

*Asia Orientale* 古今東亞

28

COMITATO SCIENTIFICO

Paolo Santangelo (“Sapienza” Università di Roma) - direttore di collana

Guido Samarani (Università Ca’ Foscari di Venezia)

Stefania Stafutti (Università di Torino)

Alessandro Dell’Orto (Pontificia Università Urbaniana)

## *Asia Orientale* 古今東亞

La collana Asia Orientale 古今東亞 propone testi di elevato livello didattico, scientifico, divulgativo nel campo delle varie discipline relative alla storia e alla cultura dell'Asia Orientale. L'interesse per l'area è certamente cresciuto in seguito all'importanza economica e strategica assunta negli ultimi decenni, come dimostra il fiorire di varie recenti iniziative editoriali in Italia presso piccoli e grandi editori. È ovvio che la prevalenza globale di quest'area ha portato un cambiamento negli orientamenti degli studi di settore, decretando il superamento sia dell'orientalismo 'vecchia maniera' che di quello 'impegnato' a carattere terzomondista. Con il declino dei vari 'orientalismi' è sempre più necessaria una conoscenza che corrisponda alle esigenze presenti, e che non può prescindere tuttavia da una specializzazione che tenga conto delle differenze culturali persistenti, e dal confronto fra civiltà diverse.

La presente collana intende concentrarsi sulla realtà di quest'area, offrendo e sollecitando contributi che coprano non solo la realtà immediata di cui dobbiamo tenere conto, ma vari aspetti delle antiche civiltà che ne costituiscono la base culturale. Perciò la collana intende promuovere varie discipline, oltre ai settori storici, filosofici e letterari, come quello linguistico e politico-economico. La collana si propone, inoltre, di incoraggiare la pubblicazione di monografie etnografiche sulle culture e società dell'Asia Orientale, con particolare riguardo all'antropologia della Cina.

La collana adotta un sistema di valutazione dei testi basato sulla revisione paritaria e anonima (peer review). I criteri di valutazione riguarderanno la qualità scientifica e didattica e la significatività dei temi proposti. Per ogni proposta editoriale, tali requisiti saranno accertati dal comitato scientifico, che si avvarrà di almeno un revisore esperto.

La possibilità di avere edizioni online oltre che a stampa permette l'utilizzo di sistemi multimediali e di comunicazione di particolare interesse per la distribuzione, la didattica e la fruizione su vari supporti.

Il direttore della collana, Paolo Santangelo ([paolo.santangelo@uniroma1.it](mailto:paolo.santangelo@uniroma1.it)), è coadiuvato da un comitato scientifico composto dal Prof. Guido Samarani (Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia), dalla Prof. Stefania Stafutti (Università di Torino) e dal Prof. Alessandro Dell'Orto (Pontificia Università Urbaniana).



*Web content*

# *Ming Qing*

STUDIES 2017

*edited by*  
Paolo Santangelo



# *Ming Qing Studies 2017*

## *Editor*

Paolo Santangelo, Sapienza Università di Roma

## *Editorial Board*

Marianne Bastid-Bruguière, CNRS, Paris  
Mark Elvin, Australian University, Canberra  
Lee Cheuk Yin, National University of Singapore  
Mario Sabattini, Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia  
Tian Yuan Tan, SOAS, University of London  
Kang-i Sun Chang, Yale University  
Guo Yingde, Beijing Normal University

## *Editorial Assistants*

Maria Paola Culeddu  
Tommaso Previato

Subscription orders must be sent directly to [info@aracneeditrice.it](mailto:info@aracneeditrice.it)

Copyright © MMXVI  
Giacchino Onorati editore S.r.l. – unipersonale

[www.giacchinoonoratieditore.it](http://www.giacchinoonoratieditore.it)  
[info@giacchinoonoratieditore.it](mailto:info@giacchinoonoratieditore.it)

via Vittorio Veneto, 20  
00020 Canterano (Rome)  
(06) 45551463

ISBN 978-88-255-0927-4

*No part of this book may be reproduced in any form,  
by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche, or any other means,  
without written permission from the publisher*

1<sup>st</sup> edition: December 2017

# CONTENTS

- 09 Preface  
PAOLO SANTANGELO
- 11 Tales of the New Strange: Wang Tao's *Zhiguai* Writing (1880-1890).  
FU MENGXING 符梦醒
- 45 Holding an Empire together: Army, Colonization and State-building in  
Qing Xinjiang.  
BARTOSZ KOWALSKI
- 71 National Politics through Local History: A Look at Reconstruction  
Attempts of the Donglin 東林 Academy.  
LIN HSUEH-YI 林學儀
- 97 The Speaking Garment: Clothes in Women's Everyday Practice in  
Ming-Qing China.  
LIN ZHIHUI 林稚暉
- 125 The Concept of *Qing* in *Honglou Meng* (Part 2) - Illumination from the  
Zhiyan Zhai commentaries.  
YIU CHUN LAM 姚春琳
- 169 REVIEWS  
Schorkowitz, Dittmar and Chia, Ning, eds. (2017) *Managing Frontiers  
in Qing China: The Lifanyuan and Libu Revisited*.  
Handler-Spitz, Rivi (2017) *Symptoms of an Unruly Age: Li Zhi and  
Cultures of Early Modernity*.  
Zou Ying (2016) "Talent, Identity, and Sociality in Early Qing Scholar-  
Beauty Novels".
- 187 LEAFLETS



## PREFACE

The issue of *Ming Qing Studies 2017* is mainly dedicated to history and literature. An anthropological essay is “The Speaking Garment: Clothes in Women’s Everyday Practice in Ming-Qing China”, by **Lin Zhihui** 林稚暉, Hong Kong Baptist University, an example how material history can tell much if accompanied by an intelligent reading of literary writings and iconography. This study aims at proposing a different interpretation of women’s daily practice: by examining how everyday life manifested womanhood and how women applied their agency to re-shape the nature of everyday practice, it contributes to understand gender identity perception and moral values in late imperial society.

“Donglin” had different and overlapping referents: the physical place of the Donglin Academy in Wuxi; the empire-wide ethical revival movement derived from the networks of Donglin leaders; the Beijing political faction based on such networks. The article “Local History and National Politics in the Reconstructions of the Donglin Academy” by **Lin Hsueh-Yi** 林學儀, Department of Chinese Culture of Hong Kong Polytechnic University Teaching Fellow, examines the evolution of the multifaceted idea of Donglin, its historical symbol and ideological impact, and their influence on the changes concerning local identity of Jiangnan elites, the religious cults and the role of rites in modern Confucianism practice.

**Bartosz Kowalski**, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Lodz, in “Holding an Empire together: Army, Colonization and State-building in Qing Xinjiang”, discusses the connection between the army’s military and non-military activities and the creation of state administrative structures, infrastructure, educational institutions and pursuit of a policy of settlement in Xinjiang from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> to early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries. *Ming Qing Studies* has already published an article on the *tuntian* system by Zhang Anfu and Alessandra Cappelletti in its issue of 2012.

The narrative on abnormal and supernatural events is object of several researches, that are interesting not only in the literary field, but also for ideological and religious implications. On the *Liaozhai Zhiyi*, the contrast between the *chuanqi*-type tales of enchantment and romance of humans with ghosts or fox spirits, on one hand, and the *zhiguai*-type horror tales, with ugly, frightening, malignant ghosts and monsters, on the other, Sarah Dodd, has already published an article in *Ming Qing Studies 2016*. Less studied is Wang Tao as author of a collection of *zhiguai*. This subject has been discussed by **Fu Mengxing** 符梦醒, City University of Hong Kong, in “Tales of the New Strange: Wang Tao’s *Zhiguai* Writing (1880-1890)”, topic very intriguing because a new element is present besides the traditional problematics of the

utopia-dystopia, reality-dream and retribution: the effects of Western encounter, political and ideological instability, the scientific discourse. Moreover the epistemological question of the relativeness of ‘reality’ - which already Yuan Mei had raised before the pressing confrontation with the West - is here discussed.

“The Concept of Qing in *Honglou meng* - illumination from the Zhiyan zhai commentaries” is the second part of the article published in *Ming Qing Studies* 2016 (The Concept of Qing in *Honglou Meng* – Historical Inheritance), a study by **Chunlam Yiu** 姚春琳, the School of Chinese at the University of Hong Kong, which crosses both literary inquiry and history of ideas. Through the comparison of the personalities of Baoyu and Daiyu, it offers new explanations on the perception of love in late imperial China. Other articles appeared recently in *Ming Qing Studies* concerning *Honglou meng* “Picturing Lin Daiyu: *Honglou Meng* Across Media” by I-Hsien Wu 吳逸仙 (2016), and Zhang Zhiyan 张之燕, “Emotion qing in Early Modern England and Late Imperial China, With a Focus on Emotion in Shakespeare's Plays and Ming-Qing Literature” (2012).

We finally express our gratitude to **Prof. Guo Yingde** 郭英德 for accepting to join the Board of *Ming Qing Studies*. Guo Yingde (b. 1954) is a leading professor at the Department of Traditional Chinese Literature, School of Chinese Language and Literature, Beijing Normal University. He received his BA, MA, and PhD from Beijing Normal University in 1982, 1985, and 1988, respectively. Guo is specialized in traditional Chinese literature of the late imperial period. He has published many books and articles on the studies of drama and novels of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties. Guo also pays attention to the reconstruction of the history and philology of traditional Chinese literature. In recent years, Guo shifts his scholarly interests in the study of prose and literary criticisms of prose, especially of the Ming and Qing periods, and promotes both stylistic and cultural approaches in his research.

We are grateful also to Carmen Casadio for her precious help in revising the English of the preface and her advices.

Paolo Santangelo

# TALES OF THE NEW STRANGE: WANG TAO'S *ZHIGUAI* WRITING (1880-1890)

FU MENGXING 符梦醒  
(City University of Hong Kong)

Wang Tao 王韬 is often hailed as an important late Qing reformist thinker and modernizer who was among the first to advocate 'learning from the West'. Working closely with Western missionaries in Shanghai and Hong Kong, he published numerous articles introducing Western sciences, history and political institutions to his compatriots and was widely recognized as an expert on 'Western learnings' 西学 by the 1880s.<sup>1</sup> He died in 1897, one year before the 'One Hundred-day Reform' and seemed already an outdated figure when the 1911 Revolution struck a final blow to imperial China. Yet according to Paul Cohen he was "newer" for his generation than Sun Yat-sen in that without precursors like Wang Tao, Sun's generation of revolutionists would have no place from which to start.<sup>2</sup>

This paper focuses on Wang Tao's *zhiguai* writing in the 1880s. *Zhiguai* 志怪, literally meaning the 'records of the strange', is a potent Chinese genre of short stories dealing with topics that were famously cautioned against by Confucius: ghosts, gods and demons. Traditionally three periods in history are recognized as the high point for this literature of the strange: the chaotic Six Dynasties which witnessed the rise of the earliest *zhiguai*, the late Tang during which *chuanqi*, or tales of the marvelous flourished, and the high Qing under the reigns of emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong, which saw *zhiguai* masterpieces like *Liaozhai Zhiyi* 聊斋志异, *Yuewei Caotang Biji* 阅微草堂笔记, and *Zibuyu* 子不语.<sup>3</sup> The late Qing and early Republican era was another and the last height for this genre, although it was often unacknowledged.<sup>4</sup> Few

---

<sup>1</sup> Pan Guangzhe 2011, pp. 113-58.

<sup>2</sup> Cohen 1974, p. 6. Sun met Wang in 1894 and the latter offered to help introducing Sun to one of Li Hongzhang's 李鸿章 assistants. The 1894's meeting between Wang Tao and Sun Yat-sen in a sense symbolized the exit of one model of modernization for China and the emergence of the other.

<sup>3</sup> The distinction between *zhiguai* and *chuanqi* 传奇 is a contentious issue which lies outside the scope of this essay. As I am primarily concerned with the themes instead of the form of the story, I use *zhiguai* to refer generally to both types of stories.

<sup>4</sup> The second half of the nineteenth century saw a much larger scale of publication of *zhiguai* works. Zhan Xiaoyong (2003, p. 27) estimated that averagely nine volumes of *zhiguai* saw publication per year between 1862 and 1911, the highest throughout the Qing Dynasty.

people could name a *zhiguai* title in this period and many of these works are out of print by now. The reason for this undeserved neglect of late Qing *zhiguai* is twofold. First, being short stories about the supernatural written in classical instead of vernacular Chinese, *zhiguai* as a genre did not meet the requirements of the ‘new literature’ in form and content promoted by the May Fourth literature reformers like Hu Shi 胡适, who advocated vernacular Chinese and ‘the literature of the people’ instead of ‘the literature of the ghost’. When scholars of Chinese literature did look back on the late Qing, they tend to focus on the long exposé novels instead of these short stories of ghosts and foxes. Indeed, the anti-ghost movement in literary and political discourses in twentieth century China ensured that fictions on ghosts remained more or less a taboo until the 1980s<sup>5</sup> except one book, the canonized seventeenth century *Liaozhai Zhiyi* (hereafter as *LZZY*).<sup>6</sup> The canonization of a few high Qing *zhiguai* masterpieces, especially *LZZY*, constitutes the second factor that leads to the suppression of the later *zhiguai*. Later *zhiguai* tales are often unfavorably compared with *LZZY*. Lu Xun 鲁迅 did this in his pioneering *Zhongguo Xiaoshuo Shiliu* 中国小说史略 [A Brief History of Chinese Fiction]. While categorizing Wang Tao’s three collections as “pure imitation” of *LZZY*, he remarks not without lamentation that in these works there are fewer ghosts and foxes and more courtesans and romance.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, too many later scholars just endorsed Lu Xun’s comments and regard late Qing *zhiguai* as bad imitations of two prominent predecessors: either the flamboyant *LZZY* or the terse and didactic *Yuewei Caotang Biji*, which does not do justice to the large body of highly innovative *zhiguai* works produced in the late Qing and early Republican era.

Wang Tao wrote three collections of short stories in *zhiguai* style—*Dunku Lanyan* 遁窟谰言 [Unverified Words from the Cave of Retreat], *Songyin Manlu* 淞隐漫录 [Random Records upon the Song River] and *Songbin Suohua* 淞滨琐话 [Trivial Words upon the Song River]. Compared with Wang Tao’s significance in late Qing ideological transform, these *zhiguai* works received relatively lesser scholarly attention before 2000, partly because of the general contempt of late Qing *zhiguai* in academia discussed above. You Xiuyun’s *Wang Tao Xiaoshuo Sanshu Yanjiu* 王韬小说三书研究 [Study of Wang Tao’s Three Books of Fiction] remains till now the only book-length study of Wang’s fiction writing, which offers a good thematic study of Wang’s *zhiguai* collections and recognizes Wang’s fiction as a transit between traditional and

<sup>5</sup> On the suppression of ghost in the Republican era, see David Der-wei Wang 2004, pp. 264-6; see also Luo Hui 2009, pp. 204-49 for a review of the ups-and-downs of Chinese ghost discourse in the twentieth-century.

<sup>6</sup> The pages quoted all refer to Zhang Youhe’s 2<sup>nd</sup> critical edition (2011), *Liaozhai Zhiyi Huijiao Huizhu Huipingben*.

<sup>7</sup> Lu Xun 1973, p. 188.

modern Chinese fiction.<sup>8</sup> What, precisely, is it that differentiates the traditional from the modern? Other scholars give a more focused examination of modernity in Wang Tao's strange tales: while Sheldon Lu (2003) and Zheng Huili (2014) explore the genderized transnational encounters and the cultural anxiety of the Chinese man implicated therein, Wang Yichuan (2003) and Dang Yueyi (2004) trace the 'globalization' inclination in prototype in some of Wang Tao's stories.<sup>9</sup> All these studies help to show the complexity of Wang Tao as a reformist, as well as the various facets of the encounter between tradition and modernity as experienced and appropriated by the author.

The late Qing was an important moment for *zhiguai*, not only because of the sheer quantity of works that saw publication over this time (which was largely due to the importing of Western printing facilities and the burgeoning commercial publishing industry), but also for the innovation in form and content of these works. The encounter with the West and the new possibilities for *zhiguai* to transgress genre boundaries to permeate journalism and even literature translation,<sup>10</sup> inevitably transformed how the traditional 'records of the strange' was conceptualized and how the world was conceptualized in it. To offer a thorough re-examination of late Qing *zhiguai* would be out of the scope of this paper, but I hope my reading of Wang Tao's *zhiguai* during the 1880s will at least locate some of the new thematic and formal innovations of late Qing *zhiguai*. Being a typical man caught in social transition, Wang Tao's turn to *zhiguai* itself deserves attention. In his hands, the traditional genre to 'record the strange' is appropriated to reflect on China's past and present, to negotiate with cultural and personal crises in the face of Western influence, and captures vividly the agonies of China's early modernity.

### ***1. Reading the Supernatural from the Outside: the Prefaces***

Wang Tao's *Dunku Lanyan* (hereinafter as *DKLY*), *Songyin Manlu* (*SYML*) and *Songyin Suohua* (*SBSH*) were published by the Shanghai publishing house *Shenbao Guan* 申報館 in 1875, 1884 and 1887 respectively. Almost a decade separated *DKLY* from the two later works. Most of the stories in *DKLY* were written during Wang Tao's exile in Hong Kong after his letter with the Taiping leaders was exposed to the Qing authority, and an uncertain portion of it may

---

<sup>8</sup> You Xiuyun 2006, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Other studies of Wang Tao's fiction in Chinese language: Gao Guihui (2010) studies Wang Tao's *Dunku Lanyan* as a reaction towards the Taiping rebellion; Zhan Xiaoyong (2003, pp. 249-53) and Zhang Zhenguo (2011, pp. 174-93) offer a short discussion of Wang Tao's *zhiguai* stories in their respective monographs on Qing Dynasty *zhiguai* and *chuanqi*.

<sup>10</sup> On late Qing *zhiguai*'s interaction with other modes of writing, see Huntington 2003a; Hanan 2004, p. 119; Kim 2007, and Zhan Xiaoyong 2003, pp. 301-5.

have been written even before his Hong Kong years.<sup>11</sup> Both in style and subject, *DKLY* was closer to *LZZY*, consisting of longer polished pieces as well as shorter sketches. Stories in *SYML* and *SBSH* were first serialized in *Shenbao*'s affiliated pictorial magazine *Dianshizhai Huabao* 點石齋畫報 upon Wang Tao's return to Shanghai in 1884. The initial publication media may have influenced the author's writing strategy, for stories in *SYML* and *SBSH* are more even in length and a significant portion of them are romance. But apart from these formal and thematic differences, what truly sets the first book apart from the two later works is their different perceptions of *zhiguai*'s own standing and in extension their understanding of China's position in the world. If the former is the apprentice work of a disciple of Pu Songling who was not yet fully disillusioned with his ability to 'rectify the world', the latter two were the works of a worldly old man who had seen as much as any Chinese at that time had chance to see (Europe and Japan). This piece focuses on stories in the two later works, but first an investigation of Wang Tao's prefaces over time will help to illuminate his gradual change of positions.

The preface of a book is the place where the author sets the framework for his audience to understand his work. As *zhiguai* was traditionally regarded as a marginal literary genre unbecoming a serious scholar, a writer of *zhiguai* would often make a justification for his act of writing this very book in the preface. Pu Songling made an exemplar model of such apologies. In his "Self-record of *Liaozhai*" (his preface to *LZZY*), he not only enacted a genealogy of ghost story collectors including familiar names like Gan Bao 干寶 and Su Shi 蘇軾, but also placed himself among highly imaginative poets like Qu Yuan 屈原 and Li He 李賀. Moreover, he sketches for his reader a touching autobiography permeated by ghostliness through and through.<sup>12</sup> Such an apologetic act since then has become the norm: the author either appeals to *zhiguai*'s own canon, or resorts to his personal history to vindicate his affinity with the supernatural.

A slightly different legitimization act is to appeal to the didacticism of ghost stories.<sup>13</sup> This is a position more akin to the Confucian tradition of 'moralizing by poetry' and indeed the one held by another Qing *zhiguai* writer Ji Yun in his *Yuewei Caotang Biji*.<sup>14</sup> A less confrontational yet not infrequent justification is to trivialize the act of *zhiguai* writing or to term it simply as amusement. Both Ji Yun and Yuan Mei adopted this approach. While Yuan Mei states clearly in his preface to *Zibuyu* his obsession of collecting stories "pleasing to the heart and shocking to the ear",<sup>15</sup> Ji Yun seems to consider it unbecoming to even write a

<sup>11</sup> *DKLY*, Wang Tao's preface I, p. 1, Wang Tao's preface II, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> On an analysis of Pu Songling's self-preface to *LZZY*, see Zeitlin 1993, pp. 43-58.

