

scholars) into a logically organized and eminently readable volume on Chinese vernacular dwellings.

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PAPINEAU, ÉLISABETH. *Le jeu dans la Chine contemporaine: Mah-jong, jeu de go et autres loisirs*. Collection "Recherches Asiatiques." Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000. 302 pages. Bibliography. Paper 130 F; ISBN 2-7384-9210-X. (In French)

The passion of the Chinese for gambling has been noted by European travellers for so long that over the centuries it has become a character trait. The Chinese seen as inveterate gamblers is an aspect of the overall image of this civilization that has been, and still is, prevalent in the West, and, not surprisingly, also among the Chinese themselves. Élisabeth Papineau starts with introducing the illustrious line of Westerners who have remarked upon it in travel accounts and essays: from the pirate William Dampier (1698), to the Macartney Embassy's steward John Barrow (1798), to the Lazarist Father Huc (1854), the French consul Paul Claudel (1912), down to Simon Leys (1983), for whom it is symptomatic of a certain world view.

It is perhaps best to start by briefly giving an outline of the conceptual framework that innervates the notion of play in general. "Play" has a long history as an object of academic study in anthropology (Tylor, Culin, Malinowsky, Geertz), in sociology (Durkheim, Caillois) and in other branches of thought (mathematics, sociology, psychology, philosophy). Attention is drawn to a dualistic conception first developed by Schiller who understands play as the resolution of the formal and the sensible in man; two aspects that Caillois renders in terms of *ludus* and *paidia*, whereas Benedict, following Nietzsche but referring to cultures, speaks of them as Apollinian and Dionysian. Though Papineau denies that she "wants to make the Chinese say what they didn't say," she points to the coincidence with the Chinese view of phenomena as momentary aggregates of two polarized principles.

For all who propose to study "play" in contemporary Chinese society, the sociology of leisure (Veblen, Dumazedier) provides some essential conceptual tools, notably Kelly's basic insight that "leisure is negatively determined by work" (45). This is particularly evident in Marxist and materialist ideology where leisure figures as a symbol of bourgeois capitalist idleness, but can be put to positive use in restoring the labor capacity of the worker for the collective good. The moral opposition of leisure and work is indeed one of the aspects the author had to face in her study of Beijing society in the 1990s. It is also integral to official policies in the steering of "mass culture" and other ongoing phenomena like the invasion of capitalist consumerism, or the increasing individualization in the pursuit of satisfaction at the expense of the collectivity. Chinese studies in this field still being at a descriptive stage, Papineau bases her demonstration on information gained through fieldwork, which included active participation in amateur and professional circles of mahjong and go players, and interviews with these players. Nor did she neglect to take the pulse of the times by looking through the relevant reports on games and leisure in the Chinese dailies.

But before reporting on her personal experience, the author charts the semantical field of the notion of play and its related terms, comparing its usage in Western languages and in Chinese culture by following its changes through history. One of the most notable differences

lies in the overlapping in Chinese of “games” and “sports.” Two of the most popular Chinese games, *weiqi* (commonly known by the Japanese name of go) and *xiangqi* (Jap. *shōgi*), for example, are reported on by newspapers in their pages on sports. In the same manner they are supervised on the government level by the Bureau of Sports.

Another Chinese particularity is the large territory covered by *le* (樂, usually in the compound *yule* 娛樂, jap. *goraku*), which encompasses not only emotions like joy, pleasure, contentedness, but further extends into amusement and “pastimes” (such as chatting, flirting, and sexual intercourse, amongst a hundred others cited by Lin Yutang). For Papineau *le* is even emblematic of the last decade of reform and change, to which she thinks the fervent pursuit of leisure has acted as an impetus.

Another chapter presents the official stance towards play of the successive governments. Way past the middle of the twentieth century, most amusements occupying the time off from labor were branded as debauchery, but a selection of sports (gymnastics, table tennis, swimming, etc.) began to be publicly sponsored for the greater glory of China from the 1960s on. Largely ignored by Mao Zedong, leisure was categorically denied any positive value during the Cultural Revolution; but after it games were tolerated again and even encouraged by the bridge-playing Deng Xiaoping. This timid opening, however, proved to be too late for the rapid onslaught of capitalist pleasures (e.g., game centers, discos, stock exchanges, video games, and, more seriously, large scale lotteries, gambling, and drugs) that have over the past decade begun to enthrall the younger generations of metropolitan populations.

