the official term “GWOT” is insincere. On the ground in Afghanistan and Iraq, from the air in Pakistan and Somalia, and throughout the world in less visible ways, Muslims are still being detained and are still dying at the hands of the U.S. Armed Forces in the year 2008. Our state, if not our whole nation, remains at war. But naming it a “war on terrorism” is said to be breeding a misunderstanding of American purposes. In an age in which it is now officially inconvenient to refer to the enemies of the United States as “*jihadis*” or as “Islamists,” how shall we think about our potential adversaries? With descriptors such as “Islamic terrorist” and “*Salafist*” also forbidden, how shall we speak of the actual enemies of the United States?

In different ways, these two new books embrace the rationale for this search for a new lexicon. John Esposito and Dalia Mogahed use findings from survey research among Muslim publics to describe a struggle different from the one Americans have come to know. They argue: “Muslims truly reject terrorism” (p. 95), only a “fringe minority support it” (p. 182); so the modern collision of cultures must be “an ‘out group’ activity as any other violent crime” (p. 95). Both books demonstrate the authors’ perceptions of the inadequacy of code words such as “the clash of civilizations,” a phrase that spread in the decade following Samuel P. Huntington’s (of Harvard) use of the phrase as the title of a summer 1993 *Foreign Affairs* article.²

Esposito & Mogahed: Popular Press Masquerading as Scholarship

Esposito and Mogahed feign to present an academic study, but Gallup's preference for mass audiences has ensured that footnoting to their polls' findings, orientation to existing social science theories, and information about the surveys' methodologies are all minimized. An appendix supplies a brief (four-page) overview on this latter point, but it is cursory and is oddly paired with a chatty, ten-page second appendix that describes the history of carrying out these polls. Only high points of the methodologies emerge; and, while cryptic asides reveal, for example, that geographic "areas that threaten the safety of interviewing staff are excluded" (p. 169), no further guidance is provided regarding what this practice did to undermine the representativeness of any national sample in the heart of this research, the 2005–6 Gallup World Poll. Nor are full results of the national samples themselves ever provided in the book, limiting the utility of the volume to a *SERAS* reader who will look, in vain, to find particular information about the distinct views of those Muslims polled in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Uzbekistan, or other Asian states listed as included by Gallup.

A mere 166 pages of large-print text suffice for Esposito and Mogahed to extrapolate the opinions of one billion Muslims. Despite this brevity, direct quotations of anonymous individuals' views manage to be included on many pages, suggesting they emerged as responses to open-ended survey questions. Many didn't. Included among these illustrations are cherry-picked remarks lifted out of context from many other sources; and nearly all of the most arresting anecdotes have no connection to the Gallup surveys other than that they support the editors' perspective on what "Muslims really think." Stylistically, this book appears to have been designed to be leafed through while waiting in an airport, as its numerous boxed sidebars pack summaries of what seem to be key survey findings to assist those too busy to pore over the short book itself. Readers who penetrate the breezy, bullet point-riddled narrative will discover no complete tables, no charts comparing Asian Muslims' views with Middle Eastern Muslims' views; even a list of the questions asked in the actual surveys is absent from the book.

Most readers of Esposito and Mogahed, therefore, are likely to linger over sidebars that leap out to report what seem to be key facts. The impression conveyed advances most the belief that massive misunderstandings have guided the Bush administration's approach to the post-9/11 global security situation. Consider this arrestingly editorial sidebar on page 97: "There are 1.3 billion Muslims today worldwide. If the 7% (91 million) of the politically radicalized continue to feel politically dominated, occupied, and disrespected, the West will have little, if any, chance of changing their

minds.” That heady mix of (apparent) survey results and conjecture appears directly adjacent to this conclusion in the text that “about 9 in 10 Muslims are moderates.” On page 182, we learn that “there is no significant difference in the level of personal piety between the majority who condemn terrorism and the fringe minority who condone it.” Since tables that report the data from which these two insights emerged appear nowhere in the book, the reader cannot discover how large the “fringe” is in key places, e.g., Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, or Indonesia. And just what “moderate” means to Esposito and Mogahed proves equally elusive to the reader. Contradictions are never reconciled between what (by Western standards) appear to be modern views of Saudi women favoring the right to drive an automobile, on the one hand, and survey reports stressing a widespread embrace of a preference to be governed by Islamic *shari‘a* law, a decidedly anti-modern set of social and criminal codes, on the other hand.

Moaddel: Sound Scholarship, Useful Conclusions

The breezy and essentially *a priori* conclusions that abound in Esposito and Mogahed are nowhere to be found in the collection edited by Mansoor Moaddel, a volume that gives scholars much stronger guidance. *Values and Perceptions of the Islamic and Middle Eastern Publics* approaches very differently the issue of what Muslims think. Refreshingly, Asian Muslims are included to a greater degree than the title would suggest. Granted, some chapters will reinforce Asian scholars’ traditional tendencies to lump Asian residents’ perspectives together nominally (e.g., Jordanians, Iraqis) with those of residents of non-Asian, Arabian-derivative cultures (e.g., Algerians, Egyptians). In this vein, widely respected comparative political scientist Ronald Inglehart (University of Michigan) carefully presents results of a survey-based inquiry into attitudes toward democracy in four Arab states. But Inglehart also presents, in another chapter, complete data that compare the worldviews of Islamic publics; this latter chapter can usefully be read by an Asianist to compare South Asians’ views with those of other Muslims. Moreover, some of what seems to be focused solely on matters usually outside the purview of Asian studies also turns out to have heuristic value. At a time when the schism between Sunni and Shi‘a Muslims is gaining relevance in non-Middle Eastern states such as Pakistan, Inglehart, Mark Tessler (political science, University of Michigan), and editor Moaddel (sociology, Eastern Michigan University) have contributed an illuminating study of the impact of war on levels of xenophobia among social groups in Iraq.

The international team of contributors to the Moaddel study includes major figures in academic survey research. Ten of the twelve chapters are careful empirical studies. Among them, and of greatest interest to scholars of Asian studies, is an excellent seven-nation comparative inquiry into the

implications of attitudes toward economic justice in the context of *shari'a* law by senior sociologists Nancy J. Davis (DePauw University) and Robert V. Robinson (Indiana University). By including Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Indonesia in their survey, Davis and Robinson demonstrate to Asian-focused scholars the importance of weighing public opinion in these Asian countries in comparison to views of Middle Eastern (i.e., Jordanian, Saudi Arabian, Algerian, and Egyptian) publics. Interesting findings emerge. Regarding the importance of *shari'a* as a guide to government, the three Asian samples differ from each other more than they depart from the Middle Eastern publics' views. Majorities in all seven states view it as "important" or "very important" that "good government" be one that "should implement only the laws of the *shari'a*" (p. 141); but nearly a third of Bangladeshis (31.0 percent) and 21.6 percent of Indonesians—yet only 7.5 percent of Pakistanis—dissent from this majority view.

Some of the volume falls beyond even a generous definition of Asian studies, but engaged readers will nevertheless be drawn to read more about, for example, how Moroccans and Egyptians responded to 9/11 (Moaddel and the American University in Cairo's Abdul-Hamid Abdul-Latif). Thus the volume succeeds: All contributions proceed after having been built around solid orientations to recognizable academic literature across the social sciences. Each chapter speaks to the adequacy of major theories appropriate to its focus and to the study of Asia, ranging from modernization and development theories, to the impact of an oil-export economy on state formation (the "rentier state" hypothesis), to cross-regional debates about key features of democratic transitions. Throughout, the volume employs and reports clearly about appropriate methodologies to engage important questions, rooting its topical and contemporary focus in a manner to enlarge the needed realm required for policy thinking.

The editor has done a superb job orienting the book overall within accepted methods and questions central to comparative study in the social sciences. Of greatest personal interest is Tessler's comparative study of how Islamic identity has affected attitudes toward democracy in the North African Maghreb region plus the nominally Asian state of Jordan. The portrait that emerged shows considerable variation in the preferences of different national samples regarding the degree of proper influence for Islam over politics and public life. Greatest enthusiasm for religion in politics was found in Egypt, and lowest enthusiasm for it turned up in Algeria—i.e., in the setting in which the greatest amount of political violence has accompanied struggles between secular and Islamist groups. Two of the conclusions that emerge from Tessler's research merit special attention: "support for political Islam does not lead to unfavorable attitudes toward democracy" (p. 120), and "cultural explanations alleging that Islam discourages or even prevents the emergence of support for democracy are misguided, indeed,

misleading” (p. 122). Would this conclusion also be true in predominantly Muslim states in Asia? Further inquiries on these matters that focus on Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia will likely follow.

Reading into Guidance for the Future

Tessler carefully avoids leaping atop a soapbox to pronounce policy implications, but American readers in 2008 would be well advised to feel less constrained. As the nation debates alternative courses amid three taxing wars, guidance from those familiar with a sound analysis of facts surely should be preferred over guidance based solely on prejudice or half-baked marketing theories. Recent tinkering by the Bush administration in the realm of diction has suggested our war difficulties best can be finessed by essentially “re-branding” key terms used to describe a continuing, even broadening, conflict that must be won militarily. Closer attention to the analysis of the diverse preferences of Muslim peoples—such as those provided by the contributors to the Moaddel volume, on the other hand, might point us toward changed policies. In light of the short-lived but long-abandoned “Democracy in the Middle East” initiative of the George W. Bush era, one ironic feature of that change might well be a renewed emphasis on overcoming the several difficult obstacles to promoting genuine democracy not only in the Middle East but also throughout the Muslim world, including in South and Southeast Asia.

GORDON L. BOWEN
Mary Baldwin College

Notes

¹George Orwell, “Politics and the English Language.” Reprinted in *Essays*, ed. John Carey (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 954–67: 964.

²Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993): 22–49.

Peter D. Hershock, *Buddhism in the Public Sphere: Reorienting Global Interdependence*. London: Routledge, 2006. x + 229 pages.

Since the 1990s, Peter Hershock, coordinator of the Asian Studies Development Program at the East–West Center in Honolulu, Hawai‘i, has been developing a Chan Buddhist response to important elements of contemporary life in an increasingly interdependent world. In works such as *Liberating Intimacy* (1996), *Reinventing the Wheel* (1999), his edited volume *Changing Education* (2008), and various essays published in the *Journal of Buddhist*

Ethics and Philosophy East and West, Hershock, true to both his Buddhist and philosophical trainings, has addressed the pressing issues of technology, education, ecology, and authority.¹ In doing so, his primary purpose has been not only to engage in cross-cultural philosophizing but also to show how suffering and trouble can be effectively responded to by availing ourselves of the ancient teachings of Buddhism.

In his essay “Hope for the Future,” His Holiness the Dalai Lama claimed that “each of us has the responsibility for all humankind. It is time for us to think of other people as true brothers and sisters and to be concerned with their welfare, with lessening their suffering.”² It is apparent that Hershock shares the Dalai Lama’s viewpoint when he claims that this “book emerged out of twin concerns”: “The first is that globally deepening interdependence has been meaning greater inequity and manifestly less-sustainable practices across a wide range of sectors—from the social and economic to the political and cultural—both within and among societies. The second is that our predominant means for critically engaging global interdependence seem not to be up to the task, and are actually at considerable odds with the emerging twenty-first century realities of truly complex relationality and accelerating change” (p. 1).

The Buddhist themes of interdependence, critical engagement, complex relationality, and impermanence are directly relevant today. Complex interdependence, however, calls for a complex response. Hershock’s approach is to “clarify the values, intentions, and practices animating prevailing ways of thinking about and responding to these emergent realities, and to reflect on what it would mean to engender a value coordinating redirection of the interdependencies constitutive of both the public sphere and of our lived experiences within it” (p. 1). In so doing, Hershock wants us to understand that this is neither a book of Buddhist apologetics nor an argument for why we should become Buddhists. In this work, he writes that “no particular vision of the good or any particular set of corrective societal structures and institutions will be forwarded” (p. 4). Herein Hershock follows ancient Buddhist teachings elucidated in specific texts from the Pali canon and Mahāyāna tradition, especially Chan.