<sup>13</sup> On an analysis of *zhiguai* writers' motivation as revealed in their prefaces, see Leo Tak-hung Chan 1998, pp. 19-24.

<sup>14</sup> *Yuewei Caotang Biji*, 1: 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Zibuyu*, p. 1.

preface for *Yuwei Caotang Biji*, leaving only a few lines of notes before each volume.

A close adherence to such traditional legitimization acts can be traced in the two prefaces Wang Tao wrote for *DKLY*. Preface I, a verse piece composed mainly of couplets with dense allusions, is clearly modeled on Pu Songling's "Self-record of *Liaozhai*". Wang Tao begins this preface by reviewing the tradition of Chinese fantastic literature and proceeds to describing his bleak studio in Hong Kong; in Preface II, he argues that his "withdrawing from the world" (gesturing to the phrase *dunku*—"cave of retreat"—in his title) is not different from the traditional Confucian man's mission of "rectifying the world" (Preface II, 3), and his claim lies in his great faith in the moralizing force of supernatural stories:

The reason that works on ghosts and spirits were not dispelled, is that they aim at persuasion and admonishment and connect with customs and rituals; they praise the good and punish the evil, elevate the chaste and reduce the licentious, enlighten the foolish and stubborn and affect women and children, so that the ghost chronicler's work is not so different from the wooden bells of the moralizing officials—what I record in this book is just like this.<sup>16</sup>

If the author of *DKLY* is still a loyal disciple of Pu Songling and to some extent of Ji Yun, both of whom believe in the moral value of talking about the supernatural, Wang Tao's preface to *SYML* is a defiant assault on such traditions. From the beginning, he attacks squarely on the root of Chinese beliefs in fantastic creatures: *Shan Hai Jing* 山海经, or *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*, and he did so by using Westerners and their knowledge as reference.<sup>17</sup>

Today the Westerners have set foot on the extremes of the world, but they have not found fantastic creatures with round head and square feet, stretching to the heaven and to the earth as described by *The Classic* [of Mountains and Seas]. Therefore what *The Classic* says is not true. *Qilin*, phoenix, turtle and dragon, these are the four holy creatures respected by the Chinese, but the Westerners say there is no *qilin* among furred animals, no phoenix among feathered animals, and no dragon among scaled animals.<sup>18</sup>

He continues the polemic and extends it to a comparison of Western and Chinese beliefs and behaviors. The Westerners, according to him, are good at

<sup>16</sup> *DKLY*, Wang Tao's preface II, pp. 3-4. If not otherwise indicated, the English translations in this piece are mine own.

<sup>17</sup> Zheng Huili 2014, pp. 280-1, asserts that Wang Tao was the first of Chinese writers to use the West as a frame of cultural reference. Gao Guihui (2010, p. 25) and (Liu Yongqiang 1992, p. 23), both note the singularity of this blatant denial of the existence of the supernatural in a *zhiguai* preface. In my knowledge Wang Tao probably is the only *zhiguai* writer to do so.

<sup>18</sup> Wang Tao's preface to *SYML*, p. 1.

practical knowledge, scientific investigation, accurate observation, and machine-making, all of which can benefit the people and strengthen the country, while the Chinese “do not do this, but seek such ends in fractured, illusory, and unverifiable lands—this is not merely the folly of curiosity, but pertaining to absurdity!”<sup>19</sup>

The exaltation of Western practical learning and denigration of Chinese supernatural beliefs is unequivocal.<sup>20</sup> A comparison of the rhetoric used here with a preface to a contemporary *zhiguai* collection *Yeyu Qiudeng Lu* 夜雨秋燈錄 [Records of a Rainy Night under an Autumn Lamp] can reveal how far Wang Tao has deviated from the *zhiguai* discourse: the latter was clearly stylized on Pu Songling’s preface, consisting of an autobiography colored with mystic reincarnation and ghostly existence and an endorsement of the moralizing function of talking about ghosts.<sup>21</sup> However in this preface, the last redeeming virtue of supernatural stories he had clung to in his previous work—*zhiguai*’s didacticism, is dismissed as expedient and impractical:

The sage uses the supernatural as a moral lesson, but this is only a lesson for the foolish ones—in the human world there is the law of the emperor, while in the netherworld there is the law of ghosts and spirits, so that the foolish ones are cautioned to do good things and shun the evil. [...] The self-deluded make all kinds of strange stories so that the cave of the fox is made to look like an alternative world. All these are what the Westerners resolutely refuse to believe, because they hold that practical deeds are much better than illusory words.<sup>22</sup>

By now, Wang Tao has nullified every merit of talking about the supernatural: they are not real, they do not serve as good moral lessons, and they do not do our country good. It seems that Wang Tao is not writing a preface to a *zhiguai* collection but a polemic on it. One may ask: what kind of a framework is the author setting for his reader?

Wang Tao’s next move is somewhat surprising, for without resolving the fissure between the Western practicality and Chinese supernaturalism in his re-conceptualization of *zhiguai*, he begins a sketch of his life foregrounding the

---

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> While it is true that many *zhiguai* writers invent their own ghosts and spirits, the existence (or non-existence) of ghosts and spirits, or at least the verifiability of ghost stories, is still an important issue for them, for the moralizing validity of the stories hinges on it. This is the major issue that Ji Yun finds with *LZZY*—Pu’s ghosts and foxes are invented by the author therefore cannot serve as good moral lessons; Ji Yun himself leads the “veridical school” of *zhiguai* and proposes didacticism as a third major justification for *zhiguai*. On *zhiguai*’s didacticism, see Leo Tak-hung Chan 1998, pp. 149-86.

<sup>21</sup> Xuan Ding 宣鼎, Preface to *Yeyu Qiudeng Lu*. Xuan Ding was Wang Tao’s contemporary and their works were evaluated together in Lu Xun’s *Zhongguo Xiaoshuo Shilüe* as imitations of *LZZY*.

<sup>22</sup> Wang Tao’s preface to *SYML*, p. 1.

injustices he has endured. This is a relatively conventional move: in line with the traditional poetic discourse that literature is the outflow of the author's pent-up emotions originating from the pre-Qin philosopher Han Fei 韓非,<sup>23</sup> the *zhiguai* writer sometimes would fashion himself as a frustrated and neglected talent, who with no solace in the human world has to seek friendship among the ghosts and foxes.<sup>24</sup> Wang Tao establishes a similar image of himself: once an ambitious man who was eager to benefit his country with practical knowledge, his candor and unconventionality caused him enemies and slanders.<sup>25</sup> What can one do with such a frustrating life? Wang Tao's solution is familiar but not so compatible with the worldview he has set up in the previous part—he resorts to literature writing:

When [one is] direly trapped, one has to find a way out; when [one is] desperately depressed, one has to command his energy to some channel. When one ends up being unrecognized by the world, one has to go to the deepest of the mountains and the heart of the forests, and his sorrows, agonies, melancholy and delicate sentiments have to be commanded to the book. If [I] cannot find this end in China, I seek it in the extremes of the world and the strange lands; if I cannot find it in my contemporaries, I seek back in the origins of history and towards the far ends of the future; if I cannot find it among creatures like me, I seek it among ghosts and foxes, immortals and Buddhas, plants and birds and beasts.<sup>26</sup>

After deciding that the fantastic world of the foxes and ghosts is illusory and non-beneficial in the first part, Wang Tao now appeals to the traditional apology of *zhiguai* writing and stages the fantastic world as the last resort for a frustrated scholar. Following the above quoted section and before the final section on the particulars of the publishing of the book, Wang Tao hurriedly stitches up a fantastic story-telling tradition including typical figures like Qu Yuan, Zhuangzi 莊子 and Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 as his precursors—a belated act almost by hindsight.

Certainly, the beliefs in the supernatural and the fictional narration of the supernatural are different things;<sup>27</sup> while Wang Tao certainly is not a supporter

<sup>23</sup> On the relation between the author's anguish and literary creation in Chinese literary discourse from Han Fei through Sima Qian to Pu Songling, see Zeitlin 1993, pp. 50-1.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Pu Songling's "Self-record of *Liaozhai*", especially the concluding question: "Are not those who know me among the green woods and black fortresses?" (知我者其在青林黑塞间乎)—which is an allusion to ghosts as well as to true friendship.

<sup>25</sup> *SYML*, Wang Tao's preface, p. 2. Here Wang Tao is referring to his suspected liaison with the Taiping's in 1861 which led to his escape to Hong Kong. On this dramatic episode, see McAleavy 1953, pp. 14-5; and Cohen 1974, pp. 39-56.

<sup>26</sup> *SYML*, Wang Tao's preface, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> While the 'fictitious' quality of literature or fiction is self-evident in the term fiction in Western literary discourse (cf. Starr 2007, p. 17 on the transmission of the word 'literature' in English), it is a contested issue in traditional Chinese literature. In the Chinese context, beliefs

of the former, his rationale in writing even fictitious supernatural stories still seems suspicious. Throughout the preface, two incompatible cosmoses are wrestling with each other: on one hand there is the rational world navigated by Westerners where no fantastic creatures exist and only practical knowledge does anyone good—this is the world that Wang Tao, as a man admiring the Western efficiencies, lived and believed in; on the other hand, there is the cosmos backed-up with an entire genealogy of supernatural writing and a tradition of fashioning alternative identities and enclaves through writing the supernatural—this is the world that a disillusioned and displaced Chinese *literatus* can resort to, and to it Wang Tao resorted in the end. But still, Wang Tao's retreat to the *zhiguai* world is not a total one; it is worth noting that the places he envisions where he can seek his peace of mind include not only China but also a larger outside: "If I cannot find it in China, I seek it in the extremes of the world and strange lands." Indeed, the wonderlands in Wang Tao's writing stretch far beyond the traditional peripheries of Chinese culture to include Western countries like France, the UK and Switzerland.

Wang Tao's preface to *SYML* sets up for us a heterogeneous world where competing discourses co-exist, and this is the world that Wang Tao as a transitional (or in McAleavy's word, "displaced")<sup>28</sup> figure lived in. The tension between the two worldviews also sets up a potential space for the fantastic: as per Tzvetan Todorov's definition, when different interpretative frameworks haphazardly exist side by side in the narrative, we enter the realm of the fantastic.<sup>29</sup> In Wang Tao's stories we will see time and again the traces of conflicting interpretations: a true reflection of the anxiety and displacement felt by the first generation of Chinese who were forced to re-examine China and their own position in a global context. Here, the old potent genre *zhiguai* offers fertile land to explore the complexities of reality, self, and history—issues fundamental to modernity.

## ***2. Encountering the Specters of History: the Remains and the Revenants***

A somewhat unique cultural concept in China is *yimin* 遺民.<sup>30</sup> *Yi* means to leave behind, to be lost, and remaining, so *yimin* literally means 'the remaining

---

in the supernatural and the narration of the supernatural as fictitious are not so clear-cut in *zhiguai* writing, especially in early *zhiguai* writings where the texts were either regarded as 'quasi-history' or persuasions of Buddhism or Taoism.

<sup>28</sup> McAleavy 1953.

<sup>29</sup> On the notion of the fantastic as developed by Todorov and Rosemary Jackson, see Todorov 1975, and Jackson 1981. More on the issue of fantasy in the final section.

<sup>30</sup> 遺民 sometimes is used interchangeably with its homonym 逸民. Here I adopt the former as the unifying term.

people'. A polysemic word, it most often refers to the group of people 'left behind history' in dramatic dynastical changes. Sometimes, the 'leaving-behind' is a strongly-posed political gesture as living in recluse and refusing participation in the new political regime testifies to the subject's loyalty to the previous dynasty and rejection of the new one.<sup>31</sup> *Yimin* carved out for themselves a metaphorical vacuum space in history by sheer will: they absented themselves from the contemporary political and social scene and observed the customs of the previous dynasty, so while they actually lived simultaneously with the changed world, they made themselves the living remains of what was already dead. The first famous *yimin* in Chinese history were Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊 (ca. twelfth century B.C.), Shang Dynasty loyalists who would rather starve to death than to eat the crops grown in the new Zhou regime. Such loyalism and moral integrity was praised by Confucius.<sup>32</sup> In theory each dynastical change would produce its own *yimin*, but in reality the most conspicuous *yimin* groups emerged during the transition between Song and Yuan (Mongols) and between Ming and Qing (Manchus): both were occasions when an alien people replaced the Han Chinese as the new ruler. For the Han Chinese *yimin* of Song and Ming living under a foreign rule, they regarded their loss as not only the loss of their nation, but of the whole Chinese civilization.

*Yimin* is a term with strong moral and political connotations and actually affords limited accessibility to the common people—for the refusal to participate in the new government implies that the subject at least has had the right to participate in the first place: namely one has to be a male, scholarly elite or a man of prestige. But here I use the term in a broad sense to denote the group of people who deliberately or unconsciously leave themselves behind history; they preserve the practices and cultures of a past time and while they keep a moment of Chinese history alive, they inadvertently become the living dead—the remains of history. If we adopt this concept of *yimin*, we will find that such figures appear frequently in Wang Tao's *zhiguai*. The urgent political messages softened, *yimin* in Wang Tao's stories actually fades into the fantastic and even merges with another motif: the *Taohua Yuan* 桃花源 (Peach Blossom Spring) utopia.

Indeed, if we re-examine Tao Qian's 陶潛 fifth century fable *Taohuayuan Ji* 桃花源記 (*The Peach Blossom Spring*), we find it to be yet another *yimin* story. In the time of Eastern Jin (317-420 A.D.), a fisherman from Wuling one day found a cave at the origin of a spring with blossoming peach trees on either side

<sup>31</sup> On ramifications of the concept of 遺民, see Zhang Bing 1998; Fang Yong 2000.

<sup>32</sup> Confucius categorized seven luminaries as *yimin* 逸民, among whom Boyi and Shuqi were esteemed highest: "The Master said, 'Refusing to surrender their wills, or to submit to any taint in their persons—such, I think, were Boyi and Shuqi.'" *Analects*, 18: 336, translated by James Legge.

of the banks. He went in and at the end of a long and narrow tunnel he suddenly found himself in front of a peaceful village. The hospitable villagers treated the stranger to banquets for several days. They were curious about the news from the outside, and told the fisherman that they once were refugees fleeing from frequent wars in the age of Qin and knew nothing about the succeeding dynasties. Returning, the fisherman broke his promise to keep the cave a secret and reported to the local magistrate. Yet although he had made marks on his way back, no one was able to trace the Peach Blossom Spring again.

At Tao Qian's time when dynastical changes and *coup d'état* were frequent and violent, a significant appeal of the story must be envisioning the possibility of living in a temporality forgotten by history and unperturbed by political struggles. Although the cave dwellers reserved no loyalty to any political regime, they inadvertently preserved alive the simplicity and innocence belonging only to an (imagined) by-gone golden age. Tang Dynasty poets who appropriated the Peach Blossom Spring motif tended to portray the villagers as immortals and the place as a fantastic land, but as Zhang Longxi stresses, there is a noticeable secular note in Tao Qian's original tale: what we know for sure about the villagers of the Peach Blossom Spring is not their immortality but their unconformity with their contemporary tyrannical regime. Utopian vision, Zhang asserts, is fundamentally a secular vision; it must be about a better society that can be realized through human efforts instead of miracles, "therefore the utopian vision invariably presents itself as social commentary" to convey some political message.<sup>33</sup>

In combining the Peach Blossom Spring motif with the *yimin* motif, no political message is lost in Wang Tao's tales, yet they are indeed about fantastic lands and more surprisingly, with a modern twist. The typical protagonist, often a contemporary young man as ambitious and practical-minded as Wang Tao himself, decides to see the world, takes a modern steamship and sets out. He suffers a shipwreck, lands on an apparently uninhabited island and then meets some benevolent immortals, who prove to have been Chinese *yimin* of the Ming or Song dynasties or even earlier. The utopian island is such a perfect limbo of time and history that both the immortals and the protagonist find their previous engagements with worldly affairs so shallow and repulsive; but unlike the immortals, the protagonist has to return to the human world in the end, just as the Wuling fisherman does in the *Peach Blossom Spring*.

Such a formula can be traced in "The Immortals' Island" 仙人島 (*SYML*, 1: 13), "Scholar Min" 闵玉叔 (*SYML*, 3: 113), and "A Summer Resort" 消夏湾 (*SYML*, 12: 566). "A Summer Resort" is like an exposition of fossilized Chinese history: the protagonist Ji Zhongxian first meets on the island two old men in attires so antique as if transported from the ancient origins of Chinese history

---

<sup>33</sup> Zhang Longxi 2000, p. 1.

(implied to be the legendary “flood period”);<sup>34</sup> both their speaking and writing are incomprehensible to Ji. Unable to communicate with Ji, they invite over another islander, a recluse also in antique attire but speaking a language that Ji can at least understand. He tells Ji that he had been a follower of the Southern Song loyalist Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 and how he had drifted to the island after the critical Yashan maritime battle with the Mongols. The chaotic history of the collapse of the Song Dynasty is lightly evoked in the recluse’s recollection, and the narrative then swiftly turns to an indulgent description of the island’s wonders as the recluse shows Ji around. In this fantastic island forgotten by rulers and historians, the remaining people of different historical moments live peacefully together, each preserving the relics of their own era. The long Chinese history seems to be incarnated into these human bodies and kept intact while reminiscence of remote floods and wars are overshadowed by the fantastic wonders that the island can offer.

*Yimin*, or the remaining people, are represented as a perfect fossil of Chinese history in such stories of fantastic encounters. To encounter Chinese *yimin* beyond China’s periphery testifies to the longevity of Chinese culture, and more importantly, to see a familiar Chinese face and costume in a strange land is particularly reassuring for a Chinese person travelling overseas as it is a testimony of China’s political and cultural influence.<sup>35</sup> Yet Wang Tao’s interrogation of Chinese history does not stop at self-aggrandizement. The romanticization of the remaining people, while reinforcing the reassuring superiority of Chinese culture, however also haunts as an uncanny specter. If, as Jacques Derrida says, the specter is “a trace that marks the present with its absence in advance”,<sup>36</sup> we could also say the opposite that something is constantly lived through on the specter albeit its absence, namely the cruelty of history that makes the specter in the first place. A section of history is incarnated unto the specter’s body and kept intact, but its very existence is witness of the violence of history, the fall of nation, the shattering of culture and the impotence of individuals in face of shifting grounds under their own feet. While an encounter with *yimin* restages for the wandering protagonist the glories and humiliations of Chinese civilization, it also subtly reminds him—and the reader too—that such a historical fate might befall China again. As a man fully exposed to the West and its powers, the looming civilizational crisis was never out of

---

<sup>34</sup> SYML, p. 568.

<sup>35</sup> The narrative of encountering Chinese traces on the journey to the outside world needs to be reflected in the context of the actual political relations in Asia at the time: China’s influence upon its once subordinate neighboring countries (Vietnam for instance) was waning as Western forces were alarmingly intruding in. Wang Tao had already sensed the danger of Western insinuation during his 1867 voyage to Europe via Southeast Asia. See *Manyou Suilu Tuji*, pp. 43, 46. On China’s border crises in the late nineteenth century, see Rankin 2008.

<sup>36</sup> Derrida and Stigler 2013, p. 39. On a broader discussion of the concept of spectrality, see Blanco and Peeren 2013, pp. 1-29.

Wang Tao's mind. Therefore, while *yimin* appears frequently in Wang Tao's stories in a Utopian setting, the narrative finally deviates from it.

