

# The Chinese Exotic

## Modern Diasporic Femininity

Olivia Khoo

新  
聞  
圖  
騰



# The Chinese Exotic Modern Diasporic Femininity

Olivia Khoo

Olivia Khoo

香港大學出版社

HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS



**Hong Kong University Press**

14/F Hing Wai Centre

7 Tin Wan Praya Road

Aberdeen

Hong Kong

© Hong Kong University Press 2007

*Hardback* ISBN 978-962-209-879-4

*Paperback* ISBN 978-962-209-889-3

All rights reserved. No portion of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Secure On-line Ordering

<http://www.hkupress.org>

Printed and bound by Kings Time Printing Press Ltd., Hong Kong, China.



Hong Kong University Press is honoured that Xu Bing, whose art explores the complex themes of language across cultures, has written the Press's name in his Square Word Calligraphy. This signals our commitment to cross-cultural thinking and the distinctive nature of our English-language books published in China.

"At first glance, Square Word Calligraphy appears to be nothing more unusual than Chinese characters, but in fact it is a new way of rendering English words in the format of a square so they resemble Chinese characters. Chinese viewers expect to be able to read Square Word Calligraphy but cannot. Western viewers, however are surprised to find they can read it. Delight erupts when meaning is unexpectedly revealed."

— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

# The Chinese Exotic

Hong Kong University Press thanks Xu Bing for writing the Press's name in his Square Word Calligraphy for the covers of its books. For further information, see p. iv.

## TransAsia: Screen Cultures

What is Asia? What does it mean to be Asian? Who thinks they are Asian? How is “Asian-ness” produced? None of these questions can be answered without talking about the screen-based media. Asia today is becoming a transnational public space in which all kinds of cross-border connections proliferate, from corporate activities to citizen-to-citizen linkages. All of this mediated and shaped by media — from Japanese and Korean television series, Hong Kong action films, video piracy, J-Pop and K-Pop, to a variety of subcultures facilitated by internet sites and other computer-based cultures. And outside Asia, films are packaged and marketed at film festivals and by DVD distribution companies as “Asian,” and the descendants of migrants are not only identified by others as “Asian” but also increasingly identify themselves as “Asian,” and then turn to “Asian” screen cultures to find themselves and their roots.

The continued reliance on national frameworks in politics, economics and other social sciences, media studies, film studies, and other disciplines and fields is becoming obsolete. This series on trans-border screen-based culture in Asia aims to not only spotlight new research but also promote more groundbreaking research in this area.

**Series Editors:** Koichi IWABUCHI and Chris BERRY

### Series International Advisory Board

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| Ackbar ABBAS (University of Hong Kong)   | Fei LÜ (National Chengchi University)                              |
| Ien ANG (University of Western Sydney)   | LÜ Xinyu (Fudan University)  |
| Yomi BRAESTER (Washington University)  | Eric MA (Chinese University of Hong Kong)                          |
| Stephen CHAN (Lingnan University)  | Fran MARTIN (Melbourne University)                                 |
| CHUA Beng-Huat (National University of Singapore)                              | MOURI Yoshitaka (Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music) |
| Ian CONDRY (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)                             | Meaghan MORRIS (Lingnan University)                                |
| DAI Jinhua (Peking University)   | NAM Inyoung (Dongseo University)                                   |
| John Nguyet ERNI (Lingnan University)  | PANG Laikwan (Chinese University of Hong Kong)                     |
| Annette HAMILTON (University of New South Wales)                               | Michael RAINE (University of Chicago)                              |
| Rachel HARRISON (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) | Bérénice REYNAUD (California Institute of the Arts)                |
| Gaik Cheng KHOO (Australian National University)                               | Lisa ROFEL (University of California, Santa Cruz)                  |
| KIM Kyung-Hyun (University of California, Irvine)                              | Krishna SEN (Curtin University of Technology)                      |
| KIM Soyoung (Korean National University of Arts)                               | Ubonrat SIRIYUVASAK (Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok)            |
| Helen Hok-Sze LEUNG (Simon Fraser University)                                  | Eva TSAI (National Taiwan Normal University)                       |
| Akira Mizuta LIPPIT (University of Southern California)                        | Paola VOCI (University of Otago)                                   |
|  | YOSHIMI Shunya (Tokyo University)                                  |
|  | ZHANG Zhen (New York University)                                   |

