this, a distinct look at the ethnohistorical material would have been appreciated, especially in a volume asking in its subtitle for a "multidisciplinary approach."

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Sogawa Tsuneo: Japanese Martial Arts and Far Eastern Thought (*Nihon Budō to Tōyō Shisō*). Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2014. 394 pp. ISBN 978-4-582-61004-8. (In Japanese) Price: ¥ 3,780

Sogawa Tsuneo, a Japanese anthropologist of sport, specialized in research on ethnic sports, i.e., on forms of sport characteristic to a given ethnic group's culture. The groups he studies are usually small societies whose history is scarcely recorded, if it is recorded at all. For that reason, Sogawa's sources for research and analysis are the observation of actual sport events and oral accounts collected in the course of his fieldwork. Although he is also interested in elucidating the history of a society's traditional sport, this history remains more often than not obscure due to the lack of records. In Japan's case, however, the situation is very different. Martial arts (*budō*) are characteristic of Japan and can be qualified as Japan's ethnic sport. Like other ethnic sports they can be observed today, but what makes them differ from ethnic sports of other societies is the great amount of extant recorded documents. These documents enable the author not only to trace the historical development of these forms of sport but also to grasp the ideas that both provide the rationale for their performance and reveal their roots in the culture of a particular period in Japan's history.

The author approaches Japanese martial arts as a phenomenon that is the physical expression of metaphysical thinking, which owes much to religious thought (Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist) and to ascetic practices guided by such thought. Although martial or military arts are forms of violence directly employed for the purpose of wounding or killing an adversary, metaphysical thinking, on its part, constitutes an effort either to control the use of violence in society or to help to make violent techniques ever more effective. Finally, thought concerning the purpose of violence in martial arts can redirect the orientation of violence away from an adversary to the actor and so contribute to a person's health and, through self-control, to a balanced mind so that the person will become an appreciated member of society. How a person deals with violence is, therefore, a matter of how that person's mind (*kokoro*) controls the action.

Sogawa considers the question of martial violence from two points of view: from the point of view of thought and from that of cultural circumstances. Both, thought as well as cultural circumstances, undergo changes in the course of their history. To account for this, Sogawa traces the various understandings of violence, of its uses and purposes, within their long history from ancient China to modern Japan. He effectively introduces a great amount of primary sources, which allows the reader to evaluate the reasons for the author's interpretation and discussion. In using these source materials he has mainly two things in mind. One is to trace historical changes in the meaning of the term *budō* and terms related to it, such as *bugi* (martial technique) and *bujutsu* (martial skill). The other is to trace the influence of political or religious thought on the meaning and use of violence at a specific period in history. Throughout his use of the material at hand he takes care to let the material speak for itself and to present the reader with the view of an insider, who is directly involved with the action or its interpretation. Sogawa himself takes mostly a back seat from where he guides the reader's attention to connections between utterances by several actors about a similar point or to consider the particular historical circumstances in which an utterance is given. He introduces his sources in the order of the periods in Japanese history to which they belong. This method allows him to let the reader appreciate how the meaning and understanding of key terms, such as *budō*, *bugi*, and *bujutsu* actually gradually changed. However, others who use these terms may claim that they reflect a long and assumedly unchanged tradition of Japanese martial arts. In this way, Sogawa can make a case for the development and change of practices and interpretations of *budō*. In a similar vein Louise Young has written in a more general context that she "understand[s] culture as a historical construction. That is to say, ideas, practices, and even traditions are not timeless and immutable inheritances from the past, but represent, rather, the inventions of specific historical moments" (Young, Japan's Total Empire. Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism. Berkeley 1998: 18). That is, no doubt, the basic stance Sogawa is taking in this book.