The ambiguous ending of "The Immortal's Island" exposes the conflicts between an idealized version of history and a cruel and mundane one. The story itself is a relay of competing discourses. After twenty years' happy sojourn on the immortal's island with an immortal wife, the protagonist Xu Mengtu is urged by his wife and parents-in-law to return to the human world as predestined.<sup>37</sup> Reluctantly, Xu obeys. Thirty years later a message from the wife asking him to return to the island re-kindles his desire to travel overseas, but this time he is ridiculed by a sailor: "Now the Western ships sail across the ocean with set timetables and all the islands are already inhabited. Wide as the oceans are, how can there be any deserted island for the immortals to live on? Don't be a fool!"<sup>38</sup> But Xu is resolute. He books a voyage to America, yet before he departs, a Taiping troop raids his village. Xu is killed by the bandits on the spot with several hacks when he leaps from his hiding place to protect his travel fund. Two narrative conventions jar disconcertingly in this strange brew of wines old and new. Traditional plot conventions like predestination are hinted at repeatedly in the tale: the union between Xu and the immortal wife is ordained by the bride's father as fulfilling the girl's predestined "mundane destiny" (尘缘); Xu's unwilling departure from the immortal's island is explained as his "destiny" (天数); the promised return to the immortal's island and the wife's message again remind Xu and the reader of the existence of the fantastic world and the possibility of divine intervention in human lives. All these plot conventions serve to set the reader for a certain genre expectation: the *zhiguai* world where karmic retribution ladles out fortune or disaster and human destiny is ordained by some just higher force. As Paolo Santangelo remarks, the classic *Liaozhai Zhiyi* adopts such a cosmic view.<sup>39</sup> The moralizing force that is traditionally accorded *zhiguai* actually hinges upon such a conceptualization of heavenly justice and human destiny, and not a small number of *zhiguai* writers endorsed it. However, while such plot conventions are enacted in "The Immortal's Island", a full realization of its genre expectation is always delayed and finally denied, as if Wang Tao deliberately lures his reader into a familiar world only to expose the unstable foundations of it. For Xu lives in a world not only inhabited by immortals, but also an industrialized one where voyages to the other end of the globe are operated by foreign shipping companies, and real political upheavals like the Taiping rebellion can easily thwart a man's predestined journey. If Yuan Mei deviates from Pu Songling's voluntarist

<sup>37</sup> The wife's immortal parents are alluded to be followers of Zhang Shijie 張世杰 (*SYML*, p. 14), another Southern Song loyalist who ranked among the "Songmo Sanjie" 宋末三杰 ("Three Heroes of Late Song", the other two being Weng Tianxiang and Lu Xiufu 陸秀夫).

<sup>38</sup> *SYML*, p. 16.

<sup>39</sup> On cosmic order and human destiny in *zhiguai*, see Santangelo 2013, pp. 68-94.

worldview in postulating destiny as beyond human understanding and seemingly absurd, Wang Tao seems to deviate further in bringing in a whole new dimension, largely acknowledging the powerful Western culture, where things in the world is not regulated by the relationship between heaven and man, but physical forces that can move machines.

The sudden and brutal ending of Xu's fantastic adventure brought the incongruity of competing discourses to a crux. The fantastic world of the immortals pales against the bloody and ruthless contemporary atrocity as Xu's efforts to fulfill his destiny are first hindered by Western navigation of the sea and then cut short by the Taiping raid. Xu's ending of being killed in the act of protecting gold is doubly ironic: as he is a recluse supposedly contemptuous of money, to guard money so desperately as to pay by his life is enough of a shame. We know the fact that Xu's possessiveness of gold is caused by his eagerness to rejoin his beloved wife, yet it does not soften the irony at all: the immortal wife's message for reunion does not miraculously bring about reunion as expected, but indirectly kills the husband. Is the man who longs today for an immortal's island really a fool? Were Xu given the opportunity to begin his journey, would he be able to find the way back to the immortal's island? Or rather, is Xu really killed by the bandits? Can it be a disguise staged by the immortal wife to help achieve the reunion, so that while we are reading Xu's death, we are actually reading his re-entering the fantastic?<sup>40</sup> The narrative of the story and the paradoxical interpretative frameworks set in the preface as discussed above may suggest a yes to all these questions, yet guarantee none. The reader is left in a truly fantastic realm in Todorov's sense and titillated to choose between a naturalistic interpretation as favored by the sailor and a marvelous one. Whatever the choice, the reluctance of a *zhiguai* story to let the marvelous interpretation dominates indicates at least its author's suspicion of a reassuring, coherent world guided by benevolent divine providence. It lets out the bleak message that while *yimin* as a specter of history can offer comfort and happiness for twenty years in a limbo, now we are in a world too different to return to it.

The tragic death of Xu pulls us away from the Utopian island right to the center of a contemporary cruelty: the traumas of the Taiping rebellion. While a few *yimin* can survive domestic wars by retreating to a faraway island, more people, especially women, die silent victims and become revenants. Female revenants are a staple figure of *zhiguai*: like the foxes, they are astonishingly beautiful and come willingly to comfort the lonely craving male scholars at

---

<sup>40</sup> The Taoist concept of *shijie* 尸解—one way of becoming an immortal through abandoning the useless body—may serve as a possible interpretation here. Such a process appears as a brutal death to the mortal eyes. Stories on mysterious Taoists and their sometimes 'faked-death' abound in Wang Tao's collections, making a similar interpretation in this story not totally unlikely. Cf. *DKLY*, 8: 174, "Shijie".

night.<sup>41</sup> Wang Tao adopts this human-male and supernatural-female romantic paradigm, but what sets his female revenants apart is that they so often appear as a group of victims of some particular historical calamities, be it the tumultuous trans-dynastical wars or the contemporary Taiping rebellion.<sup>42</sup> The typical plot goes like this: a man sojourning alone in a forlorn place accidentally overhears the feast of a group of women in a nearby garden at night; the women's merry chatter turns gradually into a bitter recollection of their tragic death in a previous (usually trans-dynastical) war. When the man returns to the same spot the next day, he finds nothing but some crumbled tombstones with fading engravings, indicating that the liveliness and glamour he overheard the previous night are but the re-animated shadows of long past history. Such a basic plot can be traced in "Li Yangeng" 李延庚 (*SBSH*, 1: 8), "Bai Qiongxian" 白琼仙 (*SBSH*, 2: 29), "Liu Qing" 柳青 (*SBSH*, 3: 51), and "Feng Peibo" 冯佩伯 (*SYML*, 5: 232). In these tales the traumas of war and the unreasonable human sufferings within it are re-enacted again and again through the ghosts' nocturnal parties. It seems that however merry their feast and however beautiful their clothing, it cannot erase the fact that they are victims of war and are made ghosts by some brutal historical events in which they have no say.

It should be noted that the female revenants observed by the male gazers are often the virtuous 'chaste women' in one way or another.<sup>43</sup> In any sense, these virtuous revenants are just a female version of the *yimin* with the same nobility yet fewer choices: the male loyalists may go to wars, or failing that, choose a self-exile under the new rule, but the women have to vindicate their loyalty to their men and their country through suicide.<sup>44</sup> Does such glorious

---

<sup>41</sup> On the eroticization of the female ghost and other supernatural creatures, see Anthony Yu 1987, p. 429, and Zeitlin 2007, pp. 16-28; Huntington 2003b, p. 189, and Kang Xiaofei 2006, pp. 73-5.

<sup>42</sup> Although this piece is mainly about *SBSH* and *SYML*, the trauma of the Taiping rebellion is a recurrent theme throughout Wang Tao's three *zhiguai* books. *DKLY* was written immediately after the Taiping war and contains more than twenty stories about the war. But those stories are slightly different from the ones discussed here as there the war most often happens in a present tense while here, the memories of war has become a buried past that can only return through the ghost. On *DKLY*'s representation of the Taiping rebellion, see Gao Guihui 2010.

<sup>43</sup> In "Li Yangeng" and "Bai Qiongxian", they are wives and concubines committing suicide (willingly or coerced) to honour their husbands who died (or anticipating death) in wars; in "Feng Peibo", they are the chaste women refusing the lustful Taiping leaders. Underneath these 'noble deaths' is the cruel fact that many women had been coerced into suicide by their husbands to realize the loyalty ideal, see Qin Yanchun 2008, pp. 280-2.

<sup>44</sup> On the equation between female chastity and male loyalty in late Imperial elite discourse, see Martin W. Huang 2006, pp. 72-86. It should be noted that while female chastity and women's supposed moral superiority are being exalted in such discourse as well as implied in Wang Tao's tales, the body of women is always used as the defining other. This problematic equation generated considerable anxiety over masculinity in the Ming-Qing dynastical transition when many eminent scholar-officials failed the loyalty test while their women

death bring these women consolation and honour? The texts' attitude towards this obvious virtuous and praiseworthy act is reserved. In "Liu Qing", two ghosts engage in a discussion of the merits and defects of ghosthood and humanhood, with one lamenting: "I'd rather become a human again than a *jian*."<sup>45</sup> And in stories without such a polemic, the merriment of the women's party always sinks into melancholy once they start retelling their death. The agonies of dynastical change and especially the irretrievable personal losses within it become a trauma they cannot work through, however the orthodox patriotic discourse may rationalize such an impotent act as suicide. Therefore although the revenants' nocturnal party starts merrily, it always turns into a mourning for the traumatic past, and it is a mourning that never ends. The ghost then becomes the Freudian melancholic who is forced to re-open the wounds of history again and again and ritually perform a silenced criticism of history.<sup>46</sup>

While *yimin* crystalizes history in a static temporality, the female revenant travels freely across history to expose its repetitiveness. China's dynastical history determines that while time is perceived as progressing linearly, history is also constructed as cyclical and the demise of one dynasty always reminds one of numerous similar crises preceding it<sup>47</sup>—by extension, the ghost made in the fall of one dynasty is similar to the ghost of another, and they may even be the same ghost. While in actual history numerous people had died silent victims of war, in fictional narratives they are resurrected as ghosts. Anthropologist Stephan Feuchtwang gives such a comparison between fictional and historical narratives of the past:

Myths [and by his extension fiction] constitute a metaphorical past, in which the present participates by analogy, whereas history is what the historian thinks

---

passed. The male loyalists' self-sacrifice or exile is an as impotent, or as Huang remarks, "feminized" act as the women's suicide, an utterly helpless act in the face of uncontrollable circumstances.

<sup>45</sup> *SBSH*, 13: 52. In ghost lore, a ghost is supposed to become a *jian* when it 'dies'. See *LZZY*, 5: 627.

<sup>46</sup> The psychoanalytic concepts mourning and melancholia are used advisedly here to help illuminate the condition of the female revenants. In Freud's original working of this pair of concepts, mourning is a normal and healthy process of grief at the end of which the subject is able to reinvest his attachment from the lost loved object to some other object, while melancholia is mourning that never ends, as the subject has internalized part of the lost object into his ego; therefore while the grieving melancholic blames and laments his own deficiencies, he is criticising the internalized loved object in himself (see Freud 1953). Similarly here, while the ghosts are articulating their sorrows again and again, they are symbolically performing a criticism on the violent force that renders them ghosts.

<sup>47</sup> On the perceived cyclic construction of Chinese history, see Zeitlin 2007, pp. 87-8; Cohen 1974, p. 119.

happened in the past and is reconstructed from a present knowledge, giving the present significance.<sup>48</sup>

If ghosts can be seen as embodying an irretrievable past, the fiction writer's narrative of the ghost is an attempt to reconstruct a metaphorical 'history' that excavates and illuminates an otherwise shadowed past. Moreover, the anachronism of the ghost coupled with China's perceptually cyclic dynastical history indicates that not only cannot the past be forgotten and buried, but it also cannot be totally separated from the present.

Wang Tao's stories of female revenant foreground the repetitiveness of history; the violence of past and recent histories is exhibited on the ghost's body as a continuous present. Scholars have long since recognized the similar cultural pathos during the late Ming and late Qing. Both were times when Chinese civilization was perceived to be under severe crisis from an alien intruder, and what often interests scholars is the conscious or unconscious imitation or re-appropriation by the late Qing intellectuals of the late Ming loyalist and romantic ideal.<sup>49</sup> Wang Tao enacts a straightforward parallel between the late Ming and his contemporary late Qing, but his focus is not a nostalgic longing for the golden past, but rather, the bleakness of the present. "Stories of the Planchette Spirits" 乩仙軼事 (*SYML*, 4: 198) and "Yan E-xian" 严萼仙 (*SYML*, 8: 370), two stories with a similar symmetrical pattern, illustrate two ways to reconstruct and critique Chinese history. Interestingly, the chaotic late Ming wars are juxtaposed with the recent Taiping rebellion through the bodies of two victimized women in both stories. "Stories of the Planchette Spirits" is composed of two women's biographies: a late Ming palace lady who is constantly kidnapped by lustful males after the fall of the Court before she can finally commit suicide, and a parallel story of a contemporary girl who narrowly escapes the Taiping troop yet soon dies as a rape victim of a Qing soldier. The repetitiveness of the women's suffering is spelled out by the narrator's remark conjoining the biographies: "although two hundred years stand between them, the happenings are similar and the sorrows the same".<sup>50</sup> Up to this point, the biographies of the two girls are not 'marvelous' in the conventional sense as there is no supernatural element in them at all. Indeed, the narrative of the two girls' stories is fashioned in the matter-of-fact style of historiography instead of the usually more polished style of Wang Tao's other tales. However, the 'historiographic' quality of the tale is confirmed with a final seal which paradoxically evokes the supernatural: we are told that the women's stories are revealed when their spirits possess the planchette during local *literati*'s

<sup>48</sup> Feuchtwang 2010, pp. 128-9; see also Chapter 8 of Feuchtwang's book on Chinese ghost narratives.

<sup>49</sup> On late Qing re-appropriation of the idealized scholar-courtesan relationship of the late Ming, see Catherine Vance Yeh 2002; Wai-ye Li 2005; Qin Yanchun 2008, pp. 222-88.

<sup>50</sup> *SYML*, p. 200.

gatherings (some well-versed poems supposedly composed by the ghosts are also recorded). Sympathizing with the women's misfortunes, the local *literati* record and disseminate their stories and thus Wang Tao is able to honour them in his collection. By vindicating the stories as the female revenants' self-narration, the *literati* (both inside the story and outside of it) attempt to commemorate the victims of history, yet conversely this act also reveals the ghosts' absolute silence in it, for it is clear that the female revenants' voice can only be heard through the busybody *literati* who seek ghostly message through the planchette. History makes women silent victims, and the *literati* dig them up as ghosts. While the final planchette episode is aimed at validating the women's narrative as genuine history, its supernaturalism dissolves any historicity of such a narrative<sup>51</sup>—no official history can be written of the ghosts but a fantastic one.

As if the attempt to restage history is too frustrating in "Stories of the Planchette Spirits", "Yan E-xian" provides a fantastic representation of the same parallel tragedies. Set twenty years after the Taiping rebellion, the protagonist Qian Pinhou is one day invited by his deceased cousin to a feast with two beauties: one is a former late Ming palace girl and the other a new ghost made during the Taiping Rebellion named Yan E-xian. As pre-destined, Qian spends a romantic night with E-xian and the cousin with the palace girl, before Qian wakes up from the dream and goes to resurrect E-xian as instructed. The tone in this tale is decidedly more cheerful and optimistic than "Planchette Spirits"; at one point E-xian remarks: "I feel that my happiness in the netherworld surpasses even that in an immortal's island; the troubles and fears and sorrows of separation in the human world seem to me utterly unbearable!"<sup>52</sup> As if to balance such a blatant escapist tone, the story then offers a more conventional happy ending: a blessed re-incarnation for the palace girl and a new lease of romance in the human world for Qian and E-xian. Indeed, which is more desirable, ghosthood or humanhood? As is the usual case with Wang Tao's stories, this story does not provide a coherent answer. The fantastic narrative of ghosts, like the utopian motif inscribed on *yimin*, softens the edges of historical violence, yet never fully dissipates it.

The tales of female revenant expose the injustices suffered by women in war, and reveal poignantly that in such chaos emperors and soldiers are no different from servants and bandits—while the interpretation of official history is legitimized by those in power, the individual sufferings indicate the opposite. By foregrounding the powerlessness of the female revenant, Wang Tao is able to

---

<sup>51</sup> Wang Tao also experiments with other ways to validate the female victim's narrative through planchette without the mediation of the *literati*. "The True Story of Li the Chaste Girl as Told by Herself through Planchette" 李贞姑下坛自述始末记 (*SBSH*, 12: 307) is a first person narrative of the woman's tragedy. On the planchette motif in Wang Tao, see Zhang Yuanyue 2013.

<sup>52</sup> *SYML*, p. 371.

level criticism at the brutality and unscrupulousness of dynastical change and political struggle, the darker side of history shadowed by the high nobility of the elite *yimin* discourse. However, while staging women as the helpless victim, he is well aware of men's similar impotent situation too. "Yaoniang Reincarnated" 盲娘再世 (*SYML*, 7: 300) is a vivid illustration of contemporary male anxiety over masculinity. The title foregrounds the marvelous woman Yaoniang, yet the story can be read as a spin-off of the historical figure Southern Tang Emperor Li Yu 李煜 and the accompanying motif of male impotence and the collapse of a nation.<sup>53</sup> The story is set in the aftermath of the Taiping rebellion in Nanjing.<sup>54</sup> Living in a haunted house, the protagonist Zhou Weihuang is one day visited by a mysterious beautiful woman named Xianglin. The formulaic romantic encounter is just another variation of the archetypal type in *LZZY*, yet the narrative then deviates from it: on the two lovers' journey down the Yangtze River, Zhou is befriended by a charismatic man who invites him to a feast with a group of beautiful ladies. The man reveals himself to be the Southern Tang emperor Li Yu, and the accompanying women all his favorite imperial concubines. What's more, Zhou's mysterious mistress Xianglin is none other but Li Yu's concubine Yaoniang. Understandably, Zhou is astonished and finds it terribly embarrassing to face this 'cuckolded' host, yet it is the 'cuckolded' ex-emperor who finds words to comfort him: "A man (like me) cannot keep intact his state, let alone his concubines! Yaoniang is only yours temporarily, but not for long."<sup>55</sup> Several years later Yaoniang disappears without a trace.

Identified as Li Yu's favorite concubine and implied as a new ghost of the Taiping rebellion, history is again doubly inscribed on the body of Yaoniang; and as the object of exchange between two men, Yaoniang serves as the link of identification between males of two falling dynasties. Li Yu's explicit equalization between his failure to protect his throne and his women makes it very clear that masculinity again is enacted by objectifying women: one loses control of the nation and one loses control of his women and vice versa. By exchanging concubines with Li Yu the humiliated emperor and cuckolded husband, the protagonist shares metaphorically with the former his impotence and the two men together seal the silent status of the woman.

As shown repeatedly, the trauma of history old and new are juxtaposed through the specters in Wang Tao's tales, with a looming sense that history might be relived, the current dynasty was coming to an end and China might again fall to an alien people. The return to the specters of history, on the one hand is a reliving of that history with all its heroism and nobility, yet on the

---

<sup>53</sup> Li Yu (937-978 A.D.), the last emperor of a southern court to be replaced by the Song Dynasty.

<sup>54</sup> Nanjing was the capital of the Taiping regime over 1853-1864. It was also once the capital of the Southern Tang.

<sup>55</sup> *SYML*, p. 303.

other is a problematization of the seemingly coherent and self-justified Chinese history. Indeed, for both the women who choose suicide and *yimin* who enact doomed rebellions and failing that, live a fossilized life/death in a disserted island, their heroic act of death commemorates history, but also exposes the irrationality, brutality and futility of it. For Wang Tao's generation, the need to narrate and construct China's past was especially urgent as its current standing in the world was being undermined by the threatening Western forces on all sides.

### 3. *Journey to the West and Journey to the Heart*

The close relation between *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* and the earliest *zhiguai* has been deservedly noted by many. Robert Ford Campany argued that the dichotomy between “center/periphery” and the act of cosmographic collecting that is established by Great Yu, the legendary creator of *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* was purposely appropriated by the first writers of the accounts of anomaly in the late Han and Six Dynasties period.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, Liu Yongqiang observed a “*Shanhaijing*-model” (山海经模式) that very often informs the description of the overseas in Ming and Qing literature, the feature of which is to presume China as the imagined center of the world, and all the peoples and creatures on the peripheries are viewed from the center as strange and wondrous, but at the same time can be recorded and regulated by people and emperors from the center.<sup>57</sup> A strong Sinocentric conceit is seen in narratives of such a “*Shanhaijing*-model”, in which the peoples and lands encountered in the overseas are distorted mirrors to reflect the superiority of the Chinese self.

