Ming Qing

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edited by
Paolo Santangelo

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MING QING STUDIES

MING QING STUDIES is an annual publication focused on late imperial China and the broader geo-cultural area of East Asia during the premodern and modern period. Its scope is to provide a forum for scholars from a variety of fields seeking to bridge the gap between 'oriental' and western knowledge. Articles may concern any discipline, including sociology, literature, psychology, anthropology, history, geography, linguistics, semiotics, political science, and philosophy. Contributions by young and post-graduated scholars are particularly welcome.

Provided that the process of double-blind peer-review proceeds with no delay and the scrutiny of our experts confirms the scientificity, scholarly soundness and academic value of the author's work, it is one of MING QING STUDIES' commitments to publish the submitted manuscript within one year after its formal acceptance. This would ensure a timely circulation of the author's research outcomes without imposing hard limits on word counts or compromising the quality of peer-review, which, for publications in the same field, is usually much longer. The average article length is 10.000-15.000 words, but long articles and notes on focused topics are also taken into consideration.

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PREFACE

Two contributions on scholars' identity and intercultural relations between Confucianism and Christianity are published in this issue. In *Ming Qing Studies 2018* another essay, "Christian Literati of the Lower Echelon in Late Ming China: The Case of Xiong Shiqi" by Cheng Yu-Yin 程玉瑛 has dealt with a similar question by reconstructing Xiong's intellectual journey to his conversion, and mapping the role played by Christian *literati* in late Ming Christianity through the examination of the life of a lower-echelon scholar. A different perspective is taken in **Zhang Yu**'s 張禹 article *Between Confucianism and Catholicism: Rethinking Wu Li as a Ming Loyalist*. This study focuses on Wu Li's effort to reframe Christianity within the Confucian discourse and interpret it not simply as a passive response to the dynastic change, but also as a way to combine his various identities, as a loyal Ming scholar and subject of the new Qing dynasty, as well as his discomfort for the Church's abolition of the Chinese rites. Dr. Zhang is assistant professor at Loyola University Maryland.

Another aspect of the encounter of Christianity with Chinese culture is tackled by **Bai Limin** 白莉民, senior lecturer in Chinese Studies at the School of Languages and Cultures, Victoria University of Wellington. His *Jesuit Educational Tradition and the Remaking of Erudite Scholars in Late-Qing China: A Case Study of Li Wenyu* 李問漁 *(1840-1911)* throws new light on this scholar who devotes himself to Catholic education and journalism and accepts the Jesuit educational influence. The author explains that Li Wenju's peculiar path was aimed at the assimilation of scientific knowledge along with Christian faith and the promotion of a modern educational system. In this perspective, Western technology was not the only key to a nation's progress and prosperity and Darwin's evolution theory refuted. The article ends with an exploration of common and divergent views of Li Wenyu and Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯.

Many of the Chinese intellectuals engaged in the modernisation movement, on the contrary, promoted the Darwinian theory of evolution, social Darwinism and Western science. **Loïc Aloisio**, Ph.D. candidate at Aix-Marseille University (AMU) is author of *A Response to an "Alien Invasion": The Rise of Chinese Science Fiction.* By the time China was suffering humiliating pressures, invasions, and menaces from foreign powers due to the technological gap, science fiction turned out to be a Chinese response to the trauma. The article suggests that if "salvation through science" was the greatest target of the nation,

fiction became an ideological and political tool to awaken the national consciousness in the confrontation between China and the West.

Novels, nevertheless, could have other functions, such as the "fiction sequels" (*xiaoshuo xushu* 小說續書) in their connection with dynastic transition. **Henry Lem**'s *Fiction as Cautionary Tale: Rewriting 'Rebellion' in Yu Wanchun's Dangkou zhi* is a nuanced and careful reading of a sequel to the *Water Margin* - *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳, the "Quell the Bandits" (*Dangkou zhi* 蕩寇志), published in 1853. The novel tackles the role of a fiction commentator and sequel writer in the Confucian exegetical tradition, in the attempt of reducing the subversive readings of *Shuihu zhuan*. In his "interpretation" Yu Wanchun 俞萬春 (1794-1849) tries to properly "end" this novelistic tradition by reinventing the popular Liangshan heroes as rebels unworthy of the title of loyal and righteous for those who do not understand the virtue of *zhong* 忠 (loyalty to the emperor) will always fail to be righteous (*yi* 義). Dr. Henry Lem is a Ph.D. candidate in Chinese Language & Literature at the Department of East Asian Studies, University of California, Irvine.

Aude Lucas, Ph.D. candidate at the East Asian Civilisations Research Centre of the Université Paris Diderot, presents a new interpretation of the contradictions between the two main characters of *Honglou Meng*, Jia Baoyu 賈寶玉 and Lin Daiyu 林黛玉. By adopting a Lacanian reading, her *Expressing Desire Through Language: The Paradoxes of the 'Baodai' Relationship* offers an explanation of the obstacles of communication between them: the two characters utter words that reflect their desire, but they do not grasp the meaning of each other's confessions, as their words exceed the meaning they are conscious of, provoking misunderstandings and contradictions. One may ask whether they reach a certain syntony when they borrow and share the language of *Xixiangji* 西廂記.

Zhang Jing 张静, Associate Professor of Chinese Language and Culture in New College of Florida, offers an in-depth analysis of Hong Pian 洪楩 and his writings. Her *A Filial Publisher's Unfilial Subjects: Printing, Literati Community, and Fiction-Making in Liushijia xiaoshuo* discusses Hong Pian's efforts to fashion himself as a filial son and his fascination with unfilial subjects – an inconsistency that reveals the complexity of social and cultural functions of private printing in 16th-century China. At the same time, the work brings also some noteworthy insights into the mid-16th-century publishers' interest toward "innovative and entraining texts" in the form of *xiaoshuo*, as well as into the social implications of printing.

An anthropological study is *Visualising Human Differences in Late Imperial China: Body, Nakedness and Sexuality* by **Zhu Jing** 朱敬, CCKF postdoctoral fellow at University of Warwick. This essay examines the representation of the body of ethnic minorities in Miao albums – a genre of ethnographic illustrations depicting the physical appearances, culture and environment of non-Han peoples in the southwestern borderlands of China. Probing into how human variations

were conceptualised in late imperial China, it deciphers the visual codes hidden behind the culture of representing non-Han bodies (including skin colour, nose, eyes, hair, as well as women's feet and naked parts), thereby demonstrating the visual regimes of imperial order, space and peoples. From the perspective of gender and sexuality, it explores the ways in which, bodies as an indicator of identity, were manipulated to exhibit superior or inferior binary coding, to weave a web of narrative of human variations, and to constitute China's imperial order.

Special thanks are due to the anonymous readers who have generously contributed to the publication of this volume. I express my grateful feelings also to Maria Paola Culeddu and Tommaso Previato for their competent and indefatigable commitment.

We finally express our gratitude to Prof. **Li Xuetao** 李雪涛 for accepting to join the Board of *Ming Qing Studies*. Professor Li is Dean of the School of History (北外历史学院院长) at Beijing Foreign Studies University (北京外国语大学), Deputy Director of the Sino-Foreign Sinology Research Center, and Assistant Editor-in-Chief of *International Sinology*. He is the author of several volumes and articles, such as "Dialogue of Misunderstanding: German Sinologists Recalling China" (*Wujie de duihua: Deguo Hanxuejia de Zhongguo jiyi* 误解的对话——德国汉学家的中国记忆), Beijing: Xinxing chubanshe, 2014, "On German Sinology" (*Ri'erman xueshu puxi zhong de Hanxue: Deguo Hanxue zhi yanjiu* 日耳曼学术谱系中的汉学——德国汉学之研究), Beijing: Waiyu jiaoxue yu yanjiu chubanshe, 2008), *Land der Kunst und Musik. Chinesische Traumsuche in Österreich*, Düsseldorf University Press, 2011; *Dein Bild in meinem Auge. Chinesische Deutschland-Bilder im 20. Jahrhundert*, Beijing: Waiyu jiaoxue yu yanjiu chubanshe, 2009.

A RESPONSE TO AN 'ALIEN INVASION': THE RISE OF CHINESE SCIENCE FICTION

LOÏC ALOISIO
(Aix-Marseille University)

1. Historical Context

During the late Qing era, Chinese culture was confronted in a brutal way by belligerent Western nations, some of which were technologically far more advanced than expected. During this period, China was the home of many conflicts and collided with Western and Japanese powers that politically and financially weakened the imperial power. China, which at that time considered itself the center of the world and 'the Empire under the sky, surrounded by barbarians', was in for a rude awakening. The numerous humiliations it suffered and the distress caused by domestic disturbances, in addition to foreign invasions, were the factors which triggered the several political, cultural and literary reforms that took place in the country thereafter. This is discussed in depth by Isaacson who states: "In China, the crisis of consciousness was compounded by a pervasive understanding that internal cultural failings were as much to blame for the inability to resist semi-colonial subjugation as foreign aggression was." [1] The corruption and weakness of the Qing government attracted the wrath of the people but also criticism from the intelligentsia.[2] The military and economic invasion by the Eight-Nation Alliance [3] was also accompanied by a massive intrusion of foreign currents of thought. Western science, which first revealed itself by the thunder of guns, rattled China as well when it was introduced to Chinese elites through the several translations that flooded the country at that time. The Opium War and foreign domination awakened the late Qing empire with a startling jolt, with Isaacson stating how "[i]n the wake of this series of foreign and domestic political failures, the Chinese intellectual framework seemed suddenly inadequate and incompatible with modern global politics. Weakened confidence in traditional philosophy indicated a necessity to grasp both the practice and spirit of science, which had

[1] Isaacson 2017, p. 6.
[2] Lu Xun 2010, p. 243.
[3] Namely Italy, United States of America, France, Austro-Hungary, Japan, Germany, Britain and Russia.

enabled Western advances."[4] There was an instant transformation to Western learning which was at first criticized. This was a means to strengthen the nation that was progressively accepted by both the imperial court and a large part of the intellectuals.

Thus, driven by the strong desire to survive and strengthen the country, the salvation of the nation through science became one of the dominant ideological trends of this period. Since then, the existential crisis that came along with the hope of national strengthening reinforced the "eastward spread of Western learning."[5] Translations and importations of scientific textbooks and journals, as well as the introduction of new knowledge through various newspapers, marked the beginning of science popularisation in China. The scientific novels that appeared at that period gave to the Chinese a literary form that enabled them to express both their fears and hopes for the future of their great country.

2. The Influence of Translations

Chinese authors were first confronted with science fiction through Chinese translations of Western and Japanese works. It is fair to say that during the period marked by the flourishing of journals offering serial novels, translations had a much stronger impact in promoting and supporting this literary genre in China than the original Chinese creations. Chen Pingyuan 陳平原 (1954-) nevertheless claimed that translations of Western science fiction works represented only one of the methods that stimulated the creation of Chinese science fiction, and not the central one. According to him, the importation of Western knowledge through periodicals that was carried out at that time, and more specifically those that popularised Western science, had a greater influence on the acquisition of knowledge, the growth of scientific interest and the development of the imagination of Chinese authors.[6] These two visions are perfectly defensible, because it is true that translations of Western science fiction works and the importation of new Western knowledge both had an enormous impact and significantly influenced and transformed China at that time.

2.1. Translations of Western Scientific Works

The importation of Western currents of thought and social and political theories had a strong influence on China, especially after the first Opium War (1839-42).

[4] Isaacson 2017, p. 9.
[5] *Xixue dongjian* 西學東漸 designates the historical process where Western science and currents of thought were spread over China during the late Qing period.
[6] Chen Pingyuan 2006, p. 138.

This was seen when some Chinese intellectuals realised that the civilisation and system that underlies advanced Western technology were far more important than technology itself. That is why technology, in the hands of writers, became a way to realise their ideals and to promote them as they desired. The introduction of Western utopian thinking and the theory of evolution generated considerable interest among Chinese novelists. Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854-1921) in particular translated *Evolution and Ethics* by the famous English scientist Thomas Huxley, giving it the title *Tianyan lun* 天演論 (On Evolution of Nature). Yan introduced (for the very first time in China) the theory of evolution by Charles Darwin, while applying the concept of natural selection to human society, which made him a pioneer of social Darwinism in China. He carried on with the translations of major works,[7] including *The Study of Sociology* by Herbert Spencer, *The Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith, *On Liberty* by John Stuart Mill and *De l'esprit des lois* (On the Spirit of the Laws) by Montesquieu, while including his own comments. Yan Fu also published various essays in the journal *Zhibao* 直報: "Lun shibian zhi ji" 論世變之亟 (On the Speed of World Change), "Yuanqiang" 原強 (On the Origin of Strength) and "Jiuwang juelun" 救亡決論 (On Our Salvation). He claimed that "[t]he basis of [China's] prosperity and power lied in science"[8] and that if the Chinese wanted to save the country from certain death, they must look abroad:

> 而欲通知外國事，則捨西學洋文不可，捨格致亦不可。蓋非西學洋文，則無以為耳目，而捨格致之事，將僅得其皮毛，智井瞽人，其無救於亡也審矣。
>
> If we want to know everything about the foreign countries, then it is impossible to leave behind Western science and writings, nor natural sciences. In that respect, if there was no Western science or writings, there would be nothing to provide us with eyes and ears; if we abandoned the attitude of scientific observation, we would learn almost nothing. A dry well and blind people cannot save [China] from death, there is no doubt.[9]

He always considered science an essential process that allowed the achievement of "[p]romoting people's power, developing people's knowledge and renewing people's moral."[10] He gave these recommendations in "Yuanqiang" and they became one of the root causes of the institutional developments of the Reform Party. The introduction of the theory of evolution generated a great interest among the novelists. Their traditional ways of thinking were shaken to the core and were becoming non-cyclical, stretching endlessly in a linear way.[11] Indeed,

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[7] Cheng 2002, p. 620.
[8] Translations from Chinese into English are mine unless otherwise stated.
[9] *Jiuwang juelun*, on-line at https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/救亡決論.
[10] 一曰鼓民力，二曰開民智，三曰新民德 (*Yuanqiang*, on-line at https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hant/原強).
[11] Cheng 2002, p. 626.

the Chinese had been using the sexagenary cycle (*ganzhi* 干支) for centuries. This is a numbering system of units of time that is based on the combination of two sets of signs: the ten "heavenly stems" (*tiangan* 天干) and the twelve "earthly branches" (*dizhi* 地支); which allow for sixty different combinations. This numbering system is mostly used for years, but can also be used for months, days or hours. When this system is used to distinguish years, it leads to a cycle of sixty years that, once finished, starts over and over again. The new vision of time was linear and led them to imagine how the world could be in one or even several centuries later. Isaacson states how "[t]he problem of social Darwinism was apprehended not as a theoretical conundrum but as a very real threat to the continued existence of the nation-state. The dialectic opposition of the West as modern, scientific, and civilized and the East as traditional, unscientific, and uncivilized gave rise to a world in which the Orient became the fruit of Western conquest".[12] Such an influence can be seen in a passage from the novel *Xin Faluo xiansheng tan* 新法螺先生譚 (New Tales of Mr. Braggadocio) by Donghai Juewo 東海覺我, which is the pen name of Xu Nianci 徐念慈 (1875-1905). In particular, the influence is present in a passage where the main character, at the end of his celestial journey, realises that "[e]verything can evolve without limit."[13] This influence can also be seen in chapter eight of the novel *Xin jiyuan* 新紀元 (The New Era) by Biheguan Zhuren 碧荷官主人 in which it is written:

> 話說此時系黃白兩種民族因生存競爭之問題上開戰。[...] 雖然紅種、黑種、棕色種三樣人尚未絕於世界，然衰耗已甚，不能自立，僅為列強之奴隸。
>
> The war started due to existential struggles between white and yellow people. […] Although red, black and brown people have not disappeared, by their extreme weakness, they cannot be independent and can only be used as slaves for leading powers.[14]

This concept's origin appears to lie in racial theories of social Darwinism.[15] Furthermore, Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929) wrote the following in June 1897:

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[12] Isaacson 2017, p. 93.
[13] *Xin Faluo xiansheng tan*, p. 16.
[14] *Xin jiyuan*, p. 482.
[15] Scientific racism, also known as racialism, tries to explain the backwardness of non-Western populations with morphological and genetic differentiation, and thus classifies the different human "races" according to those observations. This theory therefore justified wars of conquest, colonialism and social inequalities by the concept of natural selection applied in human society by Herbert Spencer's social Darwinism. These observations, besides the colour of the skin, are based on a variety of pseudo-scientific discipline-specific measurement procedures, such as craniometry, cephalometry, anthropometry or phrenology. The measurement of the cranial angle or of the forehead inclination therefore became the criteria

> 彼夫印度之不昌，限於種也。凡黑色、紅色、棕色之種人，其血管中之微生物，與其腦之角度，皆視白人相去懸絕，惟黃之與白，殆不甚遠，故白人所能為之事，黃人無不能者。
>
> The unprosperity of India is a racial issue. The microorganisms in the veins of average Black, Red and Brown people, along with their brain slope angle, show great differences from White people. Only those of Yellow people approximate them. That is why Yellow people can do everything White people do.[16]

At that time, the knowledge of different modern, natural Western sciences was completely introduced in China. In 1896, Liang Qichao even indexed the various fields of natural sciences in his *Xixue shumubiao* 西學書目表 (Catalogue of Western Sciences Works), namely physics, acoustics, optics, mechanics, astronomy, geology, physiology, study of fauna and flora, medicine, and finally, cartography.[17] Liang Qichao also wished to establish many institutes of translation in order to translate Western works that dealt with natural and social sciences, since he thought that "[i]f [the great emperors of the History of China] were still around today, they would regard translation as the first way to strengthen the nation."[18] The Opium War seems to mark a turning point for the translation of foreign works. Indeed, whereas previously applied sciences were emphasised, particularly for the military industry, an increase in the translation of fundamental Western sciences was remarkable after the War.

The importation of all this new knowledge deeply disrupted the Chinese world, particularly the introduction of Darwinism that resonated with Chinese society in those very troubled times, and as Isaacson explains, "[t]he perception that the law of survival of the fittest applied to societies and nations hung over late Qing intellectual life like a sword of Damocles".[19] Apart from its presence in Western scientific works, mentions of it can be found in translated literature introduced in China at that time. Among the "potential

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used in the West for the differentiation of the different "races" and to determine the level of intelligence of each of them (Reynaud-Paligot 2006, p. 22). Among the several taxonomies that emerged based on those observations, the one that is mentioned by Liang Qichao is close to one mentioned by Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840) and his five "races." However, similar categories and hierarchies can be seen in Edmond-Jean-Joseph Langlebert's (1820-?) *Manuel d'histoire naturelle* (Natural History Textbook), except for the "brown" category. These categories and hierarchy are as follows: the "White or Caucasian" at the top, followed by the "Yellow or Mongolic" in second, the "Black or African" in third and finally the "Red or American" at the lower end of the racial scale (Langlebert 1875, pp. 133-134).

[16] *Lun Zhongguo zhi jiang qiang*, on-line at http://bbs.tianya.cn/post-worldlook-892998-1.shtml.

[17] *Xixue shumubiao xulie*, p. 123.

[18] 苟其處今日之天下，則必以譯書為強國第一義 (*Lun yishu*, p. 66).

[19] Isaacson 2017, p. 50.

vectors of the Darwinian system"[20] that we come across in most of the translated works and, consequently, in Chinese scientific novels, we find "the natural selection and its features (struggle for life, survival of the fittest)", the concept of "evolution-progress", as well as "contingency".[21] As we are going to see further on, the translated Western literature played a fairly significant role in the spreading of scientific knowledge and various ideas of reform and progress in late Qing China.

2.2. Translations of Western Fiction

Late Qing Chinese science fiction takes root in translations of Western and Japanese fiction, most of which are the product of indirect translations from a "relay language", usually Japanese or English. As Guo Yanli 郭延禮 (1937-) pointed out:

> 日本學者尊本照雄教授等人編有《清末民初小說目录》，他所收 1840-1919 年的翻譯小說約 2567 種（包括一部分短篇小說），這說明近代翻譯小說數量是極可觀的。翻譯小說涉及的國家雖然很多，但主要譯作是歐洲國家的作品。據初步統計，在這 2567 種翻譯小說中，可以查明國籍的有 1748 種，占全部翻譯小說的 70%左右。在查明國籍的 1748 種翻譯小說中，以英國小說（包括美國）最多，有 1071 種，占 61%；依次為法國小說 331 種，占 18.9%；俄國小說 133 種，占 7.6%；日本小說 103 種，占 6%；德國小說 34 種，占 2%弱；其他國家的小說 76 種，占 4%。這樣，英、美、法、俄、日、德六個國家的小說，就占了近代翻譯小說總數的 95%以上。
>
> In the *Catalogue of Fiction Published During the Late Qing and the Early Republican Periods* edited by Japanese scholar Pr. Teruo Tarumoto, he gathered about 2567 translations from 1840 to 1919 (including short stories). This illustrates that the number of translated fictions in Modern China is extremely significant. Although translated fiction concerned a lot of countries, the main translations are from European works. According to preliminary statistics, among these 2567 translated fictions, the country of origin of 1748 of them can be ascertained, which represent around 70% of all the translated fictions. Among these 1748 translated fictions with ascertained origin, fictions in English (including American ones) are the most numerous, with 1071 translations, which represent 61%. Then come, in proper order, French fictions, with 331 translations, which represent 18.9%; Russian fictions with 133 translations, which represent 7.6%; Japanese fictions with 103 translations, which represent 6%; German fictions with 34 translations, which represent less than 2%. The 76 translations from other countries represent 4%. Thus, the fictions from these six countries, namely Great Britain, America, France, Russia, Japan and Germany, represent more than 95% of the number of translated fictions in Modern China.[22]

[20] Clermont 2011, p. 56.
[21] *Ibidem*.
[22] Guo Yanli 1997, pp. 112-113.

At that time, the number of Chinese students going to Japan to study increased from day to day. The Land of the Rising Sun was indeed regarded as the only country in Asia to have succeeded in putting itself on the track towards modernisation. Many Chinese intellectuals based their model of an ideal society on the Japanese Meiji era (1868-1912) in particular, and it was during their stay that they came across numerous Western literary and philosophical works.[23] As Jiang puts it, "[j]ust as the spread of Western learning in the Late Qing era led to the ideological transformation of its writers, SF translations initiated the start of SF creation in China."[24]

Since "SF was understood as one of a number of genres that, through the literary form of the new novel, could help to espouse lasting social change",[25] a veritable craze for this literary genre developed at the beginning of the twentieth century, in particular through translations of authors such as Jules Verne. Verne's eleven novels were published and republished many times, including *Le Tour du monde en 80 jours* (Around the World in Eighty Days), which has been his most retranslated novel[26] according to the Japanese sinologist Teruo Tarumoto 樽本照雄 (1948-). The submarines described in the novel *Xin Shitou ji* 新石頭記 (The New Story of the Stone) by Wu Jianren 吳趼人 (1866-1910) were probably influenced by the novel *Vingt mille lieues sous les mers* (Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea) by Verne, since their shape is compared with that of a whale:

> 叫左右架起透水鏡，同看獵艇形式。只見那獵艇做的純然是一個鯨款式，鬣翅鱗甲俱全，兩個眼睛內射出光來，卻是兩盞電燈。
>
> He commanded his subordinates to set up the submarine vision telescope, so that they could together examine the shape of the fighter craft. They only saw that this fighter craft was shaped like a whale, with dorsal fins, pectoral fins, scales and a shell. Light was emitted from both eyes, which were in fact two electric lamps.[27]

Even the writing of the novel *Xin Faluo xiansheng tan* was influenced by Bao Tianxiao's 包天笑 (1876-1973) translation of the novel *The Wonderful Travels of Baron Münchhausen* by Gottfried August Bürger.[28] Another remarkable influence is the novel *Looking Backward: 2000-1887* by Edward Bellamy, which inspired Liang Qichao's novel *Xin Zhongguo weilai ji* 新中國未來記 (The Future of New China), published in 1902 in the journal *Xin Xiaoshuo* 新小說.[29]

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[23] Gernet 2006, p. 67.
[24] Qian Jiang 2013, p. 118.
[25] Isaacson 2017, p. 31.
[26] Teruo Tarumoto 2002.
[27] *Xin shitou ji*, p. 160.
[28] Ma Shaoling 2013, p. 55.
[29] Chen Pingyuan 1997, pp. 293-294.

All these translations had a direct impact on the fictional creation of the proponents of a new novel.[30] As Chen explains, "China lacked these wonderful guides toward knowledge, that is why it was necessary to first go through translations to initiate the spirits. Then, Chinese writers observed the situation of the society of that time, analysed the surrounding tendency, got up and took their brushes and inkwells in order to continue down this path".[31] Traditional Chinese fictional writings felt a shock by these new narrative devices, as well as "the late Qing intellectual 'atmosphere of crisis and utopian hope'"[32] led to the creation of new fictional genres[33] and the reconsideration of traditional fictional writing and themes. As explained by Andolfatto, "[a]s eastward the course of Empire took its way by means of economic, technological, and military coercion, the trauma of semi/hypo-colonisation was re-elaborated through literature, and one of the many by-products of this process of elaboration was 'scientific fiction.'"[34]

While translators like Liang Qichao and Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936) regarded their works as "textbooks" for popular education and scientific awakenings, the most significant outcome of their translations was the birth of a new literary form in China: the scientific novel or *kexue xiaoshuo* 科學小說. Liang Qichao can indeed be considered the first Chinese scholar who concentrated his attention on scientific novels. According to him, these novels that he called "philosophical and scientific novels" in "Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi" 論小說與群治之關係 (On the Relationship Between Fiction and the Government of the People) published in 1902, had to "use fiction to expose philosophy and natural sciences."[35] So, these novels should be able to propagate scientific theories and deep philosophical thoughts.

Lu Xun, another great Chinese man of letters, who translated Jules Verne's *De la Terre à la Lune*, wrote in its foreword that scientific novels should have

[30] The "new novel" discussed here refers to the "literary revolution" promoted by Liang Qichao that is mentioned in his famous article "Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi de guanxi" 論小說與群治之關係 (On the Relationship Between Fiction and the Government of the People): "If today we want to improve the governance of the masses, we have to start from the revolution of the literary world! If we want a new people, we have to start with a new novel!" [故今日欲改良群治，必自小說界革命始！欲新民，必自新小說始！] (*Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi*, on-line at https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/論小說與群治之關係).

[31] Chen Pingyuan 1989, p. 323.

[32] Isaacson 2017, p. 32.

[33] In "Zhongguo weiyi zhi wenxue bao Xin Xiaoshuo" 中國唯一之文學報《新小說》 (*Xin Xiaoshuo*, the only Chinese literary magazine), which was published in 1902 in the *Xinmin Congbao* 新民叢報 (New Citizen), issue fourteen, Liang Qichao precisely identified the fictional genres. This includes "historical novels", "political novels", "philosophical and scientific novels", "military novels", "adventures novels", "investigation novels", "sentimental novels", "uncanny novels", "diary form novels" and "legendary form novels" (*Zhongguo weiyi zhi wenxue bao Xin Xiaoshuo*, pp. 41-46).

[34] Andolfatto 2017, p. 18.

[35] *Zhongguo weiyi zhi wenxue bao Xin Xiaoshuo*, p. 45.

"science as warp and human feelings as weft." According to him, they could "improve thinking and assist civilisation." That is why he claimed that "in order to guide Chinese people toward progress, we must start from scientific novels."[36] As Florence Xiangyun Zhang pointed out, "translating Verne, is to show the fascinating aspect of science, the wonderful future promised by scientific and technical progress, as well as to call to the creation of a scientific literature, in order to water the science desert; this is the dream of the translators of the 1900s."[37] Unlike Liang Qichao who wished that scientific novels could contain metaphysical content, Lu Xun rather hoped that science could be spread among people in their everyday life.

Zhang points out how "[t]heir motive and enthusiasm are obvious: at this time of inventions and scientific discoveries in the Occident, Chinese intellectuals deeply believe that humanity's future relies on science." [38] Numerous discussions have been held on these novels' role in Chinese society. Most of them rallied around the two approaches cited above, to finally foster Lu Xun's approach, which makes scientific novels a tool to promote and spread Western knowledge.

Thus, we find that the wish to establish a new era where science could be hegemonic was already expressed by theorists in the early twentieth century. The promotion of scientific novels had only been made from a scientific view that regarded fiction as a vehicle, rather than from a literary one.

3. Political and Nationalist Content of Scientific Novels

Considering that during the late Qing period China was subject to important troubles and political changes, the science fiction literature of this time mirrors the real historical perspectives, and describes the feeling of an existential crisis felt by the Chinese. Thus, it allows us to understand the social psychology, as well as the *Zeitgeist* of this unusual historical period. As Michael Berry pointed out, "during the first half of the twentieth century, as threats of colonialism, imperialist aggression, warlordism, civil war, and natural disasters plagued China, many of the narratives focusing on historical trauma highlighted the drive to create and cement a new modern conception of the 'Chinese nation.'"[39]

Isaacson points out how "[i]n the context of the colonial threat, a profound pessimism emerged about China's fate as a nation, and this pessimism permeates discourses on science and works of SF from this period."[40] Thus, the study of the themes raised by late Qing scientific novels

[36] *Yuejie lüxing bianyan*, p. 3.
[37] Zhang 2016, p. 284.
[38] Zhang 2016, p. 280.
[39] Berry 2008, p. 5.
[40] Isaacson 2017, p. 1.

clearly highlights a prevalence of some specific themes. Besides the call for the "salvation of the country through science" which became the tenet of the entire period, the awakening of national consciousness, the prospect of political reforms, the beginning of feminist thought, as well as the criticism of superstitions of the past were also highly visible. These works expose the two main particularities of this period: the first one is the curiosity about science and the boundless admiration for it; the second one is the great hope that Western knowledge may contribute to the country's prosperity and power. These scientific novels provide us a real-time testimony and denunciation of foreign invasions, indeed "SF mediated via the language of fiction the traumatic experience of radical otherness that the encounter with the colonizing 'West' brought forward."[41]

We can also identify a warning to their contemporaries about the death of the nation and the extinction of their "race." One of the great obsessions of the intellectuals at that time was indeed the survival of the "Yellow race." Ethnic wars that aim to "reinforce the country and preserve the race" were consequently very common in these novels, and can be seen in *Yueqiu zhimindi xiaoshuo* 月球殖民地小說 (Tales of the Moon Colony) by Huangjiang Diaosou 荒江釣叟, where "Darwinian time and the pseudo-Darwinian vision of the 'survival of the fittest' are central themes."[42] The theme of "survival of the fittest" is expressed through one of the main characters' thoughts while he is imagining lunar landscape:

> 世界之大，真正是無奇不有。可嘆人生在地球上面，竟同那蟻旋磨上，蠶縛繭中，一樣的束縛。[…] 單照這小小月球看起，已文明到這般田地，倘若過了幾年，到我們地球上開起殖民的地方，只怕這紅、黃、黑、白、棕的五大種，另要遭一番的大劫了。月球尚且這樣，若是金、木、水、火、土的五星和那些天王星、海王星，到處都有人物，到處的文明種類，強似我們千倍萬倍，甚至加到無算的倍數，漸漸的又和我們交通，這便怎處？
>
> In this world of grandiosity, it is true that all fantastic phenomena are conceivable. It is sad that humans live at the earth's surface, like this ant that is turning around the sharpener, hobbled like a silkworm in its cocoon. […] When we look up at this teeny tiny Moon, a civilisation has already arrived on this piece of land. If in a few years, this civilisation come to our Earth, I am afraid that the five great races of Red, Yellow, Black, White and Brown will experience a great disaster. The same is true for the Moon: if the five planets that are Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars and Saturn, along with Uranus and Neptune, are all populated; if these civilisations that come from everywhere are one thousand to ten thousand times, or even infinitely more advanced than ours, and if they gradually establish contact with us, what will happen in the end?[43]

[41] Andolfatto 2017, p. 20.
[42] Isaacson 2017, p. 104.
[43] *Yueqiu zhimindi xiaoshuo*, p. 415.

Isaacson mentions how "[t]he novel shares with its contemporaries a sense that China faced an unprecedented crisis, and a pervasive lack of solutions".[44] The combination of perceived oppression and the feeling of powerlessness in the face of this crisis situation made these novels the bearers of hope, with many hoping for a technological development that would enable China to compete with foreign powers. While they acclaimed the technological victory of future China, writers made the conquest of White civilisation a sort of political ideal. This can be seen in an excerpt of *Xin Faluo xiansheng tan*, when Mr. Braggadocio is hoping to be able to awaken:

> 余祖國十八省，大好河山最早文明之國民，以為得余為之導火，必有能醒其迷夢，拂拭睡眼，奮起直追，別構成一真文明世界，以之愧歐美人，而使黃種執其牛耳。
>
> The eighteen provinces of my fatherland, the first civilised people of this wonderful country. I think I can guide them with my radiance and will be necessarily able to awaken them from their illusions, to wipe their drowsy eyes, to straighten them so they can advance even more steeply and create another civilised world, in order to ashame the West and make the Yellow race a sovereign race.[45]

In addition to abhorring foreign invasions, revolutionaries who were enthusiastic due to their high aspirations already understood that late Qing political authority was deeply plagued by corruption. Corruption was present to the point that the government willingly became a slave to Western powers, and was the source of the calamities that had befallen China and was leading it to its loss – due to its betrayal to the nation. Thus, only a radical destruction of the political power could give China the opportunity to regenerate itself. In that respect, numerous calls for reforms took shape in the novels at that time, in particular the ones advocating a "constitutional monarchy" as a new ideal form of government.

Novelists also tackled the problem of women at that time, in particular concerning the practice of footbinding[46] and the question of education women received. Writers hoped to promote a better education for women, in order to make them more independent so as to contribute to the national economy. Regarding the issue of education women received at that time, novelists thought that it was only by improving it that the country could be saved; therefore, the rise of education for women became an urgent task.[47] However, as we explained above, the issue of woman's place in society was not only prompted by ethical concerns, but was also supposed to serve the prosperity and the revival of the nation. Indeed, according to the novelists, who were all men, the women who

[44] Isaacson 2017, p. 105.
[45] *Xin Faluo xiansheng tan*, p. 5.
[46] E.g. *Yueqiu zhimindi xiaoshuo*, pp. 313-314.
[47] E.g. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

were the victims of traditional practices had become a burden to the development of the country.

Through these scientific novels, we become aware of all the efforts made by intellectuals to ensure China a bright future. The reason why they used scientific novels to expose their vision of China's future is because, in that period of unparalleled upheaval and abrupt changes, narrating the background of society was just not enough anymore – they also needed to express a political ideal and to imagine the fate of the nation. Indeed, as Liang Qichao rightly pointed out, "the situation [at that time] was declining and was not enough to constitute a predominant component of an entire book".[48] The novelists had to therefore depict China as already evolved and reformed, in order to turn degradation into triumph.

Since the main leitmotif of both the translation and creation of scientific novels during the late Qing period was precisely to introduce, spread and popularise scientific knowledge, as well as to pass on political messages to the masses through the popular form of the novel, an important educational mission was given to them. Hence, when new matters, whether scientific or political, appeared in scientific novels, explanations of these new principles immediately followed in order to provide readers with corresponding scientific knowledge and political concepts. We can see that these "didactic segments"[49] are divided into different kinds of explanations. They can range from a simple explanatory paragraph to several pages developing the *novums* and scientific and political concepts and theories that are introduced by the novel.

The first kind, which is the most widespread one, is the one provided by characters of the novel themselves. It is indeed very common to see a character, usually an inventor or a guide, taking on the role of a teacher and instilling in the reader's mind numerous scientific knowledge and political messages through his comments. This usually takes the form of a "questions and answers game." As soon as the question is asked, the most comprehensive answer is provided through a "pedagogical scene."[50] We can see such an example in *Xin Faluo xiansheng tan*, where a character, in a long, pseudo-scientific demonstration, proves that all of society's ills are caused by the fact that most people are addicted to drugs (an allusion to opium) and destroying all ambitions and innovative capacities.[51] We can also read a solid example in *Wuotuobang youji* 烏托邦遊記 (Journey to Utopia) by Xiaoran Yusheng 蕭然鬱生, where the main character, in order to justify his wish to travel to Utopia, describes the Chinese society in which he lives through political and social criticism, in which all the author's bitterness emerges:

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[48] 景況易涉頹喪，不足以提挈全書也 (*Zhongguo jindai xiaoshuo shiliao: Xin Xiaoshuo biannian*, on-line at http://www.ilf.cn/Mate/36293_3.html).
[49] Saint-Gelais 1999, p. 143.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 159.
[51] *Xin Faluo xiansheng tan*, pp. 9-10.

> 方丈，這也不是我一人的錯處，無奈舉世矇矇，都是甘心做奴隸的，都是甘心做奴隸的奴隸，教我一個人怎樣振興，況且我國里從前的志士，也是滿口的維新立憲，其實哪裡有點宗旨，哪裡及得歐西各國的大志士，大熱血家，前僕後起的，改良政府，爭回百姓的自由。我祖國的志士，看他從前做百姓的時候，何嘗不口口聲聲的罵政府腐敗，官場腐敗；又何嘗不口口聲聲說，我若一朝得意，要如何改良政府，如何整頓官場，及至一日皇帝叫他做了官了，他可把從前的話忘記了個乾淨，並且是同變了個人一般，所作所為，比著他從前所罵的政府官場還要腐敗十倍。志士尚且如此，其餘的人可想而知，所以我看了這個樣子，從此心灰意懶，愈加棄了祖國，求我一個人自己的嗜好。這次決意要到烏托邦去遊覽，但不知去法，尚求方丈指點。
>
> Abbot, I am not the only one to blame, there is nothing I can do in this world where everyone consents to become a slave, to be a slave who consents to become a slave. Tell me how I can rebuild the country by myself. In addition, concerning the former intellectuals of this country who had noble aspirations and sworn only by the "constitutional reform", how can we actually see their guideline? How can they match the Western great men with noble aspirations who are great enthusiasts who followed one another to improve the government and to regain people's liberty? When they were still part of the people, my compatriots with great aspirations were not shy in constantly criticising government and bureaucracy for their corruption. They also never hesitated to keep repeating how, once they will succeed, they will improve the government and rectify bureaucracy. Until the day comes when the emperor appoints them to a mandarin position, then they can totally forget everything they said before and, like they became another person, act ten times more corrupted than the ones they criticised until then. If this is true for people with noble aspirations, it is easy to imagine how it is for others. That is why, seeing this, I'm demoralised and desert my homeland to seek my own pleasure. This time, I am determined to travel to Utopia, but I ignore how to go there and need guidance from you, Abbot.[52]

The second kind of explanation is very common and can be seen with digressions by the narrator himself along the text. Indeed, it is very often that, in scientific novels, the narrator interferes in the text in order to insert his own opinion into the novel or to expose and explain scientific principles.[53]

Apart from the novels' themes, we can also see pretty obvious political and nationalist meanings in several characters' names. Indeed, numerous characters have a name with hidden dual meanings, whether it be from the literal meaning of the sinograms or by playing on the homophony between them and other sinograms. The purpose of all this is to reflect the author's message, such as in *Yueqiu zhimindi xiaoshuo* with characters named Jia Xiyi 賈西依 (which is the homophone of "false Western medicine" 假西醫), Liu Bowen 劉伯溫 (which refers to Chinese military strategist and statesman Liu Bowen (1311-75), who helped Emperor Hongwu to overthrow the Yuan Dynasty and to found the Ming

[52] *Wutuobang youji*, pp. 76-77.
[53] E.g. *Dian shijie*, p. 431; *Xin Faluo xiansheng tan*, pp. 8, 13.

Dynasty) and Long Bida 龍必大 (which can be translated as "the Dragon has to grow"). In *Xin Shitou ji*, we can also see professors Dong Fangfa 東方法 ("Method of the East"), Duo Yishi 多藝士 ("Mister Multi-arts") and Hua Zili 華自立 ("Independent China"), as well as the character Dong Fangde 東方德 ("Moral of the East") who invented a new military technique which doesn't kill but instead enables consistent victory. In *Dian shijie* 電世界 (The Electric World), the main character's name is Huang Zhenqiu 黃震球, which can be translated as "the Yellows rattle the Earth." Last but not least, in *Xin jiyuan*, the character Huang Zhisheng 黃之盛, has a name that can be translated as "Flourishing Yellow."

So, we can see that the authors clearly put an emphasis on the patriotism that drives these characters. Aside from their names, their personalities also perfectly reflect this intent. Through our reading, we can clearly see three kinds of stock characters of scientists coming up. First of all, there are political leaders who are also erudite elites who master Western science, which represent the political ideal fantasised by the authors. This is the case for Huang Zhenqiu in *Dian shijie*, for example. The second one is a member of a scientific organisation, such as the three professors in *Xin Shitou ji* aforementioned, who cooperate in developing an electrical cannon that far outweighs the competition. Last but not least, the scientist who is entirely independent from any political authority and who is sometimes even a revolutionary. We can see such characters in *Nüwa shi* 女媧石 (The Nüwa Stone),[54] in which the main female character is a revolutionary who studied abroad. Besides these scientists, numerous novels depict travelers who travel all around the world, driven by their patriotic fervour. They therefore encounter new societies and inventions that are enigmatic as well as inspirational to them.

Conclusion

To conclude, it seems that the introduction of foreign ideas, cultural trends and material culture, as well as the subjection of China to European powers and the threat of mass annihilation provoked by the European colonialist expansion are central to the development of the genre in China and echo in the themes it arises. Indeed, as Michael Berry pointed out, "[t]wentieth-century China represents a time and a place marred by the unrelenting vicissitudes of history and the repeated trauma of violence. Struggling to redefine its position in the world after the harrowing Opium Wars of the mid-nineteenth century and a devastating defeat at the hands of Japan during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95."[55] That is

[54] Two chapters of this novel have been translated into French by Florine Leplâtre and are accessible online; see Leplâtre 2017.
[55] Berry 2008, p. 1.

why novelists and proponents of a new novel promoted scientific novels from a purely utilitarian point of view. Liang Qichao gave support to the translation and writing of scientific novels from a politician's point of view rather than that of a man of letters. Numerous progressive intellectuals at that time had the same opinion, and found in scientific novels a convenient and efficient way to spread political ideas and Western scientific knowledge to Chinese people. This literary genre was given the role of a beacon guiding the people through this period of troubles, enabling the spread of scientific knowledge, as well as awakening the people in order to reinforce the country.

Consequently, fictional expression at that time revealed strong political overtones, through its themes and its ideology, and is reflected in characters' personalities, depicted as patriots who are seeking the nation's salvation. However, Chinese science fiction seems to be as much concerned with the indigenous traditions of its own country as it is with foreign invasions. Indeed, as Lorenzo Andolfatto pointed out, "the estrangement of the Chinese colonized subject was twofold: it was directed toward the raw, unsymbolized otherness of a foreign cultural agglomerate (the 'West') that was forcefully making its way into China's boundaries, but also toward the deficiencies of its own epistemological apparatus (that is, the discourse of tradition), now obsolete.".[56] That is why, through its literary themes, we can see that scientific novels aimed to educate and teach new scientific knowledge, but also tried to eradicate troubles caused by tradition and superstitions of yesteryear that were passed on to future generations.

Thus, we could say that science fiction literature in China was an "aftermath of trauma" that followed the confrontation between China and Western powers. As we saw above, this "clash of civilisations" totally upset China, whether it be from a political, social, cultural, economic, epistemological or cosmological point of view, or from its vision of time (from cyclical to linear) and space (from the Middle Kingdom to a submissive country in a globalised world). Following the trauma left by foreign invasions, the introduction of Western science, Darwinian theory of evolution and social Darwinism, science fiction was therefore promoted through a modernised movement launched at this period.

This literary genre has therefore provided Chinese people, who were living in this historical context of existential crisis, with a literary form that enabled them to express their own feelings and anxiousness, and to believe in sunlight when water was falling from the sky.

[56] Andolfatto 2017, p. 20.

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JESUIT EDUCATIONAL TRADITION AND THE REMAKING OF ERUDITE SCHOLARS IN LATE-QING CHINA: A CASE STUDY OF LI WENYU 李問漁 (1840-1911)

BAI LIMIN 白莉民
(Victoria University of Wellington)

This paper investigates how the Jesuit educational tradition influenced the remaking of erudite scholars (*tongru* 通儒) in the late Qing period, with a focus on Li Wenyu 李問漁 (1840-1911), a native Catholic priest of the Society of Jesus in Shanghai. Li Wenyu, like Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯 (1840-1939), was educated at the Collège de Saint-Ignace in Zi-ka-wei (Xujiahui 徐家匯). Both men were preeminent Catholic scholars and educators, but Ma was also a politician and was active and influential in the late-Qing reforms, while Li devoted himself to Catholic education and journalism. Although they differed in their personalities and career paths, they both possessed a firm faith in Christianity and shared the same views on the relationship between religion and modern science, as well as between religion and modern education. While this study will inevitably refer to Ma Xiangbo's ideas and his activities, the primary focus is on the lesser known Li Wenyu.

This study first narrates how the Chinese term of *tongru* was redefined to embrace the Western learning introduced to China by the early Jesuits. This historical description provides a context against which I investigate Li Wenyu's life, education, and work in order to establish Li as an erudite scholar as a result of the Jesuit education he received in Zi-ka-wei. Then, Li's views on the century-long conflicts and interactions between China and the West, Confucianism and Christianity, and religion and modern science are elucidated. Li's views reflect both his education and his position as a Jesuit priest, providing insights into the Chinese clergy's understanding of issues regarding whether early Jesuits edited scientific knowledge to suit their agenda of spreading the Christian faith. This study suggests a close link between the Jesuit educational tradition and the *tianxue* 天學 ('learning of Heaven', or 'learning from Heaven', or 'studies of Heaven') package that the early Jesuits conveyed to China. This *tianxue* package was instrumental to Ma Xiangbo's proposal for the revival of the early Jesuit accommodation policy. In order to show the evolution of this

tianxue package from the late Ming to the end of the nineteenth century, this study further investigates Li Wenyu's refutation of Yan Fu's *Tianyan lun* to illustrate Li's broad knowledge of Chinese and Western learning, and more importantly to point to the link between the Jesuit educational tradition and the emergence of a newly-defined concept of 'erudite' at the turn of the century. This may provide an innovative perspective on the early Jesuit legacy from the late Ming to the early twentieth century.

1. The Changed Definition of Erudite Scholars in Late-Qing China

Tongru, the Chinese term for erudite scholars, can be traced back to Han documents. It was used to refer to those scholars who had mastered a broad range of knowledge through their comprehensive studies.[1] However, within the framework of traditional Chinese learning, a *tongru* normally referred to a widely read scholar who was familiar with all Confucian classics along with all scholarly works on such classics. The civil service examination system after the Tang Dynasty (618-907 CE) enhanced this definition of a *tongru* by rewarding such scholars with official positions. This may provide us with a context against which to postulate why Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) was held in high regard by late-Ming scholars such as Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562-1633), Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565-1630),[2] and Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠 (1557-1627). They were impressed by Ricci's Western knowledge that introduced them to a type of erudition they had never known before. They therefore used the term *xiru* 西儒, meaning a Confucian scholar from the West, to express their admiration for his broad knowledge. Meanwhile, the early Jesuits, beginning with Francis Xavier (1506-1552),[3] and later Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607),[4] and Ricci all learned of the Chinese respect for knowledge. Their erudition indeed won the respect of scholars like Xu Guangqi, and their knowledge provided passage to the world of scholars in late-Ming China.

The *xixue* 西學 (Western learning) package that the Jesuits introduced into China at that time mirrored the education they received. As formulated in the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599, Jesuit education mainly contained the classical subjects: theology, philosophy, Latin, and Greek. According to the *Ratio*, pupils at the lower level focused on humanities, studying Latin and Greek grammar,

[1] *Hou Hanshu*, pp. 127, 153.
[2] According to Fang Hao (1966), Li Zhizao was born in 1565, and most scholars followed Fang's conclusion. But Gong Yingyan and Ma Qiong (2008, p. 90) claim that based on the new material they found Li's birth year should be 1571.
[3] Sebes 1988, p. 25.
[4] Michele Ruggieri, an Italian Jesuit, was the first Western missionary to arrive in China in the sixteenth century.

syntax, and rhetoric, as well as geography and history. Following their studies in the humanities, the pupils progressed on to study philosophy. The curricula required three years to complete:

> The Ratio of 1599 prescribed for the *First Year*: Introduction and Logic; *Second Year*: Physics, Cosmology and Astronomy; *Third Year*: Special Metaphysics, Psychology and Ethics. A course of mathematics runs parallel with philosophy.[5]

Both natural sciences and mathematics were part of the philosophical course which unified the teaching of literary and scientific subjects.[6] In his study of the treatment of mathematics in the definitive 1599 *Ratio Studiorum*, Dennis C. Smolarski suggests:

> Jesuit schools were being founded around the time of Galileo and other key figures who influenced the scientific revolution. The introduction of mathematical sciences into universities and the textbooks of Clavius laid the groundwork for generations of students to become better acquainted with mathematics and the sciences that were being developed during that period of history.[7]

The early Jesuit tradition Ricci established in China was consistent with the educational principles stipulated in the *Ratio Studiorum*. Ricci studied under Clavius at the Roman College from about 1572 until 1577. Equipped with such knowledge, Ricci went to China in 1582 where he used "his mathematical acumen to gain credibility in China, initially by translating two of Clavius' mathematical books into Chinese, thereby giving the Orient its first opportunity to enjoy Euclid."[8]

The early Jesuits' erudition granted them access to the cultural elite of China. Ricci's popularity among the Chinese literati was due to his moral conduct, familiarity with the Confucian classics, and his knowledge of mathematics and other sciences, as well as "his alleged knowledge and experience in alchemy."[9] For example, Li Zhizao was first attracted to Ricci's map of the world, which led him to the 'science' brought to China by the missionaries.

In particular, as the 'Three Pillars' of Catholicism in Ming China, Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizao, and Yang Tingyun were interested in Western mathematics, and intended to use such knowledge to broaden the framework of traditional Chinese learning and to improve calendar making. Their admiration for Western mathematics can be seen in the preface they each wrote for the *Guide to*

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[5] Schwickerath 1903, p. 131.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[7] Smolarski 2002, p. 447.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 451. About the friendship between Galileo and Father Clavius, see D'Elia 1960, pp. 7-8.
[9] Sebes 1988, p. 41.

Calculation.[10] It was Ricci's knowledge and his "strength of character" that attracted them and other literati to Christianity.[11]

More importantly, the Western learning they introduced to China was an integrated package of Christianity and scientific knowledge. This was not just a strategy where scientific knowledge was used as 'bait' in order to propagate Christianity. In Jesuit education, science subjects were part of their studies in philosophy and theology. The Chinese believers, such as the Three Pillars of Catholicism mentioned above, understood this package well because, in traditional Chinese scholarship, the study of natural phenomena, technology, ethics, and philosophical teachings formed an organic whole. This fundamental common ground was the foundation upon which late-Ming scholars and early Jesuits exchanged knowledge and worked to blend such Western learning into the Chinese system.[12] Therefore, it was not surprising that in 1628 Li Zhizao compiled *Tianxue chuhan* 天學初函 (The first Collection on the Learning from Heaven), containing both scientific knowledge and religious writings.[13] Ricci and Li Zhizao both grasped the relationship between the study of the natural world and God, its creator, and here the term *tianxue* perfectly allowed them to embrace metaphysics as well as physics. To the late-Ming scholars, the Jesuit's understanding of *tian* 天 served to enhance their status as erudite scholars.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Christianity re-entered China along with the gunboats of Western powers. Most Chinese viewed missionaries as accomplices of Western invasions; on the other hand, however, in order to restructure the system of Chinese learning, scholar-reformers like Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929) were willing to learn new knowledge from missionaries and Chinese Christians who were trained by Jesuits. Under such circumstances, and prior to the 1898 Reform, the Jesuit Society of Shanghai at Zi-ka-wei – where Chinese and French Jesuits had mastered Latin, English, French, and other European languages, as well as modern scientific knowledge – became a symbol of eruditeness. Liang Qichao is purported to have contacted Valentin Garnier (Ni Huairen 倪懷綸 in Chinese, 1825-1898), the apostolic vicar of Jiangnan (1879-1898), through the ambassador of France in Beijing, asking him to allow Ma Xiangbo, the very influential Chinese Jesuit and reform activist of the late Qing, to establish a translation college (Yixue guan 譯學館) in Beijing. Ma Xiangbo then wrote to the Qing Court requesting that this college be located in Shanghai, and that the priests of the Shanghai Jesuit Society be invited to help manage and administrate this future college. At that time, both Liang and Ma believed that training *yicai* 譯才 (talented translators) was one of the most urgent reform measures China needed to implement. The proposal was granted by both Bishop Garnier and the

[10] Hart 2012, p. 131.
[11] Peterson 1988, p. 140.
[12] Sebes 1988, p. 40.
[13] Peterson 1988, pp. 141-142.

Guangxu Emperor. Unfortunately, however, the project fell through because of the failure of the 1898 Reform.[14]

In the final decades of the nineteenth century, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries attempted to influence the course of China's reforms, and education was regarded as the key to achieving change in China. Ma Xiangbo – as a preeminent Catholic scholar, educator, and politician – urged the Catholic Church to resume Ricci's legacy of *xueshu chuanjiao* 學術傳教, advocating the use of scholarship to spread the gospel instead of relying on the power of the gunboat.[15] For secular Chinese thinkers and scholar-reformers, the synthesis of Western knowledge and Chinese learning was not purely an academic exercise but a key element essential to China's survival. It was in this historical context that the concept of *tongru* or erudition was redefined and the native Catholic priests of the Society of Jesus in Shanghai, such as Ma Xiangbo and Li Wenyu, were highly respected as erudite scholars.

2. Li Wenyu and the Jesuit Educational Tradition

Li Wenyu lived during a time when China faced encroachment from Western powers while it was internally undergoing reforms and revolutionary initiatives. Li was one of two sons of a seventh-generation Catholic family located in Xi Lijia, a village in Chuansha, Jiangsu Province (today Chuansha is part of Shanghai). Not long after his birth, the first Opium War (1839-1842) ended with the signing of the Treaty of Nanking which, among other settlements, lifted the 1724 Qing government's prohibition against Christianity. Li received his traditional Chinese education from a local teacher named Zhuang Songlou 莊松樓, who also came from a Catholic family of many generations. Apparently, the early Jesuits had a strong influence in this region thanks to the legacy of Xu Guangqi. In 1852, Li left home and entered the Collège de Saint-Ignace in Zi-ka-wei when it first opened. He was among the first Jesuit novices recruited from the Major Seminary in 1862. By then, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries had gained more important concessions because of the treaties of 1858-60 – a result of China's defeat in the second Opium War (1856-1860). The treaties permitted missionary members to travel and promulgate Christian faith in the interior of China. In 1869, Li was ordained as a priest in the Shanghai mission. After he obtained his Doctorate in Theology in 1871, he began to preach in Songjiang, Nanhui, and Yingzhou. In 1875 he returned to the Collège de Saint-Ignace as the principal in charge of Chinese language teaching. After his mission to Anhui (1876-1877), Li returned to Zi-ka-wei in 1878 and

[14] Zhang Ruogu 1939, pp. 197-198.

[15] Ma Xiangbo, "Xueshu chuanjiao" 学术传教, in Zhu Weizheng 1996, p. 599. For biographical information on Ma, other than in Zhang Ruogu's *Ma Xiangbo xiansheng nianpu*, see Fang Hao 1988, pp. 292-298.

launched the *Yiwenlu* 益聞錄, a Chinese Catholic newspaper, while undertaking teaching duties at the Minor Seminary located in Dongjiadu 董家渡. In 1898, the *Yiwenlu* merged with *Gezhi xinbao* 格致新報 to become *I-Wen-Lou et Revue Scientifique* (*Gezhi yiwen huibao* 格致益聞匯報), which in 1899 was abbreviated to *Huibao* 匯報 (Revue pour Tous). Under Li Wenyu's editorship the newspaper continued until 1911 when Li passed away.[16] Three months after his death, the Qing Empire collapsed and China completed its constitutional journey from an absolute monarchy to a republic.

Li Wenyu received a Jesuit education at the Collège de Saint-Ignace in Zi-ka-wei and later at the Seminary. The Jesuit education in the nineteenth century expanded the curriculum and scope of knowledge, as the 1832 revised *Ratio* emphasized teaching in the mother tongue, and added physics, chemistry, physiology, astronomy, geology, and cosmology, which were "taught according to the established principles of modern sciences."[17] Nevertheless, the broadened content of Jesuit education still embraced the *tianxue* package the early Jesuits and Chinese Catholic scholars referred to.