The author develops his argument in five chapters that reflect, on the one side, the historical fate of military practices, of the use and role of violence, and, on the other side, their interpretation and the meaning of the terms used to characterize the practices. The first chapter begins with an analysis of the ancient Chinese pictograph *bu*, which is taken to depict a person marching with a halberd in hand, a clear sign that *bu* has to do with violence. Violence is then discussed as one of the great Confucian themes about the right method for the ruler to govern. Violence is invariably a part of life, but in the mind of Confucius and his followers it must be connected with *bun*, "letteredness" (translation borrowed from O. Benesch, Inventing the Way of the Samurai. Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushidō in Modern Japan. Oxford 2014: index), so as to be kept under civilian control. Indeed, under the influence of *bun*, *bu* can even be made to function positively to the advantage and in favor of the people by seven virtues: Interdiction of brute force, termination of war, maintenance of peace, guarantee of success, security for the population, harmony of the people, and prosperity.

With the second chapter Sogawa turns to Japan, where, he says, the effective use of violence as such is the main focus of attention in *budō*, a warrior's training. Therefore, he argues, Japan is different from China, because here violence itself is at the heart of a warrior's attention. The question is not so much how it can be controlled by ethical consideration, for example. Although such considerations are not completely absent, they are not of the same weight as in Chinese Confucian thought. In Japan the fo-

cus is rather on how the way by which violence is perpetrated can be sophisticated so as to become ever more efficient in real combat. It is, therefore, the utmost goal of a warrior's training to arrive at such a state of mind that he overcomes entirely any concern and worry about details in the use of a martial technique. Instead, he has to dedicate himself to attaining a state of mind that delivers him completely from any distraction (*shūchaku*) that arises from paying attention to the circumstances of a fight. Such a state of mind means complete freedom, similar to that of enlightenment (*satori*) for a Buddhist monk. When the warrior reaches such a state of perfect freedom (*jiyū jizai*), he is able to transcend considerations such as self (subject) and other (object), which would interfere with perfect detached action in fighting. This state of being at ease with everything is called *yuge* in Buddhist terminology and may be translated as "play." It is a kind of action without any hindrance.

Furthermore, Sogawa compares *yuge* with "play" as the term has been analyzed by Johan Huizinga (Homo Ludens. A Study of the Play-Element in Culture. Boston 1950). For Huizinga "play" entails, on one side, freedom from everyday restrictions, but on the other side it creates its own "rules of play" that have to be acknowledged lest the action loses its character as play. *Yuge*, however is even beyond the Huizingian term of "play," because it is a state free from any restriction as Buddhist enlightenment (*satori*) or the state of harmony (*wa*), which in Daoist thought is a state of being in unison with the very root of all that exists. Such a state of freedom of mind in the midst of violent action is what the warrior is to arrive at by a kind of training Sogawa proposes to call *shinpō bujutsu*, term that might be translated as "material skill (*bujutsu*) ruled by the mind, *kokoro* (*shinpō*)."

The third chapter is given the title "What Is *budō*?", the Way of the warrior. Beginning with a check on how the term is explained (or in some cases, rather not explained) in authoritative Japanese and foreign dictionaries, in this way, Sogawa offers a convenient start to appreciate the host of documents he introduces later in the chapter. He starts with the dictionary "Genkai," whose compilation was ordered by the Meiji Government. In this dictionary's first edition published in the years 1889 to 1891 the term *budō* is not listed. It appears only in the revised edition published from 1932 to 1935 under the title "Daigenkai." That a term that is so often declared to designate a characteristic and unique feature of Japanese culture is not even listed in an authoritative dictionary of the Japanese language is certainly surprising. The reason is, as Sogawa suggests, that the Meiji Government had eliminated the *bushi* as a social class and taken away their former privileges. In the new state and society created by the Meiji Government there was no position for them any more as professionals dealing in violence. However, "Daigenkai" listed the term *budō* and explained it as 1) *bushidō*, the Way (of life) a *bushi* has to conform to; 2) the Way of martial skill (*bujutsu*); 3) as *budō kata*, a term used to designate a kabuki actor who can skillfully display on stage the action of a fighting *bushi* (150). Entries in a dictionary may not be of much importance where one tries to make sense of a cultural phenomenon, but the above mentioned case of the "Daigenkai" entry *budō* reveals an interest at work to present the term in a particular light.