# Acknowledgements

I have been blessed with the support of many individuals since this book's inception as my doctoral thesis at the University of Melbourne. I am extremely grateful to my former supervisor, Audrey Yue, and to my examiners, Chris Berry and Shih Shu-mei. Much of the formative research for this project took place while I was attending the inspiring seminars of Rey Chow at the School of Criticism and Theory, Cornell University. I wish to thank Professor Chow for her generosity at that time. Thanks go to Chua Beng Huat for his kindness and good humour and for allowing me the space to write at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore in 2004/5. In 2005, I also received an Australia-China Council Residency at the Taipei Artists' Village, Taiwan, which enabled me to complete further sections of this book.

I am grateful for the support of my colleagues and students at the School of English, Media and Performing Arts at the University of New South Wales. I wish to thank my editors at the Hong Kong University Press, Colin Day and Ian Lok. Thanks also to Poh Ling Yeow for very generously allowing me to use her painting for the book cover. Yeow is a Chinese-Malaysian artist who has lived and worked in South Australia for most of her life. Her works explore notions of origin and belonging and the fragmentation of cultural experience through the use of traditionally inspired Chinese iconography; *Solace* is perfect as an image for this book.

Heartfelt thanks to my friends, Fiona Camarri, Larissa Hjorth, Sean Metzger, Rozleigh Steffensen, Robin Rodd, Derreck Goh and Jason

Hoeung, who have been more help to me than they probably know. To my family, Alicia and Jonathan, and especially to my parents, Lawrence and Lee, I remain forever indebted. Thank you for supporting all of my decisions with the utmost love and encouragement. I owe everything of this book's completion to Olivia Pang, who supported me tirelessly in innumerable ways.

Finally, and most importantly, is the thanks I owe to Rocky, who daily supports and sustains me with unquestioning love.

As Susan Sontag reminds me, ever eloquently, it is the heart that is 'the most exotic place of all'.

Part of Chapter 2 appeared in *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 13:3, 1999: 383–393, under the title “‘Anagrammatical Translations’: Latex Performance and Asian Femininity Unbounded in Olivier Assayas’s *Irma Vep*’. An earlier draft of sections of Chapter 1 appeared as ‘Folding Chinese Boxes: Asian Exoticism in Australia’, in Helen Gilbert, Tseen Khoo and Jacqueline Lo, eds., *Diaspora: Negotiating Asian Australia* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2000), 200–208.

# Contents

Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction: The Chinese Exotic	1
<b>I: Fold</b>	<b>25</b>
1 Folding Chinese Boxes: Sensing the Chinese Exotic	27
<b>II: Cross Over</b>	<b>67</b>
2 Spies, Vamps and Women Warriors: Translating the Exotic into the Technics of Chinese Femininity	69
<b>III: Ornament</b>	<b>111</b>
3 Ethnic Supplementarity and the Ornamental Text: Asian American and Asian Australian Diasporic Literary Production	113
<b>IV: Region</b>	<b>149</b>
4 From the Chinese Exotic to the Asian Exotic: Critical Regionalism and Pop Culture Asianism	151



*vi* Contents

Conclusion: Heliotropic Manoeuvres	169
Notes	173
Filmography	197
Bibliography	199
Index	215



## Introduction: The Chinese Exotic

Gong Li, poster girl of Fifth Generation Chinese films, swore after being lampooned by the media for her first Hollywood film *Chinese Box*, that she would never again star in another American production. With a further three English-language films released, and more in production, her comment to the Chinese media appears to have been all but forgotten.<sup>1</sup> In these new roles, playing strong and successful women, Gong Li seems finally able to relinquish the unforgettable image of herself as the lipstick-smeared forsaken lover of Chinese cinema, which she burnt onto the screen in Wong Kar-wai's *2046*. Gong Li has reinvented herself. Just over a decade after adorning the cover of Rey Chow's *Primitive Passions* (with an equally arresting still from Zhang Yimou's *Judou*), Gong Li is no longer 'primitive' but now articulates another mode of representation that I define as belonging more accurately to the diasporas.

