

only specialists in folklore and religion are still aware of these roots, hardly ever the performers themselves. Furthermore, Endō takes Europe as one entity, apparently conceiving it to be as homogeneous as Japan.

The European reader is surprised by the view of the old continent emerging from Endō's account: more and more one feels as though he is reading Tacitus of 2000 years ago. Up to the seventeenth century, Europe was, according to Endō, mostly covered by dense virgin forests, inhabited by menacing demons, wild animals and robbers. The forests were the sacred habitat of the Gods, each tree representing a divinity. Sacrifices were offered to these trees. The crossroads were places for divination. Only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did merchants and travellers dare to cross these forests, and only in the eighteenth century did agriculture spread further. Sacrifices were offered at bridges to the water goddess to prevent her from destroying the bridge in a fit of anger. There were house gods and earth gods everywhere. The main crops were wheat and soy beans (!)

At this rate, by page 58 the reviewer lost interest in the text, even though he does recommend the photos for comparative study. The Namahage of Akita turn up in the Roitschäggäte of Lötschental (Wallis, Switzerland), and the Yama no Kami, the Lion and the Bird (probably representing the souls of the dead) are met in Basel. The *yorishiro* as god-seat is found near my own hometown. The life-tree is represented at the Hanamatsuri in Aichi prefecture, by the evergreen *matsu*, hung with mochi (rice cakes), while in my hometown it is a *Tannenbaum*, to which bread is stuck. A comparative study could be helpful, but it needs a more profound theoretical background and a more critical attitude.

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ARKUSH, R. DAVID. *Fei Xiaotong and Sociology in Revolutionary China*. Harvard East Asian Monographs 98. Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Press, 1981. xviii+376 pp. Notes, bibliography, glossary, index. Cloth, US\$20.00. ISBN 0-674-29815-2.

Biographies are hard to write, and biographies of contemporary figures even more so. But hardest are those of contemporary Chinese figures. The reason is simple. The political background of contemporary China is complicated and, moreover, many of those involved are still on the stage. Being a foreigner in a detached position, R. David Arkush can of course free himself from direct entanglement. But, on the other hand, given the closed and everchanging nature of Chinese society, plus the sensitiveness of actual politics, there is a congenital difficulty in writing a biography of a scholar who has experienced various political storms in contemporary times.

This is easily proved. The book devotes only 73 of its 286-page body to narrating the earth-shaking thirty years after 1949. If we say the forty years prior to 1949 were Fei's academic formation period, then the following stretch of thirty years is where his achievements lie, and hence should be analyzed in depth. Moreover, as he is considerably active in Chinese academic and political circles at the moment, this period should be easier to handle for the sheer availability of material. Because this period is not well covered, one comes away with a feeling of incompleteness after reading Arkush's book.

The author has, however, included a very detailed, comprehensive and annotated

list of Fei's works, something which is very seldom seen. It lists many of Fei's critiques scattered in publications in the rear areas (大後方) during the war. This shows the author's hard work, although there are some errors and omissions. For instance, he has misread 当試 as 当识, 季有義, as 季有益, and has omitted an important 1978 short essay, "On the Social Transformation of China's Minority Nationalities." Yet this does not really affect the completeness of the list.

The author has juxtaposed and analyzed Fei's ideas on Chinese society and culture in detail. But the author's limited knowledge and experience in this area seem to have prevented him from relating his discussion to the actual situation in China, in order to provide a more meaningful commentary. Amongst those important but neglected ideas is Fei's view of interpersonal relationship in Chinese society, namely a pattern of sequential differences, whereby, with ego as the center, relations are distinguished by a sequence of concentric circles according to their difference in closeness to ego. This pattern might have inhibited the Chinese people from accepting the idea of equality in legal principles.