While such a distorted imagination of the overseas is still present in the *zhiguai* works of some of Wang Tao's contemporaries, the blatant conceit vis-à-vis a foreign culture is rare in Wang Tao. As a man who had stayed in Europe for nearly three years and had been genuinely amazed by the industrial and institutional achievements of his host countries, Wang Tao's stories about the West stay outside the “center/periphery” dichotomy and tend to portray Europe as a land as cultivated as China. However, while Wang Tao's stories of foreigners and foreign countries escape the above relation of domination, they still cannot escape a stereotyped gendered imagination of the other culture which is always represented by its women. Four of Wang Tao's strange tales, “Overseas Beauties” 海外美人 (SYML, 4: 193), “A Splendid Journey of the Overseas” 海外壮游 (SYML, 8: 355), “Wonderland at the Bottom of Sea” 海底奇境 (SYML, 8: 350) and “Biography of Mary” 媚黎小传 (SYML, 7: 305) focus

---

<sup>56</sup> Campany 1996, pp. 102-112.

<sup>57</sup> Liu Yongqiang 2006, pp. 133-143.

on the romantic encounter between a Chinese man and a foreign woman, and the sexualized transnational encounter in these tales has deservedly attracted scholars' attention.<sup>58</sup> While Sheldon Lu reads Wang Tao's transnational encounter tales as a "wish fulfilment about the status of the Chinese citizens in a global arena",<sup>59</sup> Zheng Huili reads these same tales as implicating the anxiety of male impotency and civilizational crisis of Wang Tao's generation.<sup>60</sup> The "Chinese man versus foreign woman" narrative structure in Wang Tao indeed is troubled with paradoxes, and I shall argue in the following that its author is trying to negotiate with a Sino-Western relationship far more complex than one of domination and submission. In this section I focus on the story "Overseas Beauties", for it not only envisages a potential encounter between China and the West, but also enacts a symbolic encounter between China's past and present. The latter, a recurrent theme in Wang Tao's stories as shown above, may be more important, as the challenge from the West experienced by Wang Tao and his generation is forcing the Chinese subject to repeatedly revisit and reaffirm his cultural identity. The encounter with the West and the encounter with the specters of Chinese history actually are closely related: one needs to gain confidence and reaffirmation from history when one's own culture is challenged by an equally powerful alien culture, and how one sees history determines one's position vis-à-vis the West. Therefore, the Chinese man's outgoing journey to the West in this story actually mirrors his inward journey to an ambiguous and multi-layered Chinese heart.

In this story the protagonist Lu Meifang and his wife are portrayed as a very open-minded couple in the beginning. The husband is heir of a prestigious shipping business and has aspired to sail across the world since young. The wife, contrary to the modest and gentle type of Chinese wife, is a martial-arts master and shares her husband's ambition to explore the world. After the death of Lu's parents, the young couple is finally free to realize their ambitions. Declining the suggestion to take a modern Western liner, Lu builds a ship of his own design. The body of the ship conforms to the twenty-eight Zodiacs and twenty-four solar terms in traditional Chinese astronomy. It is powered by the commotion of air instead of coals and manned by a crew dressed in Taoist robes—a triumphant realization of Chinese science and technology instead of the Western one; yet the ship is lighted with electronic bulbs, another Western invention.<sup>61</sup> The unconventional formation of this Chinese couple (not many Chinese men at the

---

<sup>58</sup> Apart from Lu (2003) and Zheng (2014) mentioned above, Emma Jinghua Teng 2006, looks at Wang Tao's gender-inflicted encounter stories and travel writing as a late Qing "Occidentalism". In Chinese language, Wang Yichuan 2003, and Ni Nongshui 2009 also deal with Wang Tao's stories that have a "globalization" orientation (i.e. stories that involve Chinese subjects' experience in a globalized world).

<sup>59</sup> Sheldon Lu 2003, p. 757.

<sup>60</sup> Zheng Huili 2014, p. 297.

<sup>61</sup> SYML, p. 193.

time aspired for an overseas expedition and rarer still for a wife to be portrayed as a kung-fu master) and their bizarre invention of the ship make it clear that this is no ordinary journey: in the beginning it is staged as a competition between Chinese civilization and its Western rival. As a projection of the author's ideal self, the open-minded and outward-looking Lu couple symbolizes the hope of late Qing China.<sup>62</sup>

The couple's first stop is some island off the coast of Japan. Wang Tao's own stay in Japan in 1879 made him realize on the one hand how this neighbor of China had kept intact much of traditional Chinese culture (not knowing any Japanese, Wang Tao was able to communicate with his Japanese hosts by writing Chinese during his stay as education in classical Chinese literature had also been standard training for Japanese *literati*), while on the other hand this familiar neighbor was quickly Westernizing itself after the Meiji Reform. Therefore, Japan becomes the ideal place where a Chinese man may encounter the specter of Chinese history as well as envisaging his future confrontation with the West.

The Japanese host tells Lu Meifang that the island has been honored by the remains of three Chinese Ming loyalists who came here after the Ming army had been defeated by the Manchus.<sup>63</sup> Legendary has it that these three officials vowed to recover the lands lost to the Manchus, yet failing that, they killed themselves and their bodies turned into giant corpses, miraculously kept intact over centuries and have received the due respect of the islanders. If the *yimin* previously discussed are only fossilized in a metaphorical sense, here the undecomposed corpses of these Ming *yimin* are corporeal specters of that section of Chinese history. Expectedly, Lu is greatly moved by the nobility of his compatriots and asks to pay homage to these remains. As Lu gets close to the remains, one of the corpses stirs up and makes a gesture of courtesy just as they vowed to do upon their death—yet Lu flees, the most uncanny of this uncanny encounter.

---

<sup>62</sup> The protagonist Lu Meifang in many aspects resembles Wang Tao. The Lu's journey to Europe via Japan corresponds to Wang Tao's own 1867 journey to Europe and later 1879 journey in Japan, recorded in his two travel writing collections *Manyou Suilu* (1884) 漫游随录 [Random Records of My Travels], and *Fusang Youji* 扶桑游记 [Records of My Travels in Japan].

<sup>63</sup> Zheng Huili (2014, p. 299) maintains that Wang Tao's original for the three officials are the famous three Song loyalists mentioned above: Wen Tianxiang, Lu Xiufu and Zhang Shijie; yet considering that Wang Tao has no need to change the dynasty from Song to Ming as the later might be a more sensitive topic for a Qing Dynasty writer, I would regard the 'Three' here as not identifiable with specific historical figures but serve symbolically as a crystallization of *yimin*. Wang Tao paid particular attention to traces of Chinese Ming Dynasty *yimin* and their descendants in Japan in his *Fusang Youji*. He spent some effort introducing Ming loyalists like Zhu Shunshui 朱舜水 and Nan Zhengcheng 楠正成, whose temples had been honoured by local Japanese (*Fusang Youji*, pp. 206, 183).

Lu's unheroic retreat is a cynical attack on all the illusions of patriotism, loyalty and glory of Chinese history. These dead Ming loyalists' self-sacrifice marked their nobility as well as their impotence, as they failed to save their country from alien invasion in the first place. Their undecomposed corpses deferred their duty of reclaiming Chinese glory to a future descendant. Whereas Lu Meifang, representing the legitimate heir of Chinese culture with an outward-looking orientation, proves to be just that ideal descendant. To Lu, the visit to the heroic remains of his own culture honored on a foreign island testifies not only the superiority of Chinese culture among its neighbors but also its perseverance over vicissitudes. However, such a perfect reunion of China's past and present ends in Lu's shameful retreat, as if the remains of history is too horrible a sight bear. Is Lu really a coward, or is the loyalty and patriotism discourse inscribed in orthodox history really an uncanny burden, so that no matter what rationalization of its arbitrariness and cruelty has been made, it scares instead of empowers the descendants? As with the fantastic glossing of *yimin* stories discussed above, here again Wang Tao problematizes the validity of the *yimin* discourse. If, as Qin Yanchun remarks, the *yimin* identity during dynastical changes is a crystallization of the traditional *shi* 士 ideal,<sup>64</sup> then Lu Meifang's inability to stare at *yimin* in the face puts into question the very essence of *shi* and its associated ideal construction of masculinity, moral perfection and loyalty to the state. To say that Wang Tao denies the Confucian ideal of *shi* may be exaggerating the case, yet his own unconventional life experience forever exiled from the orthodox center perhaps prompts him to cast a questioning eye on ideologies that constitute the center.<sup>65</sup>

If the encounter with the past cannot guarantee the Chinese man a sense of stability, what control would he have of the present? The upsetting incident on the Japanese island ominously foretells an even more ill-fortuned allegorical battle with the West in Lu's next stop, a certain Southeast Asian island on the edge of China's cultural influence. Here Lu and his wife run into a martial arts contest probably organized by Westerners as implied in the bilingual (Sanskrit and English) notice above the ring. After witnessing two Chinese men and a Western-costumed Japanese man defeated by the formidable host, Lu's wife hastily jumps into the ring to "avenge the Japanese guy", here clearly viewed as an Eastern comrade against the Western rival.<sup>66</sup> However, the result of this bold act is disastrous: Lu's wife delivers their son prematurely as she and the host strangle each other to death. A mysterious Taoist promptly appears and demands to adopt the son and promises a reunion twenty years later in the Luofu Mountain, to which Lu consents.

---

<sup>64</sup> Qin Yanchun 2008, p. 127.

<sup>65</sup> His letter to the Taiping leaders and his close interaction with Western missionaries are all behaviours deviating from the expected loyalty of *shi* to his nation and the emperor.

<sup>66</sup> *SYML*, p. 195.

It is not difficult to see the symbolism of this contest. The Lu couple have started out as representing Chinese cultural essence (the husband) accompanied with military prowess (the kung-fu master wife). Yet although the contest with the Western force ends in a draw, the Chinese loses his military power and his future (the son).<sup>67</sup> From then on the narrative of Lu's journey loses its initial optimism. Lu continues his journey to the West and anchors on the Italian seaport Messina ("Momian 'na"), but the foreign music around only saddens him. A generous Chinese expatriate anchoring nearby cheers him up by offering him two astonishingly beautiful maidens as a gift, yet what he says about the maidens only frightens Lu: the beauty of the girls is not natural, for they are actually heinous Yakshas (*yecha* 夜叉) who have paid to have their ugly bodies covered with painted skin.<sup>68</sup> Lu refuses the horrible gift, but the expatriate's answer is more confusing: "What a fool you are! What is real and what is illusion in this world? Beauties can turn into skeletons and a Yaksha with painted skin can be a Bodhisattva."<sup>69</sup>

As with Wang Tao's other fantastic tales, the ending of this story is ambiguous and disturbing: Lu is dispirited to make any further exploration when he finally reaches his longed-for Europe, and promptly takes the two women back to China. He gazes at the two women naked in bath many times and never finds a sign of painted skin, therefore he begins to doubt the words of the expatriate. The last sentence tells us that Lu has never been to the Luofu Mountain in his life, seemingly suggesting that the promised reunion with the son is never realized.<sup>70</sup> We are left as confused as the disillusioned Lu: are the expatriate's words just a joke or is Lu really deceived by the illusion of beauty? What about the Taoist's promised reunion? What is illusion and what is reality?

This last question, the deliberate effacing of illusion and reality at the end of the story, may indicate the only way of salvation that the author suggests a disillusioned Chinese intellectual could resort to. Zheng Huili identifies the

---

<sup>67</sup> This allegorical episode reads almost like an uncanny prophecy of the disastrous Sino-Japan war (1894-1895) which announced the total failure of China's Self-Strengthening Movement, although then the enemy was not a Western country but a Westernized Japan.

<sup>68</sup> This is actually a fusion of two *LZZY* stories, "The Yaksha Kingdom" 夜叉国 (3: 348) and "The Painted Skin" 画皮 (1: 119). "The Yaksha Kingdom" is about how a Chinese merchant marries a savage female Yaksha (portrayed as an ugly, semi-human creature) in an overseas island and their Yaksha children's acculturation back in China; "The Painted Skin" is a cautionary tale about the delusive female appearance: a man is seduced and killed by a beautiful woman who reveals to be a heinous devil covered with a painted human skin.

<sup>69</sup> *SYML*, p. 197. The expatriate's words echo with yet another *LZZY* story "The Painted Wall" 画壁 (1: 14) and a common Buddhist rhetoric on the illusoriness of life. The narrator in "The Painted Wall" remarks: "All the illusions (*huan* 幻) are initiated by people's heart. A lewd heart initiates an obscene realm (*jing* 境), an indecent heart initiates a macabre realm. The Bodhisattva enlightens the fool with a thousand kinds of illusions" (*LZZY*, p. 17).

<sup>70</sup> *SYML*, p. 197.

two beauties Lu acquired from the mysterious Chinese in Messina as Western women, therefore their sexual possession by Lu serves as a “domesticating strategy” against the potentially dangerous West and the illusoriness of their beauty is a “rhetoric of negation” about the beauty of the West.<sup>71</sup> However, I want to emphasize here Wang Tao’s deliberate harking back to traditional *zhiguai* topoi in this episode. The two Yaksha women are clearly ‘overseas beauties’, but not necessarily ‘Western beauties’. The Chinese word *yecha* is a transliteration of the Sanskrit word “yakṣa”, which refers to a kind of half-human demon in Hinduism and the demon follower of Vaisravana in Buddhism. Yaksha began to appear in Chinese literature since Tang Dynasty and it gradually became a derogative term for China’s barbaric neighbors in literary imagination, sometimes residing beyond the northeast border, sometimes in the South Sea depending on the author’s imagination.<sup>72</sup> The encounter with the Yaksha at the end of Lu’s journey, therefore, is something old instead of something truly Western. By connecting these Yaksha women to a Chinese compatriot and using dense allusion to famous *LZZY* tales in this episode, the author is deliberately pulling the protagonist, and the reader too, out from the real Western presence that surrounds him into a linguistic web constructed by layers and layers of old *zhiguai* topoi. In this symbolic zone constructed through *zhiguai* motifs, what is real and what is illusion, what is within and what is without fiction is deliberately effaced. The journey to the West ends not in the real West but the heart of darkness of Chinese supernatural tales.<sup>73</sup> In a sense Lu’s fictional expedition to the West in this story is reflective of Wang Tao’s paradoxical argumentative moves in his preface to *SYML* discussed above as well as his own life path: the subject first favors a Western, materialistic orientation of the world, but when two incompatible frameworks come into fierce competition and push him to a corner, the only way out is to resort to the traditional *zhiguai* discourse—a linguistically constructed fantastic zone where identities and realities are in fluidity so that the agonizing question facing the besieged Chinese can be deferred.

Lu’s allegorical outward journey into the West echoes the upsetting internal journey that late Qing intellectuals like Wang Tao had to make to re-position themselves in the new world order besieged by Western forces on all sides. Using the mode of the fantastic—that is, adopting incompatible frameworks and discourses, Wang Tao offers a disturbing re-examination of the specters of Chinese history and China’s pathetic position in the

<sup>71</sup> Zheng Huili 2014, p. 301.

<sup>72</sup> On the origin of Yaksha in Chinese literature, see Wang Li and Hu Yu 2010.

<sup>73</sup> According to Wang Tao’s *Manyou Suilu*, Messina is the port through which he embarked on Europe, but here it becomes the ending of Lu’s westward journey. Is Wang Tao reconsidering the effect that his European journey had on him almost two decades later when he was composing this story around 1884?

contemporary globe with a complexity that reaches beyond the optimistic contemporary belief of “Chinese learning as the essence and Western learning as the application” (中学为体, 西学为用). If the ‘reality’ of the glorious Chinese history and the essence of Chinese culture can be questioned, what firm ground do we have other than the fantastic and illusory one that Wang Tao’s open-ended stories offer?

### ***Conclusion: The Fantastic Departure***

While Wang Tao’s utopian depiction of the immortal’s island leaves fissures to let in the incoherence of history, his representation of the mundane world is deliberately tainted with the supernatural. Lu Xun is right when he observes that there are more courtesans than foxes and ghosts in Wang Tao’s stories, yet what this fact reveals is contrary to Lu Xun’s conclusion: rather than departing from Pu Songling’s ghost-and-fox tradition, Wang Tao actually starts from another tradition—the *literati*’s records of the courtesans promoted by Ming *yimin* like Yu Huai 余怀, and moves that tradition single-handedly into a *LZZY*-styled supernatural tale.

Unlike the northern Shandong province where Pu Songling lived, the Jiangnan area which cultivated intellectuals like Wang Tao had a long tradition of courtesan culture, particularly prominent during the late Ming and late Qing.<sup>74</sup> The interaction between *literati* and courtesans in the late Ming and late Qing is a subject that merits another paper, yet suffice it to know that throughout his life Wang Tao was a frequenter of the pleasure quarters and a self-stylized ‘protector of flowers’. He authored two books modeled on Yu Huai’s *Banqiao Zaji* 板橋雜記: *Haizou Yeyoulu* 海諏冶遊錄 [Records of Visits to Courtesan Houses in Shanghai, prefaced 1862] and *Huaguo Jutan* 花國劇談 [Talks of the Flower Kingdom, prefaced 1878], and compiled also a book series on courtesans entitled *Yanshi Congchao* 艷史叢抄 [Miscellaneous Copies of the History of Beauty] which includes his own two works as well as the classic *Banqiao Zaji*.

Given Wang Tao’s tremendous enthusiasm in frequenting courtesan houses and writing about them, it comes as no surprise that his and his friends’ romance with courtesans should appear in his *zhiguai* collections. Yet what makes these stories about courtesans different from the *Banqiao Zaji* tradition is the supernatural motifs frequently found in *LZZY*-styled

---

<sup>74</sup> On Chinese *literati*’s cultural construction of the courtesan in late Ming and Qing dynasties, see Wai-yee Li 1997, and Ropp 1997; Catherine Vance Yeh 2006, pp. 178-219; Qin Yanchun 2008, pp. 223-30; Ni Huiying 2012, pp. 61-74. On Wang Tao’s interaction with courtesans, see Catherine Vance Yeh 1997, pp. 419-70; and Samuel Y. Liang 2010, pp. 43-7.

romances: pre-destined love starting from a previous circle of life, reincarnations and fantastic visits to the realm of the immortals.<sup>75</sup>

In “Ten Beauties of Shanghai” 申江十美 (*SYML*, 8: 360) there is an obvious attempt to elevate the mundane world of courtesans and their patrons to the supernatural world of fairies and immortals. The story begins with Wang Tao’s friend, a *literatus* named “Er’ai Xianren” (The Immortal of Two-love) who is also “the leader of the southern courtesans and the connoisseur of the Northern Lane.”<sup>76</sup> In his sickbed, Er’ai Xianren is visited by a fairy messenger who announces him Master of Love in heaven. Delighted by the appointment, he dies promptly. Days later, Wang Tao himself is invited over by this deceased friend now in his new post as Master of Love, to visit the fairyland “City of Lotus”, where he finds on his friend’s desk the scroll *Ten Beauties of Shanghai* and records it truthfully. It is easy to see that the records of the ten courtesans, each with a brief biography, complimentary remarks and poems, are the true focus of the narrative while the supernatural opening story serves only as a preface.<sup>77</sup> However just as the paradoxical preface of *SYML* shows, the supernatural frame story complicates the central story it contains: on the surface the beauties are just Shanghai courtesans who have to sell their skin for a living, but aren’t they in essence also flower fairies, just as the death of a dear friend an elevation to the immortals in disguise? One of Wang Tao’s fairy/prostitute heroine spells out the rationale behind such romanticizing of courtesans: “I [as a fairy] have to incarnate as a courtesan because the world ordains it: today only the courtesans have their names disseminated. As I see it, some marvelous women indeed are disguised among courtesans.”<sup>78</sup>

If the romanticizing about *literati* and courtesans being immortals and fairies in “Ten Beauties of Shanghai” is too explicit a self-aggrandizement, the departure into the realm of the marvelous is more often curbed with hesitation in other tales. “Records of Fairy Dreams upon the Jade Pool” 瑶池仙梦记 (*SBSH*, 11: 272) is a highly romanticized love story of Wang Tao’s friend with a fairy named Zhuluan spanning across several incarnations. Originally being attendants in the Queen Mother’s palace, the two began their romance upon the Jade Pool. In the current incarnation, the man has incarnated as Wang Tao’s friend “Xiji Shanren” (The Recluse of the Western Ridge)<sup>79</sup> while the woman

<sup>75</sup> For instance: “Lu Yuefang” 陆月舫 (*SYML*, 6: 265), “Jin Jingqiu” 金静秋 (*SYML*, 4: 173), “Yan Shouzhū” 严寿珠 (*SBSH*, 3: 58) and “Zhu Sufang” 朱素芳 (*SBSH*, 9: 215)—narrated chronologically, these are tales of fairies or monks incarnated as courtesans, yet viewed retrospectively, they are tales about courtesans with a supernatural ‘pre-history’.