For almost a decade now, I have anticipated, often with delight although sometimes with horror, my favourite Chinese stars appearing in lead roles in Hollywood films in seemingly eccentric casting choices: Gong Li as a Chinese-Cuban leader of a drug cartel in Michael Mann's remake of the US television series *Miami Vice*, or with Michelle Yeoh and Zhang Ziyi as rivalling Japanese geisha in the screen adaptation of Arthur Golden's *Memoirs of a Geisha*. Similarly, when Maggie Cheung appeared in Olivier Assayas's *Irma Vep*, her first role outside Asia, the question "Why a Chinese actress?" asked by everyone on the set in Paris, was echoed in the minds of critics, reviewers and audiences around the world. In the field of literature, Amy Tan's novel

*The Joy Luck Club*, was published to astounding success in the United States and spent forty weeks on the *New York Times* bestseller list in 1989. Two years later, Jung Chang, a Chinese woman living in Britain, gained unprecedented international attention with her family memoir *Wild Swans*. Translated into thirty languages, the book sold over ten million copies and spent sixty-three weeks on Great Britain's bestseller list.

While there is a long history of Asian representation in the cinemas and literatures of the West, what was now appearing seemed very different. Why indeed *are* Chinese actresses being used to 'update' popular television series like *Miami Vice* and *Charlie's Angels*? And how these new representations producing (if not being produced by) a changing landscape of popular culture in the West whereby, from the early 1990s, items such as Chinese boxes (drawers, chests, as well as take-away food containers) became almost ubiquitous in fashion magazines, furniture stores and trendy restaurants? What seemed particularly distinctive about these new representations was how they represented a modern *diasporic* femininity. This new mode of representation, which I call the Chinese exotic, is a product of the emergent diasporic Chinese modernities in the Asia-Pacific. These modernities have been produced through the rapid economic development of nations in the region over the past two decades. The Chinese exotic can be distinguished from earlier representations in that it is self-consciously connected to the capitalist success of the region. Within this regional development, China is also playing an increasingly major role. No longer seen as 'backward' or 'rural', China is arguably being 'centred' again in cultural understandings of Chineseness. Rather than replacing one centre, the West, with another, China, my aim is conceive how we might utilise a diaspora politics, informed by the West (including the history of the West in Asia), and by China and Asia, to locate the new intersections between these various sites in the context of a regional development. In an attempt to account for these (often eccentric, often messy) movements constructing the Chinese exotic, I employ four related tropes: the fold, the cross over, the ornament and the region. These are not mutually exclusive but work in tandem to explain the phenomenon of the Chinese exotic from different perspectives; the exotic is always a question of point of view, although it no longer belongs only to one perspective, that of the dominant West, or to a re-centred China. Instead, the Chinese exotic shifts between perspectives to displace the 'self' and 'other' binaries assumed in orientalist understandings of the exotic. Although exotic discourses now appear in new, updated forms, their orientalist underpinnings haven't entirely disappeared. What *have* appeared are sources of potential empowerment, or agency, in these representations, which are a product of their modernity.

In this introduction, I analyse the concept of exoticism, tracing its recent re-emergence from the rise of diasporic Chinese modernities and their cultural productions. I explore the Chinese exotic's manifestation in images of Chinese femininity since I argue that the exotic travels in a form that is feminised. Despite the embeddedness of exoticism within heterosexist models of desire, little has been written, theoretically, on exoticism as a gendered mode of representation. Similarly, while there has been important work produced on Chinese masculinity in diasporic contexts, the diasporic Chinese female remains a relatively neglected phenomenon.<sup>2</sup> By analysing images from the diaspora in their newly exotic form, I seek to define alternative modes of visualising modern Chinese femininity that are distinct from previous representations such as primitivism.