Of the eight chapters in the book, the first two are most outstanding, not only because they contain seldom-seen information concerning Fei's family history and his early experiences, but also because the author combines narration with discussion, using plain and simple psychoanalytic methods to lead his readers into the situation, so that Fei's growth and his character after reaching adulthood are described with liveliness and good sense. For example, Arkush relates how Fei was born in a reasonably well-off scholar's family, how he had a happy, joyous childhood free of the tyrannic father-figure and the financial difficulties common in declining landlord families. His mother, though a Christian, was liberal, and hence Fei was not rigid in religious matters. All this accounts for a Fei who was broad-minded, optimistic, friendly and gregarious. It also shows why, in his latter academic career, Fei could outshine his colleagues to become the leader amongst intellectual leaders, and to be actively involved in actual politics.

Like many important figures in contemporary China, Fei studied in Christian schools (including Suchow University and Yenjing University), and received training from the Christian western culture, but he was not confined in an ivory tower, showing instead concern for the people's grievances and understanding the signs of the times. He himself admitted a deep sense of belonging to the nation, and shared its values and interests. In a time when the country faced hazards and the people's emotions were stirred, when other university students had already given up studies for fighting, he was still studying hard. And though some criticized his passivity, he, together with many intellectuals, insisted on studying because they believed if they could thoroughly understand western knowledge, they could fight imperialism and save their country. Although this model of learning Western merits to resist Western imperialism was naive, it was deep rooted in the people's hearts along with various slogans of "saving the country."

In Chapter Three the author sums up the experience and meaning of Fei's field-work in the Yao region of Xiang Xian, Guangxi, in Kaixiangong Village of Wujiang, Jiangsu, and in Lu Village of Lufeng, Yunnan. The author first points out the shortcomings of this kind of studies, their main weakness being that the time involved was too short and there was no long-term observation in the field. Deeply influenced by his teacher B. Malinowski's functionalism, Fei frequently emphasized the general situation instead of comparing two extremes. But the most important point is that the author criticizes Fei's attempt to use village studies from China's vast rural area to locate types and put these in an order so as to demonstrate processes of economic de-

velopment as inclining to a model of mechanical unilineal evolution. He believes that this faulty thought of Fei's is a result of too much emphasis on fieldwork and too little library work. He thinks that each "point" in rural China has its own special background, and, in the process of development, does not necessarily coincide with a point in a continuum.

Nevertheless, Fei's main objective is to discover the reality of Chinese rural society. The author acknowledges his achievement in opening up this frontier as being a rare example of an anthropological study of a complicated society.

If the author fully understood the social background in China at the time, he would understand the above defects. Long years of war would not have encouraged scholars to stay in a place for long-term studies. Besides, Chinese scholars had long had the habit of being armchair theorists instead of practitioners. In fact, Fei's emphasis on the field may just be directed against this fault. If we look at Fei's plunging into the field in Yunnan within two weeks after returning from England, we notice the rush and hurry involved.

The fourth chapter describes Fei's feelings when he visited the United States in the early forties, especially his being disheartened by urban industry, which consequently strengthened his vision for China's practising rural industry. As he saw the disadvantages of the American family system—coldness and alienation—he to some degree approved the Chinese system of large families, to the extent of feeling fortunate for not being born in the United States. It could be due to courtesy that the author has not gone deep into such views of Fei's, but I feel that the life of silk robes, satin shoes and teahouses that Fei held to be ideal is not within everybody's reach. Moreover, since industrialization inevitably more or less alters human relations, how, then, could traditional Chinese familial relations be maintained?

Because of his in-depth studies of rural Chinese society, his insightful understanding of the peasants' problems, and his seriousness and sincerity, Fei has often been referred to as the Spokesman of Chinese peasants. In Chapter Five, quoting some earlier works of Fei, the author deduces that the reform program envisioned by Fei was rural industrialization. Fei believed that western urban industrialization took too much time to achieve too little, and it might further destroy handicraft industries in the villages.

