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Di Cosmo, Nicola ed., *Military Culture in Imperial China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009. ISBN 9780674031098. 456pp. \$ 46.50.

This volume is the result of a conference held at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, in 2001. It is an important contribution to the growing field of Chinese military history and will be a welcome addition to world military history. This work marks the third book of collected essays dealing with the military history of China since the publication of Frank A. Kierman Jr. and John K. Fairbank eds., *Chinese Ways in Warfare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974; hereafter *CWIW*) and Hans van de Ven ed., *Warfare in Chinese History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000; hereafter *WICH*). While *CWIW* focuses mainly on the operational practice of warfare, *WICH* provides more comprehensive contents, encompassing topics not only on grand strategy, operational practice, and tactics, but also on military institutions, and on the relationship between the military, politics, and society. The present volume edited by Nicola Di Cosmo differs from its predecessors in that it delves into the study of military culture thereby revealing a broader horizon and deeper scope of the development of the field.

Just as there is a wide variety of the definitions of the word “culture,” so is there for the term “military culture.” The fourteen chapter contributors have adopted different approaches and styles; this provides an opportunity to take in each chapter as a method unto itself as well as an opportunity to survey fourteen definitions of military culture. Therefore, the reader will appreciate the great effort put forth by Di Cosmo to establish in his “Introduction” a conceptual framework for military culture that ties the book together. His framework has a four-part definition. The first refers to “a discrete, bounded system of conduct and behavior to which members of the military are supposed to adhere, made of written and unwritten rules and conventions as well as distinctive beliefs and symbols” (p. 3). The second is “strategic culture, which involves a decision-making process that transcends the specific behavior of military people and involves instead the accumulated and transmitted knowledge upon which those involved in making strategic choices, from both the civil and military side, base their arguments, validate their positions, and examine a given situation” (p. 4). The third is “the set of values that determine a society’s inclination for war and military organization” (Ibid.). The fourth refers to “the presence of an aesthetic and literary tradition that values military events and raises the status of those who

accomplish martial exploits to the level of heroes and demigods in epic cycles and poetry, visual representations, communal celebrations, and state rituals” (Ibid.).

Di Cosmo’s discussion is quite comprehensive. It includes aspects such as military doctrine, values and norms, intellectual resources for making strategic decisions, social perceptions of the military, and artistic expressions and religious meanings that draw on the military. Needless to say, this discussion does not exhaust all the definitions of military culture, and readers can augment the list, but Di Cosmo has laid a solid foundation for future research.

As constraints of space preclude detailed discussion of the meaning of military culture, I can only provide brief comments on the chapters from the perspective of these four definitions.

After the “Introduction,” the book is divided into fourteen chronologically-arranged chapters. The chapters by Robin Yates and Ralph Sawyer both straddle the pre- and early imperial period. Yates explores the nature of early military law and the symbiotic relationship between law and the military. In his chapter, Sawyer chose the mantic technique involving *qi* 气 as an example to demonstrate the important role played by prognosticatory beliefs and practices in Chinese military history. This is inspiring, as it sheds light on the role of divinatory methods in the course of military action and the relationship between the military and popular beliefs.

The three chapters spanning the two Han and the Western Jin dynasty are all solid essays in their own terms but do not fit comfortably in the framework of the book, particularly as relates to Di Cosmo’s definitions. Michael Loewe provides comprehensive information of the Western Han military establishment and relevant institutions, and Rafe de Crespigny gives a detailed account of court politics, debates, and military operations of the Eastern Han dynasty. However, readers may not easily grasp what the military cultures of the two Han dynasties were about. For example, while the two scholars give accounts of court debates on whether to adopt certain strategies, readers would want to know the logic behind those strategic decisions, and what intellectual resources the decision-makers relied on. From these two chapters one may learn about the general history of Han military institutions but nothing that would fit the operative definition of military culture, unless “military culture” refers to anything at all pertaining to the military.

In his offering, the late Edward Dreyer filled a lacuna in Chinese military history by giving the most detailed English narrative to date of the “War of the Eight Princes” during the Western Jin dynasty. Although it was much pervaded by warfare, early medieval China has long been neglected by scholars of Chinese military history, and thus Dreyer’s chapter should encourage others to explore the military history of this period. However, the meticulous account of campaigns

sheds little light on military culture. Readers would want to know, for instance, not just what happened on the battlefield, as Dreyer has shown, but also how the belligerents and their contemporaries perceived and justified the civil war. Besides, Dreyer made a careless mistake that undermined his analysis of military developments. In both pages 127 and 139, Dreyer notes that in a battle, the troops led by Zhang Fang “fled as soon as they saw the enemy *chengyu* 乘輿 (riding their chariots).” Thus, he reached the conclusion that Zhang’s enemy “contained a proportion of chariot or wagon troops, whose special function was to withstand the cavalry,” and that explained why Zhang’s army fled. However, the compound “*chengyu*” actually means “the royal carriage” and thus euphemistically refers to the emperor. In fact, Zhang’s army fled not because they feared their rivals’ chariots, but because they saw the royal carriage and knew of the emperor’s presence! They did not want to attack the army when the emperor was present and run the risk of committing regicide.

The three chapters contributed by David Graff, S. R. Gilbert, and Grace S. Fong focus on literary texts and show how literati understood and interpreted warfare; their work sheds light on the civilian perception of warfare. We are given good examples of how the textual tradition of non-military texts influenced military rhetoric and writings. Jonathan Skaff’s chapter delineates the Inner Asian influences on the Tang military culture. Since non-Han troops had long been a component of the imperial Chinese military establishment, the influence they exerted on imperial Chinese military culture over different periods deserves further studies.