Hershock is careful to note that the global challenges facing us today also pose challenges to Buddhist practitioners. That is, there are “no traditional Buddhist discourses on environmental protection, institutional health care, technological change, media ethics, global economics, human rights, or the privatization and commodification of education” (p. 2). His task, then, is a hermeneutic one: improvisational interpretation of ancient Buddhist texts in the light of contemporary situations. *Buddhism in the Public Sphere*, then, is “a book of improvisations, in a Buddhist key, on issues of immediate and substantial significance” (p. 2).

Instead of offering a Buddhist plan that will direct us toward a preconceived destination, Hershock applies Buddhist thought to reflect on the challenges to the public good created by emerging social, economic, and political realities associated with increasingly complex global interdependence. In addressing eight significant junctures of global interdependence—the environment, health, media, trade and development, the interplay of politics and religion, international relations, terror and security, and education—Hershock proposes what a Buddhist alternative might look like, given its emphasis on impermanence, emptiness, and interdependence. His goal, in a manner of speaking, is “to intimate new means and meanings of virtuosity” (p. 4). Relational virtuosity depends upon our establishing and maintaining an improvisational flexibility that allows us to see each moment as it has come to be in the moment of its arising and to enable us to respond with skill, thereby adding value to our circumstances.

Part of Hershock’s on-going project has also been to show how the Western project of modernity—with “its core values of universalism, certainty, autonomy, and control, and its claims of global validity for such central and explicitly hierarchic oppositions” (p. 5)—has created our current sedimented matrix of values, intentions, and practices. Although it can be argued persuasively that the values, intentions, and practices arising in western Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries—from Renaissance to Enlightenment—were a godsend to the people of those times, Hershock demonstrates how these same values, intentions, and practices are *no longer* producing beneficent eventualities but are, in fact, the direct contributing factors to the declining viability of the public good. In other words, the values, intentions, and practices of the Age of Reason are failing to develop, establish, and sustain differences that truly make a difference. In his chapter “Health and Healing: Relating the Personal and the Public,” for instance, Hershock shows how “the prevailing mainstream conceptions of health in health policy” have been locked into the binary opposition of “disease or of well-being” (p. 40). On the former and quantitatively biased account, health “is simply the absence of disease or abnormality” (p. 41). Conceiving of health as well-being is a qualitatively biased perspective that sees health as “healthy functioning” (p. 41). Barely more than restating the phenomenon without explaining it, health-as-well-being is conceived by the World Health Organization as “a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not simply the absence of disease or infirmity” (p. 41). Hershock shows us that each aspect of contemporary Western life is marked by this “is” versus “is-not” opposition. A Buddhist response to this cultural opposition consists “of calling to critical account the *entire spectrum* of beliefs and practices arrayed between any such opposed positions” (p. 105; original emphasis). Such practice, according to Hershock, engages both ends of the continuum by going crosswise to reveal the middle ground.

The use of the phrase “live engagement” by Hershock is meant to convey both a response to the Enlightenment matrix of values, intentions, and actions and a revision of preconceived notions we may hold concerning Buddhism’s history of social engagement. The phrase “Engaged Buddhism” is often invoked today to signify a recent development in the social ethics of Buddhism, a movement from the monastery to the world. Hershock, however, argues—by referencing early Buddhist texts such as the *Digha Nikaya*, *Sutta Nipata*, and *Majjhima Nikaya*—that the Buddha’s public teaching was often directed to the suffering pervasive in governance and other social practices. Indeed, he notes that “Buddhism throughout its history has been ‘socially engaged’ and intimately attuned to what we now refer to as issues of public good” (p. 7). The Buddha’s Middle Way, applied to the public good, took the form of “facing the world, going crosswise,” which “means demonstrating appreciative and contributory virtuosity in the opening of new and ever more liberating paths of shared meaning-making” (p. 11). The Buddha’s method of going crosswise to prevailing oppositions was not a denial of sociality but an improvisational virtuosity meant to shift human activities and eventualities from unwholesome (*akusala*) to wholesome (*kusala*) outcomes. Thus, Hershock focuses on karma as the central concern of a Buddhist response to suffering and trouble in the world today.

Not simply reducing karma to a pattern of causality obtained in mind-body activity, Hershock instead shows how karma is a complex interaction among our values, intentions, and actions. Hershock notes that “most Western Buddhists (and many contemporary Buddhists outside the West) do not take karma with the seriousness it deserves” (p. 9). The focus on karma in bringing about difference that can truly make a difference is the strength of this work. Whether he is writing about the environment, trade, development, governance, or education, Hershock shows that subtle shifts in our karma can make a huge difference in the way we relate to others and the world we live in. Hershock insists that

we live in a karmic world in which our interdependence is irreducibly meaningful and in which responding effectively to experienced troubles or difficulties—whether in the realm of the private or the public—ultimately entails recognizing their roots in competing or conflicting values, intentions, and practices. Succinctly stated: seeing our world as karmic is seeing that *all experienced eventualities arise as outcomes/opportunities that are meticulously consonant with patterns of our own values-intentions-actions*. . . . In a karmically ordered world importantly and fundamentally shaped by values and intentions, no situation—regardless of appearances to the contrary—is finally intractable. A world and a life shaped by karma are continuously open to meaningful revision. Indeed, in such a world, it is the *differences* in our karma that enable us each to *make a difference*. (p. 9, original emphases)

From this view we can conclude that interdependence is both a coordinated and coordinating relationality based not on sameness but on differ-

ence. Enlightenment virtues of tolerance and cooperation, though, insist—however inadvertently or ironically—on a certain level of sameness, usually the sameness indicative of the dominant powers.

Upon reading *Buddhism in the Public Sphere*, one will notice that as Hershock rehearses his Buddhist conceptions of cross-cultural concepts such as improvisational virtuosity, effective relationality, appreciative and contributory virtuosity, and dramatic maturity, much repetition and playful variations of these terms and phrases occur. What might be construed as a weakness, though, turns out to be a strength because it allows Hershock to show how the shift from one area of concern, say, the environment, to another area, such as education, also entails a certain amount of nuance and flexibility—*skillfulness*—on the part of one concerned with acting for the public good. Such a conclusion certainly sets a high standard for anyone active in the public sphere; but, then again, Hershock makes no promises that acting for the common good will be easy or quick. He points out that Buddhist education or training, “a three-part system comprising wisdom (*prajñā*), attentive mastery (*samādhi*), and moral clarity (*śīla*)” (p. 195), is an open-ended and dynamic process that is neither “amenable to analysis into basic competencies that can be acquired in a standard sequence” nor “something that one might hurry up and finish” (p. 194). Buddhist education thus stands as a challenge to conventional forms of Western education.

Does Hershock’s presentation imply that he thinks the only way to alter the destructive course we are on is to become a Buddhist practitioner? No; but there is, indeed, a sticking point that Hershock admits when he notes that questions about faring well in responding effectively to suffering and trouble have been traditionally responded to in terms of establishing and maintaining one’s appreciative and contributory virtuosity: “find and enter into [a] horizonless, trusting relationship with an enlightened master” (p. 201).

TOM PYNN
Kennesaw State University

Notes

¹Peter D. Hershock, *Liberating Intimacy: Enlightenment and Social Virtuosity in Ch’an Buddhism* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1996); Peter D. Hershock, *Reinventing the Wheel: A Buddhist Response to the Information Age* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1999); Peter D. Hershock, Mark Mason, and John N. Hawkins, eds., *Changing Education: Leadership, Innovation and Development in a Globalizing Asia Pacific* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008).

²Dalai Lama, “Hope for the Future,” in *The Path of Compassion: Writings on Socially Engaged Buddhism*, ed. Fred Eppsteiner (Berkeley, CA: Parallax & The Buddhist Peace Fellowship, 1988), 3–8: 8.

David Jones, ed., *Buddha Nature and Animality*. Fremont, CA: Jain Publishing, 2007. xii + 223 pages.

While, as with most edited volumes, the quality of the chapters in this book varies, as a whole, *Buddha Nature and Animality* offers fresh Buddhist insight into the nature of contemporary ecological problems—problems that produce untold suffering for humans and non-humans alike, and problems that routinely threaten species, ecosystems, and even the biosphere with extinction. Ironically, the volume’s central questions focus primarily on neither “Buddha-nature” nor “animality” but rather on the nature of “humanity”—humanity in relation to its own animality and to its animal, natural, and religious environments. This interesting though anthropocentric posture is to be understood, I think, in light of the contributing authors’ intentions to mitigate problems that are, for the most part, created by humans, or are, at least, exacerbated by their actions. Importantly, as is acknowledged by at least one of the volume’s contributors (Bret W. Davis of Loyola College in Maryland), anthropocentrism also has a long history in Buddhism, which has often, if not typically, maintained important distinctions between humans and other animals—e.g., the unique ability of humans to make “enlightened” (or “enlightening”) decisions about their actions and thereby propel themselves and others toward liberation. Regardless of their stances toward the appropriateness of anthropocentrism for the Buddhist tradition, most of the authors nevertheless approach the meanings and relations of the interrelated concepts they explore with eyes toward elucidating the ethical implications—both personal and social—of these meanings and relations for humans.

The approach of the authors is, moreover, decidedly Buddhist in orientation. Each writes from the perspective of Buddhism, at least in part, for an audience who shares his or her Buddhist commitments. Most favor Chan/Zen, or, at least, Mahāyāna traditions. The book’s most important contributions stem from this Buddhist orientation, with several of its better chapters clarifying and advancing Buddhist thinking about the important and timely issues they address. Jason M. Wirth (Seattle University), Thomas A. Forsthoefel (Mercyhurst College), Peter D. Hershock (East–West Center), Harriette Grissom (University of North Carolina at Asheville), Bret Davis, and David Jones (Kennesaw State University) are especially to be commended in this regard. Each, according to his or her own philosophical style, makes clear how traditional Buddhist thinking and practice is relevant for the contemporary world, at least for those who hold Buddhist worldviews. Although there is not space here to consider any of their contributions in detail, in sum, all the contributions to this volume converge around a view of ecological interrelatedness, where value is ascribed to beings by virtue of their mutual participation in the realization of self and

others in the on-going play of universal Buddha-nature, emptiness, and dependent origination that both surrounds and constitutes us. Recognition of this interrelatedness not only should lead us to value animals and ecosystems more highly than we currently do but also should help us to see in them (at least) reflections of Buddha from which we can learn directly about ourselves and the most sublime truths.

In addition to developing Buddhist thought on ecological issues, the contributors to the volume wish also to contribute to contemporary Western philosophical discourse about ecology and the rights of animals. How well the volume does so is open to debate. Most of its contributions are certainly thought provoking, and their emphases on interrelatedness resonate with much of the discussion as it is already occurring among Westerners. What is lacking, I think, is sufficient attention to the kinds of concerns that are bound to arise for Western philosophically minded readers. The most important of these is the one that people are probably most reluctant to address in this “postmodern” age, which has to do with the intellectual plausibility of the Buddhist worldview entailed and presumed within these discussions. As Hershock maintains, such a Buddhist perspective is important because it reveals the “meaningful” rather than merely the “factual” interrelatedness of all phenomena, as does Western science. Understanding that it was not the intention of the authors to engage in apologetics on behalf of Buddhist metaphysics, I would still contend that if they want their offerings to contribute to the discussions of Western philosophers, the contributors should have better addressed questions (uncomfortable as they may be) about the factuality of the kind of interrelatedness—i.e., Buddha nature, karma—they describe and take for granted in their chapters. It still matters, even in this postmodern age—and even among philosophers and theologians—whether the metaphysical claims that undergird their worldviews are reasonably accurate descriptors of the reality we encounter through our senses. If not, then it is hard to see the relevance of such discussions for “secular” academic philosophy.

