

*mingei*, which in turn influenced European and American potters. Leach both learned and taught techniques during his 1954 visit.

In a related argument, Moeran shows that what may seem (and is often described) as a purely Japanese phenomenon has parallels in other cultures and times. “[T]he philosophy of *mingei* is the sort of moral aesthetic that tends to arise in all industrializing societies that experience rapid urbanization and a shift from hand to mechanized methods of mass production” (21). This is an internal phenomenon, in which a simpler past is idealized. In parallel fashion, technologically advancing cultures may idealize “primitive peoples” from other cultures, as did earlier European and American anthropology (p. 44), or discover in “the Orient” aesthetic delight (221). In contrast to SAID’s argument in *Orientalism* (1978) that an external, hegemonic discourse creates the Orient, Moeran argues for both internal and external creation and manipulation of the discourse of *Japonisme* (and more currently and internally, *nihonjinron*), for the existence of a “non-hegemonic interaction between different traditions” (226).

This rather hasty summary does not do full justice to the complexity and skillful interweaving of these arguments. Although grappling with abstract theoretical matters, this book is well organized, highly readable, and always grounded in the case study of the potters. Influences are always shown to be reciprocal or circular and not linear (135). The splendid photographs bring the pots and the setting to life. If Blake can “see a world in a grain of sand,” Moeran can in a grain of clay, and he has depicted it for us in rich and satisfying detail.

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#### CHINA

BRAY, FRANCESCA. *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China*. A Philipp E. Lilienthal Book. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. xvi + 419 pages. Map, illustrations, glossary, references, index. Cloth US\$50.00; ISBN 0-520-20685-1. Paper US\$19.95; ISBN 0-520-20861-7.

In recent years the history of Western science and technology has seen a small but significant increase in the publication of books and articles on the role of women, but, strangely enough, this trend has not been equally represented by their colleagues who research China. Being the

first serious study to analyze Chinese technology from the viewpoint of gender, this book is first and foremost a pioneering effort, and at the same time attempts to construct new concepts with which to understand the relationship between material culture and the moral and social principles that surround it.

*Technology and Gender* examines the role played by women in domestic life in traditional China, taking as its focus of analysis three topics: the house as social space; textile production performed by women; and the feminine domain of reproduction, including traditional medical theories of gynecology. It is organized into three parts according to these themes. Each chapter musters an extraordinarily rich array of fascinating source materials and draws on most of the contemporary research in English on gender in China during the late imperial period. In the grand style of Joseph Needham's massive *Science and Civilisation in China* series (BRAY 1984 is in this series), she displays great erudition in both the text and footnotes. Her own views on the contemporary situation follow the Needham tradition (e.g., footnote 10 on page 280 mentions surrogate motherhood and egg donation in the United States); and she puts late imperial China in a larger context by making comparisons with other cultures. Taking the period from the tenth to the nineteenth centuries, the book has a distinctly historical emphasis, aiming to show the shifts in contributions of wives to families and how perceptions of the wife's role changed over this period.

One aim of this exercise is to trace the historical path that led to the emergence of the stereotype woman in late imperial China—that is, a woman who stands isolated from society, is kept economically dependent on her husband (she does not engage in production), and is deprived of effective control over her own reproduction. Bray argues that the nature of women's participation in productive work changed over the course of the late imperial period, causing a shift in the location of wifely duties that in turn served to de-emphasize the productive role played by women (especially as symbolized by the weaving of cloth), and had the effect of highlighting the childbearing and child rearing tasks of wives. She attributes much of this to the rise in the commercial economy during the late Ming: commercial competition diminished contributions by women to textile production, which in turn served to encourage female separation and dependence, and ultimately reduced the wife's role to the sphere of reproduction.

At the same time the author introduces the concept of gynotechnics, which she defines as "sets of technologies that produce ideas about women and gender," as a way of showing how women, as creators, played central, rather than marginal, roles in shaping material culture and its meanings. Bray takes as her starting point the basic premise that man and wife filled complementary productive roles in marriage. This allows her to show how women as active producers integrated into the social order, even after the emergence of the above-mentioned stereotype. For example, she argues that such material objects as dowry goods, Buddhist altars, and embroideries functioned as instruments of a female culture that served to complement or support male culture, in fact so much so that male-centered culture could not function without them.

The author consistently tries to rethink the role played by many of the institutions and material objects concerned with women. Take for instance the role of the wife in elite families. Contrary to the stereotype image, she sees biological fertility as playing a minor role: the wife of a wealthy family could use adoption or polygyny to substitute the fertility of lower-status women (concubines and maids) for her own without effecting any change to her own status as wife or as mother. As a wife and mother she had to instruct and educate the children as well as run the household; her position did not necessarily depend on her own fertility, though she paid great attention to the regularity of her own menstrual cycle, an obvious symbol of her ability to give birth. This placed elite women, who were distinguished by their

cultivated qualities of *wen* (a complimentary quality that matched their *wenren* husbands), at the top of the ladder of gender subordination, and made them superior to mere robust and fecund lower-class women. The predominance of social motherhood over biological motherhood in elite families created a hierarchy of reproduction that justified the exploitation of poor families by rich families, and permitted wives to exploit concubines and maids. Wives of lower-class families did not play the same role as educators to their children, so their fertility became the central factor in determining their success or failure in marriage. Also, in emphasizing the use wives made of polygyny to substitute for their own fertility, Bray offers a revisionist interpretation of this opprobrious institution: she argues for situations where concubinage served the purposes of wives as well as those of husbands.