<sup>76</sup> *SYML*, p. 360. “Northern Lane” is a euphemism for the pleasure quarters.

<sup>77</sup> These were real courtesans in Shanghai at the time. The top one, Lu Yuefang, was Wang Tao’s good friend. See You Xiuyun 2006, p. 151.

<sup>78</sup> “Lu Yuefang”, *SYML*, p. 269.

<sup>79</sup> “Xiji Shanren” 西脊山人 is the art name (*hao*) of Qin Yun 秦云, also a *literatus* and Wang Tao’s friend in Shanghai.

has regained the status of fairy, so their encounters have to be realized in the man's dreams, thus the title of the story. But do dreams of romantic encounters with fairies constitute a true romantic experience? The narrative deliberately evades a conclusion. After hearing the whole story by Xiji Shanren's death bed, the narrator Wang Tao himself dreams of the fairy, who gives him a cup of heavenly drink.<sup>80</sup> Awake, he finds "the fragrance of the beverage still lingers upon my teeth."<sup>81</sup> However, even this physical trace of the supernatural encounter cannot totally validate the experience, for the narrative ends with a question: "But is the Jade Pool really a fairyland or a dreamland? I cannot tell."<sup>82</sup> Such fissures of the marvelous world are also planted elsewhere in the tale: after waking up from a dream in which he joins Zhuluan in a ride to heaven, Xiji Shanren finds himself holding the book *Zhuangzi* 莊子 and recalls that he had just finished reading the chapter "Xiaoyao You" 逍遙遊 (which describes the metamorphosis of a marvelous giant fish into a bird) before he fell into sleep. Thus staged, the fantastic dream may be interpreted as stimulated by the book and the encounter with Zhuluan nothing but products of dream, just another illustration of the old axiom that 'illusions are initiated by people's heart'. The returning to reality from fantasy is more abrupt in another story "Zhu the Immortal" 朱仙 (*SYML*, 1: 35). After portraying Zhu almost as a semi-god who can command the fog and finally ascends to heaven riding a white crane, the narrator tells us in the end that "I am a good friend of Zhu. He is such an obese man that overburdens even an ox, how can he ride a crane? I will believe none of it."<sup>83</sup> The humorous final retort collapses the elaborately built supernatural world. But can we trust the narrator, who as he confesses has not seen the scene himself? As always, the framing story tries to pull us from one realm to another, but not totally.

The oscillation between two competing realms or interpretative frameworks, as mentioned briefly above, is the terrain of fantasy. Fantastic literature, as defined by Todorov, is a narrative genre which maintains the reader's hesitation to choose between a supernatural interpretation and a natural one for what happens in the story. Adjoining fantasy on either side are the marvelous—where supernatural explanation is taken for granted as in fairytales, and the uncanny—where mysterious happenings can always find a natural explanation. While for Todorov fantasy is a distinct genre, his latter followers finds the definition too restrictive. Rosemary Jackson argues that fantasy can be a literary mode instead of a genre, whose defining feature is extended from Todorov's solely formal

<sup>80</sup> Wang Tao styles himself as both the narrator and a minor character in this romance, featuring time and again in Xiji Shanren's visits to the heavenly palace.

<sup>81</sup> *SBSH*, p. 281.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281. "Dreamland" 梦境 is an ambiguous term, as it can also be interpreted as the products of a dream.

<sup>83</sup> *SYML*, p. 39.

level to include some particular themes—“fantasy’s central thematic issue: an uncertainty as to the nature of the ‘real’, a problematization of categories of ‘realism’ and ‘truth’, of the ‘seen’ and ‘known’ [...]”<sup>84</sup> As a liminal literary mode foregrounding the social and epistemological limits of a time, fantasy is “a spectral presence” and its subversive power lies in its challenge to the real: “It subverts dominant philosophical assumptions which uphold as ‘reality’ a coherent, single-viewed entity, that narrow vision which Bakhtin termed ‘monological’.”<sup>85</sup>

While both Todorov and Jackson have only European fantasy in mind, scholars have since then tried its transcultural application. Company in his 1996 study of Han and Six Dynasties period *zhiguai* uses the mode of the fantastic to explain the defining properties of this strange Chinese genre. The defining feature of the fantastic, to him, is not the presence of the supernatural in the text, but the contradiction between the events that happened in the text and the kind of worldview that the text presupposes—the fantastic, in his words, is fundamentally a “contra” literature, “an inherently contrastive mode of writing in which objects or events linked to distinct worldviews are juxtaposed.”<sup>86</sup> Six Dynasties accounts of anomaly on the poetic level did precisely that. Sing-chen Lydia Francis (Sing-chen Lydia Chiang) in her dissertation on high Qing *zhiguai* tales continues the cross-cultural elucidation of Chinese strange tales and the fantastic. Broadening Todorov’s notion of the fantastic, she proposes viewing fantasy as a type of writing that stays in tension with the dominant culture, as described in Jackson’s words: “Fantasy is preoccupied with limits, with limiting categories, and with their projected dissolution.”<sup>87</sup> Thus, the whole of the “literature of strange” in China—including the earliest Six Dynasties *zhiguai*, the more polished Tang *chuanqi*, and the high Qing tales of the strange—can be seen as a mode of Chinese fantastic. In Europe that dominant norm may be the realism tradition of the nineteenth century novel, in China it is the Confucian orthodoxy that refrains from talking about ghosts and gods. The Chinese literature of strange partakes the essence of fantasy as it is precisely “a literature marked by its defiance against boundaries and limits.”<sup>88</sup>

Francis noted that the three high watermarks of Chinese strange literature—the Six Dynasties *zhiguai*, the late Tang *chuanqi*, and the flourishing of both forms in the high Qing—“all either coincided with or immediately followed long periods of political and ideological instability.”<sup>89</sup> The same can be said to happen to the late Qing, another flourishing yet relatively unnoticed period for *zhiguai*. What Europeans take as reality and supernatural may be different from

---

<sup>84</sup> Jackson 1981, pp. 48-9.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 48.

<sup>86</sup> Company 1996, pp. 236, 235.

<sup>87</sup> Jackson 1981, p. 48.

<sup>88</sup> Francis 1997, p. 15

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

the conceptions of the Chinese, and the distinction between norm and anomaly for the late Qing writers may have also shifted from that of the Six Dynasties writers, but the kind of “contra”, or “contra-diction” device (in Campany’s word) that informs this kind of writing, is the same. The late Qing Chinese experienced the most mind-shattering ideological shift as the whole of Chinese culture, whether the disenchanting Confucian ideology or the enchanted world of the foxes and ghosts, was challenged by a new reality represented by the Westerners.

What is reality, as discussed previously, is also Wang Tao’s central concern in his preface to *SYML*. In Wang Tao’s time, the Western epistemology of the world was eroding on the native Chinese one, together with the many fairy, ghost and fox inhabitants in this discourse, so what is reality and what is illusion became an urgent question. For engendered by this question is not only how a Chinese views a familiar entity like a fox or a flower, a courtesan or a Taoist, but also how they see themselves, their country and its history in relation to the Western ones—questions that follow China’s quest to modernity even till this day. The boundary between reality and illusion is made contingent in Wang Tao’s tales; to some degree it is a true reflection of the chaotic and sometimes dreamlike experience of Wang Tao’s generation, but it is also a result of the author’s constant attempts to remind the reader of the unstable parameters of the world he is tricked in. Therefore the retreat into Utopia is impeded by sinister reality, and the mundane world of the courtesans is framed into the supernatural. Wang Tao’s tales therefore epitomize the fantastic: in an age when boundaries and categories were melting, these tales foreground the contingent nature of familiar terms like history, reality, and cultural identity and showcase the predicaments that a troubled Chinese subject was thrown in. By exposing the limits of contemporary epistemology, Wang Tao’s fantastic tales have already touched on one of the fundamental problems of human experience: the relativity of the ‘reality’ we live in.

## REFERENCES

### *Primary sources*

- Analects* 论语 [ca. 5<sup>th</sup> century BC], by Confucius, in James Legge trans. and ed., *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning & The Doctrine of the Mean*, repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1971.
- Liaozhai Zhiyi* 聊齋誌異 [preface 1679] by Pu Songling, [repr. Zhang Youhe critical edition 張友鶴輯校, *Liaozhai Zhiyi Huijiao Huizhu Huiping Ben* 聊齋誌異會校會注會評本, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition], repr. Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2011.
- Yuewei Caotang Biji* 閱微草堂筆記 [1800], by Ji Yun 紀昀, repr. Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji, 2010.

- Dunku Lanyan* 遁窟谰言 [1875], by Wang Tao 王韬, repr. Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1991.
- Fusang Youji* 扶桑游记 [preface 1879], by Wang Tao 王韬, repr. Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1982.
- Manyou Suilu* 漫游随录 [1890], by Wang Tao 王韬, repr. Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1982.
- Manyou Suilu Tuji* 漫游随录图记 [1890], by Wang Tao 王韬, repr. Jinan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2004.
- Songbin Suohua* 淞滨琐话 [preface 1887], by Wang Tao 王韬, repr. Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2004.
- Songyin Manlu* 淞隐漫录 [preface 1884], by Wang Tao 王韬, repr. Beijing: Remin wenxue chubanshe, 1983.
- Yeyu Qiudeng Lu* 夜雨秋灯录 [1877/1880], by Xuan Ding 宣鼎, repr. Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1995.
- Zibuyu* 子不语 [1788], by 袁枚 [based on the Suiyuan Sanshizhong 随园三十种 edition], repr. Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2012.

### Secondary sources

- Blanco, Maria del Pilar and Esther Peeren (2013) *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Cultural Theory*, Huntingdon-GBR: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Campany, Robert Ford (1996) *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China*, Suny Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Chan, Leo Tak-hung (1998) *The Discourse on Foxes and Ghosts: Ji Yun and Eighteenth-Century Literati Storytelling*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- Cohen, Paul (1974) *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang T'ao and Reform in Late Ch'ing China*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Dang Yueyi 党月异 (2004) “Quanqiu Guannian xia de Wenhua Shiye: Lun Wang Tao de Wenyao Xiaoshuo” 全球观念下的文化视野——论王韬的文言小说, in *Guangxi Shehui Kexue* 广西社会科学, 2, pp. 143-6.
- Derrida, Jacques and B. Stigler (2013) “Spectrographies”, in Maria del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren, eds., *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Cultural Theory*, Huntingdon-GBR: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 37-52.
- Fang Yong 方勇 (2000) *Nansong Yimin Shiren Qunti Yanjiu* 南宋遗民诗人群体研究, Beijing: Renmin chubanshe.
- Feuchtwang, Stephan (2010) *Anthropology of Religion, Charisma and Ghosts: Chinese Lessons for Adequate Theory*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Francis, Sing-chen Lydia (1997) “What Confucius Would Not Talk About: The Fantastic Mode of Chinese Classical Tale”, (PhD thesis) Stanford University.
- Freud, Sigmund (1953) “Mourning and Melancholia”, trans. James Strachey, in *On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement and Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works*, Standard Edition, Vol. 14, London: The Hogarth Press, pp. 243-58.
- Gao Guihui 高桂慧 (2010) “Taiping Tianguo de Jianying: Yi Wang Tao ‘Dunku Lanyan’ Wei Zhu de Taolun” 太平天國的剪影——以王韬《遁窟谰言》為主的討論, in

- Gao Guihui, ed., *Mystory and Apocalypse: Premodernity and Modernity of Stories of 'Liaozhai' and 'Taiping Tianguo'* 志怪與天啟 —— 「聊齋」與「太平天國」敘事群的「近現代性」考察, NCCU Institutional Repository; on-line source available at <http://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/handle/140.119/51804>.
- Hanan, Patrick (2004) "The Translated Fiction in the Early *Shen Bao*", in *Chinese Fiction in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century: Essays by Patrick Hanan*, New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 110-23.
- Huang, Martin W. (2006) *Negotiating Masculinities in Late Imperial China*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Huntington, Rania (2005) "The Newspaper, *Zhiguai* and the Sorcery Epidemic of 1876", in David Wang and Shang Wei, eds., *Dynastical Crisis and Cultural Innovation*, Cambridge-Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Centre.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2003a) "Weird in the Newspaper", in Judith T. Zeitlin, Lydia H. Liu and Ellen Widmer, eds., *Writing and Materiality in China*, Cambridge-Massachusetts: Harvard University Asian Centre, pp. 341-96.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2003b) *Alien Kind: Foxes and Late Imperial Chinese Narrative*, Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Asian Centre.
- Jackson, Rosemary (1981) *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion*, London: Methuen.
- Kang, Xiaofei (2006) *The Cult of the Fox: Power, Gender, and Popular Religion in Late Imperial and Modern China*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kim, Nanny (2007) "New Wine in Old Bottles? Making and Reading an Illustrated Magazine from Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai", in Rudolf Wagner and G. Albany, eds., *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 175-200.
- Li, Wai-yee (2005) "Women as Emblems of Dynastic Fall in Qing Literature", in David Der-wei Wang and Shang Wei, eds., *Dynastic Crisis and Cultural Innovation*, pp. 93-150.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997) "The Late Imperial Courtesan: Invention of a Cultural Ideal", in Ellen Widmer and Kang-i Sun Chang, eds., *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, Stratford: Stratford University Press.
- Liang, Samuel Y. (2010) *Mapping Modernity in Shanghai: Space, Gender, and Visual Culture in the Sojourners' City, 1853-98*, London: Routledge.
- Liu Yongqiang 刘勇强 (2006) "Ming Qing Xiaoshuo zhong de Shewai Miaoxie yu Yiguo Xiangxiang" 明清小说中的涉外描写与异国想象, in *Wenxue Yichan* 文学遗产, 4, pp. 133-143.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1992) *Huanxiang de Meili* 幻想的魅力, Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi.
- Lu, Sheldon H. (2003) "Waking to Modernity: The Classical Tale in Late Qing", in *New Literary History*, 34. 4, pp. 745-60.
- Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1973) *Zhongguo Xiaoshuo Shiliu* 中国小说史略, Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe.
- Luo, Hui (2009) *The Ghost of Liaozhai: Pu Songling's Ghostlore and Its History of Reception* (PhD thesis), University of Toronto.
- McAleavy, H. (1953) *Wang Tao: The Life and Writing of a Displaced Person*, London: China Society.

- Ni Huiying 倪慧颖 (2012) “Lun Qingdai Wenren dui Qinglou Mingji de Wenhua Shuxie ji Yanbian” 论清代文人对青楼名妓的文化书写及演变, in *Ming-Qing Fiction Study*, 3, pp. 61-74.
- Ni Nongshui 倪浓水 (2009) “Wang Tao Shehai Xiaoshuo de Xushi Tezheng” 王韬涉海小说的叙事特征, in *Pu Songling Yanjiu* 蒲松龄研究, 1, pp. 142-48.
- Pan Guangzhe 潘光哲 (2011) “Wanqing Zhongguo Shiren yu Xifang Zhengti Leixing Zhishi ‘Gainian Gongcheng’ de Chuangzao yu Bianhua: Yi Jiang Dunfu yu Wang Tao wei Zhongxin” 晚清中国士人与西方政体类型知识‘概念工程’的创造与变化——以蒋敦复与王韬为中心, in *Xin Shixue* 新史学, 22. 3, pp. 113-58.
- Qin Yanchun 秦燕春 (2008) *Qingmo Minchu de Wanming Xiangxiang* 清末民初的晚明想象, Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.
- Rankin, Mary Backus (2008) “Alarming Crises and Enticing Possibilities”, in *Late Imperial China*, 29. 1, pp. 40-63.
- Ropp, Paul S. (1997) “Ambiguous Images of Courtesan Culture in Late Imperial China”, in Ellen Widmer and Kang-i Sun Chang, eds., *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Santangelo, Paolo (2013) “An Introduction of *Zibuyu*’s Concepts and Imagery”, in Paolo Santangelo, ed., *Zibuyu, or “What the Master Would not Discuss”, according to Yuan Mei (1716-1798): A Collection of Supernatural Stories*, Leiden: Brill.
- Starr, Chloë F. (2007) *Red-Light Novels of the Late Qing*, Leiden: Brill.
- Teng, Emma Jinghua (2006) “The West as a ‘Kingdom of Women’: Woman and Occidentalism in Wang Tao’s Tales of Travel”, in Joshua A. Fogel, ed., *Traditions of East Asian Travel*, New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 70-96.
- Todorov, Tzvetan (1975) *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre*, Ithaca-New York: Cornell University Press.
- Wang, David Der-wei (2004) *The Monster That Is History: History, Violence, and Fictional Writing in Twentieth-Century China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 262-91.
- Wang Li 王立 and Hu Yu 胡瑜 (2010) “‘Liaozhai Zhiyi: Yecha Guo’ de Fojing Yuanyan ji Zhongwai Minzu Ronghe Neihan” 《聊斋志异·夜叉国》的佛经渊源及中外民族融合内蕴, in *Dalian Ligong Daxue Xuebao* 大连理工大学学报, 31. 1, pp. 96-101.
- Wang Yichuan 王一川 (2003) “Xiangxiang de ‘Dong Xi’” 想象的‘东西’, in *Shenzhen Daxue Xuebao* 深圳大学学报, 20. 1, pp. 99-102.
- Yeh, Catherine Vance 叶凯蒂 (2006) *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2002) “Wenhua Jiyi de Fudan: Wanqing Shanghai Wenren dui Wanming Lixiang de Jiangou” 文化记忆的负担——晚清上海文人对晚明想象的建构, in Chen Pingyuan 陈平原 and Wang Dewei 王德威, eds., *Wanming yu Wanqing: Lishi Chuancheng yu Wenhua Chuangxin* 晚明与晚清: 历史传承与文化创新, Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, pp. 53-63.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997) “The Life-Style of Four Wenren in Late Qing Shanghai”, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 57. 2, pp. 419-70.
- You Xiuyun 游秀云 (2006) *Wang Tao Xiaoshuo Sanshu Yanjiu* 王韬小说三书研究, Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gongsi.

- Yu, Anthony C. (1987) 'Rest, Rest, Perturbed Spirit!': Ghosts in the Traditional Chinese Prose Fiction, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 47. 2, pp. 397-434.
- Zeitlin, Judith (2007) *The Phantom Heroine: Ghosts and Gender in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Literature*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1993) *The Historian of the Strange*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Zhan Xiaoyong 占骁勇 (2003) *Qingdai Zhiguai Chuanqi Xiaoshuo Yanjiu* 清代志怪传奇小说研究, Wuhan: Huazhong keji daxue chubanshe.
- Zhang, Longxi (2002) "Utopian Vision, East and West", in *Utopian Studies*, 13. 1, pp. 1-21.
- Zhang Yuanyue 张袁月 (2013) "Lun Wang Tao dui *Liaozhai Zhiyi* Fuji Gushi de Jicheng yu Bianyi" 论王韬对《聊斋志异》扶乩故事的继承与变异, in *Pu Songling Yanjiu* 蒲松龄研究, 1, pp. 151-60.
- Zhang Bing 张兵 (1998) "Yimin yu Yiminshi zhi Liubian" 遗民与遗民诗之流变, in *Xibei Shida Xuebao* 西北师大学报, 38. 4, pp. 7-12.
- Zhang Zhenguo 张振国 (2011) *Wanqing Minguo Zhiguai Chuanqi Xiaoshuoji Yanjiu* 晚清民国志怪传奇小说集研究, Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe.
- Zhang Zhichun 张志春 (1994) *Wang Tao Nianpu* 王韬年谱, Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe.
- Zheng, Huili (2014) "Enchanted Encounter: Gender Politics, Cultural Identity, and Wang Tao's (1828-97) Fictional Sino-Western Romance", in *NAN NU: Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China*, 16. 2, pp. 274-307.
- Zhong, Xueping (2000) *Masculinity Besieged?: Issues of Modernity and Male Subjectivity in Chinese Literature of the Late Twentieth Century*, Durham: Duke University Press.