Still, this volume makes important contributions to contemporary discussions about the relevance of traditional Buddhist beliefs and practices for the contemporary world. For this reason, it is likely to be of interest to scholars occupied with its subject matter and those who are interested in discovering radical alternatives to contemporary forms of Western, or, at least, Anglo-American philosophizing.

JIM DEITRICK
University of Central Arkansas

Marthe Chandler & Ronnie Littlejohn, eds., *Polishing the Chinese Mirror: Essays in Honor of Henry Rosemont, Jr.* New York: Global Scholarly Publications, 2008. viii + 432 pages.

This festschrift in honor of the distinguished American philosophical interpreter of traditional Chinese thought, Henry Rosemont Jr., offers something for nearly everyone who has an interest in the many fields with which Rosemont has shared his considerable intellectual gifts: comparative philosophy, East Asian studies, linguistics, political theory, and religious studies, to name only the most prominent of these. What is most striking about this volume is not the extent to which its contributors either agree or disagree with Rosemont's work. In fact, even when the contributors disagree with Rosemont, they tend to do so less in a corrective manner and more in a way that completes or complements Rosemont's own arguments. Rather, what distinguishes *Polishing the Chinese Mirror* is the extent to which Rosemont's scholarly contributions have created the conditions and context for a comparative philosophical and religious discourse of truly rich dimensions and depth. While contributors certainly indulge in laudatory hyperbole—Michael Nylan (University of California at Berkeley) says that Rosemont “is more like the Mencius of my imagination than anyone else” (p. 267)—in the end, the volume transcends the usual merely congratulatory tone of festschriften to attain a genuine spirit of intellectual give-and-take between a beloved teacher and his many gifted students. This spirit is evident throughout the collection, both within each chapter and in Rosemont's responses at the volume's conclusion.

In Rosemont's *A Chinese Mirror: Moral Reflections on Political Economy and Society* (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1991), he writes that “the more openly and deeply we look through a window into another culture the more it becomes a mirror of our own. . . . [I] hope that the American Dream will one day be replaced by a more universal dream, one that can be shared by all peoples, holding their humanity in common” (p. 7). By providing an alternative way of being human, traditional East Asian thought and practice can thus provide a way for North Americans to attain critical perspective on their own thought and practice and to work toward a more inclusively human future. Rosemont claims, in *Polishing the Chinese Mirror*, that “given that one of [his] major goals . . . has been to bring about greater philosophical dialogue . . . [his] work can be seen to be pretty much a failure,” insofar as the number of doctoral programs in the United States where students can study Chinese philosophy can still be counted on “only one hand . . . [with] fingers left over” (p. 361). Yet the twenty essays collected in this volume represent philosophical voices both Asian and Western, old and young, and go some distance toward assuaging Rosemont's sense of “failure.”

The contents of this volume are too many, too deep, and too varied to lend themselves to quick summary in this review, but a few highlights must be mentioned. Erin M. Cline (University of Oregon) contrasts Rosemont's account of Confucian personhood with that of John Rawls, "placing him somewhere between the Confucian and Western positions" (p. 87) outlined in Rosemont's work, which performs the important service of pointing out commonalities between Chinese and Western philosophical anthropology and political theory. Both Ni Peimin (Grand Valley State University) and Eric Hutton (University of Utah) take up Rosemont's concern for Confucian thought as a resource for those who cherish liberty. Ni argues that Confucianism "denies the freedom of indifference, and . . . endorses the freedom of spontaneity" (p. 105), by which he means that "Confucian democracy" requires passionate commitment on the basis of deep human feelings and experiences of inter-relatedness with other human beings, out of which one may act spontaneously in ways that strengthen those relationships. While Hutton flatly calls the Confucianism of Xunzi 荀子 "un-democratic," he shows how Xunzi is less "un-democratic" than Plato, insofar as Xunzi (like Plato) doubts the intellectual and moral qualifications of common people but (unlike Plato) "insists that 'Anyone on the streets can become a Yu [i.e., a sage]'" (p. 318), and that this commonality between the masses and the rulers presumed by Xunzi renders him less vulnerable to the accusations made by Karl Popper against Plato. Michael Nylan and Harrison Huang (University of California at Berkeley) demonstrate how what David Wong (Duke University) calls "an enduring theme of Rosemont's work . . . that we are not by ourselves, that we are not strangers, and that we enter into each other's identities" (p. 331) is evident in Mencius' little-noticed claim that pleasure is central to the good life—that "doing good requires little more than the capacity for enjoyment—delighting in . . . a frank acknowledgement that we are all human" (pp. 263–64). Finally, Harold D. Roth (Brown University) shows how Rosemont's emphasis on "the natural tendencies of human beings and the political organizations that can best be developed to harness and direct them" (p. 290) can help us understand the often-hidden moralistic and political aspects of the Daoist tradition, as found in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子.

Occasionally, one wonders at why a particular contribution was made. Tu Weiming's (Harvard University) essay, while cogent and learned, seems to be, at most, indirectly or implicitly connected to Rosemont's work. Even Rosemont himself sometimes seems puzzled. Regarding Jeffrey Dippmann's (Central Washington University) essay on "Daoist civility" and "polite Daoists," Rosemont wonders, "what could Lao Tan, Zhuangzi, Liu An or Liezi have to do with these?" (p. 389). There are other examples of this kind of gap or void between Rosemont's work and the contributions of those who wish to honor him. Personally, however, the most interesting

disagreement—civil though it may be—is between Rosemont and one of this volume’s editors, Ronnie Littlejohn (Belmont University). Littlejohn argues for the early Confucian concept of *tian* 天 (heaven) as one that entails extrahuman intentionality as well as agency. Rosemont, while accepting that “all early Confucians linked *tian* with agency” (p. 385), argues that the nature of *tian*’s agency is “causal much more than . . . intentional-causal” and thus claims that “we will better understand Confucius, his disciples, and the contexts of the numerous specific passages in which *tian* appears if we do not attribute conscious intention to ‘it’” (p. 385). Rosemont’s resistance to the quasi-theistic reading of *tian* arises from his goal of “describ[ing] authentic religious experience in ways fully consonant with all that we must accept in the way of modern science . . . and in such a way as to not denigrate those experiences even if they do not transcend the human realm” (p. 388). Such disagreements in the volume are instructive insofar as they underscore the constant tensions between commensurability and incommensurability, on the one hand, and intelligibility and unintelligibility, on the other, that underlie all meaningful efforts in comparative philosophy.

It is fitting, perhaps, that some of the strongest and last words in the volume are Rosemont’s, even though the words are borrowed in part from another: “If asked, ‘When will all philosophers take Asian thought seriously?’ I can only reply by quoting Max Planck, who, when asked when all physicists would accept Einstein’s theories replied ‘when all those who don’t have died off’” (p. 362).

JEFFREY L. RICHEY

Berea College

Chen Guidi & Wu Chuntao, *Will the Boat Sink the Water? The Life of China’s Peasants*. Translated by Zhu Hong. New York: Public Affairs, 2006. xxvi + 229 pages.

The media in the West inundates us with news of China’s economic miracle. There are glowing reports of the tall skyscrapers and the new technological marvels of Shanghai and Beijing—wonders such as the world’s fastest train that whips travelers from the Shanghai Pudong International Airport to downtown in just a matter of minutes. Conversely, we hear about the unbelievable pollution found in China’s air and about China’s unbelievably dirty waters; but what we do not often hear about is the misery still prevalent among the nation’s hundreds of millions of peasants.

Historians often describe Mao’s (1893–1976) communist movement as a revolution of the peasants and the land. Deng Xiaoping’s (1904–97) reforms were supposed to give the peasantry rights to their own land and greater

control over their destinies. When I accompanied a Fulbright seminar across much of China in the summer of 2006, I heard that, since 1980, the country's per capita gross domestic product had increased ninefold and that hundreds of millions of Chinese had been lifted out of poverty. But when wandering the streets of Beijing and other towns and villages, one sees signs of poverty, much of it very intense, everywhere.

Chen Guidi and Wu Chuntao, two leading Chinese writers and investigative journalists who are a husband-and-wife team, have written a book, originally published in 2004 in Chinese (*Zhongguo nongmin diaocha* 中国农民调查 [Investigation into China's peasants]) but recently translated into English by Zhu Hong as *Will the Boat Sink the Water? The Life of China's Peasants*, where they conclude that China's economic miracle is happening despite, not because of, China's 900 million peasants. Several years ago, they went to Wu's native Anhui Province, one of the poorest areas in China, to investigate the conditions of peasants there. They asked one very basic question: Have the peasants been betrayed by the revolution undertaken in their name by Mao and his successors? Their response is a very disturbing and emphatic "Yes!" Told principally through four dramatic narratives of particular Anhui people, we get a vivid portrait of the pain, poverty, and corruption that China's peasants face every day.

We see that the living conditions of many peasant families have not really improved at all since the Communist Revolution—that was supposed to have been realized on their behalf—and that Chinese leaders today are just as oppressive and corrupt as they were before the revolution. Chinese peasants are, note the authors, truly the voiceless in modern China. They are also, perhaps, the reason that China will not be able to make the great social and economic leap forward, because, if it is to leap, it must carry the 900 million with it.

The four case studies described in this book offer very detailed portraits of the struggles that peasants face in various villages. The story of one corrupt and cruel village official, Gao Xuewen, gives one much of the flavor of the book:

To begin at the beginning, Gao Xuewen was universally hated in Gao Village. Ever since worming his way to the position of village chief, the man had been walking on clouds with his nose in the air, seeming to have even forgotten the surname of his own ancestors. No matter how many documents and directives were passed down from the Party Central Committee on relieving the peasants' burden, the amount of taxes and dues in Gao Village still depended on Gao Xuewen's word. You had to pay exactly what he ordered, and not a cent less. Opposing Gao was tantamount to opposing the people's government, even the Party. If you were so unfortunate as to get into his bad books, he had no compunction against cursing and striking you. Not enough to be beaten and abused, the injured party was obliged to apologize before the matter was allowed to end. (p. 68)

Readers of this book may well reach the conclusion that China's Communist Revolution, rather than being a particularly good thing for the nation's peasants, was in fact an unmitigated disaster for most. We see how local authorities abuse, cheat, vastly overtax, and physically abuse peasants in their villages and regions. Those so abused have no recourse; and when a few brave souls do raise their voices, they and their families are often arrested on trumped-up charges or even physically attacked or killed. The writers help us understand some of the corruption, bribery, and intimidation undertaken by dishonest local officials against those Chinese citizens who can bear it the least: the poor peasants. The book also shows the courageous efforts undertaken by some peasants to achieve basic justice in order to be able to get on with their lives.

Chen and Wu have produced an enlightening but highly disturbing book. Their work, for understandable reasons, was banned soon after its publication in China, but tens of thousands of underground copies have circulated throughout the country. It is exactly the kind of book that anybody even remotely interested in China should read, because it gives a much more realistic portrait of the underside of China's economic miracle than is available elsewhere. I have added this book to the reading list for my courses on modern China, and I would urge every other Asian studies instructor to do likewise.

DANIEL A. MÉTRAUX
Mary Baldwin College

Liza Dalby, *East Wind Melts the Ice: A Memoir through the Seasons*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007. xxvi + 320 pages.

Karin Muller, *Japanland: A Year in Search of Wa*. Emmaus, PA: Rodale, 2005. xii + 307 pages.

Kate T. Williamson, *A Year in Japan*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006. 190 pages.

