Remote Homeland, Recovered Borderland: Manchus, Manchoukuo, and Manchuria, 1907–1985. By Shao Dan. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011. Pp. xxi + 413. $55.00.

The Manchus, originating from what foreigners came to call Manchuria, invaded Ming China in 1644; thereafter, until 1912, their leaders ruled China as the Qing dynasty. This book, based on a University of California at Santa Barbara dissertation, examines the subsequent fate of the Manchu people, particularly those living in their original homeland.

This is not an easy topic to write about, in part because there is no single term in Chinese for the Manchu people. Strictly speaking, Manchus were one of the three main ethnic components of the Eight Banner (Baqi 八旗) system during the Qing period; as such, they were known as the Manzhou 滿洲. However, Manchus could refer not only to the Manzhou but also to members of the other two components of the Eight Banner system, that is, the Mongol banners and the Hanjun 漢軍 (or Chinese banners); in this case, Manchus were equivalent to the banner people (*qiren* 旗人), in contradistinction to China's civilian population (or *min* 民). Today, as one of the People's Republic of China's fifty-five officially recognized ethnic minorities, Manchus are known as the Manzu 滿族. Aside from Manzhou, *qiren,* and Manzu, other Chinese terms that refer to Manchus have included Manren 滿人 and *qizu* 旗族 (banner ethnic group). In a sense, this book is about how the Manzhou or *qiren* of the Qing era evolved to become the Manzu of today.

The book focuses on the Manchus of Manchuria, in what is now the north-eastern part of China, where the Manchus originated. During and after the Qing conquest of China, most Manchus were relocated to the capital Beijing as well as to a number of garrison cities throughout the empire. Nevertheless, a sizeable number of banner people (most of them evidently Hanjun) were left behind in Manchuria, and Manchuria itself was until the mid-nineteenth century largely off-limits to Han Chinese immigration. Thus, for most of the Qing era Manchuria was what Shao Dan calls the Manchus's "remote homeland."

The book deals with the changing relationship between Manchuria and the Manchus during three chronological periods. The first period covers the late Qing and early Republic, when in reaction to Japanese and Russian incursions the Chinese government tried to make sure that Manchuria remained Chinese. Thus, in the late nineteenth century the prohibition on Han immigration was lifted, and then in 1907 the provincial administrative system of China Proper was extended into the region. Whereas previously the three territories of the region had been under the military jurisdiction of Banner officials, now they were converted into three provinces, each

headed by a civilian governor, with the entire region overseen by a governor-general. During this period Manchuria became a "contested borderland."

This first period was punctuated by the 1911 Revolution, which overthrew the Qing dynasty and ended the Manchus's privileged existence. During the revolution the banner people in the north-east were spared the anti-Manchu violence that befell some banner garrisons within China Proper. One reason for this, according to Shao, was that the people in the north-east did not dichotomize between Manchus and Han; rather, they recognized that the local Hanjun population as "an intermediate community between the Manchus and Han civilians" (p. 75). Nevertheless, all were subject after the revolution to widespread anti-Manchu discrimination, which "the ROC [Republic of China] leaders made no serious attempts to reduce" (pp. 90–91). The banner people responded to this discrimination in various ways. One was to develop "a new identity name, *qizu* (banner ethnic group)" (pp. 93–94), which was "a key stage in the historical transformation of the banner institution into today's Manzu ethnic community" (p. 94).

The international contestation over Manchuria that had begun in the late nineteenth century culminated in Japan's takeover in 1931 and its creation of Manchoukuo as a puppet state nominally headed by the last Qing emperor, Puyi 溥儀. Manchoukuo (1931–1945) represents the second period in the post-Qing transformation of the Manchus. According to Shao, "Both the ROC and the Manchoukuo regime took measures to legitimize their claims of sovereignty over the region. The former tried to redefine the Manchus and Manchuria as a part of the Chinese nation, whereas the latter tried to include them into an informal colony of the Japanese empire, in a newly established state under the banner of 'self-determination' and the rhetoric of 'ethnic harmony' " (p. 107).

However, within Manchuria, despite the slogan of "Harmony of the Five Ethnic Groups" (*wuzu xiehe* 五族協和), the Manchus's identity was "systematically suppressed" (p. 157). Instead, "The Manchus were recategorized as merely a subgroup of the 'Manchurians' " (p. 144). Thus, the term Manren "referred to the Manchurians as a whole, not the Manchus" (p. 142); similarly, Manwen 滿文 meant the language and script of the Han Chinese and not those of the Manchus. Meanwhile, according to Shao, "the term 'banner people' was seldom mentioned in descriptions of the contemporary Manchoukuo people or society in the numerous Japanese and Chinese publications of the Manchoukuo era or in personal memoirs of the regime after the war" (p. 157). Here Shao may have overstated her case, as seen in the post-war testimony of Aisin Gioro Xianyu 愛新覺羅・顯玗. A member of the Qing imperial family, Xianyu had been given in adoption by her father, Prince Su 肅親王, to a Japanese adventurer, Kawashima Naniwa 川島浪速, and raised as a Japanese. Known also as Kawashima Yoshiko 川島芳子, she had collaborated actively with the Japanese and