The Chinese term *tian*, however, has a more ambiguous meaning than the word 'Heaven' in English. Jacques Gernet's *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures* has been controversial since its publication in the 1980s,[18] but he is right to point out that the term 'Heaven' may not convey the precise meaning of the term *tian* in Chinese, as *tian* is "a concept in which secular and religious aspects merge";[19] whereas "for the Christians the word 'Heaven' is simply a metaphor to refer to God and his angels, and paradise and its elect." Also, the term *tian* in Chinese "expresses an order that is both divine and natural, both social and cosmic."[20] In the Chinese classics, such as the *Book of Changes* (*I Ching* 易經), "Heaven appears not as a way of referring to a personal, creator God, but as the anonymous power whose continuous action ensures the alternations and equilibrium of nature."[21]

In the view of Gernet, this linguistic difference was associated with the difference between Chinese and Greek thought.[22] However, to both Ricci and

[16] The detailed information used here to sketch Li's life is largely based on Xu Zongze 1936, pp. 722-729. See also Fang Hao 1988, pp. 284-248; Chen Baixi 1962, pp. 66-69. For detailed information on *Yiwenlu* and *Huibao*, see Ge Boxi 1987, pp. 190-196.
[17] Schwickerath 1903, p. 194.
[18] For criticism of the book, see the book reviews by Ching 1987; Mungello 1988; Cohen 1987. Paul Rule's interpretation of the terms *tian* and *tianzhu* also disagreed with Gernet's view, see Rule 2001, pp. 63-80.
[19] Gernet 1985, p. 193.
[20] *Ibid.,* p. 194.
[21] *Ibid.,* p. 196.
[22] Gernet says: "The Chinese tendency was to deny any opposition between the self and the world, the mind and the body, the divine and the cosmic"; and they refused to "make any radical distinction between nature and its power of organisation and generation," as Chinese thought "never had separated the sensible from the rational, never had imaged any 'spiritual

converted Chinese scholars of the late Ming, the ambiguous meanings of *tian* provided the Chinese with the linguistic vehicle for consolidating their knowledge packages. This linguistic vehicle allowed Ricci and his followers to adopt the vocabulary from Confucian classics and interpret them in Christian terms. More importantly, the religious aspects of the *tian* can be used to refer to God while the natural aspect of *tian* can be used for science. Meanwhile, in Ricci's journal the term '*questa scientia*' was used to give ambiguity to the meaning 'scientific' knowledge and 'learning from Heaven', as the term is translated as 'this knowledge.' This ambiguity may be attributed to the original meaning of 'scientia' which, in Ricci's time, referred to any kind of organized knowledge, and thus included theology.[23] The ambiguous but broader connotations of these two terms were perfectly accommodated in the term *tianxue* (learning from Heaven)[24] which, as argued in the previous section, integrated Western learning into the Chinese system, and where Christianity blended together with scientific knowledge to become Western learning.[25]

Li Wenyu, along with the brothers Ma Xiangbo and Ma Jianzhong 馬建中 (1844-1900), differed from late-Ming Chinese converts as they came from established Catholic families and trained as Catholic priests. They received a complete Jesuit education at the Collège de Saint-Ignace, where they studied science subjects, philosophy, theology, French, and Latin, as well as classical Chinese. Their training was perhaps more aligned with the revised *Ratio* of the nineteenth century, and science subjects were taught in accordance with "the established principles of modern sciences." The Ma brothers were sought-after figures in the late-Qing reforms thanks to their education, language capacity, and knowledge of the West. They left the Society of Jesus to work for Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901) and were actively involved in the late-Qing reform movement. The Ma brothers became active members of the Church as laymen, whereas Li Wenyu devoted himself to teaching, translation, writing, and editorial duties as a clergyman. As the chief editor for the first Chinese Catholic newspaper, professor for the only Catholic university of the time, writer, and translator, he held a pivotal role in Zi-ka-wei, and was influential as a Catholic scholar, journalist, and educator.[26] As the chief-editor for the Catholic Chinese newspaper for 33 years, Li represented the voice of the Church and the Catholic community. After his death, the Catholic community commemorated his

substance distinct from the material,' never had conceived of the existence of a world of eternal truths separated from this world of appearances and transitory realities." *Ibid.*, p. 201.

[23] Elman 2006, pp. 3, 15.

[24] There are various translations of the term *tianxue*. Willard Peterson translates it as 'learning from Heaven' (see Peterson 1998, pp. 789-839). But Paul Rule postulates that the term should be translated as 'heavenly learning', as 'heaven' in the term is the object but not the source of study (Paul Rule's unpublished manuscript on Chinese Rites, Chapter 4). I am grateful to Dr. Paul Rule for providing me with his argument and this information.

[25] Sebes 1988, p. 40.

[26] Kurtz 2006, pp. 147-156.

contribution to the propagation of Catholic faith as well as his scholarly achievements.[27] Li Wenyu's perspective on the world outside the church wall might have differed from people such as Ma Xiangbo but, like Ma Xiangbo, Li believed that the early Jesuit tradition served him well, and he promoted both science and Christian religion in China with a firm belief that both were needed for addressing China's problems.

3. Li Wenyu and Knowledge Transmission

Jonathan D. Spence coined the phrase "the ascent to Peking" to 'encapsulate' his view of the significance of Ricci in the encounter between China and the West in the late Ming. Ricci's 'ascent' is firstly "a cartographic ascent", referring to his long journey from south to north, moving toward his goal. Secondly, this 'ascent' refers to Ricci's "growing linguistic skills", and the third aspect of Ricci's 'ascent' is the sensitivity through "which he learned to take Chinese values ever more seriously."[28] Ricci's ascent laid the foundation for the early Jesuit tradition.

Ricci inherited his predecessors' ideas and practices and fostered the development of cultural accommodation, which became the tradition of the early Jesuits. In this tradition, there was respect for the native culture. Such respect was embodied in their learning of the native languages and their sensitivity towards the native cultures. The translation and interpretation of the Confucian classics, such as the *Four Books* and *Five Classics* (*Sishu Wujing* 四書五經), was also part of "the Jesuit program of accommodation and the attempt to make the Confucian Classics meld harmoniously with the role they had been assigned in the Confucian-Christian synthesis."[29]

As mentioned earlier, when Li Wenyu and Ma Xiangbo entered the Collège de Saint-Ignace, Father Angelo Zottoli (Chao Deli 晁德蒞 in Chinese, 1826-1902) was in charge of teaching, and he fostered the early Jesuit tradition by encouraging young pupils to continue their study of Chinese classics. Zottoli himself was a Sinologist.[30] Along with the continuity of this early Jesuit

[27] Immediately after Li's death, *Shengxin bao* 聖心報 [Sacred Heart] reported this sad news along with biographical information about his life, work and achievements (July 1911, no. 290). In 1936, the Catholic community commemorated the 25th anniversary of his death and published essays to celebrate his life and work; among which Xu Zongze 1936 portrays Li's life in detail, including a brief chronology of Li Wenyu and a report of Xu's visit to Li's family.

[28] Spence 1988, pp. 12-13.

[29] Mungello 1988, pp. 260-261.

[30] For information on Zottoli and the curriculum of the Collège de Saint-Ignace when Zottoli was principal, see Hayhoe and Lu 1996, pp. 102-104 (especially ft. 25, which gives a brief introduction to the life and work of Zottoli), 151-153; and for the personal relationship between Ma and Zottoli, pp. 111-112. For a more detailed biography of Zottoli, see Fang Hao

tradition, at that time the Church also encouraged students to prepare for the civil service examinations. A high rate of student success in the examination would certainly enhance the reputation of the Church. There was also a practical consideration for these training-to-be priests: to prepare students for a secular life in case they could not complete the novitiate or they wanted to leave the Jesuit order later.[31] When Ma Xiangbo was principal of the college, he wanted to continue with this early Jesuit tradition, and emphasized the study of Confucian classics, Chinese history, philosophy, and literature.[32] Li Wenyu maintained the same focus when he replaced Ma as head of the college in 1875. In 1909 he compiled *Guwen shiji* 古文拾級 (Classical Chinese Essays), which contains one hundred essays from the late Qing tracing back to the pre-Han period. The term '*shiji*' in the title means 'to ascend the stairs' and vividly illustrated the order of the essays collected in this volume: the essays were presented in reverse chronological order, the latest going first, then backwards to the most ancient. In this way students could gradually master classical Chinese.[33] In his foreword to this volume, Ma Xiangbo regarded it as a bridge to the literature produced in ancient times (足為逮古之津梁).[34]

Ma Xiangbo believed that language was the key to the essence of a particular civilization – a country's wisdom and culture were embodied in its language. This was why, he asserted, the study of Chinese language was so important. Ma's brother, Ma Jianzhong, in 1898 compiled the *Ma Grammar* (*Mashi wentong* 馬氏文通),[35] "the first Chinese systematic grammar written by a Chinese scholar."[36] Ma Xiangbo said that the *Ma Grammar* only provided a basic idea of how to write Chinese essays, and students needed to learn how to structure an essay. Ma then praised Li Wenyu's compilation of this volume which he believed would benefit students and contribute to the preservation of the essence of Chinese learning (*guocui* 國粹).[37]

As well as emphasising the study of Chinese classics, the early Jesuit tradition blended Western learning into Chinese culture and knowledge. Jonathan Spence relates the fourth aspect of Ricci's 'ascent' to "his roots in the intellectual soil of classical Rome", and "the reinterpreting of those roots" was

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1988, pp. 260-262.

[31] Kurtz 2010, pp. 79-109

[32] Ma Xiangbo, *Yiri yitan* 一日一谈 [Daily Chat], in Zhu Weizheng 1996, p. 1085.

[33] Li Wenyu, "Guwen shiji xu" 古文拾級序 [Preface to Guwen shiji], in *Guwen shiji*, p. 4.

[34] Ma Xiangbo, "Guwen shiji xu" 古文拾級序 [Forward to Guwen shiji], in *Guwen shiji*, p. 3.

[35] Nowadays many scholars believe that Ma Xiangbo also contributed to the compilation of *Mashi wentong*. For a synthesized report on the discussion of the authorship of *Mashi wentong*, see Yao Xiaoping 2006. There are numerous studies on the *Mashi wentong* in Chinese, such as Lü and Wang 1991. For a study of the book in English, see Peyraube 2004, pp. 341-355. Peyraube traces similarities between the *Ma Grammar* and the works on Indo-European languages, and argues that the book is designed like a Western grammar book.

[36] Alleton 2004, p. 216.

[37] Ma Xiangbo, "Guwen shiji xu", pp. 2-3.

"central to Renaissance humanism."[38] In order to summarise the meaning of Chinese 'ethical and philosophical stances' for his colleagues and friends in Portugal and Italy, Ricci's classical learning enabled him to draw analogies between Confucian classics and Latin and Greek. Meanwhile, "he deliberately uses Roman and Latin models to impart his ideas to the Chinese, surely because he felt such models would have a greater initial impact than images drawn from the Old or New Testament." In his *Western Memory Techniques*, Ricci "drew almost the whole work from Cicero, Quintilian, Seneca, and above all Pliny's *Natural History*" in classical Chinese.[39] In this sense, Ricci's classical learning served his purpose of blending Confucianism with Christianity and bridging the East and West. This 'ascent' formed a significant part of Ricci's cultural accommodation policy and became an integral part of the early Jesuit tradition.

The academic training Li Wenyu and Ma Xiangbo received at the Collège de Saint-Ignace can be seen as a continuity of Ricci's policy. This early Jesuit tradition advocated the synthesis of Western and Chinese learning which, to a certain extent, coincided with the ideas held by both Qing government reformers such as Li Hongzhang, Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (1811-1872), and Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837-1909), as well as influential scholar-reformers like Liang Qichao. However, none of these reformers had both Chinese and Western education training like Ma Xiangbo and Li Wenyu. Ma addressed the issue from a totally different perspective. Like Ricci, Ma intended to use Latin as a tool to bridge East and West, to combine the essence of the cultures of the two most renowned empires – ancient Rome and China – and then to re-construct a new and unique scholarship which would shine in China.

At that time, both Ma Xiangbo and Li Wenyu had already understood that Western technology was not the only key to a nation's progress and prosperity. In his preface to *Guwen shiji*, Li Wenyu emphasized the significance of learning the classical Chinese language. In 1885, Li Wenyu, with Bishop Valentin Garnier, travelled to Hankou for a meeting; the Bishop pointed to the ships on the Yangtze River, saying: "This is what people admire the most. […] It can travel around the globe, connecting with hundreds of countries among five continents. It enables countries to trade and expand their national powers across borders. Nothing can be greater than this!" Li said that at first he agreed with the Bishop, but then had second thoughts: "A boat can only carry people and goods, but not a civilization. A boat can travel a long distance, but cannot run through the history of a nation. What is the greatest achievement of human society? It would be nothing but language."[40] In his view the classical Chinese language was the bridge between the present and the past. At that time, China had adopted a modern school system based on the Japanese model, and students began to study different subjects in accordance with modern curricula and would not have

[38] Spence 1988, p. 14.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[40] Li Wenyu, "Guwen shiji xu", pp. 1-2.

the time to study the classical language. Those who wanted to pursue classical learning also found it was too difficult to discern what they should study. The collection of classical Chinese essays compiled by Li Wenyu, intended for beginners, aimed to address these issues and attract students to study the classical Chinese language under the changed education system.[41] This collection is also a reflection of the legacy of Jesuit education and the early Jesuit tradition upheld through its educational practice in Zi-ka-wei.

Both Ma Xiangbo and Li Wenyu held a key role in the assimilation of scientific knowledge along with Christian faith and the promotion of a modern education system. In 1900, Ma Xiangbo donated all his wealth to the Church to establish Aurora Academy (L'Aurore in French, and Zhendan 震旦 in Chinese) in Shanghai.[42] From then on Ma Xiangbo tirelessly devoted himself to founding modern education, hoping that he could make a difference to China. From this perspective, his admiration of ancient Roman civilization and his advocacy for the study of Latin was an expression of his desire for young people to obtain a deep understanding of Western cultures; only then could Western systems and methods be adopted wisely and work effectively for China.[43]

As mentioned earlier, Ma Xiangbo is well known for his devotion to the establishment of modern education in China. Li's activities in promoting science and education, however, are less well known. In fact, Li was crucial to the ongoing operation of this first Catholic university in Shanghai running. Because of conflict with the French Jesuits regarding the management of the institute, Ma Xiangbo left Aurora with his student followers and went on to establish Fudan. Aurora was then forced to cease its operation until Li Wenyu was appointed president. He invited famous locals such as Zhang Jian 張謇 (1853-1926)[44] onto the university Board and, in August 1905, Aurora commenced operating again under Li's leadership.[45] Li was also a professor of philosophy at the university.

Moreover, Li Wenyu contributed to the spread of scientific knowledge in China through the first Chinese Catholic newspaper he edited. After the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, the Society of Jesus in Shanghai became actively involved in the introduction of modern science to the Chinese audience and also supported the reform movement (*weixin* 维新) in 1898. A monthly journal, *Gezhi xinbao* 格致新報 (the Revue Scientifique), was published by two Chinese Catholic believers in Shanghai from March to August 1898; then it merged with *Yiwenlu* into the brand-new *Gezhi yiwen huibao* (I-wen-lou et Revue

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
[42] The deed Ma signed for his endowment was dated 1900 (see Zhu Weizheng 1996, p. 36). In 1902 the regulations for Aurora were drafted (see Zhu Weizheng 1996, pp. 41-43). The institution came to existence in 1903.
[43] For a study of Ma Xiangbo and his activities in education, see Huang Shuguang 2004.
[44] Zhang Jian was a well-known entrepreneur, politician, and educationalist. For biographical information on Zhang Jian, see Zhang Xiaoruo 1930; Zhang Kaiyuan 2011. There are many research works on Zhang Jian and, for a recent study, see Wei Chunhui 2011.
[45] Jiang E'ying 2001, p. 74.

Scientifique). As mentioned earlier, it remained under the editorship of Li Wenyu and was issued twice a week. In August 1899, it changed to *Huibao*, while a separate weekly science magazine, *Kexue huibao* 科學匯報, was edited by a Belgian called Van Hee (He Shishen 赫師慎 in Chinese), answering questions relating to science. This science magazine was short-lived after Van Hee returned to Belgium, but *Huibao* continued to be published as a Chinese Catholic newspaper until August 1911, about two months after the death of Li Wenyu.[46] Li Wenyu signalled that the newspaper aimed to prioritize the publication of Western learning over daily news, and to educate all literate Chinese on the key points of scientific knowledge.[47]

Among Li's translated works, the book *Xixue guanjian* 西學關鍵 (Key to Western Learning) made an outstanding contribution to China's wave of new learning.[48] It stemmed from *A Guide to the Scientific Knowledge of Things Familiar*, which was first published in 1838 and was the first major book written by Rev. Dr Ebenezer Cobham Brewer (1810-1897). It provided scientific explanations for common phenomena and was intended for readers with a limited knowledge of science. This small volume achieved unprecedented success and was translated into other languages including French, Spanish, and Portuguese. By 1905 the English version alone had been reprinted forty-seven times. It was translated into French under the title *La clef de la science, ou Les phénomènes de tous les jours expliqués,* by François Napoléon Marie Moigno (1804-1884), a mathematician, physicist, writer, and translator. This French version was published by H. Loones (Paris) in 1876. Li's translation was based on this French version, and he was aware that the original book was very well received in many countries, enjoying great popularity.[49]

Li's translation was published in 1903 after the Qing government had issued a proclamation to establish a modern school system and to integrate the content of Western learning into traditional Chinese education. Li stated that the then Qing Court realized that China faced a difficult time; in order to save the country, the emperor circulated an edict in 1898 to replace 'eight-legged essays' in the civil examinations with *celun* 策論 (political commentaries); and to change *shuyuan* 書院 (academies) at all levels to *xuetang* 學堂 (modern schools), where the curriculum would include both Chinese and Western learning. Li stated that he understood that "[the study of scientific knowledge] is fundamental for China to be wealthy and strong", and the book he translated would contribute to the spread of scientific knowledge and train the talented.[50] This was in accordance with educational reform measures proposed in the 1898 Reform and

[46] Elman 2005, p. 386; Wang Jianhui 2006.
[47] Li Wenyu, "'Xixue guanjian' xu" 西學關鍵序 [Preface to Key to Western Learning], in *Xixue guanjian*, pp. 1b-2a.
[48] For a list of Li's writings and translated works, see Kurtz 2006, pp. 147-156.
[49] Li Wenyu, "Xixue guanjian xu", p. 2b.
[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 1b-2a.

implemented in the wake of the Boxer Rebellion, as well as the 1903 Regulation which devised the first modern school system in China. From this perspective, we may say that Li Wenyu's service to the Church was relevant to the building of a modern China.

4. Li Wenyu's Refutation of Yan Fu's Tianyan lun

In the late Ming and early Qing period, European astronomy was transformed by the invention of the telescope and acceptance of the heliocentric theory of Copernicus. Chinese interest in Western knowledge, however, focused narrowly on the prediction of solar eclipses and the calculation of the calendar. The intellectual impact of Jesuit knowledge of mathematics and astronomy only stimulated curiosity amongst a fraction of Chinese literati, who intended to employ it to complement what was lacking in traditional Chinese learning. From the Opium War onward, Western sciences were regarded as medicine crucial to the survival of China. Translated missionary works and their writings were an important source of Western learning for intellectuals like Liang Qichao. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, Western information flooded into China and missionary sources were no longer the only channel for the transmission of Western learning. This challenged the Church's authority on knowledge transmission. Meanwhile, the secular movement in the West further encouraged the Chinese endeavour to separate religion from modern science and Christianity from Western learning. For example, in his writings prior to the 1898 Reform, Liang Qichao carefully separated the Christian religion (*jiao* 教) from Western secular learning (*xue* 學).[51] Li Wenyu's refutation of Yan Fu's translation of Huxley's work reflected this critical situation.

In 1906, Li Wenyu published *Tianyan lun boyi* 天演論駁議 (A Refutation of Evolution Theory) to rebut Yan Fu's (嚴復, 1854-1921) translation of Thomas Huxley's work *Evolution and Ethics*. Li's work was appended to *Zhexue tigang* 哲學提綱 (Outlines of Philosophy), a collection of his philosophy lectures at Aurora University.[52] It should be noted that some pieces from this book had been published in *Huibao* under his pseudonym "Damuzhai zhu" 大木齋主.[53] In 1909, parts of the *Tianyanlun boyi* appeared once again as a series of essays on evolution in the September and October issues of *Huibao*, though this time the essays were under the pen name "Xu-bai-shi zhu" 虛白室主 (the master of the

[51] See Liang Qichao's *Xixue shumubiao* 西學書目表 [Bibliography on Western Learning] and *Bianfa tongyi* 變法通議 [On Reforms] – both were written and published in 1896; Bai 2001, p. 143.

[52] Wang Tiangen 2006, p. 229; Kurtz 2006, pp. 147-156; Kurtz 2011, pp. 225-256.

[53] *Huibao*, no. 54. It is reported that as early as 1900 Li Wenyu had already published an essay in *Huibao* entitled "Wulei shengke shuo" 物類生克說 [On the struggle for existence] to refute Darwin's biological evolution theory. See Wei, Li, and Yao 2011, pp. 89-90.

empty-white studio).[54] After Li Wenyu's death, the *Tianyanlun boyi* was reprinted by the Press of the Society of Jesus.

Researchers on China and Darwinism in both Chinese and English literature have agreed that Darwin's theory was first introduced into China by missionary members before Yan Fu's translation of *Evolution and Ethics*. In the early 1870s, D. J. MacGowan (1814-1893)[55] and his Chinese collaborator Hua Hengfang 華蘅芳 (1833-1902)[56] translated the sixth edition of the book by British geologist Charles Lyell (1797-1875), *Elements of Geology*, into Chinese as *Dixue qianshi* 地學淺釋. The book was initially the fourth volume of Lyell's book *Principles of Geology*; in 1838 Lyell issued the *Elements* as a separate book, and six editions were subsequently published. Lyell's *Principles of Geology* was a powerful influence on young Darwin who later became a close friend of Lyell. However, Lyell's acceptance of the theory of natural selection only appeared in the tenth edition of the *Principles* (1866-68).[57] The sixth edition of the *Elements* was published in 1865, and its Chinese translation, *Dixue qianshi,* was published in 1873, which contained information on both Lamarck and Darwin's theories of evolution.[58] In the same year, *Shenbao* 申報 (Shanghai News) also reported the publication of Darwin's *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871). However, this report focused on Darwin's scientific research which led him to conclude that all human beings had the same origin. The report stated that the book was already published and contained a brief outline to illustrate that Westerners devoted themselves to practical learning (*shixue* 實學).[59] This report indicates that Darwin's theory was initially introduced into China as part of new science or *gezhi* 格致 learning from the West. John Fryer (1839-1928) and his Chinese collaborators at the Jiangnan Arsenal, such as Huang Hengfang, Li Shanlan 李善兰 (1811-1882), Xu Shou 徐壽 (1811-1884), and his son Xu Jianyin 徐建寅 (1845-1901), and reformer missionaries (such as Timothy Richard, Young J. Allen, and W.A.P. Martin) mentioned Darwin and his evolution theory in their translations of scientific knowledge into Chinese from time to time, but nothing was systematic and there was no mention of the

[54] *Huibao*, no. 65, pp. 1025-1026; no. 66, pp. 1041-1042; no. 69, pp. 1089-1090; no. 73, pp. 1153-1154.

[55] MacGowan was an American Baptist medical missionary in Ningpo. He was also employed as a translator at the Translation Department of the Jiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai in 1868, where he and Hua Hengfang also translated *Jinshi shibie* 金石識別 [The identification of minerals]. For biographical information on D. C. MacGowan, see Wylie 1867, pp. 132-134; Wright 2000, pp. 86-87, ft. 34.

[56] Hua Hengfang, a well-known mathematician in late Qing China, worked at the Translation Department of the Jiangnan Arsenal with other Chinese scientific talents such as Li Shanlan, Xu Shou, and his son Xu Jianyin. See Wright 2000, pp. 33-34.

[57] Porter 1976, pp. 91-103; Wilson 1973.

[58] *Dixue qianshi*, 13: 16a. For a brief discussion of the book and its impact on Kang Youwei, see Pusey 1983, p. 26.

[59] *Shenbao*.

religious controversy over Darwin and his evolution theory in the West.[60] The Chinese essay competition at the Shanghai Polytechnic in 1889 can be seen as a reflection of the spread of evolution and Darwinism via education at this time.[61]

Although missionaries were among the first sources of information on the theory of evolution and Darwinism, it was Yan Fu's translation that raised the consciousness of the Chinese society.[62] While Yan Fu introduced the ideas of Huxley and Spencer but not the original version of Darwin's theory, in 1902 and 1903 Ma Junwu 馬君武 (1881-1940) translated and published the first five chapters of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, and also wrote an introductory article on biologists who believed in and contributed to the theory of evolution in the West.[63] It was Yan's free translation of Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, with his interpretation as to what he perceived as the evolution theory, that had an immense impact on Chinese society after the 1895 Sino-Japanese War; many famous Chinese phrases, such as the term *tianze* 天擇 (natural selection), and *shizhe shengcun* 適者生存 (the survival of the fittest), were created and became the label for new ideas that attracted scholar-reformers of the time, such as Kang Youwei 康有爲 (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao, who used the notion of 'the survival of the fittest' to call for reforms.[64] Young students were also inspired by Yan Fu's *Tianyan lun*, one of whom was Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936). He first read Yan Fu's translation of Huxley's work in 1901 when he was twenty-years old, while studying at the School of Mining and Railways in Nanjing. The theory of 'the survival of the fittest' had a strong impact on him.[65]

Li Wenyu was aware that Yan Fu's *Tianyan lun* promoted Spencer's Social Darwinism. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) proposed the idea of struggle for survival based on the *Principal of Population* by Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834) and created the phrase 'survival of the fittest.' Huxley was a famous defender of Darwin's evolution theory, but he did not quite agree with Darwin's 'natural selection' theory; rather, he adopted Spencer's idea and applied struggle

[60] Wright 2000, p. 395; Pusey 1983, p. 5.
[61] Elman 2005, pp. 345-351.
[62] The draft of Yan's *Tianyan lun* was circulated among Yan's friends and key reformists, and was then serialized in *Guowen bao* 國聞報 [National News]. It was believed that the first formal publication of this book was a wood-print which appeared in April 1898, and various versions by other publishers then followed. The popularity of the work increased in 1905 when the Commercial Press released a typographical version. This was subsequently reprinted many times and the 24th edition was published in 1927. See Yu Zheng 2002, pp. 108-112.
[63] Although it was not until 1920 that Ma Junwu translated and published the replete version of the *Origin of Species*, his extracts of the *Origin of Species* can be regarded as the first to systematically introduce Darwin and Darwinism into China. In 1930 he also translated Darwin's *The Descent of Man* and *Selection in Relation to Sex* in their entirety. For information on Ma Junwu and his translation works, see Yuan Binye 2005, p. 61. For Ma's translation and other works in this period, see Mo Shixiang 1991.
[64] Schwartz 1964; Huang c. 2008; Pusey 1983, pp. 15-26, 83-126.
[65] Lu Xun 1973, pp. 58-59. See also Pusey 1983, pp. 156, 205-207. Pusey 1998 presents a philosophical critique of Lu Xun's interpretation of Darwinism and evolution theory.

for survival and survival of the fittest to social development. However, unlike Spencer, who philosophically legitimized *laissez faire* capitalism, Huxley instead advocated the use of ethics to restrict the brutality of free market capitalism. Yan Fu's translation of Huxley's work added his own understanding and interpretations to both Huxley and Spencer's ideas. He included a lengthy introduction of Spencer's ideas in his commentary while his introduction of Darwin's *Origins of Species* was very brief. In other words, *Tianyan lun* was a book on Social Darwinism rather than on Darwin's original theory of evolution. Li Wenyu noticed this difference,[66] and clearly stated in the beginning of his book that Yan Fu's *Tianyan lun* gave readers the impression that he had introduced new ideas into China, but it was false scholarship (*miuxue* 繆學). This false scholarship, continued Li, was the 'Transformation Theory' (*Transformismus*, or *bianmo* 變模 in Chinese) which prevailed in the West, especially in England.[67] He was fully aware that the evolution theory promoted by Herbert Spencer, Huxley, and Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919) differed from Darwin's original thesis.

As a philosophy professor, Li Wenyu criticised evolution theory from the perspectives of philosophy, reason (science), and religious belief. He focused firstly on the origin of species and life, refuting the point that living organisms could be generated from non-living matter.[68] The belief that living matter arose from non-living material can be traced back to the ancient Greek theory of spontaneous generation which is an essential part of the theory of evolution. Li used the term *huasheng* 化生 to describe it. This was originally a Buddhist term: *hua* meaning 'change', and *sheng* meaning 'to give birth to', 'to bring something or someone from the dead', and 'to grow.' Li explained that this belief existed in both China and the West in ancient times when people were unable to observe microscopic organisms. Li used his knowledge of the discoveries in biology and microbiology to argue that scientists such as Francesco Redi (1626-1697), Antonio Vallisneri (1661-1730), Jan Swammerdam (1637-1680), Marcello Malpighi (1628-1694), René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur (1683-1757), and Charles De Geer (1720-1778) had all used the microscope to gather evidence to challenge the theory of spontaneous generation. Li also reported that the Dutch tradesman and scientist Antonie Philips van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723) had created powerful microscope lenses and applied them to a thorough study of the microscopic world. Leeuwenhoek was the first scientist to observe bacteria and microorganisms, and he recorded his microscopic observations and sent them to the Royal Society in England. In Li's opinion, the significance of Leeuwenhoek's discovery, in addition to his contribution to the fields of biology and microbiology, was that he provided proof that invalidated the theory of evolution.[69]

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[66] Li Peishan 1991, p. 31.
[67] *Tianyan lun boyi*, p. 1.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[69] *Tianyan lun boyi,* pp. 7-8; Graves 1996, p. 71.

Li further highlighted the experiment made by Louis Pasteur (1822-1895), a French chemist and microbiologist. Based on his experiment, Pasteur concluded that "[m]icroscopic beings must come into the world from parents similar to themselves."[70] Li Wenyu exclaimed that Pasteur's discoveries supported his point that "living matter cannot arise from non-living material" (物不化生).[71]

The second major point Li confronted was human evolution. He declared that evolution theorists believed human beings evolved from great apes, although Darwin claimed that human ancestors were not the monkeys of today, but another type which were already extinct.[72] Li used the term *lei* 類 (group, category) to argue that any species could not come into the world from parents different to themselves. He said that *lei* referred to a massive amount of species sharing similarities which they could pass on for generations. The same species may exhibit minor differences. For instance, human beings have different skin colours, but the basic nature and characteristics of human beings remained the same. Li further elaborated the physical differences between human beings and great apes to argue that it was impossible for human beings to originate from great apes or other animals since human beings and animals did not belong to the same species.[73]

The focal point in the above discussion is the origin of life. Li first summarized the Kant-Laplace nebular hypothesis, a theory of the commencement of the solar system.[74] According to the theory, Li said, there was nothing but an extended cloud of material/gas which rotated about the Sun. Turbulent rotation brought nebular material together to allow clumps to form. The planets condensed from this material, and the inner planets were denser than outer ones. Once the planets formed, they all orbited the Sun in the same direction, and travelled in nearly the same plane. There were disparities between Kant's and Laplace's theories but, Li pointed out, their ideas about how matter came together to form the planets were similar.[75]

The term *yuanzhi* 元質 was used in Li Wenyu's summary of the Kant-Laplace theory. *Yuan* 元 means prime, first, beginning; and *zhi* 質 stands for material form or body, matter, thing, substance. The term *yuanzhi* thus means the prime or original form of material, element or life. The Jesuits of the seventeenth-century frequently used the term *yuanzhi* when refuting the Song Neo-Confucian concept of *taiji* 太極 which, they believed, was the origin of the universe (太極生天地萬物). The Jesuits argued that *taiji* was the "primeval chaos" (*hundun* 混沌) which was filled with *yuanzhi* (prime thing) that could

[70] Tiner 1990, p. 63.
[71] *Tianyan lun boyi*, pp. 8-9.
[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
[74] Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), German philosopher. Pierre-Simon de Laplace (1749-1827), French mathematician, astronomer, and physicist.
[75] *Tianyan lun boyi*, p. 3.

not form the universe. The Jesuits differentiated the word *yuan* 元 from *yuan* 原 which in classical Chinese could be used interchangeably as the two words shared the same syllable. To the Jesuits *yuan* 原 meant the original source/ root, and *tianzhu* 天主 (the Lord of Heaven) ought to be the only source or origin of things in the universe.[76] This argument can be exemplified by the title of Giulio Aleni's book, *Wanwu zhenyuan* 万物真原, which means "true origin of ten thousand things" (ca. 1629).[77] The term *yuanzhi*, with a general meaning of prime or original form of material, element and life, could be understood to refer to either living or non-living matter, but its specific reference varies according to the context against which the term is used. For instance, in Li's summary of the Kant-Laplace nebular hypothesis the term referred to *yuanqi* 元气, or an extended primitive solar atmosphere.

Li commented that Huxley regarded the *yuanzhi* as the origin of the universe where everything – no matter whether non-living matter or living species with or without intellectual faculty – originated through the self-transformation of *yuanzhi*; and there was no Creator that created different species and things for different roles in the universe.[78] Li used mythological motifs in early civilizations, such as the Chaldean (Babylon), Phoenician, Etruscan, Greek, Latin, Jewish, and Chinese, as examples to state that the universe was initially the "primordial and central chaos" (*hundun* 混沌) – there was no life but *yuanzhi*. This view did not differ from the evolution advocates. However, unlike evolutionists who regarded the *yuanzhi* as the origin of the universe, Li asserted that the *yuanzhi*, as the beginning of the universe, could not produce life itself; so there must have been a Creator, and any organism must be created by God (*zaowu* 造物).[79]

Li then drew attention to the lack of evidence in Haeckel's evolutionary process. Li narrated Haeckel's claim that the *yuanzhi* was the origin of everything, and it evolved into soil which then was transformed to stones, to grasses and plants, to animals, and then to human beings. In Haeckel's description, continued Li, this was a gradual but upward process involving twenty-two transformations from the lowest progression to the highest form of life. Li Wenyu mocked Haeckel by saying that he presented the twenty-two-step transformation process as if he had seen them in person.[80] Li further argued that, no matter whether by gradual or sudden evolution, great apes or any animal could not become human. This was because any being without intellect (*zhi* 智) could not produce human beings, and humans were the only beings in the universe that possessed this faculty. Li then used the term *ling* 靈, which has two

[76] For a discussion of the Jesuits of the seventeenth-century and their refutation of Song Neo-Confucianism, see Zhu Qianzhi 2002, vol. 7, pp. 106-115.
[77] For a study of Aleni, see Song Gang 2018.
[78] *Tianyan lun boyi*, p. 30.
[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

meanings: soul and intellect. This implied that only human beings could have a spiritual life, which differentiated humans from animals. In this sense, humans and apes could not have common ancestors, Li concluded.[81]

Li Wenyu welcomed the new discoveries in modern science and used them in his arguments. In many aspects, his understanding of evolution and Darwinism was correct, and he indeed grasped the key point in his refutation that evolutionary theory denied the creation theory. Li Wenyu recognised that although Darwin did not reject the existence of the Creator, he developed the idea of *selectio naturalis*, suggesting that all species of life had evolved over time from common ancestors through the process of natural selection. This notion was in opposition to the idea that all the species, including human beings, had been created by God.

To Li Wenyu, it was rejection of God rather than the theory of evolution that was harmful. As discussed earlier, missionary writings and translations had already mentioned evolution, but did not foment anti-Creation sentiments. It was Yan Fu who stated that, after the publication of Darwin's theory, biologists in both Europe and America all accepted his evolution theory and rejected God's creation.[82] Li certainly could not accept this statement. Based on a German Jesuit's book [83] on famous scientists in Europe from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, Li stated that there were more than three hundred famous scientists in Europe in the past four hundred years, out of which 242 scientists were Christian believers. He particularly emphasized that among Darwin's counterparts only twelve of them did not believe in God while 124 held faith in God. Even Darwin himself did not entirely abandon God.[84]

Li Wenyu's refutation was written for a general audience, not specialists. Therefore, Li Wenyu did not present a systematic introduction and critique of biological evolution or social Darwinism. What he tackled was Yan Fu's anti-Creation sentiments as presented in his interpretation of evolutionary theory. Li Wenyu appeared to be knowledgeable on the theory of evolution and scholarly reactions to the theory in Europe and America. The terms he quoted in his refutation were largely in French, such as *Transformismus universalis*, *lex evolutionis* and *Darwinismus*.[85] However, he did not specify or acknowledge his sources in his refutation of Yan Fu's version of evolution. What he was really concerned about was that Chinese readers would take Yan's interpretation of evolution theory as new learning from the West, and would be unable to identify the errors in Yan's interpretation. Li felt it was necessary to refute the theory of evolution presented in Yan's translation which, in Li's opinion, was more harmful to Chinese society than the original work of Huxley.[86]

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[81] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[83] Li Wenyu only provided the author's surname as Dennerl.
[84] *Tianyan lun boyi*, p. 32.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

5. Christianity, Modern Science and Education

Compared with the knowledge package introduced to China by the Jesuits in the late Ming period, Western learning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries included new discoveries in modern science, which then led to questions regarding the relationship between Christianity, modern science, and modern education. Li Wenyu felt compelled to address such issues as both a faithful Catholic and the chief editor of the Catholic newspaper.

Firstly, Li had to answer the questions regarding the divergence between creation theory and modern science. According to the *Book of Genesis*, God created the world in six days, but the view as a result of modern science was that beings evolved over millions of years. Facing this challenge to creation theory, Li Wenyu presented a lengthy explanation in his editorials in *Huibao*. People often assumed, Li wrote, that Christian religion must have been wrong when it came to the discord between Christian beliefs and scientific evidence, but they did not realize that the creation theory and modern science were not diametrically opposed. Li elaborated on this point, saying that the apparent contradictions were due to errors in the translation of the *Old Testament* from Hebrew, as the Hebrew word for day (*yom*) can sometimes mean a period longer than 24 hours. Li said that the term 'six days' should be six *jie* 節 (period), and each *jie* stood for millions of years. According to this interpretation, there was no disagreement between the creation theory and scientific views regarding the formation of the earth.[87]

Secondly, Li Wenyu assertively rebutted the view that Christianity was an impediment to the development of modern science. As discussed above, in his refutation of *Tianyan lun* Li argued that the discoveries in biology and the invention and use of powerful microscope lenses helped invalidate the evolution theory. Regarding the Chinese perception of the contradictory relationship between modern science and Christianity, Li Wenyu pointed out that scholars who made greatest contributions to modern science were all from within the Church. For example, Nicolaus Copernicus and Galileo Galilei were both Catholic; therefore, the heliocentric concept originated from scholars within Catholic faith.[88]

Of course, Li Wenyu was aware that the condemnation of Galileo by the Catholic Church in 1633 contributed to the unfavourable image of the Church that opposed modern science and was thus opposed to progress. Based on the limited sources available to him at the time, Li explained that this was partly because Galileo did not present enough evidence to support his idea and most scholars were not convinced, although he admitted that it was also a mistake made by the Pope. Nevertheless, Li continued, the Pope's error was simply an indication that he did not understand science, and the controversy was largely attributed to the

[87] *Huibao*, no. 87, p. 1378.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 1379.

arguments among scholars and Galileo's own arrogance. The Galileo affair did not discourage Li Wenyu from reinforcing his main point that most of the achievements in modern science were made by scholars in the Church.[89]

In relation to Galileo, one may question whether the early Jesuits held back Galileo's discovery. The study conducted by Pasquale M. D'Elia confirms that it was Adam Schall von Bell (Tang Ruowang 湯若望 in Chinese, 1591-1666), the Jesuit in charge of the Chinese Bureau of Astronomy in Beijing, who introduced the telescope and the new astronomy of Galileo into China. D'Elia provides a detailed account of the spread of Galileo's discovery to China through the Jesuit scientist-missionaries, and describes how in c. 1640 Jesuit missionaries openly praised Galileo for having "reached where 'no other astronomer had reached in several thousand years.'",[90]

In 1933 Ma Xiangbo stated that the early Jesuits conveyed the latest discoveries in astronomy to China, contributing to the reform of the Chinese calendar by employing the achievements of the seventeenth century European academic world, including world's oldest universities such as L'Université de Montppellia (established in 1289), as well as the Accademia dei Lincei,[91] the exclusive scientific society founded in Rome in 1603, where Galileo became its sixth member on April 25, 1611.[92]

Ma Xiangbo's statement was supported by D'Elia's research which provides us with a clear timeline demonstrating that the period from the announcement of Galileo's new discovery to the use of the telescope for astronomical observations at the Calendrical Bureau of late Ming China, was only about twenty years. In 1610 Galileo, in his *Sidereus Nuntius,* announced his discoveries based on his observations using a telescope. In 1615 the Jesuit Manuel Dias (1574-1659) wrote *Tian wen lue* 天問略 (Problems of Astronomy, or The Sphere), an astronomy book in Chinese, introducing the telescope to a Chinese audience.[93] In 1626 Adam Schall von Bell, with the help of Li Zubai 李祖白, a Christian Chinese, published a treatise in Chinese entitled *Yuanjing shuo* 遠鏡說 (The Telescope), containing a detailed introduction of Galileo's telescope. On October 25, 1631, "observations were made with a telescope." "In that same year and in following years some telescopes arrived in several cities of the province of Fukien brought there by the missionaries Andrew Rudomina, S.J. and Julius Aleni, S. J."[94] Circa 1630 Xu Guangqi and Li Tianjing 李天經 (1579-1659) began to use the telescope in their astronomical observations.[95]

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[89] *Ibid*.
[90] D'Elia 1960, p. vii.
[91] Ma Xiangbo, "Xu Wendinggong yu Zhongguo kexue" 徐文定公与中国科学 (Xu Guangqi and Science in China), in Li Tiangang 2014, p. 487.
[92] D'Elia 1960, pp. 12-13.
[93] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[95] Jiang Xiaoyuan, 1984, p. 109. The exact years of this timeline in Jiang's article somewhat differs from D'Elia's.

The above narrative proves that the knowledge of astronomy introduced into China by the early Jesuits was the most advanced of the day. Furthermore, the Jesuits' efforts in facilitating the diffusion of Galileo's observations and discoveries in China endorsed Li Wenyu's core argument that, rather than science and religion contradicting each other, they were complimentary to each other.[96] This also indicates that the scholars within the Catholic Church were committed to both modern science and religion.

Education was crucial to the *xueshu chuanjiao* in early twentieth-century China where modern education was desperately needed to foster a new generation of talents. However, news of the French secularization movement along with the narration of the history of the Catholic Church by the newly emerged media created doubts over the link between modern education and the assimilation of Christianity in China. One example is a 1905 article which stated that the period 500-1500 AD saw the rise and growth of the Catholic Church which had the power to influence the rulers of Europe, and that monks and bishops taught in schools where the curriculum consisted of subjects related solely to Christianity. In this author's view, such a narrow educational focus resulted in widespread ignorance where only Christian clergy received a comprehensive education. The author concluded that this was why the period was labelled as the Dark Ages.[97]

Contrary to this image, modern scholarship on medieval education and science however point out that the existence of the separation between church and state in the late Middle Ages made possible the formation of the university, and that the translation of Greco-Arabic science and natural philosophy into Latin furnished "a curriculum that was overwhelmingly composed of the exact sciences, logic, and natural philosophy."[98] This view coincides with the point made by Li Wenyu in one of his editorials that modern education originated in Christianity, and without the Church the West would not have the advanced civilizations witnessed at the time.[99] In particular, Li listed the contributions the Jesuits made to the development of new learning in China, including Ricci's world map that, in Li's words, laid the foundation for modern geography in China. Li also praised the early Jesuits' work in calendar making in the Qing Court, as well as the Shanghai Sheshan Observatory. He further pointed out that the Church had established schools and universities all over the world, and that the curricula in these schools and universities covered subjects in both the humanities and modern science, such as theology, literature and history, philosophy, physics, medicine, mathematics, law, and fine arts.[100]

In 1912, Ma Xiangbo presented the same argument but from a different perspective. In his letter to the Pope, Ma pleaded that learning as an instrument

[96] *Huibao*, no. 90, pp. 1425-1428.
[97] *Dongfang zazhi* 1905, p. 62.
[98] Grant 1997, p. 106.
[99] *Huibao*, no. 88, pp.1393-5.
[100] *Huibao*, no. 90, pp. 1426-1428.

for attracting Chinese people to Christianity should not be neglected (用學問為誘掖之具，斷不可無). While highlighting the early Jesuit tradition, Ma pointed to the fact that the Catholic Church was lagging behind the Protestants and that the French mission trailed behind the British, German, and American missions in terms of promoting education. Ma stated that in Beijing the Catholic Church only had one French primary school – with extremely expensive fees, the school could only recruit children from non-Catholic families, and after these children graduated they relied on the French to make a living. Ma further pointed to the fact that the late Qing government had asked the Church to open and run a university in Beijing, but this request was declined and Protestants grasped the opportunity. He concluded that Protestants had gained favour with the late Qing government; after the republic, its influence on China's education, society, and politics expanded, and Catholicism appeared to have been discarded (而我教獨見摒焉). Ma sharply argued that the erosion of Catholic influence was not from any external force but rather because the French missionary members in China neglected the early Jesuit tradition and policy of using science and knowledge as the vehicle for spreading Christian messages. In his view, few of them followed the steps of Ricci and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688),[101] who introduced the science of Europe to China, ranging from astronomy to irrigation. By deviating from Ricci's policy, Ma maintained, the Catholic Church could only attract illiterate or semi-illiterate people. This would not contribute anything to China's move to democracy, Ma concluded.[102]

Apparently, Ma Xiangbo was not shy about the instrumental role of education and scholarship in evangelism. Of course, Ma's point was made with particular reference to his proposal that the Catholic Church should contribute more to the development of modern education in China. From then to the late stage of his life Ma Xiangbo consistently campaigned for the *xueshu chuanjiao*. Clearly both Ma Xiangbo and Li Wenyu shared the same view about a close link between the propagation of Catholic faith and modern education.

Conclusion

For both Ma Xiangbo and Li Wenyu, the Jesuit education they received provided them with "well-grounded and solid learning"[103] and made them erudite scholars.

[101] Ferdinand Verbiest, a Flemish Jesuit missionary in seventeenth-century China. He was a successor to Adam Schall von Bell at the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy and was appointed Head of the Mathematical Board and Director of the Observatory. For a comprehensive study of Ferdinand Verbiest against the historical context of the Jesuit mission in China and the contact between Western and Chinese science in the early modern period, see Golvers 2003.

[102] Ma Xiangbo's letter to the Pope for promoting education in China is collected in Zhu Weizheng 1996, pp. 115-116. This letter is translated into English by Ruth Hayhoe, in Hayhoe and Lu 1996, pp. 219-222.

[103] Smolarski 2002, p. 456.

What is worth noting is that their eruditeness includes a package of Christian faith and a broader knowledge of both Chinese and Western subjects. To them, Western scientific knowledge and Christianity were an integrated organic package that complemented rather than contradicted each other. This knowledge package may have differed from the early Jesuit tradition, but its essence remained the same. The early Jesuit cultural accommodation policy made it possible for those scientist-Jesuits to introduce into China "a notion of modern science informed by Christian natural theology for missionaries."[104] The legacy of this early Jesuit compromise was further embodied in the nineteenth-century Protestant missionary activities and achievements in translation, publication, and education, which contributed significantly to the introduction of modern science in late-Qing China. Although the Catholic Church in China, as Ma Xiangbo criticised in his 1912 letter to the Pope, was as a whole less effective than the Protestant missionary in terms of propagation of scientific knowledge and helping China develop modern education, Li Wenyu and Ma Xiangbo were definitely among those erudite Catholic scholars who worked for a better China through their devotion to the promotion of modern education and scientific knowledge.

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[104] Elman 2006, p. 139.

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FICTION AS CAUTIONARY TALE: REWRITING 'REBELLION' IN YU WANCHUN'S *DANGKOU ZHI*

HENRY LEM
(University of California, Irvine)

Introduction

An important feature shared by many *xiaoshuo xushu* 小說續書 (fiction sequels) is their connection with dynastic transition. The seventeenth-century sequels to *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (Water margin) have often been read as works of Ming loyalism given their obsessions with and reflections on the collapse of the Ming.[1] For example, *Shuihu houzhuan* 水滸後傳 (Water margin sequel) by Chen Chen 陳忱 (1615-1670) is its author's painful reflections on the fall and fate of a nation,[2] which once enjoyed glory and prosperity but had fallen into a "state of ruin" (*canju* 殘局).[3]

Like Chen's work, the nineteenth-century sequel *Dangkou zhi* 蕩寇志 (Quell the bandits) by Yu Wanchun 俞萬春 (1794-1849) also reflects on a nation in crisis, yet what makes this sequel markedly different is the critical attention given to the interpretations of *zhong* 忠 (loyalty to the emperor) and *yi* 義 (righteousness) by Yu and the sequel's commentators. Beginning from the conclusion of the highly popular 70-chapter edition of *Shuihu zhuan*, *Dangkou zhi* narrates and draws connections between the assembly of the 36 champions of loyalty and righteousness, their campaigns to defeat the 108 bandit-heroes of Liangshan, and their efforts to restore moral order.

In *Dangkou zhi*, Yu tends to provide his "reading" of the 70-chapter edition of *Shuihu zhuan* revised and annotated by the literary giant Jin Shengtan 金聖嘆 (1608-1661). One scholar has argued that Yu was "convinced that he shares exactly the same view with Jin on the Liangshan rebels."[4] However, this

[1] Huang 2004, p. 32.
[2] See Hu Shi 1924, pp. 8-9.
[3] Yandang Shanqiao [Chen Chen], "Shuihu houzhuan xu", p. 31.
[4] Yang 2004, p. 146.

explanation is not entirely sufficient and does not consider the degree to which the textual design, rhetoric, and interpretive agendas of *Dangkou zhi* are shaped by Jin's invention of the theory of two *Shuihu* texts (70-chapter original and 30-chapter sequel)[5] and the sophisticated rhetoric of his commentaries.

In my analysis, I demonstrate that if Jin attempted to decrease the tension between *zhong* and *yi* in the 70-chapter edition, Yu takes an even more radical approach to resolving this tension by "rewriting" rebellion in *Dangkou zhi*. Having constructed an intricate rhetoric of controlling interpretation, Yu Wanchun and the *Dangkou zhi* commentators aim to shape *Shuihu zhuan* into a cautionary tale against rebellion by properly terminating the Liangshan "bandit resistance movement", to have the effect of rectifying the meaning of *zhongyi.* Yu's efforts to terminate Liangshan and exert authorial control is also complicated by the popularity of certain bandit-heroes such as Lin Chong, Lu Zhishen, and Wu Song, forcing Yu to rewrite their respective endings with a desperate heroism not seen in previous editions or sequels. The effect of such rewriting is Yu's elevation of Liangshan's *yiqi* 義氣 (sworn fraternal honor), to end his sequel where it began by reopening up the issue of *zhongyi* that previous commentators and sequel writers had tried to resolve.

1. (Mis)reading and the Rhetoric of Controlling Interpretation

Yu Wanchun enjoyed a distinguished military career in his lifetime. Between 1831 and 1832, he accompanied his father to Hunan where they led an army to suppress the revolts of local tribes led by Zhao Jinlong 趙金龍 (1779-?).[6] When British forces began invading Guangdong in 1840, Yu advised government military on strategic formations and weaponry, winning the praise of Zhejiang governor Liu Yupo 劉玉坡 (fl. 19th c.). Yu was also a writer and authored several works, including texts on horseback archery, incendiary-based weaponry, medicine, and Buddhism.[7] His military activities and interests in such subjects reveal the sensibilities of a serious intellectual caught in an age of political unrest and rapid modernization.[8]

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[5] One of Jin's major textual interventions includes "cutting at the waist" (*yaozhan* 腰斬) of *Shuihu zhuan*: the radical deletion of the last 30 chapters from *Zhongyi Shuihu zhuan* 忠義水滸傳 (Loyal and righteous heroes of the water margin, 100-chapter edition). This deletion greatly impacted the reading, writing, and interpretation of *Shuihu zhuan*, giving rise to the theory of two *Shuihu* texts—a venerated "original" (Jin's 70-chapter edition) and an inferior "sequel" (last 30 chapters of the 100-chapter edition).

[6] See "Xu ke Dangkou zhi xu", pp. 86-90.

[7] "Dangkou zhi shi yu", pp. 75-76.

[8] During the final years of his life, Yu even commented to a relative that "disorder began and will end in Guangdong" (亂始於廣東，亂終於廣東). This statement testifies to the degree

Yu was one of the earliest figures in the late Qing to notice the power of *xiaoshuo* to influence readers.[9] He hoped that by terminating the Liangshan "bandit resistance movement" in *Dangkou zhi*, he could control interpretations of *Shuihu zhuan* and prevent readers from transgressing against imperial authority.[10] Yu's sequel was published posthumously in 1853,[11] and with its message condemning bandits and rebellion, the Qing government found this sequel to be useful as a work of political propaganda to combat growing anti-government sentiments spurred on by the Taiping Rebels. According to one historical account, when the "Red Turbans" (*Hongbing* 紅兵) led by Li Wenmao 李文茂 (d. 1858) began a revolt in the Guangdong and Guangxi regions, the gentry of Guangzhou distributed pocket editions of *Dangkou zhi* among the affected areas to help restore public order.[12] In time the Taiping Rebels became acutely aware of the political agenda embedded in *Dangkou zhi* and the potential for this book to negatively impact their campaign. After Taiping Leader Li Xiucheng 李秀成 (1823-1864) took Suzhou in 1857, he ordered all woodblocks and copies of *Dangkou zhi* to be destroyed.[13]

Yu's message of condemning rebellion had a tangible impact on his readers, which was largely the result of a tightly organized rhetoric of controlling interpretation. An important component of this rhetoric was to claim having access to "authorial intention" (*zhi* 志) of the historical author Shi Nai'an 施耐庵 (1296-1370), as Jin Shengtan had done before in his 70-chapter edition (the parent work of *Dangkou zhi*).[14] With this presumed access, Yu places the onus of interpretation on readers who presumably misunderstand the author's intention to condemn Song Jiang and the Liangshan bandit resistance movement:

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by which chaos, rebellion, and warfare conditioned Yu's world view. See Yu Quan, "Xu ke Dangkou zhi xu", p. 88.

[9] This insight was similar to that of "New Fiction" (*xin xiaoshuo* 新小說) advocates such as Liang Qichao (1873-1929), who aimed to realize fiction's power to move the masses. Refer to Wang 1997, p. 127; Huters 2005, p. 114.

[10] Hulai Daoren 忽來道人 [Yu Wanchun], "Dangkou zhi yinyan", p. 71.

[11] The first woodblock edition was completed in Nanjing in 1853 by Yu's close friends and his son Yu Longguang 俞龍光. See "Dangkou zhi shi yu", p. 76. Yu Longguang consulted with his father's close friends Fan Jinmen 范金門 and Shao Xunbo 邵循伯 for editorial advice. Fan and Shao would then together write interlineal and end-chapter commentaries for *Dangkou zhi*.

[12] "Xu ke Dangkou zhi xu", p. 84.

[13] For a brief textual history of *Dangkou zhi*, refer to Gao 2004, p. 69.

[14] Yu had selected Jin's 70-chapter edition as the sequel's parent work, referred to as *Qian Shuihu zhuan* 前水滸傳 (Original Water Margin). See Hulai Daoren, "Dangkou zhi yinyan", p. 71. Jin's "access" to the authorial intention of Shi Nai'an is described in his "Du diwu caizi shu fa". See Wang 1990, "How to Read the Fifth Book of Genius", pp. 131-133.

> Murder and arson, fighting and pillaging, murdering officials and avoiding capture, sacking cities and capturing towns: [according to bandits] these actions can also be called loyal and righteous! Gentle reader, think about it [...]. Such claims are truly heretical and perverse which harm the mind and will, and bring infinite damage. Imagine what would happen if such a book [*Shuihu zhuan*] were left unchanged among our society![15]

In Yu's view the danger of *Shuihu zhuan* lies in reader tendencies to misread this novel as a call to banditry. He finds that novice readers will almost always identify too closely with the bravado of the bandit-heroes and subsequently commit violent, criminal actions. With this claim, Yu begins to generate a need for a masterful "reader" of *Shuihu zhuan*, who doubles as a "sequel writer" that can write a proper sequel and defend this novel against misinterpretations.

Yu found that one "reader" responsible for opening even more possibilities for dangerous interpretations of *Shuihu zhuan* was a bad "sequel writer." Like Jin Shengtan,[16] Yu blames the "sequel writer" Luo Guanzhong for writing a sequel (last 30 chapters of the 100-chapter edition) based upon a misunderstanding of Shi Nai'an's authorial intention. Reiterating Jin's argument, Yu stresses how Luo damaged *Shuihu zhuan* by distorting the veracity of historical events:

> [...] Now that this book [*Shuihu zhuan*] has been printed and is in circulation, there is nothing I can do to stop it. But Song Jiang, as a historical figure, far from being granted amnesty and given the mandate to quell the Fang La Rebellion, was captured and executed by Zhang Shuye. Since Luo Guanzhong resorted to falsehood to wipe out historical facts, I might as well lay out the facts to debunk the myth, so that generations to come will be able to draw a clear distinction between bandits and men of loyalty and righteousness, a distinction that does not brook the slightest confusion.[17]

Yu seems to be arguing that the "sequel writer" had made up the amnesty and bandit quelling campaign narratives. This change to the plot of *Shuihu zhuan* had the effect of blurring boundaries between "evil" bandits and champions of "loyalty and righteousness", to then contradict the presumed authorial intention of Shi Nai'an. Here the 30-chapter "sequel" is deauthenticated and allows authentication of *Dangkou zhi* which, in Yu's own words, was meant to"end the *Original Water Margin* [first 70 chapters] by [Shi] Nai'an and has absolutely no correlation with the *Water Margin Sequel* [last 30 chapters]" (結耐庵之《前水

[15] Hulai Daoren, "Dangkou zhi yinyan", p. 71.
[16] As Jin notes in his commentaries, his radical deletion of the last 30 chapters served the purpose of "destroying the erroneous sequel [which describes the Liangshan band receiving amnesty]" 破續傳之謬誤. See *Diwu caizi shu Shuihu zhuan*, 70: 1150.
[17] Hulai Daoren, "Dangkou zhi yinyan", p. 71. See partial translation in Yang 2004, pp. 144-145.

滸傳》，與《後水滸》絕無交涉也).[18] Yu's attention to "correlation" is striking because it attests to his dual role as a reader of the parent work (70-chapter edition) and the writer of his sequel (*Dangkou zhi*).