Japan in One Year

As a rule, the people of Japan are extremely conscious that theirs is a culture that values and appreciates the four distinct seasons. When new acquaintances tell me they have visited Japan, I ritualistically ask them what time of year they were there, since, whether expressed through the cuisine or store-window displays or festivals or other celebrations and diversions, the Japan of winter, for example, is indeed a different place from the Japan

of autumn, or summer, or spring. To experience these differences, one must spend at least a year in Japan, as did the authors of the three recently published works reviewed here. Each Western author had her own motives behind chronicling a year—or the idea of a year—in Japan; and the resultant offerings provide varying nuances of complexity and contribution. These three works involve components and characteristics of diary, memoir, almanac, travelogue, history lesson, social commentary, interpretation, and visual representation of the country, people, customs, and traditions of both historical and contemporary Japan. Collectively, they offer a veritable feast of images, portrayed through narrative, poetry, and visual art itself.

Seasonal Reflections on Experiencing Japan

Anthropologist Liza Dalby, the first (only?) Westerner to become a geisha,¹ began her studies of Japan as a sixteen-year-old exchange student in Kyushu in 1966. She opens her latest work, *East Wind Melts the Ice: A Memoir through the Seasons*, with an observation about the Japanese obsession with the natural cycle: Japanese pay incredible attention “to the ephemeral yet steadfastly recurring phenomena of the natural world. Japanese culture is so deeply steeped in this awareness that even canned drinks in vending machines change from summer to fall” (p. xv). With the keen eye of a naturalist and fluent language of a poet, Dalby demonstrates throughout her fascinating work how “Japan offers a way to appreciate fleeting seasonalities that we do not articulate nearly so poetically in the West” (p. 155). Her work, though, proves a remarkable exception to this generalization. Through it, she inspires her readers to be more aware of the sights, sounds, smells, tastes, and feelings of their natural environments. Or at least her work had such an effect on me.

At the heart of this intricately researched and beautifully produced volume, a nonfiction finalist for the 2008 Kiriya Prize, are seventy-two brief (one- to six-page) essays in the relaxed and unstructured Japanese *zuihitsu* 隨筆 style, one for each five-day period identified in an ancient Chinese almanac that influenced the Japanese notion of calendrical time. These seventy-two seasonal periods were famously codified during the third century B.C.E. in the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü*), one of the Five Classics of Chinese literature. On a technical level, then, Dalby's book is an English *saijiki* 歳時記, a personal diary emphasizing the seasons;² the calendrical year she chronicles is filled with relevant memories and experiences dating from her childhood in the Midwest through her forty-year interest in Japan. On an effectual level, however, Dalby's work playfully takes her readers through the Japanese seasons with examples from history, literature, and, of course, natural phenomena. Dalby is a gardener, after all, and her work would satisfy even the most pedantic horticulturalist, as she provides Latin names for plants and flowers—and even occa-

sional chemical formulae (e.g., 3, 7-dimethyl-2, 6-octadien-1-ol, a.k.a. geraniol, the fragrance of winter daphne [*Daphne odorata*], p. 26). In emphasizing not only biology but also cultural borrowing from ancient China to Japan, Dalby's book succeeds in demonstrating how "the very idea of the seasons is an intriguing mixture of nature and culture" (p. xx).

Written in an incredibly personal and accessible voice that nevertheless manages to brim with scholarly authority, each of the seventy-two entries begins with a contextualizing paragraph (or two) set off in a sans serif typeface and prefaced with a seal script ornament (ca. eighth century B.C.E.) from the original Chinese calendrical phrase, of which "east wind melts the ice" (東風解凍) is the first. Dalby suggests that the book can be read "horizontally"—reading only these opening paragraphs—to get a sense of the book as an almanac. Naturally, Dalby's year begins not on January 1 but in early February, which marks the beginning of spring, according to the ancient Chinese calendar. From there, her diary progresses through the year, with eighteen entries per season. Part of the joy of Dalby's work is following her logic from prescribed essay title to the contents she has chosen for each entry. The titles themselves are poetic (e.g., "Waving Grasses Wither" at the end of May, "Rainbows Hide" in late November, and "The Copper Pheasant Is Silent" in early December), and Dalby effectively sprinkles her entries with haiku, explaining, en route, what belongs where in Japanese poetry (seasonally), and why. As expected, perhaps, the poems are by the likes of Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–94) and Kobayashi Issa 小林一茶 (1763–1828); but modern poets, such as Terada Kyōko 寺田京子 (1923–74), are not ignored. Highlighting the personal nature of the *zuihitsu* form, Dalby has translated most of the poetry herself. And, as a special treat, she even includes a few of her own Japanese poems (see, e.g., pp. 87, 126, 268).

Dalby's memoir-like musings seem uniquely suited to the *zuihitsu* form: She juxtaposes life in her gardens in Berkeley, California, with life in modern Japan, seventeenth-century Japan, and ancient China in a fascinating journey through time and space. A table in the appendix compares the seventy-two periods of the year across these four temporal and geographical realms. The seventeenth-century Japanese equivalencies are courtesy of Shibukawa Shunkai 渋川春海 (1639–1715), official astronomer to the first shogun; those for modern Japan and Northern California are Dalby's derivations. Although Dalby points out that "none of the seventy-two phenomena picked out to compose this almanac focuses on human activity" (p. 167), some of her more playful modern equivalencies do just that. For example, in late June, when "cicadas sing" in ancient China, "irises bloom" in seventeenth-century Japan, and "trumpet lilies bloom" in Northern California, "air-conditioning [is turned] on" in modern Japan (p. 289).

Essay 42 ("Rice Ripens") provides a wonderful example of Dalby's free-flowing *zuihitsu* style. She begins by considering various terms for rice in

Japanese (*ine* 稲, *kome* 米, *gohan* 御飯, *meshi* 飯), describes *inari* 稲荷 sushi, explores expectations of Japanese mothers (especially with respect to their children's *bentō* 弁当 lunch boxes, which she dubs “tiny masterpieces,” p. 167), suggests that the notions of season and weather are frequently confused by Americans, comments on the shared Japanese and Western custom of wearing white only until the end of summer, elaborates on elaborate Heian-era (794–1185) robe color combinations, and mentions an early September drive up the Sonoma coast that immediately called to mind the classic “Seven Autumn Plants.” All in one chapter! Furthermore, humor, puns, and wordplay are aplenty. For but one example, from essay 45: “Haiku clubs regularly gather on this evening [of the first full moon of September] to moon over the moon and wax eloquent in seventeen syllables” (p. 179).

Reference works aside, I know few books where such fascinating tidbits—cultural, scientific, and otherwise—appear on every page. Some could be considered trivia, such as the fact that “bamboo flowers and sets seed only once every sixty years” (p. 50); but others, such as the origin of the 108 “snares and delusions” (*bonnō* 煩惱) of the world (pp. 262–63) are unexpected revelations. (I had studied Japanese religion for years and had never understood the mathematics behind why there are precisely 108 *bonnō*. And there an answer was!) Dalby reveals herself to her readers as the type of fascinating person who, for example, would pull off the side of the road to take a closer look at turkey vultures in a tree (p. 280) or who would attempt (unsuccessfully, alas) to make her own tea with leaves plucked from a camellia bush she had introduced to her California garden (pp. 221–22). How I wish I had been at the University of Illinois when she visited in September 2003 (pp. 186–89)!

Dalby offers musings on many abstract yet quintessentially Japanese concepts: *suki-kirai* 好き嫌い (lit., “like/dislike”), *urusato* 故郷 (native place, hometown), and *wabi-sabi* 侘寂 (an aesthetic having to do with “the beauty of extreme understatement,” p. 184, in a particularly brilliant essay on *ikebana* [no. 46]). She also offers description of Heian-period games, rites, rituals, and traditions (e.g., pp. 90–92, 169–70, 195–97) and instructions on how to write *waka* 和歌 poetry (p. 94). She explains how to dry persimmons (pp. 235–36) and even presents recipes for cooking with American kelp (pp. 225–26). Indeed, food rightly plays a prominent role in her entries, since “one of the most popular ways Japanese pay attention to the seasons is by eating” (p. 140). And the fascinating essay on Dalby’s involvement with the film version of Arthur Golden’s *Memoirs of a Geisha* (no. 44, pp. 174–77) would provide an illuminating read for undergraduates in a course on Japanese or Asian culture, I am sure; she uses an astutely original (and memorable) metaphor of a “sushi sandwich” to describe the hybridized American–Japanese film.

Clothbound in a striking *moegi* 萌黄 (“sprout green”; see p. 24) cover, enjoyment of the book is strengthened by its effective design. (The University of California Press and the author should both be proud.) Line drawings of such natural things as carp, octopi, kudzu, Heike crabs, and even a mythical half plant, half animal called a “borometz” (see it to believe it on p. 195) add to the playfulness of the volume. Her Web site, www.lizadalby.com, mentioned in the afterword, provides additional resources, including a visual journal of the seventy-two seasons and a key to the seal script ornaments in the text.

In short, Dalby’s book is a treasure trove of the most fascinating natural and cultural information. Horticulturalists, botanists, ornithologists, mycologists, meteorologists, entomologists, etymologists, gastronomists, artists, and aesthetes of all types will undoubtedly find something of interest within this volume. Moreover, those interested in Asia and Japan—and especially the cultural connotations of the seasons in Japanese art, literature, and poetry—will find the work particularly rewarding. Here is a book I plan to revisit many times throughout the year(s) to come.

A Year of Experiences in Japan

If Dalby’s work describes *experiencing* Japan, Karin Muller’s 2005 book, *Japanland: A Year in Search of Wa*, describes *experiences* in Japan. An equally personal book, Muller’s is neither as avant-garde nor as delightfully eccentric as Dalby’s. Muller, in fact, has much precedent: Mass-market stories of a year spent in contemporary Japan by Westerners had become quite popular by the early 1990s, when offerings by Bruce Feiler (1991) and Pico Iyer (1991) appeared.³ Subsequently, with the recent popularity of *Lost in Translation* and *Memoirs of a Geisha*, a certain general level of Japanese cultural literacy has been assumed in the West: the educated Western reader knows at least something about sumo and judo and karate, sushi, samurai, geisha, hierarchy and formality, ideas of obligation and “saving face,” salarymen, karaoke, pachinko, and tensions between tradition and modernization. Within this context of familiarity Muller offers her work.

Muller, a thirty-four-year-old Swiss–American “adventurer” who had previously produced documentaries on Vietnam and South America, initially learned about Japan through judo. (She holds a black belt.) Her admittedly naïve mission was to “become Japanese”—a process that would take “at least a year, maybe more” (p. x). Moreover, her plan was to make a documentary along the way, attempting to gain “more than a superficial glimpse” of Japan’s culture and traditions (p. xi).⁴ Muller was searching not only for the *wa* 和 (peace/harmony) she experienced while practicing judo but also for something akin to the meaning of life. In one year she wished, in fact, to pry “open the doors to traditional Japan”—a task she

described, midway through her stay, to be “like trying to break into Fort Knox” (p. 179).

Although Dalby could be (and undoubtedly has been) referred to as someone who is “more Japanese than Japanese themselves,”⁵ Muller came to a Japan that, at the beginning of her stay, was “utterly alien” to her (p. ix). Echoing a complaint of numerous Western adults who live in Japan, she writes, “it’s like I’m six years old again, living by someone else’s complicated and incomprehensible set of rules” (p. 91). Perhaps because she was filming a documentary, though also due to repeated assistance from an information officer at the Tourist Information Center in Kyoto, Muller was able to witness and participate in a staggering array of activities that represent both traditional and contemporary Japan: rice harvesting (by hand), sword making, *yabusame* 流鏑馬 (horseback archery) training, sumo training, gateball playing, *yamabushi* 山伏 (mountain ascetic) training, and *taiko* 太鼓 (drum) performing. She watched a kabuki performance, underwent a *kangyō* 寒行 (midwinter purification) ritual, observed the crowds in Tokyo’s Harajuku, stayed in a capsule hotel, shadowed a geisha, and began the famous Shikoku pilgrimage on foot. If these lists themselves seem exhausting to read, learning that the author herself unfortunately came down with pneumonia during her pilgrimage, which is recounted near the end of her book, might not come as a surprise. Thereafter Muller gained an insider’s look at the Japanese medical system.