the Manchoukuo regime. After the war, she was arrested by the ROC, charged with treason and executed. Her defence for collaborating with Japan was that as a Manchu she had a blood hatred for the Republic that had overthrown the Qing. Interestingly, Shao notes, "she did not often use the terms 'Manzu' or 'Manren' in her vocabulary of identity" (p. 230); rather, she "consistently identified herself as a banner person" (p. 224).

The third, and last, period in the transformation of the Manchus in Manchuria is the People's Republic. After the war, Manchuria, of course, ceased to be a quasi-independent country and became an integral part of China, or what Shao calls the "recovered borderland." Though the PRC in 1952 formally recognized the Manzu was one of the country's nationalities, it otherwise paid them little attention, probably because "both Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai believed that the Manzu had been Hanized" (p. 196). As a result, "Many Manchus still registered as Han in the early PRC years" (p. 207). It was not until after the Cultural Revolution that the regime took steps to facilitate the reclaiming of ethnic identities. Thus, the first Manzu autonomous county (Xinbin 新賓, in Liaoning 遼寧) was established in 1985. Since then the population of the Manzu has soared to become the second largest ethnic minority (after the Zhuang 壯) in the PRC. When the author visited the village of Sanjiazi 三家子 in Heilongjiang 黑龍江 in 2000, she found that sixty percent of its one thousand inhabitants were registered as Manzu.

Shao Dan's analysis of the transformation of the banner people (or *qiren*) of the Qing into the Manzu of today is not new; it is similar to what I myself wrote in *Manchus and Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861–1928*.[1] What is new are (1) the geographical focus on Manchuria and the linkage between what Shao calls "territoriality and identity" (p. 4) and (2) the depth of the research. In addition to on-site investigations in Manchuria, the author has worked at the No. 1 Archives in Beijing, the No. 2 Archives in Nanjing, and the Liaoning Provincial Archives. She has consulted over fifty local gazetteers and numerous contemporary newspapers and magazines. She used not only Chinese-language materials but also materials in Japanese and in Manchu. The author has also drawn on the writings of prominent cultural theorists as well as on numerous "borderland studies." As she herself notes, the methodology used in this book is a cross between history and anthropology.

The writing, however, is not without flaws. There are a few—only a few—factual mistakes and typographical errors. The Qing abdication occurred on 12 (not 2) February 1912 (p. 68), and at the time of his abdication Puyi was six (not three) years old (p. 223). *Kaozhen* 考證 (p. 5) should be *kaozheng;* Dailian 大連 (p. 84)

[1] Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2000.

should be Dalian; *avant le lettre* (p. 189 and elsewhere) should be *avant la lettre;* Beilin 北陵 (p. 251) should be Beiling; and the characters for Chiang Kai-shek's formal name, Jiang Zhongzheng (p. 226), are reversed. (Incidentally, the press is to be commended for incorporating Chinese characters into the text rather than relegating them to a separate glossary towards the end of the book.) More troublesome to the reader is the author's fondness for neologisms, such as "provincialization" (referring to the establishment of provinces in Manchuria in 1907), "territorialization," "deterritorializing," "ethnicizing," and "ethnification." (Admittedly, a few such terms might be necessary to advance the analysis—"Hanized" [as opposed to "Sinicized"] comes to mind—but it's overdone.) Finally, the last two chapters of the book—focusing on the treason trial of Aisin Gioro Xianyu and on "the [contemporary] Manzu's narrations of their pasts" (p. 246)—seem out of place. The former might have been better incorporated into the section dealing with Manchoukuo; the latter, with the PRC.

Overall, this is a well-researched book on an interesting topic.

Edward Rhoads
University of Texas at Austin

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English-language scholarship on tenth-century China has advanced rapidly in the last decade. Richard Davis should be credited for helping open the field with his impressive translation of Ouyang Xiu's *Historical Records of the Five Dynasties*.[1] Another important milestone was the publication of *The Cambridge History of China,* vol. 5, part 1, *The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907–1279,*[2] which has long chapters by Naomi Standen on the Five Dynasties (pp. 38–132), and Hugh Clark on the Ten Kingdoms (pp. 133–205). During the many years that volume was in press, books started appearing that give considerable attention to the tenth century, including Naomi Standen's *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossings in Liao China,* Peter Lorge's *War, Politics and Society in Early Modern China, 900–1795,* De-nin Deanna

1 New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

2 Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2009.