In Chapter Six the author discusses Fei's political life between 1945 and 1948: his views and choices are revealed in his activities in Kunming in the mid-forties, in his brief sojourn to England, in his 1947 return, up to the eve of the "Liberation." The author sympathetically describes how a moderate, middle-of-the-road liberal floundered between Fascism and Communism. Before 1949 Fei knew very little about the Chinese Communists. Rationally he held on to democracy and socialism, but in terms of feelings he understood the peasants' grievances because of his village studies. Dissatisfied by political events, he became very pessimistic. According to the author's research, Fei was not interested in an Yennan style communal life, and as late as the end of 1948 he remained cool and objective toward the overall situation.

The seventh and eighth chapters discuss Fei's life after "Liberation." This is at once the hardest and the most sensitive part of the story to handle. In a June, 1949, letter that Fei sent to overseas friends through some connections, he indicated that he was full of dreams, that he did believe that the great construction of the country was about to start. But problems began to appear. In his letter to the British journal *Encounter*, in which he answered outside questions about his fate, there seemed to be more propaganda than rationality, and this raised much suspicion.

The blasting fuse was the essay "The Early Spring Weather of the Intellectuals"

(知識分子的早春天氣), in which Fei fell right into a trap set by Mao Zedong. According to the author's analysis, the essay mainly asked communist officers not to hinder intellectuals, but to liberate their political enthusiasm. Judged from any angle, the essay could only be a sincere response to Mao's "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom" campaign. But the rulers did not think so. On how things then developed the book has but brief information, most of which has already been circulated overseas. Fei was labelled a "dead tiger," beaten to the ground after the 1958 "anti-rightist" movement, and was fortunately able to bypass ill fate during the Cultural Revolution.

Fei reappeared after Nixon's visit to China in 1972, but only served on such decorative jobs as receiving foreign guests. Not until the fall of the Gang of Four was he able to resume his former work of reorganizing the discipline of sociology. Recently he has assumed leadership in the Institute of Social Research of the Social Sciences Academy.

To sum up, this book traces the story of victory of the intelligentsia over doctrine, and of Fei's spiritual and moral victory.

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LINDELL, KRISTINA; HÅKAN LUNDSTRÖM, JAN-OLOF SVANTESSON, DAMRONG TAYANIN. *The Kammu Year: Its Lore and Music*. Studies on Asian topics No. 4. London and Malmö: Curzon Press and Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, 1982. xii+191 pp. Illustrations, Kammu vocabulary, bibliography. Paper £5.00, ISBN 0-7007-0151-6, ISSN 0142 6028.

The greatest part of all activities of people without writing revolves around the provision of material existence. In such societies we will not find the wide ranging separation of spiritual life from the labors necessary for daily existence that is present in the so-called "highly developed" cultures. The study of how such peoples acquire the necessary foodstuff, then, inevitably brings the researcher in touch with the central core of their cultural existence as well. In the case of those peoples whose main food resources are provided by intensive cultivation of the soil, the climatically conditioned annual agricultural cycle not only leaves an imprint on their concepts of time and time reckoning, it also leaves a great impression on related aspects of human behavior, from agricultural techniques to aspects of ritual and musical behavior.

Fresh corroboration for this kind of general insight is provided by the monograph here under review. The book presents a great amount of detail and ethnologically important data to describe the life of the Yuan-Kammu, a Kammu group from north-western Laos. It is a part of the larger "Kammu Language and Folklore Project," initiated in 1972, which as a whole aims to provide an exhaustive description of Kammu culture as a part of the ethnologically and linguistically extremely complex mainland southeast Asia. In this book the authors have described daily life in the village from the perspectives of time divisions, the seasonally determined sequence of work in the fields, and the accompanying music.

A general ethnographic introduction acquaints the reader with basic data and facts about the Kammu people, such as the area in which they live, their neighbors, the structure of social groups and their functionaries, and their basic economic structures, such as agriculture, hunting and trade.