Surprisingly, readers do not find out what time of year Muller arrived in Japan until chapter 5 (p. 51), where they learn that she had been there for just two months at cherry blossom time (in March). But earlier, in chapter 4, Muller participated in the famous Sanja Matsuri 三社祭 in Tokyo, which readers familiar with Japan may know takes place the third weekend in May. Thus the astute reader wonders to what extent temporal reality was compromised for the structure of the narrative. Ambiguity over the original language of several conversations reported in the book also heightens confusion.⁶ Coupled with the author’s frequent use of poetic hyperbole, this ambiguity almost serves to bring the work into the genre of creative non-fiction. Are all readers able to sort out reality from exaggeration?

Reviewers knowledgeable about Japan should have been asked by the publishers to read the manuscript before it was printed, as they would have spotted errors in romanization, usage, and consistency. For example, “Fugisawa,” throughout the book, should be “Fujisawa”; “Sinchan” should be “Shinchan”; “Koichi-san” twice appears as “Kouchi-san”; and Kōbō Dai-shi 弘法大師 (774–835), founder of the esoteric Shingon school of Buddhism—and in whose honor the Shikoku pilgrimage is dedicated, is very unnaturally referred to in the text as just “Kobo.” Facts and details aside, Muller’s giftedness as a storyteller comes out in numerous episodes, including her humorous encounter with politeness on a train (pp. 134–37) and her

hilarious account of trying to get rid of a cumbersome wood-and-oiled-paper umbrella (pp. 219–21).

Does Muller succeed at “unravel[ing] the great ball of Japanese culture” (pp. 190–91)? Her rather anticlimactic conclusion is that conformity “is not a sign of weakness, but rather a great inner strength” (p. 300). In terms of providing accurate, reliable information on Japanese society and culture, Muller’s book ultimately suffers from superficiality in its attempts to cover so much territory. The book might nicely complement her four-hour documentary (which I have not seen); but knowledge-seekers who want to move beyond stereotypes or another entertaining read will have to look elsewhere.

A Visual Year in Japan

Kate T. Williamson, author/artist and designer of *A Year in Japan*, will be someone to watch. Just a few years after her graduation from Harvard (where she studied filmmaking), and after spending a year studying art and aesthetics in Japan, she has already authored (or coauthored) and designed four books.⁷ Embracing Valerie Kirschenbaum’s idea of “designer books,” where authors serve as designers, Williamson’s offering demonstrates how “visual texts can present truths that purely nonvisual texts cannot.”⁸ Asianists are lucky that Williamson selected Japan as a subject for her discerning attention.

Indeed, *A Year in Japan* is so much a visual text that many would undoubtedly classify it as an “art book.” Where the book ends and the art begins is intentionally unclear. The author’s own vivid watercolors and line drawings are the focal point of this visual journal, with accompanying *handwritten* text that itself is, perhaps not surprisingly, artistic.⁹ The topics of the no fewer than thirty-five *zuihitsu*-like commentaries, arranged more or less chronologically (from autumn to summer) on un-numbered pages, interpret and add shades of meaning to the accompanying art. The brief comments, ranging from two sentences to four paragraphs, assume, to a similar extent as Muller’s book, a general level of familiarity with Japanese culture. Upon this foundation, though, Williamson’s images and texts add a level of nuance aided by the author’s keen sense of observation and detail. Shining through every narrative, as well, is the everyday nature of things. For example, in “Lunch with a Geisha,” Williamson recounts having an informal lunch with the geisha Haruno-san in Kyoto. Near the end of this piece, the mundane seems rather unexpected: “After she finished her [egg] sandwich, Haruno-san lit a cigarette and took a picture of me with her cell phone.” Geisha are normal people, too, Williamson seems to be saying, with a wink. This essay is preceded by a colorful, annotated differentiation between a geisha and a *maiko* 舞妓 (an apprentice geisha). What Williamson accomplishes on two pages with two pictures and just fourteen words is quite impressive.

Williamson's ordering and composition of the text are to be commended, as well. Early in the book (in autumn), she follows a translation of a Heian-period poem on the moon with an entry on moon-viewing (where she notes the common Japanese "combination of nature appreciation and social events"); a description and image of *tsukimi dango* 月見団子 (pounded rice covered in sweet bean paste—sweets evocative, not only by name, of moon-viewing); and a series of visuals representing the "rabbit in the moon," the Japanese equivalent of the "man in the moon." The association of food with representative action or event is made throughout the book: a delicious-looking *bentō* appears before a description of the Shinkansen (on which station-purchased boxed lunches, called *ekiben* 駅弁, are commonly eaten); an elaborate *kurisumasu kēki* (Christmas cake) receives a two-page spread before the discussion of Christmas and New Year's in Japan; and festival fare is pictured and described before a discussion of fireworks, light-ups, and the Awa Odori, an August dance festival in Tokushima.¹⁰

Seasonal images from nature also take the reader/viewer through the Japanese calendar: ripe persimmons on a tree, autumn-tinged maple leaves, plum blossoms, peach blossoms, cherry blossoms, hydrangeas, lotuses. Famous sites are not ignored (though Mt. Fuji, perhaps too cliché for the author, is conspicuously absent): the sand dunes at Tottori, waterfall at Nachi, and the "wedded rocks" (*Meoto Iwa* 夫婦岩) at Futami all make artistic appearances. Williamson explores ground covered neither by Dalby nor Muller by visiting Okinawa. From her stay on Taketomi Island, the reader/viewer is rewarded with paintings of, for example, a tiny *shima* 島 banana, an Okinawan bitter melon and bitter melon stir-fry, and a three-stringed *sanshin* 三線 (Okinawan shamisen). Dalby would approve of Williamson's explanation of a traditional dyeing method called *shiborizome* 絞り染め, where she shows ten shades of natural indigo and provides their poetic names; Muller would appreciate the description of sumo wrestlers carrying out everyday tasks (riding the subway and making withdrawals from ATMs). Anyone should be able to appreciate the fresh, artistic approach through which Williamson portrays her year in Japan.

Simply put, Williamson's *A Year in Japan* is a book that deserves to be seen—and shared. For a preview, check out the author's Web site, www.katetwilliamson.com. Undergraduates, especially those with a taste for contemporary art, may well want to become students of Japanese culture after seeing this book.

STEVEN E. GUMP
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Notes

¹See *Geisha* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), the fascinating ethnography and personal account of her training and life as the geisha Ichigiku.

²Formally, a *saijiki* is a glossary of seasonal terms and illustrative examples for haiku composers, but the term also describes the type of seasonal diary-like literary genre exemplified, in English, by Dalby's book. Several of the entries were originally composed by the author in Japanese, in fact. In a fascinating afterword, Dalby offers thoughts on writing in Japanese, a process that allowed her "to use Japanese cultural concepts as springboards" for her own points of view (p. 295). She even answers a question that is frequently asked of me: What is it like to compose in Japanese on a computer? (See p. 297 for her description of the process.)

³Bruce S. Feiler, *Learning to Bow: An American Teacher in a Japanese School* (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1991); Pico Iyer, *The Lady and the Monk: Four Seasons in Kyoto* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

⁴Feiler embarked on a similar mission: an attempt to search for Japan's "inviolable core" (*Learning to Bow*, p. 11); and Alan Booth, in *Looking for the Lost: Journeys Through a Vanishing Japan* (New York: Kodansha International, 1995), described a quest for what many Japanese themselves consider to be "truly Japanese" (p. 5).

⁵The phrase is frequently expressed as *Nihonjin yori Nihon-tsū na hito* 日本人より日本通な人.

⁶The confusion is exacerbated by the fact that the reader is unsure of the author's proficiency in Japanese. Early in the book, for example, we learn that the author "can't read Japanese" (p. 13). Late in the book, Muller offers this atypically descriptive contextualization of a conversation with a sacked salaryman: "He used English when he first spoke to me, but since then he's switched to Japanese. Sometimes I understand his words, sometimes not, but always from his expression, I know what he's saying" (p. 233). In his short story "The Fisherman Who Had Nobody to Go Out in His Boat with Him," William Maxwell described such an event as a "strangeness": two individuals "did not speak the same language but, each speaking his own, nevertheless understood each other perfectly." See *All the Days and Nights: The Collected Stories of William Maxwell* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 331–34: 332.

⁷Her first two books, coauthored with Jennifer Butefish and Maria Fernanda Soares, look at the worldwide Hello Kitty phenomenon.

⁸Valerie Kirschenbaum, *Goodbye Gutenberg: Hello to a New Generation of Readers and Writers* (New York: Global Renaissance Society, 2005), 209. Writes Kirschenbaum: "With designer books, we will experience a new flowering of the verbal and the visual arts" (p. 85).

⁹Believing that one's handwriting is telling of one's character, employers in Japan have traditionally required job applicants to handwrite their applications.

¹⁰Victoria Abbott Riccardi, another Westerner to write of her experiences in Japan, is also careful to emphasize the importance of the seasons—and the seasonality of cuisine—in Japan. In her case, instead of offering art, she flavors her narrative with seasonal recipes. See her *Untangling My Chopsticks: A Culinary Sojourn in Kyoto* (New York: Broadway, 2003).

Yasunari Kawabata, *The Old Capital*. Translated by J. Martin Holman. Emeryville, CA: Shoemaker & Hoard, 2006. xiv + 182 pages.

Translator J. Martin Holman (coordinator of Japanese Studies at the University of Missouri) exhibited samurai patience to wait almost twenty years after his initial 1987 translation of Kawabata's (1899–1972) novel *The*

Old Capital before penning this completely revised version. Why is it so difficult to capture the essence of a Japanese novel or city in an English translation? After the 1987 translation was published, numerous friends, colleagues, and students of Japanese read the English translation of Kawabata's classic city-bound saga of Kyoto (originally published in Japanese in 1962) and wrote to Holman with their suggestions, many of which Holman incorporated into his revision. Among the readers to offer suggestions was Hideki Masaki, who served as the interpreter for Emperor Hirohito from the late 1950s until the Emperor's death in 1989. Like one of the novel's main characters who was devoted to his fabric designs, Holman has returned to the novel and produced a fresh new rendition.

Set in post-War Japan, *The Old Capital* is the story of Chieko, the foundling child of a Kyoto textile merchant family. Kyoto (the "Old Capital") has long stood as the epicenter for everything quintessentially Japanese. Westerners fascinated with the intricacies of traditional Japanese culture continue to flock to the Kansai region of western Honshu, which is regarded as the cultural heart of Japan. The city on the Kamo River is famous for geishas, the tea ceremony, lavishly decorated kimonos, cherry blossoms, architecture, and innumerable Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines. Kyoto abounds with seasonal festivals which provide the backdrop to Kawabata's story, such as the Aoi, the Gion, the Jidai, and the Gozen Fire Festival. "Heian-kyō" 平安京 became the political capital of Japan in 794 C.E. and was known popularly as Miyako 都 or Kyōto 京都. Power shifted to Edo (Tokyo) in the twelfth century, but, ever since, Kyoto has retained its magical hold over the imagination of Westerners and Japanese alike.