### **Alternative Visions of Modern Chinese Femininity: Exoticism and Primitivism**

In *Cultural Identity and Global Process*, Jonathan Friedman suggests that exoticism and primitivism are the two main metaphysical results of European (Western) hegemony.<sup>3</sup> He argues, "colonialism's culture should not be seen as a singular enduring discourse, but rather a series of projects that incorporate representations, narratives and practical efforts".<sup>4</sup>

Primitivism, as a particular representational practice, constructs its objects as the subalterns and the oppressed classes, whereas exoticism mythologises and reifies the more positive and successful, enviable and utopic, aspects of Other societies. Nicholas Thomas believes, "although the 'primitive' and the 'exotic' are sometimes conflated, exoticism has more to do with difference and strangeness than an antithetical relation to modernity".<sup>5</sup> Exoticism is imbricated in the condition of modernity, and is constituted by it.

Thomas makes a further distinction between primitivism and exoticism concerning their relationship to the concepts of 'otherness' or foreignness. He suggests that primitivism is constructed in relation to groups that are indigenous to a particular place. On Kevin Costner's appropriation of Sioux culture in the film *Dances with Wolves* (1990), Thomas argues, "the force of the primitive in Costner's appropriation, and in similar operations in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand culture, derives precisely from the fact that the native is not foreign but indigenous: self-fashioning via the Sioux or the Aborigines does not exoticise oneself, but makes one more American or more Australian".<sup>6</sup> Susan Stewart also alludes to a distinction between primitivism and exoticism in terms of the way narrative constructs its objects through

these two paradigms; to primitivise is to 'miniaturise', to exoticise is to 'giganticise' through fascination.<sup>7</sup> The point in making these distinctions between 'exoticising' and 'primitivising' practices is more than simply a matter of terminology; it suggests that there are differences in the ways certain subject positions are either created or subsumed, and thus how they can be read differently over time.

In distinguishing exoticism from primitivism in a Chinese context, it is necessary to reconsider Rey Chow's concept of 'primitive passions', which concerns the Chinese primitivising other aspects of Chinese culture (as seen from the perspective of Western spectatorship). In doing so, it is important firstly to note that Chow's 'primitive' does *not* have an antithetical relationship to modernity. It is, however, the product of a mainland modernity, tied to the emergence of the filmic medium.

Rey Chow's 'primitive passions' is a significant critical intervention into the representational formation and new politics of visibility brought about by China's 'Fifth Generation' filmmakers — the first group of filmmakers to graduate from the Beijing Film School after the Cultural Revolution. Chow's 'primitive' emerges as a result of rapid changes in the technologies of signification brought about by the formation of Chinese modernity. The previously dominant literary or linguistic sign becomes displaced by the visual sign in a culture now structured by a new paradigm of visibility. There is, however, more than a simple intersemiotic shift from the sign of writing to the visual sign. The displacement of the previously dominant sign also becomes democratised ('freed') by the omnipresence of the new visual sign. Attendant upon this democratisation is the playing out of fantasies of origin — the need for something to stand in for an 'original' that has been lost. For Chow, this goes beyond a mere nostalgic yearning; the impulse to primitivise forms part of modernity's ruptures. Chow suggests that the primitive emerges at moments of cultural crisis whereby the past is re-interpreted and re-constructed as a commonplace; that is, a "*pre* that occurs in the time of the post".<sup>8</sup> What is substituted, in China's search for its own Others, are its own socially oppressed classes — women, peasants, other subalterns, and nature.

There are specific historical and political resonances relating to China's modernity that manifest themselves in the particular phenomenon of contemporary Fifth Generation Chinese films. When China re-opened its doors to the world again in the 1980s, after thirty years of closed rule, it was necessarily on display. Regardless of their personal intentions, Chow notes that the Fifth Generation became their country's ethnographers. What they presented in their films was viewed as how China really was. Chow argues, however, that there is in fact a "self-packaging" of these films for an overseas

market, a “staging and parodying [of] orientalism’s politics of visibility”, presenting to the West what it wants to see about China as the central marker of the ‘Orient’.<sup>9</sup> She calls this the “Oriental’s Orientalism” as a way of reading the impulse to primitivise. Chow’s examples relate only to China’s Fifth Generation filmmakers. I argue that there is another politics involved in diasporic interventions in relation to self-enactment that requires a different way of reading. A shift from a colonial or imperialist exoticism to a new form of exoticism emerges through the modernity of the diasporas.