As past scholarship has overemphasized the incompatibility of *wen* 文 (civil) and *wu* 武 (martial), Don Wyatt and Kathleen Ryor provide meticulous examinations of this often-assumed premise as it applies to the Song and Ming dynasties, respectively; they show how the reality is more complicated than previously understood. Joanna Waley-Cohen’s chapter also touches upon the concept of *wen* and *wu* in the high-Qing period, and I would encourage interested readers to read her monograph for further details.

A sound national finance is indispensable to an empire’s military strength, therefore, military finance should deserve military historians’ attention. Dai Yingcong aptly delineates the way the high-Qing state ensured resources available to meet its military expenses. However, while it provides a big picture of the military financial and logistical system, the essay does not develop fully the attitudes of state and society toward paying for warfare, which Dai claims in the introductory paragraph would be explored.

In the last chapter, Peter Perdue impressively makes the case that the northwest and southeast frontiers in Ming and Qing times can be studied together in order to derive a fuller understanding of the grand strategy of the empire and the relationship between military and commercial sectors. His remarks are

insightful and will encourage future research into regional military cultures. Furthermore, his discussion of the “logic of practice” and the “logic of theory” in formulating strategy sheds new light on the study of Chinese military culture.

Lastly, although the glossary serves a good purpose, it should be meticulously checked and ensured that the Chinese characters are unified into either traditional or simplified forms.

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Lei Wen 雷闻, *Jiaomiao zhi wai: Sui Tang guojia jisi yu zongjiao* 郊庙之外——隋唐国家祭祀与宗教 (Beyond the altars of the state: State sacrifices and religions of the Sui and Tang dynasties). Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2009. ISBN 9787108031570. 16+412 pp. ¥35.00.

Historians of pre-modern China have written a number of studies on state rituals and offerings, the best known being those of Howard J. Wechsler¹ and Kaneko Shūichi.² The leading scholarship, however, merely concentrates on the role of the emperors and the court, and neglects the variety of state rituals shaped by regional cults. For this reason, the author titled his book “*beyond* the suburban sacrifice and ancestral altar.” The book under review³ attempts to place local participation on a par with the emperor’s involvement, and it succeeds in making a compelling case for doing so.

This book consists of an introduction, four main chapters and the conclusion. The introduction outlines the three central questions the book seeks to answer: (a) What are the religious elements in the Confucian-oriented state sacrifices? (b)

¹ Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the T'ang Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

² Kaneko Shūichi 金子修一, *Chūgoku kodai kōtei sain no kenkyū* 中国古代皇帝祭祀の研究 [Studies of ritual ceremonies of ancient China’s emperors] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006).

³ A review by Wu Liyu 吴丽娱, “Review of Lei Wen’s *Jiaomiao zhiwai*,” in *Hanxue yanjiu* 汉学研究 [Chinese studies], vol. 28, no. 1 (2010), 397–404. A longer review, which includes discussions of more recent Chinese-language studies of state rituals, will be published shortly. See Xu Kaixiang 许凯翔, in *Zhongguo zhonggushi yanjiu: Zhongguo zhonggushi qingnian xuezhe lianyihui huikan* 中国中古史研究: 中国中古史青年学者联谊会会刊 [Studies in Chinese medieval history: Journal for the Young Scholars’ Association of Studies in Chinese Medieval History], no. 2 (July, 2011).

What impact did the rise of Buddhism and Daoism during the Wei and Jin dynasties have on state ritual, and what was the response of the bureaucracy? (c) What was the relationship between ceremonies at the court level and regional level? Furthermore, behind this relationship, what were the power politics between court authority and regional culture? (p. 3) To comprehensively study these disparate aspects of institutional and socio-religious history requires mastery of a wide range of primary sources. The author has consulted official records of the Tang dynasty, some newly discovered inscriptions, documents excavated from Dunhuang and Turfan, and the Buddhist and Daoist canons.

In chapter 1, the author starts with a survey of rituals associated with the deities of mountains, wind, rain, and land, as well as other Confucian rituals which existed before the Sui and Tang. Particular attention is paid to the persistence of personal or regional faiths notwithstanding their outward adherence to state ideology and participation in state ritual. With the presumption of a clear-cut boundary between the private versus the public, or centre versus margin, even prominent Sinologists, such as David McMullen⁴ and Glen Dudbridge,⁵ have, Lei Wen argues, failed to recognize the role of local cults in the shaping of state ritual (pp. 21, 47). Chapter 2 is divided into two sections: emperor's portraits and *yuedu toulong* 岳渎投龙 (ritual worship of the mountains and water). The first section discusses the imperial creation of a symbolic connection between Daoist temples, the royal family and state sacrifice, as exemplified by Emperor Gaozong's (r. 650–83) deft creation of ritual space within the imperial palace in Chang'an⁶ (p. 110). Furthermore, the portraits of Tang emperors, objects which have been rarely studied before, are scrutinized in this chapter in order to illustrate their deliberate distribution to regional temples; a meticulous investigation is devoted to those of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56). Next comes a detailed analysis of two imperial rituals which served as a propaganda tool in the campaign to legitimate imperial authority. The *fengshan* 封禅 ritual on Mt. Tai conducted by Emperor Gaozong in 665/6 CE was instrumental in achieving his aim of the imposition of a united religious ideology. Likewise, Empress Wu (r. 690–705) bolstered her legitimacy and gained public

⁴ David McMullen, "Bureaucrats and Cosmology: the Ritual Code of Tang China," in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, eds. David Cannadine and Simon Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1987), 181–236; *State and Scholars in Tang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 113–58.

⁵ Glen Dudbridge, *Religious Experience and Lay Society in T'ang China: A Reading of Tai Fu's Kuang-i Chi* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), chapter 4.

⁶ This confirms the trend towards coalition of Daoist and state sacrifices since the Northern Wei (386–557). For the Tang, see T. H. Barrett, *Taoism under the T'ang: Religion and Empire during the Golden Age of Chinese History* (London: Wellsweep, 1996), especially pages 29–30 about Emperor Gaozong.

support through the rituals relating to mountains and lakes.

