# The Sublime Object of Orientalism

*Asian Physical Culture in the West*

Paul Bowman

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*To see a World in a Grain of Sand*
*And a Heaven in a Wild Flower*
*Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand*
*And Eternity in an hour*

William Blake, 'Auguries of Innocence'

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# Preface

*May you live in interesting times.*

The 'Chinese curse'

This book is the child of 'interesting' times. It was conceived during the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020–2021, during a period of isolation, confinement, anxiety, and uncertainty. On top of this, I was attempting to research and write it during a period when my two daughters were both going through, and putting my wife and me through, the most difficult months and years of our lives. Our daughters are both adopted, and the effects of their early-life trauma came to a peak in the wake of COVID, wreaking havoc on all our lives and almost tearing all of our relationships apart. During that time, only two things truly helped me: first, nonviolent resistance therapy, which helped my wife and me to survive our family situation; second, my daily engagement in a cluster of practices that I call 'orientalist physical culture'.

Orientalist physical culture is my term for a broad and undoubtedly shifting collection of physical practices. These are often steeped in beliefs that can be regarded as 'orientalist' – a theoretical term that I unpack, discuss, rethink, and challenge through the following chapters. My own personal involvement in this field has centred on taijiquan (or taiji, 太極拳), qigong (氣功), yoga and several other Chinese martial arts, which I practised in various combinations from 2001 onwards. My practice was waning somewhat by 2020, as my interests changed to Brazilian jujitsu, but the COVID-19 pandemic threw these old familiar practices back to the forefront of my daily life during the isolation of lockdowns and social distancing through 2020–2021.

Indeed, the pandemic added extra significance to these practices. COVID-19 is caused by an airborne virus that attacks the respiratory system. During the pandemic, it seemed that almost everyone was concerned with the themes of breath and immune systems – newspapers ran stories about taiji, qigong, and immune systems, new online courses sprang up offering health and strengthened immunity via solo exercises, and figures such as Wim Hof offered an almost miraculous new 'Method'

(of breathing exercises and ice baths or cold showers) to combat myriad ills and ailments. I too tried the Wim Hof Method during the pandemic, and for me, as for other practitioners, the experiences it produced seemed to call out for almost mystical interpretations. Furthermore, the discourse that attended this practice also seemed to run very close to that which advocated rejecting vaccines ('anti-vax' or 'anti-vaxx') in favour of ideas about building and strengthening one's immune system without vaccines, simply through the purity of exercise-based healthy living. And the terrain of anti-vax discourse was dominated by the evocation of such spectres as 'Big Pharma', and from there moved into ideas such as 'the deep state' – in other words, conspiracy theory.

It was in this milieu or discursive foment that I began to speculate, theorise, read, research, formulate, and flesh out the ideas and arguments that became this book. However, I did not simply want to follow earlier lines of argument that neatly connected orientalist physical culture with consumerism, nor did I want to follow the newer lines opened up by researchers and journalists who were arguing that something about wellness culture in pandemic times was leading people into anti-vax and conspiracy theory beliefs. Rather, I wanted to start from something that I felt was more fundamental: something about the feelings, experiences, and sense of 'encounter' that can happen when engaging in certain practices. These, I began to speculate, had all the hallmarks of what aesthetic theory calls the sublime – but, crucially, an *embodied* sublime, a *somaesthetic* sublime. It is such experiences, I theorised, that link certain physical cultural practices with orientalism – not just the myths and fantasies about their histories, but specific experiences that call out for adequate interpretations.

Hence, chapter 1 of this book begins with a reflection on the sublime and its connections with orientalism. In chapter 2, I then reflect on the Western media/cultural treatment – or 'translation' – of what can be called the Daoist sublime of Asian martial arts aesthetics, arguing that the lines of force that structure East–West cross-cultural 'translations' tend towards rendering this sublime into the terms of orientalism. Arguably the most well-known and exemplarily sublime and 'orientalisable' practice of orientalist physical culture is taiji. So, chapter 3 explores this practice. It does so from my position as both practitioner and researcher, and as someone who knows the harshest criticisms of orientalist physical culture, as levelled by philosophers such as Slavoj Žižek. Chapter 4 follows this up with an exploration of taiji's 'sister art', the meditative and breath-focused practice of qigong. This discussion first sets out the predictable orientalism of the Western discourse about qigong, but it does not stop there: rather, the chapter flips to a reflection on the status of qigong in its original Chinese context, particularly in relation to the equivalent impulses to 'orientalise' qigong that are present in China too.