Having selected Jin's 70-chapter edition as the "original" (parent work), Yu follows the rhetoric set up in Jin's commentaries that gives focus to claims of defending "authorial intention" and deleting (or dismissing) the "bad" 30-chapter sequel. With these strategies—selecting a parent work, making claims of "authorial intention", and dismissing previous *Shuihu* sequels—Yu carves out a space for *Dangkou zhi* as the "proper" sequel to *Shuihu zhuan*. To give Yu Wanchun more interpretive control, the commentators construct a dramatic image of Yu as the "sequel writer" within *Dangkou zhi*, by repeatedly praising him as a skillful "reader" of *Shuihu zhuan* (comparable to the literary giant Jin Shengtan) and by condemning the bad "sequel writer" who presumably failed to understand authorial intention. Their main agenda is to promote Yu as a sophisticated writer whose sequel is informed by his access to authorial intention and skillful reading of the parent work. To emphasize the sophistication of Yu's reading of *Shuihu zhuan*, the *Dangkou zhi* commentators attempt to shift reader attitudes towards Song's evil nature even more.[19] In their view, there is an urgency to underscore the connection between "reading" Song Jiang and the act of sequeling. Their reasoning is that the "inferior sequel writer [Luo Guanzhong]" (*xudiao zhe* 續貂者) misread Song Jiang as a proponent of "loyalty and righteousness" and wrote a sequel based upon this misinterpretation. Feeling that the "reader" is responsible for properly interpreting a text,[20] the commentators argue that all readers may "read" (*du* 讀) *Shuihu zhuan* but will not necessarily "understand" (*jie* 解) it properly and actually "misunderstand" (*bu jie* 誤解) it, as Luo Guanzhong had apparently done:

> 不解夫羅貫中者，以偽為真 [...] 狗尾續貂，遂令天下後世，將信將疑，誤為事實，是誠施耐庵之罪人，名教中之敗類也。[21]

[18] Hulai Daoren, "Dangkou zhi yinyan", p. 71.

[19] The *Dangkou zhi* commentators were convinced by Jin Shengtan's point that Song Jiang was not a champion of "loyalty and righteousness" but an evil bandit, and blame Song for seducing the Liangshan bandit-heroes with his platitudes of "loyalty and righteousness." Refer to *Dangkou zhi*, 92: 447.

[20] Another commentator Xu Peike 徐佩珂, Yu's friend and financial backer for the publishing of *Dangkou zhi*, had much to say with regards to the shortcomings of Luo's 30-chapter sequel. Xu laments that many readers themselves become "misinterpreters" 誤解者 of this sequel. In Xu's opinion, Luo neglected the authorial intention of Shi Nai'an while writing his 30-chapter "sequel." Apparently, Luo's failure was in mistakenly valorizing the Liangshan bandit-heroes as loyal and righteous for the sake of making the sequel entertaining, even though these "bandits" are described as committing violent acts and ravishing the lands. See Xu Peike, "Dangkou zhi xu", p. 78.

[21] Guyue Laoren 古月老人, "Dangkou zhi xu", p. 74.

> Luo Guanzhong made grave misinterpretations: taking what is false as truth [...]. Authoring a wretched sequel to a fine work, he misled later generations to believe what is false to be fact; he is truly guilty of having wronged Shi Nai'an [the author of the original 70-chapter *Shuihu zhuan*], and the traitor of Confucian teaching.

Echoing Yu's message of condemnation,[22] they believe Luo Guanzhong damaged the integrity of the 70-chapter "original" by distorting historical facts and poisoning the minds of readers with his 30-chapter "sequel."[23] With this critique, the commentators dismiss Luo's 30 chapters as an "improper" sequel, to legitimate *Dangkou zhi* as the "proper" sequel that conforms with the authorial intention of Shi Nai'an and appropriately "concludes the Water Margin" (as suggested by the alternate title of *Dangkou zhi—Jie Shuihu zhuan* 結水滸傳).[24]

Finding that the previous *Shuihu* sequel writers all made the same mistake of damaging the textual integrity of the 70-chapter "original" by including additional narratives, Yu essentially writes a counter-sequel to prevent readers from associating the Liangshan "bandits" with "loyalty and righteousness."[25] He writes:

> 沒有什麼宋江受了招安，提朝廷出力，征討方臘；生為忠臣，死為正神的話；也並沒有什麼混江李俊投奔海外、做暹羅國王的話。[26]

> [In the original] there is nothing mentioned about Song Jiang receiving amnesty, his efforts in fighting for the dynasty, and his campaign to capture Fang La; nor were there any tales about the bandit-heroes' loyal service to the throne in life and transformation into upstanding gods after death. There was nothing about Li Jun of the Rivers making his way to distant lands across the sea to become the King of Siam either.

Here, Yu emphasizes that the parent work (Jin's 70-chapter edition) does not mention Liangshan's service to the emperor; their reincarnation after death and their transformation into gods; or Li Jun's journey to become the King of Siam.[27] Yu condemns all previous sequels as "bad" sequels, for presumably

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[22] Hulai Daoren, "Dangkou zhi yinyan", p. 71.
[23] *Ibidem*.
[24] Guyue Laoren, "Dangkou zhi xu", p. 74.
[25] According to the commentators, Yu Wanchun defends the 70-chapter "original" against misinterpretations and offers a correction to the 30-chapter sequel. Rather than opening up possibilities for dangerous readings, *Dangkou zhi* moralizes its readers by "venerating imperial power and exterminating the bandits, in order to make the next generation under Heaven understand that banditry will only lead to failure since the principle of loyalty and righteousness cannot be appropriated erroneously" (蓋以尊王滅寇為主，而使天下後世，曉然於盜賊之終無不敗，忠義之不容假借混朦). In Xu Peike, "Dangkou zhi xu", p. 78.
[26] *Dangkou zhi*, 141: 1366.
[27] Corresponding respectively to the 30-chapter "sequel" attributed to Luo Guanzhong; *Hou Shuihu zhuan* by Qinglian shi Zhuren 清廉室主人, and *Shuihu houzhuan* by Chen Chen.

having been written based on misunderstandings of authorial intention.[28] By dismissing these sequels as unnecessary "tales" (*hua* 話), Yu tries to legitimate his own sequel, presumably informed by his masterful "reading" of the parent work and in alignment with the author's intention to punish the Liangshan bandit resistance movement.

Admittedly, the sophistication of *Dangkou zhi* is indebted to Jin's specific rhetoric and his invention of the theory of two *Shuihu* texts. However, Yu and the commentators did not always agree with Jin's interpretations. As will be discussed in the next section, as a sophisticated "sequel writer" in competition with the "genius commentator" Jin Shengtan, Yu Wanchun attempts to do what Jin could not: to physically terminate all the bandit-heroes and symbolically "end" the rebellious spirit of the Liangshan bandit resistance movement, thereby having the effect of rectifying the meaning of *zhongyi*.

2. Rewriting "Great Peace Under Heaven" and "Loyalty and Righteousness"

While Yu recognized the validity of Jin's textual interventions to construct a stable, "complete" 70-chapter original, he was dissatisfied with the conclusion of Jin's edition for failing to depict the quelling of the Liangshan bandit resistance movement. As I will now argue, to "rewrite" *Shuihu zhuan* into a cautionary tale against rebellion and to rectify the meaning of *zhongyi*, Yu has all 108 Liangshan bandit-heroes (bad rebels) physically terminated, to dismiss the rebellious "sworn brotherhood" (*yi*) they represent. This move has the effect of glorifying the 36 imperial heroes (good rebels) and elevating loyalty to the emperor (*zhong*) as the central concern in *Shuihu zhuan*.

The *Dangkou zhi* commentators found that Jin's interpretations did not always have the intended effect of defending *Shuihu zhuan* against dangerous readings. According to Jin's reading, "The *Water Margin* is a lavish tribute to the 108 bandit-heroes" (一部水滸傳，一百八人總贊).[29] However, the commentators find this to be a "grave misinterpretation" (*dawu* 大誤).[30] They point out that "even with [Jin] Shengtan's commentaries, unenlightened [novice] readers will not understand the actual meaning [of the text]" (縱有聖嘆之評騭，昧昧者不能會其本旨).[31] Yu and the commentators seem to argue that readers will almost always fail to understand the author's intention when they read *Shuihu zhuan* without commentaries. In their view, even with commentaries by

[28] Hulai Daoren, "Dangkou zhi yinyan", p. 71.
[29] *Diwu caizi shu Shuihu zhuan*, prologue: 49.
[30] *Dangkou zhi*, 141: 1367.
[31] Xu Peike, "Dangkou zhi xu", p. 78.

a "genius" commentator like Jin Shengtan, readers are still unable to read the novel as a cautionary tale against rebellion.

One commonality in the writings of Yu Wanchun and his commentators is a sense of dissatisfaction towards certain aspects of Jin's edits, deletions, and commentaries. As a "reader" of the 70-chapter edition, Yu was aware of Jin's addition of the ending which depicts the execution of all the Liangshan bandit-heroes in Lu Junyi's dream.[32] Yu found that since Jin ended *Shuihu zhuan* without terminating the bandit-heroes, he ignored the fact that the original author "never fails to describe the evil of Song Jiang" (無一字不描寫宋江的奸惡); not only that, apparently Jin failed to adequately emphasize that the Liangshan fraternity may "verbally speak of loyalty and righteousness but are actually bandits at heart" (口裡忠義，心裡強盜).[33]

Based on Yu's reading, Jin only symbolically terminated the Liangshan bandits, an issue that needed to be addressed by a proper sequel that narrates Liangshan's fall from glory, their decline, and their physical termination. Near the conclusion, the imperial heroes are led by Zhang Shuye, Chen Xizhen, and Yun Tianbiao to storm the Liangshan establishment. The "bandits" are captured and are forced on their knees in front of the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness. Among the capturees is Lu Junyi, who realizes that his dream of termination has become a reality.[34] With the scene of Lu Junyi's dream as recurrent "event", Yu has deftly applied the writing principle of "advanced insertion" (*daocha fa* 倒插法) to recall the significance of this dream in the beginning and its realization in the conclusion.[35] Having structured a "beginning" and "conclusion" narrative loop in his sequel, Yu prepares to physically terminate the Liangshan bandit resistance movement and correct Jin's failure to punish Liangshan in the parent work. Now the lives of the "bandits" are at the mercy of the "heroes" who, in Yu's opinion, truly embody "loyalty and righteousness" in history and in fiction.[36]

Yu's deft recall of Lu Junyi's dream (which has become a reality near the end of *Dangkou zhi*) functions as a comment on the phrase "Great Peace Under Heaven" (*tianxia taiping* 天下太平) that Lu sees right before he wakes up at both the end of the parent work and the beginning of the sequel. He is convinced

[32] *Diwu caizi shu Shuihu zhuan*, 70: 1234-1235.
[33] Hulai Daoren, "Dangkou zhi yin yan", p. 71.
[34] *Dangkou zhi*, 136: 1278-1279.
[35] In Jin's "how to read" essay, he includes "advanced insertion" (*daocha fa*) which describes the technique of placing events or characters in an earlier part of a narrative, to foreshadow the importance it will take on later. See Jin's comment in Wang 1990, "How to Read the Fifth Book of Genius", p. 140.
[36] Yu's sequel attempts to bring the *Shuihu* narrative back to historical fact, by having the "bad rebels" captured or slain by government troops led by Zhang Shuye, who has been historically attributed with the capture and execution of Song Jiang and his bandit group. Refer to Hulai Daoren, "Dangkou zhi yin yan", p. 71.

that if Liangshan rebels continue to engage in banditry, "it will be hard to avoid the coming disaster"[37] Here one detects a piercing irony in the juxtaposition between Lu's dream of execution and his witnessing of execution. Despite Lu's hope that Liangshan rebels can avoid termination, the "reader" already knows that Lu's dream, where all Liangshan "bandits" are executed to usher in "Great Peace Under Heaven", will become a reality. With the recurrence of Lu Junyi's dream in beginning and conclusion, Yu essentially justifies the need to realize *tianxia taiping* with a proper sequel depicting the physical termination of the Liangshan bandit resistance movement.

In Yu's view, *tianxia taiping* fails to be realized in the parent work even with the assistance of Jin's commentaries, because of the difficulty involved in reading the character Song Jiang, who represents the greatest degree of corruption and who has convinced the Liangshan fraternity that he is the "Loyal and Righteous Song Gongming" (忠義宋公明).[38] Yu cautions readers against believing Song's claim to be a defender of "loyalty and righteousness" and attempts to shift reader attitudes by "commenting" on the falsehood of this title in the exchange of rhetoric between Song Jiang and leader of the "good" rebels Chen Xizhen. The irony lies in the discrepancy between Song's claim to uphold *zhongyi* and his tendency to commit evil actions. As the commentators note, Song Jiang and his band of "bad" rebels appropriate *zhongyi* as their code of honor and simultaneously commit crimes that negatively impact the Shandong locale. Compared with their "bad" counterparts, Chen Xizhen and his group also speak of *zhongyi*, but whose words are backed by an honoring of this code since they never take action without moral justifications.[39]

In a letter to Chen, Song claims that *zhongyi* is the greatest virtue in his life and hopes Chen can join him as another "champion of loyalty and righteousness" (忠義之士).[40] Having read Song's letter, Chen immediately sees through Song's scheme[41] and writes a scathing response. Much of Chen's rhetoric is based upon a moral code, which Chen believes Song Jiang had abandoned by manipulating the "false reputation of loyalty and righteousness" (假忠義之名). While Song Jiang hides behind his empty rhetoric of *zhongyi*, Chen Xizhen strings together a combination of deftly-placed remarks and sharp critiques to expose Song's deception: "How outstanding that you speak loftily of Loyalty and

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[37] *Dangkou zhi*, 71: 4-5.

[38] Here, the commentators state that Yu Wanchun's sequel is meant to "reverse [revise] the title Song Gongming, the Loyal and Righteous" 換忠義宋公明. In *Dangkou zhi*, 137: 1289.

[39] See *Dangkou zhi*, 82: 242-243. Here the commentators highlight the discrepancy between Liangshan's commitment to carry out the way on behalf of Heaven and their evil actions.

[40] *Dangkou zhi*, 92: 449.

[41] Song Jiang's use of *zhongyi* does not have the rhetorical effect he anticipated. Here *zhongyi* becomes a device to force Chen to ascend Liangshan. Previously, Song Jiang blames the assassination of the imperial emissary, responsible for delivering the amnesty letter to Liangshan, on Chen's daughter Liqing. See *Dangkou zhi*, 92: 454.

Righteousness, [Song] Gongming" (卓哉公明，談忠論義!) In Chen's opinion, Song Jiang and his group are foolish to believe that "banditry is a shortcut to officialdom" (綠林為終南捷徑). To expose the hypocrisy of Song's claim to "Carry out the Way on Behalf of Heaven" (*titian xingdao* 替天行道), Chen reverses this adage, exclaiming that Song Jiang and his group have actually "transgressed against Heaven and harmed the Way" (*nitian haidao* 逆天害道) by stealing, pillaging, and killing without proper justifications.[42]

Although Song Jiang believes his ambitions for power can be realized with a reputation of *zhongyi*, the discrepancy between Song's claims and actions lead to his demise. Realizing that his campaign is nearing its end, Song Jiang escapes and hides in a local village. Song Jiang inadvertently reveals his identity to locals while talking in his sleep. Feeling afraid that such a high-profile bandit is among them, the locals tie him up. Song then confesses to be the "real" Song Gongming and asks his two capturers their names, which he discovers to be Jia Zhong 賈忠 and Jia Yi 賈義. To Song Jiang's surprise, they turn him into the authorities. Song then laments that he will "die at the hands of false loyalty and righteousness" (死在假忠假義之手).[43] Here Yu ends Song Jiang's story with a touch of sharp and comical irony. It is not Song Jiang's crimes or the crimes of the Liangshan bandit-heroes that cause his death; with Yu's reinterpretation of the title "Loyal and Righteous Song Gongming", the false claims of *zhongyi* become the cause of Song Jiang's capture and signals the proper "end" of the Liangshan bandit resistance movement.

Pitting Song Jiang's empty rhetoric against Chen Xizhen's moral rhetoric has the effect of underscoring what Andrew Plaks calls the distorting or cheapening of *zhongyi* in *Shuihu zhuan*, to the point "at which the compound [*zhangyi*, 'to take honorable action'] 仗義 comes to mean little more than loose purse strings, where [*jieyi*, 'to swear an oath of fraternal honor'] 結義 can be assumed by any confederation of thugs, where [*juyi*, 'to assemble for an honorable cause'] 聚義 takes on the menacing message 'join us or else.'"[44] In other words, in the hands of "bandits" *zhongyi* becomes a tool used to justify theft, murder, and a "gang morality."[45] Now in *Dangkou zhi*, Yu Wanchun furthers this critique of the Liangshan bandit resistance movement, with the message that a bandit like Song Jiang—charismatic, generous, but manipulative and deceptive in his claim to be a champion of *zhongyi*—represents the greatest degree of corruption.

In Yu's rhetoric, this corruption is gift-wrapped as a reciprocal bond between friends who swear an oath of immutable honor (*yiqi*). Yu's main concern was that if Song Jiang is read as a champion of *zhongyi*, readers may also be misled into believing any bandit can claim to embody *zhongyi*, despite the crimes they

[42] *Dangkou zhi*, 94: 480-481.
[43] *Ibid.*, 137: 1296-1299.
[44] Plaks 1987, p. 352.
[45] Hsia 1996, p. 87.

have committed. He aims to correct what he considered the mistakes of Jin's 70-chapter edition in which Jin failed to completely disassociate *zhongyi* from the Liangshan bandit-hero resistance movement, and to correct the 30-chapter "sequel", which Yu thought to erroneously venerate Song Jiang as a champion of *zhongyi*. Such assumed "misinterpretations" on the part of others enabled Yu to justify the need to rectify the meaning of *zhongyi* through the act of sequeling, in ways that he felt Jin Shengtan and Luo Guanzhong had failed to do.

Admittedly, all 108 heroes are either killed, captured, or executed by the end of *Dangkou zhi*. This is not to say that Yu Wanchun did not admire the Liangshan bandit-heroes. For some of the most popular characters such as Guan Sheng, Lin Chong, Lu Zhishen, and Wu Song, Yu makes efforts to give them "honorable" ends, in a way that could simultaneously condemn the Liangshan bandit-hero resistance movement but also elevate the status of those characters that he considered to be the finest heroes of *Shuihu zhuan*.

3. Desperate Heroism and Character Doubles

An important problem of reading *Dangkou zhi* is understanding Yu Wanchun's simulatenous efforts to condemn the bandit-heroes for their transgressions against imperial authority and to valorize their heroic behavior. Yu finds that many of these bandit-heroes are only partially responsible for their actions and blames Song Jiang for persuading Liangshan members that they are fighting for an honorable cause. According to Yu, unlike the first Liangshan leader Chao Gai the "Pagoda-Holding King of Heaven" (托塔天王), Song Jiang has no qualms about accumulating wealth or material goods by unjust means. When Shi Qian the "Flea on a Drum" (鼓上蚤) steals a chicken from locals, Chao Gai considers executing him for damaging Liangshan's honor with his act of theft.[46] By contrast, in *Dangkou zhi* Song Jiang is pleased with Shi Qian when he steals rice from the locals.[47] The larger implication of Song's attitude towards the act of theft is that the Liangshan fraternity appears more as a bandit resistance movement in Yu's sequel because they rob and kill without proper justifications, given the evil of their leader Song Jiang, who may speak of *zhongyi* but fails to lead based upon the moral behavior that *zhongyi* demands.

By emphasizing Song Jiang's wickedness as the cause of Liangshan's depravity, Yu can now depict many of the bandit-heroes as "honorable." After hearing from an immortal that they are destined to lose their lives in future military campaigns,[48] the bandit-heroes become more steadfast in fighting towards glorified deaths. In this sequel they now embody a "desperate heroism"

[46] *Outlaws of the Marsh*, 47: 1000-1001.
[47] *Dangkou zhi*, 98: 571.
[48] *Dangkou zhi*, 98: 569.

that attests to the authenticity of their "sworn fraternal honor" (*yiqi*). The prophecy given by the immortal corresponds to the narrative arc of *Dangkou zhi*, in which all "bad" rebels (Liangshan) must meet their end at the hands of "good" rebels (government forces). I will now argue that Yu's efforts to condemn Liangshan and shape reader interpretations sometimes escapes "authorial" control. Given the popularity of these bandit-heroes and Yu's own admiration of them, Yu reinterprets "sworn fraternal honor" by making the bandit-heroes appear even more uninhibited, courageous, and daring as they fight endlessly towards each of their respective "terminations" (*jie* 結).

At the Liangshan establishment, Song Jiang and other chieftains receive news that Yun Tianbiao has amassed a large army to besiege Mt. Qingzhen. Song Jiang gathers over 36000 troops to prepare for the first major military campaign against government forces. They travel day and night to Mt. Qingzhen, where they begin the first of many bloody battles with government troops.[49] Leading the troops are Yang Zhi, Mu Chun, and Xue Yong, who are all famous for their unmatched skills with various types of weaponry. They are later surrounded and appear to have no way of retreating. Collected and unperturbed, Yang Zhi declares "why not simply battle to the death" (何不索性拼個死戰?) In the voice of the storyteller, Yu immediately describes these heroes fighting off government troops with an unprecedented fierceness despite being outnumbered. In this "fight of desperation" (死命相爭), Mu Chun and Xue Yong die in battle, while Yang Zhi suffers several wounds and escapes with his life.[50]

Compared with Liangshan's complete assembly in the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness at the end of the 70-chapter edition, in *Dangkou zhi* the bandit-heroes stand out even more by constantly living in glorious moments of battle as a rugged, honorable fraternity, desperately fighting against the prestigious and powerful government troops.[51] Even after gaining knowledge of their destiny of

[49] *Ibid.*, 99: 573.
[50] *Ibid.*, 99: 584-585.
[51] The commentators write, "This chapter [which describes] the attack on Zhengyi village, is the author writing about the prestige and power of the government troops? Is he writing about the sincerity of the local militia? No, it writes of the heroism and magnificence of the Liangshan heroes. The government troops with such intelligence and courage, properly advance and retreat, their martial abilities unmatched; the local militia with such honesty, willingly share their provisions and are indeed courageous and bold. But the Liangshan heroes are still able fight battle after battle and remain vigilant left and right, always unwilling to compromise their principles of martial action. What gives them such powerful momentum? It must be [written this way] as part of the great 'militaristic strategy' [writing strategy] of the author] by which the bandits are eliminated or captured in the latter half of the sequel" (此回攻打正一村，寫官兵聲勢乎？寫鄉勇真誠乎？非也，仍寫梁山雄壯耳。官軍如此智勇，進退合度，武藝超群；鄉勇如此歸誠，衣食仰給，勇敢有為。而梁山尚能一戰再戰，

termination, each character fights honorably toward his death: "treated with a touch of tragic heroism" that underscores the tension between their fate and their will,[52] a tension that also informs the trials each hero must face to prove the authenticity of his sworn fraternal honor.

Yu's strategy is to juxtapose the courage and military prowess of "good" rebels with "bad" rebels, to simultaneously deliver an ideological message of condemnation and to elevate Liangshan as a group of sworn brothers united by their convictions to defend the fraternity in life and in death.[53] The juxtaposition of Guan Sheng the "Great Blade" (大刀) with his "double" Yun Tianbiao is a case in point. Yun is the epitome of a Confucian "scholar-general" (*rujiang* 儒將) well-versed in both classical learning and military strategy.[54] His military prowess gains the attention of Guan Sheng, who leaps at the opportunity to test himself against Yun. Their first battle lasts 100 rounds without determining victor and loser. What emerges in the interaction between Yun Tianbiao and Guan Sheng is a feeling of competitive rivalry that allows their heroic behavior to stand out in magnificence:

> 天彪正要出戰，轅門上來報：「關勝單挑相公廝殺，口出狂言。」天彪大怒，霍的提刀上馬，帶那五百名砍刀手出營迎敵，就雪地上擺開 [...] 關勝橫刀躍馬，高叫：「天彪匹夫，今日必死吾手！」天彪一馬飛出，大罵：「背君禽獸，萬死猶輕，可惜我這口青龍寶刀砍你這狗頭！」[55]
>
> When Tianbiao was just about to enter battle, the gate watchman reported, "Guan Sheng spoke wild words and challenged Your Excellency to a battle to the death." Tianbiao became furious and immediately saddled upon his horse with spear in hand, leading five hundred of his best machete-wielding soldiers outside the camp to set up in battle formation and engage the enemy [...]. With spear in hand and saddled on his steed, Guan Sheng spoke, "Tianbiao you tactless bastard! Today you will die by my hand!" Tianbiao charged in full force and cursed Guan Sheng, "Traitorous beast! Ten thousand deaths would still be considered light punishment, if it were not for my Green Dragon Spear to chop off that dog head of yours!"

In this scene, the tension between *zhong* and *yi* is increased with the juxtaposition between Yun Tianbiao and Guan Sheng: the former who fights for

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左顧右盼，總不忍稍失機宜，其聲勢為何如哉？必如此而後半部殲除群盜，擒獲巨魁，方是絕大韜略). Refer to *Dangkou zhi*, 99: 587.

[52] Wang 1997, p. 133.

[53] See Yang 2004, p. 153. Yang argues that because of Yu's tendency to use the Liangshan bandit-heroes as "archetypes" for the imperial heroes, he is giving full testimony to the artistic superiority of the original. However, this explanation does not take into full consideration the other function of the imperial heroes in *Dangkou zhi*: to act as foils and thereby elevate the status of the Liangshan bandit-heroes.

[54] A term often used by the *Dangkou zhi* commentators to describe Yun Tianbiao.

[55] *Dangkou zhi*, 91: 423-424.

the honor of the emperor, and the latter who fights tirelessly to defend Liangshan's sworn fraternal honor. Yun responds appropriately for a hero of his stature—with a dignified rage at the fact that a lowly "bandit" (Guan Sheng) has challenged him on the battlefield. The only way they can put their rivalry at ease is by fighting to the death in the name of manly honor.

Having tested each other in martial prowess, these two characters share a heroic status that crosses boundaries of "good" and "bad" rebels, as heroes who both bear a likeness in mentality and physicality to Guan Yu 關羽 (?-220), the deity of war and sworn brotherhood. Although Guan Sheng shows even more conviction in defending his manhood and the honor of the fraternity in battle, his attachment to "honor" causes him to act based upon a dignified "rage" (*nu* 怒) and to lose sight of the strategic maneuvers needed to ensure victory:

> 揮刀直取關勝。一關勝大怒，舞刀相迎。兩馬相交，在雪地上鬥經一百五六十合，只見一片寒光托住兩條殺氣。兩軍看得盡皆駭然 [...] 天彪、關勝又戰夠多時，大約已是二百餘合。天彪生恐馬乏，只得虛掩一刀，詐敗回陣。關勝大叫：「匹夫休使拖刀計，我豈懼你！」驟馬追來。[56]

> [Yun Tianbiao] waved his blade and attacked Guan Sheng in full force. Guan became furious and flourished his blade to engage him. On their steeds both heroes clashed together. In the snow they fought one hundred and sixty rounds; all one could see was a stark, wintry aura emerge from the murderous atmosphere of battle. Soldiers on both sides watched with fear in their hearts [...]. After battling for some time, Yun Tianbiao and Guan Sheng had finished over 200 rounds. Yun Tianbiao feared his horse was fatigued. With the deft counter of his blade, he feigned defeat and returned to military formation. Guan Sheng yelled, "You tactless yokel, you cannot deceive me with that dragging blade trick! I'm not afraid of you!" On horse he galloped forward in chase.

Here, the reader views this magnificent duel from the perspectives of both government troops and rebel forces. We simultaneously cheer for Guan Sheng and Yun Tianbiao, yet Yun seems to have a strategic advantage over Guan. Having learned the "dragging blade tactic" (*tuo dao ji* 拖刀計) previously that made Guan Yu famous,[57] Yun deftly feigns defeat and leads Guan into an ambush:

> 傅玉在旗門邊等夠多時，見關勝追來，覷得親切，運動猿臂，一飛錘抨去 [...] 關勝只顧天彪的拖刀計，不防有人暗算 [...] 飛錘早到，急閃不迭，胸坎上打個正著。關勝幾乎墜地，回馬便走。天彪勒回馬追來，郝思文、宣贊殺出，死命

[56] *Ibid.*, 91: 424.

[57] Guan Yu battles with Huang Zhong for one hundred rounds, discovering Huang is a worthy opponent. Guan decides to fight with intelligence rather than brute strength, and then employs the "dragging blade tactic" to defeat him. See *Sanguo yanyi*, 53: 452-453.

> 敵住，救回關勝。傅玉驅兵掩殺，五百砍刀手奮勇殺上，賊兵無心廝殺，盡皆逃走，吃官兵殺死無數，滿地都是紅雪。[58]
>
> After Fu Yu waited a while near the flagged gates, he saw Guan Sheng give chase. Seeing Guan was close enough, Fu Yu ordered the Yuanbi troops to release the flying hammers [...]. Guan Sheng only paid attention to Tianbiao's dragging blade tactic and could not prevent the enemy ambush [...]. The flying hammers had already been released; Guan Sheng failed to dodge them in time and was struck right in the chest. Guan Sheng nearly fell to the ground but got back to his horse and fled. Yun Tianbiao turned his horse around to give chase, when He Siwen and Xuan Zan fought desperately to stave off enemy forces and save Guan Sheng. Fu Yu then ordered his troops to kill without discrimination; the five hundred government troops battled courageously while the bandit troops; their morale failing, they began to flee and were decimated by the government troops, turning the snow completely blood-red.

Guan Sheng believed he had won the battle of words at the beginning of their battle by calling Yun Tianbiao a "tactless yokel" (*pifu* 匹夫) for presumably having guts but no brains. The irony is that Guan Sheng now becomes the *pifu* who, with his reckless courage, has fallen for the dragging blade tactic that had made his distant ancestor Guan Yu famous.

In other words, Yun has symbolically used Guan Sheng's own tactics against him on the battlefield.[59] With this allusion to Guan Yu and his famous "dragging blade tactic", Yu Wanchun twists Guan Sheng's heroic image to make him appear more daring and heroic than in the parent work. Ironically, Guan's death is not caused by the blade of the enemy; he is responsible for his own death, caused by wounds accrued after falling for Yun's (symbolically, Guan Sheng's own) dragging blade tactic.[60] Guan Sheng's hubris thus lies in the heightened confidence of his own martial prowess and his failure to evade the trap set up by his "double" Yun Tianbiao. Guan's stature could only be taken to greater heights if he bears responsibility for his own death: an "end" justified by his dedication to "sworn fraternal honor" and necessitated by Yu's agenda to disassociate *zhongyi* from the Liangshan bandit resistance movement.

4. Lin Chong and the Deflation of Vindictive Honor

Yu Wanchun designates the 36 imperial heroes as the true men of loyalty and righteousness (*zhongyi*), who often function as the voice of Confucian ethics that inform interactions between rulers and subjects. These heroes are foils to the

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[58] *Dangkou zhi*, 91: 424.
[59] Guan Sheng is described using this strategy during his battle against Shan Tinggui. See *Diwu caizi shu Shuihu zhuan*, 66: 1192.
[60] *Dangkou zhi*, 92: 441.

108 "bandits", who represent the voice of sworn fraternal honor (*yiqi*). With this point in mind, this section will now examine how two types of honor (*zhongyi* vs. *yiqi*) are complicated in the "rewrite" of ex-military instructor Lin Chong the "Pantherhead" (豹子頭) and his journey towards vindication.[61]

In *Shuihu zhuan*, Lin Chong is forced to join the Liangshan rebels after suffering injustice at the hands of Young Master Gao (the adopted son of the villain Gao Qiu), known among locals as the "lecherous tyrant." When Gao repeatedly tries to harass his wife, Lin Chong wants to take action but is forced to keep his anger to himself because Gao's adoptive father is Lin's boss. Young Master Gao complains to Lu Qian who devises a plan to frame Lin Chong. Accused of attempting to assassinate Gao at his residence,[62] Lin Chong loses his military instructor position and is tattooed as a criminal. Surviving against all odds and trials, he escapes to Liangshan and becomes a head chieftain, but later discovers his wife committed suicide after Gao attempted to force her into marriage.[63]

Central to Lin Chong's narrative is the issue of "revenge" which is often emphasized in *Shuihu* narrative cycles that include hero, victim, and perpetrator. Perhaps the most famous episode depicting "retribution" is the plot involving Wu Song, Wu the Elder, and Pan Jinlian. Having successfully fended off the sexual advances of his sister-in-law Pan Jinlian, Wu Song leaves the household of his elder brother, but discovers upon returning that the latter has been poisoned to death. Wu Song eventually captures the perpetrators—Pan Jinlian, Ximen Qing, and Madam Wang—and then sacrifices them to the spirit of Wu the Elder. In this narrative cycle, the hero has captured the perpetrators who pay a blood debt to the victim's spirit.

One problem shared among *Shuihu* sequels previous to *Dangkou zhi* is that corrupt officials (perpetrators) responsible for the unjust deaths of sworn brothers or family members (victims) never face retribution that must be carried out by a member of the Liangshan fraternity (heroes). Yu's strategy was to

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[61] *Zhong* refers to loyalty to the emperor, while *yi* refers to selfless reciprocity among friends. *Yiqi* is an extended interpretation of *yi*, but with an added quality. Now selfless reciprocity among friends is informed by a solemn oath of life and death among sworn brothers, which necessitates that they defend their honor at all costs. In the context of *Dangkou zhi*, imperial heroes can embody *zhongyi* by remaining loyal the emperor and demonstrating selfless reciprocity to other heroes with the same political alignment. But such an embodiment differs tremendously compared with the *yiqi* of Liangshan bandit-heroes, which does not require *zhong* as precedent.

[62] See *Outlaws of the Marsh*, 7: 162-166. The storyteller implies that Lu Qian has a weapon seller appear in front of Lin Chong to arouse his interest in purchasing a precious sword. Later, Lu Qian lures Lin Chong to Marshall Gao's residence, under the pretense that Gao wishes to compare the quality of his sword with Lin's newly acquired one. Lin Chong walks into the inner sanctum to find Marshall Gao, who scolds Lin for entering an area that strictly prohibits weapons. Feigning fear of assassination, Gao orders his guards to apprehend Lin Chong.

[63] *Outlaws of the Marsh*, 19: 368.

rewrite "revenge" by exaggerating the ritualistic, violent sacrifice of perpetrators often necessitated by unjust deaths of one's sworn brothers in *Shuihu zhuan* and its sequels. Violent sacrifice, in the form of paying a blood debt—dragging out the perpetrator's heart, liver, and entrails to be offered to the deceased at the spirit altar—[64] was presumably not enough to underscore what Yu thought to be the true message regarding revenge in *Shuihu zhuan.* With a re-presentation of the character Lin Chong, Yu could interpret "revenge" in the context of *zhongyi*, with a touch of parody that makes the Liangshan fraternity appear cultish and cannibalistic compared with the imperial heroes.

Having harbored resentment for so long after Young Master Gao challenged his honor, Lin Chong feels gratified to have the chance of vindicating himself by physically mutilating and murdering Gao. After Gao is tied up, Lin Chong requests the chef to "prepare" Gao the way mutton is prepared and plans to consume Gao's flesh and blood. Gao is then "dragged away" (*qianxia* 牽下), "washed up" (*xi* 洗), and "cut clean" (*gua* 刮) like the carcass of an animal. Lin Chong and the other Liangshan members set up banquet tables and spirit altars, to prepare for their ritual of sacrifice:

> 宋江便吩咐：「先取三杯血酒來祭奠林娘子。」左右一聲答應，衙內身上早已三個窟窿。左右將血灑捧上，宋江率眾頭領依次祭奠 [...] 飲至三巡，林沖方命用羊眼熟炒之法，一個嘍啰便把尖刀向衙內眼眶一挖，鮮血滿面。[65]

> Song Jiang then ordered, "First bring three cups of Gao's blood to present to Lin's wife." Everyone responded in unison and poked three holes into Marshall Gao. On both sides of his body they drained blood into ceremonial cups. Song Jiang had all the chieftains perform ceremonial rites [...]. After three rounds of drinking, Lin Chong ordered the chef to cook Gao's eyes the same way goat eyes are cooked. One of the lackeys then scooped out Gao's eyes with a sharp knife, splattering blood all over Gao's face.

While this scene of ritualistic sacrifice appears to validate Lin Chong's honor, here Yu has rewritten "revenge" as a primal, almost cannibalistic tendency that can be mistaken as the tangible expression of "honor" in the Liangshan fraternity. With this move, Yu is better prepared to argue that the rhetoric of morality (*zhongyi*) almost always overcomes the rhetoric of honor (*yiqi*) in the interaction between Wang Jin and Lin Chong.

The disappearance of the character Wang Jin puzzled both *Shuihu* commentators and sequel writers.[66] Jin Shengtan proposed an allegorical reading

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[64] See the scene depicting Wu Song's disembodiment of Pan Jinlian, in 25: 498.
[65] *Dangkou zhi*, 98: 558-560.
[66] Both Jin Shengtan and Yu Wanchun were dissatisfied with the disappearance of Wang Jin in *Shuihu zhuan*. As a commentator likely working with previous editions of *Shuihu zhuan*, these materials had great impact on Jin's inability to "rewrite" Wang Jin into his 70-chapter

of Wang Jin as the symbol of "moral governance" (*wang dao* 王道). According to Jin's interpretation, Wang's disappearance is a narrative device that signals the end of benevolent government and the beginning of rebellion in the novel.[67] Dissatisfied with Jin's interpretation that the "departure" (*qu* 去) of Wang Jin foreshadows the "arrival" (*lai* 來) of the bandit-heroes,[68] Yu reverses Jin Shengtan's interpretation to emphasize that "Wang Jin arrives and the 108 bandit-heroes depart " (王進來而一百八人去).[69] Yu's assumption is that Wang Jin is central to the textual design of the parent work: symbolizing the decline of "moral order" (Wang Jin) and the beginning of "rebellion" (108 bandit-heroes). Now with Yu's refutation of Jin's interpretation, in *Dangkou zhi* Wang's return to the narrative represents the restoration of "moral order" and the end of "rebellion."

After Wang Jin is framed by Gao Qiu and loses his position as head military instructor, he joins Military Governor Zhong along the northwestern borders to fight against armies of the Tangut Empire. When Governor Zhong hears of Zhang Shuye's campaign against the Liangshan bandit resistance movement, he sends Wang Jin to help lead imperial troops.[70] Yu's narration of what happened to Wang Jin after his disappearance has the effect of presenting an alternative narrative trajectory for bandit-heroes who felt they were "forced to join the Liangshan rebels" (*bishang Liangshan* 逼上梁山), that is, forced to break the law while taking heroic action or having been wronged by corrupt people in power.

With the juxtaposition of Lin Chong and Wang Jin, Yu offers a "reading" of how to distinguish between Liangshan "bandit" and imperial "hero" in *Shuihu zhuan.* Lin and Wang battle over 200 hundred rounds without determining a victor. Although Lin Chong insists on continuing their duel, Wang Jin later forces him to engage in a competition of rhetoric:

> 王進哈哈大笑道：「今日勝負已分，何須再分勝負。」林沖圓睜兩目道：「此話怎講？」王進道：「有甚怎講！當初我在東京，聞得你有些本事。後來我在延安，聞得你充當教頭，又說你犯了王法，刺配遠方，又說你投奔梁山，做了

edition. It is also possible Jin did not find such a revision would be convincing to readers. But Jin's multiple roles as editor, commentator and revisionary author gave him a certain degree of flexibility to shift readers' attention towards his interpretations of *Shuihu zhuan.* By contrast, Yu Wanchun enjoyed a different kind of positionality as a sequel writer. He could continue, supplement, or correct the narratives of *Shuihu* characters in ways that a commentator could not.

[67] Based on Jin Shengtan's reading of the name Wang Jin. Refer to *Diwu caizi shu Shuihu zhuan*, 1: 58-59.

[68] Jin comments, "Wang Jin leaves and the 108 bandit-heroes arrive" (王進去而一百八人來). *Diwu caizi shu Shuihu zhuan*, 1: 58-59.

[69] See the commentaries in *Dangkou zhi*, 133: 1236.

[70] *Dangkou zhi*, 133: 1220.

> 強盜。我只道你是個下流，不過略懂些槍棒，今日看你武藝，果然高強。只可恨你不生眼珠子，前半世服侍了高二，吃些軍犯魔頭；後半世歸依了宋江，落個強徒名望，埋沒了一生本事，受盡了多少腌臢。到如今，你山寨危亡就在目前 [...] 我王進作朝廷名將，你林沖為牢獄囚徒，同是一樣出身，變作兩般結局，可惜嚇可惜！」[71]

> Wang Jin laughed and said, "Today victor and loser have been determined. Why must we decide once more?" Lin Chong glared at him: "What do you mean?" Wang Jin said, "What is there to say? In the beginning when I was at the Eastern Capital, I heard you had some abilities. Later when I was in Yan'an, I heard you became chief military instructor but then broke the imperial law, got tattooed as a criminal, and finally got exiled. Then I heard you joined the Liangshan bandits. I said to myself, you're just a lowly punk with mediocre understanding of spear fighting at best! Today witnessing your military prowess, indeed you are very powerful. Yet I resent your blindness. In the first half of your life you served Marshall Gao and got toyed with by those crooked soldiers. In the second half, you joined Song Jiang's ranks and fell for the infamy of banditry, polluting your abilities and sullying your honor. Now the Liangshan establishment is at the brink of destruction [...]. I am a famed general of the court, but you're a washed-up prisoner. We came from the same place, but arrived at two different endings. What a shame!"

For Wang Jin, a hero's military prowess is not enough to determine victor and loser, but a hero's abidance to a moral code can ensure success on the battlefield. He notes that Lin Chong has some above-average martial abilities, but faced with adversity, he chose to flee and become a Liangshan rebel. Wang Jin's tirade against Lin Chong suggests that a hero's honor must be strictly aligned with the moral code of "loyalty and righteousness." In the voice of Wang Jin, Yu suggests that the imperial hero's mind, with its proclivity towards morality, is a much sharper "weapon" than the blade of a hero-turned-bandit with mediocre knowledge of spear fighting. It is this moral code associated with imperial authority, rather than a code of honor based on military prowess, that determines the "ending" (*jieju* 結局) in a man's life.

In the battle of rhetoric, Lin Chong has been verbally stripped of his greatest strengths: the superiority of his military prowess and his knowledge of spear fighting. His only "weapon" now is the rhetoric of sworn fraternal honor: "Shut the hell up! The court employed corrupt officials and harmed good people, forcing them into a bitter life. They had nowhere to go, until they decided to make a path for themselves. You have never had such an experience and don't know what they hell you're talking about."[72] Wang Jin is not fazed at all by Lin Chong's appeal to the common struggle of all his sworn brothers who were wronged by corrupt officials. Wang immediately counters with his rhetoric of Confucian ethics:

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[71] *Dangkou zhi*, 133: 1225-1226.
[72] *Dangkou zhi*, 133: 1226.

> 王進哈哈大笑道：「好個自全，如今全得全不得，只教你自己思想！至於你說我不曾親嘗其境，足見你糊塗一世。你做的是殿帥府教頭，我做的也是殿帥府教頭；你受高俅的管束，我也受高俅的管束；高俅要生事害你，高俅何嘗不生事害我？我不過見識比你高些 [...] 可怪你一經翻跌之後，絕無顯揚之念，絕無上進之心，不顧禮義是非，居然陷入綠林。難道你舍了這路，竟沒有別條路好尋麼？ [...] 你但思想，你山寨中和你本領一樣的，吃我天朝擒斬無數，諒你一人豈能獨免？你想逃罪，今番罪上加罪；你想免刑，今番刑上加刑。不明順逆之途，豈有生全之路？種種皆你自取之咎，尚欲銜怨他人，真是荒謬萬分。今日你也乏了，不須再戰了，回去細思我言。」[73]
>
> Wang Jin laughed and said: "Making a path for oneself? What you have gained previously is now long gone. Think about it! As for me lacking such experiences, you are sorely mistaken! Like you, I was a chief instructor in the general's hall. Like you, I was suppressed by Gao Qiu; he took the initiative to harm you, and did he not do the same to me? It is only that I had greater sensibilities than you [...]. It is a shame that after your fall, you had no intention of improving. You cared not one bit for propriety, righteousness, and morality. To one's surprise, you fell into a life of banditry. Could it be that you wanted to walk such a path, but in the end could not find another way? [...] If you just think about it, those in the Liangshan establishment with the same ability as you have been beaten time and time by the soldiers of our Celestial Empire. How could we forgive someone like you? You want to escape from your crimes, but now you have heaped crimes upon crimes; you want to avoid punishment, but today you have amassed punishments upon punishments. Those who take the unenlightened, rebellious path—how can they live with themselves? Such consequences are the result of your own actions, and now you want to blame others, which is truly absurd. You are exhausted and have no need to continue battling. Go back and carefully think over what I have said."

As a military man who was wronged by corrupt officials, Wang Jin can identify with Lin Chong's struggle. Yet Wang believes he had more "sensibilities" (*jianshi* 見識) than Lin, specifically a moral code that informed Wang's decision to honor Confucian ethics of "propriety" (*li* 禮), "righteousness" (*yi* 義), and the wisdom to tell "right from wrong" (*shi fei* 是非). By contrast, without a "mind for continual improvement" (*shangjin zhi xin* 上進之心), Lin Chong joined the "bandits" who are now at the brink of termination. Despite Lin's desire to reclaim his honor, he has already damaged his honor to such a degree that, in Wang's opinion, the emperor will never grant him amnesty. Wang Jin essentially defeats Lin Chong with an astute rhetoric of morality rather than martial abilities, rendering Lin Chong's military prowess useless. Having realized Wang Jin's moral superiority, and that he is responsible for damaging his own honor, Lin Chong cries out in

[73] *Ibid.*, 133: 1226-1227.

agony and goes cross-eyed. He then drops his lance to the ground and falls from his saddle.[74]

Lin Chong's physical and spiritual fall attests to Yu's message that a man of superior military prowess cannot best a man with firm Confucian ethics. After Lin Chong is escorted back to the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness, he finds himself in bed, struck with an "illness of the consciousness" (*shenzhi bing* 神志病). After ten days, Lin's condition worsens. Zhu Tong, Lei Heng and others return from a successful military campaign with Gao Qiu's head in hand. They give Gao's head to Lin Chong, with the hopes of cheering him up:

> 林沖一見，呼的坐起身來，接了高俅的頭，看了一看，咬著牙齒道：「我為你這廝身敗名喪，到今日性命不保，皆由於你！」言畢，將頭擲出窗戶之外，摜為齏粉。林沖狂叫一聲，倒身仰臥而絕。[75]

> When Lin Chong saw Gao Qiu's head, he got up with a grunt. He held Gao's head in his hands and looked at it a bit. Lin grinded his teeth in anger and said, "I lost all integrity and reputation because of this punk! Now my life is in danger, all because of you!" He then threw Gao's head through the window, smashing it into pieces. Lin Chong cried out violently, lied back down, and died on the spot.

In the end, Lin Chong vindicates himself by mutilating the head of Gao Qiu and "consuming" his adopted son, both of whom caused him to join the Liangshan bandit resistance movement. Both Gao Qiu and Young Master Gao paid with their lives, and in this sense Lin Chong has vindicated his honor. Yet the power of Wang Jin's rhetoric of Confucian ethics raises the question of whether "vindication"—collecting blood debt from those responsible for the death of a fraternity member—helps to elevate Liangshan rebels' "sworn fraternal honor." Holding Gao Qiu's head in his hands, Lin Chong now regrets the path he has taken. As a bandit-hero who aspires to simultaneously be an honorable member of the sworn brotherhood and a dignified subject of the emperor, Lin can only react the best way he knows: in righteous indignation justified by his experience of injustice and constant struggle, both tragically conditioned by his choice to abandon the moral code of *zhongyi*.

Rather than condemning his enemies, Lin Chong directs his anger at himself. A fierce rage informs his deep sense of regret, as he had expresses during the capture of Young Master Gao: "If I had known today would come, I would not have been filled with such regret for my previous actions" (早知當日，悔不當初).[76] The irony is that in Yu's "rewriting" of Lin Chong, such feelings of regret remain intensely present in Lin's actions and words. Although Lin Chong

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[74] *Dangkou zhi*, 133: 1227.
[75] *Ibid.*, 133: 1230.
[76] *Dangkou zhi*, 98: 558.

desires to restore his manly honor by killing Gao Qiu and Young Master Gao, Wang Jin's argumentation essentially forces Lin Chong to reconsider the consequences of personal vindication. Now with Gao Qiu dead, vindication through violent action seems empty, forcing Lin to symbolically take his own life with the purpose of salvaging what ever honor is left in his final moments. On this note of tragic heroism and in honor of the fallen hero Lin Chong, Yu Wanchun reveals, in a circuitous but forceful manner, his hardline loyalist position on the tension between morality (*zhongyi*) and honor (*yiqi*).

5. Lu Zhishen, Wu Song and the Limitations of Martial Prowess

What Yu seems to have discovered in his reading of the parent work and writing of his sequel are the limitations of heroic action,[77] often informed by the bandit-hero's need to uphold "sworn fraternal honor." Despite Yu's agenda to condemn Liangshan heroes as a bandit resistance movement, he attempts to elevate two characters he found to be the most dignified in *Shuihu zhuan*: Lu Zhishen the "Flowery Monk" (花和尚) and Wu Song the "Pilgrim" (行者). As I will now argue, Yu's elevation of these two heroes focuses on the strategy of exaggerating heroic action in the "rewriting" of their key narratives from the parent work: "Major Lu's Great Ruckus on Mt. Wutai" (魯提轄大鬧五台山) and "Wu Song Fights the Tiger on Jingyang Ridge" (景陽岡武松打虎). What Yu presents by rewriting such narratives in *Dangkou zhi* is a dramatically different "reading" of Lu Zhishen and Wu Song, informed by his interpretive agenda to simulatousely condemn and elevate the Liangshan bandit-heroes.

Although the violent behavior of Lu Zhishen and Wu Song may seem too savage at times, violence is sometimes necessary as part of their heroic action.[78] In *Shuihu zhuan*, Lu's sense of "honor" (*yi*) is only visible if he takes action and punishes bullies like Butcher Zheng, who exploits innocent locals for his own benefit. The same logic also follows in Wu Song's narrative, who appears honorable to the Shandong locale after they hear of his magnificent wrestling and defeat of the tiger that had repeatedly mawed travelers to death on Jinyang Ridge.

However, based on Yu's "reading" of the parent work, Lu Zhishen's "honor" does not entail murder or drunkenness that disrupts the lives of monks in the Wutai Monastery, nor does "honor" justify Lu's realization of nirvana upon death in the 30-chapter sequel. To properly end Lu's story and elevate his heroism, Yu rewrites one of the most famous of the Lu Zhishen chapters as "Lu

[77] On this issue of heroic action in *xiaoshuo*, refer to Plaks 1987, p. 349.
[78] Huang 2006, pp. 109-112.

Zhishen Makes a Ruckus in the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness" (魯智深大鬧忠義堂).[79] Contrary to reader expectations that Lu will attack local bullies, monks, or government troops, in this episode he fights against his "sworn brothers" in the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness. Typical of how masculinity is represented in *Shuihu zhuan* where capacity for meat and wine is "assumed to be in proportion to one's physical prowess",[80] in *Dangkou zhi* Lu Zhishen eats over 10 *jin* of meat and drinks several barrels of wine. He then showcases his martial prowess against several government generals who hold him in awe for his god-like strength in battle.[81] Lu returns to the Hall of Loyalty of Righteousness, believing he is leading a battle to destroy the Imperial Palace and to terminate Gao Qiu:

> 恰好宋江、吳用安頓了後關，正在忠義堂議事，瞥見魯達提杖浴血而來，大吃一驚，忙問甚事。魯達大喝道：「灑家要幫宋公明拆毀金鑾殿。」便將忠義堂擺設的桌椅亂打亂摜，便指吳用道：「你是高俅麼？今日灑家打殺了你，為民除害。你們這班狗才，教你們死個爽快！」說罷，提杖直打吳用。吳用急躲，忙叫道：「魯兄弟瘋了，那個去按住他？」[82]
>
> It just so happened that when Song Jiang and Wu Yong secured the rear gate and were in the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness discussing official matters, they caught a glimpse of Lu Zhishen with staff in hand and his head covered in blood. In shock, they asked him what happened. Lu Zhishen yelled out, "I'm here to help Song Gongming destroy the Imperial Palace!" He thrashed all the tables and seats in the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness, and then pointed at Wu Yong: "Are you Gao Qiu?! Today I will kill you and rescue people from harm! You spineless dogs! What a joy it will be to end your lives!" Lu proceeded to attack Wu Yong with his staff. Wu Yong fled in haste and called out, "Brother Lu has gone mad! Who will stand up to him?!"

In this scene, Lu Zhishen returns to the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness suffering from the combination of excess consumption of meat and wine, several flesh wounds, and an extended battle high. In this state of madness, Lu believes he can finally restore the honor of the sworn fraternity by striking down Gao Qiu. The irony is that while Lu believes he is helping Song Jiang to destroy the Imperial Palace and kill Gao Qiu, he has actually destroyed the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness and has attacked one of the masterminds behind the

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[79] Here, Yu is playing with the wording of the chapter title, "Lu Zhishen makes a ruckus on Mt. Wutai" (魯智深大鬧五台山). Now in *Dangkou zhi* Lu Zhishen causes trouble in the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness, which aligns with Yu's interpretive agenda to de-intensify the tension between *zhong* and *yi*.
[80] Huang 2006, p. 106.
[81] *Dangkou zhi*, 135: 1260.
[82] *Ibid.*, 135: 1262.

Liangshan bandit resistance movement: Wu Yong the "Knowledgeable Star" (智多星), who manipulates fraternity members to further the political agenda he shares with Song Jiang.[83]

The destruction of the Imperial Palace and assault on Gao Qiu all happens in Lu Zhishen's mind and functions as an alternate "ending" to the narrative of Liangshan. Rather than emphasizing the tension between *zhong* and *yi*, with the irony of the "ruckus" in the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness, *Dangkou zhi* now brings Lu's sworn fraternal honor to new heights. He continues to destroy everything in the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness, when Lu Junyi, the only "strongman" present, begins dueling Lu Zhishen. Lu Junyi is no longer battling his sworn brother; in Lu Zhishen's antagonism towards his "enemies", he has now reverted back to his original role, who the storyteller refers to as "Major Lu" (魯提轄).[84] This subtle shift in how Lu is referred to—not by his style name Zhishen but, instead, his earlier military title *tixia*—repositions Lu from the "rebellious monk" of Liangshan (Sagacious Lu) to the "loyal officer" of the emperor (Major Lu). Now Lu symbolically resumes his role as an imperial subject in opposition against the Liangshan "bandits", fighting for Confucian *zhongyi* as a pseudo "knight errant" (*yixia* 義俠) under Heaven,[85] more desperate than ever before in his commitment to destroy Gao Qiu (Wu Yong) and the Imperial Palace (Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness). Despite bringing Lu's heroism to such heights, Yu Wanchun needs to align Lu's proper "end" with the agenda to condemn the Liangshan bandit resistance movement. When "Major Lu" begins fighting out of the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness, he stumbles on a broken willow tree and falls to the ground, causing his wounds to burst. He cries out and then declares, "I have completed today's greatest task", before falling to the ground.[86] The irony is that, while Lu Zhishen astonishes onlookers in his physical exhibition of uprooting of the willow tree in the parent work,[87] in *Dangkou zhi* now members of the Liangshan fraternity bear witness to the fact that the Major Lu's overuse of martial prowess and the remnants of a willow tree have caused his death.

By juxtaposing Lu's two heroic images in parent work and in sequel, Yu ends Lu's story on a dissonant note of parody and grief. Lu Zhishen's superior martial prowess is now the main cause of destruction in the Liangshan establishment. Yu has rewritten Lu's hilarious but admirable "ruckus" on Mt. Wutai into an ironic, fatal heroism that informs his commitment to the fraternity, expressed through his efforts to terminate Gao Qiu (Wu Yong) and destroy the

[83] According to the commentators, Yu's agenda was to underscore how Song Jiang and Wu Yong manipulate the 106 bandit-heroes to join and fight for their rebellious cause. See the chapter commentaries in *Dangkou zhi*, 135: 1271.
[84] *Dangkou zhi*, 135: 1262.
[85] For the relationship between the term *yixia* and Lu Zhishen, see Lao 2010, pp. 39-40.
[86] *Dangkou zhi*, 135: 1262.
[87] *Outlaws of the Marsh*, 7: 147-148.

Imperial Palace (Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness). With this twisting of the "ruckus" topic into a parody of the same chapter from the parent work, Yu sustains the tension between the dual roles of Lu Da in *Shuihu zhuan*: "Major Lu" and his aspirations to serve the emperor (*zhong*) and "Lu Zhishen" who commits himself fully to sworn fraternal honor (*yi*).

In his deft rewrite of Lu's "ruckus", Yu simultaneously authenticates Lu's honor and terminates his bonds of brotherhood with Liangshan. He employs a similar strategy in the rewrite of the famous tale of Wu Song wrestling a tiger with his bare hands. After government troops capture Hu Yanzhuo, they acquire Liangshan army uniforms to be used as disguises and successfully infiltrate Wu Song's camps. One of the troops yell out that a tiger has been spotted, causing Wu Song to search for the tiger but without result. To his surprise each camp has gone up in flames. He returns to the central camp and witnesses Shi En get stabbed to death by one of the disguised government troops. From behind, Wu's double Tang Meng appears and confronts Wu Song, boasting that since he defeated a panther with his bare hands (Tang also previously defeated several tigers), he must possess much greater martial prowess.[88]

An important strategy of Yu's rewrite of Wu Song is to exaggerate his heroic action and justify the need for a proper "end" that can elevate him as the finest of heroes in *Shuihu zhuan*. In the 70-chapter edition, the foundation of Wu Song's "honor" is built upon his martial prowess and reputation for slaying a tiger with his bare hands at Jingyang Ridge. However, in *Dangkou zhi* now it is symbolically the tiger who has "ensnared" Wu Song. Having been outsmarted by the enemy and with a tactic that is ironic in its echoing (and teasing) of Wu Song's martial prowess on Jingyang Ridge, Wu Song feels a greater need to defend his manhood through heroic action.