Continuing the theme of imperial governance, chapter 3 deals with the conflict between authorized rituals and *yinsi* 淫祀 (licentious sacrifice), which aimed at a process of centralization of power. The Tang rituals witnessed the integration of the “great” and “little” traditions,⁷ not without causing tension between central government and local cults (p. 291). Chapter 4 is a case study of the rites of *qiyu* 祈雨 (praying for rain), where the pragmatic principle of efficacy and mutual benefit accounts for its religious rationale (p. 334). Emperor Xuangzong’s utilization and reform of Daoist rituals is highlighted in the section about Daoism (pp. 309–11). Similarly, some Buddhist rituals were also recorded as performing an analogous function, the earliest example of which took place in 586 CE under Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty (pp. 315–17). The author concludes that, in the process of ritual transformation, state and regional religious ideology mutually shaped one another’s institutional and religious aspects. Overall, the dominant themes throughout the book are state sacrificial ceremonies and their religious aspects. The author has painstakingly assembled all the evidence at his disposal to illustrate the dynamic relationship between the state sacrifices and those of Daoism and Buddhism (although the latter is not dealt with in nearly as much detail).

For Tang scholars interested in social and religious history, this book is certainly a welcome volume. The scope of the primary sources consulted is immense. The discussions, which may appear fastidious at times, demonstrate the author’s erudition and skills in bringing together miscellaneous resources. The case study concerning “praying for rain,” despite the lesser space devoted to this complex topic, has the merit of an exploratory integration across disciplines including cultural anthropology, study of religions, and the long-established field of Chinese historiography. The author has been at pains to consult English and Japanese scholarship, and in doing so has successfully bridged the gap between Western and Chinese scholarships.

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Lin Chih-hung 林志宏, *Minguo nai diguo ye: zhengzhi wenhua zhuanxing xia de Qing yimin* 民国乃敌国也：政治文化转型下的清遗民 (“The republic is the

⁷ Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

enemy”: Qing loyalists during a transition of political culture). Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gufen youxia gongsi, 2009. ISBN 9789570833904. iii+viii+ 506pp. NT\$ 580.

Due to the powerful influence of the discourse surrounding revolution and enlightenment since the Republican Revolution of 1911 and the May Fourth Movement of 1919, Qing loyalists have long been represented as a reactionary and conservative political force both in the popular imagination and in a variety of historical reconstructions of the Republican period. It is against this background that Dr. Lin Chih-hung presents *Minguo nai diguo ye: zhengzhi wenhua zhuanxing xia de Qing yimin* [“The republic is the enemy”: Qing loyalists during a transition of political culture], in which he attempts to convince us that the negative image based on “political correctness” should no longer hinder our sound understanding of such a prominent Chinese historical phenomenon, namely, loyalists of fallen dynasties, and in this case, Qing loyalists. Qing loyalists in fact deserve serious, contextualized, and historicized research. Lin’s research gives us a chance to rethink a range of issues from the uniqueness of the Qing loyalists, their attitudes and values, to the cultural origin of *Manchukuo* by thoroughly examining their motivation, behavior, and their subculture.

Lin first puts the study of Qing loyalists in a larger cultural context: *yimin*, or loyalist hermits who resist new regimes. Many Qing loyalists refused to serve in the new Republican Government; some continued to use the Qing imperial calendar; and some actively engaged in imperial restoration movements. Lin also demonstrates the uniqueness of Qing loyalists compared with those of previous dynasties, this being a certain hostility to the republican system. Such hostility made their allegiance not just bound to one dynasty but to the entire imperial system of traditional China. As Lin shows, many Qing loyalists saw the republican system and partisan politics as the root cause of early Republican China’s social and political chaos. Another characteristic of the Qing loyalists was their ethnic identity. Lin points out that most Qing loyalists were Han scholar-officials despite the Qing government’s racial policies and Republican revolutionaries’ vehement calls for Han nationalism. Here the commitments to the last dynasty as well as Chinese imperial cultural value overrode the sentiments of ethnic nationalism.

Lin takes a spatial and regional approach to examine the activities of loyalists. In chapter 1, he examines the sojourning and concentration of loyalists in the areas of Beijing-Tianjin, Qingdao, Shanghai, Guangdong/Hong Kong/Macao; in addition, he analyzes the motivations behind their choice and their social network. Lin pays much attention to the use of symbols and rituals in the life of Qing loyalists that manifested their political identity and the way they maintained

livelihoods. Based on diaries and miscellaneous notes, Lin's chapter 2 sketches how Qing loyalists in the Republican period sold their calligraphy works and paintings, and drafted inscriptions for carving on tombstones, and how they maintained Qing styles of dress, hair, calendars, and even the rituals of the Qing court, a court that had relinquished rule but still lived in the palace until 1924. Lin points out that participation in these activities provided solace to the loyalists and enhanced their mutual identity.

In chapter 3, Lin shows that the literary work behind the state-sponsored multi-volume *Qing shi gao* [Draft history of the Qing], the compiling of collected works, writing of biographies and local gazetteers, and so forth, became tenable fields in which loyalists could assert their cultural identity and political stance. In these writings, loyalist authors extolled the lives and careers of Mongol-Yuan loyalists living under the Ming dynasty, simply avoiding mention of "Chinese Republic" in their books.

For most loyalists, the downfall of the Qing government signified the end of the core value of Chinese civilization founded on a hierarchical social harmony epitomized by the three bonds: monarch-minister; father-son; husband-wife. The loyalist took it upon themselves to revive Confucian classics and moral doctrines in order to confront the new culture and values, which were then emphasizing science and equality. The thesis of chapter 4 holds that these attempts at revival included the founding of Confucian societies and campaigns to make Confucianism the state religion of the Republic. Politically, they challenged republican and democratic systems by emphasizing Chinese people's lack of preparation for full democracy and the benevolent nature of Chinese monarchy.