In the following sections, I trace how exoticism, as a mode of representation, has shifted from an emphasis on aesthetic perception to the consumption of spectacularised images of Chinese femininity, produced through the capitalist development of diasporic Chinese modernities. Chinese femininity will be taken to refer to a gendered, discursive construction inscribing a range of cultural forms and practices such as films, novels, food and fashion. It is not, however, merely or only a discursive construct, but is also constituted out of difference and gender, retaining an engagement with real diasporic Chinese subjects, although my primary concern is with representations, and how they materialise as embodying the ‘reality’ of these women.

## Models of Exoticism: From Colonial Exoticism to a Chinese Exotic

Exoticism, as a dominant mode of colonialist representation, has its foundations largely in nineteenth-century European artistic endeavour. In *Exotic Memories: Literature, Colonialism and the Fin de Siècle*, Chris Bongie defines exoticism as “a nineteenth-century literary and existential practice that posited another space, the space of an Other, outside or beyond the confines of a ‘civilisation’”.<sup>10</sup> Within the nineteenth-century exoticist project, writers and artists were concerned with rediscovering values lost with the rapid modernising of European society; thus they sought to find ‘experience’ and ‘value’ elsewhere. Exoticism is a form of classification that is contained by one’s own culture and institutions; different historical and cultural situations produce different exoticist discourses.

The epistemological underpinnings to popular notions of exoticism in relation to Asian femininity generally and Chinese femininity in particular, can be traced to the Romantic ‘voyages of discovery’ heralding European expansion. These novels of adventure (*révélations de voyages*) are the major discursive sources of the exoticist project, and provide nineteenth-century exoticism with much of its intellectual apparatus, such as the distinction between primitive and civilised. Pierre Loti, the pen name of the sailor/writer Louis

Marie Julien Viaud, produced novels that are paradigmatic of an exoticist praxis. In these stories, Loti conflated exoticism with eroticism; the European traveller becomes fascinated, and is then seduced, by a woman from the culture he is visiting, but then returns home without further thought or questioning of his own cultural values or placement. The story of *Madame Butterfly*, popularised by Puccini's opera of the same name, was based on Loti's novel *Madame Chrysanthème*. It has since been rearticulated in numerous forms, although retaining the stereotype of the submissive, suffering Asian woman. Specific forms and tropes of exoticism in the West have shared histories that employ recurrent narrative structures — for example, the sacrificial death of 'Madame Butterfly', repeated in the popular musical *Miss Saigon*.

The interest in Asian femininity, when traced to its exoticist origins, is usually motivated by, and marketed as, a (hetero)sexual encounter, whereby any difference becomes a violent, yet sublime, part of that encounter. Lisa Lowe offers a formalistic look at the imbrication between exoticism and eroticism. She suggests:

masculine romantic desire is often introduced as an oriental motif ... [and] such associations of Orientalism with romanticism are not coincidental, for the two situations of desire — the occidental fascination with the Orient and the male lover's passion for his female beloved — are structurally similar. Both depend on a structure that locates the Other — as woman or oriental scene — as inaccessible, different.<sup>11</sup>

This imbrication of sexuality and the exotic is formed through histories of colonialism and colonial fantasies of power, where women from exotic lands were portrayed as being freely sexually available. The Asian female exote is both determined and devised through a structure of recognition (for example, through repetition), in which certain objects, tropes, symbols or narratives connote, often synecdochically, ideas already anticipated about Asian femininity and sexuality. Anticipation functions as a circular, repetitious formation, which yet 'works' within the logic of its own visibility. The Oriental scene, described by Lowe, is a particular economy of exchange between gazes, albeit an exchange that operates hierarchically and unidirectionally.