Wu Song and Tang Meng battle over 500 hundred rounds without determining victor and loser. Both heroes retreat, and Wu Song battles three more military generals. He is forced to exhaust more strength than ever before. Round after round of fierce fighting eventually catches up with him:

> 武松手裡只有幾路架隔遮攔，端的支持不住，仰天歎道：「我武二一生正直，不料今日如此死法。」說罷，天上忽起了一陣怪風，塵上障天，武松方得乘機逃脫。[89]

[88] *Dangkou zhi*, 128: 1137. During his travels, Tang Meng learns from the locals that although many hunters have tried to capture the man-eating panther, no one has yet succeeded. Tang then decides that he will capture the panther. When Tang Meng does sees the panther, he notes its great size and then prepares to ambush it. When the panther notices Tang, he abandons his weapon, and begins wrestling the panther with his "divine strength" (*shenli* 神力). After suffering several wounds in this valiant battle, he is eventually forced to do more than wrestle the panther with his bare hands, but to also bite out its throat. See *Dangkou zhi*, 115: 872-873.

[89] *Dangkou zhi*, 128: 1139.

> Wu Song only had a few fence poles in his hand and had a hard time keeping up with all the fighting. He looked up to Heaven and sighed, "I, Wu the Second, have been upright my whole life. I never thought I would die like this!" After this declaration, a wind came from the sky above and covered the heavens in dust; in this moment Wu Song took the opportunity to escape.

Heaven hears Wu Song's call for help, deeming him worthy of rescue. Yet why is it that Song Jiang and all the other bandits either get captured, executed, or die on the battlefield, while Wu Song is rescued in a deus-ex-machina fashion during his final hour?

In Yu's view, previous sequels did not deliver the proper "end" of Wu Song's story. Since in the 30-chapter sequel, Wu Song loses his arm in battle, and in *Shuihu houzhuan*, he spends the rest of his days tending to the graves of Lu Zhishen and Lin Chong, Yu felt that both endings failed to elevate Wu Song's status as the finest of heroes. Now in *Dangkou zhi*, Wu Song's honor and upright behavior are validated in a way that previous sequels failed to achieve.[90]

In *Dangkou zhi*, Wu Song becomes a demi-god among humans who can communicate with Heaven,[91] and whose presence remains in the battlefield even after his death. Later Song Jiang and a few other Liangshan troops find Wu Song, having passed away, on top of a boulder leaning against a fencepole in an awe-inspiring stance, his eyes filled with a heroic rage.[92]

Composed, serious, and dignified, Wu Song is symbolically a monument that attests to the spirit of "loyalty and righteousness" and "sworn loyalty" that all other Liangshan bandit-heroes ought to model.[93] Despite having disagreed with some of Jin's interpretations of *Shuihu zhuan*, one finds Yu's rewrite of Wu Song confirms his own reading of this character, to validate Jin's interpretation of Wu Song as a "a heavenly god, standing high above others [the remaining 107 bandit-heroes]."[94]

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[90] Wu Song's claim to be upright in *Dangkou zhi* echoes points made in the parent work. Wu Song claims to be an upstanding man who "upholds [the authority of] Heaven and stands [honorably] on the Earth" (頂天立地). He later captures and sacrifices both Pan Jinlian and Ximen Qing, fulfilling his promise to appease the dead spirit of Wu the Elder. Wu Song's actions then win him praise by the local government as a "fierce, righteously loyal fellow" (義氣烈漢). See *Diwu caizi shu Shuihu zhuan*, 23: 439; 26: 504.

[91] *Ibid.*, 22: 423. This comparison between Heaven and Wu Song here actually elevates the latter as a demi-god, in the same way tiger hunters venerated him as a supernatural being. In *Jin ping mei*, rather than becoming struck with fear, the tiger hunters almost venerate Wu Song as a god of supreme power. Refer to *Jin Ping Mei cihua*, 1: 7-8.

[92] *Dangkou zhi*, 128: 1141.

[93] Regarding this last point, see the chapter end commentary in *Dangkou zhi*, 128: 1143.

[94] Jin Shengtan's comment, in Wang 1990, "How to Read the Fifth Book of Genius", 136, item 13.

Conclusion

In Yu's sequel, the prestige attributed to the parent work did not prevent him from rewriting parts of it he deemed unsatisfactory. Yu and his commentators were able to carefully employ a rhetoric of controlling interpretation to legitimate *Dangkou zhi* as the most appropriate "sequel" to the 70-chapter "original." Their rhetoric is indebted to that of Jin Shengtan, who had invented the theory of two *Shuihu* texts (original and sequel). Like Jin, Yu and the commentators blame the "sequel writer" Luo Guanzhong for distorting historical facts. Yet they also placed the burden of "interpretation" on the "commentator" Jin Shengtan, to legitimize *Dangkou zhi* as a sequel that can disassociate the concept of *zhongyi* from the Liangshan bandit resistance movement and properly punish its members: to have the effect of shaping *Shuihu zhuan* into a cautionary tale against rebellion.

One of Yu's strategies was to give appropriate endings to characters he found to be the finest heroes of Liangshan by juxtaposing them with their imperial hero "doubles." However, with this juxtaposition of "bad" rebels and "good" rebels, Yu is forced to portray the Liangshan bandit-heroes fighting better, harder, and more desperately than they did in the 70-chapter edition, to have the effect of renewing their "sworn fraternal honor." Now the ethos of the bandit-heroes is no longer associated with loyalty to the emperor and righteousness (*zhongyi*) but manifests in their "sworn fraternal honor" (*yiqi*) that is tangibly expressed by fighting together against their fates and towards a heroic death.

This elevation of "sworn fraternal honor" and displacement of "loyalty to the emperor and righteousness" inadvertently justifies Liangshan's cause of "Carrying Out the Way on Behalf of Heaven" in their fight against imperial authority. This seems contradictory, especially since Yu himself was quite clear about his intention in *Dangkou zhi* to disassociate Liangshan with the concept of *zhongyi*,[95] to "tame" the rebellious and trangressive sentiments embedded in *Shuihu zhuan*, and to deliver a loyalist doctrine to readers.[96] When *Dangkou zhi* is read in light of its parent work, Jin's commentaries, and previous sequels, it is clear that with Yu's efforts to punishes the Liangshan bandit resistance movement, he also valorizes their heroism, and sustains the tension between *zhong* and *yi* rather than resolve it. An important function of this tension is to construct a hermeneutic competition between "commentator" (Jin Shengtan) and "sequel writer" (Yu Wanchun) over who wields the greatest control over reader interpretation of the original *Shuihu zhuan*.

[95] Hulai Daoren, "Dangkou zhi yinyan", p. 71.
[96] Wang 1997, pp. 126-127.

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EXPRESSING DESIRE THROUGH LANGUAGE: THE PARADOXES OF THE 'BAODAI' RELATIONSHIP[1]

AUDE LUCAS
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient - EFEO)

In the landscape of classical Chinese literature, the world-famous Qing novel *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 (Dream of the Red Chamber) by Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (1715?-1763?) and Gao E 高鶚 (1738?-1815?) has been praised for its numerous innovative aspects.

Among these original features stands the outstanding ability of the authors to give their characters realistic forms of human psychology. Cao and Gao manage to depict human relationships, with all the complexities and contradictions these relationships encompass, especially in the way they describe the connection between two of the main characters – Jia Baoyu 賈寶玉 and Lin Daiyu 林黛玉.

What characterizes best the "Baodai" relationship is the difficulties both cousins have in communicating with each other. In spite of their mutual attraction, they constantly fail at expressing their affection for each other, and even end up conveying the opposite of their feelings. I suggest we may adopt a Lacanian reading of the relationship between Baoyu and Daiyu. In this interpretation, the paradoxes of their behavior find an explanation in the properties of intersubjective communication. Expressed by language, desire can only be manifested through contradicting features.

Neither cousin can disclose their mutual desire by language simply because they do not "know" it – they are barely conscious of it. The novel shows how desire outstrips language itself as the characters sometimes utter words that reflect their desire – but which meaning they do not grasp. Conversely, desire also induces contradictions in the way the characters communicate, with significant discrepancies between what they think and what they end up saying to each other.

[1] I would like to thank Professor Keith McMahon for proofreading this article, as well as the anonymous proofreader who gave me enlightening pieces of advice.

1. Forgetting the Self as Subject: Entering the World of Language

To understand why Jia Baoyu and Lin Daiyu do not know their own desires for each other, one needs to remember the premises of the characters' origins. Since the beginning of the novel, the reader knows that Jia Baoyu was initially a stone wandering at the Green Ridge Peak (Qinggeng feng 青埂峯), while Lin Daiyu was a plant – named Crimson Pearl Plant (Jiangzhu cao 絳珠草). The stone asked to be incarnated in the world of red dust (*hongchen* 紅塵) and become a human being. The plant, who every day had benefited from the shadow of the stone to remain moistened, made the same wish to repay the stone for its kindness: by following its benefactor to the other world, the plant hoped to pay a debt of tears in exchange for the divine dew (*ganlu* 甘露) the stone had provided it with.

Through incarnation, the stone and the plant are propelled into the world of humans, in other words to the world of language. Language is entwined with the characters' wish for existence in the human world. In the first chapter of the novel, when the stone speaks for the first time – and the narrative uses direct speech – it aims at expressing its desire to be incarnated.[2] Likewise, when the stone addresses the Taoist Reverend Void (Kongkong daoren 空空道人) in the first chapter, it is to transmit its tale of a human life to him.[3] Not a single time in the novel does the stone speak while it is in the Illusory Land of Great Void (Taixu huanjing 太虛幻境) to say anything unlinked to human experience. Its very nature as a mineral determines that it is unable to speak: as a stone, it is not pierced by any orifice that would stand as a mouth and allow it to talk. On the contrary, Jia Baoyu comes to life with a jade – a quintessential metaphor of the stone's desire (*yu* 欲/玉) to live – in his mouth. The presence of this symbolic object in the organ for speech is meaningful: it shows that the character has entered the world of language.

The same logic goes for the Crimson Pearl Plant. When it uses language for the first time, it is to express its wish to follow the stone into the world of red dust.[4] Conversely, when the plant rejoins the Illusory Land of Great Void, it loses its ability to speak, as it does not possess a mouth anymore. In chapter 116, when Jia Baoyu embarks on an ethereal journey which leads him to the labyrinthic palaces and offices of the other world, he discovers the Crimson Pearl Plant in its original form. Frail and noble, the plant does not address the young man, simply because plants do not speak. A young immortal, who is in charge of looking after the plant, takes the responsibility of recounting its story to Baoyu: how it repaid its debt of tears, and how it came back to this place of truth (*zhenjing* 真境). It is noteworthy that at hearing this story, Baoyu does not

[2] *Honglou meng jiaozhu*, 1: 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1: 3-5.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1: 6.

understand it (*tingle bujie* 聽了不解), even though it recounts part of his own past.[5] It shows that while it is still a human being, and although the immortal uses human language, the stone may not comprehend its own nature. From which fact one may say that language is a barrier to the understanding of one's true self. Later in his otherworldly journey of chapter 116, Baoyu is introduced to someone everybody calls "the Imperial Concubine" (*feizi* 妃子). The latter is physically similar to Daiyu, and although Baoyu exclaims as if he was meeting with his cousin again, the "Imperial Concubine" does not speak. No verbal exchange is allowed, as the servants rebuke Baoyu for being too bold and pull down the pearl curtain that separates him from the person he believes is Daiyu.[6] In other words, after Lin Daiyu's death in the world of red dust, the plant is not given a chance to speak anymore. Language only pertains to the world of mortals.

That the characters cannot remember their true nature because they have been reincarnated, and that language is a tool that only their human selves may understand and use, is a situation that strikingly reminds one of Jacques Lacan's (1901-1980) teaching on intersubjective communication. Lacan's explanations of how two subjects may communicate to each other are condensed in the "schema L."

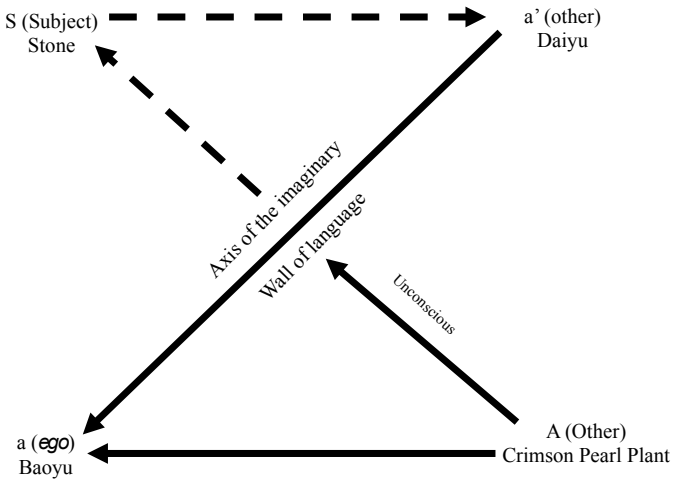

Fig. 1 Schema L by Lacan as used in the analysis of *Honglou meng*

The "schema L" aims at explaining why two subjects can never truly communicate, arguing that their selves are stuck in language.

[5] *Honglou meng (sanjia pingben)*, 116: 1897.
[6] *Ibid.*, 116: 1898-1899.

First of all, the schema shows a division of the self: the *ego* (*moi*) – at the lower left – is never one's true self. The true self is the Subject – at the top left. Lacan's schema must be read from top left to top right, and then to bottom left: it illustrates how a Subject constructs its *ego* through interaction with the other. Conversely, one may read the schema symmetrically, from bottom right to bottom left, and then to top right: if the Subject I described above is "Subject A", reading the schema symmetrically corresponds to the angle of view of "Subject B." It shows how "Subject B" constructs his/her *ego* in relation with "Subject A"'s *ego*. Because of the division of the self, both Subjects may never reach each other. This subjective division between the Subject and the *ego* is due to language. A pure, independent Subject – as an unborn child – does not make use of language, and reversely, language fails at describing the pure Subject's state. Language appears only when the Subject starts interacting with another person – usually one's parents – and it participates in the construction of the Subject's identity – an identity that can only be elaborated in an interaction with others. A human being always constructs him/herself in relation to another human being – the other (at top right) who can be all individuals with whom the infant interacts. Because both this human being and the other use language, the former's *ego* is not only constructed in a mirror relationship to the other, but also distinctively from its self when it did not know language – the Subject. The schema L thus shows that the *ego* is an imaginary construction of the self, the true self being impossible to grasp with words. That is why both Subjects, A and B, stand in a symbolic relationship, as they are separated by the wall of language.[7]

My theory is that Lacan's schema may very well apply to the case of the stone and the plant. As illustrated in Fig. 1, one may consider the stone and the plant to be two subjects. Once they are reincarnated into human beings, they are propelled into the world of language and construct their *ego* in this world. The stone sees itself as Baoyu, and the plant sees itself as Daiyu. Both *egos* cannot grasp their true selves – as stone or plant – because language made them forget who they were.

The division of the self stands at the very center of *Honglou meng*. Although Baoyu does not understand his own life as a quest, the Buddhist monk and the Taoist that brought him into the human world hope he can finally realize his true nature. And when he actually does so at the beginning of chapter 117, he abandons his wish to live in this world and unties himself from worldly desires before finally disappearing.

2. The Paradoxes of Unknown Desire

As unable as he is to remember his true self, Baoyu is unaware of the fact that he asked himself to be born in this world. Likewise, he forgets the friendship he

[7] Dor 2002, pp. 155-165.

nourished towards the plant/Daiyu. In other words, his own desires are unknown to him. But in spite of this lack of memory, he is still driven by his desires so much so that the Fairy Disenchantment (Jinghuan xianzi 驚幻仙子) calls him "the most lustful man to ever have existed" (*gujin diyi yinren* 古今第一淫人). She explains that this lustfulness is not linked to the vulgar objects of this world such as beauty, dancing and singing, or carnal matters. It is a lust of thought (*yiyin* 意淫), that "may be understood by the heart, but not transmitted by the mouth" (*ke xinhui er buke kouzhuan* 可心會而不可口傳). The Fairy also pictures Baoyu's desire as something that "can be understood by spirit but cannot be conveyed by words" (*ke shentong er buke yuda* 可神通而不可語達).[8] This description of the young man's desire corroborates this idea that desire may not be grasped through language. Baoyu, as a speaking being, does not understand the Fairy's statement.

My argument is that Baoyu often experiences outbursts precisely because he does not know his own self and thus does not understand his own desire. Many objects, especially the friendship of his young female companions, are the object of his desire in the Grand View Garden (Daguan yuan 大觀園), and many times he finds himself in complex relationships.

My use of the word "desire" here requires some definition. I understand desire in the Lacanian sense: desire is a movement that does not target an object – although we still may speak of the "object of desire" – but the desire of the other. A typical example for understanding this premise is that of advertisements in our consumer society. Publicity is not successful because we desperately want to buy the advertised object. It works because we hope the possession of this object will attract the look of others upon us. Desire consists in the desire of the other, or to put it another way, the object of one's desire is the other's desire.[9] And as desire is a reciprocal demand instead of an object, it can never be satisfied. Desire, in the Lacanian sense, is doomed to revolve endlessly around something it cannot reach. The depiction of Baoyu and Daiyu's desire for each other in *Honglou meng* strikingly echoes this Lacanian definition, as both characters are "two versions of the same subject defined by a fundamental law or deficiency that they always unclearly realize they hold in common, thus their love for each other in spite of the fact that they can never utter or fulfill it."[10]

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[8] *Honglou meng (sanjia pingben)*, 5: 85.

[9] In a somewhat similar approach, René Girard (1923-2015) defines desire as the result of a triangular relationship. According to his theory, the Subject does not desire by himself, but projects his desire on an object that another person – the "mediator" already possesses or desires himself. The "mediator" is – consciously or not – an ideal in the eyes of the Subject, and the latter tries to imitate him by desiring the same object as the "mediator" does. In other words, the Subject desires this object only because the person he tries to resemble has it. Desire does not originate in the Subject himself, but responds to a mimetic behavior (Girard 2011, pp. 15-67).

[10] McMahon 2010, p. 34.

I wish to focus exclusively on Baoyu's relationship to his favorite cousin, Daiyu, as I believe their mutual desire illustrates very well this Lacanian definition of desire and all the paradoxes it implies. As I have exposed above, Daiyu/the plant experienced the same process as the young man when she was thrown to the mundane world.[11] In the second section of this article, I will show how on the one hand Baoyu and Daiyu share an unparalleled complicity, and how on the other hand they struggle at telling themselves how much they care for each other.

2.1. Exceeding one's own words

In *Honglou meng*, Baoyu and Daiyu's relationship stand among the richest in regard to the description of psychological complexities. Although it can be argued that other relationships, such as the ones linking Baoyu to Qingwen 晴雯 and Baoyu to Baochai 寶釵, may also be considered central, the bond between Baoyu and Daiyu is undoubtedly unique. It originates in the mythological frame of the novel and covers the entirety of the book in many episodes that display their mutual desire for each other. Regularly in the novel is it noted that Daiyu has a special place in Baoyu's heart.[12] My argument is that the words they pronounce when speaking of or to the other exceed the meaning they are conscious of, because this meaning is related to their original selves as stone and plant. Having forgotten these identities, they carry a speech that the reader, who knows about their mineral and vegetal natures, may read at two levels. They, however, are not aware of the extent of what they say.

A crucial example is to be found in chapters 91 and 92. It shows that Baoyu's words outpace what he knows of himself. At the end of chapter 91, Baoyu and Daiyu converse about Xue Baochai, Baoyu's other cousin, who has been bedridden. Baoyu, who did not get an opportunity to visit his cousin, explains to Daiyu the various reasons for which he failed to do so. Daiyu observes that Baochai could not guess these reasons and implies that she could

[11] In reality it seems that several other characters of the novel originate in the other world, as it is indicated by the monk who agrees to the stone's wish to be reincarnated: "Because of this [the story of the stone and plant], many other passionate lovers all wanted to descend into the mundane world" (因此一事，就幻出多少風流冤家都要下凡). Commentator Zhang Xinzhi believes Xue Baochai is among them. *Honglou meng (sanjia pingben)*, 1: 7.

[12] The first indication of the two cousins' special affection is to be found at the beginning of chapter 5: "It was that the intimacy and loving friendship between Baoyu and Daiyu had no common measure with any other" (便是寶玉和黛玉二人之親密友愛處，亦較別個不同). *Honglou meng (sanjia pingben)*, 5: 71. We may also add the emphasis the author put in underlying the peculiarity of the affinity between the stone and the plant: "When you think about this story, you can see that the reason of this whole romance is far more exquisite in its triviality" (想來這一段故事，此歷來風月事故更加瑣碎細膩了). *Honglou meng jiaozhu*, 1:6.

resent Baoyu for not paying her a visit. To avoid offending her cousin, who protests forcefully, Daiyu eventually declares that she could not know, after all, what Baochai actually thinks.[13] Baoyu remains dazed for a while, when suddenly:

> 只見寶玉把眉一皺，把腳一跺，道："我想這個人生他做什麼？天地間沒有了我倒也乾淨。"黛玉道："原是有了我，便有了人。有了人，便有無數的煩惱生出來：恐怖、顛倒、夢想，更有許多纏碍。
>
> [he] frowned and stomped his feet, saying: "When thinking about it, this life, what is it good for? If I were not here between Heaven and earth, things would be pure anyway." Daiyu replied: "It is originally because I am that others are. With others come countless concerns: fears, reversals, dreams, and many tangles and hindrances."[14]

Indeed, Li Qiancheng remarked the Buddhist tones of this short dialogue and I advocate his idea that "speakers often say something whose significance they cannot comprehend themselves", although "they do not always understand the full significance of these utterings."[15]

Baoyu and Daiyu's exchange revolves around the question of the ego (*wo* 我). Baoyu questions the meaning of his presence in this world. Only the reader may know that his complaint can be read at a second level: Baoyu's grievance inevitably echoes the stone's desire to enter the world of red dust. In other words, Baoyu's complaint reminds us of his divided identity: "I" (*wo*) is only a construction built on his true self (the Stone as a Subject).

As for Daiyu's statement, it escapes the Lacanian concept of identity formation, since she asserts that the "I" precedes the presence of "others." Lacan, on the contrary, pointed to the importance of others in the process of identity building. However, her Buddhist-like observation that personal feelings come from others is close to the Lacanian idea that intersubjective relations nourish desire – desire implying bonds such as the entanglements (*chan* 纏) she mentions.

In this short exchange of chapter 91, Baoyu and Daiyu thus utter words that sound like Buddhist aphorisms to their ears, but which actually describe their own situation. As they do not remember their initial wish to be reincarnated into the human world, they are not conscious of paradoxically questioning their original desire to live. What this extract also shows us is that the "Baodai"

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[13] As commentator Zhang Xinzhi noticed, Daiyu formulated her comment on Baochai's possible resentment against Baoyu basing on how she would herself feel in Baochai's situation: "From that we can see that Daiyu only knows Baoyu's exclusiveness for her. Anything else is not part of what she knows. It's a "diversion" facade (此見黛玉但知寶玉之專屬於己，其餘皆非所知，乃"疑陣"正面). *Honglou meng (sanjia pingben)*, 91: 1505.

[14] *Ibid.* All translations are my own.

[15] Li Qiancheng 2004, pp. 131-132.

couple is able to agree on a specific way to say how they feel. Both spontaneously pondering the meaning of their earthly presence in Buddhist terms proves that they share common ways to perceive and express human experience.

At the beginning of the following chapter, Baoyu makes a very interesting comment about the exchange he had with Daiyu. Having returned to his pavilion, Baoyu meets his servant Xiren 襲人, who asks him where he had been while she was looking for him. He answers that he was visiting Daiyu.

> 襲人又問道："說些什麼？"寶玉將打禪語的話述了一遍。襲人道："你們再沒個計較，正經說些家常閑話兒，或講究些詩句也是好的，怎麼又說到禪語上了？又不是和尚。"寶玉道："你不知道。我們有我們的禪機，別人是插不下嘴去的。"襲人笑道："你們參禪參翻了，又叫我們跟着打悶葫蘆了。"

> Xiren asked him again: "What did you talk about?" Baoyu told her about their Buddhist aphorismic chat. Xiren said: "What debate is that? Why not talk about idle things of everyday, or seeking the elegance of some verses, why talk about Buddhist sayings? You're not a monk!" Baoyu replied: "You don't know about this. We have our Buddhist subtleties, in which other people cannot take part." Xiren laughed: "You two rummage through meditation to seek truth and would even ask us to follow you in this nonsense."[16]

Xiren declaring that Baoyu is not a monk is an allusion to a double episode of Baoyu's childhood. In chapter 30, when the young boy finds himself alone with Daiyu, he declares that if she were to die, he would become a monk – unconsciously giving an accurate prediction of their future at the end of *Honglou meng*. In the following chapter, as Daiyu testifies her friendship for Xiren, Baoyu declares how much he also cares about his servant, saying that if Xiren died he would become a monk. Daiyu understands this statement as a hint to what Baoyu told her the previous day.[17] By alluding to this double episode of Baoyu's childhood, Xiren unintentionally raises up the first part of the cousins' dialogue, that is that Baoyu would become a monk *if Daiyu dies*. So in declaring that Baoyu is not a monk, Xiren unknowingly implies that Daiyu is not going to die. But Baoyu's cousin is precisely to pass away in chapter 98, and her death puts an end to the "Baodai" relationship. Whereas Xiren assumes there is no point for Baoyu to communicate with Daiyu in a way that underlines the singularity of their relationship, there is actually for Baoyu an unknown urgency to exchange with his cousin/the plant, as they are soon to be separated.

Baoyu's reply to Xiren revolves around the idea that he and Daiyu share a common language, that is exclusive to them. To point out the unlikeness of this language, Baoyu uses the metaphor of Buddhist aphorisms (*chanji* 禪機). He

[16] *Honglou meng (sanjia pingben)*, 92: 1511.
[17] *Ibid*., 31: 491.

adds that no one may intrude in the language they share – literally, that no one can "insert his/her mouth" (*chabuxia zui qu de* 插不下嘴去的) in it. In other words, Baoyu acknowledges the uniqueness of his relationship to Daiyu. His declaration hints at their common friendship in the other world and their shared desire (exemplified by the character *yu* 玉 they both have in their names) to be reincarnated. It is because of this joint past that indeed Baoyu and Daiyu might share a unique something. But the young man is not aware himself of this second level of reading. His insight outweighs his self as a human being, as he is stuck with Daiyu in an imaginary dimension (the world of illusions that is ours) and cannot grasp his true self, as a Subject/stone.

2.2. Failing at expressing one's feelings

While, as seen above, Baoyu and Daiyu sometimes utter words that go beyond their own consciousness, saying more about their common relationship than they remember, it also happens that they have difficulties letting the other know about their feelings. In these exchanges, it seems as if language failed at conveying their mutual affection – turning the dialogues into "perfect moment[s] of *qing*."[18] *Qing* 情, here, has to be understood in the sense given by Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 [1550-1616]: an ideal passion that drives exceptional forces.[19]

Many passages of the novel vouch for Baoyu and Daiyu having a hard time uttering what they think or what they feel in regard to each other. The narrative states that a character wishes to speak but ends up saying nothing because s/he cannot find the words. Chapter 52 gives a good example of such a situation. One day after a gathering of their poetic cenacle, Daiyu asks Baoyu when Xiren is supposed to come back from her mother's funeral. Her cousin gives her a vague answer. Then follows:

> 黛玉還有話說，又不能出口，出了一回神，便說道："你去罷。"寶玉也覺心裏有許多話，只是口裏不知要說什麼，想了一想，也答道："明兒再說罷。"
>
> Daiyu still had things to say but could not have them come out of her mouth. She stayed dazed for a while, then said: "Go back." Baoyu also felt he had a lot to say in his heart, but he simply did not know what to say. He reflected on it for a little bit, then answered: "We'll talk about it tomorrow."[20]

[18] McMahon 2010, p. 33.

[19] "One does not know the origin of *qing*, but it is profound. The living may die because of it, and the dead may come back to life thank to it. If the living cannot die because of it, and if the dead cannot come back to life thank to it, it means one has not reached *qing*" (情不知所起，一往而深。生者可以死，死可以生。生而不可與死，死而不可復生者，皆非情之至也). Tang Xianzu 2013, p. 9.

[20] *Honglou meng (sanjia pingben)*, 52: 842.

Of course, they do not talk about "it" the next day, since they fail at formulating what "it" is about. The narrative does not even reveal to the reader what it is that they cannot even express to themselves. One may guess that it has to do with their relationship to each other, but it remains an assumption.

A similar example is to be found in chapter 89. Baoyu confesses to Daiyu that a few days earlier he surreptitiously listened to her as she was playing the zither and expressing her sorrow through melody. The young man declares that he is not capable of understanding music. Daiyu replies that ever since antiquity, few are those who understand it, which is a way to complain about Baoyu not appreciating her sadness – or, in other words, her unsatisfied love for him. From this conversation, music appears as a peculiar language that the two cousins do not share. Contrarily to the examples studied above in which Baoyu and Daiyu respond to each other in what they consider to be a language that is specific to them, the two cousins have difficulties understanding each other in the distinctive language that is music.

> 寶玉聽了，又覺得出言冒失了，又怕寒了黛玉的心，坐了一坐，心裏像有許多話，却再無可講的。黛玉因方纔的話，也是衝口而出，此時回想，覺得太冷淡些，也就無話。
>
> With these words, [Baoyu] feared he had been rash again and had hurt Daiyu's heart. Fidgeting on his seat, he felt in his heart a lot of things to say, but he was unable to utter them. Daiyu thought back of what she had just said, that had slipped out of her mouth, and thought that she had been too cold. She therefore stayed speechless.[21]

As in the previous example, both characters encounter difficulties unveiling to each other how they feel. Here again the narrative insists on the opposition between the words (*hua* 話) that they keep in their hearts (*xinli* 心裏) and those that come out of their mouths (*chukou* 出口). Only the omniscient reader has an overview and knows what they truly think as much as what they let the other hear. That the narrative explores the three distinct focalizations – omniscience, Baoyu's point of view and then Daiyu's – is what renders the novel so rich in terms of psychological description.

2.3. Contradictory behaviors

Knowing about the contradiction between how they feel and what they say, it seems to the reader as if a barrier prevents the two cousins from simply expressing their mutual affection. They either remain silent or go as far as to say the very opposite of their true thoughts. One of the best examples of this paradoxical behavior is in chapter 29, when the two characters are still young.

[21] *Ibid*., 89: 1475.

The passage is emblematic of the numerous arguments they have during their childhood.

且說，寶玉因見林黛玉病了，心裏放不下，飯也懶得吃，不時來問。黛玉又怕他有個好歹，因說道："你只管看你的戲去，在家裏做什麼？"寶玉因昨日張道士提親事，心中不大受用，今聽見林黛玉如此說，心裏因想道："別人不知道的還可怒，連他也奚落起我來。"因此心中更比往日更煩惱加了百倍。若是別人跟前，斷不能動這肝火，只是林黛玉說了這話，倒又比往日別人說這話不同，由不得立刻沈下臉來說道："我白認得了你，罷了，罷了！"林黛玉聽說，便冷笑了兩聲道："白認得我了？那裏像人家有什麼配得上的呢！"寶玉聽了，便向前來，直問到臉上道："你這麼說，是安心咒我天誅地滅？"林黛玉一時解不過這話來。寶玉又道："昨兒還為這個賭了幾回咒，今兒你到底又重找一句，我便天誅地滅，你又有什麼益處？"黛玉一聞此言，方想起上日的話來。今日原自己說錯了，又是着急，又是羞愧，便戰戰兢兢的說道："我要安心咒你，我也天誅地滅。何苦來？我知道昨日張道士說親，你怕攔了你的好姻緣，你心裏生氣，來拿我煞性子。"

原來那寶玉有一種下流癡病，況從幼時和黛玉耳鬢廝磨，心情相對，及如今稍明時事，又看了那些邪書僻傳，凡遠親近友之家所見的那些閨英闈秀，皆未有稍及林黛玉者，所以早存一段心事，只不好說出來，故每每或喜或怒，變盡法子，暗中試探。那林黛玉偏生也是個有些癡病的，也每用假情試探，因你既將真心意瞞了起來，只用假意，我也將真心真意瞞了起來，只用假意。如此兩假相逢，終有一真，其間瑣瑣碎碎，難保不有口角之爭。

卽如此刻，寶玉的心內想的是："別人不知我的心還可怒，難道你就不想我的心裏眼裏只有你？你不能為我解煩惱，反來以這話奚落堵噎我，可見我心裏一時一刻皆有你，你心裏竟沒我了。"寶玉是這個意思，只口裏說不出來。

那林黛玉心裏想着："你心裏自然有我，雖有金玉相對之說，你豈是重這邪說不重我的？我便時常提起金玉，你只管了然無聞的，方見得是的我重，無毫髮私心了。如何我只一提金玉的事，你就着急，可知你心裏時時有金玉，見我一提，你又怕我多心，故意着急，安心哄我。"

看來兩個人，原本是一個心，卻多生了枝葉，反弄成兩個心了。寶玉心中又想着："我不管怎麼樣都好，只要你隨意，我便立刻因你死了也情願。你知也罷，不知也罷，只由我的心，那纔是你和我近，不知我遠。"林黛玉心裏又想着："你只管你，你好我自好，你何必為我把自己失了？殊不知你失我也失，可見你不叫我近你，竟叫我遠你了。"如此看來，卻都是求近之心反弄成疏遠之意，此皆他二人素昔所存私心，難以盡述。如今只述他們外面的形容。

那寶玉又聽見他說"好姻緣"三個字，越發逆了己意，心裏乾噎，口裏說不出話來，便賭氣向頭上摘下通靈玉來，咬咬牙，狠命往地下一摔道："什麼勞什子，我砸了你就完了事了！"便生那玉堅硬非常，摔了一下，竟文風不動。寶

玉見不破，便回身找東西來砸。黛玉見他如此，早已哭起來，說道：“何苦來？你摔砸那啞吧東西，有砸他的，不如來砸我。”

Baoyu, who had seen that Lin Daiyu was ill, could not relieve his heart of worries. He did not feel like eating, and frequently came to ask for her news. Fearing herself that something could happen to her, Daiyu said: “Just go and watch the play, what are you doing in here?” Because of what Daoist Zhang had said the previous day about his marriage, Baoyu was feeling a little unwell. So when he heard Lin Daiyu, he thought to himself: “If other people don’t understand, I can still be angry, but now even *she* sneers at me.” Therefore, he felt a hundred times more upset than the days before. Had it been about other people, he would not have gotten angry, but that Lin Daiyu had uttered these words was nothing like when others did on the previous days. That is why he could not help immediately scowling and said: “I have known you in vain, that’s all!” Hearing this, Lin Daiyu said between two stone cold laughs: “Knowing me in vain? How could I have anything to make a pair, like others do!”[22] At these words, Baoyu moved forward and asked her face to face: “If you speak like that, it means you purposely curse me to being destroyed by Heaven and earth?” For a short while Lin Daiyu could not understand the meaning of his words. Baoyu said again: “Yesterday I made my pledge several times,[23] and today you give me that again! I’m annihilated by Heaven and earth, what do you gain from it?” As soon as she heard this speech, Daiyu was reminded of the conversation they had the previous day. Today it was she who had made a blunder, for which she felt as worried as ashamed. Therefore, she said, all trembling: “If I wanted to purposely curse you, I would also be destroyed by Heaven and earth. Why hurt ourselves? I know that because of what Daoist Zhang said yesterday about your marriage you’re afraid that your beautiful union is impeded. You’re mad, that’s why you’re venting your anger on me.”

Now Baoyu had this kind of vulgar and foolish disease, and moreover, ever since his childhood he had been as intimate as ear and temple with Daiyu because their personalities fit together. Today he slightly understood things, and he had read those corrupting books which had taught him vice. Among all the beauties of the women’s apartments and the flowers of the ladies’ chambers that he saw in his distant relatives and close friends, none was comparable to Lin Daiyu. That is why he had soon hold

[22] Daiyu refers to Xue Baochai, who owns a golden locket pendant with inscriptions that parallel the ones on Baoyu’s jade, as well as to Shi Xiangyun 史湘雲, another of Baoyu’s cousins. Xiangyun owns a gold pendant shaped as a mythological animal – a *qilin* 麒麟, which is usually represented with a body covered with scales, a head like a dragon’s, and deer horns – and Baoyu got hold of a copy of this pendant. As for Daiyu, she does not possess any object that would form a pair with Baoyu’s treasures – except for the *yu* 玉, metaphorically “desire” (*yu* 欲), that they share in their names – hence her resentment towards Baoyu’s other cousins.

[23] In chapter 28, Daiyu refuses the littles gifts Baoyu sent her. She is reluctant to hear about golden objects that remind her of Baochai and Xiangyun (see footnote 17 above). As Baoyu asks her about it, she makes him understand her irritation, and he swears to her that after his parents and grandmother, Daiyu is the one he cherishes the most in the world. Daiyu protests against his pledge and accuses him of preferring Baochai. *Honglou meng (sanjia pingben)*, 28: 445-446.

on a feeling that he had better not say. For that reason, every time she was cheerful or angry, he used all possible means to scrutinize her. As it happened, Lin Daiyu also had this foolish disease and used fake feelings to scrutinize him. If he hid his true feelings and only showed fake intentions to her, she also concealed her real emotions and showed him false purposes. This way both of their falsities rejoined, and truth finally appeared, but in the meantime, they had many futile disagreements, and it was hard for them to hedge against quarrels.

This was the case, in that moment, as Baoyu thought to himself: "I can resent other people for not knowing my heart, but now how could you not think that you are the only one in my heart and to my eyes? Not only do you not release me from my worries, but with these words you also sneer at me and offend me. One can see that at every moment you hold a place in my heart, but that I don't hold a place in yours." These were Baoyu's thoughts, although he did not pronounce them out loud.

As for Daiyu, that is what she thought in her heart: "Of course I hold a place in your heart. In spite of the saying about the affinities between gold and jade, is it possible that you value this nonsense but not me? I frequently raise the question of gold and jade. If you only cared to turn a deaf ear, one could see that it is I who is important to you, and that you don't act with the slightest hidden intention. But how come you're nervous as soon as I raise the question of gold and jade? One can see the question of gold and jade is in your heart at every moment, and when I speak about it you fear I can be oversensitive, you're purposely anxious and intentionally scold me."

We can see that these two originally formed as if they had a common heart, but because of trifling matters, they had become like two hearts. In his heart, Baoyu thought again: "I don't care, if you want so, I would be ready to die immediately for you. If you know it, fine, if you don't, forget it. But trust my heart, that is the only way you can be close to me instead of distant." In her heart, Lin Daiyu thought again: "Just care about yourself, if you're fine, I'm fine too, why should you lose yourself for me? You hardly realize that if you lose yourself, I'll lose myself too. From which one can see that you don't want me close to you, but away from you." We can see that this was all about a heart seeking for intimacy which had paradoxically transformed into a wish for estrangement. These were the secret thoughts both of them usually kept in their hearts, which are hard to recount in a comprehensive manner. Now we will only tell about how they behaved from the outside.

When on top of that Baoyu heard her speaking of "beautiful union", it upset him even more. His heart suffocated and he could not utter a single word. He therefore impetuously removed the transcendental jade from his neck, and as he gritted his teeth, he threw it on the ground with all his strength: "That old trinket, when I shatter you into pieces, it will be all over!" But the jade was uncommonly solid. When it landed, it remained absolutely unaltered. Seeing that he had not broken it, Baoyu turned back to find something to crush it. Seeing him like this, Daiyu soon cried and said: "Why so much anger? Smashing this speechless thing? If you want to crush it, you might as well crush me."[24]

[24] *Ibid*., 29: 463-464.

This whole passage revolves around the question of the special affection Baoyu and Daiyu nourish towards each other and the struggles they both encounter to manage it. The narrator highlights the paradox between their thoughts and words. This conversation illustrates the difficulties both cousins have in communicating their affection to each other: they manifest their mutual desire by rejection.

The scene is built on the contrast between what the two characters think and what they express through verbal exchange. The narrative first concentrates on their inner thoughts, before describing what they will only let the other see.

The internal monologues are assembled so as to form seeming dialogues. Each of Baoyu's and Daiyu's internal monologue responds to the other's, which in itself underlines how well their "personalities fit together" (*xinqing xiangdui* 心情相對).

A first "dialogue" is dedicated to the question of recognizing the other as the exclusive object of one's desire. This recognition is metaphorized by the image of holding a place in the other's heart (*xinli/zhong* 心裏/中). Baoyu knows that he only holds a place for Daiyu in his heart (我心裏一時一刻皆有你), which Daiyu somehow acknowledges (你心裏自然有我). But Baoyu also thinks Daiyu does not hold him a place in her heart (你心裏竟沒我了), which stems from Daiyu's behavior as she suspects Baoyu of also holding a place for Baochai in his heart. In other words, when Daiyu reproaches Baoyu for not showing that she is the only one to hold a place in his heart, she accuses him of not doing what she does not do herself – showing the other that s/he is the only one to hold a place in her/his heart. In a sense, her own behavior comes back to her.

The second "dialogue" deviates on the question of behavior. Baoyu thinks in himself that he would be ready to die for Daiyu, but that he does not mind about her acknowledging it or not. Daiyu, on the other hand, would prefer Baoyu to care only for himself, as she thinks his happiness is a condition to her own well-being. While she guesses Baoyu may indeed prove his desire for her by some vehement behavior, she would rather have him be quiet about it, as social conventions would not allow two young people who overtly claim their love to marry – and that is exactly what happens at the end of the novel, when Baoyu's mother and grandmother marry him to Baochai while they know full well he loves Daiyu, whom the grandmother blames for indulging herself in romance.

From these two seeming exchanges, one can see that both characters share a common desire. The narrative mentions "one heart" (*yige xin* 一個心). But in spite of their feelings, both cousins fall short of the other's expectations. They fail at communicating their desire to the other, up to the point that they cannot understand that each of them is desired by the other.

What illustrates even better the paradoxes of desire is the last part of the passage, when Baoyu throws his jade pendant on the floor. Baoyu acknowledges he holds a place in his heart for Daiyu alone (難道你就不想我的心裏眼裏只有你), but because he receives from his cousin unpleasant comments, it seems to him that, conversely, she does not hold a special place for him in her heart. From

this imaginary look of Daiyu upon himself, Baoyu incorporates in his own initial message – "you're in my heart" – what he thinks is Daiyu's message – "you're not in my heart." Under the impression that he does not hold a place in Daiyu's heart, he rejects violently the jade, which is the metaphor for his earthly desire(s). What indeed may be more hurtful that an unsatisfied desire? The narrative describes quite well this need to cut off unsuccessful desire: even though he does not recall his life as a stone, Baoyu senses that if the jade disappears, "it will be all over" (就完了事了). The author plays on the metaphoric link between the jade and desire, which are homophones in Chinese, to recall that the jade is the symbol of the stone's wish to be reincarnated. By willing to crush it, Baoyu gives the impression he does not want to experience any of the desires that pave the roads of human life anymore. Therefore, Daiyu's words exceed her own knowledge when she says that Baoyu might as well crush her (不如來砸我). Destroying the emblem of desire would indeed be a renunciation to all the objects of desire, primarily the appetite for love. This scene naturally recalls Baoyu and Daiyu's first encounter in chapter 3 of the novel. As the two cousins see each other for the first time – although Baoyu affirms he has met Daiyu before, as in an unconscious recalling of his past life – Baoyu asks Daiyu if she also possesses a jade. Daiyu replies that she does not, and the young boy's reaction is to throw his pendant on the floor, in an act of rejection.[25] The scene is to be read figuratively: Baoyu thinks that because Daiyu has no desire – no jade – she cannot share any desire with him – whereas on the contrary she does share it in her name. There too Baoyu understands wrongly his cousin, and his gesture symbolizes a wish to annihilate an unsatisfied desire.

3. The Inverted Message that Comes Back to the Subject

I would like now to focus on a specific aspect I noticed when analyzing Baoyu's conflicting behavior: the fact that his rejection of the jade – of desire – comes from the imaginary representation of himself he suspects Daiyu to nurture. This reversion of one's thoughts because of the unconscious sense of the other's look upon oneself is to be found in another famous passage of *Honglou meng*: Daiyu's nightmare in chapter 82.

This dream narrative is a particularly important passage of the novel, not only because of its very accurate descriptions of the human psyche, but also because it marks a turning point in the story arc of Lin Daiyu. Immediately after awakening, Daiyu becomes ill – she spits blood – and begins the rather quick

[25] Rainier Lanselle noticed about this passage of chapter 3 that "it is by rejection that is expressed the attraction of the subject for what he unconsciously knows he cannot obtain" (c'est par le rejet que s'exprime l'attirance du sujet vis-à-vis de ce qu'il sait inconsciemment ne pouvoir obtenir). Lanselle 2006, p. 208.

process during which she is abandoned by the once supporting members of her family – in particular her grandmother – and ends up dying, while pronouncing Baoyu's name.

Daiyu's dream of chapter 82 is remarkable for its author's insight into the mechanisms of dreams. The oneiric content not only reveals much about Daiyu's desires, but also shows striking links to waking life that Freud could have used as examples in his study of "day residues" (*die Tagereste*) and metaphorical transformations between memory trace and dream manifestations – distortions such as condensation or displacement. [26] These oneiric transformations of the dreamer's memories and desire are particularly blatant in the first two thirds of the nightmare. Although I wish to concentrate on the last part of the dream narrative, I will sum up its beginning in order to recall of the context in which occurs the very scene that stands at the center of my concern.

Daiyu's dream is a "clandestine" dream in Jean-Daniel Gollut's words: the reader enters the oneiric frame at the same time as the dreamer, not knowing that the events that are described belong to a dream.[27] The young girl sees various women of the Jia family enter her room and inform her that her father has remarried – he is in reality long gone – and that her new step-mother has arranged a marriage for Daiyu with a widower. Daiyu is so alarmed that she protests in disbelief. In a following setting, she complains to her grandmother and begs her to keep her in the Jia family. The grandmother, who in waking life always cherished and protected her, dismisses her. As she goes outside, Daiyu suddenly thinks about Baoyu who maybe, does she think, could save her. And there he stands in front of her. Daiyu first accuses him of lacking affection and righteousness (無情無義) – for letting her go in spite of their friendship – but Baoyu reminds her that she was primarily welcomed in the Jia family because she was promised to him – which is untrue but reflects the dreamer's desire to be married to her cousin. Then follows this passage:

> 問寶玉："我是死活打定主意的了，你到底叫我去不去？"寶玉道："我說叫你住下。你不信我的話，你就瞧瞧我的心。"說着就拿着一把小尖刀子，往胸口上一劃，只見鮮血直流。黛玉嚇得魂飛魄散，忙用手握着寶玉的心窩，哭道："你怎麼做出這個事來？你先來殺了我罷！"寶玉道："不怕！我拿我的心給你瞧。"還把手在劃開的地方兒亂抓。黛玉又顫又哭，又怕人撞破，抱住寶玉痛哭。寶玉道："不好了！我的心沒有了，活不得了！"說着，眼睛往上一翻，"咕咚"就倒了。
>
> 黛玉拚命放聲大哭。只聽見紫鵑 […]
>
> She asked Baoyu: "I have to make a decision that will seal my life or death, are you telling me, in the end, to go or to stay?" Baoyu said: "I'm telling you to stay. If you

[26] Freud 2010, pp. 320-351.
[27] Gollut 1993, pp. 69-77.

> don't trust me, look at my heart." And as he was speaking, he took a small and sharp knife with which he slashed his chest, and fresh blood streamed out. Daiyu was so frightened that her ethereal soul flew away, and her earthly soul dispersed. She hastily put her hands on Baoyu's breast, and cried: "Why have you done this? Just kill me first!" Baoyu replied: "Don't be afraid! I'll take my heart to show you." And he used his hand to scour the area he had opened. Daiyu was shaking and crying, and she feared people could surprise them. She held Baoyu and wailed. Then Baoyu said: "That's not good! My heart is gone, I'm not going to make it!" And while he was speaking, his eyes rolled up and he fell over with a thud.
>
> Daiyu screamed with all her strength and burst into tears, and saw Zijuan […][28]

The end of Daiyu's dream is particularly striking, not only because of its oddity, but also because it is hard to explain its mystery: why does Baoyu fail at finding his heart in his chest?

Before trying to give an interpretation to this passage, I wish to draw attention to quite an important aspect of this dream. Contrarily to most dreams of the Chinese oneiric tradition, it is hard to determine whether it is a supernatural dream which has effects on waking life, or a pure product of its dreamer's mind.

Given the nature of Chinese oneiric motifs in literature, one may first wonder if Baoyu is dreaming at the same time and is really present in what would be a "polyencephalic" dream.[29] It seems this scenario has to be ruled out, as in no point in the novel does the young man say he dreamt about trying to find his heart and give it to Daiyu. However, Daiyu's dream cannot be categorized as a sheer manifestation of her sleeping psyche. Two passages, in chapter 83 and chapter 97, point out a somewhat uncanny aspect of Daiyu's dream. In chapter 83, as she is still lying in bed, Daiyu overhears a conversation between her servant Zijuan 紫鵑 and Baoyu's attendant, Xiren. The latter informs the former that in the middle of the previous night – precisely when Daiyu had her dream – Baoyu shouted as if his heart was being taken away:

> 誰知半夜裏一叠連聲的嚷起心疼來，嘴裏胡說白道，只說好像刀子割了去的似的。

[28] *Honglou meng (sanjia pingben)*, 82: 1362.

[29] I borrow the word "polyencephalic" that Philip K. Dick used as a neologism in *A Maze of Death* (1970). In Dick's novel, interstellar travelers plug themselves to a machine that virtually transports them to another world, where they interact together as if they were in a common dream (Wolkenstein 2006, pp. 120-124). Common dreams (*tongmeng* 同夢) appear regularly in the Chinese oneiric tradition. One famous example is to be found in *Sanmeng ji* 三夢記 (Three Stories of Dreams) by Bai Xingjian 白行簡 (775-826) and in its multiple rewritings (collected in Wang Pijiang 1958, pp. 108-112) such as Feng Menglong's 馮夢龍, in *Xingshi hengyan* 醒世恆言 (Eternal Words to Awaken the World). Feng Menglong 1990, pp. 1435-1500.

> In the middle of the night he unexpectedly screamed over again that his heart was hurting, saying nonsense, only that it seemed as if it was taken out by a knife.[30]

Baoyu's crisis does not perfectly match Daiyu's dream: whereas in the oneiric scene he opened his chest and looked for his heart himself, the words he shouts seem to indicate that he is passive while his heart is taken out. The coincidence between this incident and Daiyu's dream is nonetheless striking.

Another passage, in chapter 97, substantiates the impossibility to consider Daiyu's dream a pure product of her nocturnal illusions. At that point of the story, Baoyu has lost his mind as his jade went missing. He is no longer able to have a thoughtful conversation. Wang Xifeng 王熙鳳 pays him a visit, during which she brings up Baoyu's upcoming wedding. She partially hides the truth, so as to make him believe he is marrying Daiyu, while his family decided for Baochai to be his wife. In his delirium, Baoyu pronounces very intriguing words:

> 我有一個心，前兒已交給林妹妹了。他要過來，橫豎給我帶來，還放在我肚子裏頭。
>
> I have a heart, that I already gave to my little sister Lin. When she comes, she will certainly bring it back to me and put it back in my belly.[31]

Again, the motif of the heart taken out of Baoyu's chest comes back. But this time Baoyu acknowledges he has given it to Daiyu.

Because of that two passages, it is problematic to define Daiyu's dream. It is not a plainly supernatural dream, because no blatant proof testifies that exterior forces caused it. In the Chinese oneiric tradition, that the dream derives from otherworldly factors is always evidenced by a detail that is present in both the dream setting and waking life. But in the case of Daiyu's dream, there is no such evidence, which would make it what twenty-first century people would call a purely psychological dream. However, the two passages I quoted contain uncanny details, as they are clearly related to the dream. Still, there are minor differences between what Baoyu recounts and the dream scene. To sum up, Daiyu's dream is all the more confusing as it does not fully reflect traditional dream stories, neither does it dismiss them. This aspect renders the dream even more difficult to interpret.

To come back to why Baoyu cannot find his heart in the dream scene, I should point out that this question has bewildered many specialists of *Honglou meng*. Some Chinese critics such as Chen Bingliang 陈炳良, for example, explain that Baoyu and Daiyu, being first cousins (*gubiao* 姑表), have the same blood in their vein, and interpret it as a reason for Baoyu not to have any heart to

[30] *Honglou meng (sanjia pingben)*, 83: 1313.
[31] *Ibid*., 97: 1597.

show to Daiyu because in their eyes *gubiao* cousins customarily do not marry.[32] As for critic Yang Danhua 杨丹华, the scene reflects Daiyu's "need to be ensured of [Baoyu]'s love" (爱情安全的需要).[33] This is also the interpretation that Chinese-American specialist Chih-Tsing Hsia gave a few decades earlier. According to him, Baoyu trying to find his heart is a mental projection of Daiyu's, that aims at reassuring her and seeing her own desire – for Baoyu's love – satisfied:

> He [Baoyu] appears to her in his usual role of an extravagant protestant of love. Only this time she drives him to the act of suicide: if she can see his heart, she will surely be satisfied. But Pao-yü gropes for his heart, and it is missing. The last twist of the dream situation is pregnant with meaningful ambiguity. With all his commiseration and protestations of love, does Pao-yü find in her the same kind of sexual attraction that he finds in Bright Cloud [Qingwen]? Could he meet her demand for proof only at the cost of his life? Pao-yü dies when he discovers the loss of his heart, but would he have lived if he had ripped out his heart and handed it to Black Jade [Daiyu]? What inner compulsions have led her to dream of this gory scene?[34]

This interpretation, which was supported by Yi Jinsheng,[35] is associated with the long-preferred idea that Daiyu does not possess exclusivity upon Baoyu's heart. As a matter of fact, Baoyu is a kind of "prepolygynist"[36] as he is attracted to multiple feminine figures. However, as shown above, Daiyu undoubtedly holds a special place in his heart. The question raised by C. T. Hsia to know whether Baoyu would have survived or not had he managed to give his heart to Daiyu is interesting because it brings up the question of the possible happiness – mutually fulfilling their desire for each other – of the "Baodai" couple: the novel only shows the two characters as ever unsatisfied in their desire for the other, so one may wonder if it is possible that their desire is ever answered. Although interesting, the question remains conjectural. However, Keith McMahon showed that the multiple sequels of *Honglou meng* propose an answer to the impossibility of the exclusive "Baodai" relationship: polygyny. Contrarily to the representation of the "Baodai" couple in *Honglou meng*, that is a pure manifestation of *qing* as unreachable amorous ideal, sequels of Cao and Gao's novel picture *qing* as a social archetype that implies polygyny and sexual and professional success for men. In most of these sequels, Baoyu is happily married to both Daiyu and Baochai, as well as to many other females, which appears as a kind of answer to the doubt of some readers about Baoyu and Daiyu's exclusive love. I agree with Keith McMahon that the "Baodai" relationship in the original novel is emblematic of a

[32] Chen Bingliang 1980, p. 191.
[33] Yang Danhua 2010, p. 80.
[34] Hsia 1968, pp. 275-276.
[35] Yi 1993, pp. 67-68.
[36] McMahon 2010, p. 43.

"classical" representation of *qing*, inherited from the Ming literary culture, that implies love "with One and Only One."[37]

The passage I quoted in chapter 97 – when Baoyu declares that he gave his heart to Daiyu – gives a seeming answer to C. T. Hsia's question: having given his heart to Daiyu, Baoyu survives, but to what cost?

Among the interpretations of Daiyu's dream also stands Zhang Wenhuan 张文焕's attempt to explain the scene through the light of Freud's teaching. Zhang suggests that the oneiric vision is "a dream reflecting a 'desire under a reversed form'" (*fan yuanwang zhi meng* 反愿望之梦).[38] Zhang does not say much about the absence of the heart in itself, but as Freud did, he observes the importance of idioms and plays on words: he comments on the scene by saying that it illustrates the Chinese phrase *pouxin zhifu* 剖心置腹, "cutting one's heart to put it in [the other's] chest" – which means "to treat the other with all possible honesty", or "to open one's heart to the other."[39]

One can see how the interpretations of Daiyu's dream are disparate. Should we consider, as Lin Jian 林坚 does, that interpreting this dream is "actually [to] lose oneself in the manifest content of this dream, without being able to fully master its hidden ideas, nor explain its true significance" (实际上是迷惑于此梦的外显内容，未能从整体上把握住它的内隐思想，一致曲解它的真实意义)?[40] It is highly probable that nobody will ever know for sure what the author's intention was when he wrote the last part of Daiyu's dream, but I would also like to venture the following interpretation.

My claim is that the absence of Baoyu's heart may be interpreted in regard to preceding passages of the novel that describe the "Baodai" relationship – passages just as similar as the one of chapter 29 I quoted at length in the previous section of this article. What is more, the absence of the heart may be read in light of Lacan's teaching on intersubjective communication, as shown in the schema L presented in the first section of this paper.

Let us remember that in chapter 29, Baoyu resented Daiyu for not showing that she held a special place for him in her heart (你心裏竟沒我了). In his eyes, the message Baoyu received from Daiyu was "you are not in my heart." Baoyu reacted in response to this message that he thought he had received from Daiyu. In other words, by acting ruthlessly with Baoyu, Daiyu altered her cousin's look upon herself. She dealt with Baoyu's temper as he was reacting to her own aloofness. Daiyu integrated this look of Baoyu upon her. Initially, she acknowledged Baoyu's feelings for her: she thought "I hold a place in your heart" (你心裏自然有我). But as analyzed above, her behavior was completely contradictory to her inner reflections. She acted as if she rejected Baoyu, telling

[37] *Ibid*., pp. 31-47.
[38] Zhang Wenhuan 1990, p. 22.
[39] *Ibidem*.
[40] Lin Jian 1987, p. 115.

him to go and see the play, facing him with his feelings for his other cousins, and hoping that he would care about himself instead of her. My interpretation is that the absence of the heart is the inversion of her own message, "I hold a place in your heart" becoming "I do not hold a place in your heart."