Lin makes a persuasive argument by linking the mentality of the loyalists to the foundation of Manchukuo. First, he shows that the red scare of the 1920s played a crucial role in driving the loyalists toward a vision of a state that would transcend the rivalry between capitalism and communism while claiming the pseudo-Confucian "*wangdao*" [Kingly Way]. For Zheng Xiaoxu, the leading Qing loyalist and premier of Manchukuo, the goal of creating this new state was multi-faceted: national salvation, resistance to communism, revival of Eastern civilization, and the reestablishment of the old order of Chinese society (pp. 339–40). However, as Lin also points out, the tragedy of Manchukuo was the misplacement of the dream of Chinese cultural revival into Japan's colonialist schemes. Yet it was here that the dilemma of Qing loyalists is best illustrated.

In general, Dr. Lin Chih-hung succeeds in drawing our attention to the mentality and motivation of a long-stereotyped social group of early 20th century China; he does this by meticulous "de-familiarization" and contextualization. The research responds well to a current trend in reassessing the conservatives and the discourse of revolution, enlightenment, and progress. Lin's exhaustive use of primary sources is impressive, as is the framework of cultural history in

examining rituals and symbols in the daily lives of loyalists. Lin is rather fair and balanced; for example, he cites the scathing remarks against loyalists published in early Republican newspapers, so that his book does not over-beautify his loyalists. However, a few flaws weaken the argument in spite of the large amount of information. For instance, in chapter 5 Lin discusses the admirable scholarship of Luo Zhenyu and Wang Guowei, but he offers no evidence to prove that Luo and Wang's accomplishments were necessarily related to their political identities as loyalists: their insights into Chinese archeology and historiography have been praised for a century. In chapter 6, the author continues to discuss at length the highly symbolic suicide of Wang Guowei. He brings up the comments on this act by scholars such as Luo Zhenyu, Gu Jiegang, and Chen Yinke, who changed their tone over time, from stressing Wang's connection with the Qing to the cultural meaning of his death. However, Lin does not fully and explicitly articulate his own assessment of Wang's death. In addition, the author seems to attribute the phenomenon of hermit loyalists simply to the unique "dynastic cycle" of China (p. 371), while failing to point out that the loyalists under discussion in his study were mostly scholar-officials who received degrees, ranks, and benefits from the Qing government, rather than the often legendary scholar who avoids contact with a corrupt dynasty, or who hides when there is no strong dynasty.

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Liu, Xun, *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009. ISBN 9780674033092. 396pp. \$49.95.

Situated in Republican-era Shanghai, already a great metropolitan city, *Daoist Modern* leads the readers through a Daoist inner-alchemy revivalist (no pun intended) movement that actively participated in China's transformation from its imperial past toward modernization. Xun Liu's book traces the way in which Chen Yingning (1880–1969) and his followers infused both intellectual discourse and the cultivation of immortality with issues pertinent to their own identity as Chinese urban elites: Nationalism and the roles of elite Daoist practitioners in a time of crisis; gender equality and women's rights; and changing modes of information dissemination. As these elites redefined certain Daoist goals, reinterpreted Daoist methods, and redesigned Daoist cultivation regimens and

programs, literati Daoism transformed and modernized along with the rest of Chinese society. Furthermore, Liu points to a lineage (albeit a thin one) that continued as the modern inner-alchemy movement in Taiwan up to the late 1980s.

Through meticulous contextualization, Liu brings forth important facets of Chinese religiosity through the life narratives of Chen Yingning and his cohort. Here I will highlight three key facets of Liu's presentation. First is of course the stated objective of showing how elite Daoism responded to and interacted with modernity. As a group of elites and professionals variously trained in both classical Chinese and Western educational systems, Chen and his cohort were on a quest, as Liu puts it, "for spiritual autonomy and self-reliance" (p. 75). In Chen's comprehensive inner-alchemy program, one was introduced to a lifestyle program that includes techniques and regimens from classical Daoist texts. A procedure was outlined, starting with seeking the source of oral secrets to explain textual knowledge, and a master to guide the adept through the program. This initiation step was important for the adept in identifying a master who could provide individually suitable instructions based on the temperament and conditions of the adept. This formed a strong and lasting master-disciple relationship. Furthermore, in an era when foreign invasions were viewed as severely threatening the integrity and even the survival of Chinese civilization and culture, the ritually endorsed initiations ensured that important cultivation secrets were not casually transmitted and wrongly utilized, especially by foreigners.

Once the adepts were properly initiated onto the path of inner-alchemy, the program became a lifestyle revolution which took concurrent social conditions and needs into consideration. While the actual cultivation methods came out of classical texts, Chen and his cohort interpreted and innovated to make cultivation actually possible and sustainable while the adepts remained active participants of the society at large. Liu details how the cohort formed a fellowship to provide moral, ethical, and spiritual support for each other. They sought locations for cultivation according the traditional art of *fengshui*, but moved away from traditional model of financial support by outside donors. In terms of daily practice, the adepts again took on the classical program with a modern spin. Western scientific and biomedical categories were incorporated into their understanding of diets and health regimens, which previously had been explained from the perspective of a traditional Chinese medical paradigm. However, the end goal of Chen's program—the attainment of perfection or immortality—was consistent with classical inner-alchemy.

Besides the general confrontation with modernity, also a second key facet in Liu's presentation of Chen Yingning's movement is the understanding of the female body, her role, and methods of cultivation toward immortality. Female practitioners, whether wives and partners of male practitioners, or solo,

independent practitioners, were recognized for their female physiology and different needs toward perfection. The educated women, such as Chen Yingning's students Chen Wuxuan and Miss Dong, were exposed to ideas of gender equality among practitioners, and eventually insisted on them.