Such background is necessary to appreciate Holman's excellent revised translation of Kawabata's *The Old Capital* because Kyoto is as much the protagonist as the young woman named Chieko. Chieko is the daughter of Sada Takichiro, a wholesale dry-goods merchant with an interest in traditional kimono and obi fabric designs, and his wife Shige, who helps him run the slowly declining business. Through a Sophoclean revelation, Chieko learns that Takichiro and Shige are not, in fact, her biological parents. Chieko was stolen or abandoned as an infant, left on the doorstep of one of Kyoto's traditional kimono shops. Takichiro and Shige have related several stories over the years about how they acquired Chieko, but she needs to know the truth. Somewhere on the mysterious Hiei-zan 比叡山 (Mount Hiei) outside of Kyoto amid the straight-growing Kitayama cedars, Chieko's twin sister Naeko works as a rustic village laborer. Chieko and Naeko are physical counterparts, so similar in appearance that Chieko's boyfriend cannot tell them apart. Chieko does not need to consult an oracle to tell her that the truth about her parentage must come out. Such tension provides the narrative framework for *The Old Capital*, but the real achievement of

Holman's revised translation is in the portrayal of the delicate beauty of an obi design or a violet flower. The fact that a middle-aged dry-goods merchant such as Takichiro would spend hours obsessing over his new floral-patterned obi design is just as important as the truth of Chieko's birth.

Perhaps the greatest challenge for the translator is to convey the subtle appreciation of beauty in the minds of the novel's characters. In his Nobel Prize-acceptance speech in 1968, Kawabata discussed the Japanese appreciation for art in terms of harmony between nature's seasons and human relationships: "When we see the beauty of the snow, when we see the beauty of the full moon, when we see the beauty of the cherries in bloom, when in short we brush against and are awakened by the beauty of the four seasons, it is then that we think most of those close to us, and want them to share the pleasure."

Such is an apt summary of *The Old Capital*, even though the story itself concerns the Sada family fortunes. For example, the father, Sada Takichiro, secludes himself in a remote Buddhist temple for several days to attain inspiration for a "heavenly [obi fabric] design." Takichiro is something of a dinosaur, an older gentleman in his late 50s living in post-War Kyoto at a time when the average consumer cares more about the latest electronics than new seasonal kimono patterns. Takichiro laments that most family loom-weaving businesses will probably vanish in the next twenty years, but that does not prevent him from an intense, sensitive devotion to beauty. It is one of Kawabata's favorite themes: the clash of traditional and modern values in post-World War II Japan. As a cloth wholesaler, Takichiro does not need to create new patterns to profit from the sale of goods. However, the lure of tradition and a religious devotion to artistic expression drives him to produce a tribute to his adopted daughter Chieko, who proclaims "Father's designs come from the depth of a spiritual wave" (p. 34). Such is the kind of statement at once typical of Kawabata and usually incomprehensible to the non-Japanese reader.

When Takichiro takes his new design to his friend Sosuke for weaving, he discusses secluding himself in a temple and studying the paintings of Swiss modernist Paul Klee (1879-1940) for inspiration. When Sosuke proclaims ignorance about Klee, Takichiro replies that Klee's paintings "have the quality of a dream that speaks to even the heart of an old Japanese like me" (p. 42). Such is the achievement of this new translation by J. Martin Holman: to speak to the heart regardless of the reader's age or nationality. In Holman's new translation of Kawabata's classic novel, though the fate of Chieko is in doubt, the subtle Japanese appreciation for beauty in art and nature is not.

Donald Keene, *Frog in the Well: Portraits of Japan by Watanabe Kazan, 1793–1841*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. xiv + 289 pages.

Donald Keene has always skillfully employed depictions of people that assist readers both to realistically envision an individual's life and to gain a better understanding of Japan's history. His acclaimed *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852–1912* (Columbia University Press, 2002) and his lesser-noted but fine work, *Yoshimasa and the Silver Pavilion: The Creation of the Soul of Japan* (Columbia University Press, 2003), are but two excellent examples of the historically meaningful biographies Keene has produced. Keene's biography of Watanabe Kazan 渡邊華山 (1793–1841), samurai, Confucian, advocate of foreign learning, patriot, and—most important of all—painter, is valuable as a portrait of an exceptional man and as a work that depicts the politics and society of Tokugawa 徳川 Japan (1603–1868) in its declining years.

Kazan, born to an impoverished samurai family from the poor domain of Tahara in present-day Aichi Prefecture, grew up in Edo. As a young boy, he aspired to be a Confucian scholar, but his family's situation was so desperate that the leisure of full-time study was economically impossible for Kazan, the oldest of eight children. Kazan witnessed younger brothers placed in Buddhist orders and a sister sent away for employment with a retainer for the shogun in order that his family might survive. Despite poverty, Kazan educated himself in the Chinese Confucian classics as well as Chinese and Japanese literature. Early in his life, Kazan showed talent as a painter and was apprenticed to learn the craft to supplement family income. As a boy Kazan also served as the playmate of the son of the *daimyō* 大名 (feudal lord) to whom the family was pledged.

Kazan came of age in a time when Dutch and foreign learning were becoming increasingly difficult for Japanese intellectuals and policymakers to ignore. Reluctantly accepting his role of domain administrator, Kazan returned to Tahara as a young adult to assume bureaucratic duties and faithfully carried out routine tasks such as managing domain finances while continuing to be a part of Japanese literati circles that were absorbing more and more Dutch and foreign learning. Although the time constraints imposed by his administrative work and his efforts to produce and sell art to support his family never provided Kazan with the time to become a *Rangakusha* 蘭学者, or scholar of Dutch learning, he read voluminous amounts of accounts of life in the West in translation and interacted with like-minded Japanese intellectuals and Dutch visitors in his domestic travels. Most importantly of all, he became renowned in his lifetime as a painter of portraits that increasingly were affected by Western influences. Keene contends that Kazan was the first Japanese portrait artist to depict the individuality of his subjects. Keene's biography includes beautiful reproductions

of some of Kazan's greatest paintings. As an adult, Kazan first painted traditional *bunjin* 文人 (literati-style) landscape paintings with diminutive humans included in the scenery, a style he never entirely abandoned; but he later moved to portrait paintings, including two of the famous writer and calligrapher Ichikawa Beian 市河米庵 (1779–1858) that are striking in their realism.

Kazan is fascinating precisely because he had deep affinities for Confucian-influenced cultural and intellectual traditions yet also intensely sought knowledge of Western ways. Kazan, a patriot who was given the task of supervising coastal defenses in his domain, was imbued with filial piety and went to great lengths to praise and support his mother. At the same time, he looked down upon hide-bound Confucian traditionalists who spurned all Western influences. The title of the volume, "Frog in the Well," is taken from Kazan's writing where he asserted that devotees to blind tradition were like frogs stuck in a well that had no notion of the ocean.

Late Tokugawa Japan was not a society that tolerated open or revealed perpetrators of criticism of the regime. In the wake of the 1837 Morrison Incident, where the Tokugawa government repulsed an American merchant ship seeking trade by cannon fire, Kazan became more critical of government-seclusion policies. Eventually, partially due to the efforts of intellectual opponents who leaked one of his unpublished essays to government officials, Kazan was taken to Edo, imprisoned, tried, and found guilty of treason in 1839. Only the intercession of influential supporters prevented a beheading, and Kazan was sentenced to house arrest in Tahara. In 1840, ashamed that he had disgraced his family and fearful that his banned sale of portraits would bring further troubles, Kazan committed suicide in traditional samurai fashion in a shed adjacent to his home.

Today Kazan has been embraced by numbers of different Japanese because of his filial piety, his patriotism, his devotion to duty, and his fascinating art. Keene somewhat wistfully writes that it was a shame that Kazan was born about twenty or so years too soon, since his approach to learning from the West while retaining core Japanese and East Asian cultural values would have been valued in Meiji 明治 Japan (1861–1912). Be that as it may, scholars and teachers who read Keene's biography of Kazan are certain to gain a realistic feel for this complex and admirable individual—and for late Tokugawa Japan, with all its contradictions.

LUCIEN ELLINGTON

University of Tennessee at Chattanooga

Hideaki Matsuoka, *Japanese Prayer Below the Equator: How Brazilians Believe in the Church of World Messianity*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007. xviii + 175 pages.

Many observers in the West tend to view the concept of globalization as the spread of Western culture to the rest of the world, but the situation is in fact far more complex. My American college students have become passionate about aspects of modern Japanese pop culture; and today several new Japanese religions, such as the Sōka Gakkai 創価学会, the Seichō-no-Ie 生長の家, Perfect Liberty (P L *Kyōdan* 教団), and the Church of World Messianity, have found strong support from hundreds of thousands of non-ethnic Japanese throughout the world. Matsuoka Hideaki's *Japanese Prayer Below the Equator: How Brazilians Believe in the Church of World Messianity* is a fascinating case-study of this Japanese religion's rapid growth in Brazil.

The Church of World Messianity (*Sekai kyūsei kyō* 世界救世教), hereafter COWM, is a prominent Japanese "new religion" founded in 1935 by Okada Mokichi 岡田茂吉 (1882–1955), who derived many of his new faith's teachings from Ōmoto-kyō 大本教, an older "new religion" to which he had previously belonged. Greatly influenced by traditional Japanese Shintō, the heart of the religion centers around the concept of *Johrei* (loosely translated as "God's Healing Light"). Okada is said to have received a divine revelation which empowered him with *Johrei*, permitting him to channel the light of God into other people to remove illness, poverty, and strife throughout the world. Matsuoka reminds the reader that the aim of the COWM is to "realize Heaven on Earth," which means "a world without sickness, poverty and war" (p. 50).

Although the COWM is far smaller than very large Japanese new religious organizations like the Sōka Gakkai, its claims of a worldwide following of 800,000 make it one of the larger of Japan's new religions. Like several other of Japan's new religions, the COWM has made a major attempt to proselytize its faith in Brazil, which has one of the largest Japanese populations outside Japan. In Brazil, the Seichō-no-Ie and Perfect Liberty claim 2.5 million and 350,000 members respectively, placing them ahead of the 300,000 members claimed by the COWM.

Matsuoka, a Berkeley-trained Japanese anthropologist and psychiatrist, has done extensive fieldwork in Brazil focusing on why a Shintō-based Japanese religion would find acceptance in a vastly different culture. Contrary to what one might think, the COWM has the highest rate (60 percent) of non-ethnic Japanese participation of all the Japanese new religions in Brazil. A key reason for this development is that, starting in the 1950s, the first COWM missionaries from Japan immediately focused on propagating their faith in non-Japanese communities. Conversions initially came slowly

but increased very sharply in the 1980s and 1990s once the COWM began developing strong roots in various Brazilian communities.

Matsuoka lists five factors that have contributed to the strong success of Japanese new religions in Brazil:

1. Adoption of Portuguese;
2. Training of non-ethnic Japanese-Brazilian clergy;
3. Adoption of the Brazilian way of life and thinking;
4. Support from Japanese headquarters; and
5. Respect of the relationships between Brazilians and Japanese or Japanese culture.

According to Matsuoka, the fact that the COWM closely adheres to the first four items on this list can partially explain its success in Brazil.

Cultural adaptation, however, is not the only reason why these Japanese religions have achieved success. My studies of Sōka Gakkai activities in Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, Australia, and Canada indicate that the Sōka Gakkai's emphasis on individual self-empowerment to attain one's goals in life and achieving benefits (including greater happiness) here and now have won it a large following among better-educated, younger, and more self-motivated natives. Matsuoka voices a similar discovery about the COWM. He quotes Brazilian followers who are attracted by the religion's doctrine that "human beings can change their lives by themselves" (p. 161).

Matsuoka's work is valuable not only because of his study of the COWM in Brazil but also for his extensive introductory analysis of the history and significance of Japanese new religions in general. Because of these extensive background comments, this study is accessible to both specialists and general readers alike. The research and bibliography are superb, and the writing is clear. The author's experience of being on a Brazilian COWM pilgrim bus that was hijacked by four bandits—and the surprising reaction of the pilgrims to this situation—makes for fascinating reading (chapter 6). The only disappointing section of the book is the very brief conclusion that fails to discuss adequately the significance of many of Matsuoka's findings.