The schema L of Lacan, shown in Fig. 1, reveals that when a Subject interacts with the Other – the two of them being only conscious of their egos, being stuck on the level of language – the Subject's own message comes back to him/her from the Other under an inverted form, in an unconscious way.[41] That is the arrow that originates at the bottom right of the schema and goes back to the top left corner – where one started reading the schema.

In the case of Lin Daiyu – taken as the Subject – my assertion is that what was primarily her love message for Baoyu came back to her under its reversed form, in her dream. What is more, if one reads the schema L with Daiyu as a Subject, then the Other is the Stone. Seeing on the schema that the inverted message comes back from the Stone may be interpreted as Daiyu's unconscious knowledge of Baoyu's true identity: although she does not remember that he is the Stone, she unconsciously knows that their desire for each other is doomed to dissatisfaction. After all, not only have they been thrown to the human world to experience the pain of unmet desires, but rocks and herbs do not breed.

Conclusion

There must be still many other interpretations to give to the motif of Baoyu's missing heart in Lin Daiyu's dream in chapter 82 of *Honglou meng*. Detached from the Baodai subjectivity and understood as a mere hint given by the author to the reader, the missing heart might also point to the failure of the Baodai match for other reasons – such as the fact that Baoyu's mother and grandmother do not see the sickly Daiyu as a suitable wife for the family's heir. But in this paper, I have suggested a Lacanian reading of the missing heart. My overall purpose has been to highlight the contradictions of desire in an intersubjective relationship. To explain the paradoxical behaviors that may derive from love for someone, I have made use of the psychoanalytical theory of the division of the subject by language. I linked this conceptual representation to the case of Baoyu and Daiyu, who are both egos that cannot remember their own selves as Subjects – stone and plant. Having set this scene, I confronted two aspects of their mutual affection: first, as they are stuck in the world of language, their words sometimes exceed what they are conscious of, and second, their discourses may go against how they feel deep down. In my opinion, the motif of the absent heart in the dream scene is emblematic of the reversed ways in which desire manifests itself. It illustrates quite well Lacan's famous phrase: "Love is giving to someone who does not want it something that one does not have" (l'amour, c'est

[41] Lacan 1966, pp. 9, 41.

offrir à quelqu'un qui n'en veut pas quelque chose que l'on n'a pas).[42] What makes the "Baodai" couple so rich in terms of the realistic writing of human relationship is that it stands as a beautiful and convincing metaphor of how language and desire work.

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[42] Lacan 1991, p. 415.

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A FILIAL PUBLISHER'S UNFILIAL SUBJECTS: PRINTING, LITERATI COMMUNITY, AND FICTION-MAKING IN *LIUSHIJIA XIAOSHUO*

ZHANG JING 张静
(New College of Florida)

Introduction

In a bundle of old books randomly bought in Ningbo 寧波 in the fall of 1933, the bibliophile and scholar Ma Lian 馬廉 (1893-1935) found twelve short stories printed by Qingping shantang 清平山堂 (Clear and Peaceful Mountain Hall), a private publishing house in the mid-sixteenth-century Hangzhou.[1] Ma had been seeking these copies for a while, ever since he saw another fifteen stories of the same edition preserved in Japan. *Qingping shantang huaben* 清平山堂話本 was the title that Ma gave to the facsimile reproduction of those fifteen stories. He added to the Japanese title *Qingping shantang* the term *huaben* (meaning a storyteller's script), which Lu Xun first used to suggest the short vernacular stories' origin in the Song and Yuan urban storytelling.[2] For the photographic reproduction of his own discovery, however, Ma used the volume titles imprinted on the book roots (*shugen* 書根) of his copies, *Yuchuang ji* 雨窗集 [The Rainy Window] and *Yizhen ji* 倚枕集 [Reclining on the Pillow]. These are two "elegant titles" (*yahao* 雅號) that Ma attributed to Fan Qin 范欽 (*zi* Dongming 東明; 1506-1585?), a contemporary of the Qingping shantang publisher and the founder of the famous Tianyige 天一閣 library in Ningbo

[1] Ma Lian, *zi* 隅卿, was one of the best known book collectors in the early 20th century. His private collection of traditional Chinese plays and fiction, later donated to the library of Peking University, contributed significantly to the studies of this field. Ma compiled a bibliography of his collection with the title of "Bu deng da ya shumu" 不登大雅書目 [An unpresentable catalogue]. From 1926 to 1931, he lectured on the history of Chinese fiction at Peking University, a course that Lu Xun used to teach before him. As the successor to Lu Xun, Ma might have shared Lu Xun's thinking but probably with critical distance. Ma's scholarship on Chinese fiction and drama, however, has been largely neglected in China. Only until recently did a collection of his essays come out; Ma Lian 2006.

[2] The term was first used by Lu Xun to refer to short vernacular stories as distinct from the full-length vernacular novels divided by chapters; see Lu Xun 2005b, pp. 115-124.

from where these volumes had been scattered.[3] Yet, the title of *Qingping shantang huaben* was again used for the reprint in 1955 that put together Ma's collection, the Japanese collection, and two fragmented stories discovered by A Ying 阿英 (1900-1977), as well as in the subsequent editions. This title remains the standard scholarly reference to this group of the earliest extant specimens of the genre *huaben*, until recently, when *Liushijia xiaoshuo* 六十家小說 (Stories by Sixty Authors), identified as the original title, increasingly appears in relevant literature on the topic.[4] The changing titles for this group of texts in modern reprints and references, in particular the substitution of *hua* (storytelling) by *jia* (author), show the shifted scholarly perception of these texts. Rather than residues of oral traditions, as indicated by the term of *huaben*, these texts are now seen as product of a thriving print culture in the sixteenth century China.[5] Yet, how exactly did *Liushijia xiaoshuo*, the earliest extant anthology of short vernacular fiction, come into print and for what purposes and functions are still to be answered.

These questions shift the analytical focus from the collection's stylistic features in traditional genre studies to its social and cultural meanings. For its crucial presence in the history of the *huaben* genre, *Liushijia xiaoshuo* remains a perplexing collection. More than half of its texts, as many as thirty-one stories, are still missing. The narrative language shows vast disparity from classical to colloquial between stories, to the extent that Ma Lian indicated his doubt about the usefulness of the term *huaben* in pointing out that some of the stories were clearly not storytellers' scripts.[6] Ma noted the fine print quality of his copies. The two elegant volume titles suggest the texts were printed for private reading in an exclusive elite circle.[7] André Lévy was the first sinologist to notice Hong Pian 洪楩 (*zi* Zimei 子美; fl. 1540s-1550s), owner of the Qingping shantang, as a serious publisher.[8] Wilt Idema, in his monograph on the early vernacular fiction, discusses Hong's editorial strategies through tracing narrative and stylistic patterns in the stories, speculating that *Liushijia xiaoshuo* signals the emergence of a new genre of fiction at the time.[9] In this study, I examine the making of this collection in the light of a few hitherto neglected documents on

[3] Ma 1955, p. 544.
[4] The only monograph on this collection, for instance, uses the title of *Liushijia xiaoshuo* instead of the better known *Qingping shantang huaben*; Chang 2008.
[5] Important studies have been done on major *huaben* collections when the genre matured in the hands of prolific writers and avid publishers such as Feng Menglong, Ling Mengchu, and Li Yu, from the 1620s to 1660s. See Hanan 1981, Idema 1974, Hegel 1998, and Yang 1998, for a few examples.
[6] Such stories include "Lanqiao ji" 藍橋記 [Record of the Lan Bridge], "Fengyue Ruixian Ting" 風月瑞仙亭 [Romance at the Ruixian Pavilion], and the prologue story to "Wenjing yuanyang hui" 吻頸鴛鴦會 (A lovers' fatal rendezvous); Ma Lian 1929, p. 538.
[7] Ma Lian 1934, p. 544.
[8] Lévy 1965, pp. 100-106.
[9] Idema 1974, pp. 12-30.

Hong Pian and his social circle. Hong's collection was by no means an isolated endeavor but partake the rising interest in anthologizing entertaining texts, that is, *xiaoshuo*, among Hong's peers. Drawing on the earlier scholarship that has uncovered rich written sources for the short vernacular fiction,[10] I argue that, through making *xiaoshuo* collections, Hong and his associates simultaneously took advantage of their family and social resources, strengthened their social roles and network, and found a means of innovative and individualistic self-making.

I look at Hong's work and world through the lens of filial piety. Hong's filial deeds are frequently lauded in writings about him as the eldest son who inherited his family's official title, as a publisher who promoted the Hongs' scholarly tradition and glorified his elite lineage, and as a Confucian gentleman. Filial piety appears as a recurrent motif in *Liushijia xiaoshuo*, but often to be parodied. This tension between filial piety as a social and ritual practice and construct and filial piety as a literary motif produced by writing and printing, indicates space for the publisher, as well as for his anonymous sixty authors, to negotiate for individual values and voices in literary production. It is precisely in this process that the genre of *xiaoshuo*, a casually defined field of literary production and a bastard genre from the literary canon, rose to attention. In the following discussion, I will first demonstrate how private printing, a family tradition in the Hongs, enabled Hong Pian to construct his public image as a filial son, a humble acolyte of prominent scholar-officials, and a model gentleman in the elite circles of Hangzhou. Then, through an analysis of the parodying of filial stereotypes as a narrative pattern and editorial strategy in the stories of *Liushijia xiaoshuo*, I argue how the making of a *xiaoshuo* collection, a seemingly unusual product in Hong's oeuvre, provides the publisher an innovative and individualistic means of self-making. Hong was not alone in his effort to print rare *xiaoshuo* texts. As the third section demonstrates, by editing and printing *xiaoshuo* anthologies, Hong and his associates contributed to the critical discourses on *xiaoshuo* in the second half of the sixteenth century.

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[10] Despite their attempt to position these stories in relation to oral, performative traditions, Sun Kaidi 孫楷第 (1898-1986) and Tan Zhengbi 譚正璧 (1901-1991), for instance, put together a wealth of similarly plotted stories in classical Chinese that might have served as the source materials for Hong's and later collections. See Sun 2000; Tan 1957, and id. 1980. Recent studies demonstrate a more critical perspective on the assumed storytelling tradition, but their focus is on the later and better documented collections of short stories. For instance, in his article Xie Yingchun 謝穎淳 follows the traditional view of the stories as written and edited from a "popular" perspective. Moreover, he argues that Hong's privileged social status should have prevented him from getting involved in the compilation of *Liushijia xiaoshuo*; see Xie Yingchun 1999, pp. 63-66. In *Liushijia xiaoshuo yanjiu* 六十家小說研究 [A Study of Liushijia xiaoshuo], a recent monograph on Hong's anthology, Chang Jinlian 常金蓮 gives fairly detailed information about the literary tradition in the Hong's but presents just a few new findings on Hong Pian's literary engagements. Other scholars have identified some of the poems quoted in the stories, see Chang Jinlian 2008, pp. 38-46, 95, 107, 111, 114, and 133.

1. The Publisher as a Filial Son

In one of the *Liushijia xiaoshuo* stories, "Li Yuan saves the red snake at Wu River" (Li Yuan wujiang jiu zhushe 李元吳江救朱蛇), the narrator in the "opening word" (*ruhua* 入話) warns the reader against collecting books for one's descendants because they may not know how to read them (積書以遺子孫，子孫未必能讀).[11] The narrator voices a perennial fear among book collectors of traditional China. Among the many possible hazards to a family library, such as fire, flood, and warfare, it was the descendants' incapacity to appreciate their ancestors' learning that saddened bibliophiles the most. One scholar threatened to evict his heirs from the lineage if they sold off any book of his, the harshness of this warning indicating that such misfortune did happen.[12] It is precisely owing to his endeavor to enhance his family collection through printing that Hong Pian is unanimously extolled as a filial paragon in local gazetteers and prefaces of his books. While it is a convention in prefatory writings to compliment on the author's Confucian virtues, the documents concerning Hong also reveal how private publishing in the mid-sixteenth century had become an important venue for a gentleman's networking and his performance of social roles as expected.

The Hong family had had a long tradition of collecting and printing books and producing eminent officials. In his brief entry on the Hongs' library in *Wulin cangshu lu* 武林藏書錄 [Record of book Collections in Hangzhou], Ding Shen 丁申 (d. 1887) presents Hong Pian as a high-profile publisher among the Hongs' fourteen generations in officialdom since the Southern Song. The eldest son, Hong inherited the position as the *Zhubu* 主簿 (Recorder) at the *Zhanshifu* 詹事府 (Household Administration of the Heir Apparent) thanks to the distinguished career of his grandfather Hong Zhong 洪鐘 (1443-1523), a *Xingbu Shangshu* 刑部尚書 (Minister of Punishments) who retired with the title of *Taizi taibao* 太子太保 (Grand Guardian of the Heir). Reticent on Hong's probably short and lackluster official career, Ding instead emphasizes that the new editions of rare books produced by Hong were known for both quantity and quality (*ji jing qie duo* 既精且多) and that his endeavor thereby to continue his family tradition had earned him the name of a filial son in the Hong genealogy.[13] In his preface to *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (The Record of the Listener), a compilation of anecdotes and strange tales originally authored by none other than Hong's forefather Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202), Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (1500-1563?)

[11] An interlinear comment in the same story provides another evidence of Hong's association with the book collector Fan Qin. The commentator claims that keeping moxa leaves in the pages protects books from bugs. This was known to be Tianyige's secret among book collectors. See *Qingping shantang huaben*, p. 256.
[12] McDermott 2006, p. 88.
[13] *Wulin zhanggu congbian*, p. 7457.

praises Hong's reprint in 1546 as a blessing to his family line that will be carried on by numerous offspring (*houkun shengsheng* 后昆繩繩).[14]

Hong's publishing enterprise thrived on his family's legacies. Most likely from the family collection, he reprinted rare editions of Song period sought by book connoisseurs, including *Liu chen zhu wen xuan* 六臣注文選 (Anthology of Refined Literature, Annotated by the Six Ministers) and *Lu shi* 路史 (Grand History).[15] His reprint of *Yijian zhi* was considered as the most authoritative and complete edition in his time.[16] Besides Hong Mai, a more recent model in his extended family for Hong to follow was Wei Ji 魏驥 (1374-1471), the grandfather of Hong's maternal grandmother. A *Libu shangshu* 吏部尚書 (Minister of Civil Office), Wei contributed to the compilation of the canonical *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (The Great Standard of Yongle), an ambitious encyclopedia commissioned by Emperor Yongle (1402-1424) and intended to contain "all the books of the empire." In Hong's edition of *Rongtang shihua* 蓉塘詩話 [Poetry Talks at Rongtang], a collection of anecdotes about poets of Hanghzou compiled by Hong's mentor and poet Jiang Nan 姜南 (*juren* 1519), an entry on the famous Hangzhou snacks of water shield and cherry records a casual chat between Hong and Jiang, in which Hong manages to bring up Wei Ji to indicate his desire to emulate his eminent ancestor. This passing note does not appear in a similar entry in *Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志 compiled by his patron Tian Rucheng.[17] Also suggestive are Hong's choices of calligraphic styles for the paratexts in his edition of *Rongtang shihua*. He used the *lishu* 隸書 (the Han official "clerical" style) for his 1546 "Postscript to the Reprint of Rongtang shihua" (Shu chongkan Rongtang shihua hou 書重刊蓉塘詩話後), in contrast to the *kaishu* 楷書 (the standard calligraphic style) used for the other two prefaces.[18] Inferior to the other two authors in both age and rank, Hong would have seemed disrespectful in his artistic choices. Yet considering that Wei Ji was also known for his calligraphy in *lishu* style, Hong's choice of Wei's style for his text serves as much a show-off as a gesture of filial piety.

As a Confucian gentleman, Hong promoted filial piety beyond his family and in the local community of officials to establish his moral authority as a Confucian gentleman. According to Tian Rucheng, Hong painted a farewell

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[14] "Yijian zhi xu" 夷堅志敍 (Prelude to The Record of the Listener), in *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, 88: 412. Also see the entry on Tian in Goodrich 1976, pp. 1286-1288.

[15] *Wulin zhanggu congbian*, p. 7457.

[16] Tian Rucheng criticizes the extant editions of *Yijian zhi* as heavily truncated due to the editors' negligence of the original author's intention; see *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, 88: 411. Tian's viewpoint was shared by Qing critics; see Lu Xinyuan's 陸心源 preface to a Qing edition included in Ding Xigen 1996, p. 116. For the popularity of Hong's edition among the Ming readers, see Inglis 2007, pp. 344-355.

[17] See the entry "Chuncai Yingtao" 蒓菜櫻桃 (Water Shield and Cherry), in *Rongtang shihua*, p. 5, and *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 24: 355.

[18] A copy of Hong's edition is preserved in the Peking University library.

banquet that the *Canzheng* 參政 (Councilor) of Wuxing 吳興 hosted for his father. The councilor invited his father to Wuxing to enjoy his filial care.[19] Yet the father soon decided to return home in fear that he had distracted his son from official duties. The councilor failed to persuade his father to stay, fasted for ten days, and hosted a banquet for his father's departure by the Zha Creek (Zhaxi 霅溪). Tian's preface, and apparently Hong's painting, extol the councilor as a moral paragon, whose filial act "was witnessed and admired by both officials and commoners, will spread its edifying influence far and wide, and inspire emulations among and beyond the forest of scholars" (斯擧也，吏民瞻仰，風教四馳，又非特士林豔羨而已也).[20] In other words, Hong's painting, as well as Tian's preface, records a social occasion where the participants, the host as well as the guests, identify with each other by performing filial piety through ritual, art, and writing, and collectively claim the role of moral models for the local folks. While presenting an homage to the virtuous councilor, Hong in his painting also promotes himself as a loyal subject, a filial son, and above all, a moral authority before its local viewers.

As a publisher, Hong used similar self-promoting strategies in selecting his subject matter, prefacers, and audience. Curiously, he did not produce any exclusive edition despite his acclaimed expertise in printing rare books. Instead, he reprinted titles that were already in circulation and often in recent editions, with *Stories by Sixty Authors* as a peculiar exception. One can interpret Hong's choices in several ways. First, these were convenient selections for a young publisher to cater to an already existing audience. Second, Hong was unsatisfied with the extant editions of these titles and wanted to produce more refined editions, as suggested by Ding Shen and evidenced by his edition of *Yijian zhi.* An examination of Hong's associates among the private publishers in Hangzhou and its vicinity suggests another possibility. That is, printing gave Hong opportunities to socialize with powerful figures in officialdom and among the local elite, those who were influential in setting the trends of publishing and reading. For instance, Hong and Tian Rucheng shared at least two titles in their reproductions, *Wen xuan* and *Lu shi*. The same preface Tian wrote for his *Wen xuan* was found in Hong's edition,[21] suggesting an attempt by the younger and humbler publisher to follow Tian, an established scholar-official and renowned patron of young students.[22]

Another example is *Rongtang shihua*, brought to print by the Songjiang 松江 (today's Shanghai) magistrate in 1543 and reprinted by Hong Pian in 1546. It

[19] Hong was an established painter, whose paintings are on the list of properties confiscated from Yan Shifan (1513-1565); see Park 2012, p. 40.
[20] *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, p. 430.
[21] Fan Xinzhi 2000, p. 42.
[22] Jiang Zhuo 蔣灼 notes in his preface to Tian's anthology that "students come to him from all over, all taking it as a great honor to receive advice from him" (四方學子莫不以得其一言為寵光); *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, p. 400.

was uncommon for a local government to sponsor the printing of a *shihua* collection by an untitled contemporary writer from another region. This rare favor granted to Jiang Nan had to do with the recommendation of Lu Shen 陸深 (1477-1544), a Songjiang native and a high official with a long and eventful career in and out of the capital.[23] In his preface to *Rongtang shihua* and in his anthology *Yanshan ji* 儼山集, Lu lauds Jiang for his poetic talent and indicates a close friendship rather than a patronage with him.[24] Like Tian Rucheng, Lu was known for his generous support of young talents. His mentorship of the Songjiang magistrate clearly played a crucial role in involving the latter in the printing of Jiang's book.[25] Jiang did not pass the *jinshi* examination, so it was likely to have been Lu's intention to help his friend gain a wider recognition by having his book endorsed by an official publisher and printed in more copies than a private publisher could afford.[26] The magistrate of Songjiang himself wrote a postscript to Jiang's book, in the tone of a humble student of Lu Shen, an entertained reader, and one of the local "gentlemen" (*zhujunzi* 諸君子), indicating his conscious use of printing to appeal to readers of different social groups.[27]

Hong Pian's motive for reprinting *Rongtang shihua* went beyond his admiration for Jiang Nan as Jiang's student and his desire to satisfy the Hangzhou readers as a local publisher, as his postscript explicitly states.[28] In fact, Hong and Lu were likely to be connected as well: When Lu was appointed as the head of the *Zhanshifu* in 1539, Hong was also in service there. By reprinting a book recommended by Lu, therefore, Hong appealed to Lu as his former supervisor and expressed his wish to continue Lu's patronage. This explains

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[23] *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 99-1003.

[24] Lu, "Rongtang shihua yin" 蓉塘詩話引 (Prelude to the Rongtang shihua), in Jiang Nan 2002, p. 625. Lu included in his anthology two poems he wrote on a Mid-Autumn Festival he celebrated with Jiang Nan; see *Yanshan ji*, 15: 10a, 10b.

[25] Lu was a senior supervisor at the Hanlin Academy when Zhang Guozhen 張國鎮 (*jinshi*, 1538), then a student, took his *jinshi* examination in Beijing in 1539. Thinking highly of Zhang's talent as shown by his examination essays, Lu did not spare any efforts to recommend this student to his colleagues. Four years later, when Lu retired to his hometown Songjiang, Zhang happened to be posted there as magistrate. When an imperial inspector came to evaluate Zhang's work for a potential promotion that year, Lu wrote two essays extolling Zhang's outstanding work. See "Xianhou Zhang Bafeng yingjiang xu" 縣侯張八峰膺奬序 [An essay to celebrate Magistrate Zhang Bafeng's awards], in *Yanshan ji*, 50: 5a-7a. Also see "Xianhou Zhang Bafeng kaoman xu" 縣侯張八峰考滿序 [A review of Magistrate Zhang Bafeng], in *Yanshan ji*, 8: 3a-5a.

[26] The Qing writer Li E 厲鄂 (1692-1752) notes the popularity of Jiang's book among the Hangzhou readers in *Dongcheng zaji* 東城雜記, in *Wulin zhanggu congbian*, p. 1745.

[27] Zhang, "Rongtang shihua ba" 蓉塘詩話跋 (Postscript to the Rongtang shihua), in *Rongtang shihua*, p. 56.

[28] "Shu chongkan Rongtang shihua hou" 書重刊蓉塘詩話後 (Postscript to the Reprint of the Rongtang shihua), in the original copy of Hong's edition preserved in the rare book collection of the Peking University library.

why Hong signs his postscript with both his official title *Zhanshifu zhubu* 詹事府主簿 (Recorder at the Household Administration of the Heir Apparent)—despite his retirement from that position—and his commoner's status as *Qiantang menren* 錢塘門人 (Student from Qiantang [Hangzhou]), an attempt to reinforce his connections with both Lu Shen and Jiang Nan.[29] In other words, printing created a symbolic space inscribed by a literati-official community that coalesced through the production and transmission of literary texts.

While influential prefacers such as Tian Rucheng and Lu Shen enhanced Hong's reputation in the Jiangnan area, another prefacer, Kong Tianyin 孔天胤 (1505-1581) from Shanxi 山西, helped to promote Hong's book trans-locally. A *Buzhengsi Canyi* 布政司參議 (Counselor at Provincial Administrative Division) of Shanxi, Kong wrote an enthusiastic preface to Hong's edition of *Tangshi jishi* 唐詩紀事 (Anecdotes on Tang Poems), comparing Hong's merit as a perspicacious publisher to that of the original author Ji Yougong 計有功 (*jinshi*, 1121), a Song dynasty poet:

> 嘗觀集唐詩者，奚啻十數集, 紀事如有功者少；刻唐詩者，奚啻伯數刻，紀事如子美者少。予故嘉善，作此敍詞。
>
> As I have observed, at least a dozen or more people have compiled anthologies of Tang poetry, but few recorded the biographies and anecdotes as well as Yougong has done; at least a hundred and more have printed anthologies of Tang poetry but few recorded the biographies and anecdotes as well as Zimei has done. I therefore think highly of [Zimei's] accomplishment and wrote this preface for him.[30]

According to Zhou Hongzu 周宏祖 (*jinshi* 1559) in his *Gujin shuke* 古今書刻 (Printed Books of Old and New), the *Buzhengsi* of Shanxi also brought out an edition of *Tangshi jishi* in the Jiajing reign, likely owing to Kong, who got a copy of Hong's book on a trip to Hangzhou and introduced it to readers of the Shanxi province.

Taken together, Hong's major publications show that printing was a social act intended to reinforce a variety of social relations. Hong's prefacers, including Tian Rucheng, Lu Shen, and Kong Tianyin, were all high officials and prolific writers. Moreover, they were all known as generous patrons of aspirant followers.[31] By appealing to these senior associates' literary taste and reprinting

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[29] *Ibidem*.

[30] Kong Tianyin, "Chongke Tangshi jishi xu" 重刻唐詩紀事序 [Prelude to the new edition of Tang shi jishi], in *Tangshi jishi*, p. 2.

[31] See notes 19 and 22. Having worked in the *Hanlin* on and off for almost 40 years, Lu Shen made his name as a serious mentor. Stories about his friendships with untitled literati and unconventional young talents were widely known in his hometown Songjiang; see *Chongzhen Songjiang fuzhi*, 58: 1532-1533. Kong Tianyin was said to be "particularly fond of cultivating

their favored titles, Hong presented himself as a loyal follower, a close parallel of a filial son.

However, in contrast to Hong's exemplary image presented in the textual world of his own construction, there are anecdotal writings that portray him as drastically different and more colorful as an individual for that matter. An anecdote that criticizes the notorious general Hu Zongxian 胡宗憲 (d. 1565) for debauchery in Hangzhou mentions that he took Hong's daughter as his concubine.[32] To marry a daughter off as a concubine would seem to have contradicted the distinguished status of the Hongs. For the same reason, Hu might not have asked for Hong's daughter unless Hong ingratiatingly presented her to him, which was possible if Hong had experienced a social downfall and was anxious to build up connections with local powers. Hong's character shows little fatherly virtue in this scandalous account, which casts doubt on his filial image in public and complicates his reputation among his peers in Hangzhou.

A more credible and subtle portrait of Hong can be found in an essay by Tian Yiheng 田藝蘅 (1524-1574?), the son of Tian Rucheng. Tian wrote about a party hosted by Hong Pian in his scenic garden in the spring of 1553. His essay was intended to preface a collection of poems composed to commemorate a day of delightful inebriation and lyrical indulgence, an idea proposed by no other than the host himself. The collection was no longer extant, but the preface offers the only recorded intimate glimpse of Hong in his everyday life:

> 仲春暇日，余與松陽徐軍諮餘杭蔣文學翩然徑造，是以有訪竹之遊，詹簿主翁惠而邀歡，是以有投轄之會。琴尊雅集，賓主兩忘，大觀堂開，匹裴公之綠野，蓮花石出，陋蘇氏之假山。花鳥深留，圖書交映，擲杯大叫，不嫌清白向人，拔劍狂歌，須信乾坤縱我。於是子美岸幘罵座曰：芳春已半，良會幾何，不有短章徒懷遠別。迺先玉振，相繼珠聯，為不足以見其豪邁之概，貴介之風哉。
>
> On a leisurely day in the bloom of this spring, Xu Junzi from Songyang, Jiang Wenxue from Yuhuang, and I roamed to [the Hongs' garden], paying a visit to the bamboo groves; Mr. Recorder of Household Administration of the Heir Apparent was fond of us and invited us to join his banquet, throwing a most hospitable party. The zither and wine goblets are set up for this elegant group, all formalities between the host and the guests forgotten. The Grand View Garden spreads before us, paralleling Master Pei's Verdant Pasture; rocks resembling lotus flowers emerge, paling the Sus' miniature mountains. Birds dwell deep in the flowers; paintings and books shine on each other. Cheering at the game of wine cups, we did not mind exposing our truest nature; wielding the sword to a

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the promising students he encountered" (特喜培其所遇) and his anecdotes as a mentor can be found in various places; see Zhao Ne 趙訥, "Wengu xiansheng wenji xu" 文谷先生文集序 [Prelude to Master Wengu's Anthology], in *Kong Wengu ji*, p. 2; *Ming yulin*, p. 103.

[32] Chen Dakang 1996, p. 48.

> wild song, we believe both heaven and earth will bend to our will. At this moment, Zimei tilted his cap and shouted at the group: half of the beautiful spring was already gone, and how many more joyful times like this will we have? Without poems left behind, we would long for our faraway friends in vain. So he took the initiative and chanted the first poem, to which the others corresponded one by one, even if this would not fully demonstrate his generous capacity and his extravagant style.[33]

Wine drinking and merrymaking are familiar motifs in literati belles-lettres essays. What is striking here is the ironic power inversion as suggested by the contrast between the over-zealous host and the slightly condescending guests. Describing the manner of their arrival with the phrase *pianran* 翩然, which suggests the fleeting and elusive deportment of immortals, Tian and his friends are only too aware of their desired presence. This is reinforced by Tian's allusion to a well-known anecdote about Wang Huizhi 王徽之 (338?-386). Known for his self-absorbed manner and his obsessive love of bamboos, Wang once kept his host waiting for his arrival in the hall while, distaining the company of an unworthy host, he roamed in the latter's famous garden of bamboo groves by himself (訪竹之遊).[34]

Tian's allusion to Wang Huizhi puts Hong Pian under the critical and even derisive surveillance of his refined guests. Like Wang's host, who was apparently desperate to befriend Wang, Hong overacts on his part. In Tian's description, Hong looks clownish in pushing back his scholar's cap and raising his voice—described literally as *ma* 罵, "cursing" or "scolding"—evoking laughter rather than respect. Similarly, Tian's eulogy of Hong's heroism sounds as excessive and unconvincing as his effusive praise of the garden's splendor. Hong's initiation of composing poems thus seems to be a self-conscious act that was staged and imposed on his audience, despite that writing poetry was a common practice at literati gatherings.

Tian's hyperbole on Hong's hospitality implies that Hong did not have enough poetic talent to share with his guests. Tian did not include any of Hong's poems, nor did he leave any comment on Hong's work in his anthology, although he did mention that Hong had occasionally joined Tian and his friends in their lyrical pastimes.[35] What is clear here, as shown by Hong's eagerness to

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[33] "Zhongchun Hong Zimei zhai xiaoji fushi xu" 仲春洪子美宅小集賦詩序 [Prelude to poetry written at Hong Zimei's in the second month of spring], in *Xiangyu chuji*, 1354: 38.

[34] As the anecdote goes, Wang once traveled in the Wu region and noticed beautiful bamboo groves in the garden of a local official. Knowing Wang's love of bamboos, the official was eager to host this legendary guest. However, Wang went straight to the groves without greeting the host, who had been waiting for him in the living room. Although disappointed and embarrassed, the host still hoped to meet Wang and went so far as to have the gate locked, trying to keep Wang inside. Impressed by the host's sincerity, Wang stayed and had a delightful time with the host. See *Shishuo xinyu*, p. 696.

[35] "Yan Hong zhanbu zhai song He bibu fu liudu" 讌洪詹簿宅送何比部赴留都 [A banquet at Recorder Hong's to see off Officer He for Nanjing], and "Jiang Zijiu tong Hong Zimei

impress his guests, is his desire to be acknowledged by the refined society. His desire is at once fulfilled and teased by Tian's preface that is filled with trite allusions. Hong might deserve Tian's implicit derision on his lack of literary talent. Nevertheless, his ownership of a magnificent garden and good wine enabled him to act and be remembered as a patron to local talents, even though he inherited this garden rather than earned it with some good deed, as Tian also intimates.

However, in another poem that Tian wrote perhaps two years later at a similar gathering of local poets yet in a different house, Hong was no longer the proud host. Tian deplores the dilapidation of the once grandiose garden of the Hongs, a sign of its owner down on his luck.[36] Tian's father in *Xihu youlan zhi* also mentions that a beautiful villa that originally belonged to Hong Cheng 洪澄 (1507-1552), Hong's father, was left decaying after his death and eventually became someone else's property.[37] What was the misfortune that Hong Pian might have run into, reckless expenditure or unwise involvement in political scandals, we do not know. But as the eldest son, he was apparently the one to blame for all these losses.

Subtle slights of Hong's character as recorded by his peer in relatively playful form of writing such as the vignettes quoted above, conflict with his image as a filial son and loyal student as presented by his patrons in his more orthodox publications. This contrast illustrates the close connection between genre choices in writing and printing, moral messages, and their intended audience. As shown above, Hong most clearly uses his technical resources and social connections to cultivate a conventional image of a Confucian gentleman in the paratexts he attached to his reprints of orthodox texts. Then, what was he trying to do with *Liushijia xiaoshuo*, his least conventional publication? Although half of the anthology remains missing, the extant pieces already show a strikingly consistent editorial interest in unfilial characters. While we find sketchy entries on incompetent descendants from prominent families in *Rongtang shihua*,[38] it is in Hong's anthology of short fiction that we encounter developed characters as parodies of filial types, such as ill-fated filial sons and bellicose daughters. In addition, ghostly reincarnations of historical figures in

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kunji you Anji xue zhong you huai" 蔣子久同洪子美昆季遊安吉雪中有懷 [Thoughts by Jiang Zijiu in the snow of Anji with Hong Zimei brothers], by Jiang Zhuo 蔣灼, in *Xiangyu chuji*, 1354: 50, 99.

[36] 張子淵宅賞牡丹因憶往年西湖洪內翰莊看花黃紫紅白數種甚盛今已荒落矣概然有作 [Viewing Peonies at Zhang Ziyuan's, evoked by the memory of the peonies, of yellow, purple, red and white colors, seen at Scholar Hong's Mansion by the West Lake last year, now deserted], in *Xiangyu chuji*, 1354: 92.

[37] *Xihu youlan zhi*, 2: 5914.

[38] "Huoshi shuai" 霍氏衰 [The decline of the Huo family], and "Cao Can buru fu" 曹璨不如父 [Cao Can weaker than his father], in *Rongtang shihua*, 1695: 630, 658; "Jicai yi buxiaozi" 積財遺不肖子 [Accumulating wealth for unworthy descendants], in *Rongtang shihua*, 1696: 28.

this anthology constitute a peculiar group of unfilial literary descendants. Their prominent presence in the anthology invites a closer examination of the way in which Hong Pian, and his presumably sixty *xiaoshuo* authors, attempt to play with the didactic tradition in established narrative genres in print such as history and historical fiction.

2. Stories of Unfilial Subjects

Reading the extant stories in *Liushijia xiaoshuo* against their possible written sources reveals the editorial interest in filial piety as an important motif in characterization and plotting. For instance, the narrator of "Yinzhi jishan" 陰騭積善 (Accumulating Credits by Hidden Conducts of Virtues) introduces the protagonist by stressing his filial act of suspending school in order to return home to care for his sick mother, a detail missing in the classical tale in *Yijian zhi*, a likely source for Hong's vernacular version.[39] The story of "Hetong wenzi ji" 合同文字記 (The Contract) evolves around the protagonist's determination to give his biological parents a proper burial. Brought up by his foster parents in another region where his parents fled to in a famine and died from illness, the protagonist carries the bones of his biological parents back to their home village. There, his legitimacy as the heir is slandered by none other than his uncle, his only blood relative, partially due to the aunt's intervention. His identity has to be tested out in court. With a wise magistrate's help, the young man wins the case, marries the girl his parents arranged for him fifteen years ago, and even earns an official title for his filial actions, in other words establishing his Confucian manhood in every possible way.

However, parodies of exemplary filial children found in other stories, sometimes in the same piece with filial paragons, complicate the moralistic message apparently intended in the above-mentioned stories. In "Huadengjiao liannü chengfo ji" 花燈轎蓮女成佛記 (Lotus Girl Became a Buddha in the Flower Palanquin), a Buddhist tale of enlightenment framed in the Confucian moral of filial piety, the narrator compares the heroine "Liannü" 蓮女 (Lotus Girl) to the famous filial daughter Cao E 曹娥, who jumps to the river looking for the corpse of her father, a sorcerer who gets drowned while performing the sacrifice for the Tide God. But Lotus Girl conducts no self-sacrificial filial act in the story; instead, she constantly defies the expected feminine virtues such as silence, obedience, and acceptance of a married life, often in the manner of a spoiled child. Ironically, the "unfilial" Lotus Girl is her parents' reward for their filial conduct: she is the reincarnation of a childless old woman, whom Lotus Girl's parents take in and care for in exchange for her knowledge of the

[39] Sun Kaidi 2000, p. 11. For a general discussion on the textual connections between these two anthologies, see Chang 2008, pp. 47-55.

Buddhist sutra. In "Dong Yong yuxian zhuan" 董永遇仙傳 (Dong Yong Encountered the Fairy), a fantastic elaboration of the story of Dong Yong, one of the most known twenty-four filial sons, Hong Pian's narrator tells the additional story about Dong's son by twisting the familiar motif of a filial child travelling afar to find his parent. Dong's son eventually meets his celestial mother but only to be punished for his reckless journey. He overdoses on the elixir from his mother, suffers a grotesque sickness, and even causes the death of his father. The irony is hard to miss when the Jade Emperor in the story names the son Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (180-115 BCE), the Han philosopher who first proposed to view Confucian filial piety in the concepts of heaven and earth.[40]

Another group of "unfilial" characters mock familiar heroic types in history and historical fiction, martial heroes in particular. These are literary descendants that betray their illustrious origins. For instance, in "Chen Xunjian Meiling shi qi ji" 陳巡檢梅嶺失妻記 (Censor Chen Lost His Wife at Mt. Plum), almost immediately after the protagonist Chen Xin 陳辛 boasts to an inn keeper (a simian demon in disguise) about his mastery of martial arts as the third-generation in a family of military officials (小官三代將門之子，通曉武藝),[41] he loses his wife to the beast. More twists on martial heroism appear in "Yang Wen Lanluhu zhuan" 楊溫攔路虎傳 (Yang Wen the Road-Blocking Tiger), probably the pair story for the previous story.[42] Yang Wen is introduced as the great-grandson of Sire Yang (Yang Linggong 楊令公), the patriotic patriarch of a heroic family whose female as well as male members fought in battles to defend the Northern Song from the Liao's invasion. However, the character of Yang Wen does not appear in either the official or the literary genealogy of the Yangs. His story, therefore, takes on a bastardly identity in the growing literary lore of the Yang family.[43] Yang Wen's nickname "Lanluhu" 攔路虎, or "a tiger that blocks the road", is a variant of "Lanjiehu" 攔街虎, a name that the Song Hangzhou locals used to call hoodlums, particularly those related to the imperial family, thus an ironic contrast to the flattering comments the narrator showers

[40] *Chunqiu fanlu*, 12: 6a-b.
[41] *Qingping shantang huaben*, p. 210.
[42] In the "Chen Xunjian" story, there is a robber named Yang Guang 楊廣 with a nickname of Zhenshanhu 鎮山虎, meaning "the tiger that rules the mountain."
[43] The story was inspired by the widely-known tales of the Yang family who lived during the Northern Song. The Yang family's saga expanded considerably during the process of circulation, first involving the Northern Song general Yang Ye 楊業 and his son Yang Yanzhao 楊延昭, then his other six sons, and later even their wives and widows, all devoted to the battles against the Liao 遼 invasion along the Song northern frontier. Nationalistic sentiments and heroic battles, invested with moral issues of jealousy, treason, revenge, disguised identity and cross-cultural marriage, as well as filial piety, have rendered the legendary Yangs among the most enticing characters in local theaters and storytelling for centuries.

on him at the beginning of the story.[44] As the story goes, Yang and his wife have to leave home, not to pursue some noble mission but to escape from a series of disasters as predicted by a fortune-teller. Ironically, once they set off as advised by the fortune-teller, they run into one trouble after another. Yang first loses his wife, money, and belongings to a gang of robbers. Next, he stumbles on a generous patron at a local teahouse, who introduces him to a martial arts contest. Yang wins the contest but makes new enemies due to his arrogance. After several more blunders, he comes across a former guard of his father's, who finally helps him rescue his wife from the outlaws. In contrast to the narrator's introduction of Yang as "a master of martial arts with profound wisdom and strategies" (武藝高強，智謀深粹),[45] Yang is constantly shown as clueless, hapless, and gullible. Even worse, he is self-deluded, capable of chanting poems on his own heroic deeds when only temporarily spared from trouble. For instance, as soon as he defeats his rival Li Gui 李貴 at the martial arts contest, he sings this doggerel:

天下未嘗無敵手，
強中猶自有強人。
霸王尚有烏江難，
李貴今朝折了名。

There has never been an unrivaled fighter;
Strong as you are, there's still someone stronger,
Even the Hegemon King was defeated at Wu River,
Today Li Gui failed to defend his name.[46]

In this poem, Yang boasts about his victory by comparing a local gangster to the Hegemon King of Chu Xiang Yu and implicitly comparing himself to Liu Bang, who founded the Han after his defeat of Xiang Yu, absurdly carried away by his self-delusion. Unfortunately, before Yang has fully enjoyed his victory, Li's followers close in on him, threatening to beat him up. Yang's swaggering of his martial expertise therefore turns into a farcical scene of his fatuousness.

By making the character comment on his own act in verse, the author of the story mocks a narrative convention in vernacular fiction and particularly in historical novels, that is, the storyteller/narrator commenting on a dramatic scene in the form of an often clichéd and formulaic poem. In *Sanguo zhi tongsu yanyi* 三國志通俗演義 (Romance of Three Kingdoms), a fictionalized history of the chaotic era of the Three Kingdoms (220-280) that set the narrative pattern for later historical novels, the narrator occasionally quotes a poem written by a later poet commenting on a historical event or character. Such quotations follow the

[44] For anecdotes of "Lanjiehu", see *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 25: 401, 407-408.
[45] *Qingping shantang huaben*, p. 271.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

formulaic phrase of "as a later poet comments in this poem" (后人有詩嘆曰) or its variations, encouraging the reader to identify with this lyrical persona who demonstrates a more profound understanding and historical awareness than the characters. In Hong's time, Xiong Damu 熊大木 (fl. 1552), a Fujian editor and publisher, was actively producing historical fiction by refining the language and adding poetry to more formal historical chronicles.[47] In an attempt to assert historical validity for his stories, Xiong constantly reminds his reader of the particular subgenre of the poems he strews in his novel, that is, the *yong shi shi* 詠史詩 (poems on a historical theme), and often quotes poets known for their works of this category, such as the Tang poet Du Fu (712-770), who was known as the "Poet Historian" (Shi Shi 詩史) in late Ming. In contrast, Hong's writers, or Hong himself, make fun of such respectful gestures to history first by coming up with a fictional descendant of a historical hero, such as Yang Wen, and then by making him a mock poet historian commenting on an utterly unworthy scene of ineptitude and fatuity, thereby celebrating a moment of triumph for fiction over history.

"Kuaizui Li Cuilian ji" 快嘴李翠蓮記 (Li Cuilian the Quick-Tongued) presents another parody of martial heroism by turning the gender hierarchy upside down. The story features an eloquent girl instead of a muscular man. Li Cuilian, the heroine, not only supersedes the narrator as the commentator of her actions but almost replaces the narrator altogether by insisting in telling the story in her own voice. As a comic character, Cuilian simply cannot hold her tongue. She mumbles throughout her wedding and finally into a Buddhist temple, leaving behind a verse that suggests an eventful life hard to be contained by the nunnery, where her story, as well as her storytelling, will continue. Cuilian's character draws upon literary and theatrical types of shrews.[48] Yet unlike her rustic, illiterate, and usually hideous-looking predecessors, Cuilian is a gentlewoman of superior beauty, skilled in needlework, and well versed in the classics and histories (姿容出眾，女紅針指，書史百家，無所不通).[49] Nevertheless, despite her education in the womanly virtues, most likely by reading books of such topics printed for women readers, Cuilian resists the prescribed roles of daughter and wife by caricaturing domestic rules and reversing power hierarchy. Moreover, she eloquently uses her bookish knowledge in her fight, referencing ancient orators such as Zhang Liang 張良, whose story was also included in this collection.[50]

Cuilian's imprecations, which she delivers by the end of her long speeches and often with threats of violence, liken her to martial heroes from contemporary vernacular novels and plays, especially the virile men of foul

[47] Also see Chen Dakang 2000, p. 264.
[48] Wu 1995, pp. 166-167.
[49] *Qingping shantang huaben*, p. 97.
[50] Another educated heroine is the "Lotus Girl" mentioned earlier.

mouth and quick fists in the story cycle of the *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (Water Margin).[51] Particularly, Cuilian seems to be the female counterpart of Li Kui 李逵, who finds it hard to keep his mouth shut. Parallels between Li Cuilian and Li Kui can be seen in *Heixuanfeng zhangyi shucai* 黑旋風仗義疏財 (Black Whirlwind out of Righteousness Spurns Riches), a *zaju* 雜劇 play written by the Ming prince Zhu Youdun 朱有燉 (1379-1439) and printed in the 1430s.[52] In act three, Li Kui and Yan Qing 燕青, another Mt. Liang hero, set up a mock wedding to trap and punish a licentious official called Inspector Zhao, Li Kui playing the bride Zhao covets. The wedding rituals described in Cuilian's story, such as the bride's getting out of the sedan and the astrologer's chanting and spreading fertility tokens on the bed, are highlighted in this comedy and acclaimed by late Ming critics.[53] Later, a similar scene appears in the full-length novel *Shuihu zhuan* printed in the 1580s, where it is the monk Lu Zhishen 魯智深 who acts as a bride in order to trap a head bandit at the Peach Flower Mountain 桃花山.[54] These variations of a *Shuihu* hero masquerading as a bride indicate its popularity in the *Shuihu* lore and must have been incorporated into many *Shuihu* stories and plays because of its comical gender inversion, hence the possible sources for Li Cuilian's story. The gender inversion receives a full play in Cuilian's story, where the groom, despite his bold name of "Zhang the Wolf" (Zhang Lang 張狼), acts rather sheepishly in front of his wife. Moreover, the target of the laughter in Cuilian's story is quite different from that in the *zaju* play. In the play, when the audience laughs at the clumsiness of a masquerading Li Kui, they ultimately laugh together with the male actor at the caricatured femininity. In the story, it is Cuilian herself who mocks the obligated performance of femininity, in defiance of the male authorities around her.

Read in the literary context, these stories reveal at least the individual authors' awareness of narrative conventions and of the innovative potential in a new fictional genre. We can see Hong's editorial intention in another group of stories, which have been identified as from the volume of *Reclining on a*

[51] As H. C. Chang notes in his translation, Cuilian's action of slapping and beating people is in exactly the manner a *Shuihu* hero demonstrates. See Chang 1973, p. 37, n. 1.

[52] For an extended study of Zhu Youdun's *zaju* plays, see Idema's chapter on Zhu's *Shuihu* plays, in Idema 1985, pp. 176-207. Zhu's works must have once been part of the imperial library and Hong might have access to this play while serving at court. H. C. Chang also notices similarities in plots between this story and the novel of *Shuihu* and Zhu's play; see Chang 1973, pp. 37, 42.

[53] For instance, Qi Biaojia 祁彪佳 regards this play as "a refined piece" (*yapin* 雅品) precisely because of this outstanding act: "arias in this play are rather heroic and masculine, except for the act of [Li Kui] playing the bride, which conveys unexpectedly intricate meanings" (粗豪之曲，而獨于假新婦處冷然入趣); see *Yuanshantang Mingqu pinju pinjiao lu*, p. 161.

[54] *Shuihu zhuan*, ch. 5.

Pillow.[55] Six out of the seven extant stories feature historical figures such as Li Guang 李廣 (?-119), Jing Ke 荊軻 (?-227 BC), Xiang Yu 項羽 (232-202 BC), and Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234), but with significant changes in comparison to their characters in historical writings. The "Flying General" (*Fei jiangjun* 飛將軍) Li Guang is portrayed as more foolhardy than valiant, and the other three are fictionalized into supernatural beings who fall short of their heroic dignity to various degrees. Jing Ke appears as a petty, grumpy, and superstitious ghost who fiercely protests the burial of a nobody close to his tomb; Xiang Yu is portrayed as a local god who becomes carried away by his pride and power and is eventually subdued by mundane authority; and Zhuge Liang is transformed into a deity who is so insecure about his posthumous fame that he eagerly solicits confirmation from his young worshiper.

These ghostly reincarnations of historical figures symbolize the ultimate challenge that fiction poses to history: it aims to present what the orthodox Confucians would presumably not confront, that is, the strange, the violent, the chaotic, and the supernatural—topics that Confucius reportedly would not discuss (子不語怪、力、亂、神).[56] In other words, historiography, as well as its conventional motif of heroism, become fragmented, fantasized, and often trivialized in these stories. In "Yunchuan Xiao Chen bian Bawang" 雲川蕭琛貶霸王 (Xiao Chen Derides the Hegemon at Yunchuan), when Kong Jing 孔靖, supposedly a descendant of Confucius, refuses to offer sacrifices at Xiang Yu's altar, Xiang's ghost scolds him by quoting Confucius on the power of virtue in the supernatural (鬼神之為德，其盛矣乎).[57] This quotation, hardly expected from the ghost of a churlish warlord and hence comical, marks the liminal nature of a fantastical character and the disruptive power of fiction. The ghost's downfall in the story caricatures the historical Xiang Yu's moral weakness that partly has brought about his tragic destiny, reducing the celebrated tragic hero to a clownish shadow.[58]

Characters as the feckless son Yang Wen, the unruly daughter Li Cuilian, and all these ghostly "descendants" from history, render *Liushijia xiaoshuo* an unfilial product of the narrative tradition. The use of an "ill-bred" narrative language that mixes the classical and the colloquial further underscores the anthology's bastardly position as a new genre in print. Parodies of heroism as frequently found in this anthology embody the author/publisher's challenge of

[55] Patrick Hanan argues for a distinct authorial personality in this volume and rightly speculates that the author of these stories was evidently a member of the literati; see Hanan 1981, pp. 57-59.
[56] *Lunyu Zhengyi*, 8: 272.
[57] *Qingping shantang huaben*, pp. 509-510.
[58] In "Xiao Chen Derides the Hegemon at Yunchuan", Xiang Yu's ghost gradually changes from a modest deity who takes pride in his human admirers' homage into an arrogant and demonic tyrant, an exaggerated image of the dark side of the historical Xiang Yu. Xiang Yu is almost always cast in the rough and clownish *jing* 淨 role type in traditional theater.

heroism as a dominant theme in narrative genres of history and historical novels, indicating an authorial "anxiety of precedents" as Martin Huang observes in the evolution of the full-length novel of the same century.[59] The tension between Hong Pian's desired public image as a filial paragon and the anecdotal implications of him as a failing son and father, as discussed in the previous section, provides another possible interpretation of his editorial interest in unfilial subjects in his *xiaoshuo* anthology: such characters can be read as projections of the author/publisher's personal anxiety. Yet the appearance of *Liushijia xiaoshuo* in print is more than an idiosyncratic creation of one anxious son. As shown in the following section, several important anthologies of entertaining texts, some printed by Hong's associates, appeared roughly in the same time as *Liushijia xiaoshuo*. Together they gave rise to scholarly interest in the genre of *xiaoshuo*, while serving as an important means for the literati authors' and publishers' to refashion their cultural image.

3. Xiaoshuo as the "Patriarch of Naughtiness"

Lu Xun, referenced earlier in this article, once commented on the editing of an anthology of classical tales in Hong Pian's time as simply chaotic, calling it "the patriarch of naughtiness" (*hunao de zushi* 胡鬧的祖師).[60] Humorous yet derisive, Lu's phrase is revealingly oxymoronic, blending into one the image of an authoritative ancestor and that of an unruly child. Uncannily, this term implicates Lu's intuitive grasp of the rising *xiaoshuo* genre at a time of innovation and transformation. Lu's target is *Gujin shuohai* 古今說海 (Sea of Tales Old and New), a voluminous compilation put together by Lu Ji 陸楫 (1515-1552), the son of Lu Shen, Hong's mentor. Lu Xun rightly sensed the influence of this book on later compilations. *Gujin xiaoshuo* was one of the earliest attempts done by Ming scholars to collect, categorize, and print narrative texts that had been accessible only within an exclusive circle. It both fascinated the contemporary readers and influenced Lu Ji's followers. In his preface to a Qing edition of *Gujin shuohai*, the Qing bibliographer Gu Qianli 顧千里 (1766-1835) emphasizes that compiling and printing are crucial measures to take to preserve the *shuobu* 說部 texts in danger of dispersion and corruption.[61]

Gujin shuohai contains 142 volumes, divided into four sections and seven subsections of ethnographic accounts of remote and foreign lands, unofficial biographies, and random jottings dating from Tang to Ming. It is an encyclopedic compilation of marginalized narrative literature. Led by Lu Ji, its

[59] Huang 1990, pp. 45-68.

[60] Lu Xun, "Po Tangren shuohui" 破唐人說薈 [Against Tang Storytelling], *Jiwaiji shiyi bubian* 集外集拾遺補編 [Supplementary to Jiwaiji], in Lu Xun 2005a, p. 132.

[61] Gu, "Chongke Gujin shuohai xu" 重刻古今說海序 [Prelude to the reprint of Gujin shuohai], in *Gujin shuohai*, pp. 1-2.

compilation involved Hong's close associates. Jiang Nan was listed as the top contributor and collator in a group of thirteen, mainly Lu Ji's fellow students, with whom Lu met daily to study for the civil service examinations and to share leisure readings other than the Confucian classics and official histories. Lu Shen himself played a crucial role in this compilation. Although his name is not seen anywhere in the printed book, he actually gave the title of *Shuohai* to this collection.[62] Likely the initiator of this project, Lu had monitored the compilation throughout.[63] The prefacer Tang Jin 唐錦 (1475-1554) emphasizes the popularity of this book among "scholars who are fond of antiquities and extensive in their refined pursuits" (*haogu boya zhi shi* 好古博雅之士) and praises this book as "a shared tool for scholars" (*shilin zhi gongqi* 士林之公器), encouraging the reader to read it for knowledge as much as for pleasure.[64] All this suggests the existence of an eager audience for such *xiaoshuo* texts among scholars and officials.

Indeed, while commercial publishers in Fujian were busy putting out examination handbooks for a growing population of students,[65] Hong Pian and his associates in Hangzhou showed little interest in reprinting texts of Confucian classics. Instead, they preferred writings of a more literary and entertaining nature, such as unofficial histories, local tales and legends, and informal anecdotes about poets, and defended the cultural value of such texts by presenting them as antiquity. Through printing and promoting such books, Hong and his contemporaries endeavored to reconstruct a textual past and redefine the literary canon, bringing to reader's attention the texts and genres ignored by the official culture. Revealingly, Tian Rucheng in his preface to *Lu shi* portrays the original Song author Luo Bi 羅泌 (1131-?) as a learned man disguised in plain clothes and straw slippers and confined in poverty and oblivion (布衣草履困于蓬蒿). In addition, he compares Luo's book to the Stone Drums of Qiyang that were neglected by the compiler of *Poetry of Zhou* (猶岐陽石鼓不見錄於周詩).[66]

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[62] *Yanshan ji*, 95: 16a.

[63] In "Jiangdong cangshu mulu xu" 江東藏書目錄序 [Prelude to the catalog of Jiangdong's collection], Lu writes about his interest in collecting books ever since he was a poor student, when he could not afford the complete sets of books and was only able to purchase bargain texts that were often too fragmented to be salable, hence his long cherished wish that he would one day manage to put the pieces together; see *Yanshan ji*, 51: 12a. Lu was away from home when his son and nephew started the compilation, but he kept track of their progress and advised them by writing letters.

[64] "Gujin shuohai yin" 古今說海引 [Foreword to Sea of Tales Old and New], in *Gujin shuohai*, p. 2.

[65] Chow 2004, pp. 80-82.

[66] "Lu shi xu" 路史序 (Prelude to Lu Shi), in *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, pp. 410-411. Among the prefacers of *Lu shi* in its various editions, Tian was the only one who focuses on Luo's oblivion. His sympathetic and perhaps imaginary portrait of Luo might have influenced Hong Pian and aroused his interest in reprinting of this book. The "Stone Drums of Qiyang" here

In various ways, these writers/publishers acknowledged their preference for literary texts of innovative and entertaining nature. As an attempt to defend his inclusion of tales and anecdotes on frivolous and sensual pleasures in *Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志 (Travel gazetteer of the West Lake), Tian Rucheng stresses his historian's duty of recording everything that reportedly has happened, no matter how incredible it seems, rightly anticipating criticisms of his work.[67] By comparison, the Songjiang magistrate who sponsored the printing of *Rongtang shihua* is not apologetic about its similarly problematic components; instead, he considers the "minor tales and miscellaneous morsels" (*xiaoshuo zazu* 小說雜俎), especially those that "people seldom hear or witness" (人所罕睹聞), as the reader's favorite part in the genre of *shihua*. For him, "a book will be passed on only if it pleases the reader" (書使人愛則傳).[68] Bringing Jiang Nan, Lu Shen, and Hong Pian together in its printing, *Rongtang shihua* evidences these literati's fondness in reading and writing about the extraordinary and the popular.