The oldest document Sogawa introduces, is an exhortation authored in 1195 by a vassal of Minamoto Yoritomo. Addressing his descendants he speaks of the obligation of a *bushi* to train in *budō*, by which he means *buji* and *bujutsu*, the training in martial techniques and skills. The combination of *bunbu*, of "letteredness" and martiality, although mentioned, is clearly set apart from *budō*, the use of violence (163 f.). The exhortation was given in a time when fighting and the preparation for it was the first and main obligation of a *bushi*. Such an emphasis on training in martial technique and skill continued, as Sogawa can show, with varying intensity even throughout the relatively peaceful times of the Tokugawa Period. Yet at the same time there were also voices advocating the importance of the *bunbu* combination for the formation of a *bushi*, because the two were as the two wheels of a cart, one making no sense without the other.

Throughout this time and up to the end of the Edo Period, the *bushi* and their martial prowess were first of all in the service of their feudal lord. But with the demise of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the advent of the Meiji Government and the restoration of imperial rule, the interpretation of *budō* underwent a drastic change. Sogawa's rich and detailed documentation makes it possible for the reader to compare the new situation with the older one and so to recognize what the change meant. The author shows how new and powerful factors appeared in the interpretation of *budō* as such and in the increased usage of the related but recent term *bushidō*, the Way of the warrior. By that time, *bushi* had disappeared from society, but it was claimed that the country beginning already in mythological times was founded on and by the use of weapons. Thus, it was in the nature of the Japanese to be warriors loyal to the modern representative of the mythological founders, the emperor. *Budō* is now postulated to be the characteristic virtue and duty of every Japanese. Consequently it became the foundation of a militaristic state and society. However, as Sogawa writes, there were also other voices that acknowledged the value of martial art training as a means of personality formation. The most influential voice in this respect was Kanō Jigorō to whom Sogawa dedicates the fourth chapter.

Kanō began his career by training for the handfighting *jūjutsu*, but remained dissatisfied by *jūjutsu*'s cultivation of violence. Instead, he envisioned training in martial arts as a valuable contribution to personality formation even among school children. What he then proposed was a new form of physical education aimed at fostering harmony between mind and body. This was a new form of art, a Way (*dō*), namely *jūdō*. As Sogawa shows, for Kanō there was no need any more in *jūdō* for the metaphysical underpinnings so important in the traditional martial arts. He aimed at creating an art in tune with the trend of modern times to value science over sentiment. For that reason he observed body movements in *jūdō* in order to find a scientific, physical explanation for them that could guaran-

tee their success or explain their failure. To promote *jūdō* as an instrument of personality formation he took hints from educational theories introduced by foreign specialists who had been called by the Meiji Government to help build a school curriculum capable of coping with the new needs of society. Already early in his career Kanō conceived of three areas wherein *jūdō* was to contribute to education. They were, as Sogawa points out, 1) athletics, a kind of training involving the whole body yet without the use of dangerous tactics; 2) training the mind and promoting logical thinking as well as correct behavior; and 3) a competitive attitude. The result of Kanō's efforts was that *jūdō*, quite different from older forms of martial arts, became a sport that spread far beyond the borders of Japan. How this happened is the subject matter of the fifth chapter.

Thus, Tsuneo Sogawa has presented the historical and ideological development of *budō* from a military art making use of deadly violence to a sport promoting international understanding. This reviewer is impressed by two aspects in that presentation. The first is the author's carefulness to present firsthand material and to let the authors speak for themselves. (It may be mentioned incidentally that reading the original texts is not always an easy matter.) The second is that Sogawa offers on numerous occasions enough solid food to think once more about what the fate of such terms as *budō* and not the least *bushidō* tell us about Japanese culture and certain attitudes of the Japanese. For that the book is a challenging read.