DANIEL A. MÉTRAUX
Mary Baldwin College

Charles K. Armstrong, *The Koreans*. New York: Routledge, 2007. xii + 210 pages.

When developing a reading list for my college course on modern Korea, I found that it was not easy to find a book that deals simultaneously with both contemporary North Korea and South Korea. My main text, Bruce Cumings's brilliant *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), does have some chapters devoted to North Korea, but Cumings makes

only limited attempts at cross-comparisons. It was only when I read Armstrong's *The Koreas* that I found quite what I needed.

Armstrong, associate professor of history and director of the Center for Korean Research at Columbia University, is one of the leading experts on Korean affairs and author of many books on the subject. His short book covers a wide range of topics on contemporary Korea, including Korea's place in the world, South Korea's rise to globalism, the limits of North Korea's "self-reliance," the Korean diaspora, and the question of unity. Armstrong's clear, analytical writing in these chapters gives the student or general reader an excellent view of what is transpiring on the Korean peninsula today.

Armstrong's last and most interesting chapter, "One Korea, Many Koreas," focuses on the challenging question of Korean unity, which he views more as a distant ideal rather than as a readily attainable reality. He is not optimistic when he notes that "*there has never been a modern, independent Korean nation-state*. The Korean nation has been, and remains, a nation in fragments. Foreign domination, colonization, national division, and diaspora characterize Korea's entire 'long twentieth century' from the late nineteenth century to the present" (p. 168, original emphases). The division of Korea into two mutually exclusive regimes, he argues, contradicts the idea of Korean unity. "But division also reinforces unity as an ideal: the abstract goal of political unification elides both the real differences that have emerged between the two societies since division, and the differences within each of them. It almost goes without saying that after sixty years of radically different political, economic, and social systems, the two Koreas have evolved into two very different kinds of societies" (p. 169). The ideal goal of unity is also hampered by the huge economic gap between the two nations—not only would hordes of poverty-stricken North Koreans swamp South Korea's economy, but the vastly different cultural and social differences that have grown up between the two would make it hard, if not impossible, for people from both countries to live together. The reality is that we now have two very separate Koreas that are not at all amenable to unity anytime soon.

Armstrong's *The Koreas* is a clear and concise analysis of the impact of globalization on both North Korea and South Korea. He discusses the various ways we can look at Korea and Koreans: how in fact there are today many different Koreas—including large Korean communities in the West—and how Koreans and the Koreas look at (and to) each other. Armstrong offers a fascinating interweaving of facts and analyses to demonstrate just how complex the problems of Korea are today. Readers also learn how very important Korea has become in world affairs. There is no other recent publication on Korea that does as good a job in bringing together so much on Korea as does Armstrong's *The Koreas*.

DANIEL A. MÉTRAUX
Mary Baldwin College

Michael E. Robinson, *Korea's Twentieth-Century Odyssey: A Short History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007. x + 220 pages.

Michael E. Robinson's latest work, *Korea's Twentieth-Century Odyssey: A Short History*, stands out among a number of recently published "contemporary" works on Korea. Robinson's effort overshadows other publications in Korean studies because of its clear, concise, succinct, and easily accessible writing style. In the preface, Robinson clearly states both his intentions behind writing this new history and the audience he is targeting: "my desire [is] to shape a simple and reader-friendly narrative, one that can be used in college-level courses as well as by the general reader" (p. ix).

Robinson, a Fulbright Scholar in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at Indiana University, draws upon a broad reservoir of his own personal experience and research—as well as upon the works of colleagues—to provide the reader with a modern history of a frequently overlooked country. Robinson follows Korea's troubled past from its isolated stance toward the middle and end of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910) to its divided twenty-first-century present. Emphasized in Robinson's history are foreign intervention, war, economic crisis, internal rebellion, and a revolutionary cultural change. Robinson differentiates autonomous Korea from a negative image of the peninsula as an "appendage" of others in his preface, eight chapters, and epilogue.

Robinson's title is certainly felicitous, because Korea's history has unquestionably been an odyssey. Robinson strongly defends his position that the roots of Korean modernity date not from 1945 but from well into the nineteenth century during the Chosŏn dynasty. In the nineteenth century, Korea's history was one of subjugation. Japan was opened to the United States in 1854, after which Western "modernity" flooded in. Japan, learning from the colonial methods of the West, applied similar tactics to the Koreans in 1876. The Kanhwah Treaty of that year essentially ended the autonomy of the Chosŏn dynasty with respect to Japan, opening the floodgates to a Japanese-flavored modernization.

By 1910, Japan officially annexed Korea as a colony, ending the Chosŏn dynasty and beginning a "colonial period" that Robinson claims to have lasted until at least 1945. In his interpretive narrative, Robinson successfully foreshadows a much later continental/cultural Korean split through the revolutionary resistance movements of this time by examining the different liberal-to-conservative factions of opposition to Japanese rule. He provides evidence of these early schisms in the clear development of numerous socialist and conservative factions developing outside the peninsula. He looks at the tug-of-war interference of the United States, China, and the U.S.S.R. as evidence of the amount of "factionalization" that would lead to the dividing of Korea.

Robinson follows the cultural problems that Korea faced during these times as well. He discusses the pros and cons of Japanese rule, such as the forced assimilation of Korean citizens and the modernization of the country. After the Demilitarized Zone was drawn in 1948, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK: socialist) and the Republic of Korea (ROK: democratic) were established as a result of Cold War role-playing by the Americans and Soviets, combined with the sociopolitical factions of Korean nationalists. Both sides continued to have difficulties in developing their governmental systems. Due in part to its dictatorial government, North Korea (DPRK) had a much more successful start than South Korea (ROK) in terms of economic and political development. In its early decades, North Korea was able to obtain a "head start" and implement its command economy, which prided itself on the philosophy of *chuch'e* 주체, or self-reliance. Comparatively, South Korea's beginnings were much more tumultuous, but the South would prove to be much more successful over time. South Korea, in the aftermath of the schism of the nation, suffered many years from violent struggles for a stable constitutional republic, going through several republics until its eventual success and economic growth. Thus, the roles of North Korea and South Korea are now reversed. North Korea, once the leader of the two, now suffers from extreme poverty at the hands of an oppressive government. South Korea's growing pains proved to be beneficial because it is now one of the fastest-growing economies in the world, in stark contrast to its northern brother.

In his book, Robinson states that many Korean problems were a result of outside interference and internal struggle; he supports this thesis by analyzing social currents of Korean identity dating from the nineteenth century in reaction to outside interference. Although one might be reticent to recommend a historian who has cited so few primary sources, Robinson transcends this potential weakness by drawing on information from his own knowledge as well as on his excellent scrutiny of secondary literature. Robinson's work successfully achieves what it set out to do: it provides the lay reader and scholar alike with a concise history of modern Korea.

DURHAM JOEL IZLAR
Georgia Southern University

Madhur Jaffrey, *Climbing the Mango Trees: A Memoir of a Childhood in India*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006. xii + 297 pages.

In this charming book, actress-turned-cookbook author Madhur Jaffrey offers a first-person account of life in India during the 1930s and 1940s. Admittedly a "privileged product of British colonial India" (p. 201), she describes a comfortable life: a life filled with months-long summer retreats to

hill stations in the Himalayas, upper-class schooling, and sprawling manses and grounds populated by servants galore—cooks, gardeners, drivers, tailors, personal attendants, and more. The subtitle is accurate, as the work is more memoir than autobiography: Jaffrey is not strictly chronological in her presentation, and she occasionally brings the reader toward the present at the end of a vignette, offering what became of a particular cousin or how someone ultimately fared in his or her profession. She intertwines myth with memory and tells a compelling story of her family—an extended, multi-generational clan—and upbringing in Delhi and Kanpur. Many of the twenty-nine brief chapters, most fewer than ten pages, could effectively stand as essays on their own; some passages, in alternate form, had previously appeared in such venues as the *New Yorker*, *Gourmet*, and the *Financial Times*. Here, her chapters have descriptive titles that read like haiku as they illustrate what is to come: chapter 19, for example, is “Chicken Pox / Soup-Toast and Sewing / A Fancy-Dress Party” (p. 150); and chapter 17 is “Visiting the Old City / The Lane of Fried Breads / Monsoon Mushrooms” (p. 127). Jaffrey includes a brief prologue and epilogue; a family tree—on which she traces her father’s line to Raja Raghunath Bahadur (1590–1665), finance minister to Emperor Aurangzeb (1618–1707); thirty-seven black-and-white family photographs, most well captioned; and, in an appendix, thirty-two “family recipes,” each preceded by a contextualizing introduction.

Jaffrey was born on August 13, 1933, in her grandparents’ “sprawling house” (p. 3) on the bank of the Yamuna River in Delhi.¹ Her family belonged to an upper subcaste of Hindus known as Mathur Kayasthas, who historically were scribes and administrators. She came from a “staid family of fully documented ancestors” (p. 159): “We were a conservative, buttoned-down Kayastha family but with forward-looking, intellectually liberal leanings” (p. 146). With two older brothers and two older sisters (and a younger sister to follow), she was “way beyond the heir and the spare” (p. 39), so her parents allowed her to be outspoken and independent: in short, everything her father, a factory manager, could not allow himself to be.

Like the esteemed British food writer Elizabeth David (1913–92), who also aspired to be an actress, Jaffrey had no reason to learn to cook as a child. In fact, she nearly failed her high school cooking exam—a component of her “lower mathematics” course that included both arithmetic and domestic science. (She ultimately learned to cook, after she moved abroad, through correspondence with her mother.) But, whenever near food, she must have kept her “antennae up and focused” (p. 212). Jaffrey displays a remarkable “taste memory” (p. 5) and is able to present detailed menus of family meals—both the exceptional and the routine, such as the summer luncheon with which she introduces chapter 2 (p. 17) or the breakfasts upon which she feasted with her family before she was old enough to attend

school (pp. 42–43). Once in school (a Catholic convent school in Kanpur, with instruction in English), her boxed lunches—packaged in tiffins, somewhat like Japanese *bentō* 弁当 containers—were delivered midday by the turbaned “bearer,” who would prepare a table in the school’s communal dining area by spreading out tablecloths and laying out crockery and cutlery. When class was dismissed and Jaffrey and her sisters arrived on the scene, the bearer would open the tiffin-carrier, spread out the containers of still-warm food, and place a serving spoon in each. Later, at Queen Mary’s School in Delhi, she would share the contents of her tiffin-carrier (which she now brought to school herself) with Muslim, Jain, and Hindu friends (pp. 175–77):

Tiffin-carriers were taken apart, tier after tier. What wonders did they contain today? [Muslim twins] Abida and Zahida could be relied upon to bring meats—and what meats they were! Goat cooked with spinach, browned onions, and cardamom, or goat with potatoes, cinnamon, and cloves. . . .

. . . Sudha’s food was as Jain as Abida and Zahida’s was Muslim. It was completely vegetarian, devoid of onion and garlic, as those bulbs were thought to arouse base passions; devoid of tomatoes and beets, as their color was reminiscent of blood; and contained no real root vegetables (though rhizomes were acceptable), as pulling out roots killed the entire plant. The preservation of life demanded by her religion did not stop her food . . . from being scrumptious in a haughty, austere way, nor did it stop her from sharing her food with us.

Understandably, Jaffrey has much to offer about the food of India; but she also has a personal story to tell—that of a family domineered by her father’s father, of an uncle who shunned his wife and own children and bestowed favors on his nieces and nephews, of a beloved cousin who died from rabies, and of members of an extended family who led bifurcated lives: between Muslim and Hindu, Britain and India, English and Hindi (or Urdu). While a student at the Catholic convent school, for example, where she studied “two histories” (British and Indian, p. 19), “what happened at home and what happened at school were unconnected” (p. 56).