The connections between Jiang Nan, Lu Shen, and Hong Pian suggest the book's influence on Hong. In addition to the strong likelihood that Hong might have used materials in *Gujin shuohai* as sources for his stories,[69] this compilation probably prompted Hong to make an anthology of short stories himself, so as to catch up with the trend and better still, to initiate a new form of *xiaoshuo* texts in print. In *Gujin shuohai*, the section of *Shuo yuan* 說淵 (The Wellspring of Stories) contains sixty-four stories in the form of *biezhuan* 別傳 (unofficial biographies), of which sixty-one pieces are *chuanqi* 傳奇 tales from the Tang, while the other three are Song and Ming classical stories written under the influence of the Tang tales. These are elaborate narratives that feature an extraordinary character or a strange event in each, with a clear emphasis on details and imagination, and some of them had been rarely anthologized. Grouping these stories together therefore was an editorial attempt to define a specific narrative genre. Lu Ji and his colleagues did not identify the original

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refers to the ten inscribed boulders that were discovered in the seventh century and had inspired numerous studies and speculations ever since. The inscriptions consist of four-character rhymed verses that follow the style of the poems in *Shi jing* but were apparently neglected by the collector. The poem "Song of the Stone Drums" 石鼓歌 by Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) is among the most known writings that lament about the long oblivion suffered by these inscriptions; see *Han Changli shi xinian jishi*, pp. 794-807.

[67] "Xihu youlan zhi xu" 西湖遊覽志序 (Prelude to Xihu Youlan Zhi), in *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, 88: 418-419. According to Ding Bing, it was Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709) who first criticized Tian as unscrupulous in selecting historical materials, a comment that later readers accepted without close examination; see *Wulin zhanggu congbian*, p. 6088.

[68] *Rongtang shihua*, p. 56.

[69] For instance, a classical version of the story "Xiao Chen Derides the Hegemon at Yunchuan" is included in the "Shuolüe" 說略 [Brief tales] section of the *Gujin shuohai*, pp. 454-455. This version is more elaborate than the official histories that Sun Kaidi listed as the possible origins for Hong's story; see Sun Kaidi 2000, pp. 12-13.

authors or sources for their stories. While this omission evoked Lu Xun's criticism of their editorial sloppiness, more likely it suggests the shift of authority from the original author to the editor/publisher. After all, in comparison to the more recognized and accessible genres, *xiaoshuo* texts were more amenable to editors' and publishers' desire to claim authority, precisely as was happening among compilers of historical novels during the Jiajing 嘉靖 era.[70]

Hong Pian's associates made notable attempts to reconceptualize *xiaoshuo*. His friend and mentor Jiang Nan made the earliest relevant note in an entry titled "Yan xiaoshuo" 演小說 (Elaborating/Performing Stories) in *Rongtang shihua*:

> 世之瞽者，或男或女，有學彈琵琶，演說古今小說，以覓衣食。北方最多，京師特盛，南京，杭州亦有之。嘗讀瞿存齋《過汴梁》一律云：歌舞樓臺事可誇，昔年曾此擅豪華。尚餘艮獄排蒼昊，那得神霄隔紫霞？廢苑草荒堪牧馬，長溝柳老不藏鴉。陌頭盲女無愁恨，能撥琵琶說趙家。觀此，則自昔蓋有之矣。
>
> Some of the blind, men or women, have learned to play *pipa* and tell stories old and new, so as to earn their clothes and food. Most of them are active in the north, in the capital particularly, and some can be found in Nanjing and Hangzhou. I once read the regulated poem "Passing Bianliang" by Qu Cunzhai:
>
> > Songs and dances once graced the towers
> > of this place that witnessed splendor of the past.
> > Still standing is Mount Genyue that pushes toward the sky,
> > But where is the Palace of Divine Firmament
> > screened by purple clouds?
> > The deserted garden is overrun by grasses,
> > now fit for horse grazing.
> > The long ditch has willows too old to hide the crows
> > The blind girls at street corners show no sadness or regrets,
> > As they pluck the *pipa* and tell of the house of Zhao.
>
> Judging from this poem, the storytelling tradition has been around for a long time.[71]

Here, Jiang traces the origin of *xiaoshuo* to the tradition of oral storytelling. In the quoted poem by Qu You's 瞿佑 (1341-1427), the persona finds in the female storyteller an evocative voice of remembering a magnificent past because her blindness protects her from being affected by the present decay. That is, for Jiang Nan, the content of *xiaoshuo* has necessarily to do with the past, just like history.

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[70] See Chen Dakang's study of the Fujian publisher Xiong Damu 熊大木 in Chen Dakang 2000, pp. 262-281.
[71] *Rongtang shihua*, p. 631.

At the same time, by relating *xiaoshuo* to the *pipa* player's performance, Jiang shifts the focus from historical factuality to emotional and imaginative appeal in storytelling, hence implicitly differentiating the effect of *xiaoshuo* from that of history. This entry apparently caught the attention of Tian Rucheng, who later included it in his *Xihu youlan zhi yu* 西湖遊覽志餘 (Supplement to Travel gazetteer of the West Lake) with a slight but significant revision. Tian's version, in which he asserts that the terms of *xiaoshuo* and *pinghua* 平話 (plain words) refer to fictional texts and that of *taozhen* 陶真 to a popular form of storytelling, shows a stronger awareness of the distinction between *xiaoshuo* as written texts and *xiaoshuo* as oral performance. In comparison with Jiang Nan, Tian is more interested in *xiaoshuo* as written texts. He mentions a few *xiaoshuo* stories written by recent authors in imitation of the storytellers' stock topics (近世所擬作者也), such as "Honglian" 紅蓮 (Red Lotus), "Liu Cui" 柳翠 (Willow Green), and "Leifengta" 雷鋒塔 (The Leifeng Pagoda).[72] Elsewhere Tian mentions titles that are clearly from Hong Pian's collection,[73] so it is likely that he is referring to the same source here. Considering the close literary exchanges and collaborations among Tian, Jiang, and Hong as traced above, we can safely argue that Hong's publication of *Liushijia xiaoshuo* contributed significantly to an increasingly nuanced conceptualization of *xiaoshuo* of his time.

A further revision appears in the entry *xiaoshuo* in *Qixiu leigao* 七修類稿 (Draft Arranged in Seven Categories) compiled by Lang Ying 郎瑛 (1487-1566), which was later famously quoted by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574-1646) in his preface to the canonical *Gujin xiaoshuo* 古今小說 (Stories Old and New). In this entry, Lang traces the origin of *xiaoshuo* to the reign of Emperor Renzong of Song (r. 1068-1078), a time of peace, wealth, and leisure, when the emperor asked for a strange tale to entertain himself with each day (日慾進一奇怪之事以娛之). It is not clear whether these stories were presented to the emperor as texts to be read or as performances to watch. Moreover, Lang quotes only the last couplet of Qu You's poem as a proof of the Song origin of *xiaoshuo* rather than as evidence of its performative nature as Jiang does by quoting the whole poem. A significant difference from Tian Rucheng's entry is that Lang brings up *taozhen* 淘真 not as a storytelling art but as a type of printed texts as suggested by his phrase of *taozhen zhi ben* 淘真之本.[74] That is, more *xiaoshuo* stories that have incorporated storytelling mannerisms in narrative had entered into the imprints by Lang's time and

[72] *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 20: 326. Modern scholars often refer to Tian's words to corroborate the application of the term *nihuaben* 擬話本 ("imitation" *huaben*) to the vernacular stories developed by Hong Pian and his followers.
[73] *Wulin zhanggu congbian*, 10: 5922.
[74] The Qing bibliographer Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1907) wonders what type of books this *taozhen* refers to when pondering over Lang's record, concluding that they must have been circulating in Lang's time but no more after Ming. See *Chaoxiangshi congchao*, 16: 12782.

made the bibliographer concerned about confusing uses of *xiaoshuo* as a generic term among his contemporary publishers:

> 若夫近時蘇刻幾十家小說者，乃文章家之一體，詩話，傳記之流也。又非如此之小說。
>
> The *xiaoshuo* stories in the collection of *Stories by Several-Tens of Authors* recently printed in Suzhou belong to a form of prose writing, like *shihua* and biography, and different from the *xiaoshuo* in question here.[75]

It is uncertain whether Lang is referring specifically to Hong Pian's collection when he mentions *Stories by Several-Tens of Authors*. Yet Lang's intention to further categorize the texts loosely grouped as *xiaoshuo* is clear. Instead of *xiaoshuo*, Lang prefers a more general term of *wenzhangjia*, or refined prose narratives, as the umbrella for this variety of texts. Lang's desire for a finer definition of *xiaoshuo* indicates that the circulation of a new type of written and printed *xiaoshuo*, such as the *Liushijia xiaoshuo*, had elicited the bibliographer's attempt to distinguish it from the more established and familiar forms of short narratives such as *shihua* and *zhuanji*.

At the same time, the term *xiaoshuojia* 小說家 (author of *xiaoshuo*) began to carry more cultural authority. In Hong Pian's edition of a manual book for painters, *Huishi zhimeng* 繪事指蒙 (Apprenticeship in the Painting Business), the postface, written in the name of the well-known literati artist Du Qiong (1396-1474), ends in quoting a quatrain by a *xiaoshuojia* who stresses the artist's emotional state over his techniques in producing a good work of art.[76] Hong Pian's *xiaoshuo* anthology acknowledges the power of authorship in its title, yet by omitting the names of his individual authors, Hong renders himself the most prominent figure of authority for the printed texts. It must have been a self-conscious choice of Hong Pian to create a distinctive, new form of *xiaoshuo* through *Liushijia xiaoshuo*, since his senior literati friends and their sons had not yet put their hands on this type of texts. Unlike Lu Ji's preference for Tang stories in *Gujin shuohai*, Hong emphasizes the contemporaneity of his stories. The couplet that concludes the story "Censor Chen Lost His Wife at Mt. Plum" stresses that the current story is different from a supposedly well-circulated old version: "known among the *Hanlin* scholars, this tale was edited and turned into a delightful story of *our time*" (雖為翰府名談，編作今時佳話).[77] Among the eight stories that Satoshi Nakazatomi has identified as originally printed by the Qingping shantang,[78] seven

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[75] *Qixiu lei gao*, 22: 330. Also see the entry "Lang Renbao" 郎仁寶, in *Wulin zhanggu congbian*, 12: 7459.
[76] See Park 2012, p. 39.
[77] *Qingping shantang huaben*, p. 228 (my own italics).
[78] See Nakazatomi 2005, pp. 18-28. Nakazatomi also argues that the *huaben* titles listed in the *Baowentang* 寶文堂 catalogue, compiled in Hong's time, refer directly to the stories published by Hong instead of Song and Yuan texts as assumed by previous scholars.

pieces have an introductory line marked as *ruhua* 入話, or opening words, a storyteller's mannerism that was to receive more elaborate manipulation in Feng Menglong's *Sanyan* 三言 collections.[79] At the end of these stories, the generic term *xiaoshuo* is attached, sometimes following the phrase "newly edited" *xinbian* 新編, which contrasts Hong's hallmark of rarity and antiquity promoted elsewhere.

Hong's use of the storytelling formula, although sporadically and mostly in the beginning and the end of his stories, adds a generic feature of multivocal possibilities in the narrative. For instance, in "Li Cuilian the Quick-Tongued", the loquacious heroine herself assumes an oral performer's prose-metric voice so voluminous as to literally muffle the others' speeches, including the narrator's. In "Zhang Zifang mudao chengxian ji" 張子房慕道成仙 (Zhang Zifang Becomes a Daoist Immortal), probably the pair story for "Li Cuilian", Zhang gives his persuasive speeches in verse while eloquently arguing his way away from the imperial court and into the mountains. In addition to poems, lyrical songs, and popular songs, the author of "Wenjin yuanyang hui" 刎頸鴛鴦會 (The Lovers' Fatal Rendezvous) embeds the narrative with a chorus that probes the inner world of the heroine succumbing to her sexual desire and its disastrous consequences. The chorus and the narrator's voice compete with each other in the narrative, revealing the author's simultaneous fascination with and fear of female sexuality. Although the storytelling mannerisms were yet to be more systematically explored by Feng Menglong more than half a century later, these examples at least show that Hong's uses of such voices are not random but thematically deliberate, ultimately presenting an attempt to introduce a new type of *xiaoshuo* narrative to the world of printed books.

Conclusion

This study has examined *Liushijia xiaoshuo* in the context of private printing and the rise of the *xiaoshuo* in print as exemplified by the books published by Hong Pian and his associates in Hangzhou. Hong's anthology of short vernacular stories, a seemingly odd and accidental product in Hong's publishing oeuvre and an isolated collection of *huaben* stories in Hong's time, provides an intricate case to look into book making as literati's social and cultural practice and their means of self-making. While we see how Hong and his patrons carefully construct Hong's public image as a filial paragon in his orthodox publications, Hong in *Liushijia xiaoshuo* reveals an intriguing interest in parodying filial and heroic characters, as if in response to subtle criticisms of his filial character in his peers' informal writings. This drastic inconsistence in Hong's editorial and publishing interests reveals the complexity in the social and cultural functions of private printing in sixteenth-century China. On the one

[79] Yang 1998, pp. 42-44.

hand, private printing served to reinforce a publisher's prescribed social roles such as a filial son, a devoted student, and a loyal official. On the other hand, printing texts of an innovative form of writing, such as vernacular fiction, enabled the publisher to project filial anxiety and to assert individualistic creativity.

Moreover, Hong's unfilial protagonists embody the rise of *xiaoshuo* as a bastardly genre in his time. Hong, as well as his contemporary *xiaoshuo* anthologizers studied in this article, enhanced his editorial authority by erasing the original authors of his stories from the printed pages. As the result, *Liushijia xiaoshuo* appears in print an aspiring publisher's attempt to introduce a new type of leisurely reading for readers of the refined society. The recurrence of characters as parodies of orthodox heroism in Hong's anthology indicates the detection of parody forms part of the intellectual pleasure for Hong's readers to draw from such a leisurely reading. Most likely, the community of readers Hong had gathered for his other, more orthodox publications constituted his intended readers for *Liushijia xiaoshuo*.

Furthermore, Hong's endeavor in collecting and printing entertaining texts was shared by his friends and associates, for whom anthologizing was not only a means to preserve a literary past through printing texts of antiquity but also to restructure the literary canon and to exploit innovative space for self-making in less established genres such as *xiaoshuo*. The revisions of one entry on *xiaoshuo* by three bibliophiles and critics in the Jiajing reign demonstrate how the increasing availability of *xiaoshuo* texts of various forms gave rise to renewed efforts to define *xiaoshuo* in increasingly nuanced terms, leading to more sophisticated theories that would appear in the Wanli 萬曆 period. Appearing in the early stage of the vernacular *xiaoshuo* in print, Hong Pian's anthology contributed to the growing interest in theorizing as well as in printing of this new narrative genre, illuminating a period in literary history that is more complex and diversified than previously assumed.

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BETWEEN CONFUCIANISM AND CATHOLICISM: RETHINKING WU LI AS A MING LOYALIST*

ZHANG YU 張禹
(Loyola University Maryland)

Wu Li 吳曆 (1632-1718), courtesy name Yushan 漁山, is primarily known as a celebrated landscape painter, calligrapher, and poet in early Qing.[1] He was born in Changshu 常熟 in 1632 to a prestigious family. His childhood residence was next to the former residency of Ziyou 子遊, one of Confucius's favorite disciples, where there was a "well of ink" (*mojing* 墨井) for literary inspiration. Therefore, Wu Li often referred to himself as "Inkwell Priest" (*mojing daoren* 墨井道人), even in his old age. His world changed catastrophically at a young age. The family had lost its wealth, and the threat of the invading Manchus was not far from his home. Raised by a widowed mother, Wu Li managed to continue his study of Confucian classics by following several renowned scholars and artists, including Chen Hu 陳瑚 (1613-75), Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664), and Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592-1680). In addition, Wu learned to play *qin* (the zither) around 1654.[2]

The Manchu conquest soon interrupted his learning. Like other survivors who witnessed and experienced the extreme violence of the Ming-Qing dynastic change, fears, anguish, and disillusion left a tremendous imprint on Wu Li's future choices. Sharing the burden of trauma with and influenced by his mentors and friends, Wu remained loyal to the vanquished Ming Dynasty. He vowed never to yield to the Qing and as a young loyalist nurtured by the older generation, he refused to participate in the *keju* civil service examination in the new regime. Instead, during the first two decades of the Qing, he lived a typical

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[1] Wu Li is considered one of the "six orthodox masters" 清六家 in early Qing painting – Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592-1680), Wang Jian 王鑒 (1598-1677), Wang Hui 王翬 (1632-1717), Wu Li, Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633-90), and Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642-1715). They were connected by family networks, *literati* communities, and friendships.

[2] "[I] recall it has been twenty years since Tianqiu and I were students who learnt *qin* zither from master Chen Shanmin" (憶予與天球學琴于山民陈先生，不覺二十年矣). See *Nianpu*, p. 4b.

loyalist-*literati* life, traveling widely, supporting himself by painting, and taking pleasure in literature and wine. In his thirties, he made friends with famous Buddhist monks such as Morong 默容. At one point he even resided at the Xingfu Temple 興福庵 in Changshu. In 1670, Wu Li went to Beijing with Xu Zhijian 許之漸 (1613-1700), a scholar-official who befriended Christians, and stayed in the capital for three years.

There have been debates about when and why Wu Li began to show real passion for Catholicism. The Chinese Jesuit priest Li Wenyu 李問漁 (1840-1911) has suggested Wu's Catholic conversion as an emotional response to his intense personal suffering and profound contemplation after losing his mother and wife, when he pondered the question "where are humans from and where do we return after death" (其生也必有所由來，其卒也必有所攸歸).[3] In Wu's examination of the life-and-death question, Catholic doctrine helped him understand the "ultimate origin and supreme principle" (*daben dayuan* 大本大原).[4] Christianity, or Heavenly Learning 天學 as it was called at the time, replaced Confucianism and Buddhism as his central *dao* principle. Yang Xin argues that although the death of the Buddhist monk Morong had a crucial impact on Wu Li, the Beijing trip might indeed play a more important role in his spiritual development. After 1672, Wu had begun to have Catholic friends.[5] Chen Yuan points out that Wu's earliest Catholic friend was He Shizhen 何世貞, who published *Chong zheng bi bian* 崇正必辨 (Discussion in favor of the Truth, 1672) with an end note: "Reviewed by Wu Li (Yunshan) and Tang Lin (Tianshi)" (吳曆漁山、唐林天石閱).[6] Other scholars believe that Wu Li's first contact with Catholicism was much earlier than 1672. According to Fang Hao, Wu received baptism in childhood and strengthened connections with Jesuit missionaries during his sojourn in Beijing.[7] Both Chen Yuan and Zhang Wenqin point out that the Yanzi Hall 言子堂 next to Wu's childhood residency was once used as the St. Michael's Church by the Italian missionary Jules Aleni 艾儒略 (1582-1649), and even Wu once suggested that in this church he had been baptized as a child.[8] In other words, Wu Li did not simply turn to Catholicism, but rather departed from Buddhism and returned to

[3] "Wu Yushan xiansheng xingzhuang" 吳漁山先生行狀 (A brief biography of Wu Yushan), in *Mojing ji*, p. 3.
[4] *Xu kouduo richao*, p. 595.
[5] Yang Xin, ed., 2002, p. 7.
[6] *Nianpu*, p. 16a.
[7] Both Fang Hao and Zhang Wenqin believe that Wu Li was baptized at a very young age based on a letter from Bishop Gregorio Lopez (羅文藻, 1616-91), in which the Bishop wrote that Wu Li "was baptized as a child" (自幼領洗). See Fang Hao 1986, p. 204; Zhang Wenqin, ed., 2007, pp. 105-106.
[8] The property was confiscated in 1724 and redistributed to Yanzi. See *Nianpu*, pp. 2b-3a; also Fang 1969, p. 2933; and Wen Liding 2006, p. 293. It still remains controversial about the exact year of Wu Li's conversion.

Catholicism for solace after the dynastic calamity. During his time in Beijing, Wu Li befriended the Jesuit François de Rougemont S.J. 魯日滿 (1624-76). The year 1681 was the most crucial in Wu Li's life. He determined to follow Jesuit Philippe Couplet S. J. 柏應理 (1623-93) to Rome. He traveled as far as Macau to start Catholic training and began to learn Latin and theology at St. Paul's College at the age of fifty, though he never made it to Europe. It is recorded that he became a member of the Society of Jesus in 1682 and was given the name Simon Xavier. In 1688, Bishop Gregory Luo Wenzao 羅文藻 (1616-91) ordained Wu Li as a Jesuit priest. Wu then began a new chapter in his life, serving for the next 30 years in the Jiangnan area, particularly Shanghai and Jiading.

Previous scholarship on Wu Li has focused primarily on the reconstruction of his biography, his exquisite Christian-inspired poems, and the question as to whether there was a balanced Western influence in his landscape paintings.[9] This paper, however, investigates some of Wu Li's less and never discussed texts, and considers an often-ignored perspective – his identity as a Ming *yimin* loyalist. Let us not forget that during Wu's lifetime, some Jesuit missionaries maintained their loyalty to the Ming, engaging or at least sympathizing with the loyalists and the resistance force from the Southern Ming 南明 Court.[10] In the last decade of the Ming, the Jesuits supported the resistance force from the southern Ming, with several royal members of whom had converted to Catholicism.[11] Wu Li must also have heard from the missionaries about the heroic legend of Francisco Fernandez de Capillas 劉方濟 (1607-48), a Spanish Dominican friar who was executed by the Manchus in Fujian province. Some late Ming Christians, such as Wei Xuelian 魏學濂 (b. 1608) and Han Lin 韓霖 (1596-1649), were deeply involved in the decades-long political transition.[12] In this context, this paper examines the role of loyalism in Wu Li's writings by raising the following integrated questions: How did his experience as a refugee and survivor influence his Christian faith? How did loyalty – a key Confucian virtue – transfer and transform in Christian faith? And finally, what were his responses to the Chinese Rites Controversy and the anti-Christian sentiments in early Qing? Using a variety of primary materials, including Wu's poems, commentaries, correspondence with his friends and disciples, gazetteer records, and the Jesuit documents, I argue that Wu Li's identity as a dedicated Jesuit

[9] See Chaves 1993, Xiaoping Lin 2001, Fang Hao 1969, Zhou Kangxie 1971, and Macau Ricci Institute 2006.

[10] For example, Francois Samniasi 畢方濟 (1582-1649) made friends with the Ming loyalist Mao Xiang. The resistance military leader Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (1624-62) also had a close relationship with the Catholic community. Further discussion on the connections between the Jesuits and the Southern Ming regimes, see Rule 2004, p. 245; and Huang Yinong 2005, pp. 311-346.

[11] For more details see Menegon 2003, p. 345.

[12] Huang Yinong 2015, pp. 175-228, pp. 229-252.

priest was shaped by a combination of historical, political, and religious forces, and not in conflict with his being a life-long Ming loyalist. Instead, his Catholic service can be understood as an alternative resistance against, and adjustment to, the established Manchu Court. Serving as a priest, Wu found a good way to keep a careful distance from the early Qing politics and roam within the protective space of spiritual freedom. Meanwhile, while Catholicism provided him with a spiritual haven, Wu Li never changed his cultural identity with Confucian traditions. Despite his abiding faith and devoted service in Jiangnan, Wu was honest and bold enough to disclose his inner struggles and discovered true meanings in the vulnerable moments. His reflections, not always pleasant, enriched the Christian experience, and created a form of indigenous Christianity without abandoning his cultural traditions.[13]

1. The Yimin Loyalists during the Ming-Qing Dynastic Transition

Orthodox Confucianism values the virtue of loyalty. An integrated person should never serve under two dynasties (*bushi erxing* 不仕二姓), and such refusal is often recognized as honorable. The year 1644 is far from the watershed of the decades-long Ming Qing transition, when a great number of Han officials and scholars chose to "perish with the country" (*xunguo* 殉國), sacrificing their lives for the anti-Qing resistance. On the other hand, to live was not necessarily a shame, nor did it need to be justified.[14] Particularly during the years immediately following the violent Manchu conquest, many survivors withdrew from public life, choosing instead to dwell on a nostalgic past, and turned to self-cultivation through literature and the arts. From the perspective of identity development and social networking, this group of *yimin* (遺民, lit. "remnant subject" loyalists) had common beliefs in the Confucian virtues of loyalty, shared expressions and practices against the Manchu rulers, and thus gained the respect of their contemporaries and of later generations.[15]

Despite the shared loyalist identity, however, the ways in which each individual engaged and dealt with the trauma of dynastic transition could vary

[13] Kang-san Tan argues that followers of more than one tradition have "dual belonging." See Tan 2010, p. 29; cf. Amy Yu Fu 2018, p. 71.

[14] Wai-yee Li 2006, pp. 4-5. She also discusses the option of women being loyalists and transcending the traditional gender roles (p. 26).

[15] Standaert proposed four criteria to define a social group: "1) Was there any formal membership, possibly acquired through education? 2) Did the subject identify himself with the other members of the group in sharing their beliefs and ideals? 3) Was there any expression of his membership, in thought, in action or in fellowship (ranging from moral conduct and religious practices to propaganda)? 4) Did the members of the group of the same belief, or possibly persons outside this group, recognize the subject to belong to that denomination?" See Standaert 1988, p. 210.

significantly. For example, although refusing to serve the new regime, Mao Xiang 冒襄 (1611-93) and Yu Huai 余懷 (1616-96) still maintained their luxury lifestyles after the fall of the Ming; particularly Mao Xiang, with his extravagant garden and lavish, non-stop banquets, which were often considered "romantic echoes of the old *yimin* of the southeast" (東南故老遺民之風流餘韻).[16] Some loyalists turned to Buddhism or a reclusive life. The Ming royal descendant Zhu Da 朱耷 (1626-1705), a renowned painter and calligrapher who used the name Bada shanren 八大山人 (Mountain man of the Eight Greats, 1626-1705) became a "crazy" Buddhist monk, feigning his deafness and madness in order to escape persecution from the Manchus. Chao Mingsheng 巢鳴盛 (1611-80) even lived in graveyards, using the excuse of mourning his mother to lament the fallen Ming. There was also a generational division among the Ming loyalists. The 1679 *boxue hongci* 博學宏詞 (breadth in learning and vastness in letters) imperial examination successfully recruited many young scholars, and effectively reduced their hostility toward the new regime, even among former loyalists.[17]

Surviving the long and tortuous dynastic change in Jiangnan, Wu Li witnessed a number of the brutal killings, ruthless reprisals, as well as men and women dying in resistance. Only twelve years old in 1644, Wu Li might have been too young to feel political nostalgia, but he lived and experienced the brutality of war, before and after the Ming collapse. His hometown Changshu was not far from Yangzhou, Jiangyin, and Jiading, the central area of Han resistance where lasting wars and vast massacres took place between 1645 and 1659, and Changshu once again became the bloody battlefield when Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 led his army to attack the newly established Manchu rule. A formerly prosperous area turned into a devastated killing field.[18]

In the midst of the chaos and violence which lasted nearly twenty years, Wu Li carefully communicated his anxiety in painting and poems, invoking a complicated discourse mixed with doubt, mediation, and peace-seeking. The fall of the Ming not only crushed his dream of career advancement but also made him live in lasting fear. In his early poems he considered himself a poet-historian like the renowned Tang poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712-70), who experienced the significant moments of history with personal memories. Deeply traumatized by the extensive warfare and excessive violence, Wu Li repeatedly depicted a dark, abandoned, and haunted space after battles. The character *zhan* 戰 (war) appears frequently, in the form of *zhanchen* 戰塵 (war dust), *zhanchang* 戰場 (battlefield), or *zhanzheng* 戰爭 (warfare), testifying to a turbulent era, regardless of whether the pain was caused by the Manchu soldiers, the Han bandits, or the resistance force. In "Bi di

[16] Ōki 2006, p. 233.
[17] Widmer 2006, p. 223
[18] See *Jiading yiyou jishi*; and *Mingji nanlüe*, vol. 10.

shuixiang" 避地水鄉 (Escaping to water country, 1659), he vividly recalled his journey as a refugee with grief and indignation.

For two years now I've grieved, my fate is like a floating plant;	二年身世歎如萍
my temple hairs before my eyes have gradually turned gray.	兩鬢相看白漸生
In my old village to lament the autumn only crickets are left,	舊裡悲秋惟蟋蟀
While here on foreign land, sadness at rain I share with the night herons.	異鄉愁雨共效鵲
In the south, I've heard it said, barbarian horses are received;	南中見說收番馬
in the capital, they claim, they've pulled down the banners of Han!	京口猶聞拔漢旌
How could we have at such a time cessation of the war?	安得此時爭戰息
I'd go back home where I'd be greeted by a stream of yellow leaves.[19]	還家黃葉滿溪迎

The message of the enormous suffering could not be explained more explicitly. Rather than directly depicting the catastrophic war scene, this refugee poem is filled with deep longing for restoring peace. The last couplet rephrases and resonates with Du Fu's famous poem "Wen guanjun shou henan hebei" 聞官軍收河南河北 (On hearing that the imperial army has recovered regions south and north of the Yellow River), in which Du expressed great joy on the news that the rebels were put down. In contrast, the endless violence, as well as the shame and pain brought by the fall of the Ming, left Wu Li nothing but exhaustion on his refugee journey.

Despite the extreme hardship and permanently traumatizing memories, Wu Li's loyalist sentiments were often mild and subtle. His writings typically did not seek to inspire resistance. In "Ti shanshui tu" 題山水圖 (Inscribed on a painting, 1675), all intense emotions, such as anger, fear, despair, even nostalgia, give way to the pursuit of peace.

My reclusive life takes place within a boat,	隱居只在一舟間
Dealing only with my own business and seeking nothing from the world.	與世無求獨往還
I row the boat afar, to read in rivers and lakes.	遠放江湖讀書去
Yet my ears and eyes still feel too close to the verdant mountains.	還嫌耳目近青山

The inexpressible experience in the text presents an ideal model of spiritual solace in which disengagement and disenchantment, self-cultivation and

[19] Translated by Jonathan Chaves. See Chaves 1993, p. 92.

withdrawal are complementary and balanced. By meditating into his imaginary realm of escape, this hermit seeks to "read in peace" and "rest in Nature."[20]

2. Loyalism in Wu Li's Catholic Poems

Nonetheless, Wu Li did not entirely withdraw from the harsh reality like other Ming loyalists. Instead, the loyalist *yimin* identity found its way into his new career in the Catholic church. He distanced himself from the irrevocable Manchu rule but engaged in living a Christian life. His political loyalism shifted and transformed into firm Catholic belief.

In the postscript of his painting "Spring Comes to the Lake" (*Hutian chunse tu* 湖天春色圖) Wu Li wrote: "In the spring [of 1676], I traveled with Master Lu from the Far West, who brought me to the realm of a nobleman" (於辰春從游遠西魯先生，得登君子之堂).[21] In this gift to François de Rougemont, Wu Li described the perfect state of Catholicism using the Confucian term about the *junzi* noblemen. His poems after 1680 are laden with biblical references. According to Louis Pfister S. J. (1833-91), Wu Li bought back all his poems and paintings that might be in conflict with Catholicism, and wrote worship songs to "repent."[22] Albert Chan S.J. (1915-2005) commented that his poems are "graceful and limpid", and "couch Catholic thought in exquisite style."[23] Many of Wu Li's Christian poems challenged Jacques Gernet's claim that late imperial Chinese Christians did not have a sufficient comprehension of Christianity.[24] At the same time, Wu Li subtly asserted loyalist sentiments into his Christian poems through modification of classical allusions, in which the Confucian righteousness co-exists with the Catholic teaching of Divinity. His Christian writings could be understood as an alternative way for a Ming loyalist to escape from the new regime, shaping a complex narrative of the seventeenth-century Jiangnan.

2.1. The Fisherman and the Shepherd

The poetic trope of the fisherman is a favorite *literatus*-recluse theme in poetry and painting in Imperial China. The most famous fisherman probably exists in a quarrian entitled "Jiang xue" 江雪 (River snow), written by the late Tang poet Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819), in which an old, carefree fisherman in a

[20] Chaves 2002, p. 516.
[21] *Nianpu*, p. 22a.
[22] Pfister 1932, p. 247.
[23] *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, p. 1046.
[24] Peterson 1998, p. 130.

sea-grass cape and a bamboo hat is seated in his boat alone on an absolutely peaceful snow day. The fisherman in Wu Li's poem "Yufu yin" 漁父吟 (Song of a fisherman), on the other hand, has a broader vision and seeks an even higher goal.

From patching rips in tattered nets his eyes have gotten blurred;	破網修多兩眼花
He scours the river, does not disdain the tiniest fish and shrimp.	淘河不厭細魚蝦
Selecting the freshest, he has supplied the feasts of sovereigns;	採鰣曾進君王膳
All four limbs exhausted now, dare he refuse the work?	四體雖勞敢辭倦？
Spreading nets, he gets confused by water just like sky;	撒網常迷水似天
Song lingering, still drunk, approaches dragons as they sleep.	歌殘醉傍蛟龍眠
Now hair and whiskers are all white, his face has aged with time;	髯髭白盡丰姿老
He's startled by the wind and waves and fears an early autumn.	驚遍風潮怕秋早
Some friends of his have changed their jobs: they now are fishers of men;	朋儕改業去漁人
he hears, compared to fishing fish, this task is tougher still.	聞比漁魚更若辛
Of late he finds the Heavenly Learning has come into the city:	晚知天學到城府
to customers now happily add families that fast.[25]	買魚喜有守齋戶

Unlike the image of someone at ease living in material hardship, this fisherman first expresses his frustration about poverty and exhaustion.[26] When he meets his future role models – other previous professional fishermen who now become "fishers of men" – he has great admiration for their challenging jobs. In the end, this exhausted and worrisome fisherman is pleased to find that "Heavenly Learning", the Christian truth, has arrived in town. Believers who fast are happy to see some fresh fish in supply. As Chaves has pointed out, the biblical allusions here are not difficult to detect.[27] This poem skillfully blends the classical motif of fishermen with the biblical references of Simon and Andrew, the first two disciples of Jesus who "left their nets and followed Him" (Matthew 4: 20). Fang Hao once suggests that Wu Li's courtesy name Yushan contains his

[25] Translated by Jonathon Chaves. See Chaves 1993, p. 157.
[26] Jonathan Chaves notices that "the emphasis on the fisherman's exhaustion and the hardship of his labors would be unusual." *Ibid.*, p. 61.
[27] *Ibidem*.

determination to be "God's fisherman."[28] In addition, fish is often a metaphor of abundance and affluence in the Chinese tradition. Therefore, although not as busy as his "fisher-of-men" friends, this fisherman works hard to provide food for both life and soul. The harmony between the fisherman and the clients could serve a metaphor of the ideal relationship between the church and the congregation.

According to Wu's disciple Zhao Lun 趙侖, who compiled and edited Wu's sermons and conversations in *Xu kouduo richao* 續口鐸日鈔 (A continued diary of oral admonitions, 1696-97), Wu sent a copy of this poem to him.[29] Therefore, this poem could also be read as an encouragement to motivate Zhao into Catholic service, or merely a friendly and devoted moment of sharing thoughts and feelings of service during the challenging times. Nonetheless, the unnecessary mention of serving *junwang* 君王 (the emperor) at the beginning of this poem seems to possibly evoke personal sentiments of dual-identity loyalism: both to the lost dynasty and to God.

In another poem, "Muyang ci" 牧羊詞 (To the tone of Shepherd), Wu Li compared himself to a diligent shepherd.

> 渡浦去郊牧，紛紛羊若何？肥者能幾群？瘠者何其多！草衰地遠似牧遲，我羊病處惟我知。前引唱歌無倦惰，守棧驅狼常不臥。但願長年能健牧，朝往東南暮西北。[30]
>
> Crossing the Huangpu River, I set on a shepherd's journey. How are my flock of sheep doing there? How many of them are still committed, but surrounded by an increasing number of less devoted ones? It seems that my trip has been too late, since the grass is withering, and the land is distant! Yet I know precisely the weakness of my sheep. I will lead their way, singing and praising constantly. I will stay all night long on guard, protecting them and driving the wolves away. I hope I have many more healthy years ahead, shepherding east and south at sunrise, west and north at sunset.

Wu Li privileged the image of a lonely but dedicated shepherd to respond to the Gospel. Since the Bible verses were entirely unfamiliar to most Chinese at the time, his lines were concealed and oblique, requiring careful decoding and further interpretation. As a good church leader, like a good shepherd, Wu knew his members and was known by them. Before Wu Li, the image of a lonely shepherd in China's lyrical tradition typically symbolized heroic resistance and devoted loyalism. For example, in "Ti Su Wu muyang tu" 題蘇武牧羊圖 (On the painting of Su Wu the shepherd), the Yuan poet Yang Weizhen 楊維楨

[28] Fang Hao 1986, p. 214.
[29] *Jianzhu*, p. 331.
[30] *Jianzhu*, pp. 264-265.

(1296-1370) praised the faithful Imperial Ambassador Su Wu 蘇武 (d. 60 B.C.) of the Han Dynasty for his nineteen-year imprisonment in the *Xiongnu* territory. By the time, Wu Li wrote "Muyang ci", the anti-Manchu discourse was no longer a constant topic among the Jiangnan *literati*. Still, fading memories of destruction and loss could be found in this poem. His Catholic faith, tempered with Confucian learning, suggested a certain degree of pride in his identity as a Han scholar. Portraying himself as the diligent shepherd, in these subtle and allegorical lines Wu Li maintained his loyalist sentiments. The ambiguous words "the weakness of my sheep" could possibly express his disappointment and concerns about the fragile Christian roots and the declining passion among his church members, since Wu Li's ordainment was during the height of the Chinese Rites Controversy, which had caused quite a few damages to the Chinese catholic communities.[31] This poem was from *Sanyu ji* 三餘集 (Three remaining collection), a collection produced after 1692,[32] when the Emperor Kangxi gradually lost patience in the Rites Controversy and eventually banned Christianity. But could the "weakness" also refer to something more urgent and nationalistic? A singing and leading shepherd, who will give his life for the sheep (John 10: 11), is quite a rebellious break from the conventional image of a learned Confucian scholar, possibly one of the few difficult choices that a Jiangnan *literatus* had to make in the face of the national crisis decades ago. As both a loyalist and a Christian, Wu Li made up his mind to "drive the wolves away", which raised further questions: what is the metaphor of wolves referring to in such a long-simmering resentment? Satan/demon, the non-Christian way of life, or even the alien ruler, as a wolf is also a common reference from the *Xiongnu* to the Jurchens and Manchus who lived on China's northern border? A committed shepherd's alertness allows no account for reconciliation or compromise. Even in his later life, Wu Li's Christian poems still leave traces of dissent and even outrage, revealing tensions between the Manchu ruling court, his loyalist spirit, and the Catholic service.

2.2. Moral Imagination in Christian Voice

In Macau, Wu Li wrote that "I will break my old habits by burning the inkstone and quitting the practices of painting and writing" (思將舊習先焚硯，且斷塗鴉並廢詩).[33] In fact, despite his busy schedule, he was still a productive poet. After the age of fifty, Wu Li's poems turn away from narrating chaos during the painful dynastic transition and shift to reflect his Christian learning and service. But even in his most Catholic voices, the *yimin* loyalist reminiscences could still

[31] See Hsia 2018, particular pp. 214-216; and Standaert 2012.
[32] *Jianzhu*, p. 263.
[33] "Ao zhong zayong" no. 28, *Jianzhu*, p. 180.

be found. His *Sanba ji* 三巴集 (Collections of St. Paul) is supposed to be a reflection of the years in Macau studying Latin and Catholicism. *Sanba* is the Chinese translation and abbreviation of St. Paul's College of Macau (1594-1762), where Wu Li enrolled and resided between 1681 and 1682. In this embellished and sophisticated collection, Wu's poetic representation demonstrates his in-depth comprehension of the Catholic doctrine, including two famous series: *Yong shenghui yuanliu* 誦聖會源流 (Songs for the source and course of the Holy Church) and *Ganyong shenghui zhenli* 感詠聖會真理 (Praising the Truth of the Holy Church). In Jonathan Chaves's words, Wu Li made "one of the boldest experiments in Chinese literary history."[34] In the eighth poem of *Ganyong*, Wu used the method of synesthesia to describe a mass, during which the priest brings extremely delightful experiences to the congregation. Using Christian references including birds nesting on the mustard tree (Matthew 13: 32), the vineyard, roses, and young harts (Song 2: 1), the poem unfolds an idyllic landscape in the imaginary world with hints of classic Chinese artistic elements. The poem ends with the priest concluding with a dazzling performance of the ten-string zither.[35] At this sublime moment of aesthetic mediation, the poet presents himself as one of the humbled audience, embracing the grace of God. The first poem in *yuanliu* goes even further when portraying paradise as a replica of a magnificent imperial palace in the Chinese tradition. In Wu Li's imagination, where the Lord resides is "above the twelve universes", filled with "the misty fragrance of blooming roses" and "crowns mounted with glittering jewelry", and a place where young girls "day after day follow behind the Holy Mother in their play."[36] The image of the Holy Mother here is heavily influenced by previous writings on the highest Chinese goddess Queen Mother of the West, who symbolizes heavenly prosperity, domestic bliss, and immortality for all women.[37] The second poem of *yuanliu* is still sung in Chinese churches today with the new title "Yangzhi ge" (仰止歌, Song of looking up). In this song, Wu Li infused into classical words such as *kaitian* 開天 (the creation), *changhe* 閶闔 (heavenly gates) or *gaoshan yangzhi* 高山仰止 (look up and admire the high mountain) fresh meanings associated with Christian notions. With considerable musical skills and talents, he even made an effort to create hymns with the popular *qu* tones and authored a magnificent hymnology of *Tianyue zhengyin pu* 天樂正音譜 (The correct sound of the music of Heaven) for congregational singing. The ornate and elaborate lyrics, invoking the grace of God, turn the sensual and mundane entertainment of

[34] Chaves 1993, p. 10.
[35] "Ganyong shenghui zhenli" no. 8, *Jianzhu*, pp. 230-231.
[36] Translated by Jonathan Chaves. See Chaves 1993, p. 159.
[37] Studies on Queen Mother of the West, see Cahill 1994, particularly the introduction chapter.

deliverance play (*dutuo ju* 度脫劇) into devotional, meditative, and even redemptive sacred music for a higher spiritual realm.[38]

With keen eyes and great curiosity, the *Ao zhong zayong* 澳中雜詠 (Miscellanies in Macau) series consists of thirty poems recording his experiences and thoughts as a student of theology, and highlights Wu Li's purpose of visiting Macau as *xuedao* 學道 (learning the Way). In Macau, Wu Li had an immersion experience in Catholicism, where he celebrated his first Christmas, first Easter, and multiple holy days. The Chinese character *dao* 道 originally has a rich connotation in philosophy and religion, and he projected new messages into this character with Catholicism. In particular, the thirteenth poem in *zayong* criticizes the practice of seeking longevity among Chinese emperors. On the one hand, the disavowal of the Daoist pursuit of immortality is consistent with Wu Li's Catholic faith. On the other, the comment on many emperors who were misguided and received ill advice extends his criticism from the Qin Dynasty to his present day, showing his distrust and a sense of sarcasm toward the last few Ming rulers who entertained themselves with alchemy, cinnabar drugs, and secret recipes for immortality among other sensual indulgences and court decadence.[39]

It is interesting to note that although Wu Li kept his distance from Qing officials and never sought any government post, he seemed to develop an interest in displaying Catholic ranks from his days in Macau, (re)using Chinese literary traditions in a different context. He once received a letter from a friend in Hangzhou, who was recently promoted to Vice Deacon. In complicated, even conflicted feelings and with a little exaggeration, Wu described how his friend "rose to the fifth rank with great honor" (巍峨五級榮登), and was "indeed a pillar of the holy regime" (果然上國之楨).[40] In another poem, Wu did not hesitate to express his yearning for Catholic ranks, exclaiming that "[a]part from the body, I now realize that the heavenly titles are distinguished. In the ears, the voice of the priest sounds graceful" (身外今知天爵貴，耳中別有鐸音奇).[41] In his imaginative-discursive cosmology the hierarchy of the Catholic church was

[38] Further discussion on *Tianyue zhengyin pu*, see Hong 2013. Chaves also explained a possible connection between *Wan gu chou* 萬古愁 (Sorrows of ten-thousand ages) and Wu's experiment composing hymns in *qu*. As a Ming loyalist, Wu could have been impressed with *Wan gu chou*, and later inspired by its *qu* form to create his own hymns. Once a disciple of the uncompromising loyalist Chen Hu, Wu transcended Chen's desire to compose *qu* about "righteous scholars and loyal ministers." See Chaves 1993, p. 16.

[39] The original poem reads: "Surrounded by waves, the three immortal hills grow sweet-scented herbs. How could they possibly mislead so many emperors? Once picked in the Qin Dynasty, the plant is still thriving today. The formula has lived through the ages, but the humans did not" (浪遶三山藥草香，如何得誤幾君王？秦時採剩今猶在，藥自長生人自亡). "Ao zhong zayong", no. 13, *Jianzhu*, p. 170.

[40] "He you" 賀友 (Congratulations to a friend), *Jianzhu*, p. 221

[41] "Zeng qianbei daoyou" 贈前輩道友 (To a Senior Christian Friend), *Jianzhu*, p. 257.

not very different from the royal and noble ranks of the Chinese empire. Wu used the term *dongliang* 棟樑 (pillar) of the holy church to describe Jean Francois Regis (1597-1640).[42] He also depicted St. Ignatius Loyola as "an intimate retainer close to the Pope" (*zhuzuo jinchen* 主座近臣), identifying with both Catholic faith and Confucian virtues, as well as reflecting his ambitions.[43]

The above two examples come from a set of unnoticed works that eulogize Catholic saints in *Sanba ji*. Wu Li's contemporary, a Hangzhou Christian named Zhang Xingyao 張星曜 (1633-ca.1715), composed thirty-eight short poems of *Shengjiao zanming* 聖教贊銘 (Inscriptions in Eulogy of the Sage Teaching, 1678), which praised Catholic saints in the format of four-character verses accompanying church paintings.[44] In Wu Li's much-elaborated versions, he portrayed many saints just like the exemplified loyalists with shared values and celebrated achievements, inserting an additional layer of sagely grace and cultural authority inherited from Confucian principles. In a poem dedicated to Saint Aloysius de Gonzaga (1568-91), using Daoist allusions, Wu Li created an image of a talented, humble, and virtuous young man.

At the best age, he was called by the holy spirit.	英年蒙召寵
The unshaken promise was dedicated to his parents.	矢志獻慈親
He brought honor to the predecessors in learning and service.	學業光前輩
He set up a role model to enrich the future generations.	師資裕後人
Like avoiding poison, he distanced himself from all glories.	辭榮入避毒
Thoroughly pure and virtuous, he left behind the mundane dust.	全潔在離塵
Five years was not a long time.	五載功非久
But his achievements would last over a thousand years.[45]	千秋德澤新

Aloysius de Gonzaga died at the young age of twenty-three when he was caring for plague patients as a student at the Roman College. Remembered for his compassion and courage, Gonzaga was beatified in 1605 and canonized in 1726. Before Wu Li, *Shengjiao rike* 聖教日課 focused on Gonzaga's earnest and devout introspection: "When in frustration, [Gonzaga] disciplined himself in a most strict and rigorous way, asking 'We are sinners, with a contaminated soul. How to purify our hearts and remain chaste? The only way is to pray for forgiveness, to repent, and to submit to God'" (每痛苦以自懲，最嚴最密。我等身多罪愆，心甚濁汙。何能潔淨全貞，惟識切哀求吾主，使我自今而後，

[42] "Sheng fang ji gel ai ri si" 聖方濟各 · 來日斯, *Jianzhu*, p. 220.
[43] "Sheng yi na jue" 聖依納爵, *Jianzhu*, p. 208.
[44] Further discussion on Zhang Xingyao, see Mungello 1994, pp. 179-182; and Zhang Haihao 2007.
[45] "Sheng lei si gong sa ge" 聖類斯 · 公撒格, *Jianzhu*, pp. 218-219.

常存痛告改遷之實心).[46] While Wu's ambition was left unsolved, the intriguing poetic expression brings out his hidden loyalism. Gonzaga in Wu's writing is committed to God's work, but his humility and dedication in Christ corresponded to humbleness and self-cultivation in Confucianism. In particular, Wu described Gonzaga's monasticism as a deliberate choice characterized by his strong-willed personality, just like Wu's own decision to follow God.

Wu Li constantly imagined and depicted Catholic saints within the Confucian loyalist context, bringing new meanings to orthodoxy on both sides.[47] In another poem dedicated to Stanislaus Kostka (1550-68), he sought inspiration beyond poetics, depicting this young Jesuit as a talented boy who "received the grace of God", and "in an elegant and unrestrained way, [Kostka] pursued the truth apart from the mundane world" (瀟灑離塵志不迷，髫齡悟道寵恩奇).[48] Francois de Borja (1510-72) is an integrated person with a moral vigor who "saw noble titles and high positions as mud and sand", and who "cherished great aspirations and the virtue of chastity" (候王祿位泥沙視，貞潔襟期玉石堅).[49] Wu Li's seemingly conflicting attitudes towards officialdom and reputation suggest the feelings of loss and displacement following the collapse of the Ming. Abounding in sincerity and generosity, his eulogies for Catholic saints set within classic Chinese literary traditions more or less mirrored his own spiritual journey as both a *yimin* loyalist and a Jesuit priest, both supported by strong faiths and cultural traditions.

2.3. Loyalty Transcended

Meanwhile, as demonstrated in his paintings, Wu Li was an incredibly observant person, with sharp eyes and salient thoughts. Working with overseas missionaries as a Ming descendant, he had a sophisticated, sometimes even conflicting, understanding of the concept of "China." He was also among the earliest Chinese to explicitly use the concept of Asia (*yaxiya* 亞細亞). While most of his contemporary still considered China as the center of the universe, Wu Li was describing his role model, St. Francis Xavier (1506-52), as "the loving father of Asia" (亞細亞之慈父).[50] In his words, Xavier "started missionary career in India, and concentrated on China" (神注中華，鐸開印度).[51] The poet carefully used

[46] *Jianzhu*, pp. 219-220.
[47] On a similar note, Elisabetta Corsi has noticed the shared nature of the Ignatian Spiritual Exercise and the Confucian practice of self-examination practice. See Corsi 2006, pp. 120-125.
[48] "Sheng da ni lao ge si jia" 聖達尼老 · 格斯加, *Jianzhu*, p. 217.
[49] "Sheng fang ji ge po er ri ya" 聖方濟各 · 玻爾日亞, *Jianzhu*, p. 215.
[50] "Sheng fang ji ge sha wu lüe" 聖方濟各 · 沙勿略, *Jianzhu*, p. 211.
[51] *Ibidem*.

the term *zhonghua* 中華, originally referring to the central land along the Yellow River where the ancestors of the Han people lived, to suggest an ethnic Han China and in particular exclude the Manchus. St. Joseph was considered the Patron of China (*zhonghua zhubao* 中華主保). In one poem dedicated to St. Joseph, Wu Li clearly demonstrated an ethnic division between the Han Chinese and the ruling Manchus: "All souls in the Han territory will intercede in their prayers. The blessings go far beyond four directions without delay" (漢國群靈資轉禱，四方教澤及時新).[52] Although the poem begins with the question "Who is Patron of China, the righteous person?" Wu Li did not lecture his readers about Joseph's biography. Instead, he replied with Joseph's holy title and quickly moved on to the responses among Chinese Christians. In his mind, the Han Chinese like him would take shelter in Christianity and pray for the Catholic community, and for the world (four directions), including the Manchus. Poems like these test the degree to which the Han discourse extended beyond cultural borders. In contrast, with the same theme, Zhang Xingyao's "Sheng ruose ling wuzhu yesu zan" 聖若瑟領吾主耶穌贊 (A song to St. Joseph who raised Jesus Christ) does not invoke any strong undertone of ethnic patriotism, but faithfully follows the storyline in the gospels, elaborating on Joseph's dedication as a parent.[53]

In another poem, Wu Li expressed his bold hope to "sweep away all evils and praise the peace" (掃蕩群邪頌太平).[54] Most Chinese Christian poems use the character *mo* 魔 to refer to the evil side. However, as seen in *Qianfu lun* 潛夫論 (Comments from a recluse), a work discussing the arts of governing, the term *qunxie* 群邪 (all evils) is often used in opposition to *zhengshi* 正士 (gentlemen of integrity), who worked in political parties to undermine the throne. Once again Wu Li used the Christian discourse to express his deep torment during the Manchu conquest, subtly condemning the alien rulers who usurped the imperial power.

As a Ming descendant and survivor of the brutal dynastic transition, Wu Li dwelled on some scenes of bloodshed and showed his admiration for the Ming martyrs by reimagining Christian martyrs. In 1597, Toyotomi Hideyoshi executed twenty-six Catholics in Nagasaki, including three Japanese Jesuits.[55] In *Shengjiao zanming*, after expressing his anger towards the persecution of Christians in Japan, Zhang Xingyao reaffirmed his belief in the ultimate victory of Christ, because "a disciple cannot be above *his* teacher" 弟弗勝師 (also see Matthew 10: 24).[56] It was very likely that Wu Li studied the painting of the Christian Martyrs of Nagasaki held in the collection at St. Paul's College. The

[52] *Jianzhu*, p. 191. This poem does not come with a title.
[53] *Tian ru tongyi kao*, p. 300.
[54] *Jianzhu*, p. 191. This poem does not come with a title.
[55] Rev. Wen Dequan 1993, p. 76.
[56] *Tian ru tongyi kao*, p. 308.

persecution of the three martyrs of Japan triggered his traumatic memories of chaos and destruction. With a differed tone, and by blending fantasy and memory, he wrote: "The wondrous Cross is glowing in the sky and illuminating. True! The three stars from the East Land are fellow martyrs who shed blood for righteousness in Nagasaki" (寶架懸空，森列燦然。東國三星，洵矣難兄難弟，長奇義血同傾).[57] In addition to the visualized cross as a metaphor of the martyrs, he added a layer of moral values, focusing more on their sacrifice for justice and honor, a subtle analogy to the Ming loyalist martyrs. On the pretext of commemorating François de Borja (1510-72), Wu Li fearlessly wrote: "Do not mourn the lost splendor. Wipe your eyes and expect a restored world" (勿悲巨制今何在，拭目來觀再造天).[58] Although the poet never joined any active loyalist resistance force, nor rarely commented on any moral ills of the Qing, he lived through the final suppression of the resistance. In these lines, he transcended the historical trauma of a lost dynasty and his personal pain into a Catholic vision of renewal and restoration. This could be read as a revealing moment of both his genuine confession to the Ming loyalism and a strong commitment to Christian faith.

In 1689, Wu Li took delight in the news of the inauguration of Pope Alexander VIII (r. 1689-91), calling it "an exhilarating message arriving from overseas" (喜報遙從天外來).[59] While it is reasonable to celebrate the Papal inauguration as a Chinese Catholic, it is still a bold and unprecedented statement to openly pledge loyalty to the Pope, rather than the new ruler of the Qing Dynasty. Additionally, the title of this poem is an astonishing one: "On the news of the Pope's Restoration" (聞教宗復辟). Pope Alexander VIII, remembered for his brief pontificate, was first elected in 1689. So it is quite puzzling why Wu Li used the term *fubi* 复辟 for the papacy, a Chinese concept only referring to a once fallen emperor regaining his throne and restoring his power. In Wu Li's loyalist and Christian view, the Manchu rulers as tyrannical usurpers had no legitimacy. In a rhetoric way, he intervened in the grand narrative and created his own version of history. Across supposed political boundaries, he remained faithful to only one secular regime – the Ming Court, and eventually transcended his loyalty to God.

Having experienced the extreme violence during the chaotic mid-seventeenth century, Wu Li had a different understanding and expectation of family reunion (*tuanyuan* 團圓), a prevailing literary trope in late imperial Chinese literature.[60]

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[57] "Sheng Ruowang, Paolu, Yagebo riben guo zhiming" 聖若望、保祿、雅各伯日本國致命, *Jianzhu*, p. 213.
[58] "Sheng fang ji ge bo er ri ya" 聖方濟各 · 玻爾日亞, *Jianzhu*, p. 215.
[59] *Jianzhu*, p. 204.
[60] According to Tina Lu, a narrative toward a family reunion is typically "strongly associated with dynastic transitions" as means of escaping from a brutal reality, since "the dynastic collapse both causes and mirrors the family's separation." Lu 2006, p. 312.

The eighth poem of *yuanliu* illustrates the idea of reunion from his Catholic point of view and creates a new sensibility:

In the very highest place, deep within a mansion.	最高之處府潭潭
Dwells a family perfectly united, loving and devoted.	眷屬團圓樂且耽
Beyond past, beyond present, the three Persons are one;	無古無今三位一
Penetrating Heaven, penetrating earth, the one family is three![61]	徹天徹地一家三

In these all-powerful lines and images, Wu Li demonstrated his profound understanding of Christianity, describing the ultimate reunion in the Holy Trinity. In keeping with the concept that the loving God is indeed "the Great Father-Mother" (*da fumu* 大父母) by an earlier Chinese Christian Yang Tingjun 楊廷筠 (1557-1627),[62] Wu Li thus made an effort to interpret Christianity within the Confucian discourse, testing and extending the boundaries between Confucianism and Catholicism. By aspiring to the highest goals, Christian faith gave Wu confidence to rearticulate traditions. Within this conception of the "happy reunion", he indicated that a family, once disrupted and fractured in the secular world, like what he had experienced during the dynastic transition, might come together again in Christ, leading to new grace and joy.

Wu Li's concept of reunion departs from the didactic intent of morality and karma in late imperial literature. Instead, the Holy Mother played a significant role. In another splendid hymn, he composed in the traditional *qu* format, "Chengsong shengmu yuezhang" 稱頌聖母樂章 (Hymns to worship the Holy Mother), Virgin Mary, "Bright star of the Sea, stands amidst the sky and brings mercy to all lives" (似海星明、立極中天定，憐憫那蒼生命).[63] With deep sentiments of reverence and adoration, the poet describes the Blessed Mary who not only soothes his anxieties in a Catholic-unfriendly empire but who also heals all human beings in the post-conquest period. Rather than emphasizing filial submission as expected by Confucian orthodox, Wu Li highlighted Mary's unconditional love and infinite mercy. Salvation in Christianity offers an alternative solution to the Confucian mission of restoring peace and order after the devastating dynastic crisis.

