

settled agriculture and the extraction of revenue, they usually became dependent on the cohesive and experienced Chinese bureaucratic gentry, becoming detached in the process from their original source of power in the steppelands. Moreover, involvement in Chinese civilization, if not absorption, usually got under way even before the actual conquest began, since, as Owen Lattimore (curiously omitted from this book) has pointed out, conquests were never launched directly from the open steppe. They always came from marginal territory, inhabited by tribesmen who were already to some extent under Chinese influence, who knew the structure of power in China and understood that the land could not be turned into vast pastures for their horsemen and cattle, who knew not just how to plunder China but how to occupy and rule it.

The time was likely to come when 'barbarian' conquerors fell victim to the same forces which destroyed one Chinese dynasty after another; amongst other things to the recurring tension between private interest in land rent and state interest in collecting the land tax—a tension which, with other factors, led to popular rebellions or invited fresh waves of 'barbarian' incursion.

Conquerors and Confucians is concerned with only a part of this symbiosis (my dictionary says that 'in a broad sense the term includes parasitism')—the period of Yüan history between 1328 and 1355 when China, though still under the Mongols, became detached from the rest of the Mongol empire. The process had begun with Qubilai, whose election in 1260 already displeased the northern Mongols who thought him too Chinese and out of sympathy with the military traditions of the steppe. The Yüan régime between these years became inextricably entangled with the Chinese bureaucracy and experienced 'complete Confucianisation'. This was not absorption, John Dardees argues, because Confucianism, with its ancestral loyalties and filial piety tended to preserve rather than level ethnic and national distinctions. But it was in this period that the Mongols of the steppe ceased to have a say in deciding the *qaghan* succession, and the former Mongol homeland declined into a 'zone of anarchy and instability', politically, economically, and administratively dependent on the central government of China.

Confucianisation meant that '... the establishment was obliged to climb down from its eminence and fully involve itself on either side of a Confucian argument that originally had nothing to do with the conquest, but was purely a product of Chinese history ... the price was circumscription of the establishment's freedom of political choice in China' (p. 168). With Confucianism came the examination system, of

course; but also cliques, tension between the censorate and the bureaucracy as a whole, backbiting as well as debate, regionalism, and eventually rebellion—a Chinese rather than a Mongol syndrome.

The author leads the reader with an admirably steady, if not very stimulating hand, through the complexities of Mongolian and Chinese political manoeuvres and developments. He has relied mainly on the *Yüan shih* and other Chinese sources, and also on Western and Japanese scholarship. It would perhaps have been interesting and enlightening if he had not been so narrowly political in his approach but had let us know more about how economic forces and interests affected the political scene. Nevertheless the book undoubtedly helps to fill out the picture of the fascinating interaction between China and her northern neighbours. There are useful biographical notes but, very regrettably, no glossary of Chinese characters.

C. A. CURWEN

WILLIAM WATSON: *Style in the arts of China*. (Pelican Books.) 126 pp., 146 plates + erratum slip. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974. £1.

Coming as it does after a spate of surveys of Chinese art the first quick reaction to this short book on styles in Chinese art is a cheer of welcome for a break with the traditional dash through the dynasties, medium by medium. Professor Watson seeks to present Chinese art in the context of world art. Thus using the vocabulary of art writing he discusses the main styles of Chinese art, considering each aspect primarily as an example of a universal style within a simple framework of hieratic, realistic, and decorative art. Divested of the cloak of social/literary history which has become customary in any consideration of Chinese arts, the discussion is easy to follow and stimulating to the artistically literate. It opens up plenty of lines to be followed, for the area which the author seeks to cover in fact will not comfortably fit within the confines either of the three styles chosen or the limited pages of a Penguin paperback.

This is no vague generalized discussion but a closely-reasoned and illustrated essay written in a serious effort to give a new turn to the study and discussion of a subject which is in danger of being segregated by a mystique constructed around it. As Watson says in his preface 'no Chinese artist ever sought to mystify'. Considered from the point of view of style it becomes very clear that China has produced some of the most impressive hieratic art of any culture, and that this can be readily

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