Politics in the book, however, are not limited to family squabbles. In relating her family background, Jaffrey explains that her ancestors were royalists during the failed 1857 Mutiny. Children might not be expected to be aware of the purported rationalizations for war, but Jaffrey does include memories of World War II. One such memory involves one of her father’s cousins who was not shy about his Nazi sympathies: “My poor father was appalled,” she explains (p. 69). Her memories of Partition—when the British Indian Empire was divided into the sovereign states of India and Pakistan in August 1947—and the confusion and fear that descended on Delhi after Independence are particularly poignant. In short, “Delhi as we knew it ceased to exist” (p. 183). Many of Delhi’s Muslims (including a number of Jaffrey’s school friends) fled to Pakistan and were replaced by refugees from the Punjab. Jaffrey and her mother attended one of Mahatma Gandhi’s

massive prayer meetings a few days before his assassination on January 30, 1948; she viewed his funeral procession from the Kingsway (now Rajpath) near the India Gate—the same spot where she and her father had witnessed the unfurling of the new national flag by Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) and Lord Mountbatten (1900–1979) the previous August. Although national and world history are woven throughout Jaffrey's narrative, students studying modern Indian history might be especially interested in chapters 3, 9, and 22.

Delhi cuisine was subsequently affected by the Punjabi influx after Partition. The clay oven (tandoor) and numerous Punjabi specialties were introduced and quickly permeated the newly emergent restaurant scene. These foods—including tandoori chicken, naan (flatbread), and saag paneer (fresh cheese with spinach)—are what much of the world today identifies as “Indian food.”

Traditional festivals are described in the book, too, including Diwali (the “Festival of Lights”) observed by Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, and some Buddhists at the Indian New Year; and the Hindu spring festival of Holi (the “Festival of Colors”). Indeed, the contrast between tradition and modernity is another undercurrent in the text. Regarding why certain traditions were followed or why places had certain names, Jaffrey offers the following: “Delhi was an ancient, idiosyncratic city. I never asked the questions, and my mother never explained” (p. 130). Elsewhere, Jaffrey's mother “never explained, we never asked, and in India you never know” (p. 41). And “in India, you rarely lose a tradition. You simply layer one on top of another” (p. 147). For example, matchmakers were often ceremonial barbers who consulted horoscopes to determine the suitability of marriage partners. Before one of Jaffrey's uncles married a woman out of love whose horoscope did not “match,” “a disastrous marriage ending in the quick death of the bride” was predicted (p. 73). The prophecy was fulfilled when the bride died of typhoid six months after the wedding. Jaffrey does not editorialize further, but her implication is nevertheless that some traditions perhaps best remain unquestioned.

Jaffrey's story essentially ends with her grandfather's death in 1950 and her subsequent departure from India to study acting in London. (But the prefaces to her recipes in the appendix include additional personal stories and vignettes.) Now residing in New York City, Jaffrey was awarded an honorary Commander of the Order of the British Empire by Queen Elizabeth II in 2004 for her achievements in film, television, and cookery and for serving as a cultural ambassador for India in the United Kingdom and United States. This honor, and other facts about her later life—involving, for example, her acting career, her (second) marriage to an American violinist with the New York Philharmonic, and her fame as a cookbook author and television personality—are revealed in her book. These revelations are not braggadocios but are rather included as if to show how her formative

experiences as a child in India have played themselves out, sometimes with irony, but always with reason.² Memoirs, indeed, allow their authors the space to make sense of their lives. For Jaffrey, food and family were always primary concerns. When you read her book, make sure a kitchen is near at hand: You will surely be inspired to recreate some of the flavors and aromas that she masterfully describes in her tasty offering.

STEVEN E. GUMP

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Notes

¹The Yamuna River is pictured on the cover of this volume of the *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*. (See inside back cover for a description of the cover image.)

²Writes former *New York Times* restaurant critic Mimi Sheraton about memoirs: "It is much easier to trace past events that determined present circumstances than to predict which current activities will inform our future." See her *Eating My Words: An Appetite for Life* (New York: William Morrow, 2004), 130.

Heonik Kwon, *After the Massacre: Commemoration and Consolation in Ha My and My Lai*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006. xiv + 217 pages.

After the Massacre poses what seems to be, at first, a simple question: How do people remember the civilian massacres in central Vietnam a generation later? In this highly attentive ethnographic work, Heonik Kwon (University of Edinburgh) demonstrates how domestic ritual practice in central Vietnam is contributing to the decomposition of the Cold War's bipolar order.

This book is one among several recent studies of ritual practice in Vietnam, but it is one of the few studies situated in central Vietnam. Most people in Vietnam and the United States are familiar with My Lai, the site of a 1968 civilian massacre by the U.S. military. Less familiar is the massacre at Ha My, a village just south of Da Nang, carried out by Republic of Korea Marines in the same year. While other studies have focused primarily on the consequences of economic reform, Kwon frames his study in terms of the bipolar order of the Cold War. Although these reforms are central to the moral economy of ancestor worship, Kwon focuses on the profound discontinuities in people's historical experiences of the war. In the north, volunteer soldiers fought in distant battlefields (p. 160), but in central Vietnam, the distinction between "civilian" and "soldier" collapsed under the weight of total war. During the war, people in central Vietnam were torn between "this side" and the "other side." After the war, civilian deaths were marginalized as the state commemorated dead soldiers as heroes.

Domestic ritual practice, Kwon argues, unsettled the “command economy” of state-sponsored commemoration through the ambidextrous human position.

In ancestor worship, people orient themselves first toward their ancestral altar and then toward an altar dedicated to ghosts. It is this movement from one side to the other that Kwon names as “ambidextrous.” Drawing on fieldwork carried out in central Vietnam between 1994 and 2000, Kwon records sightings of ghosts, speeches by village elders, and testimonies of survivors to demonstrate how civilian deaths were revalued through domestic ritual practice. As people exhumed the dead and made claims on the bones as kin, they contributed to the decomposition of the Cold War. And in commemorating these deaths, people found consolation for the ravages of war.

In chapter 1, Kwon introduces the local system of values that he calls the “bipolarity of death.” This bipolarity is based on the duality of life and death, a structural order that distinguishes a “good death,” when an individual dies at home of old age, from a “bad death” that happens in the streets. Worse yet is a “grievous death” caused by injustice that imprisons the soul, preventing its liberation from human remains. Kwon invokes the work of anthropologist Robert Hertz to argue for an ambidextrous human body. “Right” and “left” signify more than bodily orientation; they also anticipate the bipolar order of the Cold War. This bipolarity did not end in 1975; it was reinforced in state commemorations that privileged the deaths of soldiers or revolutionary martyrs but marginalized civilian deaths.

In chapter 2, Kwon provides a people’s history of the villages and the massacres. Drawing on published reports and testimonies of survivors, he recounts the legendary founding of Ha My, residents’ participation in anti-colonial activities, and the cautious return of villagers from strategic hamlets just weeks before the massacre. The village, located in a highly militarized zone, had a long history of revolutionary activity. But the villagers also had personal relationships with foreign soldiers. Kwon observes that even villagers had difficulty defining their collective historical identity: Were they Vietcong or not Vitecong?

The “zero-sum coherence” of the Cold War, argues Kwon, was challenged as people reappropriated the civilian dead as kin. In chapter 3, Kwon describes the reburial movement of the 1990s, in which people reclaimed dispersed bodies within the “proprietaryship of a kin group” (p. 69). People legitimated their desires for economic prosperity by reconstructing tombs, temples, and houses. These disparate and deeply personalized sites of memory were far more comprehensive than the state’s “command economy” of hero worship. Ancestor worship, or the affirmation of genealogical identity, also revitalized the problem of ghosts. In chapter 4, Kwon asks, “When we commemorate an ancestor who died a tragic death, in which direction do we turn—the ancestral side or the ghost side?” (p. 93). Kwon demonstrates the

intimacy and inventiveness by which survivors reconciled commemoration of these tragic deaths within the structures of ancestor worship.

Scholars have identified how state-sponsored tributes to fallen soldiers in the twentieth century have been central to the production of peoplehood. In chapter 5, Kwon draws on the literature of European mortuary practices following World War I in order to examine why the revival of ancestor worship stirred up political debate. While the Vietnamese government promoted the return of the market, administrators regarded domestic rituals as relics of the past. Kwon presents a compelling interpretation of the Heroic Mother, the Vietnamese citizenry's substitute for dead sons, a practice that only concealed the "conceptual and moral crisis embedded in the political institution of war hero worship" (p. 112). At the village level, the disjuncture between state-sponsored hero worship and ritual practice was even more apparent. State memorials could not be integrated into village ritual practice because people demanded the bodies of soldiers be returned to the domain of kinship (p. 117). By attributing individual biographies to the collective mass, domestic ritual practice worked against the state's efforts to consolidate and contain the meaning of sacrifice.

In chapter 6, Kwon examines a specific controversy over the meaning of "self-sacrifice." Based on detailed recollections and subsequent meetings with survivors, Kwon details how survivors of the Ha Gia massacre, which followed just weeks after the Ha My massacre, demanded that civilians be recognized alongside soldiers, thus challenging the state's classification of dead bodies into "civilian" and "soldier." By doing so, the survivors struggled to find ways to liberate the civilian dead from their "unjust deaths" and thus to resolve the crisis in the social foundation of commemoration (p. 127).

In the 1990s, Vietnamese journalists and a Korean historian brought the event to the public, which ultimately led to a delegation from the Korean Embassy to Ha My (p. 144). Chapter 7 examines the controversies over the Memorial for 135 Victims in Ha My, which had been dedicated by Republic of Korea veterans (p. 143). This event did not precipitate reconciliation. It instead sparked a sharp rebuttal from Korean and Vietnamese government representatives over how the event had been memorialized in stone. Vietnamese government representatives insisted on representations capable of "transcending the tragic past, while not forgetting it" (p. 145). In chapter 8, Kwon returns to his original claim: how Vietnamese domestic ritual practice has contributed to the decomposition of the Cold War. He rightly points out that the postcolonial perspective merely reinforces the hegemony of the Vietnamese state's system of values, which has marginalized civilian deaths and altogether excluded the deaths of South Vietnam veterans. Although ancestor worship is also premised on exclusion, it is precisely this exclusion that makes possible the recognition of others. In

this chapter, Kwon presents an extended example of one such ghost, Ba Ba Linh, with whom people enter into individual contracts.

Although Kwon's analysis acknowledges the processes of exclusion, the inequalities generated by ritual expenditures are not the explicit subject of his study. He describes how villagers whose relatives died in smaller events are like "ghosts" in front of the memorials to the massacres at Ha My. He also mentions murmured criticism that some families can afford to hire ritual specialists to perform reburial ceremonies, but others cannot (p. 135). This dilemma, which might have been the focus of another scholar, was not Kwon's project. He reminds his readers that "the new unity of kinship is not an entirely democratic entity" (p. 163). *After the Massacre's* timely contribution rests in Kwon's careful study of the commemoration of ancestors and ghosts that unsettles the bipolar order of the Cold War. By facing first toward genealogical continuity and then to the fluid yet still place-based, unassimilated others, people who returned to the village disrupted the terrifying logic that contributed to the horrifying civilian massacres.

As is the case with all significant ethnographies, Kwon provides a historically situated study that resonates far beyond the immediacy of the specific locale. His book is a compelling addition to the literature on violence, memorialization, and commemoration. It is a book that should be read by scholars interested in the Cold War, the Vietnam War (or American War), and post-War Vietnam. It offers a timely addition to the fields of comparative religion and war. It also points to the problematic distinctions between "soldier" and "civilians" during war. In *After the Massacre*, Kwon offers a work that is itself a form of commemoration: "all human death—'good death' or 'bad death' and from 'this side' or 'that side'—has the inalienable right to be grieved and consoled" (p. 183).

ALLISON J. TRUITT
Tulane University