The theme of East–West crossovers and cultural translations that has appeared and reappeared throughout chapters 2 to 4 is engaged directly in chapter 5. This takes the form of a reflection on a key point of cultural difference: the question of the existence (or otherwise) of the sublime 'field of elixir', the dantian (丹田). The dantian is present in Chinese anatomy, physiology, and medicine, but is not detectable in any of the terms of modern Western biology or medicine. Rather than engaging in the zero-sum game of crude metaphysical binaries (existence/non-existence), or uncritically accepting ideas about 'different worldviews', and without taking recourse to complex phenomenological theory, the chapter engages with this cultural difference by focusing on what exercise or training regimes *themselves* can do to the body (anthropotechnics). The chapter argues that the dantian is something that is *built* – effectively and affectively – in, for, and as the result of precise training practices.

The effects (and affects) of the training practices known as the Wim Hof Method are the focus of chapter 6. This exercise regime, devised by a white European man, arguably has no ideology necessarily attached to it, and yet, the chapter argues, the Wim Hof Method taps into and potentially amplifies what I call the immanent ideological tendencies of a kind of mystic orientalism, one that abuts and overlaps with anti-vax healthism, spirituality, and even conspiracy theory (or, indeed, 'conspirituality').

After all this, and despite the many problems and pitfalls associated with orientalist physical culture and the tendencies within this realm to interpret sublime experiences in deeply flawed ways, chapter 7 pursues the possibility of searching for some kind of redemptive philosophy or affirmative theory of orientalist physical culture. To do so, the chapter principally interrogates the work of German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk, who has theorised what he calls 'Asiamania' and 'Eurotaoism'. Crucially for my purposes, Sloterdijk is not merely a theorist of Western Asiamania or Eurotaoism. He is also a proponent, advocate, and believer in the possible transformative power and potential of orientalist physical culture. Tracking and unpacking Sloterdijk's thinking, the chapter evaluates the conceptual coordinates that underpin attempts to articulate a theory or philosophy of what J. J. Clarke calls 'positive orientalism'. The aim of this exercise is neither to champion nor to denounce such efforts, but rather to assess their ethical and critical foundations and capacities.

Finally, chapter 8 does three things. First, it reiterates what is meant by 'orientalist physical culture'. Then it deconstructs the 'essence' of the sublime object of orientalism. And finally, it poses the question of 'ways of worlding' orientalism. Should we seek to de-orientalise physical activities, ideologies, discourses, cultures, and societies? Or should we, indeed, throw out the concept of orientalism itself? Are there ways of 'worlding' orientalism, or must we de-orientalise the curriculum?

Thus, in terms of 'coverage', I am aware that this book is unique. It cuts across numerous layers, seams, or realms of culture, academia, and practice, on a very particular 'bias' (angle and trajectory). Some may critique the cluster of activities that I single out for attention and bring together here. However, I do not treat my examples as either 'really' or 'essentially' connected or as exhaustive. These are merely mainstream examples that are often lumped together: examples that I know well, and that it is reasonable to assume most people have at least a passing familiarity with. Most people have heard of or know a little bit about yoga, meditation, mindfulness, taiji, qigong, and 'stuff like that'. And a passing familiarity is all the knowledge that is required. While I say more about what each practice is, my chapters are certainly not like Wikipedia entries, detailing different styles, figures, histories, and techniques. Nor are they high-level practitioner studies. The chapters are cultural studies of certain contemporary practices, exploring them from perspectives that are both very public and very private. I have studied or at least dabbled in almost every practice discussed in the book (some for over two decades). So, there are regular perspective shifts from the macro to the micro, from wider public or media debates or discourses to personal experiences and reflections on what it feels like to do these things, all evaluated by drawing on the resources of cultural studies, poststructuralism, ideology critique, and continental philosophy.