Liu investigates the revival of inner-alchemy in relation to the transformation of print media. Traditionally, knowledge of self-cultivation was either disseminated through morality books available in local temples, or due to the various needs to maintain secrecy, in extremely limited print distribution. Yihuatang, a publishing house in Shanghai, worked closely with Chen and his cohort in collecting and reprinting Daoist inner-alchemy classics. Chen also hopped onto the bandwagon of the new genre of regularly published journals. This provided him a national-scale platform for teaching, and also a space for discourse among practitioners who previously had been geographically disconnected. In turn, "the once largely private and individual practice of inner-alchemy [was transformed] into an increasingly public experience of self-cultivation and spiritual pursuit" (p. 275).

Liu does not suggest this in his book, but perhaps we can call Chen's life work a new religious movement, where traditional practices were given new vernacular translations and packaged with popular ideas of the time. The delicate balance between the old and the new brought success to the movement—the cultivation methods were traditional enough to be considered authentic, while the interpretations were trendy enough to be considered "modern." There is nothing unique about this formula of keeping tradition up-to-date; in fact, traditions would not survive through time if there were not constant updates. On the other hand, Liu shows us through Chen's narratives that the Daoist inner-alchemy tradition, in its own diffuse way, continued and continuously interacted with a transforming Chinese society. Besides the direct attribution to Chen's teachings, we also still see remnants of that particular discourse today when observing how Chinese understand self-healing, self cultivation methods, and traditional Chinese medicine.

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Mullaney, Thomas S., *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. ISBN 9780520262782. 256pp. \$49.95.

China has fifty-six officially recognized ethnic groups, termed "*minzu*" in

Chinese. Usually we assume that it is a category derived from the ethnic classification scheme created in the early 1950s based on Stalinist principles for defining a nationality, which scheme consequently established a political framework for a multi-ethnic state. All of this was de facto an alternative way of nation-building. Nevertheless, before Thomas Mullaney, specialized attention had not been paid to the process of the classification in an anthropological perspective that could go beyond certain myths of science and politics. In fact, just as Professor Mullaney shows in *Coming to Terms with the Nation*, this process makes sense in another way.

From the beginning of his story, Mullaney provides a picture of a newly-born country that did not have enough experience to handle the multiethnic state administratively, at least when it concerned the terms of ethnic classification. Confronted with a post-imperial identity crisis, and as successor to a nationalist regime that had emphasized “no majorities or minorities,” the fledgling regime on the one hand needed to integrate a notion of identity within the framework of a new republic that was affiliated to varying degrees with the Soviet Union ideologically and behaviorally, while on the other hand it was introducing different policies towards ethnic minorities that had been used by its rival predecessor. Furthermore, it needed to reestablish the ethnic structure that had operated well during Qing times but had been suspended later.

After the self-categorization of 1953, a classification team composed of ethnologists and linguists set out in 1954 to classify the sophisticated but incomprehensible ethnic situation in Yunnan, a south-western province of China, in which the self-proclaimed two hundred ethnic groups diminished officially to two dozen within six months. Thomas Mullaney finds out that the scholarly teams, facing a time-limit and a complex task, drew upon Henry Rodolph Davies’s Yunnan ethnic classification model from his book *Yunan: the Link between India and the Yangtze*, published in 1909, rather than the four Stalinist criteria of nationality. Based on rich materials and solid literary analysis, Mullaney argues strongly that, in fact, it was the social scientific advisors with solid Western academic backgrounds who played the major role in ethnic taxonomy, rather than the officials. Thus, he opposes the prevailing “communist imposition hypothesis” which regards ethnic classification as a government dominated affair.

Further exploring the details of ethnic classification in Yunnan, the author points out that academic elites such as ethnologist Lin Yaohua re-conceptualized *minzu* so as to leave the door open for groups who did not fit the four requirements of Stalin’s “nationality.” Those ethnic groups were labeled as “pre-capitalist nationalities.” Moreover, the classification researchers did not set fixed *minzu* criteria themselves, but based them on a quite flexible definition, which focused on language and linguistic traits. The research team’s strategy

came about not only from the subjective situation, but also from the compound role that the researchers played: “It [our strategy] must unite with politics, particularly with the problem of national security,” quoting Lin, who played the key role.

Ethnic classification was by no means one way: it required the consent of those categorized. In order to have the classification take effect, researchers used methods developed by the officials to embed candidate groups in a certain taxonomic slot according to their hypotheses, making the ethnic people “realize” their bonds and origins through interviews or even through persuasion when consent was hard to bring about; an example given is the case of the “Yi” people. On this stage, the academic and political divisions could merge.

In all, Professor Mullaney has provided us convincingly with a detailed and focused procedural description of ethnic classification in Yunnan, China, in 1954. He has also supplied narratives. He ultimately puts forward several interesting opinions:

First, the ethnic classification process did not copy Stalin’s basic model, nor was it sheerly a political activity reined in by the government. Rather, it was an unprecedented project in which the scholars concerned were agents who combined academic and administrative considerations. In this sense, Thomas Mullaney wisely avoids the long controversy about whether the ethnic classification scheme was scientific or not, but heads directly into its underlying logic.

Second, the ethnic classification scheme was more than an episode: Mullaney treats it as a project. The architects, that is, the scholars and the government, constructed a categorized ethnic system in which the classifications were not totally based on the present, but on future considerations in a way far greater than we ever expected. The author feels that the system was not self-sustaining and invulnerable. What came about was a new republic that continuously reinforced and stabilized ethnic identity in accordance with the path that the designers planned. Ethnic classification was “part of a process,” and a vital part of the larger system.