Two-thirds of the way through the book, the author comes to the two games which she has chosen to examine in particular: *weiqi* (go) and *majiang* (mahjong). She outlines, for both, their place in Chinese culture, their history, and their social, ethical, and moral reputations. The noble game of *weiqi*, which requires abstract but purposeful reflection, can be appreciated as a form of art, and is believed to have cosmic implications. Its practice is the prerogative of the educated classes, is meditative, and is done in a ritual manner. It also has socializing and edifying functions. These qualities allow Papineau to characterize it as “Apollinian.”

Mahjong, on the other hand, is played in a manner that is frivolous, unbridled, and concerned only with gain. It is considered to be a noisy, short-lived pleasure, and is associated with the lower classes, with chance, gambling, and vice; as such, it is “Dionysian.” Benedict in her *Patterns of Culture*, we may recall, qualifies peoples as a whole as either “Dionysian” (the American Indians) or “Apollinian” (the Pueblos), but Papineau finds that the two are inextricably linked in the Chinese case. She does not, however, as already hinted at above, make any direct reference to the classical yin-yang principle.

The two board games are, moreover, presented as symptomatic of the profound changes that affected Chinese urban society during the last quarter of the twentieth century. Complementary as they are, go and mahjong emblematically represent the two polarities between which the city population has been swaying since Chairman Mao’s era: between tradition and modernity, collectivism and individualism; between spiritual and material values, discipline and dissoluteness, native Chinese culture and foreign influence; and between the traditional Chinese perspective of looking into an exemplary past, and the foreign but alluring prospect of looking into a hedonistic future.

Does Élisabeth Papineau succeed in demonstrating this hypothesis? On the whole, she quite harmoniously distributes the weight of her argument on theoretical frameworks provided by anthropology (of “play”) and sociology (of “leisure”), on support from written sources (historical as well as contemporary), and on first-hand data collected in Beijing during the first half of the 1990s. Important written and oral data come from actual fieldwork, but one somewhat misses the spark of life that the individual testimony of Chinese “players”

might have added to the otherwise diffuse picture we get of the contemporary “leisure” situation in Beijing.

From its overall structure and argumentation you have probably guessed that this is a doctoral thesis. Papineau mentions that it is an altered version of her 1999 thesis, and one is inclined to attribute the most obvious defects of this book to what must have been a somewhat hastily executed shifting around of chapters. Another consequence of subsequent editorial attempts—one that proved quite irritating to this reader—is the omission from the bibliography of a good third of all the references cited throughout the first half of the book.

The fact that this book derived from a doctoral thesis is also obvious in its presentation. It must have been tendered to the examining board in a hand-made form that the publisher hastened to reproduce faithfully. It is true that the work could have gained from a more careful editing on the part of the author, but L'Harmattan is to be blamed for the careless presentation and the obvious lack of proofreading. A pleasing print and layout seem to be luxuries not only in contemporary China....

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SHAHAR, MEIR. *Crazy Ji: Chinese Religion and Popular Literature*. Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, 48. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1998. xix + 330 pages. Tables, maps, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, glossary, index. Cloth US\$45.00; ISBN 0-674-17562-X. Paper US\$19.95; ISBN 0-674-17563-8. (Distributed by Harvard University Press)

In *Crazy Ji*, Meir Shahar meticulously traces the origin and evolution of the cult of the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Hangzhou Buddhist monk Daoji (?–1209). Described as a disillusioned vagabond with a penchant for drinking wine, Daoji was nicknamed “Crazy Ji” for repeatedly transgressing Buddhist monastic regulations. Although estranged from the monastic order, he was venerated as a miracle worker by the laity. He has been portrayed as a monk, holy fool, magician, clown, moral exemplar, martial artist, and champion of the poor in popular literature. During the twentieth century, more than forty novels had been written about him, and his cult had spread north from Hangzhou to Beijing and as far as Malaysia in Southeast Asia.

The book is divided into three main parts and further subdivided into six chapters. In Part I (chapters 1–2), Shahar addresses the historical Daoji and his religious background. He translates and examines Daoji’s biography as recorded in *Beixian’s Collected Prose Writings*, the only contemporary Buddhist source with a biography of Daoji, by the Chan master Jujian (1164–1246). Shahar also includes a discussion of the holy fool throughout Chinese history and presents brief biographies of such religious eccentrics as Beidu (?–426), Budai (?–ca. 902), Juxian Yuxian (922–1009), and Huiji (?–1134).

Part II (chapters 3–5) comprises the bulk of the book. In these chapters, through a detailed analysis of several novels, plays, and short stories, Shahar examines the growth and spread of Daoji lore. The format for the discussion is to be commended. For each text, Shahar analyzes the dating, authorship, narrative structure, narrative details, and the relationship between the topic text and any antecedent or contemporary works. In Chapter 3, Shahar examines the *Recorded Sayings of the Recluse from Qiantang Lake, the Chan Master Crazy Ji*