Nor is the term 'orientalist physical culture' an analytical concept. It is merely descriptive. I invite others to evaluate and explore other practices in terms of whether they fit this description, and what that means in terms of their intellectual, ethical, political, or ideological status, or possible effects. Orientalist physical culture has many possible effects – or articulations. It can connect up with, feed from, and feed into numerous possible energies, ideologies, orientations, and cultural movements, from nationalism to counterculturalism, environmentalism to fascism, spirituality to conspiracy theory, and more. I have not been able, in these pages, to explore many of these connections and trajectories. Rather, to develop my own argument here, I have had to be strict with myself and maintain a close focus on these several fields (or folds) of physical practice, the place of sublime experiences within them, and the evaluation of the discourses about them. I have not been able, for instance, to deal at any length with related matters such as religious, spiritual, and mystical experiences, or such burgeoning fields as the study of conspiracy theories and conspirituality, to name only some of the most obvious limitations to and limits of this study. My contribution is linked to such areas, but in a way that does not retread their ground, and that hopefully advances something new and helpful for the development of knowledge, particularly in and around physical cultural studies, martial arts studies, postcolonialism, and studies of orientalism.

Finally, about my epigraph: 'May you live in interesting times'. This is known as 'the Chinese curse'. It is an inverted blessing, in that 'interesting' means challenging,

difficult, turbulent, harrowing, uncertain. I used it in the first sentence to evoke the period and situation in which I began and completed this project. However, it is also salient because, as with so many nuggets of 'oriental wisdom' – such as, for example, Miyamoto Musashi's famous phrase 'You can only fight the way you practise' – it is apocryphal. There is no equivalent Chinese proverb, curse, or blessing. Similarly, although most people who have heard this believe he did, Miyamoto Musashi never wrote those words. Both phrases are modern Western inventions – at best, skewed translations or mistranslations, translations of paraphrases, paraphrases of mistranslations. But this does not mean they are not real or true, in their own ways. They exist and operate in the world in powerful, tangible, variable ways. So does orientalism. And so, I argue, does the sublime.

# *1*

# The Sublime Object of Orientalism

*In Xanadu did Kubla Khan*
*A stately pleasure-dome decree:*
*Where Alph, the sacred river, ran*
*Through caverns measureless to man*
*Down to a sunless sea.*
*So twice five miles of fertile ground*
*With walls and towers were girdled round;*
*And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills,*
*Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;*
*And here were forests ancient as the hills,*
*Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.*

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'Kubla Khan. Or, A Vision in a Dream. A Fragment'

## Introduction: The Sublime Object of Orientalist Physical Culture

A growing body of literature links intense, trained athletic performance to psychological and physical states and experiences that are termed 'peak', 'flow', 'spiritual', and – occasionally – 'sublime' (Csikszentmihalyi 1990). Until now, much of this discourse has focused on endurance sports, especially distance running. In what follows, I will focus on a range of activities that I will group together and call *orientalist physical culture*. These practices are drawn from in and around the field of Asian martial arts and associated health and wellbeing practices, such as popular elements of yoga, along with certain dimensions of mindfulness and currently popular forms of breathing exercises, from yoga's *pranayama* to the Wim Hof Method. I will dig into the discourses and experiences of tai chi (太極拳; also called

*t'ai chi ch'üan* – hereafter taiji or taijiquan) and qigong (氣功; also formerly known as chi gung or chi kung), as well as elements of other practices drawn from the ill-defined areas and porous boundaries of spiritual, esoteric, or ostensibly ancient practices that punctuate the ideological field that Sophia Rose Arjana calls the 'muddled orientalism' of today's wellbeing market (Arjana 2020). However, unlike the overwhelming majority of studies of such areas, my aim is neither to champion nor to deliver a damning cultural critique of these practices. It is rather to propose and explore the possibility that – much more than endurance running or other flow activities – orientalist physical cultural practices are animated by what aesthetic theory calls *the sublime*.[1]

My animating contention is that sublime experiences are integral to, sought for, elevated, (over)valued, and tendentially interpreted within these fields of practice, and that this tends to strengthen an orientalist impulse that is either at their root or easily and frequently injected into the discourse and hence the experience of certain kinds of practice. This occurs for a number of reasons and happens in a number of ways, depending on which example we look at from the field of orientalist physical culture. Let us start with the broad field of Asian martial arts.[2] We might bring this field of practices into dialogue with the notion of the sublime by recalling one of the most famous discussions of the sublime in European theory – Edmund Burke's eighteenth-century reflections on the sublime and the beautiful (Burke 1757). Allow me to quote a key passage at length:

> Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling. I say the strongest emotion, because I am satisfied the ideas of pain are much more powerful than those which enter on the part of pleasure. Without all doubt, the torments which we may be made to suffer, are much greater in their effect on the body and mind, than any pleasures which the most learned voluptuary could suggest, or than the liveliest imagination, and the most sound and exquisitely sensible body could enjoy. . . . But as pain is stronger in its operation than pleasure, so death is in general a much more affecting idea than pain; because there are very few pains, however exquisite, which are not preferred to death; nay, what generally makes pain itself, if I may say so, more painful, is, that it is considered as an emissary of this king of terrors. When danger or pain press too nearly, they are incapable

1. For more on the ways in which culture and lived bodily practices are animated by passion, see Ben Highmore's *A Passion for Cultural Studies* (Highmore 2009).
2. This is a vague and difficult field to define, so my use of the term 'Asian martial arts' is merely the invocation of an entity or cluster of ideas that will be widely familiar to many people, rather than a precisely defined or demarcated referent (on which, see Bowman 2017b, 2021).

> of giving any delight, and are simply terrible; but at certain distances, and with certain modifications, they may be, and they are delightful, as we every day experience. The cause of this I shall endeavour to investigate hereafter. (Burke 1757, Section VII)

When I first read this passage, I could not help but think of martial arts. This is because martial arts training trades almost entirely in the physical study and the exploration of danger, pain, and death, albeit – and crucially – 'at certain distances, and with certain modifications'. This is exactly where Burke believes the sublime arises – exactly where martial artists train: in the region of danger, pain, and death, but 'at certain distances, and with certain modifications'. More precisely, when I first read the passage, I thought '*Asian* martial arts' and not just '*any* martial arts'. This is because both the discourses and the ideologies of and around Asian martial arts and related practices are steeped in *orientalist* imagery. This overlaps heavily with Burke's reflection on the sublime. Dark and light forces, ancient practices, immense distances, secret knowledge and subtle powers, seething energies, the measureless depths of cosmic forces enabling tumultuous capacities and terrifying skills – these are all sewn as deeply into the fabric of the fantasy structure of orientalist physical culture discourses invested in ideas of *qi* (氣) as they are present within such science fiction realms as *Star Wars* or texts of the Marvel cinematic universe such as *Dr Strange*.

I refer to this repository of images and imagery as *orientalist* because it involves a Western fantasy imagination of the foreign – and more specifically, of the *Asian* – as, in one or another sense, almost or uncannily (liminally) *alien* (Goto-Jones 2015). The etymologies and imageries of both of these notions ('Asian' *and* 'alien') are Western, and, as Chris Goto-Jones argues, these two ideas are intertwined in complex (post-) colonial and (Eurocentric) conceptual ways, even in contemporary cultural contexts (Schneider and Goto-Jones 2015). The histories of *Asian* and *alien* appear symptomatically entangled across Western texts – from mid-twentieth-century *Dan Dare* to late-twentieth-century *Star Wars* to twenty-first-century Marvel and beyond. Indeed, it is arguably the case that Western popular culture continues to struggle to depict fictional alien realms in ways that are distinct from long-running styles of Western imaginings of a fantasy Asia. (See figures 1.1 and 1.2 on the linking of 'Asian' and 'alien' in the semiotically intertwined and overlapping twentieth-century popular culture antihero figures of Fu Manchu and Ming the Merciless.)