Third, the author does not simply discuss the ethnic classification in and of itself. He places it onto a background of two meta-transformations: one spanned imperial China and modern China the nation-state, the other moved from Western social sciences in the context of “a Chinese frame with Western applications” (or, *Zhongti, xiyong*) to a localized Republican-era social science. Since thrashing out the ethnic issues was essential and urgent for the new regime, in the sense of territorial security and socialist construction, and with the government’s ethnic policy needing ethnic classification, thus the classification scheme became “the building blocks of a new order.” Ethnic classification was a “semidescriptive, semiprescriptive blueprint” produced by a group of well-trained Chinese

academics all with Ph. D.'s from distinguished Western universities. These scholars from the "ivory tower" not only accepted but also embraced the conjunction between social science and politics. Taking this type of origin into consideration, the fidelity of the scheme should not be our focus when we try to understand social science in modern China through the lens of the ethnic classification.

In conclusion, Thomas Mullaney's significant contribution opens a door for us to scrutinize PRC's ethnic policy in terms of the formation of ethnic identity in contemporary Chinese society. We can reflect on what Benedict Anderson mentioned in the foreword of his book: Identity is never a one-way street.

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Peattie, Mark, Edward Drew, and Hans Van de Ven eds., *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011. ISBN 9780804762069. 664pp+11 illustrations+14 maps. \$65 (cloth).

The Sino-Japanese War (1937–45) was both a crucial component of World War II and a defining moment in modern Chinese and Japanese history. Scholars in China and Japan have devoted a great deal of attention to the investigation of the causes, developments, and results of that conflict. However, for a long time, the China theatre has failed to attract the attention in Western scholarly literature that its importance warrants. To remedy this situation, Professor Ezra Vogel of Harvard University initiated a long-range project to provide a comprehensive reassessment of the Sino-Japanese War. The first conference of the project, which was held at Harvard in June 2002, focused on Chinese regional experiences and was later published as *China at War: Regions of China, 1937–1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007). The current volume, which stemmed from the second conference held in Maui, Hawaii, in 2004, concentrates on the military dimension of the Sino-Japanese War. Unlike *China at War*, which suffers from a lack of analytical unity, this volume is much more coherent in terms of its thematic approach.

The Battle for China consists of twenty essays by scholars from China, Japan, Europe, and the United States. They cover the historical backdrop of the war, the organization, preparation, command, and control of the Chinese and Japanese armies, the different stages of the conflict, the connection between the China

theatre and the Pacific theatre, and the legacies of the war. They present to Western readers some of the best scholarship on the Sino-Japanese War by Chinese and Japanese historians, whose writings and publications previously were inaccessible to readers of English.

The Chinese contributors to this volume include first-rate practitioners of the Chinese historical profession. Yang Tianshi of the Institute of Modern History, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, is a leading scholar in China on the study of Chiang Kai-shek and the Sino-Japanese war. His essay in this volume showcases his deep research and shrewd analysis concerning Chiang Kai-shek's calculations and strategy for China's war of resistance against Japan. Drawing on newly-released Chinese primary sources, including Chiang Kai-shek's diaries, Yang sheds new light on the reasons for the Chinese leader's decision to defend Shanghai. Yang convincingly demonstrates that in taking a stand at Shanghai, Chiang wanted to open a southern front to relieve Japanese pressure on North China and to indicate to the international community his resolve not to surrender to Japan.

Zhang Baijia, a specialist in the history of the Communist Party of China (CPC), contributes a chapter on China's efforts to obtain German, Soviet, and American aid to resist Japan. He highlights Chiang Kai-shek's consistent attempts to seek foreign assistance and compares China's patterns and limitations in its cooperation effort with those of the three outside powers. Zhang usefully reminds us that although international aid is often a key to the survival of a country in a slugfest with a technologically superior opponent, China, as a divided and weak nation, was handicapped in its endeavor to locate and sustain a firm and consistent partner. Moreover, foreign countries found it difficult to treat Chiang's government as a reliable ally.

Waging guerrilla war is another method for a country overwhelmed and overrun by a militarily superior foe. Both the Chinese Nationalist Party and CPC forces conducted guerrilla operations in North China during the early stage of the war, but the CPC seemed to be more successful. Why is that the case? In his chapter "Nationalist and Communist Guerrilla Warfare in North China," Yang Kuisong of Peking University provides revealing answers. He persuasively explains that because North China was primarily a rural area, a successful guerrilla movement would have to have been based on peasant mobilization and that in that regard, the CPC performed better than the Nationalist government.

In the final chapter of the book, Ronald Spector of George Washington University applies his vast knowledge about the Pacific War to offer a masterful summary that places the Sino-Japanese War in the context of world history. His comparison of Japan's war in China and Napoleon's campaign in Spain, 1808–18, is excellent and illuminating. He points out that "the two conflicts are strikingly similar in their protracted conduct, in their generally indecisive outcomes, and in

the horrific atrocities inflicted on the civilian populations by the two occupying powers” (p. 481). Spector’s judgment of China’s contribution to the eventual Allied victory over Japan is judicious and on the mark. He writes: “If the strategic impact of the war in China on the United States’ war against Japan was small, this outcome was not true of the political and psychological contribution that China made to the Allied cause simply by staying in the war. The Japanese claim to be fighting a war to liberate all Asians from the Western imperialists could never be given full credence as long as Asia’s most populous and largest nation was ranged on the side of the Allies” (p. 479).

Because of space limitations, this review can only introduce and evaluate a selection of the essays in this rich and well-researched volume, which should serve as an indispensable reference for the study of World War II.

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Storm, Carsten, *Imagination der Geschichte. Authentizität, Historizität, Widerstand und Identität in chinesischen historischen Romanen* [Imagination of history: authenticity, historicity, resistance, and identity in Chinese historical novels]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010. ISBN 9783447062343. 331pp. 68€.