Ironically, in contrast to many of his loyalist friends, Wu Li was once only a short distance away from Emperor Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty. Working with Jean Valat 汪儒望 (1652-1727) and Giandomenico Gabiani 畢嘉 (1623-94) in 1684, Wu Li wrote two poems in the voices of the missionaries to show appreciation for Kangxi's visit and gifts. In the one entitled "On behalf of masters from Far West, expressing gratitude for grape juice, azure satin, and

[61] Translated by Jonathan Chaves. See Chaves 1993, p. 166.
[62] *Xu kouduo richao*, p. 614.
[63] *Jianzhu*, p. 536.

white gold bestowed by the emperor" (代遠西先生謝恩賜飲葡萄漿並青緞白金), Wu Li artistically elaborated on the valuable curios and the friendly meeting between the emperor and the missionaries. However, he revealed his integrated loyalist feelings in the end: "I was touched by the glory of Your Majesty's honorable visit in Moling, just felt ashamed I was not talented enough to be your guest" (秣陵駕幸沾殊寵，奪錦無才愧客身).[64] The above lines could certainly be read as a conventional humble gesture. But Wu Li was bold enough to speak out loud to the emperor that he had no interest in civil service or any political engagement, carefully suggesting his inner loyalist spirit under the watchful gaze of the Manchu Court.[65] During the Chinese Rites Controversy, when Claudio Filippo Grimaldi 閔明我 (1638-1712) sought support for his response to Rome in 1700, Wu Li did not join other Chinese Catholics in Jiangnan in writing the oath to defend the Jesuits.[66] One possible reason is that Grimaldi sent the response to Kangxi for consultation. As a Ming descendant, Wu Li would certainly not allow him to get engaged in Qing politics. His absence from the endorsements testifies to his loyalist sentiments.

3. From "Finding the Way" to "Following the Way"

In Wu Li's later years, loyalism and Catholicism continued to co-exist. While it was true that Wu Li's classical training and cultural prestige in literature, painting, and music brought benefits in his gospel career, his Catholic service was not as smooth as conventionally assumed. Among the three Chinese priests ordained by Luo Wenzao, Wu Li was the only one who still took charge of Jiangnan. In a set of poems written in Shanghai, Wu Li described his dedicated service as a priest. Yet occasionally, he lamented that his ambition was never fulfilled, his living conditions as being harsh, and his health as declining. Additionally, the Rites Controversy certainly caused lasting damage to the Christian communities in China. Emperor Kangxi once expressed his support for Christianity in 1692. But in 1707, despite the opposition of most missionaries, Cardinal Tournon in Nanjing announced Pope Clement XI's decision to abolish Chinese rites. As a result, Christianity was then banned throughout China with the exception of the capital.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 279.
[65] Together with the other poem, titled "Daixie jiaguo Zhaoshi tang qian zhu birouwen jianshang shiju" 代謝駕過昭事堂前駐蹕柔問兼賞詩句 (On behalf of the missionaries, expressing gratitude to the emperor's stop-by the Zhaoshi Hall and reading the poem), Wu Li was once considered betraying his loyalist spirit, particularly when the narrator addresses himself as *chen* 臣, the subject. Zhang Wenqin defends Wu Li, arguing that these two poems were written on behalf of Western missionaries. Therefore, it should not have brought stain to his integrity as a loyalist. *Jianzhu*, p. 281.
[66] Han Qi 2006, pp. 139-143.

In 1724, worrying that the foreign religion might undermine the loyalty of his Chinese subjects, Emperor Yongzheng (r. 1722-35) claimed Catholicism as heterodox.[67] Numerous responsibilities, deficiency, and fatigue contributed to Wu Li's inner struggles. A recurring motif in his later poems, particularly in *Sanyu ji*, makes honest and humble confessions of his vulnerable moments in the mission. Like other loyalist-reclusives, he found serenity in the remote church residence. Isolation and marginalization allowed him to "steal the peace" (*tou'an* 偷安) from the distraction of worldly affairs.[68] This section uses mostly post-1692 texts to show that despite the frustration and bitterness in Wu Li's later poems, the priest was still upbeat about his mission career.

3.1. The Unfinished Learning

It was to Wu Li's deep regret that in 1680 Gabiani did not approve his trip to Rome with Couplet. Although he was a diligent student practicing daily and able to read letters from Rome, he kept expressing frustrations over the difficulties of study later in his life.[69] This regret turns into a shameful theme of "unfinished learning" (*xuedao weicheng* 學道未成) which repeatedly occurred in *Sanyu ji*, a collection composed after Wu Li was sixty. Describing Latin as "fly-legs written in horizontal orders" (西字如蠅爪，横行讀之),[70] Wu Li was quite upset with his lack of proficiency in Western learning (*xixue* 西學) despite the assiduous work. Sometimes he left the manuscripts so long that the "pages bore footprints of mice and often attracted flies" (殘篇多鼠跡，新簡亂螢飛).[71] In a poem entitled "Songs at Sixty *sui*", Wu Li wished that he could start devoting himself to Western learning much earlier. Ten years later in 1701, at the age of seventy *sui*, he got a bit more irritated: "The learning is challenging for even a disciple at one's best age, let alone this exhausted old man stuck in Lianchuan" (道修壯也猶難進，何況衰殘滯練川)![72]

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[67] SYNK, vol. 14, pp. 24a-b. Huang Pei argues that Emperor Yongzheng considered Christianity challenging the Manchu ruler's authority and became alarmed of the potential political intentions of the mission, particularly that all Christians shall "take orders" from the Pope. See Huang Pei 2006, pp. 82-90.

[68] Wu Li, "Ciyun zashi qi shou" 次韻雜詩七首(Seven poems on miscellany, using the rhymes of Shen and Fan in Suzhou). Chen Yuan dated the seven poems in 1690. See *Nianpu*, pp. 31b-32a.

[69] Fang Hao argues that since Wu Li could read letters from Rome, his Latin should reach a quite high proficiency. See Fang 1969, p. 2937.

[70] "Ao zhong zayong", no. 26, *Jianzhu*, p. 179.

[71] "Ciyun zashi qishou" 次韻雜詩七首 (Seven miscellaneous poems using the rhyme sequence in reply), no. 3, *Jianzhu* p. 274.

[72] "Qishi ziyong" 七十自詠 (Reflections at seventy *sui*), no. 1, *Jianzhu*, p. 258. Lianchuan 練川 is another name of Jiading 嘉定.

Ironically, Jesuit records paid much more attention to the priest's physical capacity. In 1683, Wu Li's name first appeared in the records, noting him "in good physical strength" (體力健). In 1690, Wu Li was marked as "promoted to sixth rank" (已升六品) and "in average physical strength" (體力平常). In 1692, the evaluation turned to "extremely weak in physical strength" (體力極弱). Only in 1700, the comments changed to "satisfying in the task and setting a good example" (工作滿意立有善表).[73]

3.2. The financial challenging

A seventeenth-century Chinese priest like Wu Li was tied to European missionaries without any privilege. Instead, a Chinese clergy was subject to the approval or disapproval of the European missionaries, who had a much higher status and salary. Before going to Macau, by 1676 Wu Li was a low-rank catechist (*chuandao yuan* 傳道員), and François de Rougemont S. J. only needed to pay him 0.4 *liang* silver for his service in Taicang.[74] Even after returning from Macau and having been ordinated as a priest, Wu Li still suffered from hunger and cold in his old age. When he took in charge of the Shanghai-Jiading diocese, the church building was in a poor shape:

> 四壁漏痕如篆草，屋角風潮半傾倒。庭飄亂瓦同落葉，樹連蘿薜牆欲壓。道房冷暗遍生苔，問客難逢為道來。[75]
>
> Leaking marks on walls look like arts of calligraphies. Humid air almost blows away the corner of the roof. Shingles fall down into the rooms like fallen leaves. Trees covered with vines crashed the fence. The residential area is dark and cold, moss growing on the floor. It is difficult to meet a visitor coming to seek the Truth.

Residing and administrating in the damp, leaking old church, Wu felt quite discouraged by saying that he "could fix and clean this abandoned space, but could not accomplish [his] Christian mission in a short time" (我今但能理荒荊，不能使修不日成).[76] His residency in Shanghai, the Jingyi Church 敬一堂, was no more than a cottage where "snow fell onto [his] bed from the collapsed roof in winter" (破屋床頭雪下飛).[77] The situation at another church hall in which he often resided in Jiading was even worse: "on and off, the crickets sing from the

[73] *Nianpu*, pp. 29a, 31a, 35a, 39b, 42b.
[74] See Golvers 1999, pp. 208-216.
[75] "Po tang yin" 破堂吟 (Song of the rustic church), *Jianzhu*, p. 402.
[76] *Ibidem*.
[77] "Jian chuangtou xue" 見床頭雪 (Seeing snow falling onto bed), *Jianzhu*, p. 318.

four walls, and the roof has been leaking into the three rooms" (蟲啾四壁鳴還歇，漏雨三間斷複連).[78]

As the only priest in the Shanghai-Jiading area, Wu Li got involved in the property disputes with neighbors next to the church. He once complained about the situation with his disciple Zhao Lun, that "the church pays property tax, but the land is taken by the neighbors" (粮在本堂，地入两邻). To make it even worse, the high tax rate drove the priest to compensate from his own pocket, and Wu Li's small stipend was not enough to cover the loss. He attempted to express his concerns to the superior (*huizhang* 會長), but no one would send this message.[79]

3.3. Chinese Rites Controversy

The expression of his distress and poverty did not hold Wu Li back from his mission commitment. Yet Wu Li had his own thoughts about the power relations between China and the West. He did notice the power imbalance and worried about its harmful consequences even before China was completely exposed to the Western challenges in the nineteenth century. He witnessed how Portuguese and Spanish missionaries isolated and marginalized the first Chinese Bishop Luo Wenzao, who wrote in a report to Rome that "every country is fighting for their own profits."[80] Later Wu Li probably figured out

[78] "Qishi ziyong" 七十自詠 (Reflections at seventy *sui*), no. 2, *Jianzhu*, p. 259.

[79] Wu Li explained to Zhao Lun: "The foundation of the church building takes up two *mu*, and we pay property tax on the base rate of 2.17 *mu*. The lane to the west of the church has been taken by the next-door neighbor. The 0.2 *mu* to the south has also been occupied by the southern neighbor. The church pays the tax but the land goes into the two neighbors […]. I once composed a letter to the superior, but no one would deliver the message. What could I do?" (今本堂基址原額二畝，納糧二畝一分七厘。堂西一巷，為比鄰所占。南屋二厘，又為南屋所據。糧在本堂，地入兩鄰 […] 曾貽一劄致會長道此事，無人肯言之者，奈何？) Zhao Lun also recorded a conversation between his brother and Wu Li: "The master says: The land was given by the Lord. But the tax is too heavy. The church owns about three hundred *mu* of land in Shangyang (Shanghai), divided into three grades. For the top-grade land, the rent income for one *mu* could pay tax for two *mu*; for the medium land, the rent all goes to tax; for the lower land, the rent is not sufficient to cover the tax. Within a year, only a few *dou* of coarse rice is left after property tax, which will be used to pay military tax. A priest's annual salary of fifty *liang* of silver is not enough to compensate the tax loss. This is how land became a burden" (先生曰：田固主賜，然歲斂未免其累。上洋主堂田約三百餘，分上中下三等。其上者一畝租可輸二畝糧，其中者僅足償糧，其下者則糧且無之。一歲之中，納糧所餘，不過糙米數鬥，而又為役銀所去。歲以司鐸俸銀五十餘兩，損賠糧尚憂不足。田之累人，大致如此). *Jianzhu*, pp. 620-621.

[80] A native of Fujian Province, Luo Wenzao (Gregorio Lopez) was baptized in 1633. He was admitted to the Dominican order and ordained the first Chinese priest in 1656. In 1674, Pope Clement X named Luo Bishop, but he declined due to his concerns about the competing

that his not being chosen to travel to Rome with Couplet was originally due to his age, but ultimately an indirect result of the Rites Controversy, since the Vatican chose to operate differently from the Jesuits, not willing to grant power or authority to Chinese Catholics.[81] In a poem dedicated to St. Francis Xiavier's missionary vigor and accomplishments, Wu Li openly voiced his disappointment and anguish in a rare sharp tone towards a Roman Church that was divine in rites but mundane in practice: "Glory of the Society of Jesus is buried in the accumulation of wealth. What a shame! The former Saint has established the foundation of the work" (聖會光埋利藪中，可憐前聖創基功).[82] Disrupting the imperial vision and revealing its limits, he explicitly criticized Rome's seeking after power and benefits, and disapproved the colonial-Christian mission.

Wu Li also developed an evolving understanding of his identity as a Chinese Christian on the mission, in light of the banning of Christianity. He once told Zhao Lun:

> 教皇命我為司鐸為何意乎？恐大西人在中國，或有致命之日，則中國行教無人，而《瞻禮單》亦無由而見。[83]
>
> Why has His Eminence put me in charge as a priest? His prime fear is that, if one day westerners all have their doomsday in the Middle Kingdom (China), there would not be anyone to spread the gospel. The liturgical calendar thus would not be introduced.

On the one hand, like an orthodox Confucian who emphasized the *li* rituals, Wu Li attached great importance to the Catholic rituals. At a time when there was no Chinese version of Bible, all knowledge came from the priest's lecture. In *kouduo*, many times Wu Li taught rituals in Latin, urging his disciples to remember them carefully. On the other, the Rites Controversy contributed to the anti-Christian sentiments in early Qing. Wu Li began to realize the importance of training Chinese clergies and began to experiment with founding Christian communities as a local service and practice. In addition to preaching from one village to another, in 1696, Wu Li established the St. Francis Society in Jiading with six disciples at its peak.[84]

Protectorate of Missions between Portugal and Spain. In 1685 Pope Innocent XI finalized his nomination. See Gu 2003, p. 224; Roman 2001, pp. 146-151.

[81] In 1681 Giandomenico Gabiani decided that Wu Li, at the age of 50, was too old to take the trip.

[82] *Nianpu*, p. 38a. More on the Chinese perspective on the Rites Controversy in Standaert 2012.

[83] *Jianzhu*, p. 613.

[84] Members of the St. Francis Society include Zhao Lun, Zhu Wanjiu 朱畹九, Zhu Yuanrong 朱園榮, Zhang Qingchen 張青臣, Zhang Zhong 張仲, and Yang Shengsheng 楊聖生. See *Jianzhu*, p. 602; cf. Fang Hao 1986, p. 236.

Although Wu Li was empowered by and loyal to his Christian faith, he clearly saw that the Roman Church was losing its glory in China. In 1661, Fr. Francesco Brancati 潘國光 (1607-71) reported to the Society of Jesus that every year between 2000 and 3000 Chinese were baptized.[85] However, by 1687, in Bishop Luo Wenzao's report, he had to admit that "today church members have been declining."[86] In 1691, Wu Li openly expressed his concerns on the recent decline of the Catholic community: "Less and less people are interested in learning the Christian way" (茲者學道日已少).[87] When numbers of converts dropped, Wu Li demonstrated extraordinary honesty and courage to explore his discomfort, being vulnerable and confessing his limitations before God. He described the long-term frustration and deep loneliness that "[f]or a decade, I could not find a solution for this city of distress" (十年無計出愁城).[88] Doubting "for whom does my church bell toll now" (予今村鐸為誰鳴),[89] Wu Li wrote down those unsure moments, when his "inspirations vanished" (遊興滅), felt "hesitant, rejected and helpless living alone in Jiangnan" (踟躕東南塵土賤), and lamented that "after ten years, the tree still has not developed a shade" (十年猶未翠成蔭) – a metaphor to describe a fruitless decade in spite of his tireless work.[90] Alone in his Shanghai residence, the Jingyi Church, Wu Li lived like an outsider, struggling to support himself and the Catholic community. He once noted that the Bible manuscripts were eaten by bookworms, because few people showed interest in learning about Christianity.[91] In fact, he lived such a secluded life that some people even considered the possibility that he had sailed into the ocean seeking immortality.[92]

3.4. Commitment to Mission

Wu Li's later poems disclose the inner struggles of the priest, who would feel neglected, rejected, and bewildered. Though vulnerability continued tormenting him, it was a sign of neither weakness nor fragility.[93] Despite the chaotic

[85] Fang Hao 1986, p. 213.
[86] *Ibid*., pp. 151-152.
[87] "Ku sijiao Luo xiansheng" 哭司教羅先生 (Mourning Bishop Luo), *Jianzhu*, p. 306.
[88] "Zimingzhong sheng" 自鳴鐘聲 (Sound of the Chiming Clock), *Jianzhu*, p. 271.
[89] "Ketan" 可歎 (Pity), *Jianzhu*, p. 294.
[90] *Jianzhu*, pp. 301, 306.
[91] "Wen you xuedaozhe lai" 聞有學道者來 (On hearing a learner arriving), *Jianzhu*, p. 327.
[92] Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728-1804), "Wu Yushan shengzu nian" 吳漁山生卒年 (Years of birth and death of Wu Yushan), *Jianzhu*, p. 725.
[93] In the Bible, Job experiences many struggles in his faith. Even those as holy as St. Simon Xavier and Mother Teresa revealed their interior darkness along the journey of pursuing the Truth. Xavier in his writing on January 29th 1552 compared mission life to "a continuous

communications from the Roman Church and the Qing Court, as a grassroots Chinese priest serving his Catholic community, Wu Li was devout in his faith and mission.

The St. Francis Society did not flourish as Wu Li expected. Members, mostly men of letters from the local area, either hesitated to join, or often skipped meetings. Zhao Lun once asked Wu Li if one member should be punished because he used sickness as an excuse to withdraw. Wu Li replied: "Who is not a sinner in this world" (今世何人無罪?)[94] By May 1697, only three members remained in the Society. While Zhao Lun felt quite discouraged to realize that not all Chinese Christians stood firm in the faith, Wu Li continued to be a source of inspiration:

> 然無慮其少也，惟少正易見功：一以當百，一以當千，在自勉耳！[95]
>
> We do not need to worry about the small number. The small number will testify to the true achievement. Just one real Christian will pray for hundreds, and even thousands of people. We should feel motivated!

Peaceful and self-contained, Wu Li surrendered himself and completely put his trust in God, letting the Holy Spirit go ahead and guide.

Challenges did not dishearten him. On new year's eve, Wu Li worried about his debts to wine shops and tea shops (*jiuzhai chapu* 酒債茶逋) and lamented poverty at an older age for a moment. Yet his spirit was high, thinking that "everything will be fine, when tomorrow spring arrives" (明日春來事事寬),[96] as Jesus said to his disciples, "do not worry about your life, what you will eat" (Luke 12: 22). While it is a Confucian virtue to be positive about living an impoverished life, in his poem Wu Li suggested the Christian joy and enthusiasm of owning nothing but relying on the faithful grace.

Serving as a Jesuit priest did not mean Wu Li completely turned away from his man-of-letters lifestyle. As seen in both *Sanyu ji* and *kouduo*, while

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death" through which he could experience his own darkness: "I could never sufficiently express my indebtedness toward my brothers in Japan, because God, our Lord, having respect for them, granted me much knowledge of my innumerable sins; because while I was away from myself, I had no knowledge of how great was the evil inside of me, until I saw myself in the labours and angers of Japan." See Zubillaga 1996, p. 405, quoted from Corsi 2006, p. 123. Additionally, on Feb 26, 1954, Mother Teresa reported to Archbishop Périer in a letter that "[m]y own soul remains in deep darkness & desolation." Fr. Sebastian Vazhakala, M.C. recalled that she once said: "Jesus is asking a bit too much." See Kolodiejchunk, ed., 2007, p. 154, p. 329. And after all, even Jesus had moments of doubts and distress in the Garden of Gethsemane (Matthew 26: 37-39, Luke 22: 44).

[94] *Jianzhu,* p. 592.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 614.

[96] "Chuxi ershou" 除夕二首 (Two poems on the new year's eve), no. 1, *Jianzhu*, p 390.

prioritizing priest career traveling and preaching, he also spent time exchanging writings and paintings with his church members and *literati* friends. Gauvin A. Bailey argues that "Wu Li's conversion was a conversion within Chinese cultural parameters, and still close allied to the precepts of Confucianism. It was certainly not an embracing of Western culture."[97] And André Lévy analyzes how Wu Li's perception of Christianity was fairly different from the first generation of Chinese converts (Xu Guangqi 徐光啟, Li Zhizhao 李之藻, Yang Tingjun 楊廷筠) who were privileged social elites, and different from the West.[98] Wu Li's unique position between elite and lower-echelon Christian *literati* made him amenable to both the scholarly and higher-class as well as the less educated members of his church.[99] Among scholar-*literati*, Wu Li gained a reputation and respect for his loyalty, nobleness, and seclusion. In 1691, the provincial governor of Zhejiang banned Christianity. The same year Wu Li wrote a self-inspiring long poem titled "Liushi yin" 六十吟 (Song for the age of sixty *sui*). The poem ends with a pastoral scene, in which the poet depicted himself as a countryside greybeard who lost track of his age and remembered nothing but the golden days as a shepherd.[100] In his Christian service Wu Li found a reclusive meaning, though he could not entirely shake off the roots of the traumatizing experiences during the violent dynastic transition from his youth, nor the aloofness as a Ming descendant.

Yet even in darkness, Wu Li had the courage to connect with God, providing a testimony of God's promise: "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness" (2 Corinthians 12: 9). He remained obedient, zealous, and humble with a sense of humor. A church member once felt quite blessed meeting Wu Li at the Assumption of Mary service. But the priest told him: "Your presence is a blessing" (爾來乃幸).[101] Still, he carried out his mission responsibilities with vigor and enthusiasm, hoping that "everyone will learn the truth and be born again" (人人向道為死生).[102] Wu Li was good at communicating his understanding of Christianity and encouraging his disciples to spread the gospel. He told them that "when you meet someone, it would be helpful to spread the gospel even for just a moment" (逢人便勸一刻亦好).[103] Ten years later, in a series of poems entitled "Qishi ziyong" 七十自詠

[97] Bailey 2006, p. 206.
[98] Lévy explains that Wu Li was attracted to the Faith by Western sciences, Lévy 2006, p. 26. Jonathan Chaves also points out that for Wu Li, "the 'Western Wonders' being nothing other than Christ's Incarnation and Resurrection", see Chaves 2014, p. 13.
[99] Discussion on how the lower-echelon Christian *literati* preached to less educated audience, see Yu-yin Cheng 2018, pp. 111-113.
[100] "Liu shi yin" 六十吟 (Song for the age of sixty *sui*), *Jianzhu*, p. 301.
[101] *Jiangzhu*, p. 583.
[102] "Ketan" 可歎 (Pity), *Jianzhu*, p. 294.
[103] *Jianzhu*, p. 625.

(Reflections at the age of seventy *sui*), despite the continued grumbles of his miserable living conditions, Wu Li showed enormous pleasure and genuine delight that his two sons had converted to Christianity as he had wished. He was pleased to know that "the heavenly blessings are now a family heritage" (卻愛傳家道氣全).[104]

Zhao Lun once asked the priest what would happen to him, since he was converted but his wife was not. Wu Li replied, "God wants you to work, externally and internally. The external achievement contributes to the internal achievement" (天主欲汝立功，夫外，猶內也；立功于外，猶立功於內也).[105] Although the term he used, *ligong* 立功 or building merits, is one of the "imperishable three" (*san buxiu* 三不朽) in the Confucian discourse,[106] Wu's reply is a version of what Paul says about a sanctified spouse: "For the unbelieving husband has been sanctified through his wife, and the unbelieving wife has been sanctified through her husband" (1 Corinthians 7: 14). Catholic virtues such as patience and prudence brought new strength to Wu Li's loyalist perseverance. He fully acknowledged and accepted the sense of imperfection, whether as a war refugee or a struggling priest, humbly reaching out to God.

Wu Li's long experience of rejection and dignity in the face of vulnerability mingled with solitude and spiritual pursuit, thereby revealing more about his humility than suffering. His loyalty transformed into faith, and eventually formed a priest fearless in his Christian mission. Impressively, he was still preaching in the Jiading area at the age of seventy, and as noted in the Jesuit Records of 1703 "he provided an outstanding service to the dioecesis [displaying] a good knowledge of Chinese literature" (在教區服務能滿人意精于中國文學).[107]

Conclusion

Christianity meant more than a spiritual refuge from difficult times for Wu Li. While a devoted Catholic priest, he also had a lifelong commitment to loyalism within his Christian faith. Instead of passively accepting a fate of suffering, Wu Li never complained that he lived in the wrong time, left behind by the former dynasty. Avoiding fame and wealth, he was socially active as a painter and poet in the *literati* networks in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Jiangnan. In addition, Catholicism helped him live a more engaged life through serving the community. His poetic voice transcended the trauma of political turbulence,

[104] "Qishi ziyong" 七十自詠 (Songs at seventy *sui*), no. 3, *Jianzhu*, p. 260.
[105] *Jiangzhu*, p. 600; cf. Fang Hao 1986, p. 235.
[106] *Zuozhuan* 左傳, 1087-1088 (Xiang 24); cf. Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p. 507.
[107] *Nianpu*, p. 41b.

absorbing the *yimin* loyalist sentiments and presenting Christianity as apolitical subjects embodying Confucian virtues. Hosting a discourse of subtle loyalist sentiments and dissent, his writings demonstrated one of the new ways of embracing both nostalgia and resistance in the early Qing. Offering an alternative perspective on the Ming loyalist experiences and their responses in the wake of the conquest, Wu Li's unwearied spiritual pursuit in seeking the Truth became an action taken to find new meanings. Such a long journey dissolves cultural boundaries, softens the rigid edges during the process of inculturation, and provides insights into how Confucianism and Catholicism, adjustment and resistance, as well as the Chinese and the foreign, might be intertwined in his multiple and complex identities.

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VISUALISING HUMAN DIFFERENCES IN LATE IMPERIAL CHINA: BODY, NAKEDNESS AND SEXUALITY

ZHU JING 朱敬
(Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

With the proliferation of ethnographic illustrations in late imperial China, visual knowledge constituted a crucial source for the understanding of human variations. Focusing on the Miao albums, a genre of ethnographic illustrations depicting the bodies, culture and environment of non-Han peoples in the southwest borderlands of China, this paper explores China's perceptions of human differences in the late imperial period, by probing the representation and visualisation of the bodies of non-Han.

A number of elements, including food, religion, space, custom and physical traits, all contributed to the weaving of the web of human differences. My investigation of bodies' attributes highlights their significant roles in the knowledge/power production processes of non-Han representation.

In the preface of a Miao album, *Yunnan Liangyi Yilei Mingmu* 雲南兩迤夷類名目 (The Ethnic Minorities in Two Parts of Yunnan) in the collection of British library, Li Qi 禮齊, a local official of Yunnan in 1810, included bodies in his overview of ethnic differences.[1] The idea of the body as an indicator of identity is most clearly presented through the Qing-era imperial edict pertaining to the depiction of *Huangqing Zhigong Tu* 皇清職貢圖 (Imperial Tributary Illustrations), which claims that:

> 我朝統一區宇，內外苗夷，輸誠向化，其衣冠狀貌，各有不同，著沿邊各督撫，于所屬苗猺黎獞，以及外夷番眾，仿其服飾，繪圖送軍機處，匯齊呈覽， 以昭王會之盛。[2]
>
> Our dynasty rules the universe. Both the internal and external barbarians are willing to be civilised. Their clothes, hats, and appearances are quite different from each other. Paying attention to clothes, the local government officials

[1] *Yunnan Liangyi Yilei Mingmu*, preface, pp. 1-3.
[2] *Imperial edict by Fu Heng in the name of Emperor Qianlong.*

> should send their sketches, including the Miao, Yao, Li, Zhang and foreigners to the Court, so that we can show off the prosperity of our empire.

The edict clearly points out that *yiguan zhuangmao* 衣冠狀貌 (clothes, hats, physical body and appearances) of non-Han were different, highlighting the importance of clothes and bodies in visualising the ethnic minorities. Attention to the pivotal role of physical traits and clothes in depicting the non-Han was not restricted to the Qing Dynasty, but was in fact a convention of Chinese ethnographic illustration. For example, when discussing the responsibility of Zhifang Yuanwailang (Vice Director to the Bureau of Operations), *Tang Liudian* 唐六典 (Six Statutes of the Tang) specifies that *rongzhuang yifu* 容狀衣服 (physical features and clothes) should be depicted.[3] Similarly, in the preface to *Xiyu Tuji* 西域图记 (Image and Texts of Western Regions), Pei Ju 裴矩 highlighted that *fushi yixing* 服飾儀形 (costumes, rites and physical traits) have to be considered when making images to represent the *Xiyu* (western regions).[4]

Clothing regulations in late imperial China played a very crucial role in the visual grammar of representing the non-Han: only the casual clothes were selected to represent the non-Han in Miao albums.[5] Indeed, body and clothes are intimately associated with each other. Although this paper is exclusively focused on the physical traits of the body, it cannot do so without also considering clothes, such as when examining whether a body was well or poorly dressed or even naked.

In her studies of the representation of Taiwan during the Qing Dynasty, Emma Teng has realised that racial differences were produced through the display of savage bodies. Focusing on ethnic illustrations depicting the indigenous Taiwanese, Teng observes that "[t]he Taiwan indigenes, for example, clearly display on their bodies the visual signs of savagery-nakedness, tattoos, piercings, bulging muscles, and belligerent postures."[6] James Millward has studied the popular legend of the Qianlong Emperor's 乾隆 (1711-1799) Uyghur Muslim concubine, Xiangfei 香妃 (The Fragrant Concubine), whose body was said to emit a mysterious fragrance without recourse to perfumes or powders.[7] Although the tale of Xiangfei has various versions, it seems that all share one similarity in that her body was fragrant, even being surrounded by butterflies in the more fanciful versions. Xiangfei's fragrant body discloses the Qing tendency to exoticise the bodies of Uyghur women. Although referring to a much earlier period, Marc

[3] *Tang Liudian*, pp. 161-162.
[4] *Suishu*, p. 1061.
[5] Zhu 2018, pp. 155-218.
[6] Teng 2004, p. 172.
[7] Millward, 1994, pp. 427-458. For the discussions over the paintings pertaining Xiangfei, also see Yu Shanpu, 2012.

Abramson has also demonstrated the power associated with the bodies of northern non-Han subjects.[8] He observes that "deep eyes and high noses" was the most common phrase used to describe non-Han physiognomy in the Tang era. Moreover, a curly or thick beard was another feature of barbarian men, and hairstyle was also a significant marker of the barbarian figure in texts and images.[9]

It seems that the bodies throughout history have been important indicators of ethnic differences. Focusing on the bodies of non-Han in the Miao albums of Yunnan and Guizhou, this paper further explores how ethnographic bodies were constituted in the southwest borderlands. More importantly, it considers the intersection of the body with gender discourses. In an anthology exploring the history of the body and sexuality, Jonathan Burton demonstrates the important role of sexuality, together with several other factors, in racial classifications: "no single idea about race dominated early modern European thinking. Certainly identities were claimed, adjusted, disavowed, and imposed on the basis of skin colour, but early modern forms of racial difference also existed in relation to questions of religion, diet, nationality, lineage, human nature, the human body, and of course sexuality."[10] Therefore, in order to better understand the culture of the body and the production of racial differences and imperial power, it is very important to consider the intersections of different sectors and how the fabric of human difference was woven.

Although we set out from the physical characteristics of the body of non-Han, it is essential to understand the body in a social and cultural sense. Indeed, they were depicted following certain conventions. In her study of physiognomy in the Victorian age, Mary Cowling reveals that artists were supposed to depict people of different classes and races employing a certain physiognomical language.[11] For example, those considered primitive were supposed to receive animal-like depictions. Under the influence of anthropometry, the depiction of the size and shape of the brain, the skull, the proportions of face, forehead and chin were all supposed to follow specific types.[12] Robert Young also argues that race and culture were intertwined in a complex and subtle manner.[13] My discussion on the representation of bodies of non-Han in the southwest borderlands will link to the context of the social and cultural hierarchy embedded in bodies in Han Chinese culture.

When addressing the issues of how the others were represented critically, the questions about 'authenticity' and 'authority' has to be considered. One of the most influential work by David Livingston reminds us "certain

[8] Abramson 2008, and id. 2003, pp. 119-159.
[9] Abramson 2003, pp. 124-125.
[10] Burton 2016, p. 507.
[11] Cowling 1989, pp. 54-69.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 182-185.
[13] Young 1995.

representations of people and places, or races and regions, can be re-examined and repudiated precisely because they are inauthentic depictions of the human subject and its habits."[14] Several scholars, including Marzia Varutti, Hjorleifur Jonsson, and Louisa Schein, in their studies of the representation of ethnic minority in modern and contemporary China, all emphasise the role of imagination and fantasy narratives of the frontier people.[15] Miao albums in late imperial China were products mainly made or appointed by Han Chinese or Manchu officials in Qing Dynasty, and the portrayal of ethnic subjects through the imperial prism and via colourful images of primitiveness, exoticism and varying sexualised associations tends to produce social inequality, power abuse and political domination.

It is more appropriate to see Miao albums as representations of ethnic minorities, or more precisely reflections of Confucian ideological culture. It is fair to say that the album has more to do with Han Chinese culture than the various ethnic minority subjects in its images: it is Han Chinese culture, endowed with hierarchy and power, which translates what the artists see in the field into images on paper, silk and other mediums. In her studies of Miao albums of Guizhou, Laura Hostetler also treats them as visual representation of Qing empire in parallel to its European contemporaries.[16] Similarly, in his studies of Asian borderlands, Patterson Giersch has briefly mentioned that "despite occasional accuracy, eighteenth-and nineteenth-century ethnographies were more representative of Chinese notions about 'barbarian' than they were empirical investigations of indigenous communities."[17] This paper will further explores how Han conventions of body and gender affected their representation of non-Han.

This paper draws on two main bodies of primary sources, visual ethnography and textual travel literatures and local gazetteers. It contests how the bodies of non-Han were constructed through different visual and textual forms. In her studies of the ethnographic illustrations of Taiwan,[18] Teng also notes the importance of the image, claiming that "[t]hese pictures were an important supplement to Qing ethnographic texts, which focused on customs and devoted little space to descriptions of physical difference." And "[i]n ethnographic illustrations, we find the bodies that are largely missing from Qing ethnographic writing about the Taiwan indigenes."[19] Although the metaphors of some body characteristics were more standardised than others, to a large extent, it is in parallel with Teng's observation: images symbolised the bodies of non-Han in more systemic ways than textual materials, such as

[14] Livingstone 1998, p. 14.
[15] Varutti 2010, pp. 69-82; Laing & Crouch 2009, pp. 127-141; Jonsson 2000, pp. 56-82; Schein 1997, pp. 69-98.
[16] Hostetler 2001; id. 2000, pp. 623-662; id. 2007, pp. 79-97; Hostetler & Deal 2006.
[17] Giersch 2006, p. 74.
[18] Teng 2003, pp. 451-487.
[19] Teng 2004, pp. 150-151.

travel accounts and local gazetteers. This paper thus cherishes the value of images for historical analysis and also considers the relationship between text and image, refreshing our understanding of their interactions.

This paper is divided into three parts. First, it highlights specific aspects of the physiognomy assigned to non-Han, such as deep-set and yellow eyes, high or hooked noses, red hair, and white teeth. Subsequently, turning to the depictions of feet, it interrogates the power generated through representation of a pair of big and exposed ethnic minority women's feet, by contrasting this with the practice of foot binding of upper class Han Chinese. Finally, by shedding light on a genre of hardly explored depictions of naked women's bodies: *Duanqun Miao* 短裙苗 of Guizhou at work and *Shui Baiyi* 水百夷 of Yunnan bathing in a river, the last section adds new dimensions to the intersecting stories of body, sexuality and ethnicity, challenging the traditional understanding of visual representation of nakedness in late imperial China.

1. Delineating a Typical non-Han Face in the Southwest: Dark Skin, Deep Eyes, White Teeth and Hooked Nose

Among all the physical traits, skin colour seems to be one of the most frequently described characteristics. For example, in *Dianlüe* 滇畧 (A Brief Account of Yunnan), a book introducing the customs of Yunnan in Ming Dynasty, the Hala 哈剌 people were described as follows: "the skin colour for both women and men are as black as lacquer" (男女色黑如漆); on the Gula 古剌 we also read "the skin colour of both men and women are extremely black" (男女色黑尤甚).[20] In *Nanzhao Yeshi* 南詔野史 (An Unofficial History of Nanzhao Kingdom), a Ming-dynasty work, the description of the Hala 哈喇 stated that "both men and women are black" (男女色黑),[21] and on the Heipu 黑鋪 that "their face and body are as dark as the colour of dawn" (形容黎黑).[22]

The Miao albums did not depict the non-Han in black skin in a systemic way, but blackness was also visualised in some Miao album images. If, for example, one looks at "Muji Tusuo" 拇雞圖說 (Image and Text for Muji)[23] (Fig. 1) as it appears in the copy of *Diannan Zhongren Quantu* 滇南種人全圖 (The Complete Images of Ethnic Groups in Southern Yunnan) stored in the collection of the Library of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, all of the figures including women, men and children were painted in black.

[20] *Dianlüe*, 9: 20.
[21] *Nanzhao Yeshi*, p. 160
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[23] Many of the titles of ethnic groups in Ming and Qing dynasties are no longer used in contemporary China as these were reclassified and renamed. For more details on ethnic classification, see Mullaney 2011, and id. 2004, pp. 207-241.

Fig. 1, Anoymous, "Muji Tushuo" 拇雞圖說, in *Diannan Zhongren Quantu* 滇南種人全圖 (The Complete Images of Ethnic Groups in Southern Yunnan), undated, Library of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing.

Scholarship on European cultural imperialism shows the power of the body in constructing racial hierarchy.[24] One of the most obvious aspects is the concern with skin colour, with white skin being regarded as a privileged colour among Europeans, even the relatively white in the colony being unable to compete with the European white, and brown and black skin signifying non-European inferiority.[25] In his study of the construction of race in modern China, Frank Dikötter has briefly mentioned the hierarchy of races in imperial China and the symbolism of skin colour. For instance, black was employed to represent the most remote part of the geographically known world, and African slaves were regarded as black as coal.[26] Texts on southwest non-Han subjects used a new vocabulary to represent people with black skin, such as *sehei ruqi* 色黑如漆 (as black as lacquer) and *lihei* 黎黑 (as dark as the dawn), as what discussed above. Skin colour was one aspect of making racial differences and often

[24] Ballantyne & Burton 2005.
[25] Hall 2004, p. 49.
[26] Dikötter 1992, pp. 12-16.

metaphors of blackness indicate the inferior status of many ethnic minorities in the imagined world order of late imperial China. However, it is important also to realise that when it comes to skin colours there are ethnic groups, like the Lolo – officially classified as Yi in modern China – who distinguish between black and white. Black refers to the landlords, nobles and wealthy tribal elite, while white to their landless subjects/slaves. By contrast to the Han Chinese culture, blackness indicates high status within the Lolo-Yi. The physical characteristics can function totally differently within different contexts by different authorities.

Secondly, distinctive eyes and noses are other physical parts with which the Han Chinese were highly concerned. For example, in Fig. 2, an image of Black Lolo in an album in the Wellcome Trust collection, a group of men are hunting in the mountains. The commentary in the album reports:

> 羅羅，有黑白二種，黑者其人皆深目長身黑面而齒白鉤鼻。[27]
>
> Within the Lolo there are two sorts: the black and the white. The black all have deep eyes, long bodies and black faces, but their teeth are white and noses hooked.

In the image, we can clearly see the hooked nose of the Black Lolo, in particular the one on the red horse. The side view of his face appears designed to highlight his nose. In *Zhuyi Kao* 諸夷考 (Research on All Barbarians), You Pu 遊樸 wrote a description of the Maren 馬人 as "having deep eyes and a pig's snout" (深目，豭喙).[28] Additionally, eye colour was another concern, with the Di Yanggui 地羊鬼 described in *Dianlüe* as having "short hair and yellow eyes" (短髮黃睛), [29] and the Yeren 野人 as having "red hair and yellow eyes" (赤發黃睛).[30] Thus the ethnic minorities in the southwest were represented through a distinct physiognomy, among which dark skin, deep eyes and hooked and high noses comprised the main physical traits. These non-Han facial traits differed enormously from what was perceived as the typical physiognomy of fortunate, rich and aristocratic Han Chinese, as discussed in *Wanbao Quanshu* 萬寶全書 (Complete Book of Myriad Treasures), section 'Xiangfa Men' 相法門 (Physiognomy).[31] It was also differentiated from the physiognomy of emperors, and well-known officials of various dynasties who in *Sancai Tuihui* 三才圖會 (Illustrations of Three Powers) were depicted as having square foreheads, and thick earlobes.[32] Non-Han bodies were thus understood culturally and the non-

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[27] *Untitled Miao album of Wellcome Trust Collection.*
[28] *Zhuyi Kao*, p. 22.
[29] *Dianlüe*, 9: 20.
[30] *Daoguang Yunnan Tongzhi*, p. 391.
[31] *Xinke Tianru Zhang Xiansheng jingxuan Shiqu hui yao Wanbao quanshu*, pp. 209-218.
[32] *Sancai Tuihui*, pp. 523-614.

Han subject was assumed to have certain types of physiognomy through which racial differences and hierarchy were conveyed. Although these physical characteristics examined above were not actually standardised for every ethnic group, it is evidential that many distinctive physical traits were manipulated to represent the non-Han in the southwestern China. In spite of its dispersed form, the body was a useful medium widely used in Chinese ethnographic sources.

Fig. 2, Anonymous, "Hei Lolo" 黑羅羅,
in an untitled album (of 28 entries),
undated, Wellcome Trust collection, London.

2. Highlighting Xianzu 跣足 *(bare feet)*

Analysing the representation of the southwestern non-Han body, feet are an important aspect that should not be omitted, since textual references to bare feet and subjects not wearing shoes are pervasive: the word *Xianzu* 跣足 (bare feet) appears frequently among late imperial ethnographic sources.[33] Meanwhile, it is

[33] For example, the descriptions of Bai Lolo 白羅羅, Woni 窩泥, Lixie 力些 and Hei Ganyi 黑幹夷 in the section of 'Dianyun Yizhong' 滇雲夷種 (The Barbarians in Yunnan) in *Dian*

even more noticeable that pairs of big bare feet are vividly depicted in Miao album representations of a number of ethnic minority groups. The rhetoric of feet was represented in images in more systemic ways than through text. This section brings the representation of feet to the fore, trying to decipher the visual code of a pair of ethnographic feet and to examine how power relations were constructed and conveyed through feet.

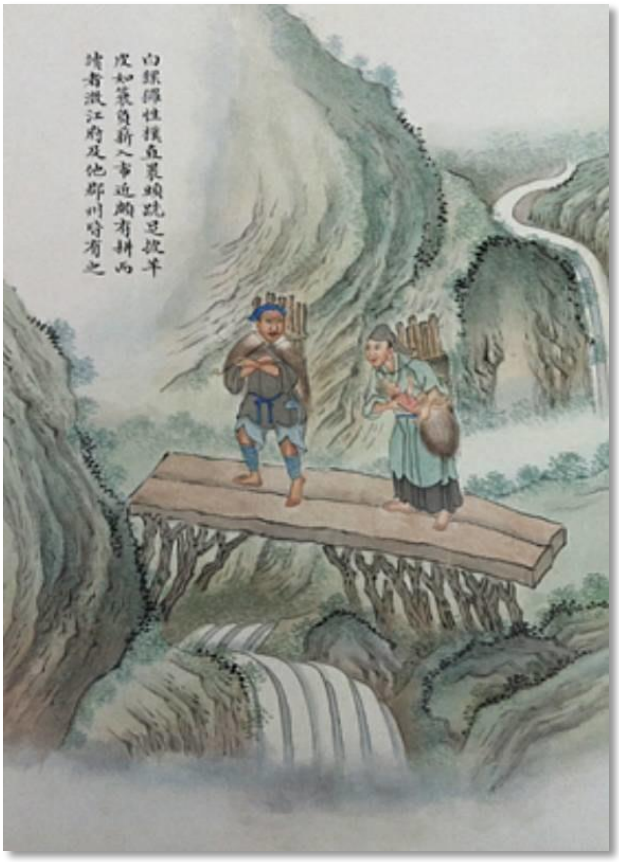

Fig. 3, Li Gu 李沽, "Bai Lolo" 白羅羅, in an album of *Yiren Tushuo Mulu* 夷人圖說目錄 (Image and Texts of Ethnic Minorities) (of 108 album leaves), 1818, Library of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing.

In the centre of an album leaf depicting the Bai Lolo, in *Yiren Tushuo Mulu* 夷人圖說目錄 (Image and Texts of Ethnic Minorities) (Fig. 3), a man and a woman

Xiaoji, pp. 144-154. Also 'xianzu' appeared in the descriptions of many ethnic groups in the sections of 'Zhiman' 志蠻 (Talking of the Barbarians), in *Dianhai Yuheng Zhi*, pp. 228-238.

holding firewood on their backs stand on a wooden bridge across a stream. Both of them wear distinctive garments: a decorative goatskin bag hangs from the woman's waist, and a cloak, also made of goatskin, is worn on the man's shoulders. Neither of them is wearing shoes. The inscription on the top left of the image claims that "the characteristics of the Bai Lolo are purity and frankness. They wear scarves over their hair and are bare-footed and clad with goatskins as raincoats."[34] Being bare-footed was doubly stressed through both image and text in Miao albums.

Fig. 4, Anoymous, "Tu Gelao" 土仡佬, in an album *Qianmiao Tushuo* 黔苗圖說 (Image and Text of Miao in Guizhou) (of 57 entries), undated, Harvard-Yenching Rare Book Collections, Cambridge, MA.

[34] *Yiren Tushuo Mulu*.

In an image of the Tu Gelao 土犵狫 (Fig. 4), a man lifts up his leg and one can clearly see the sole of his foot. The paired text relates that they applied a unique oil to the bottom of the foot so that they could walk without shoes. The paired poem tells:

> 犵狫由來疾苦多，威寧此輩更蹉跎。傭工蓑衣油搽足，日竄山原快似梭。[35]

> For a long time, Gelao lived a very bitter and tough life,
> Those in Weining were even more miserable. Like servants.
> They wear straw raincoats and apply oil to the soles of their feet,
> As fast as a moving shuttle, they wander around the mountains and the plains.

The poem tells of the Gelao's low status and their custom of applying oil to the soles of their feet. The last sentence of the poem, describing the Gelao walking fast without shoes, springs from the poet's imagination. Wearing proper garments was core to the idea of rites, as the following text quoted from *Liji* suggests:

> 凡人之所以為人者，禮義也。禮義之始，在於正容體，齊顏色，順辭令。容體正，顏色齊，辭令順，而後禮義備。[36]

> Rites are essential to make humans human; ritual starts with proper clothes, colours and speech, which in turn lead to the complement of rites.

Thus proper wear was regarded as the most essential and basic element of the rites which make humans human; those non-Han subjects without shoes were not regarded as being properly dressed, and therefore not fitting into the clothing regulation and order of the ritually defined society. Although classics like *Liji* has been written much earlier, they remained popular in late imperial daily life. Patricia Ebrey observes that "in later centuries scholars who wished to analyse or formulate these domestic ancestor-oriented rites invariably draw from these texts directly or indirectly."[37] Thus classics of rites were important sources that shaped the understanding of common people's daily lives in late imperial China.[38] The reference to *Liji* is highly relevant to the discussion of clothing regulations here.

Recognising the importance of clothing in constructing the Chinese social hierarchy and the regulation of people's activities, Zujie Yuan has examined the clothing system under the Ming Dynasty.[39] Yuan observes that the Great Ming

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[35] *Qianmiao Tushuo*.
[36] *Liji*, p. 437.
[37] Ebrey 1991, pp. 18-19.
[38] For the history of rites in China, also see Chow 1994; McDermott 1999.
[39] Yuan 2007, pp. 181-212.

Commandment issued in 1368 contains specific regulations for people of different social status regarding colour, form, ornament and materials for clothes, as an expression of an idealised stable society.[40] The destitute were restricted to using certain less expensive materials and colours.[41] In the Miao albums, almost all the ethnic minorities were depicted in casual clothes, which did not differ greatly from what worn by peasants men in *Gengzhi Tu*.[42] Highlighting their exposed bare feet or their habits of not wearing shoes was thus designed to represent the impoverishment of non-Han society.

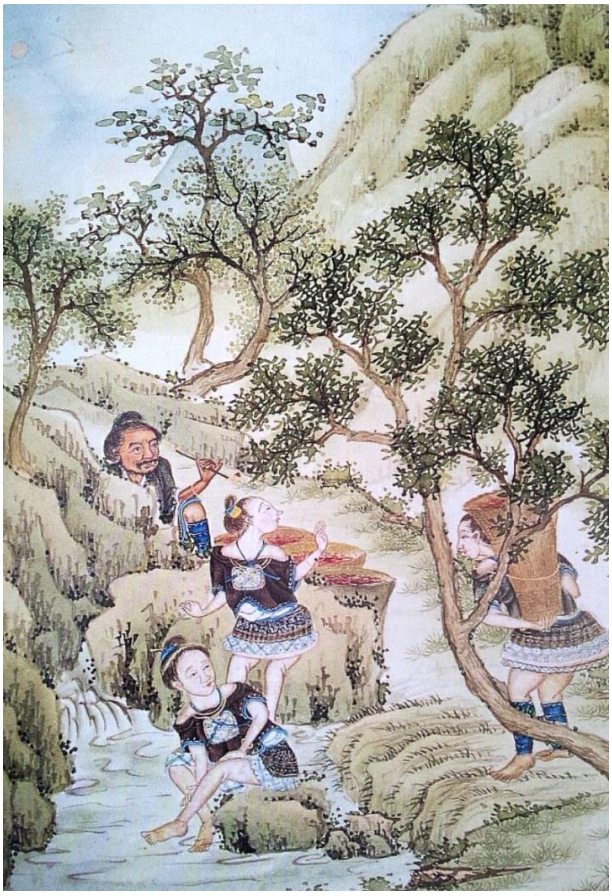

Fig. 5, anonymous, "Duanqun Miao" 短裙苗, in album of *Nongsang Yahua* 農桑雅化 (Agriculture in Elegance) (of 40 leaves in two volumes), undated, British Library, London (series 16595).

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 187, 200-208.
[41] Nengfu Huang & Juanjuan Chen 2014, pp. 51-52.
[42] *Yuzhi Gengzhi Tu.*

Another layer of meanings in spotlighting bare feet was inseparable from the practice of footbinding among Han Chinese in the imperial period. Women's exposed feet are highlighted in the Miao albums. For example, in the image of the *Duanqun Miao* (Fig. 5), an album at the British Library which depicts one Miao man and three Miao women wearing short skirts. The woman seated on a rock in the foreground raises her leg to wash. The stream is clear and her feet are clearly visible. Another woman, standing behind and holding a basket on her back, is also not wearing shoes.

The practice of footbinding among young girls was popularised after the Tang Dynasty.[43] It persisted for several centuries, until, in the second half of the nineteenth century, bound feet came to be regarded as emblems of the backwardness of China and a symbol of female oppression; the "heavenly foot" movement was advocated instead. The first anti-footbinding society was established in Amoy in 1874, led by European missionaries, and was later recognised by Chinese intellectuals. Binding feet, which was regarded as a reflection of the depressed status of women in a patriarchal society, was often discussed in connection with China's reputation, fate and modernisation.[44]

The problematic historiography interpreting footbinding was shaped in the nineteenth century and has been challenged by several scholars.[45] Works by Dorothy Ko have made the greatest contribution to a proper understanding of the practice in imperial China.[46]

One of Ko's core arguments is that not every woman bound her feet, but it was rather a privilege for girls from well-off families. The practice of footbinding was thus also a metaphor for social hierarchy. In their collective article, Melissa Brown and others have gathered empirical evidence collected from a large sample of 7,314 rural women living in Sichuan, Northern, Central, and Southwestern China during the early twentieth century, hence offering insights into the meanings of footbinding, and revealing how gender difference was actually erased among the destitute.[47]

In an ethnographic context, Dorothy Ko and Susan Mann suggest that footbinding was strongly associated with the superiority of Han Chinese civilisation.[48] Those others who did not practice footbinding were regarded as barbarians, and the ethnic others who also practiced footbinding were seen as superior to those who did not.[49] The Qing Dynasty was ruled by the Manchus, an ethnic group from Northern China, and Manchu women were

[43] For the discussions on the origins of footbinding, see Ko 2005, pp. 109-144.
[44] For the history of footbinding and the anti-footbinding movement, see Whitefield 2008, pp. 203-212; Hong 1997.
[45] Bray, 2013; Ebrey 1999, pp. 1-34.
[46] Ko 2008, pp. 11-13.
[47] Brown, Bossen, Gates and Satterthwaite-Phillips 2012, pp. 1035-1067.
[48] Ko 1997, pp. 10-14; Mann 2011, pp. 169-80.
[49] Ko 1997, pp. 10-14.

forbidden to bind their feet. Footbinding, therefore, was also a marker of ethnic boundaries separating Manchu from Han.[50]

There are cross-cutting concerns here with gender norms, and with status and occupation. The representation of feet is not simply about the Han wearing shoes and hiding their feet, while the ethnic minorities did not wear shoes and did not perform foot binding. Rather, it reflects the construction of Han-on-Han class-status attributes revolving around labour and the values of gendered work. The representation of feet in Chinese culture indeed demonstrates the complexity of overlapping gender, ethnicity and social-status markers. The only aristocracy depicted in the Miao albums, who belonged to the Black Lolo, were shown wearing shoes. Moreover, in those images of *Nüguan* 女官 (female government officials), the wife of Black Lolo leader and the female ruler of the tribe after the death of her husband, almost all the figures in the yard wore shoes. The specific attention to feet in China's imperial images seems to be a unique characteristic that the European imperial experiences did not share.

3. Naked Female Bodies: Images of the Duanqun Miao *and* Shui Baiyi

Apart from their bare feet, the bodies of non-Han in some images were semi-naked or naked. In addition to expressing the poverty of the non-Han, more meanings were produced by this, especially when women were depicted naked. Naked women appeared in two popular scenes in Miao albums. One of these shows the *Duanqun Miao* (short-skirt Miao) of Guizhou at work, and the other the *Shui Baiyi* of Yunnan bathing in a river.[51] These images are not only valuable for us to analyse the intersections of body of ethnic minority women, sexuality and imperial power, but also helpful to explore and even challenge current understanding of visual culture of nudity and nakedness in late imperial China.

Although nudity was absent from traditional Chinese art and the nude was a new art form in China, influenced by European artistic traditions emerging in the late Qing and Republican periods,[52] it is important to note that there were some images depicting the naked female body. Based on the scrutiny of *Meiren hua* 美人畫 (a genre of paintings of beautiful ladies), for example, James Cahill argues that although "the female nude was never a separate genre in China, as it was in European painting, a Chinese ideal of female corporeal beauty and sexiness did exist."[53] Both 'nudity' and 'nakedness' are translated as *luo* 裸 in Chinese, but bear different meanings in European art. According to Kenneth Clark, "to be naked is to be deprived of our clothes, and the word implies some of the embarrassment most of us feel in that condition. The word 'nude', on the other hand, carries, in educated

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
[51] The *Shui Baiyi* are officially recognised as Dai 傣 in the People's republic of China.
[52] Zhang 2007, pp. 121-162; Waara 2007, pp. 163-197; Sun 2011, pp. 271-300.
[53] Cahill 2010, p. 191.

usage, no uncomfortable overtone."[54] In my discussion of the images of Miao women, 'nakedness' is a better translation of the Chinese word *luo*, since the artists of the Miao albums tried to create a sense of embarrassment around images featuring the naked female body. When added to the naked women depicted in *Meiren hua*, the imagery of the Miao albums provides new dimensions to our understanding of the representation of the body in Chinese visual culture.

Regarding the images of *Duanqun Miao*, the length of the women's skirt varies; some may reach to the knees, but others might be extremely short, just covering the hip. For example, in Fig. 6, a *Duanqun Miao* image in the collections of the British Library, two Miao women stand with hoes and two Miao men squat to eat. The skirts of these two Miao women are indeed short. The text on the left reports: "women use one floral cloth to cover (the body), and it reaches the shin" (婦女用花布一幅横掩及骭).[55] The text and the image obviously contradict one another: rather than reaching the shin, the skirt in the image just reaches the very top of the thigh, only covering the hip. The breasts of the woman holding a hoe over the shoulder are deliberately exposed and the belly of the woman next to her is also visible.

Fig. 6, Anonymous, "Duan Qunmiao" 短裙苗, in an album of *Guizhou Quanqian Miaotu* 贵州全黔苗图 (Complete Images of Miao in Guizhou) (of 40 album leaves), undated, British Library, London (Or 13504) (microfilm)

[54] Clark 1971, p. 3.
[55] *Guizhou Quanqian Miaotu*.

Similarly, in another image of *Duanquan Miao* (Fig. 7) held by the Pitt Rivers Museum, a group of Miao walk in the mountains bearing baskets of grass on their backs. The two women on the right (enlarged) image also wear extremely short skirts. The accompanying text states that "women's clothing does not have sleeves. The front part of the garment does not reach the belly, and the back part does not even cover the waist. They do not wear trousers and the length of their skirt is five inches, with many small and thick pleats. Such skirts can only cover their shame."[56] The skirt in the image is much shorter than that described in the text. We see the black underwear of the Miao woman on the left and even the exposed private parts of the woman on the right. Moreover, in another image of *Duan Qunmiao* in *Miaoman Tushuo* 苗蠻圖說 (Image and Text of Miao Barbarians) (Fig. 8), in the collections of the Harvard-Yenching Library, we see a group of Miao women, some of whom are sitting on the ground and others standing; a Miao man on the right, seemingly walking away, turns his eyes towards the group of women. All of their skirts are very short, and two among them are extremely so. It seems that a Miao woman with a basket and wearing a very short skirt is a standard icon for images of the *Duanqun Miao* across several Miao albums.