# HOLDING AN EMPIRE TOGETHER: ARMY, COLONIZATION AND STATE-BUILDING IN QING XINJIANG\*

BARTOSZ KOWALSKI  
(University of Lodz)

## *Annotation*

The article discusses the connection between the army and state-building in Xinjiang from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> to early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The term “processes of state-building” is not employed to describe the foundation of a separate polity in Xinjiang, but bringing it closer to the political center of the Qing by creating state administrative structures, infrastructure, educational institutions and pursuit of a policy of settlement. From 1762 the central authority in Xinjiang was held by the General of Ili (*yili jiangjun* 伊犁將軍) who ruled through his deputies (*zhuzha dachen* 駐紮大臣, in Manchu as *amban*) deployed in the biggest cities scattered throughout the vast region. The military rule was abolished in 1884 when Xinjiang was made a Chinese-style province being formally incorporated into the political, economic and cultural core of the Qing empire (1644-1911).

The formation of China’s modern territories can be traced back to the Qing territorial expansion in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. It was at this point in time that, apart from the area of China proper inherited from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and their cradle in the Northeast (Manchuria), the Manchu Dynasty added Taiwan, vast areas of Inner and Central Asia – Mongolia and Tibet – and in a final act of its expansion, Xinjiang in 1759. However, for most of the duration of the Qing reign there was a distinct difference in the way the newly acquired territories and China proper were governed. The latter remained administered by the traditional system of Chinese provinces, while in order to manage Inner Asian lands of the empire the Qing established on the central level the Lifan Yuan (理藩院, Court for the Administration of Frontier Affairs), indicating a separate status of the frontier dependencies.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, unlike China proper, governed through the

---

\* The article is the outcome of a research sponsored by the Polish National Science Centre grant “Ideas and Identity in China’s Foreign Policy” (no. DEC-2013/09/B/HS5/026). I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Włodzimierz Cieciora (University of Warsaw) for the intellectual inspiration and useful suggestions to the early draft of the article.

<sup>1</sup> Di Cosmo 1998, pp. 287-309.

traditional Chinese system of prefectures and counties (*junxian* 郡县), the main administrative model in the greater Northwest region (Qinghai, Mongolia and Xinjiang) was in general founded under the military hierarchy of the Eight Banners system. Until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century the core of administrative system in Xinjiang was based rather on the Eight Banners than *junxian* in order to secure the needs of the army and the supervision of local elites serving as an intermediary in exercising power.<sup>2</sup> Peter Perdue stressed the fact that unlike Mongolia, Tibet and Kokonor (Qinghai), Xinjiang was conquered through a rapid military expansion and it was the dominant position of the army that made it different from the rest of the empire.<sup>3</sup> The foremost point of army contribution to advance state-building in Xinjiang was the establishment of military colonies around land reclamation programs which increased the number of Han Chinese in Xinjiang and led to the establishment and development of new cities in Dzungaria, depopulated heavily during Qing conquest of Xinjiang in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The defence-related Qing military presence in Xinjiang was also accompanied by development of communication infrastructure like postal stations, only in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century replaced with modern telegraph line.

From a geographical point of view, Xinjiang is roughly divided in two parts by an ecological threshold of the Tianshan mountain range. South of Tianshan mostly Turkic peoples populated the oasis-cities of the Tarim Basin and Taklamakan Desert, engaged in trade with Central Asians and irrigated agriculture centered around major rivers. The northern part, due to its steppe environment, was traditionally a living space for nomadic peoples of the Dzungar Basin. In Chinese imagination, the Western Territory (*xiyu* 西域) was traditionally seen through the prism of its remoteness as well as its inhospitable environment. As such, it was often referred to as a region of “moving sands.”<sup>4</sup> However, Xinjiang being detached from China proper by the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau and Gobi Desert with the Gansu Corridor serving as the main communication route, until mid-20<sup>th</sup> century remained poorly connected with other parts of China. Only in the 1962 the railway line from Lanzhou was extended to Urumqi bringing massive inflow of Han Chinese migrants (see Map 1).

---

<sup>2</sup> Millward 2007, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Perdue 2010, pp. 338-39. Prasenjit Duara pictured the changes in attitude towards the military among Chinese society using the example of the Chinese god of war Guandi (關帝), whose cult was elevated by the Qing, through which the imperial state enhanced the message about interrelation between civil (*wen* 文) and military (*wu* 武) virtues. In this regard, the construction of the Guandi Temples by the Qing in most garrison cities down to the small villages in Xinjiang “suggests the enlistment of architecture and cult to the purpose of empire building”, see Duara 2009, pp. 79-96.

<sup>4</sup> Jia Jianfei 2011, pp. 2-4. Only in 1884 the Western Territory was officially renamed as Xinjiang (新疆, lit. the New Frontier).



Map 1. Xinjiang's modern boundaries<sup>5</sup>

## 1. Military Rule and Qing Administration in Xinjiang before 1884

There were 14 high ranking banner-generals (*zhufang jiangjun* 駐防將軍) in the Manchu empire. According to the official Qing hierarchy, a *zhufang jiangjun* was a first rank official (*yi pin* 一品), and his political position outweighed a provincial governor (*xunfu* 巡撫)—the highest civil official of a single province (second rank). In practical terms the *zhufang jiangjun* seated in provinces where in general they were only responsible for military affairs and did not interfere in civil administration activities. Since in frontier areas a provincial system and consequently a provincial governor's office were not established, generals of local garrisons served as the highest representatives of the Qing government. They were responsible not only for military affairs, but, similarly as in the Northeast, for the overall civil administration of an immense area inhabited by both a non-Chinese population and Chinese settlers as well, with some prerogative powers in foreign policy. That is why this form of exercising power was labeled the “military government system” (*junfuzhi* 軍府制) with local eight-banner posts often called “military prefectures” (*junfu* 軍府) and not garrisons as such.<sup>6</sup> However, among all of the Qing *zhufang jiangjun*, only the

<sup>5</sup> Compiled by the author after google maps (last retrieved on December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016): <https://www.google.pl/maps/place/Sinciang,+Chiny/@41.4073219,75.9604118,5z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x3806008cfd7b4dab:0xa84116ec366707a1!8m2!3d43.793026!4d87.627704>.

<sup>6</sup> Hua Li 2010, pp. 31-2; Elliott 2001, pp. 94-5.

General of Ili held the title of *zongtong* (總統), which clearly emphasized its central position in the Western Region, indicating the basic concept of rule in Xinjiang by means of a military administration taken up by the Qing government.<sup>7</sup> The scope of the General of Ili's power was, however, seriously limited by the local geographic and political conditions as well as by the enormous ethno-cultural diversity of the native population, which required the introduction of three administrative systems functioning until the transformation of Xinjiang into a Chinese-style province in 1884. In the South (*nanjiang* 南疆, Altishahr), under the ultimate supervision of the imperial officers seated in the major oasis-cities, the Qing authority relied on native begs, the East Turkestani elite-officials, which having been employed into Qing officialdom, exercised considerable autonomy in the management of the mostly Muslim and Turkic population. In completely different conditions Qing administration was shaped in the Northern (*beijiang* 北疆) and Eastern (*dongjiang* 東疆) parts, where within the military framework various and often overlapping administrative systems were employed. Apart from military prefectures supervising mainly soldiers and their families in Dzungaria, existed a *jasak* overseen by Qumul (Hami 哈密) and Turfan princes (*wang* 王) who were granted autonomy for their alliance with the Qing forces during the Qianlong's conquest. These native structures corresponded with a fairly developed *junxian* structures due to the high concentration of Chinese settlers and historically close ties with Chinese culture in the cities of Urumchi, Barkol etc.<sup>8</sup> The flexibility of the Qing administration was also reflected in the eastern prefectures and the county layout were below the military authority, bureaucratic staff responsible for civil administration were chosen according to a kind of civil-military as well as an ethnic "check-and-balance" formula, by which the head of the administrative unit was a banner man (mostly Manchu) while his deputy a Han Chinese official.<sup>9</sup>

The special position of the military in Xinjiang was also exemplified by an enormous, in relation to the population number, size of the army stationed there. In around 1780 the overall number of troops in Xinjiang amounted to 41,000—divided in nearly equal proportion of Eight Banners and Green Standard troops. The majority of the Qing forces were deployed in the northern (16,000) and eastern (20,000) parts of Xinjiang, whereas in eight cities of the South less than 5,000. With this in mind it gives weight to the Manchu commitment to preserve

---

<sup>7</sup> Hua Li 2010, pp. 32-3.

<sup>8</sup> Millward 2007, pp. 99-102. The privileges of Hami and Turfan *wangs* outlasted the Qing empire being abolished in the beginning of the 1930s by the Xinjiang Governor Jin Shuren (金樹仁).

<sup>9</sup> Hua Li 2010, p. 36. This ethno-political layout might be referred to the People's Republic of China's administration of an ethnic autonomous region where the head of the government is a member of a nominal minority, while in most cases the Chinese Communist Party Secretary is of Han ethnicity.

regional power by the so-called “the-South-controlled-by-the-North” mode of governance (*yibei zhinan* 以北制南).<sup>10</sup> According to the records of the Jiaqing’s reign (1796-1820), there were some 45,000 soldiers garrisoned in Xinjiang, while the entire armed forces of the empire amounted to around 800,000—including 200,000 Eight-Banner members and 600,000 Green Standard soldiers. Although the area of Xinjiang comprised as much as one-sixth of the empire’s territory, the army stationing there constituted only one-sixteenth of the Qing total forces. However, the size of the army deployed in Xinjiang was strikingly high in relation to the size of the local population (1 million) when compared to over 200 million of the whole empire.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the number of soldiers stationed in Xinjiang constituted about 20% of the population, whereas in the whole empire the proportion amounted to less than 3%, making Xinjiang de facto a military camp.

## ***2. Colonization through Army-led Agricultural Projects***

During military campaigns against nomadic tribes carried out in the Northwest in the reigns of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong, one of the key obstacles was to feed the troops as it was a long and costly process to supply garrisons in remote borderland areas with provisions from China proper. The solution was a system of, in theory, self-sufficient military farms (*tuntian* 屯田), in which troops combined agricultural work with military service, saving the central budget expenditures and cost of borderland garrison defense operations. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the number of the Qing imperial subjects reached 300 million, thus the need to relieve demographic pressure became another crucial factor shaping the concepts of development of the Northwest and its opening to Han Chinese immigration. The Qing started transferring Han peasantry, mostly to recultivation projects, to the empire’s borderlands: Taiwan, Xinjiang, Mongolia, Yunnan, Guangxi, and to a lesser extent Manchuria, where by bringing their families the foundations of permanent settlement was thus being led for the impoverished and overpopulated peoples of the interior. To this end from the 17<sup>th</sup> till the mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries in the borderland areas some 10 million Han Chinese settled down (in Taiwan no less than 1.2 million, while in the Northeast, 2 million). In comparison to the other parts of the empire, immigration to Xinjiang was relatively low. In this period, its core constituted of soldiers and criminals sentenced to banishment, and to a lesser extent civilians.<sup>12</sup>

In line with the definition coined by Edward Said: “‘colonialism’ which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of

---

<sup>10</sup> XWZDBW 1997, p. 149.

<sup>11</sup> Qi Qingshun and Tian Weiji 2004, pp. 138-39.

<sup>12</sup> Hua Li 1993, pp. 24-5.

settlements on distant territory.”<sup>13</sup> Although military farms had been used as a tool of colonization and frontier consolidation in the remote fringes of the empire since the Han Dynasty, only the Qing used *tuntian* on larger scale as potentially the most effective measure of stimulating immigration from China proper. Until the creation of the Xinjiang province, there were five main categories of *tuntian*: military colonies (*bingtun* 兵屯), comprised mostly of Green Standard soldiers whose descendants were registered as civilians; civil colonies (*mintun* 民屯, *hutun* 护屯) populated by impoverished peasants from China proper; Muslim colonies (*huitun* 回屯) responsible for transfers of Southern Turkic tillers (*taranchis*) to agricultural works in the North; criminal colonies (*fantun* 犯屯); and banner colonies (*qitun* 旗屯), initially designed to perform only military duties without farming obligations.<sup>14</sup>

Among all of the colonies maintained by the Qing in Xinjiang before the 1884 reform it was *bingtun* which had the biggest scope and population. They were formed mostly of Green Standard soldiers. Every soldier's family was assigned 20 *mu* of land, one head of cattle, agricultural tools and seeds. Depending on the category of cropland, every soldier's household paid taxes of 12-18 *sheng* (80-120 kg) of grain from each *mu* annually.<sup>15</sup> Soldiers constituted the key labor force of the *bingtun*, working to provide food for the garrison, yet they had no property or ownership rights over the means of production they used on the farms. The army had only used the land, tools, farm animals and seeds provided by the state. For this reason, some *bingtun* were obliged to supply specific quotas of agricultural products to state warehouses. The others were pledged to hand in all of the production, being entirely dependent on pay and food provisions redistributed by the state. There were also farms which could dispose certain quotas of their production among the soldiers, with only a part of it being sent to government warehouses.<sup>16</sup> In the perspective of state-building, the most important fact was that the children of these soldiers, upon reaching adulthood, were assigned an additional plot of land and registered as civil settlers. Under the supervision of military farms, penal colonies were established and fuelled by criminals from China proper who had been sent into exile to Xinjiang. After pacification of Amursana forces in Dzungaria 1758, on the order of Qianlong Emperor, the construction of military farms was initiated in the eastern part of Xinjiang (Barkol, Urumchi and Turfan) to provide local garrisons with food. However, the area, per se rich in arable fertile lands, lacked adequate manpower. To address labor shortages, Imperial Censor Liu Zongwei advocated for sentencing criminals from the entire empire to forced

<sup>13</sup> Said 1993, p. 9, as quoted in Teng 2004, p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Wang Xilong 1990, pp. 32-230.

<sup>15</sup> Waley-Cohen 1991, p. 27.

<sup>16</sup> Wang Xilong 1990, pp. 14-5.

labor in the area between Jiayuguan (嘉峪关) and eastern Xinjiang. The proposal was followed by a set of regulations under which perpetrators of 23 categories of crimes were subjected to exile.<sup>17</sup> Banishment to Xinjiang was the severest punishment in Qing law, second only to death penalty. Exile was also often used to commute a death sentence which clearly illustrates how unwelcoming the image of banishment to Xinjiang was among the Han Chinese who were particularly reluctant to settle there voluntarily.<sup>18</sup> Despite the perspective of rehabilitation and redemption of crimes, most of the convicts had no right to leave Xinjiang. On the basis of the committed crime, exiles were in general divided into two categories: slaves and labourers working on the land in the *bingtun* they were assigned to. The latter were provided with a plot of land for recultivation (around 12 *mu*) along with animals, tools and seeds, yet they only had the right to use (not own) these materials. They were obliged to deliver the crops to governmental warehouses. Although the situation of this category of convicts was in many ways similar to that of the soldier-farmers, there was an enormous gap in the living conditions of both, as the daily ratio of grain for the exiles was only 1 *jin*. Having served the sentence exiles could, alike the civil settlers, obtain some means of agricultural production and take out a loan. When the loan was paid off, they were nevertheless obliged to pay taxes. Only after the fulfillment of these conditions were rehabilitated convicts conferred with full land ownership.<sup>19</sup>

The practical function of the policy of banishment to Xinjiang, apart from the provisioning of cheap manpower for agricultural work, was the fulfillment of important objectives in Qing borderland policies—greater population transfers, in comparison to the effects that could have been achieved only by voluntarily settlement. For this reason, after the convicts had served their sentence, they were prohibited from leaving Xinjiang in order to balance the political weight of the local population.

A different approach to land reclamation projects and military colonies was employed by the Qing in the South, which until the 1830s was not envisioned by the Manchu Court as a place for Han Chinese colonization. As Dorothy Borei has pointed out, the major precondition of promotion of land clearance programs and the extension of the irrigation system by Qing military officials was above all safeguarding Manchu military control in the region. To fulfill this primary security goal agricultural production was to be developed and military farms set up in order to feed the local garrisons and save the cost of transportation from China proper. The well-being of Turkic

---

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172. Among the subjected to the banishment sentence were those convicted of attempted murder, the relatives of killers, arson, benefiting from intentionally mutilated beggars, robbery, whore-mongering, robbing graves, forgery of money and people accused of attempting rebellion, organizing illegal gatherings and acting against the state.

<sup>18</sup> Waley-Cohen 1991, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Wang Xilong 1990, pp. 140-43.

Moslems was only a secondary consideration for the imperial planners. The Qing Court was nevertheless “sufficiently flexible to include both military colonists and Uyghur commoners as sources of agricultural labor since both would provide grain for the garrisons.”<sup>20</sup> Land reclamation was conducted with the assistance of begs as the Qing retained the local tenure system after the conquest. Land that prior to the conquest had been in the possession of *khojas* (Naqshbandi Sufi masters) was turned into “government land” as well as all of the uncultivated land in the South. On the “government land” Turkic peasants did agricultural work, being required to pay various commitments to cover the living expenses of the local troops and military officials. Although some land was rented to *taranchis* who turned over half of their harvest to the warehouses, the majority of Turkic land tillers owned their land from which they had to pay a grain tax amounting to one-tenth of their harvest. They were also obliged to pay poll taxes and provide corvee labor to local garrisons and begs.<sup>21</sup>

### ***3. Establishment of Garrison Cities and Urbanization of Xinjiang***

What seems to be more important in light of this state-building process is the creation of numerous garrison cities or fortresses (*tuncheng* 屯城) around the military colonies. This is in line with Mogens Herman Hansen’s analysis of the relation between urbanization and state formation.<sup>22</sup>

However, the urbanisation process had a different trajectory in the southern and northern parts of Xinjiang where local populations’ lifestyle was roughly demarcated by the Tianshan mountain range serving as an ecological barrier between the nomadic grasslands of the North and desert South with agriculturalists settled in fertile oasis. Hence, in the Tarim and Turfan Basins of the South city-state cultures had developed much earlier than in the North. These agrarian polity entities were generally characterized by the greater population size and with a smaller ratio of soldiers compared to nomadic societies. According to the historical records of Zhang Qian (張騫), Emperor Wudi’s (武帝, r. 140-87 BC) special envoy to Central Asia, amongst the 47 states (nomadic and agrarian) located in the Tarim Basin and adjacent areas of Pamir, Tianshan and Ili Valley, about half can be defined as city-states as they were surrounded by city walls and took “a walled city” as their seat of government.<sup>23</sup> William Sammolin suggested, rather unlikely though in this case, that it was Han-dynasty-soldier colonizers that laid the foundation for a fixed settlement in East Turkistan through the promotion of irrigated agriculture, as

---

<sup>20</sup> Borei 2002, pp. 281-82.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278-79.

<sup>22</sup> Hansen 2000, pp. 14-5.

<sup>23</sup> Di Cosmo 2000, pp. 396-97.

was the case of cities growing along the Rhine and Danube Rivers around the *limes*—a system of fortification constructed by the legions of the Roman empire.<sup>24</sup>

A different urbanization process took place in the nomadic North, devastated and depopulated during Emperor Qianlong's campaigns, where most of the cities were set up in the 18<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of military colonies fuelled with settlers from the interior.<sup>25</sup> However, participation in commerce by the Eight Banners was not an initial intention of the Qing Court, as Qianlong lamented that the engagement of banner men in trade would dilute the Manchu identity.<sup>26</sup> Under the scheme of creating cities around military colonies, Urumchi was successfully developed as Xinjiang's new capital city. In 1755, in Urumchi's present eastern part, a fortress (*Wulumuqi cheng* 烏魯木齊城) was built; in 1763 it was renamed Dihua (迪化) and subsequently extended with a Manchu garrison-city (*lao Mancheng* 老滿城). Other cities established along military lines only to later focus on political and economic activities include: Fukang (阜康, est. 1760), Tarbagatai (塔城 Tacheng, 1765), Manas (馬納斯 Manasi, 1777), Usu (烏蘇 Wusu, 1763) and Qitai (奇台, 1776).<sup>27</sup>

Special importance for the Qing imperial project in Xinjiang was attached to the area north of the Ili River, bordering with Russia to the north and with the Kazaks to the northeast. Given the perceived threat from the powerful neighbors and the traditional governance mode of “controlling the South from the North”, Qing soldiers in the 1780s and 1790s constructed in the area a chain of walled cities nicknamed the “nine Ili cities” (伊犁九城 *Yili jiucheng*). A key city within Ili was Huiyuan (惠遠), which served as an administrative center for Xinjiang and the headquarters for the General of Ili. The second Manchu city almost entirely intertwined with the army was Huining (惠寧), where the rest of the Eight Banners were deployed. The economic center of Ili was located in a Muslim city (*Huicheng* 回城) in Ghulja (Ningyuan 寧遠 and later renamed Yining 伊寧). The other six cities in the vicinity of the Manchu fortress were directly linked with Chinese garrisons, these are: Guangren (廣仁), Suiding (綏

<sup>24</sup> Samolin 1964, pp. 30-1. Samolin's suggestions were questioned by Herold J. Wiens, who with a number of other scholars argued convincingly that irrigated agriculture in cotton cultivation had been known in fortified oasis-cities of the Tarim Basin before the advent of the Chinese. See Wiens 1966, p. 72.