For a long time, the historical novel has proven to be a popular and successful genre of Chinese literature. Often perceived as part of history, these literary works are part and parcel of the creation of historical consciousness, which in turn exerts considerable influence on the creation and propagation of identity.

The present review is about Carsten Storm’s habilitation thesis, entitled *Imagination of History: Authenticity, Historicity, Resistance and Identity in Chinese Historical Novels* (2010). Storm, who is a scholar of Chinese literature, deals with this topic through a new approach. His book consists of six chapters and analyses the four concepts of historicity, resistance, authenticity and identity by using four historical novels: *Shuihu zhuan* 水浒传 (Water margin), *Hong Xiuquan yanyi* 洪秀全演义 (Historical narrations of Hong Xiuquan), *Hanye sanbu qu* 寒夜三部曲 (Wintry night) and *Hong gaoliang* 红高粱 (Red sorghum).

Storm has chosen these books for comparative reasons. On the one hand, his choice allows him to cover a longer time period (from the Ming dynasty to the 1980s), with all four novels going beyond their time of composition. On the other hand, it allows questioning the common demarcation of the mainland of China vs.

Taiwan, as well as that of modernity vs. pre-modernity (p. 22). Storm's main thesis is that historical novels are systematically steeped in concepts of modernity and post-modernity. The concept of linear progress is often integrated in later narrations of the past, leading to specific patterns that create a sense of the past that conforms to both history and identity (p. 10).

Storm defines these four concepts in the first chapter as follows. Within the term historicity, one can observe three essential concepts: the relationship of facticity and fictionality, the concept of "Rückkonstruktion," i.e. the construction of an image of the past which is similar to the image of the present, and finally the concept of "chronocentrism," which signifies that the prevailing present is both origin and destination of a historic construction.

Storm further points out three different kinds of resistance in historical novels, namely direct resistance (shaped militarily or socially), historical fabricated resistance as a reversely constructed discourse, and the novel itself that shows resistance within its ideological environment. According to him, historicity and resistance are the corner pillars of the creation of identity. Within time, both the forms of identity and the way of constructing it change. The concept of authenticity is then discussed in the last chapter of the book.

One of the case studies in the book focuses on the unfinished novel of Huang Xiaopei entitled *Hong Xiuquan yanyi* (1906), which deals with the instrumentalization of the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64). It is a novel of resistance against the Qing regime, aimed at legitimating the reform movement in late Qing and restoring the Han-Chinese sovereignty. The intention of the novel, so Storm, is to combine the then prevailing anti-Manchurian mood with the "Rückkonstruktion" of Republican ideas.

Storm has chosen this novel for two reasons. One is the transition to modernity in late imperial China, and the other is the use of a deformed *yanyi* style as the legitimation of resistance. By using the *yanyi* style, following Storm's interpretation, Huang focuses on fiction instead of history ("Authentizität simulierende Form fiktionalisierter Vergangenheitsbeschreibung") (p.120) to emphasize his propagandistic intention, as this is familiar to his readers. However, by doing so, the novel becomes literarily weak. Storm points out that the traditional purpose of historiography in this novel is transformed to an ambivalent claim of innovative modernity and nationality, which is as well historically justified. For Storm, the *Hong Xiuquan yanyi* is the hybridization of tradition and modernity, of "Reichsrhetorik" (imperial rhetoric) and Republican nationalism, i.e. form and content. This account is to some degree caused by the intention of the author as well as the ambiguous transformation process taking place at the beginning of the 20th century in China.

Another novel analyzed by Storm is Li Qiao's trilogy *Hanye sanbu qu* (Wintry night, 1981). *Wintry Night* describes the life story of a rural Taiwanese family

between 1889 and 1945 and is written as a novel based on historical material. Storm's assumption is that the novel is to be situated in an era characterized by the transition from tradition to modernity. It accordingly works with hybrid perceptions of time and historicity, thereby constructing distinct notions of identity. Resistance legitimizes this identity, which is historicized and influenced by the time of publication in 1981, when intense debates of identity emerged in Taiwan in the wake of a weakening KMT ideology.

Storm describes *Wintry Night* as a narration of local history, with the focus on the concepts of suffering, resistance, motherhood, family and homeland. It is an answer to the search for self-determination and political freedom in the 1980s. According to Storm, Li Qiao tries to answer the "crisis of identity" in three ways: by a construction of identity, by legitimating identity through historiography and essentialization, and finally relating it to the present time (p. 164).

The suffering is molded by the permanent struggle for survival of Taiwanese in their times of hardship. The resistance is directed against the suffering caused by this struggle, and against the political and ethnical marginalization of the Taiwanese peoples by the Japanese. Suffering, according to Storm, is shown as an unavoidable result of life and as the origin of their identity. These are connected aspects, yet the former legitimizes the latter.

Storm finishes his thesis with a chapter about "feigned authenticity" (fingierte Authentizität). He argues that the concern with history is always affected by the present perception of history. Therefore, the construction of history is conditioned by a "chronocentrism" (p. 246). To generate "fictional authenticity" (fiktionale Authentizität) it is necessary to use "Authentizitätssignifikanten," which is the deliberate use of certain textual elements that constitute authority by a historical-literary code.

Storm shows in a very convincing way that—while being bounded to one's present time—fictional history is used to construct forms of identity. Identity is influenced by both resistance and historicity. The generating of authenticity via certain textual elements is obligatory to legitimate an established identity, which is then constructed in history. This construction is—contrary to general assumption of intensified fragmentation of identity concepts—successful because both essentialized and optional categories of identity can co-exist without contradicting each other.