At the same time, the discourse of the sublime – as indicated by Burke's eighteenth-century text – is intimately interconnected with the development of Romanticism. This connection is exemplified by Samuel Taylor Coleridge's iconic poem 'Kubla Khan', from which my epigraphs to this and subsequent chapters are

# 8

# Conclusion

## Worlding the Orientalist Sublime

*And all who heard should see them there,*
*And all should cry, Beware! Beware!*
*His flashing eyes, his floating hair!*
*Weave a circle round him thrice,*
*And close your eyes with holy dread*
*For he on honey-dew hath fed,*
*And drunk the milk of Paradise.*

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'Kubla Khan. Or, a Vision in a Dream. A Fragment'

### Worlding 1: Quantum Sublimity

Many epigraphs to the chapters of this book are taken from Samuel Taylor Coleridge's Romantic classic, 'Kubla Khan'. You may recall that I made my case for the connections between Romantic aesthetics, orientalism, and the sublime in chapter 1. More specifically, I proposed that the sublime deserves to be regarded as an animating principle of orientalist physical culture, and that globalised Asian physical cultural practices such as taiji, qigong, yoga, and meditation can be understood in new ways by recognising their intimate connection with the Romantic aesthetic notion of the sublime. I have argued that sublime experiences are integral to, sought for, elevated, (over)valued, and tendentially interpreted in orientalist terms within these fields of practice.

As discussed in chapter 1, and as I hope is illustrated by my chapter epigraphs, I emphasise the historical and conceptual or aesthetic overlap between European Romantic notions of the sublime and orientalism. The notion of the sublime as elaborated within European aesthetic discourse (especially in eighteenth- and

nineteenth-century Romanticism) overlaps both historically and aesthetically with many of the features of Edward Said's theorisation and analysis of orientalism. The characteristics of the sublime and those of 'the East' were often elaborated in the same terms and were imaginatively interconnected, leading to the enduring tendency in which unusual and exotic objects and practices of and from 'the East' continue to be pre-interpreted as immanently tending towards the sublime. I hope that I illustrated something of the tenacity and logic of this when, for instance, in chapter 2 I gave a detailed account of one way that Western media and culture continues to 'mistranslate' many things. In that chapter, the cultural translation involved what I called a 'Daoist sublime' (as found in Asian martial arts aesthetics) that Hollywood translated into stereotypically orientalist terms. The reasons for such tendential skewing relate to a kind of fetishistic orientalism, in which modern Western interpretations of sublime experiences are pre-colonised by interpretations drawn from an ingrained Romantic/orientalist 'attending discourse'.

I will say more about the notion of such an attending discourse in due course. But for now, suffice it to recall that my argument has been that sublime affects, interpreted through an often-mystical orientalist lens, are what constitute the 'something extra' that elevates certain seemingly mundane physical activities. That is to say: outwardly, practices such as taiji or meditation might appear banal, non-spectacular, or unimpressive. Yet for the practitioner, it is the quasi-mystical promise (and occasional reward) of sublime affects, interpreted in orientalist terms, that, for those who engage in them, distinguishes them from ordinary activities such as (to recall my initial example in chapter 1) running.

I also proposed that the sublime be regarded as a (if not the) dominant affect driving martial arts practice. This is encountered both in viewing and in executing or experiencing martial arts, and it is an affect that encompasses a range of experiences, from the chaos of violence to the tranquillity of flowing through a form. Such affects are not always refracted through orientalist prisms, but orientalism is rarely far away in and around 'internal' arts, as well as some versions of yoga, and also qigong – even, as we saw in our discussion of qigong, in China. Given all of this, I view this book in part as a call for the reconsideration and perhaps reconfiguration of orientalism, and an insistence on its frequent connection with the sublime. I certainly hope to stimulate interest in a reconsideration of the notion of the sublime in relation to physical culture, and orientalist physical culture in particular. I think that this connection could continue to offer valuable new insights into hitherto neglected aspects of cross-cultural phenomena.

As for my chapter epigraphs, I think that 'Kubla Khan' offers a suggestive poetic exemplification of this connection. The epigraph to the entire book, however, may still stand as somewhat enigmatic. It is taken from William Blake's early-nineteenth-century 'Auguries of Innocence' (1803/1863). To repeat: it reads:

'To see a World in a Grain of Sand / And a Heaven in a Wild Flower / Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand / And Eternity in an hour'. To me, these words too are suggestive. But, some may ask: of what? I have as yet said nothing about this, and I should not perhaps just leave it hanging there, all alone – 'Uprooted, anonymous, unattached to any house or country', as Jacques Derrida will say on another matter later in this chapter – a floating signifier, 'at everyone's disposal', one that 'can be picked up by both the competent and the incompetent, by those who understand and know what to do with it, and by those who . . . , knowing nothing about it, can inflict all manner of impertinence upon it' (Derrida 1981, 144).