<sup>25</sup> Huang Dayuan and Wu Yiqun 1999, pp. 36-7. All of the garrison cities shared common features: the most important points within their area were fortifications, a military training ground, military warehouses and military administration residence. They served as economic centers strongly interrelated with agricultural production for their residents. In addition to performing military duties, they were engaged in agriculture, tilling the land outside the city walls. They were the military center for land reclamation and functioned as central markets for agricultural products.

<sup>26</sup> Millward 1998, p. 88.

<sup>27</sup> Na La 2010, pp. 105-6.

定), Zhande (瞻德), Taleqi (塔勒奇), Gongchen (拱宸) and Xichun (熙春). The camps of Oirat, Solon, Sibe, and Chahar (from Rehe 熱河, Xi'an 西安, Zhangjiakou 張家口 and Shenyang 瀋陽) were transferred to Ili. However, they were re-located further out from the nine cities of Ili so as to engage in agriculture and pastoralism.<sup>28</sup>

The most important concern for imperial planners in the construction and spatial distribution of the cities were military garrisons and their political-defensive functions. That is why all of them formed a complementary scheme primarily designed to fulfill military, political and agricultural functions (with the exception of Ningyuan). Only as a secondary function were these entities to provide facilities for their “civilian” counterparts, like the provision of goods and the security of their residents. Until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, economic development of the cities established in Northern Xinjiang was mainly intertwined with the presence of the military under whose protection merchants from the interior provinces were allowed to enter the places where troops were deployed. Market mechanisms that had already been developed in China proper were thus transplanted into the urban centers of Northern and Eastern Xinjiang, stimulating trade exchange between frontier and inner China. During the reigns of Qianlong (1735-1796) and Jiaqing, the Qing had been establishing numerous official shops (*guanpu* 官鋪) to provide banner men and their dependents with a growing variety of goods. Local trade was also stimulated by the inflow of silver coins which started to circulate mainly due to soldier stipends (*xiexiang* 協餉). With an increasing commercialization of garrison cities and emerging class of urban dwellers, the Qing authorities decided to open a banking bureau (*guanqian ju* 官錢局) in Huiyuan responsible for the minting and distribution of money.<sup>29</sup>

Before the institutionalization of Xinjiang as a province, the “nine Ili cities” were inhabited by 49,000 officials and soldiers with families. Apart from the cities, in the vast Ili region there were other banner camps of Oirats (23,000), Sibe (7,400), Solon (4,000) and Chahars (10,000). Altogether, the population of the region, including merchants, soldiers’ families and civilians, numbered 126,000. Among those over 20,000 resided in Huiyuan, while the second-largest city of Huiding had more than 10,000 inhabitants.<sup>30</sup> These numbers explain two main features of immigration to Xinjiang before 1884: the first being that the majority of the settlers were concentrated in the northeast part of the region, and the second that it was mostly a military-related immigration.

Immigration to the South was by then substantially limited, for the Qing policy in Xinjiang and Manchu rule in general – as argued by Laura Newby – was initially not intended to assimilate begs, or in a broader sense, the Turkic Muslims to Chinese culture, as Manchus, themselves a minority within a Han

<sup>28</sup> Huang Dayuan and Wu Yiqun 1999, pp. 62-3; Millward 1998, pp. 77-9.

<sup>29</sup> Huang Dayuan and Wu Yiqun 1999, pp. 40-1; Millward 1998, pp. 83-9.

<sup>30</sup> Huang Dayuan and Wu Yiqun 1999, pp. 67-8.

dominated empire, were striving to preserve their own integrity and cultural identity.<sup>31</sup> For a similar reason, the Qing Court believed that the deployment of large permanent garrisons would antagonize the Turkestani population. Another important factor in this design was the Court's conviction that the desert South surrounded by the Tianshan, Pamir and Kunlun mountain ranges was naturally more secure and defensible than the steppe North.<sup>32</sup> To prevent permanent settlement in Altishahr, officers and soldiers were rotated on a three-to-five year basis and were prohibited from bringing their dependents (*xiejuan* 攜眷), making the garrisoned troops stay temporary and limit the growth of Han Chinese within the East Turkestani population. Yet by the early 1830s, after the Jahangir rebellion, the Qing government decided to revise its earlier strategies, strengthen its military presence and release the restriction on immigration to the Southern Circuit, which unlike the Northern Circuit was followed by opening *guanpu* and trading pavilions (*maoyi ting* 貿易亭).<sup>33</sup>

However, as Dorothy Borei has noted, although the policies to ensure both military and civilian control over the South brought a period of relative, albeit not constant, peace and prosperity during the first six decades after the Qing conquest, the combination of military control with means of indirect rule contributed also to growing economic inequalities and exacerbated long standing ethno-religious tensions. This led to the eruption of discontent and rebellion in the 1820s: “[t]he (in)effectiveness of these strategies, after all, affected late nineteenth-century rebellions in the northwest and the subsequent decision to incorporate the region into the empire as a province in 1884.”<sup>34</sup>

#### 4. Xinjiang and the Provincialization of Outer China

The idea of transforming the “Western Region” into a full-fledged province of the empire was proposed for the first time in 1820, by political thinker Gong Zizhen. Given the perceived menace of Russia to the northwestern border of the Qing empire, Gong emphasized the need to strengthen the frontier by replacing the military administration with the traditional Chinese system of prefectures and counties. Based on the experience of the Guizhou province, institutional reform was to be an impetus to economic growth which in turn would attract Han Chinese immigrants from the overpopulated provinces.<sup>35</sup> Gong Zizhen was very skeptical about the socio-economic conditions of the empire, which according to him, started to deteriorate in the final years of the Qianlong Emperor's reign. The Chinese intellectual was especially critical of the Eight

---

<sup>31</sup> Newby 1998, pp. 295-97.

<sup>32</sup> Borei 2002, p. 275.

<sup>33</sup> Millward 1998, p. 93.

<sup>34</sup> Borei 2002, p. 274.

<sup>35</sup> *Xiyu Zhixingsheng Yi*, p. 106.

Banners whose population was growing day by day, doing nothing but feasting or basking in slumber and without being actively engaged in any form of production.<sup>36</sup> According to Gong, what the western borderland needed most was to achieve political and economic stability through a massive transfer of Han Chinese skilled in agricultural production. In his plan, Chinese immigrants would be provided with relocation funds, tools, seeds, land and exempted from taxes for a period of 20 years.<sup>37</sup> The colonial dimension of the project pertained also to the soldiers working on the military farms who were to be allotted private land and enlisted into the household and tax registry as permanent settlers.<sup>38</sup>

This far-sighted project anticipated a redefinition of the empire's territorial and political framework. Apart from the general changes of the very nature and territorial concept of the empire that Qing underwent after the Opium Wars in the face of the international system of modern nation-states, the empire's political transformation was carried out in response to both internal and external security threats. After the Jakub Beg (1820-1877) rebellion broke out in Southern Xinjiang in 1864, along with Muslim uprisings in Shaanxi and Gansu, followed by Russia's seizure of the Ili region in 1871, the Qing Dynasty lost its control over a major part of the northwestern frontier. Alongside ongoing conflicts in the Northwest, Japan sent a military expedition to Taiwan in 1874. These developments prompted the same year a major debate between the great Qing statesmen Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812-1885) and Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901) on the national defense priorities in face of China being endangered from its Central Asian borderlands by Russia, and its coastal frontier by Japan and Western powers. In fact, the very matter of the discussion were the limits of the empire's borders and whether China should abandon Xinjiang, which Li considered 'useless'. Zuo's domino-like geopolitical argument that Xinjiang was essential to the security of Beijing eventually prevailed for Qing's decision to reconquest the Northwest. This task would be accomplished by Zuo Zongtang's Hunanese army in 1877.<sup>39</sup> Although Xinjiang, from all the territories incorporated to China, was the first to be transformed into a province, those changes were by no means applied only to the Northwest. Being a part of modern state- and nation-building with a strong Sinicizing component, the creation of provinces indeed constituted a fundamental change in the territorial and political concept of the empire. In the subsequently created provinces of Xinjiang (1884), Taiwan (1885), Fengtian, Jilin and Heilongjiang (*dong san xingsheng* 東三行省, 1907), the introduction of Chinese organizational and institutional order was thus accompanied by Han immigration, assimilationist policies through the promotion of Confucian education and Chinese language curriculum. These relatively short-lived new provinces were in republican China

---

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>39</sup> Hsü 1964/1965, pp. 212-28.

recalled by Han nationalists as a precedent and legitimization for the “Chineseness” of Qing territorial acquisitions.<sup>40</sup> However, the most evident reason standing behind the creation of new provinces was the need for securing borders against foreign incursions. This was the case of Xinjiang in 1884 and Taiwan in 1885 for the immediate threats from Russia and Japan respectively. As noted also by Pamela K. Crossley, “formal incorporation of previous dependencies reflected the progressive accommodation of the Qing empire to the practices of absolute sovereignty.”<sup>41</sup> In this manner one can perceive the process of creating provinces as either the ability to expand or the outcome of an integrationist policy that affected both domestic security and the international position of the Qing empire similar to the security strategy adopted by the European Union two centuries later towards its immediate neighbors. That is, the most effective method of securing its borders has been its enlargement, though unlike the Qing case, through the accession of new states.

### ***5. Role of the Military in Xinjiang Provincial Administration***

In the argumentation that followed the successful military campaign, Zuo advocated for making Xinjiang into a province in accordance with the concept of the modern nation-states and China’s national developments:

竊維立國有疆，古今通義。規模存乎建置，而建置因乎形勢，必合時與地通籌之，乃能權其輕重，而建置始得其宜。

In my humble opinion, borders are a principle of state foundation at all times. The layout of territory is reflected in its organizational and administrative set-up, which is further based on the local circumstances. In planning this set-up, one should integrate both time and place, so that he can weigh up the matter and do it in an appropriate manner.<sup>42</sup>

The hitherto military form of government failed to meet the challenges of both external security and internal order in Xinjiang. And thus, the decision to establish a Chinese-style province was intended to assure long-standing stability, savings by the central treasury as well as a decrease in army expenditures. Zuo’s major concern was to separate the administration of Gansu and Xinjiang by establishing the Provincial Governor (*xunfu*) office in Urumchi. Implementing the provincial system was in theory aimed to standardize multiple executive powers along the *junxian* structure and enhance the civil administration in Xinjiang.<sup>43</sup> However, in

---

<sup>40</sup> Adili Aini 2012, pp. 210-16.

<sup>41</sup> Crossley 2010, pp. 81-2.

<sup>42</sup> *ZTQZ*, 6: 648. Unless otherwise specified, all the translations from Chinese and Polish are my own.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 6: 650.

practical terms the institutional change meant breaking the Manchu military bureaucratic monopoly and taming the influence of native religious leaders and begs in civil administration.<sup>44</sup> Given the sharp ethnic and social boundaries dividing Manchus and Han Chinese in the Qing empire, the imposition of such a serious limitation of power on the latter group must be considered as groundbreaking. Nevertheless, although the *xunfu* was alike the interior provinces, a civil office, in the whole provincial period under the Qing (1884-1911) this post had been occupied mostly by military men or people associated with the army circles. Another distinct feature in comparison to the pre-1884 period was the dominance of Han ethnicity in the majority of provincial governors. Among nine Provincial Governors of the 1884-1911 period only two were non-Han: a Manchu, Lian Kui 聯魁 (r. 1905-1910), and a Mongol, Yuan Dahua 袁大化 (1910-1912). The dominant faction in the local authorities was Hunanese, represented by three Governors: Liu Jintang 劉錦棠 (r. 1884-1889, 1899-1891), Wei Guangdao 魏光燾 (r. 1889-1890) and Pan Xiaosu 潘效蘇 (r. 1902-1905).<sup>45</sup>

General Liu Jintang was entrusted with a mission to organize a new provincial administrative structure, although, in contrast to his mentor Zuo Zongtang, was not an educated man who “never considered himself competent in civil administration duties”, being rather “the coarse material from the military ranks”, whose main concern was territorial integrity of the state and loyalty to the throne.<sup>46</sup> These characteristics, as depicted by Nailene Josephine Chou, were contrary to the values behind establishing Xinjiang’s provincial civil administration, and thus would hinder its expected effectiveness. Liu recommended candidates for the newly created posts, drawing in the majority from Hunan Army officials stationed in Gansu and Xinjiang for their merits in the suppression of the Moslem rebellions. For this reason, many of the new appointees were followers of Zuo, being like-minded people with a similar background. As Chou put it: “[t]he kindred spirit was particularly strong among the mid-ranking officials. Fired by a sense of shared mission to carry out the will of Tso [Zuo], they became rather impervious to policies generated from officials not in sympathy with their group.”<sup>47</sup> These personal difficulties were to emerge and had to be confronted by the subsequent governors which had to balance the Hunanese factionalism in local politics. It was also the case of Xinjiang governor Tao Mo (陶模), who despite being related to Zuo Zongtang “strictly speaking did not belong to the Hunan Army ‘clique’.”<sup>48</sup> Tao modernizing efforts met much resistance from the local, mid-ranking bureaucracy whose parochial conservatism

<sup>44</sup> Chu 1996, pp. 178-80. According to Chu Wen Djang’s calculations, before 1874, amongst 234 of the highest-ranking officials in Xinjiang, only five were most likely Chinese. Even the Chinese part of the army (Green Standard) was dominated by banner officials: only 28 of these 77 officials were confirmed to be Chinese.

<sup>45</sup> Ji Dachun 1996, pp. 233-34, 292, 519-20, 613, 720, 736-37.

<sup>46</sup> Chou 1976, p. 256.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.

was “limiting the extent and speed of change, had begun to take effect in the first decade of the province.”<sup>49</sup>

In March 1882, two years before his appointment as the first provincial Governor of Xinjiang, Liu Jintang presented to the Governor-General of Shaanxi-Gansu Tan Zhonglin (譚鍾麟) projected changes in the four towns of the Southeast. According to Liu’s designs, the introduction of the *junxian* system would bring an increase in the number of registered settlers, thus expanding the tax base which in turn would reduce the burden of the empire’s treasury. The new provincial offices would also raise their revenues by employing fiscal solutions used in the interior. Aksu (Akesu 阿克蘇) was recognized as the key city in Southern Xinjiang (*huijiang* 回疆) as a seat of a circuit magistrate (*daotai* 道台) responsible for both military and civil affairs. The *daotai* exercised powers over irrigation works, land reclamation, taxation and justice in the four towns of the Southeast. A similar solution was adopted for the four cities of the Southwest—Kashgar, Hotan (Hetian 和闐), Jarkand (Ye’erqiang 葉爾羌), Jengisar (Yingjisha’er 英吉沙爾), overseen by the *daotai* in Kashgar. On the orders of Liu Jintang, all of the works regarding the implementation of the *junxian* system in Southern Xinjiang were to be carried out with the assistance of the army.<sup>50</sup>

An eyewitness of the Xinjiang institutional transformation was Bronisław Grąbczewski, a Polish officer in service of the Russian governor of Ferghana, who travelled around Southern Xinjiang in the capacity of Russian envoy and allegedly a spy. The effects of the education policies observed by Grąbczewski in 1895 indicate that some elements of provincialization were implemented before they were officially sanctioned in 1884:

An entirely disdainful attitude towards the natives is the general feature of the Chinese rule. I had not encountered a single Chinese in the administration or army able to speak Turkic language which is spoken by the whole of Kashgaria. The administration and court communicate in crucial matters with the natives through the interpreters, that constitute a class of people to be trusted the least. Among them are former Chinese soldiers who had caught some Turkic [language] during their captivity at the hands of Jakub Beg, or natives that had learned some Chinese [language] while serving the Chinese [...]. Chinese government understand these shortages well. That is why at present in the biggest cities, schools have been founded for Kashgari children. In the school kids receive full care, wear Chinese braids and clothing. Their parents are exempted from any taxes. I visited such a school in Jarkand. The older children, who have been there already for six-seven years speak Chinese freely, and are hard to distinguish from small Chinese learning Turkic there.<sup>51</sup>

Teachers employed in the schools established by Liu Jintang were mostly

---

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>50</sup> *YXNJZ*, pp. 582-83.

<sup>51</sup> *Podróże*, p. 161.

recruited from the secretaries attached to the armies.<sup>52</sup> The military background of the educators rather did not convince the natives of the new educational institutions. Instead, the local population resorted to many forms of resistance against assimilating Chinese culture.

Grąbczewski had also reported on the widespread practice of “selling offices” as an anomaly of the local administrative system, as for both bureaucrats and officers from China proper, the main motivation behind going to the remote and unruly Xinjiang was to assume a post with the hope to get rich while serving their duty:

The people appointed for the high post [...] of governors in various provinces or border provinces are those who can pay certain amounts of money to those whom these appointments depend on [...]. Offices are sold for a three-year time span. However, it often occurs that the complaints made by civilians or proven exploitation [of the official] are combined to the atrocities that the [official's] guilty hands [had perpetrated] at the time of his early resignation. This is further accompanied by the dismissal of the vast majority, if not all, civil and military officials. The new governor then instates a lot of his own men [...]. It is beyond question that such a system is extremely detrimental as anyone who bought the office, not only has to squeeze the paid sum out of the people within three years, but also earn something, and of course get by through [these] three years.<sup>53</sup>

The practice of “buying offices” applied no less to the local, largely uninvested and corrupted military. According to Grąbczewski, the head of a regiment could purchase from the general commander a “patent” to lead a regiment (*lanza*) for three years, under which he could overtake a vacant unit or form a new one. Grąbczewski claims that during his three-month stay in Southern Xinjiang, he witnessed the formation of new brigades in Kashgar and Hotan. Moreover, as the soldier stipend was low and paid with an even eight-month delay and the food allowance insufficient, most of the soldiers unenlisted themselves from the military service during summer and winter months to work outside the garrisons. Such a situation had two immediate results: the army was ill-trained due to the fact that military training could be undertaken only in spring and autumn while soldiers were back in the garrisons. Furthermore, commanders of such incomplete units pocketed themselves money and food of the temporarily absent troops. The same practice applied to regiments with incomplete manpower, except that in such a case the commander received from the government everything what was due once the unit was complete.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Chou 1976, p. 263.

<sup>53</sup> *Podróże*, p. 65.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 247-48. The corruption practices described by Grąbczewski continued well through to the Republican period. In 1917 Xie Bin 謝彬 (1887-1948), on his inspection in Xinjiang, noted that due to the scarcity of labor in the province wages in agriculture were six times higher than of the rank-and-file soldiers. Therefore soldiers escaped garrisons for the spring-autumn period, only enlisting back into the army at the beginning of the winter season

## 6. The Army and the Construction of Communication Infrastructures in the Provincial Period

One of the very few things praised by Grąbczewski in his account of the military was the efficiency of its postal services which could deliver a letter on a 500 km-long route from Kashgar to Hotan even the next day after it was sent.<sup>55</sup> Before the advent of the telegraph, the communication and transportation process of the empire was organized on the basis of postal stations, which in the case of Xinjiang were almost entirely military posts (*juntai* 軍台) created during the Qing military campaigns. After the conquest, the military posts remained active; this was motivated by the need to secure the transportation routes with China proper, while simultaneously allowing the implementation of typical civil functions like communication, trade and the movement of people. As the *juntai* took over the functions of postal stations common throughout inner China, the latter were hardly present in Xinjiang (18) and limited to the Urumchi area alone which was under the *junxian* system before 1884. Altogether, 168 military postal stations had been set up in Xinjiang – the largest amount of this kind in the whole empire.<sup>56</sup>

The man who eventually established modern communication facilities in Xinjiang, bringing the province closer to the center of the empire, was Tao Mo, a protégé of Zuo Zongtang, by whose recommendation took the post of Dihua prefect in 1878 and was later promoted as Xinjiang Governor (1891-1895). In 1889 the Governor-General of Shaanxi-Gansu Yang Changjun (楊昌濬) petitioned the central government for a telegraph construction from Xi'an to the Jiayuguan Pass in Gansu province, yet without intention of its further extension beyond the Pass (China proper). For the purpose of facilitating the security and governance of the vast and politically troublesome area of Xinjiang, Tao advocated for the extension of the proposed telegraphic line further west, to

---

(this argument seems to be more reasonable compared to Grąbczewski's statement, as it is natural that during winter agricultural works are not performed). The highest commandants under Xinjiang's governor Yang Zengxin (楊增新) got rich by "eating empty rations" (*chi kong'e* 吃空額), a fraud consisting in expropriating soldier's pay of non-existing troops. Burhan Shahidi reported that in 1928, an inspection carried out on the construction of the road from Turpan to Urumchi revealed that out of the officially employed, double-paid, eleven companies (no less than 1,000 soldiers), only 345 men were working. See Baoerhan 1984, pp. 88-9. This procedure was practised on a large scale by Ma Fuxing (馬福興), the Military Commander of Kashgar, in the late 1910s and early 1920s, see Forbes 2010, p. 23.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>56</sup> Qi Qingshun and Tian Weijiang 2004, pp. 182-83. All of the memorials and documents, both public and private, sent from Xinjiang to China proper were subjected to a strict official control before their delivery to a *juntai*. Only the General of Ili had the right to direct communication with China proper. Lin Zexu (林則徐), sentenced to banishment to Xinjiang in the 1840s, could easily exchange correspondence with his family as his letters had the personal seal of the General of Ili.