Fig. 7a. Anonymous, "Duan Qunmiao" 短裙苗,
in an untitled album, undated, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

[56] "Duan Qunmiao" in an untitled album in Pitt Rivers Museum.

Fig. 7b. (Enlarged image of the two figures on the right in Fig. 7.a)

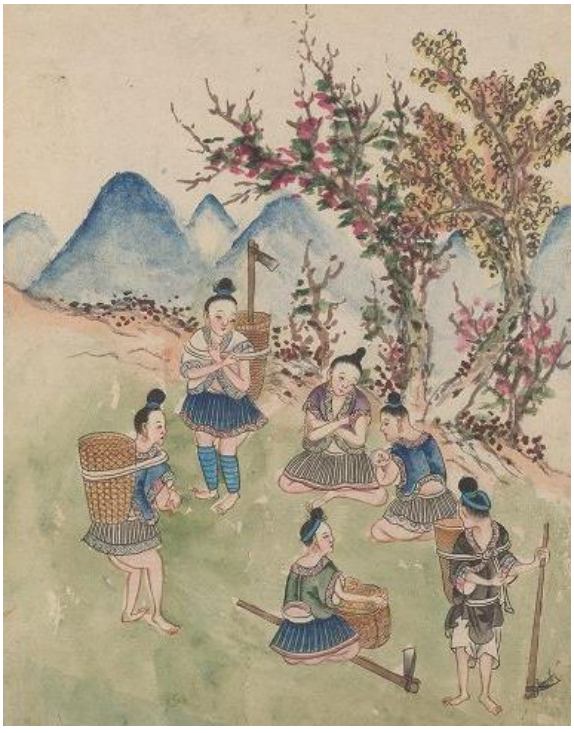

Fig. 8, "Duanquan Miao" 短裙苗, in an album of *Miaoman Tushuo* 苗蠻圖說 (Image and Text of Miao Barbarian) (of 41 album leaves), undated, Harvard-Yenching Library.

These scenes share several common features. Firstly, women's skirts are extremely short, much shorter than those described in the text. Secondly, the extremely short skirt deliberately leaves the women's bodies naked, exposing even the breasts and private parts. Thirdly, the presence of both women and men in the images sets the naked female body in a public scene. The *Duanqun Miao* case here is a good example of the tensions between text and image. The power of representing the Miao being generated primarily through images of the naked female body makes clear the benefits of investigating images as historical evidence.

Fig. 9, Li Gu 李沽, "Shui Baiyi" 水百彝, in an album of *Yiren Tushuo Mulu* 夷人圖說目錄 (Image and Texts of Ethnic Minorities) (of 108 album leaves), 1818, Library of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing.

In addition to the *Duanqun Miao*, images of the *Shui Baiyi* also contain naked women. One scene (Fig. 9) from the album of *Yiren Tushuo Mulu* 夷人圖說目錄 (Image and Texts of Ethnic Minorities) depicts three *Shui Baiyi* women bathing

in the river while two men pass by; one of the men looks towards the bathers. The first woman, the front of whose body faces the audience, holds a child on her back, part of her body being covered by the straps of the baby carrier. A second woman, to the left of the first, turns her side towards the audience and holds a towel around her neck; her breast is exposed. The third woman has her back to the viewer and also holds a bath towel around her neck. She is very thin, and her ribs are visible.

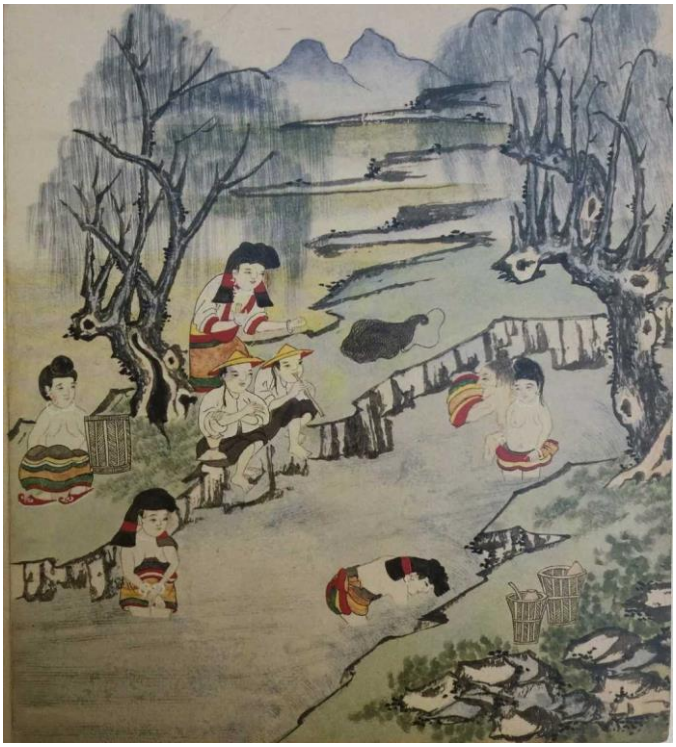

Fig. 10, He Changgeng 贺长庚, "Shui Baiyi" 水摆夷, in an album of *Yixi Yinan Yiren Tushuo* 滇省迤西迤南夷人图说 (Image and Text of Ethnic Minorities in Yixi and Yinan of Yunnan) (of 44 album leaves), 1788, Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Leipzig.

Similar scenes of *Shui Baiyi* bathing can be found in many other albums, including *Diansheng Yixi Yinan Yiren Tushuo* 滇省迤西迤南夷人图说 (Image and Text of Ethnic Minorities in Yixi and Yinan of Yunnan) held in the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig (Fig. 10), *Yunnan Yingzhi Miaoman Tuce* 雲南營制苗蠻圖冊 (Album of barbarians in Yunnan for Military Use) at the Wellcome Trust, London (Fig. 11) and *Yunnan Sanyi Baiman Tu Quanbu* 雲南三迤百蠻圖全部 (Complete Image of Hundreds of Barbarians in Three Parts of Yunnan) in

the Bodleian library, Oxford (Fig. 12). In addition to these album leaves, a painting of a Baiyi bathing scene preserved in the Museum of Yunnan also shares a similar composition with men on the riverside watching women bathing in the river; the women's legs are deep in the river, and their upper bodies are entirely naked.[57] It seems such bathing scenes featuring the naked female body is a visual grammar of depicting the non-Han subject.

Fig. 11, Zhao Jiuzhou 趙九洲, "Shui Baiyi" 水擺衣, in an album of *Yunnan Yingzhi Miaoman Tuce* 雲南營制苗蠻圖冊 (*Album of barbarians in Yunnan for Military Use*), undated (before 1820), Wellcome Trust Collection, London.

[57] Lifen Xiong 2012, pp. 47-52.

Fig. 12, "Shui Baiyi" 水百彝, in an album of *Yunnan Sanyi Baiman Tu Quanbu* 雲南三迤百蠻圖全部 (Complete Image of Hundreds of Barbarians in Three Parts of Yunnan), Bodleian library, Oxford.

The image of *Shui Baiyi* having bath has also been noted by Mann and Giersch, and both of them have linked it to the narratives of sexualizing ethnic others in colonial culture.[58] Mann argues that "in colonial encounters, then, sex and gender roles become a powerful proxy for who 'we' or 'they' really are: 'we' are normal, 'they' are perverse or exotic."[59] The role of sexuality in representing the non-Han is also mentioned briefly in Julian Ward's engagement with Xu Xiake's Ming-era account of travel in West Yunnan, and Norma Diamond's examination of Han fantasies of Miao women and poison.[60] Through the analysis of a set of images of *Shui Baiyi* at

[58] Giersch 2006, p. 5; Mann 2011, pp. 173-176.
[59] Mann 2011, p. 173.
[60] Ward 2001, pp. 133-134; Diamond 1988, pp. 1-25.

bathing, together with the images of Miao with extremely short skirt, more efforts have been put here to demonstrate the imperial culture of sexualising others in late imperial China.

The phenomenon of sexualising the other seems to have been widespread among colonizers across different historical epochs. After the publication of Ronald Hyam's *Empire and Sexuality: the British Experience*, which examines how race relations in the British Empire were affected by sexual attitudes and practices,[61] more and more scholars of imperial history have become willing to consider the remarkable role of sexuality in colonial encounters and imperial experiences.[62] Antoinette Burton, for example, has noted that colonised people were assumed to have carnal bodies with much stronger sexual desires and abilities, which were, however, less regulated.[63]

Sexuality was brought to the fore in some works focusing on ethnic minorities in contemporary China. For example, Sandra Hyde reveals that in the rural Dai minority area of Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, Han prostitutes from Sichuan and Guizhou dress like Dai women in order to enhance their erotic allure to visiting Han businessmen.[64] Focusing on the Mosuo, an ethnic group in West Yunnan, known as a country of women by Han Chinese, Christina Mathieu uncovers Han views of Mosuo sexuality as simultaneously alluring, dirty and primitive.[65] Eileen Walsh also explores the Mosuo engagement with ethnic tourism by considering sexuality.[66]

The anthropologist Louisa Schein demonstrates how the Miao were represented as exotic, erotic, irreducibly rural and prototypically female, by cosmopolitan Han Chinese in the 1980s.[67] Cherlene Makeley also explored the "erotics of the exotic" in regard to Sino-Tibetan women.[68] The eroticisation of ethnic minorities in the PRC is thus widely applied to China's various ethnic minorities, including the Mosuo, Dai, Miao and Tibetan peoples.

Miao albums depicted intimate activities and the copulation of non-Han women and men, while authors in travel accounts and local gazeteers vividly expressed their disgust and surprise on the marriage customs and on the unconstrained sexual behaviors of widows and virgins. The images of short-skirt Miao and *Shui Baiyi*, showing the naked or semi-

[61] Hyam 1990. Hyam's pioneering contribution in taking sexuality seriously in Imperialism studies is remarkable, but it should be noted that several aspects of his monograph have been criticised by numerous historians for its refusal to place the study of sexual behaviour within a wider context of gender seen as a relation of power. See Fieldhouse 1994, pp. 512-513.
[62] Aldrich 2013, pp. 74-99.
[63] Burton 2016, pp. 511-526.
[64] Hyde 2001, pp. 333-348.
[65] Mathieu 1999, pp. 81-105.
[66] Walsh 2005, pp. 448-486.
[67] Schein 2000, pp. 100-131.
[68] Makley 2002, pp. 575-630.

naked female body also constitute the visual narratives of the sexualised ethnic minorities in particular through the gaze of male Han Chinese.

In order to understand the power of representations of the naked non-Han female body, it is essential to understand the visual culture of the body among Han Chinese. Several art historians have observed that the nude body was not a separate genre, especially when compared to its status in European art. In responding to this question, the works of two scholars, John Hay and Francois Jullien, are significant. From the perspective of how the body was understood in Chinese culture, Hay asserts that the body is invisible in Chinese art, being "dispersed through metaphors locating it in the natural world by transportational resonance and brushwork that embodied the cosmic-human reality of *qi*, or energy."[69] In Chinese culture, the human body is privileged as the living nexus of *qi*.[70] Thus, the representation of the body in Chinese art becomes a question of how to represent *qi*, and clothing turns out to be more useful in this regard than flesh.[71]

Jullien also claims that nudity was an impossibility in Chinese visual art. He notes some of the naked bodies in erotic paintings, but argues that when bodies appear in the nude form, these were depicted as "formless, neither clearly stylized nor anatomically accurate." He wonders, why Chinese artists were less interested in the human body, while material cultures were depicted in more details.[72] Approaching these questions, Jullien has probed the conceptualisation of the body from the perspective of the unique Chinese system of philosophy and anatomy.[73] Both Hay and Jullien's observations and investigations of the general absence of nudity in Chinese art are convincing and fascinating, but the attention paid to some images of nakedness should also not be ignored.

An equally important question is in what context women's bodies were depicted naked. Like Cahill's observation of female courtesans' nakedness in *Meiren hua*, I have shown the nakedness of *Duanqun Miao* and *Shui Baiyi* women's bodies in the images above.[74] One of the principal questions concerned here is why images of naked women were rationalised when placed in an erotic or ethnographic context. This paper suggests that the revelation of the naked images of Miao albums actually does not contradict John Hay and Francois Jullien's discussion of the "impossible nude" in Chinese art. Their works instead strengthen the argument of this paper. The art and power of representation lay in portraying cultural taboos. The non-Han in the southwest borderland were eroticised and exoticised through the representation of these images with women's naked body.

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[69] Hay 1994, pp. 42-77.
[70] Hay 1983, pp. 74-105.
[71] Hay 1994, pp. 42-45.
[72] Jullien 2000, pp. 49-54.
[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-52.
[74] Cahill 2010, pp. 191-192.

Conclusion

By bringing the bodies of non-Han to the fore, this paper has deciphered the visual codes of an ethnographic body in the southwest borderland of late imperial China. By linking them to the context of the culture of body, gender and sexuality among Han Chinese, it has examined how the power of representation was produced for late imperial Miao album viewers. The same gender structure functioned efficiently both in a class and ethnographic context. In other words, the gendered construction of social hierarchy in Han Chinese culture was refashioned in an ethnographic context. The social hierarchy embodied through gender is central to understand the sense of superiority felt by the Han Chinese in their imagined blueprint of world order. In the case of the Miao albums, the power of gender in representation is constructed through intersection with social class, and this is also one of the sources through which its images derive their power.

Echoing the Tang narratives of the non-Han body, the fragrant body of Emperor Qianlong's concubine, and indigenous bodies in Taiwan mentioned in the introduction, this paper has demonstrated that Miao albums and local ethnography portrayed the southwestern non-Han body with a different physiognomy, featuring skin colour, hair, eyes, noses, teeth, and mouths. Compared to *Shanhai Jing* 山海經 (The Classic of Mountains and Seas), another very popular genre where ethnic others are depicted as having a beast-like human body, Miao albums clearly avoid such animal metaphors in representing the bodies of the alien.[75] This is an important change in the tactic of producing the "visual reality" of ethnicity in late imperial China. In this respect, David Livingston has argued that there is a vital connection between the practices of representation and the ideal of authenticity.[76] He points out that "if we forever remain at the surface signs and hold the presence of the other and the presence behind the text as fictions, as mere rhetorical tropes, we will inevitably miss the *experience* of encounter."[77] This paper has devoted to the process of conceptualising and visualising human differences through body mediums and the leading role of gender and body ideas in translating the Miao lives into images.

When turning to the 19th and 20th centuries, multiple colonial powers were involved in this Asian borderland area, and relevant images of the non-Han peoples and lands were produced by different colonial powers. These include the Wa in British colonial Burma, and the Miao (Hmong) in French controlled Tonkin.[78] The visual codes of depicting the bodies of ethnic minorities by varied

[75] The beast-like human bodies were widespread in many volumes in *Shanhai Jing*. For a discussion of animal metaphors in representing ethnic others in China, see Fiskesjö 2011, pp. 57-79.
[76] Livingstone 1998, pp. 13-19.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[78] Michaud 2013, pp. 1-46, and id. 2007; Raymond 2013, pp. 221-241.

authorities were shaped by the cultural structure of their respective colonial orders. The case of Miao albums tells some colonial experiences specifically associated with late imperial China. In terms of the representation of body, Chinese ethnography showed specific interest in the feet of non-Han in the frontier. A pair of big and exposed non-Han feet were depicted systemically in the Miao albums. On the one side, the bare feet without shoes indicated the impoverished status of non-Han; on the other side, the exposed women's feet contrasted substantially to the practice of footbinding by upper-class Han women. There are cross-cutting concerns here with gender norms, and with status and occupation. The culture of footbinding specifically in China also symbolises the Chinese imperial and cultural trajectories of visual regimes.

Sexualising the domestic ethnic minorities or foreigners seems to be very common, appearing across many cultural systems and historical epochs. To understand the role of sexuality in representing the non-Han in late imperial China, it is crucial to examine Han Chinese sexual regulations. Focusing on two sets of images of Yunnan and Guizhou, this paper has analysed the visual grammar of depictions of *Duanqun Miao* and *Shui Baiyi*, in which women's bodies were largely exposed. Such grammar contrasts with the conventional understanding of the absence of nudity and nakedness in pre-modern Chinese visual culture. This contrast also suggests that the cultural taboos of body and sexuality in Han Chinese culture became a powerful tool in the visual representation of the peoples in the frontier. To conclude, from the perspective of bodies as indicators of identity, this paper has revealed that the visual grammar of body exhibits a superior and inferior binary coding, weaving a web of narrative of human variation, and constituting China's imperial order.

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REVIEWS

Nicolas Standaert, *Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy. Travelling Books, Community Networks, Intercultural Arguments*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I. Vol. 75, Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2012, ISBN 978-88-7041-375-5, 473 pp. €60.00;
Nicolas Standaert, "Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy: The Role of Christian Communities", in Ines G. Županov and Pierre Antoine Fabre (eds.), *The Rites Controversies in the Early Modern World,* Series: Studies in Christian Mission, Vol. 53, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018 (ISBN-13: 978-9004360068, xxiv+403 pp. $165.00), pp. 50-67;
Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy: From China to Rome", *ibidem*, pp. 29-49;
Michela Catto, "Atheism: A Word Travelling to and Fro Between Europe and China", *ibidem*, pp. 68-88.
Reviewed by Paolo Santangelo (Sapienza University of Rome)

Nicolas Standaert, among his several studies on the Jesuits' dialogue with Chinese culture, is author of the volume *Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy: Travelling Books, Community Networks* (2012), and of the article "Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy: The Role of Christian Communities" (2018). In both works, he presents the reaction of Jesuits and Chinese converts to the victory of the theses against the Christians' practice of Chinese rites. In the recent essay (2018) further reflections delve into the role of Chinese communities and networks in answering to the prohibition of rites. More specifically, the author studies the converts' letters written to the Pope against the prohibition of rites. Most of these documents are held by the Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus (*Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, ARSI*). The volume (2012) is the visual and conceptual result of years of researches in European archives, especially Rome and Prague, and contains the reproduction of the original text of the letters in Chinese and Latin (pp. 303-453), several manuscripts with the Latin translations, and extensive quotation in English rendering, as well as the author's comments and reflections on the material under the perspectives of transmission of knowledge and intercultural hermeneutics, the consequent cultural destabilization, and the analysis of networks of Chinese converted communities. The first chapter deals with the historical reconstruction of the preparation, collection and publication of the texts, the second on the description of sources and their global circulation, the third on the social and geographical origin of their authors, and the fourth on argumentations, hermeneutics, and interpretation processes. The second part of the book consists of the reproduction of the major documents discussed (pp.

303-453). Several illustrations with printed documents, title pages, corrected proofs, front pages, xylographic copies, correspondences, and annotations offer a lively witness of the archive materials. The volume ends with tables (pp. 277-301), indexes (pp. 455-473), and a biographical appendix on Jesuits belonging to the China mission (pp. 271-276). Indexes are arranged for persons, texts, toponyms, and subjects. Copy of other documents are reproduced among the many illustrations of the previous chapters (i.e. pp. 97-112). Other tables are inserted inside the various parts of the book (pp. 69-73,140-146, 157-169, 174-199).

As it is well known, Matteo Ricci had operated a fusion of Confucianism and Christianity, and presented Confucian morality as compatible with Christian doctrine. Most Jesuits were open towards Confucian rites, and believed that ancestor veneration and ceremonial rites in honour of Confucius were primarily social and political in nature and could therefore be practiced by the converts. Several Dominicans and Franciscans, on the contrary, claimed that these practices were idolatrous, and that all acts of respect to the sages and one's own ancestors were actually nothing less than the worship of demons and idolatrous practices. The rites controversy can be traced back to 1635, from the perplexity advanced by some missionaries on the meaning of the term *ji* (祭), "sacrifice." The Dominican Juan Bautista de Morales expressed his severe criticism few years later, in his "Seventeen Questions" presented by to the papacy in 1643. Then, in 1645, Rome's Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith condemned Chinese rites. However, on 23 March 1656, Pope Alexander VII endorsed those practices which were "favorable to Chinese customs", thereby lifting the ban and reinforcing the 1615 decrees which accepted the usage of Chinese language in liturgy. New criticism was expressed by the Dominican Francisco Varo (1627-87), and by the French vicar apostolic Charles Maigrot (1652-1730), of the *Missions Etrangères*. Maigrot accused both Chinese Christians for pagan practices, such as sacrifices to Confucius and ancestral worship, and the Jesuits for allowing the use of ambiguous Chinese names for God. In his *Edict* (1693) he prohibited the practice of rites for converts, but he faced the Chinese negative reaction. Eventually, Dominicans persuaded Pope Clement XI (r. 1700-21) that the Jesuits were making dangerous accommodations to the Chinese, and in 1704, he issued the ordinance *Cum Deus Optimus* against the superstition of Chinese rites. Prohibitions were confirmed with the apostolic constitution *Ex illa die* of 1715 and again *Ex quo Singulari* of 1742.

The defence of the compatibility of the rites with the Christian doctrine was taken by Chinese converts under the guide of Jesuits, extensively discussed in the fourth chapter of the volume. In November 1700, the Jesuits addressed a petition to the Emperor, asking his opinion about the main issues of the rites controversy, namely the use of the term Heaven, the ceremonies for Confucius and the ancestral cult. A few days later, several Jesuits were received in audience by Kangxi. In response, the Emperor agreed with the opinion expressed by the

Jesuits. This petition and the Imperial support by Kangxi were published by the Official Gazette of Beijing (*Jingbao* 京報) in 1701 and by Jesuits in a book entitled *Brevis Relatio* (*ARSI*, Jap. Sin. I, 206, fols. 1-64), which is reproduced in its entirety (pp. 422-453; see also pp. 222-223). Then, the Jesuit Vice Provincial of China Antoine Thomas (1644-1709) sent to Europe François Noël (1651-1729) and Kaspar Castner (1665-1709) in the years 1702 to 1704, to inform the Pope about the point of view of the Chinese Emperor and the converts' arguments. They presented a memorial in Latin, entitled *Summarium Nouorum Autenticorum Testimoniorum* (Summary of New Authentic Testimonies) where they wrote down their own theses, and selected Classics' quotations related to the Rites Controversy (pp. 48-60, 65-83). Divided into eight parts, the *Summarium* includes, among various documents, testimonies by the Chinese (*Testimonia Sinensium*), from the Emperor Kangxi's answer to the writings by Beijing high officials, Christian *literati* from various provinces, and not-converted *literati* (pp. 49-50). In the meantime, Antoine Thomas took a second initiative, by gathering testimonies directly from Chinese Christians. In October 1702, nineteen Christians responded to Blasius Liu Yunde's 劉蘊德 invitation, prepared one common text, and signed this text as a collective letter addressed to the Pope. Up to fifty other converted signed such collective letters, besides individual testimonies: in total about sixty letters with 430 different signatories were collected.

These documents were sent to Rome and presented to the Pope in 1704, together with a new memorial in Latin, *Summarium Novissimorum Testimoniorum Sinensium* (Summary of the Newest Chinese Testimonies) (pp. 41-46, 137-147, 218-222; copy of the printed Latin translation, pp. 209-216). Each *Summarium* contained the proofs for the arguments presented in the memorials. Most of these testimonies are in the form of an oath or short declaration. These arguments negated any difference between *Shangdi* (Supreme Emperor) or *Tian* (Heaven) as synonyms for God, and *Tianzhu* (the Lord of Heaven); they rejected any charge of superstition in the rituals in honour of Confucius and the cult for ancestors, because Confucians are not Buddhists, and on the contrary stated that these practices are conform to Christian morality.

After the presentation of the Chinese Christian answer, Standaert reflects on the nature of the rites controversy, explores the ways knowledge about Chinese rites was produced and transmitted between China and Europe through the above documents. As previously mentioned, the author's discourse follows three main themes:

1. mental displacements caused by textual practices and the travelling of books and documents;
2. networks of Christian communities;
3. intercultural arguments.

The first one is probably the most interesting for the delocalization of learning, arguments and subjects moving together with persons and texts to and from China. I would add that this mental delocalization was accompanied by the

instability caused by cultural encounter and the challenge posed by the established body of knowledge found in each culture. When Chinese texts and their translations moved from China to European libraries, they carried with them a first set of Chinese "voices." They consisted of the ancient Confucian Classics, their hermeneutics as well as of other manuscripts and books. Circulation of libraries and archives, brought into Europe by the Jesuits, opened a totally new cross-cultural arena (pp. 47-112). They were the Chinese sapiential and moral learning, the so-called *dongxue* or "oriental learning", which was however filtered through European Jesuits, together with the interpretation of Chinese Christians. This creative and hybrid phenomenon eventually provoked what Standaert calls "a mental displacement" to European intellectuals, as "the Jesuits presented Chinese schemes and frames of thought that ran counter to the dominant opinions in Europe" (2018, pp. 56, 58). These texts were not *objective* things or *universal* symbols, because Jesuits had studied, digested, translated, commented, and interpreted them. They are documents that have passed a transcultural dimension. Moreover, for the first time non-European sources were quoted as authoritative, because "theological positions were defended not only on the basis of the statements of Church leaders or missionaries, but also on the basis of Chinese classical works and texts by Chinese Christians with no specific theological training" (pp. 47-112; see also 2018, p. 57).

The second theme concerns three levels of interacting networks, namely the local, national and transnational ones, starting from the low-level *literati* of local communities (pp. 113-216). The main Christian communities were from the Beijing area, the Jiangnan and Shaanxi-Shanxi regions, Huguang (Hubei-Hunan provinces), Jiangxi, and Fujian. The Chinese letters throw new light on local situations, demands for missionaries, protests for internal conflicts among the Jesuits, complains for scandals, and the rites controversy. Information are given on the time needed for transmission of official documents between Beijing and the various provincial administrations, the social structure and the network of Christian communities, and the multiple interactions that existed among the different actors. Letters are obviously useful for the information they provide about the configuration of the mission, number of converted, baptisms, orders and congregations, as well as about social and economic conditions of Christians.

Finally, "intercultural argumentation" concerns the Jesuits' operation of avoiding the marginalization and exclusion of Christianism in China. They understood that Confucianism occupied the centre of the ideological and moral sphere of the empire, and thus they endeavoured to locate their doctrine in a position as much as possible compatible and complementary to Confucianism. In this perspective, Christianism had to be sinicised, and this was the main character of the Jesuits' evangelisation policy, as well as the cause of conflict with the European religious establishment. Jesuits' hard task was to demonstrate to the educated strata of both civilisations that their message was *orthodox*. Standaert distinguishes three layers of interpretation: the most external one is the editors' work done in Europe, the second level is the collectors' assembling and

sending the Chinese documents, and the most internal one is built on the original authors' letters and books. In their letters, Chinese Christians responded differently from the Jesuits: they stressed that the Confucian tradition was congruent with the Catholic one (pp. 226-244).

Moreover, Standaert notices that the interaction between missionaries and Chinese, and the rites controversy brought up for the first time the question on the reason of the rituals, while Chinese thinkers had rarely been motivated before to think why the rituality was so important in their life (2018, pp. 62-64).

Above all, the documents throw new light on the Jesuits' methods of textual approach, their ability to re-elaborate the learning system, as well as on their Chinese libraries in Europe, and the effects on European intellectual life. Mental displacements, networks and intercultural argumentations contributed to European awareness of belonging to a wider community with a pluralistic construction of "realities." Historians of ideas, but also cultural and social historians can find interesting information on the Chinese educated strata, their mentality, and geographical and political conditions.

The volume edited by Standaert is well complemented by the articles of Ronnie Po-chia Hsia and Michela Catto that analyse some specific aspects of this cross-cultural encounter from different perspectives. The section dedicated to Chinese rites and Jesuit missions of the recent volume *The Rites Controversies in the Early Modern World* (Brill, in the Series: Studies in Christian Mission, Vol. 53, 2018) consists of three chapters, respectively, Po-chia Hsia's "Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy: From China to Rome" (pp. 29-49), the already mentioned Standaert's "Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy: The Role of Christian Communities" (pp. 50-67) – in here discussed together with the volume – and Catto's "Atheism: A Word Travelling To and Fro Between Europe and China" (pp. 68-88).

Hsia traces back the rites controversy to 1635, from the beginning of the ethnographic enquiry made by Franciscan and Dominican friars on the religious meaning of "sacrifice" (*ji*), and their perplexity in front of this phenomenon (pp. 50-51, and for evidence in classical works, pp. 57-64). The "Seventeen Questions" presented by Dominican Juan Bautista de Morales to the papacy followed in 1643.

After a short description of events, Hsia identifies most of the Chinese authors, their level of education, their explanations of rites and confutation of Dominicans or Francescans' theses that challenge the sacerdotal authority. In particular, Hsia examines the *Bian ji chan ping* 辨祭參評 (Commentary and Critique of "On Sacrifice") written by Leontius Li, in reply to the twelve objections raised by the Dominican Francisco Varo in *Bian ji* (On Sacrifice). Another answer was written by the convert Paul Yan Mo 嚴謨 who, instead of a point-by-point rebuttal, attacked the authority of *Bian ji* by focusing on its linguistic and textual inadequacy. Yan Mo argues that the word *ji* has multiple

meanings and its signification must be understood in light of the specific context in which it appears, avoiding equivocations especially when it is also used in relation to the masses. Yan Mo cites extensive passages from the Classics, and concludes that the incompetence of Western missionaries had caused the deliberate fabrication of a false accusation.

Hsia's analysis focuses on the contradiction inherent in the ethnographic work done on the rites question. It was not just an *objective* examination of elements of *another* culture, but rather an *examination* and *explanation* of such elements on the basis of the enquirer's cultural system, consisting of his ability to describe, translate, and interpret from one symbolic system (i.e. rituals, language etc.) into another. In fact, "[t]he Chinese rites controversy arose only when ritual practices and intentions in late imperial China were questioned in another cultural system: Roman Catholicism" (pp. 30-31). By further elaborating on this point, Hsia concludes: "Ethnographic authority, therefore, lies with the outsiders, the foreign clergy, who had access to an alternate system of validation – the scholastic theology of Catholicism, its logic and its language (Latin) – upon which the final and 'objective' pronouncement of the Chinese rites would rest" (p. 46).

The contribution by Michela Catto examines another theoretical question raised from the encounter of European Church with Chinese civilisation and Confucianism, and the consequent rites controversy. It was the debate among missionaries on the nature of the supposed Chinese atheism that influenced also the growth of a wider re-discussion on atheism in Europe: "the word atheism was sent to China still without a very negative meaning. It would return to Europe, together with the myth of China, to fuel discussions about atheism in a completely changed cultural context" (p. 73). The case of Chinese society represented a tangled question for Western learning. The missionaries found first that the concepts of religion, divinity, and ritual behaviour were divergent from the Christian habits and categories. The Jesuits' efforts of defining Chinese religions for the Europeans, let Chinese dimensions to take on an identity of their own within the patterns of Western culture and history, even if based on the comparison between Chinese culture and the pagan Europe. Jesuits used Chinese books, assisted in their interpretation by Chinese scholars, and retranslated the results in a language that could be understood by Europeans. According to Matteo Ricci's 'benevolent' opinion, Chinese *literati* "fell into this Atheism some age ago, by having suffered the great discoveries of their Philosopher Confucius to be lost." [1] This interpretation of Chinese reality allowed him to 'save' Confucianism and emphasise analogies between it and the

[1] Pierre Bayle, quoting Antoine Arnauld (1612-94), in P. Bayle (Adrien Jean Quentin Beuchot, ed.), *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Paris: Desoer, 1820, tome 10, pp. 169-170 (https://archive.org/details/dictionnairehist10bayluoft/page/169). English version available in P. Bayle, *The Dictionary Historical and Critical*, London, 1737, vol. 4, p. 81, as quoted by Catto 2018, p. 72.

Catholic doctrine. Chinese philosophers were considered superior to the pagan philosophers, as none had fewer errors concerning religious things than China in its early antiquity. They believed in a "supreme deity they call the King of Heaven, or of Heaven and Earth", and they "never believed such filthy things as our Romans." Thus, while Buddhism and Daoism are superstitious and idolatrous religions, Confucianism and its rituals are neither idolatrous nor superstitious, because Confucius kept the ancient law that rules China, the "natural law."[2] And yet worth of notice is the apparent contradiction between superstition and atheism present in Ricci's scandalised comments, when reporting on the inexplicable phenomenon of syncretism, difficult to be accessible to Mediterranean culture:

> What is difficult to be believable is the multitude of idols. […] Nowadays the most common opinion of those whom they believe to be wisest among them, is that these three sects all amount to the same thing, and that all of them may be retained together. They thereby deceive themselves, and others, in the greatest disorder, judging that in this matter of religion the more modes of expression there are, the more useful this will be for the kingdom. In the end, all this leads to the opposite of what they claim, since, wishing to follow all the laws, they come to remain without any, as they obey none of them with their hearts. And so it comes about that with some of them openly avowing their credulity, and others deceived into false persuasions of belief, the greater part of this people have come to be sunk in the depths of atheism.[3]

In this passage, polytheism seems related to the syncretism of *sanjiao,* and then to self-deception and the "depths of atheism": excessive tolerance, scepticism and religious indifferentism are in fact for him a kind of atheism. In another passage Ricci clarifies his stand, and contrasts idolatry and atheism, talking of the contemporary *literati*'s agnosticism: "among those who in these times flee Idolatry, there are few who do not fall into atheism" (Ricci 2000, p. 91). Almost a century later, Confucian *literati* would be identified with the term *atheopolitici,* in the *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (1687) (Catto 2018, p. 80). In this meaning atheism is less negative than idolatry for both its rational attitude and openness to possible conversion.

But after Ricci's death, among Jesuits contrasting opinions started to be manifested that undoubtedly weakened their position in front of other Catholic orders. In Niccolò Longobardo's (1565-1654) opinion, Confucianism seemed pervaded by an atheism and instrumental use of religion. According to Arnauld and Bayle, most of missionaries maintained that "the greatest part of *literati*

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[2] Matteo Ricci, *Della Entrata della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*, sotto la direzione di Piero Corradini (introduzione e glossario a cura di Piero Corradini, note di Maddalena Del Gatto e bibliografia di Marina Battaglini), Macerata: Quodlibet, 2000, p. 90.

[3] Ricci 2000, p. 106. Quoted and tr. by Santangelo, "Human Conscience and Responsibility in Ming-Qing China", in *East Asian History*, 1993, p. 80.

there are atheist[s] and that they are idolatrous only through dissimulation and hypocrisy, like many of the pagan Philosophers who adored the same idols as the common people, tho' they did not believe in any of them, as may be seen in Cicero and Seneca. […] These *literati* do not believe anything to be spiritual and that the King above, which your Matthew Ricci took for the true God, is nothing but the material Heaven" (Bayle, *ibidem*, quoted by Catto 2018, p. 72). For them Neo-Confucianism was not corrupted by Buddhism, because ancient Confucian's atheism was original since the beginning. For this new reading of Confucianism – that followed an interpretation of Classics based on the Commentaries, refused by Ricci – it was never similar to monotheism, as it was for Ricci. Moreover, extending the notion of dual teaching to all Chinese schools (i.e. Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism), Longobardo argued that there were two levels of knowledge of which the Chinese scholars were fully aware: one, esoteric (or materialistic) for the learned elite, and the other exoteric (built on rites and piety, superstitious) for common people. Thus, the atheism of the Chinese was presented with different nuances. But it was source of further reflections in Europe. If Confucianism was evaluated as morally positive, were the Chinese "moral atheists"? How many were also superstitious? Even if the debate on the supposed atheism of Confucianism did not directly influence the question of authorisation or prohibition of the Chinese rites, it had further effects. In the long run, it contributed to the redefinition of the relationship between morality and religion, and to the Enlightenment criticisms of religions as the origin of fanaticism and backwardness. Real or presumed atheism could undermine the foundation of European religion and society (p. 74). Longobardo's ideas – although did not prevail among Jesuits, were soon exploited in anti-Jesuit function, for more dogmatism, and less tolerance towards atheism and other religious systems.

Song Huali 宋華麗, *Diyi deng ren: Yi ge Jiangnan jiazu de xingshuai fuchen* 第一等人：一個江南家族的興衰浮沈 (Men of First Class: The Rise and Fall of a Clan in the Jiangnan Area), Chengdu: Sichuan wenyi chubanshe, 2018, ISBN: 978-7-5411-5030-2, xiv+416 pp. ￥58.00 (paper).

Reviewed by Hang Lin 林航 (Hangzhou Normal University)

The first half of the 17th century marked an eruptive era in Chinese history, which witnessed the gradual decline and the final collapse of the Ming Empire (1368-1644) and the rapid rise of the Qing (1644-1911). For many, it not only meant the turn of the mandate of Heaven and the establishment of a new dynasty, but also the decisive change in their lives and families. While many studies have been devoted to the transition from the Ming to the Qing and its

profound political and social impacts, how people in certain regions experienced this drastic dynastic change has hitherto attracted far less scholarly attention. In her new book, *Diyi deng ren: Yi ge Jiangnan jiazu de xingshuai fuchen*, Song Huali traces the familial history of Hou Tongzeng 侯峒曾 (1591-1645) and his brother Hou Qizeng 侯岐曾 (1594-1647) to show how this particular period decided the fate of their clan.

In her effort to trace the arc of the Hou brothers' trajectory, Song wisely sets up her narrative in a broad chronological order, inviting readers to accompany Hous and their family on their exceptional lives in five stages: Tongzeng's education and paths through different levels of the examination (chap. 1), his entry into the world of government and tenures before 1644 (chap. 2), his engagement to organize difference against the Qing troops at Jiading and suicide after the fall of the city (chap. 3), the involvement of Tongzeng in anti-Qing campaign, which caused his death and the eventual decline of the family, and finally the lives of their offspring and the changing official opinion of them in later periods of the Qing (chap. 5).

The story of how the Hou brothers, as members of a prominent family in the late Ming, worked their way to pass the examinations and how they reacted to the political struggles and social turmoil during the last decades of the dynasty is fascinating itself. Starting from Hou Yaofeng 侯堯封 (1515-1598), the first holding a *jinshi* degree in the family, the Hous saw three *jinshi* degree holders within four generations. It is also Hou Yaofeng, who installed the guiding instruction for his descendants that they "may not serve as officials of first class, but should live as men of first class" (p. 6). Following his grand-grandfather's words, Tongzeng and Qizeng were among the most renowned scholars of the region, but they purposely kept distance to the party-politics during the late Ming and even actively retreated from officialdom. They did not resist the Qing occupation. However, when the Qing order requiring all male subjects to shave Manchu hairstyle was issued, they voluntarily stood out, together with their sons, to lead local resistance and sacrificed their lives, even though they knew that their actions would not bring any change to the whole situation. In doing so, they lived up the words of their ancestor.

Yet what emerges from Song's narrative is not only a vivid picture of the Hou family, but also a string of insights into that of many other scholar-officials in the lower Yangzte delta (known as Jiangnan). The brothers Huang Chunyao 黃淳耀 (1605-45) and Huang Yuanyao 黃淵耀 (1624-45), for instance, both joined the Hou brothers to defend from the Qing troops and together committed suicide after the fall of Jiading. The brothers Gong Yongguang 龔用廣, Gong Yongyuan 龔用圓, and Gong Yonghou 龔用厚 chose the same path, as well as Xia Yunyi 夏允彝 (1596-1645) and his son Xia Wanchun 夏完淳 (1631-47). Together with a wide range of other men, they formed a particular group in this particular time.

In this sense, it seems that Hou Yaofeng's words were not only a familial instruction, but rather widely shared by the local gentry. Yet one may ask as it is because they sacrificed themselves for the Ming that defined them as "men of first class"? It has been a widely accepted view that in many places local elites had already accepted the Qing power but responded to the Qing's queue-wearing demand with renewed revolt (as in Jiading), because such practice generated enormous rage among Han men. These saw their hairstyle as "reflective of their cultural identity […] but also viewed shaving their forehead as a form of self-mutilation and a breech of filial obligation owed to the parents."[4] Although this doubtlessly makes sense, from Song's narrative we see that there are other factors that shaped these "men of first class." Joining literary societies and publishing anthologies as models for students, for example, was a popular way to gain scholarly reputation, yet men like Hou Tongzeng were reminded that "publications do not necessarily mean sound scholarship" and rather than "vainly possessing an empty name", they "must be truly learned" (pp. 63-64). As members of the local elite, they are required to "care for the folks of the region", and to fight for examination quotas and tax conversion (pp. 84, 150). In chaotic political situations, they cannot "enjoy their salary but ignore dangers of the country", so they "would rather reject the court's grace but not shoulder the crisis" (p. 188).

The story of many of these men has been told in Jerry Dennerline's finely woven study of the loyalists in Jiading, yet with Song's volume we may draw a more lively and detailed collective picture of the late-Ming scholar-officials and gentry in the Jiangnan region.[5] We read their stories with a heavy heart when we accompany men like Hou Tongzeng from their childhood to the end of their lives. What makes the book even more appealing is the delicate string of insights displayed along the way, especially those into the failed workings of late-Ming politics, the violent dynastic change to the Qing, and the grief and desperation of scholar-officials. Song makes use of a wide range of primary sources, including gazetteers of Jiading and related regions, diaries, private letters, and literary anthologies. Through these materials, readers encounter persons like Hou Tongzeng more true-to-life, and are able to construct for themselves at least a partial understanding of the kind of men they were.

In this way, Song joins Zhu Dongrun and John W. Dardess in returning to the model of in-depth studies of individuals which are academic in nature but remain accessible to general readers as well.[6] Some may expect a better

[4] William T. Rowe, *China's Last Empire: The Great Qing*, Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009, p. 23.

[5] Jerry Dennerline, *The Chia-ting Loyalists: Confucian Leadership in Seventeenth-Century China*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.

[6] Zhu Dongrun 朱東潤, *Zhang Juzheng dazhuan* 張居正大傳 (A Grand Biography of Zhang Juzheng), Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1981; John W. Dardess, *A Political Life in Ming China: A Grand Secretary and His Time*, Lanham: Rowman & Littelfield, 2013; John W.

coverage of Western literature on the topic, such as those by Frederic Wakeman Jr., Lynn A. Struve, and Tobie Meyer-Fong, respectively, yet few would deny that *Diyi deng ren* represents a long-overdue consideration of the personalities of this pivotal period and this particular region.[7] Meticulously researched and eloquently written, it will be valuable reading for both scholars and non-specialists of Chinese history, and it is bound to inspire further studies.

Maria Dolores Elizalde and Wang Jianlang (eds.), *China's Development from a Global Perspective*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, ISBN-10: 1-4438-1670-1, ix+414 pp. $119,95.
Reviewed by Maria Paola Culeddu (Sapienza University of Rome)

This volume includes significant results of the session "China from Global Perspectives" of the 22nd Word Congress of Historical Sciences that took place in Jinan, China, in August 2015, and was organized by Prof. Wang Jianlang (Chinese Academy of Sciences) and Maria Dolores Elizalde (CSIC), the International Committee of Historical Sciences, the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Spanish Committee of Historical Sciences. *China's Development from a Global Perspective* is part of a global effort centered upon a research project, from different historiographic views and approaches, both on the effects of globalization on China's history, politics and society, and the influence of China on the plural world. The chapters range from ancient times to modernity and focus on many and various subjects, from culture to commercial interaction, from social matters to political and diplomatic issues.

The volume is divided into four sections: "China from Global Perspective: An Introduction", "Approaches between China and the World", "International Relations" and "Economic Relations."

Section one starts with "Presentation: China in the World, the World in China" by María Dolores Elizalde, and Wang Jianlang's "Preface to China from Global Perspectives" on the purposes and scopes of the volume. These are followed by Manel Ollé's "China in the World: Historiographical Reflection", where the author points out the Orientalist essentializing generalizations about China and tries to set a "critical step toward the renewal of the historiographical

Dardess, *Four Seasons: A Ming Emperor and His Grand Secretaries in Sixteenth-Century China*, Lanham: Rowman & Littelfield, 2016.

[7] Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "Localism and Loyalism during the Ch'ing Conquest of Kiangnan: The Tragedy of Chiang-yin", in Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Carolyn Grant, eds., *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975, pp. 43-85; Lynn A. Struve, ed., *Voices from the Ming-Qing Cataclysm: China in Tiger's Jaws*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993; Tobie Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.

theories" built upon the Orientalist knowledge accumulated in previous centuries. China's history has been seen as static, non-dialectical and 'unhistorical' (see inter alia Hegel and Weber) and its production outside of the linear progression of the historical process (as conceptualized by Marx). In regards to recent times, emphasis was focused on the Western aggressions in the country and on the modernization imposed by Western countries. The author provides insight into China's bureaucratic system and culture reconfiguration and transformation through time as well as into its contribution to the developments of great historical processes of humanity, and the integration of its history into world history. Kenneth Pomeranz's "Placing China in Global Histories and Global Histories in China: Some Comments" is an attempt to connect the various chapters and their topics, where possible, also highlighting strong and weak points of each essay and providing suggestions for deepening the research.

Section two mainly deals with cultural and social contacts between China and other countries in past and recent times. Anne Kolb and Michael Speidel's "Imperial Rome and China: Communication and Information Transmission" analyses some ancient sources on envoys and trade between the two kingdoms, which ran since the late II century BCE at the latest. In so doing, the chapter throws some light on the long-distance state system established after the Roman empire set routes through the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. While reports by geographers and merchants are mostly nebulous and official records from the Roman world are partly lost, the great flow of trade led to an increasing stream of information between the two countries. As for the Chinese historiographical texts, the authors state that these are "surprisingly rich sources for the flow of real information between the Roman and Chinese empires" and take into account the *Hou Hanshu* and the *Weilüe* especially. In "China-Bengal Interactions in the Early Fifteenth Century: A Study on Ma Huan's and Fei Shin's Travels Accounts", MD. Abdullah Al-Masum analyses the relationship between the two countries in a limited period of time, with a particular eye on the diplomatic missions. The author bases his research on the works by Ma Huan and Fei Shin (cent. XIV-XV), which are also precious sources for information on Bengal monarchy, court and economic conditions, and points out the fact that socio-cultural interaction between China and Bengal started nearly two thousand years ago and continued in the medieval period up to the present day with a "time-tested" and "warm" friendship. Liu Wenming's "Caretakers of the Sulu King's Tomb in China, 1417-1733" investigates the specific and interesting story of the Sulu people who remained in China after the king Paduka Batara fell sick and died near the city of Dezhou in 1417; the gradual transformation, in over three centuries, experienced by the royal descendants of the latter and his tomb caretakers' diasporic group "from Muslim and Sulu-guests with royal privileges" to ordinary residents of China is thereby extensively scrutinized. Lastly, in "China from the Perspective of an Unusual Spanish Diplomat: Eduard Toda, Consul at Macao, Hong Kong, Canton and

Shanghai, 1875-1882", María Dolores Elizalde offers an insightful overview on a 19th-century China forced to accept foreign penetration. After illustrating the opening up of the country, the Spanish interests and negotiation of a treaty of friendship, the author describes more specifically Eduard Toda's activity and travels in China. He analyses Toda's writings, drawings and photographs, giving evidence of the highly prolific production of this Spanish vice-consul who lived for seven years in China, and contributed to the construction of "an Asian knowledge."

Section three is the most consistent part of the volume. Its five chapters investigate China's international relations from a political and diplomatic point of view. Guido Abbattista's "Europe, China and the Family of Nations: Commercial Enlightenment in the *Sattelzeit* (1780-1840)" is a solid and detailed analysis of 18th- and early-19th-century printed sources on how the representation of China changed in a transitional period of its history. This period starts in the year of the publication of the third edition of *Histoire des Deux Indes* by the Abbé Raynal, embodying the enlightened and idealized vision of Jesuit missionaries, and ends with the first Opium War, which coincided with the popularization of stereotypes on the immobility of the Asian country and the superiority of European civilization. The Jesuits are herewith depicted as those responsible for providing the Western readers with an "overtly mythical representation of China and Chinese history, society, institutions, religion, customs and economy." The author searches the causes behind this apparent total change of attitude, from Sinophilia to Sinophobia. These are identified with the demise of the Jesuit mission after the Order was dissolved in 1773, and the birth of a globalized and hierarchized Eurocentric vision which attempted to induce an alleged 'stationary' China to open its territory to international commerce and diplomatic interaction with the Western countries. In the name of free trade, China ought to be provided with a set of 'useful knowledge' in order to be able to join the 'family' of civilized nations. Abbattista argues that these two apparently conflicting representations were not in opposition to each other, but must be seen as a continuum of the Enlightenment ideas feeding into a kind of 'commercial Enlightenment.' In "The Golden Gate and the Open Door: Civilization, Empire, and Exemption in the History of U.S. Chinese Exclusion, 1868-1910", Paul A. Kramer discusses the ban on Chinese entry into the United States from 1882 to 1943, highlighting the two countries' different approach to the geopolitics of migration, and ascribing such difference to the military superiority of the USA and its neo-colonial politics on Chinese sovereignty. The author analyses relevant treaties, and specifies that the ban was not a totalizing one but only addressed to categories of citizens other than merchants, teachers, students and tourists, and thereby finds an explanation in the USA's attempt to reach a highest 'score.' Pierre Singaravélou's "Laboratory of Globalization? Tianjin c. 1900" is a study on the city of Tianjin at the turn of the 20th century. The author examines the development of the Foreign Concessions and internationalization of Tianjin in the late 19th century, and touches upon the

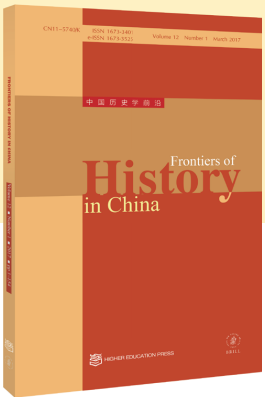
impact of the Boxer Rebellion on the city; the focus of discussion is on the multinational military government which was set in the city immediately afterwards and is seen as the major factor speeding its transformation. He concludes that imperial globalization turned Tianjin into a sort of 'laboratory' of international government which inspired Chinese statesmen towards new public policies. Valdo Ferretti's essay "China and the International Alliances at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century" ambitiously states and shows how important were the 'newcomers' in the newly created equilibrium on the global sphere. European imperialism in the 19th century brought a new international law system in Asian countries, which could use the newly imposed rules as useful instruments in the process of recovering their national rights. For instance, in the case of the dispute over Korea (1873-76) China was "able to negotiate with the Japanese about sovereignty and territorial waters on the grounds of Western norms." China's weight could be seen especially when European countries were in the middle of the *parcour* towards the First World War. In particular, then, the author analyses the matter of Chinese neutrality on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War (1894-95), offering different scenarios and possibilities regarding China's choice. Diplomatic relationships are also a matter examined in "The Memory and Legacy of the Tribute System in Twentieth Century China" by Kawashima Shin, who offers an interesting overview on a traditionally consolidated system which went into decline after the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Based on Japanese and Chinese studies and drawing also on articles from magazines, textbooks and maps, the author examines the different ways China and tributary countries reciprocally saw themselves, the mutual perception of Japan and China in a period of rising nationalism (setting the notion of national history at the beginning of the 20th century) as well as the process through which, starting by separating "the world into countries with diplomatic relations and tributary states", China eventually accepted modern international diplomacy.

Section four deals with China's economic interactions with foreign countries. In "The Monetization of Silver in China: Ming China and Its Global Interactions", Wan Ming emphasizes how China underwent a process of monetization from below and that this was strongly related to the social transformation brought about by 'marketization', 'commercialization' and 'urbanization.' He also illustrates the transition of the Ming social economy towards a monetary economy, and the important role of silver in the historical process of globalization. "Chinese Silk and European Trade: A Balance (Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries)" by Salvatore Ciriacono examines the silk industries in terms of 'periphery' (raw silk from the Asian countries) and 'semi-periphery' and 'center' (where silk was worked to flow onto European markets). The author points out China's greatest contribution to this sector since ancient times and the role of silk trade in other countries or city-states, such as Armenia, Venice and Iran. As for the export markets, the growth of Chinese raw silk production was flourishing in the 17th century, but an excessive supply caused a

decrease in the prices. Also, the import of Chinese fabrics into Europe is shown to be bound to the process of European colonial expansion. By virtue of the strong connection among domestic and export markets, industrialization, national economic policies and international trade, China played an active part in global markets. "The Spanish Link in the Canton Trade, 1787-1830: Silver, Opium and the Royal Philippines Company" by Ander Permanyer-Ugartemendia states the importance of the Hispanic presence in the East Asia trade in the 19th century, attaching special attention to its growing economic interaction with the Philippines. The author stresses how historiographical studies highlight the specific characters of various trades, in the hope that future research will give further consideration to elements of interaction and integration.

Alexander Yu Petrov's "Commercial Relations of the Russian-American Company with China in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century" is a detailed report of the Russian-American Company's (RAC) economic interaction with China on the Mongolian-speaking frontier region of Kyakhta between 1799 and 1850. A flourishing private trade with China was established there after the Russian government dropped its commercial monopoly in 1762. RAC traded furs, leather and other goods especially in exchange of an elite sort of tea. In elucidating the great impact of these expansive commercial relations on the development of Alaska and the Russian Far East, the author also focuses on some issues and institutions that opposed the Company's activities in the region: the head of the Ministry of the Navy, Russian government control and heavy custom duties, as well as the intermittent suspension of trade caused by the Chinese government. "Foreign Engineers' Activities in China and the Process of China's Internationalization: The Case of the Engineering Society of China, 1901-1941" by Wu Lin-chun provides us with detailed information on an engineering group founded in Shanghai in 1901 and its development. The author touches upon the importance of its leading role in the process of internalization, the promotion of technical improvement, the cooperation with Chinese engineers, and its efforts to improve the working conditions in the factories.

The originality of Ferretti's hypothesis of what could have happened if China had decided not to be neutral during the Russo-Japanese War, Abbattista's emphasis on the 19th century idea of the 'necessity' of international trade, the acculturation of a foreign group into Chinese culture across a period of three centuries (Liu), the ancient patterns of interaction with the Roman empire (Kolb-Speidel) as well as the long-lasting 'warm friendship' with Bengal (Al-Masum) are only a few noteworthy points of this volume. Far from being immovable and stationary, the picture of China resulting in this volume is that of a country who took an active part in the process of cultural, political and economic globalization all over about thirty centuries.



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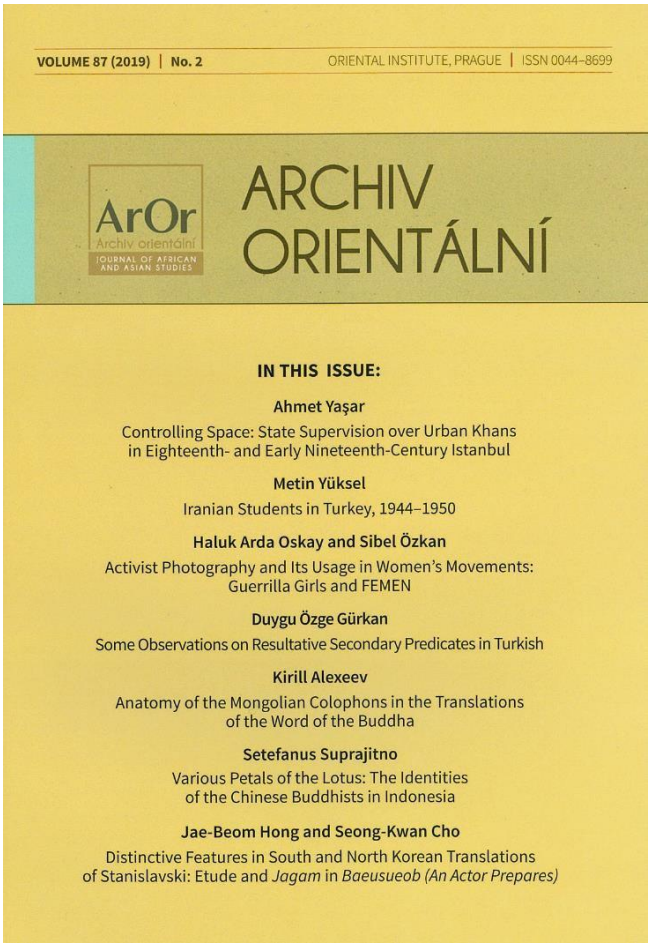

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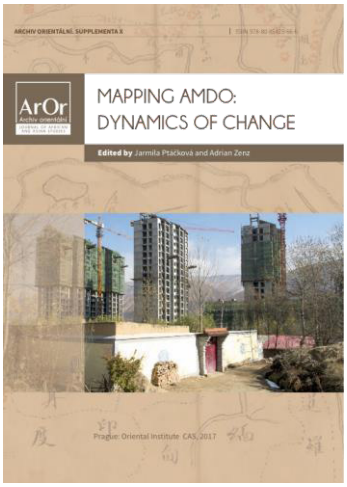

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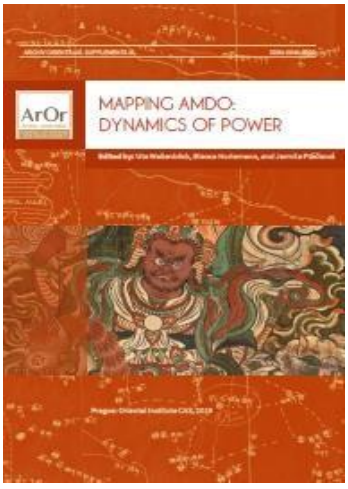

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***World Sinology* 2018 Winter, Issue No. 17**

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If you have any article related to Sinology or Chinese studies, please send it to us through post office or email. We would get it translated so that more Chinese scholars and students may know you and your research.

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Dr. ZHAO Jing & Ms. WANG Shengshuagn
Tel: 86-10-62511170 Email: ruchts@163.com
Postal Address: Room 515, Guo Xue Guan, 59 Zhongguancun Street, Beijing, 100872, China

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编辑部信息

联系人：赵倞 王盛爽

电话：010-62511170　　电子邮件：ruchts@163.com

通讯地址：北京市海淀区中关村大街 59 号中国人民大学国学馆 515 室（100872）

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