We will get back to Derrida in due course, and say more about the topic he was originally talking about when he wrote these words, along with the topic that I will be talking about when I use his words in support of my argument. But for now, let us just note that to 'inflict' an 'impertinence' upon a signifier can only mean to misread or misunderstand that signifier – to make it mean or signify something other than its ostensibly correct or proper meaning. This will be a concern that runs through this closing chapter. Let us broach it by considering my appropriation of these few lines from Blake. They have been 'picked up' by me because they suggested something to me. Whether that was the 'correct' reading, or whether what they suggested to me has anything at all to do with Blake's original or intended meaning (if indeed he had one), will remain debatable. Whether my reading is deemed 'competent' or 'incompetent' depends on how well I make my case. However, even if I make a case that I believe to be compelling, there will inevitably be readers who will take issue with it. We will also return to this.

But first: Why did I use these lines from Blake as the entire book's epigraph? Arguably, the lines have nothing to do with orientalism, and arguably also nothing to do with the sublime – at least not as far as the sublime is normally conceived. Indeed, this short passage from Blake in a sense focuses on the opposite end of the spatial scale to that which most would connect with the sublime. Put bluntly: Blake here evokes *the tiny*. And *the little* is not normally something connected with the sublime. The small is, after all, the very opposite of the vast, the deep, the dark, the mysterious, and so on.

However, as Blake's poetry makes clear, it is possible for a certain orientation or way of looking to 'see a world' in even the tiniest item. Atom theory was well developed by the nineteenth century, as was microscopy; so the idea that there were in a sense hidden vistas, and a kind of paradoxical vastness, in even the tiniest details was conceivable. In terms of Blake's words, I cannot shake my memory of the closing moments of the sci-fi comedy film *Men In Black*: the camera zooms out and away from a US city street, up into the air and away from the cityscape, quickly out into the solar system and way beyond, then blurring so that we lose all sense of scale; until it finally resolves: all of this space and scale is shown to be contained

# Index

# The Sublime Object of Orientalism

## Asian Physical Culture in the West

‘Bowman underscores the urgency of bringing both the physical and the metaphysical, the embodied and the aesthetic into critical dialogue with the histories of Orientalism. The result is a captivating tour of the persistence of the sublime in the West’s putative encounters with Asian cultures. Beautifully articulated with erudition, feeling, and candour, this is a central work for a globally interconnected approach to cultural studies.’

—**Rachel Harrison**, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London

‘In *The Sublime Object of Orientalism*, Paul Bowman does not shy away from calling out scholars of “the Orient” on their willingness to treat Said’s paradigmatic critique as somehow sacred ground. Indeed, in highlighting the physical part of “oriental” physical culture, Bowman forces us to consider whether Orientalism-as-accusation may be the most Orientalist act of all.’

—**Adam D. Frank**, author of *Taijiquan and the Search for the Little Old Chinese Man: Understanding Identity through Martial Arts*

*The Sublime Object of Orientalism* proposes that globalised Asian physical cultural practices such as taiji, qigong, yoga, and meditation can be understood by examining the intimate connection between Western orientalism and the Romantic aesthetic notion of the sublime. The book recasts ‘orientalist physical culture’ as practices animated by the sublime and argues that this relationship is stronger than has hitherto been recognised by commentators.

Bowman combines new readings of philosophers and cultural critics such as Slavoj Žižek and Jane Iwamura with analyses of film, media, and Asian physical practices and their entrepreneurial forms to shed light on the quest to articulate a philosophy of orientalist physical culture. He also explores ways to make sense of orientalist physical culture in the contemporary world and evaluate the often-problematic ideologies that circulate around these cultural practices without either uncritically accepting their value or rejecting them outright. This empathetic and accessible volume is a must-read for students, researchers, and teachers of cross-cultural studies, cultural theory, postcolonialism, and orientalism.

**Paul Bowman** is professor of cultural studies at Cardiff University. He is author of ten previous monographs, including *Theorizing Bruce Lee* (Brill, 2010) and *The Invention of Martial Arts: Popular Culture Between Asia and America* (Oxford University Press, 2021).

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