Bray displays great ambition in her attempt to create broad analytical concepts that encompass women from all ranks and classes. Earlier authors such as Dorothy KO (1994) have tended to stick to the sources in concentrating on well-to-do families about whom they have found copious amounts of empirical evidence, and generally have refrained from advancing detailed arguments about peasant women in late imperial China. By employing domestic life, something experienced by every woman regardless of her social standing, as a focus of analysis, Bray has attempted to provide a decidedly comprehensive account. For the details of everyday life she has relied very heavily on popular encyclopedias and technical treatises, such as the *Carpenter's Canon*, which were published in the commercial printing boom that commenced in the sixteenth century. But these technical texts, just like *Family Rituals* and the other neo-Confucian works cited extensively by Bray, also in their own way portrayed an idealistic situation. Popular encyclopedias, many agricultural treatises, and other texts aimed at the common man and woman, acted as guides as to how people should behave rather than exact records of contemporary mores and customs. Compilers of these texts carefully selected information, leaving out what they deemed unnecessary. Though Bray meticulously cites novels and other sources to correct this bias, the reader is still left wondering whether the material culture she describes was really as uniform as she makes it seem. Did all commoners live in houses as described in the *Carpenter's Canon*? Were peasant women really all as disengaged from production as she says?

One theme of post-Sung history, not touched on in this book, is the continual incorporation of non-Han peoples into Han Chinese culture. South and southwest China had huge populations of non-Han peoples whose domestic life did not conform to Han norms and practices. To them a house did not embody neo-Confucian values, descent was often ambilineal or matrilineal rather than patrilineal, and the meanings they gave to artifacts derived from their own independent traditions. In many cases, particularly among the Tai-speaking peoples, women, not men, undertook most of the farm work, especially tasks like transplanting and harvesting rice, a situation very different to that described by Bray for the Han. There is nothing unusual in Bray's choice to concentrate on Han culture, but given the great local variations of late imperial China I cannot help wondering how comprehensive her coverage of women in late imperial China was. Though her focus on domestic technologies has increased our knowledge of the historical position of lower-class women, one cannot help feeling that lack of hard evidence still makes most of her arguments more valid for what she calls "elite or aspiring" families than for those of the lower echelons.

Nevertheless, this solid, instructive, and innovative book has successfully incorporated gender as a meaningful category in the history of Chinese technology. A particular strength of Bray's writing is her sense of balance in treating gender, which points to new directions for future research. At the same time as demonstrating the effectiveness of the concept of gynotechnics as a means of showing how integral the role of women was for technology, she proposes androtechnics as a counterbalance to analyze the place of technologies in the construction of

masculinities. *Technology and Gender*, which presents its rich material in a lucid fashion, will certainly attract a wide readership, and one hopes that it will encourage further work in this fledgling field.

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PU, ZHONG-YONG. 浦 忠勇. *Taiwan Zou zu minjian geyao* 台灣鄒族民間歌謠 [Folksongs of the Tsou of Taiwan]. Fongyuan: Taizhong xianli wenhua zhongxin, 1993. 256 pages. Photographs, music scores. Paper. Not for sale; ISBN 957-00-2511-5. (In Chinese)

This book by Pu is on the various kinds of tradition oral folk songs among the Tsou people. The author himself is a Tsou who teaches music at a local school. In the course of his fieldwork, he collected sixty-one Tsou songs, including ritual songs, war songs, love songs, children's songs, labor songs, drinking songs, etc. He recorded these melodies in musical notation with original Tsou lyrics. These songs are translated into Chinese except for some old songs containing archaisms.

In the first part of the book, the author outlines traditional Tsou songs and their cultural background. Oral traditions about the origin of their folk songs and the relationship between songs and religion are introduced briefly. The specific melodious features of Tsou songs are explained in accordance with previous ethnomusicological studies. This introduction helps readers to gain a general understanding of Tsou folk songs and their cultural characteristics. The author also adds some short analyses and supplementary explanations to each song.

Although the author is not a professional ethnomusicologist, he has expertise in recording musical notation. He was well educated by the modern Chinese education system in Taiwan. He made the best possible use of his linguistic ability in both Tsou and Chinese when editing the results of his field research on folk music. It is important to recognize that modern Tsou society has produced a native researcher of its folk music.

Since the later half of the 1980s, the development of a democratic society in Taiwan was accompanied by an accelerating aboriginal movement for the preservation of traditional ethnic cultures. Native peoples have become proud of and taken more interest in their own ethnic cultures. The author's effort to record Tsou folk songs is one example of this recent movement.

Ethnomusicological studies of Taiwan indigenous peoples, including the Tsou, began during the Japanese occupation and were mainly conducted by Japanese scholars. SAYAMA 1915, KUROSAWA 1973, and other scholars gathered traditional Tsou songs. After World War II, Taiwanese ethnomusicologists started to study aboriginal songs. Most of these studies, however, concentrated on ritual songs. Pu's collection, on the other hand, contains modern songs, children's songs, comical songs, etc.; these were overlooked or neglected by previous researchers. Songs collected in this book supplement important data that will make up for the