Peter Knecht

Sooudi, Olga Kanzaki: Japanese New York. Migrant Artists and Self-Reinvention on the World Stage. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014. 253 pp. ISBN 978-0-8248-3942-0. Price: $ 25.00

A number of artistically inclined Japanese men and women in their twenties and early thirties leave their home each year and migrate to New York City (NYC). Their purpose: to search for one's authentic self in the city that symbolizes all that is Western, urban, and modern. Olga Kanzaki Sooudi captures their stories as "forms of aspirational self-making," in which these "bohemian, artistic class of Japanese migrants" struggle to make it in the highly competitive world of art. As her ethnographic account unfolds, however, we realize the difficulty – impossibility, even – of escaping from the country and culture of their origin and truly reinventing themselves in this foreign place.

A few of the Japanese bohemian migrants have advanced skills in their artistic fields; most others have very little formal training or work experience. Some last only for a short while; many stick around for several years before giving up and going home. Only a few actually manage to establish themselves as artists, while others linger on for years and even decades, despite little hope of making it. What connects them beyond these differences is the desire to "push the reset button" in their life, to escape from the life as lived in Japan, refashion themselves in the land of endless opportunities and personal freedom that are unattainable in Japan. Working often illegally in some odd jobs to make ends meet and waiting for a break, these bohemian-artists types often appear unprepared and nonchalant, or "*nantonaku*, 'kind-of, sort-of,' immigrants."

Migration is for them a form of *jibun sagashi*, or a search for an authentic or true self, a concept that gained increasing recognition in 1980s and 90s Japan. NYC is a particularly alluring location for self-searching, which offers a stark contrast to the mundane, restrictive everyday life in Japan, and offers an extraordinary setting, or a "stage for migrant experiences of adventure, risk, excitement, and even danger," through which to explore new subjectivities. Even the less desirable aspects of urban life become the mark of authenticity of their experience, and the everyday challenges of being an artist and the encounters with difference provide the necessary obstacles in the "triumphalist migrant narrative," in which a migrant-protagonist grows through a struggle and finally achieves her or his goal of self-realization.

Arriving in NYC to escape from the constraints of life in Japan, the interstitiality of being a "stranger" in a strange land gives these Japanese migrants a degree of freedom unavailable in their own country. Yet, they also discover that being "Japanese" is a much heavier burden than they initially anticipate, and that they are marginalized by their lack of language skills, cultural competency, formal credentials, and legal status. Opportunistic ones may seek to turn their Japanese heritage into a marketable cultural capital, but, in doing so, risk self-exoticization. Others refuse to Japanize/Asianize their work and their selves, but struggle to find alternative ways to define and distinguish themselves as artists. Even those established artists, who readily portray themselves as a triumphal migrant in a public self-presentation, confide in private that they are handicapped by their Japanese upbringing, which hold them back from fully exploring and expressing themselves.

Sooudi finds at the bottom of this ambivalence the "double-faced" nature of Japanese modernity: aggressively pursuing the path of modernization and Westernization, all the while holding on to what is believed to be the essentially Japanese core. The affinity between these contemporary migrants and their famous Meiji-era predecessors is an important clue that leads to this insight. The sojourns of Mori Ōgai, Nagai Kafū, and Kuki Shūzō to Europe and the United States at the nascent of Japan's modernization project were characterized by the painful recognition that the Japanese version of modernity would always remain incomplete, poorly executed simulacra of the true modernity in the West. This lack, in turn, fuels the *akogare*, or an insatiable yearning, for Western metropolis such as Paris and New York. Japanese sojourn to these cities are, then, ill-fated even before it begins, destined for disillusionment. The extreme instances of such disillusionment has been pathologized in the Western/ized medial discourse as the "Paris Syndrom" and "New York Disease."

In this carefully crafted ethnography, Sooudi provides a nuanced portrait of Japanese migrants whose stories of individual aspiration are nevertheless circumscribed by