The term 'exotic' is popularly used to describe that which is different and strange ('foreign'), yet fascinating because of its peculiarity. This fascination is not simply innocent, but forms part of a problematic within cross-cultural politics whereby cultural difference is constructed according to entrenched systems of power and authority. Similarly, the unproblematic consumption

of difference in fact negates the people who are the source of interest. As Graham Huggan notes, “exoticism describes a political as much as an aesthetic practice. But this politics is often concealed, hidden beneath layers of mystification”.<sup>12</sup>

Given its pernicious history, the use of the term ‘exotic’ around which to frame a specific mode of representation — the Chinese exotic — may seem fraught. I argue, however, that it is useful to retain the term in a deployment against its very foundations. The term ‘ex-otic’, meaning (etymologically), that which is *outside* (systems of signification and classification), is able to question the underlying mechanisations of representation itself, particularly, its historical connection to imperialist power. It therefore seems apposite to retain the word exoticism while at the same time providing some disclaimer or appellation to its use in situating it more critically in contemporary global conditions. Other approaches to exoticism have located it within global or postcolonial frameworks but have not adequately dealt with the issue of gender or the cultural products of diasporic Chinese modernities. While ‘Asia’ and Asian femininity are typically created through the collapse of various nationalities in *fin de siècle* exoticist representations, I focus on the cultural representations emerging from diasporic Chinese modernities in the last fifteen to twenty years.

In order to conceive of a *Chinese* exotic brought about by the formation of diasporic Chinese modernities in the Asia-Pacific, a re-engagement with Edward Said’s thesis of ‘Orientalism’ is also necessary. Orientalism, as defined by Said, concerns

a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and (most of the time) ‘the Occident’. In short, Orientalism is a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.<sup>13</sup>

That is, Orientalism refers to the forms of ‘knowledge’ that constitute the Orient. Said argues that there has been a feminisation of the Orient throughout the history of colonialism such that a rhetoric of ‘feminine penetrability’ is linked steadfastly to the gendering of Asian nations.

Although Said’s *Orientalism* centres largely around the body of scholarship associated with a particular geographic location, the Middle East, it seems that in recent understandings the term ‘the Orient’ has in fact shifted from the Middle East and Africa to the Southeast Asian region or Pacific Rim (or, if not shifted, then in fact made to encompass this region). The term ‘Asia’, as popularly synonymous with the ‘Orient’, is now also being informed by



discourses surrounding the rise of industrial East Asia. Said does, however, posit that the 'Orient' is not referential to any particular territory, but is a (European) construction produced in the process of cultural domination. Through cultural texts about the Orient and the Oriental subject, these constructions have been infused with an essence or authenticity.

Ien Ang and Jon Stratton suggest that "Orientalism in the West is not dead; on the contrary ... classical Orientalism has now been transformed into a neo-Orientalism, where it is no longer a powerless, colonised Asia which is the subject of othering, but an empowered and, to a certain extent, threatening *modern* Asia."<sup>14</sup> Given these recent global realignments and the growth of diasporic Chinese modernities, it seems necessary to examine how modernity complicates the Orientalist narrative and furthermore how femininity becomes figured in these new accounts.

There have been a number of restatements of the concept of Orientalism by various postcolonial scholars, including Edward Said himself, in order to account for its shifting discursive formations.<sup>15</sup> Lisa Lowe's analysis most significantly creates a category for the Chinese exotic within a regional rise of Asia. Lowe conceives of Orientalism as a particular tradition of representation which is intersected by, and which implicates, other forms of representation; that is, Orientalism is a field of implicated discursive terrains, and not a monolithic concept that has created one 'Orient' as the other of the 'Occident'. Different orientalist situations exist, illustrating that the historical development of Orientalism is not homogeneous or monolithic at all, but is marked by internal conflict, ambivalence and fear, and not just self-possessed control.<sup>16</sup> Both within and between each situation are contradictions and complexities that render the discourse of Orientalism unstable. It is precisely because of this that Orientalism becomes vulnerable to forces of resistance and open to critique and contestation. Similarly, this also enables new forms of 'orientalism' and 'orientalist situations' to proliferate. The Chinese exotic, emerging from diasporic Chinese modernities, is one such example. However, whereas Said's notion of Orientalism requires a fixed East and West, the Chinese exotic depends upon a flexibility in their construction, in order to account for the movements that occur between the Chinese diasporas and the West, and the Chinese diasporas and Asia.

The Chinese exotic is no longer merely an object and pure projection of Orientalist fantasy. Rather, it frames the nascent subjectivities constructed through transnational discourses where agency is struggled over within regimes of competing modernities. To re-theorise the exotic in accordance with these developments, I employ the term 'ex-centric' as the exotic's necessary appellation.