One point however that is worth further discussion concerns Storm's choice of books. Aiming to dissolve the common demarcation of the mainland of China vs. Taiwan and the modern vs. pre-modern paradigm, one might ask why there is only one pre-modern novel, and only one that deals with Taiwan. While the complexity of the analyzed novels certainly does not allow for consideration of further works, one might wonder if a concentration on one single issue might not have been enough. In addition, the discussion of "Taiwanese identity" in a book

on Chinese historical novels warrants some further explanation—how are both collectives related to each other?

In sum, this valuable study broaches the issue of Chinese historical novel from a new point of view and gives a new cognition of the concepts of authenticity, historicity, resistance and identity, which should be reconsidered for further analysis. The integration of these four concepts into the field of literature studies is certainly a great achievement of this study.

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Zheng Zhenman 郑振满, *Xiangzu yu guojia: duoyuan shiye zhong de Min-Tai chuandong shehui* 乡族与国家: 多元视野中的闽台传统社会 (Community lineage and the state: Traditional society of Fujian and Taiwan from multiple perspectives). Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2009. ISBN 9787108031396. 335pp. ¥45.

This is a collection of sixteen articles by Zhenman Zheng written from the early 1980s to 2000s on the traditional society of Min-Tai 闽台, or Fujian, Taiwan and other parts of southeast China, in the Ming and Qing eras. As an important scholar studying South China, Zheng Zhenman's research interest, according to his retrospect, derives from his advisor Fu Yiling, one of the prominent, first generation Chinese social-economic historians who first proposed the theoretical framework of *xiangzu* 乡族 (community lineage, or lineage village) and "multiple structure" to study local societies in China (p. 1).

Focusing on the political, economic, and cultural aspects of family and lineage organizations in southeast China, the sixteen articles are clustered into four parts, covering four major research subjects. Part One examines the local community-lineage and community economy. It includes four articles, two on the landlord economy of northern Fujian and the irrigation system of coastal Fujian during Ming and Qing, and the other two on the community economy and joint management of community-lineages in Taiwan during the Qing. Part Two studies the family structure, the clan system, and lineage organizations. Topics include local customs of worshipping ancestors, the Lijia system in Fujian, and the change of family structure in Taiwan. Part Three shifts the focus to popular religions and local rituals. While articles on Daoism and Wuzhenren worship use historical, written documents, studies on temple sacrificial ceremonies and community development modes in the Putian River delta are based on the

author's historical-anthropological field work. Part Four shows the author's most recent interest in the local administration and social transformation of southeast China from the late imperial era to the early twentieth-century.

Given the thematic organization of the articles, the author's theoretical framework and research trajectory are very clear. From parts one to three, the author's research focus shifts from social economy to social structure and further to culture and popular religions. Zheng's articles of the early 1980s focused on the social economy of southeast China, which continued Fu Yiling's study of traditional Chinese society but challenged some previous conclusions. For example, Zheng argues that the development of community organizations did not necessarily produce a landlord economy, for the community economic developments had clear differences from the landlord economy even within Fujian province (p. 7). In order to better explore the social economy of community-lineage organizations, Zheng's research subject shifted to family structure and familial organizations after 1986. His doctoral thesis of 1989 argues that in the Ming and Qing, familial organizations in local societies were no longer lineage- or kinship-based. Instead, the historical process showed a clear tendency of "extended kinship," or the relatively complete kinship which in fact included six different types of familial organizations: big family, small family, incomplete family, family by inheritance, family by dependence, and family by contracts (Ibid.). In other words, the sustainability of kinship in local society lies in the "dependent kin" or "contract kin" rather than the kinship defined by lineage. After the 1990s, Zheng began to publish articles on popular religions and local beliefs based on his fieldwork in Fujian. Zheng's study of local religions, however, is embedded in his interest in the local community-lineage system and the historical transformation of local societies from official administrative organizations such as the Lijia system to the local organizations and communities based on temple sacrifice ceremonies. In many cases, the new community-lineage systems were no longer familial or lineage based. The concluding part on local administration and social transformation addresses a common concern for scholars in regional studies: How representative is the region? What is the relationship between the local and the state? Zheng Zhenman, as many of his colleagues in South China studies, believes that the ultimate goal of regional studies is to contribute to a better understanding of Chinese society as a whole (p. 334). Therefore the study of "local society" and "regional culture" can only be achieved with a larger picture of the state in mind. In the author's own words, "the state is internalized in society" (p. 9) so that the study of local administration is the study of historical processes of national identification.

An interdisciplinary approach is a characteristic of the current book. Fu Yiling has always emphasized the use of both historical written documents and contemporary fieldwork for writing the social-economical history of China.

According to Chen Chunsheng, another leading scholar in of South China studies and chief editor of the popular book series on “History in the Field,” this approach asks that historians “be present on the historical scene” (pp. vi–vii). This is a conscious scholarly choice as well as a representative research method for South China research. Reading through the articles, Zheng Zhenman’s scholarly quest in the past three decades definitely demonstrates such a combination of historical texts and anthropological field work, and it shows a meaningful trajectory of his intellectual journey from social-economic history to historical-anthropology.

One of the foremost historical ethnographers of Chinese society, Zheng Zhenman is not unfamiliar to Western readers. Zheng’s first book, *Family Lineage and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian* (1992) was translated by Michael Szonyi and published by University of Hawai‘i Press in 2001. Drawing on important empirical materials on Chinese kinship largely unknown to Western scholars and owing to the excellent translation of Michael Szonyi, Zheng’s book opened a new window for Western scholars to understand the development of the lineage society in South China. What impresses readers most is that Zheng has an exceptional grasp of the rich and complex local documents, such as lineage genealogies, stone inscriptions, land deeds, official documents, and writings of local elites. Zheng’s works are now a must-read for scholars and students of economic, social, and cultural history of South China. His attention to both local documents and fieldwork already has had an impact on scholars and students of South China.

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