Xinjiang, as in those times it took 10 days to send a telegram from Urumqi to Lanzhou. Tao emphasized the political dimension of the project, persuading the Qing Court that the “overarching goal of the telegraph line construction was border defense, and only to a limited extent commercial concerns.”<sup>57</sup> He personally discussed this matter with Li Hongzhang in Tianjin and eventually gained his support for the expensive project, despite Li’s open objection to the very idea of maintaining Xinjiang within the empire borders only a decade earlier. Construction of the line was eventually achieved in 1894. Xinjiang was thus incorporated into the modern telegraph line of the state, which had been gradually replacing traditional postal communication, and by accelerating the flow of information it strengthened frontier security and its ties with China proper.<sup>58</sup>

### ***7. The General of Ili and the Guozi Valley Road Reconstruction***

Although after the 1884 administrative reform Huiyuan’s position as the political center of Xinjiang had gradually diminished, and the position of the General of Ili had been limited to the command of the northern Xinjiang defence, the officers holding this post by no means confined their activities to solely military duties. One of the most engaged in provincial affairs was General Ma Liang (馬亮, d. 1909), member of the Han sub-unit of the Yellow Banner (*hanjun zhenghuangqi* 漢軍正黃旗) who in the Ili area carried out land reclamation projects and established a tannery.<sup>59</sup>

Among general Ma major achievements was the thorough reconstruction of the Guozi Valley route. The importance of this strategic pass rose especially after Huiyuan became the political center of Xinjiang, as a seat of the Ili general. Along the road two postal stations had been constructed, by which communication with the Qing Court was maintained. In July 1905 Ma memorialized the Emperor, petitioning for financing road works in – as he stated – the key communication corridor in northern Xinjiang, linking Urumchi and Huiyuan. Ma described the road as “navigating through forests and twisting rivers that had to be passed by all of the army’s provisions, money, official correspondence and people travelling in both directions.”<sup>60</sup>

Due to the strategic importance of the route, the army undertook several efforts to improve the pass’ infrastructure after Ili was recovered from Tsarist Russia occupation in 1881. The first efforts in this regard were taken by the General of Ili Jin Shun (金順), who in order to improve communication through the valley, initiated the construction of 26 bridges and mountain tunnel drilling

<sup>57</sup> Zhao Weixi 2009, pp. 18-9; *QXXZH*, p. 943.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>59</sup> A-la-teng-ao-qi-er and Yan Fang 2001, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> Hong Tao 1997, p. 84.

works. However, the melting snow and ice, falling annually from the mountain slopes regularly devastated the road. In 1889 the new General of Ili Seleng'e (色楞額) petitioned the Manchu Court to fund the necessary repair works, but the Court pointed to the Ili administration as the unit responsible for this duty. Yet in the following years all the petitions to the local administration remained unanswered. In these circumstances, Ili regional commandery undertook the endeavour of road reparation on its own, using the troops as the labor force. However, given the insufficient means at its disposal, both scope and effects of the work were insignificant. When the situation became critical in 1905 general Ma Liang asked for help from the Xinjiang provincial ministry of finance, which denied the funds due to budget constraints. In Ma's argumentation for Guozi recovery, one can find that apart from its strategic considerations, it was also crucial for the existence of the Solons and Chachars living in the area for the road to be revitalized, as leaving it in ruin would jeopardize their livelihoods. Therefore Ma, along with Manchu and Mongol officers, decided to finance the repair works at their own expense (including food, tools and craftsmen) by using a labor force of the troops under his jurisdiction.<sup>61</sup> It was for this reason that – as Ma stated in the memorial – “once and for all, people travelling the road would no longer have to experience hardships and risks, and postal packages would be delivered without delay and thus no losses would be incurred.”<sup>62</sup> The history of the Guozi Pass reconstruction provides an evidence of the negative aspect of the 1884 reform as the road condition had gradually deteriorated soon after the supervision over the Ili infrastructure was ceded to the new civil administration.

### ***8. Civil Dimension of Chinese Settlement in Xinjiang in the Provincial Period***

The establishment of the province brought substantial changes in the implementation of military colonies serving as a key strategy of consolidation of the Qing rule in the northwestern borderlands. Territorial and administrative transformation of the Qing dominion reflected in Xinjiang being remoulded into a full-fledged part of the empire. This was paralleled by new attitudes toward demographic policies. The change of the population structure, in ethnically non-Han territory, was to be achieved by streaming inflow of greater numbers of civil migrants from China proper. To this end a set of modifications into the *tuntian* operational mode had been introduced, with emphasis put on the development of the civil colonies. Thus, in comparison with the prior period, the settlers were provided with favourable living and working incentives: greater acreage of land,

---

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

resettlement allowance, larger provisions of food, tools, seeds and farming animals, as well as preferential tax treatment.<sup>63</sup>

At the same time the reorganization of the military and penal colonies was carried out. Being subjected to the heavy army farming production burden, these institutions were hitherto allocated small and low quality parcels. A new set of rules regulating *bingtun* work were designed by Zuo Zongtang soon after the military campaign had been concluded in 1877. The introduced changes were aimed at increasing both efficiency and productivity of the *bingtun* in the face of the breakdown in agricultural production in the war-devastated Northwest. The other, no less important, factor of these adjustments was the urgent need to utilize the enormous army whose numbers significantly exceeded military duty requirements. Part of the Zuo's army troops was therefore sent to the local military farms, where they could become self-sufficient. According to Zuo, the major precondition of *bingtun* management was the recruitment of soldiers and officers of peasant backgrounds familiar with agricultural work.<sup>64</sup> Zuo also introduced a system of work motivation modeled on the one existing in regular army units: "everyday, the work done in the field by soldiers will be marked by planting a flag", according to which "commanders, whose subordinates perform their duties well, will be rewarded, whereas in the opposite case they will be punished."<sup>65</sup> It thus indicated the rise of the soldier-farmer status; as in line with the Qing tradition, special rewards were assigned only for battlefield merits.

The next step in army demobilization was taken in 1884, when Liu Jintang excluded the pacification troops from the army jurisdiction, giving them civilian status along with land plots from which taxes were to be paid in kind.<sup>66</sup> The first provincial governor of Xinjiang remoulded also penal colonies by including them into civil colony structures. With this conversion, after two years of tilling the land, the convicts could achieve self-sufficiency and from the third year onwards, could start paying taxes in grain and receive land proprietorship.<sup>67</sup>

Although the increase of Han Chinese settlements and the extension of arable land was one of the priorities in the establishment of the Xinjiang province, in practice, this objective was achieved only after 1949. As James Millward showed, much of the immigration, which had been sent to Xinjiang between the 1880s and 1911 turned out to be temporary. The majority of migrants was the

---

<sup>63</sup> Every household (*hu*), understood as a family with two men capable of work, received 60 *mu* of land of the best quality, 90 *mu* of medium quality, and 120 *mu* of the lowest quality (which, owing to the difficult topography, was the most plentiful). The tax-exemption period lasted two years, whilst in the third year the settlers were obliged to repay half of the owed fiscal debts, and finally in the fourth year were they to pay the full tax amount.

<sup>64</sup> Ma Min and Wang Yude 2001, p. 531.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 531. In addition, to increase the efficiency of the *bingtun*, Zuo concluded that, "the soldiers will effectively work on the land, if the price of grain will depend on its quality, and soldiers can profit from them." Therefore, in the context of increasing the efficiency of military colonies, the army bought surplus grain at market prices.

<sup>66</sup> Wang Xilong 1990, p. 84.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

impoverished population fleeing the war-stricken, devastated areas of Gansu, which in the long run did not intend to settle permanently in Xinjiang. In addition, demobilized soldiers from Zuo Zongtang's pacification army did not prove to be good farmers. According to the 1887 census, population, of the three districts (not including the least populated Ili-Tarbagatai circuit) Zhenxi-Dihua, Aksu and Kashgar amounted to nearly 1.24 million, of which 66,000 were Han and 33,000 were Dungans (Chinese Muslims). Two decades later, based on various estimates, the total number of residents in the four districts ranged from 1.65 to 2 million, and although statistics do not take into account ethnic origin, it can be assumed that the majority of the population (1.4 to 1.8 million) were Uighurs.<sup>68</sup>

The gradual reduction of military farms and criminal colonies was aimed at limiting the cost of maintaining troops in the province. At the end of the Qing Dynasty, the Xinjiang population numbered no more than two million, accounting for only 1/200 of the total population of the empire (400 million). However, the number of troops stationed in the province amounted to 40-50 thousand, representing 1/18 of the whole army of the Qing empire. The state of the army in Xinjiang was therefore not only disproportionately high in relation to the number of its inhabitants, but also clearly high on a national scale. Maintaining an enormous army was extremely expensive and intensified the financial burden on the underdeveloped and war-stricken local economy. Annual provincial tax revenues amounted to 100 thousand *liang*, while expenditures stood at 2 million, therefore, the local budget was absolutely dependent on subsidies from other provinces and the imperial treasury.<sup>69</sup> At the peak of Zuo Zongtang's military intervention, 60-70 thousand Hunan army soldiers were sent to Xinjiang, whose annual maintenance amounted to 5-6 million *liang*. After the completion of the Xinjiang campaign, the substantially strained imperial budget could no longer bear the costs, therefore the immediate solution was to radically reduce the army manpower. The army stationing in Xinjiang, formed from Hunan, and to a lesser extent Henan, Anhui and Sichuan troops, did not constitute a regular imperial army. Being that its soldiers were conscripted as militiamen to quell the Taiping, Nian and great Moslem rebellions in the Northwest, after completion of war duties they should be either reorganised or disbanded. For this reason, since Liu Jintang assumed command over the local army in 1880, its size was systematically reduced. In 1884 the three number of troops reached some 40 thousand, roughly the same level as before the intervention.<sup>70</sup> The following reductions were a consequence of the Qing defeat by the Eight Nation Alliance in 1901, that is, the foreign countries' military response to the Boxer Rebellion. In the aftermath, the Qing Court was levied with 450 million *liang* of indemnities, in

---

<sup>68</sup> Millward 2007, pp. 151-53.

<sup>69</sup> Qi Qingshun and Tian Weiji 2004, pp. 336-37.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 339-40.

which even the utterly reliant on central subsidies province of Xinjiang was to contribute 400 thousand *liang* annually. In 1903 Xinjiang governor Pan Xiaosu issued a regulation on the basis of which troops with families in China proper were disbanded and conscription from the local peasantry (regardless of ethnicity) was carried out. The rules provided that from every household having three able-bodied men, one was drafted. Although the family of the conscript received compensation of up to 25 heads of cattle and horses, 50 sheep, 10 *mu* of land and tax exemptions, it was in turn obliged to cover all the expenses of the recruit during his 10-year military service. According to governor Pan's proposal, the army was to reach 20 thousand troops, in which Han Chinese constituted a quarter. However, the local population was reluctant to do the military service and defected on a massive scale. As the conscription method introduced by Pan Xiaosu had not brought the foreseen effects, it was abandoned after two years. At the same time, the subsequent reductions had taken place, so as in 1908 the number of army troops fell to only 10 thousand men, reaching the lowest level in the entire history of Qing rule in Xinjiang.<sup>71</sup>

The growing pauperization and the subsequent reductions of the army substantially limited the realization of state-building objectives attributed to provincialization. This correlation can be pictured by the rise and fall of Puchang City (蒲昌), which was set up on the basis of military colonies in the early 1890s in the lower Tarim River in the Taklamakan desert. In 1890 Xinjiang Governor Wei Guangdao established the Bureau for Land Reclamation and Immigration in the Lop Nor region. In the initial years, under the area of its jurisdiction, 1,200 East Turkestani families along with some 200 merchant families set up there. As the agricultural production and markets of the newly established villages were flourishing, Wei's immediate successor, Tao Mo, advocated for building a new city that would provide the basis for economic development and the settlers' security. The existence of the city was inseparably connected with the garrison stationed there. Yet due to the enormous indemnities China was forced to pay to Western countries after the Boxer Rebellion, which seriously drained the imperial treasury, Xinjiang was gradually deprived of central subsidies and as a result had to limit army maintenance expenses. The subsequent governors Rao Yingqi (饒應祺), Pan Xiaosu and Lian Kui restructured the provincial army, introducing savings that influenced the existence of the city in a fundamental way. In 1903 the Puchang garrison was thus reduced to only 60 soldiers, and by 1907 was entirely disbanded. The withdrawal of the army caused such a rapid depopulation of the city that a decade later an expedition led by Xie Bin came across mounds of debris among which "only a former battalion's commandant *yamen* remained intact."<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 340-41.

<sup>72</sup> Lai Xiaoyun 2006, pp. 80-5.

## ***Conclusion***

From the 1760s till the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Xinjiang was ruled as a Qing dominion. Upper echelons of power were completely dominated by the Manchu nobility from the Eight Banners with the ultimate power held by the General of Ili. Even if we suppose that there was no intention of the Manchu Court to make Xinjiang a fully fledged part of the empire, the process of urbanization and infrastructure development that, intentionally or not, was initiated with military settlement into the region in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries led to the solid foundation for the further, this time Chinese dominated, activities designed to create a firm stronghold in Xinjiang and eventually remolding it into the shape of a traditional Chinese province. The decision for the provincialization of Xinjiang reflected the fundamental change in the territorial concept of the empire that started to be regarded to some degree as a modern Chinese state by the 19<sup>th</sup> century Han intellectuals and policy-makers.

The conversion of Xinjiang into a province limited the role of the army for civil equivalents. The role of the army in state-building, mainly via immigration, was limited due to the radical curtailing of its size as well as of the military farms, being instead replaced by its civil equivalents. On the other hand, the last three decades of Xinjiang under Qing rule were dominated by the Hunan faction, derived directly from Zuo Zongtang's closest army compatriots. Despite Xinjiang's gradual reduction from central subsidies, especially after the Boxer Rebellion, there existed incidences in which the army took upon themselves responsibilities that were in the realm of the civil administration, such as organizing their own finances for infrastructure and educational projects.

A fundamental factor in this regard was the presence of the army in Xinjiang, which was determined primarily by strategic considerations of the empire's security. In contrast, urbanization, infrastructure development, integration of ethno-religious elites were derived from the presence, strength and effectiveness of the military. Regardless of internal political upheaval, interethnic and religious conflicts and different policies on the size of the army and its potential, as well as the local elites and their relationship with the central government, the subjectivity of Xinjiang in the Qing Empire would not arise without the region's strategic or military significance. The non-military activity of the army in the political, social and economic spheres contributed to maintaining Xinjiang within the empire. The main instrument serving the political consolidation of the Qing state in Xinjiang was the settlement organized along the military lines which proved to be the most stable in the long term, thus creating physical and political foundations for the Chinese presence in the Northwest. However, after the 1884 reform when the immigration mode was switched onto the civilian track, the number of immigrants from China proper decreased, indicating that without army institutional coercion, Han Chinese were rather reluctant to settle down within the province. State-building efforts through army-led massive population transfers and the construction of entirely new migrant cities (e.g.

Shihezi, Kuitun) facilitated by the development of infrastructure by the army in Xinjiang came to be efficient and permanent only after 1949 when the military overtook the political and economic structures of the Chinese communist state. The three of which became almost synonymous with each other in the 1950s.

## REFERENCES

### *Primary sources*

- Podróże po Azji Środkowej, 1885-1890* [Travels through Central Asia, 1885-1890] [1924/1925], by Grąbczewski Bronisław (ed.), repr. Warsaw: PWN, 2010; abbreviated as *Podróże*.
- Qingdai Xinjiang Xijian Zoudu Huibian* 清代新疆稀見奏牘匯編 [Compilation of Memorials and Documents on Xinjiang during the Qing], Vol. 2, by Ma Dazheng 馬大正 and Wu Fengpei 吳丰培 (eds.), repr. Urumchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe 新疆人民出版社, 1997; abbreviated as *QXXZH*.
- Xiyu Zhixingsheng Yi* 西域置行省議 [Proposal to Establish a Province in the Western Region] [1820], by Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (ed.), in *Gong Zizhen Quanji* 龔自珍全集 [Collected Works of Gong Zizhen], repr. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 1975.
- Yishe Xinjiang Nanlu Junxian Zhe* 議設新疆南麓郡縣摺 [Regarding the Implementation of the Junxian System in the Southern Circuit] [1882], by Liu Jintang 劉錦棠 in *QXXZH*, pp. 582-583; abbreviated as *YXNJZ*.
- Zunzhi Tongchou Quanju Zhe* 尊旨統籌全局折 [Overall Plan and Analysis of Situation (in Xinjiang)] [1877], by Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (ed.), in *Zuo Zongtang Quanji* 左宗棠全集·奏稿第六冊 [Collected Works of Zuo Zongtang], Vol. 6, repr. Hunan: Yuelu shushe 岳麓書社, 2009; abbreviated as *ZTQZ*.

### *Secondary sources*

- Adili Aini 阿地里·艾尼 (2012) *Qingmo Bianjiang Jiansheng Yanjiu* 清末边疆建省研究 [Study of the Establishment of the Frontier Provinces in the late Qing Empire], Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe 黑龙江教育出版社.
- A-la-teng-ao-qi-er 阿拉騰奧其爾 and Yan Fang 閻芳 (2001) *Qingdai Xinjiang Junfuzhi Zhiguan Zhuanlüe* 清代新疆軍府制職官傳略 [Biographical Dictionary of the Qing Xinjiang Military Officials], Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe 黑龙江教育出版社.
- Baoerhan 包爾漢 (Burhan Shahidi) (1984) *Xinjiang Wushi Nian* 新疆五十年 (Fifty Years of Xinjiang), Beijing: Wenshi ziliao chubanshe 文史資料出版社.

- Borei, Dorthy V. (2002) "Ethnic Conflict and Qing Land Policy in Southern Xinjiang, 1760-1840", in Robert J. Anthony, Jane Kate Leonard, eds., *Dragons, Tigers, and Dogs: Qing Crisis Management and the Boundaries of State Power in Late Imperial China*, Ithaca-New York: Cornell University Press, pp. 273-301.
- Chou, Nailene Josephine (1976) *Frontier Studies and Changing Frontier Administration in late Ch'ing China: The Case of Sinkiang, 1759-1911*, University of Washington, PhD dissertation, 1976.
- Chu, Wen Djang (1966) *The Moslem Rebellion in Northwest China 1862-1878: A Study of Government Minority Policy*, Hague: Mouton & Co.
- Crossley, Pamela Kyle (2010) *The Wobbling Pivot, China since 1800: An Interpretative History*, Wiley-Blackwell.
- Di Cosmo, Nicola (2000) "Ancient City-States of the Tarim Basin", in Mogens Herman Hnasen, ed., *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures: An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre (Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 21)*, Copenhagen, pp. 393-407.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998) "Qing Colonial Administration in Inner Asia", in *The International History Review*, Vol. 20, pp. 287-309.
- Duara, Prasenjit (2009) *The Global and Regional in China's Nation-Formation*, London-New York: Routledge 2009.
- Elliott, Mark C. (2001) *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in late Imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Forbes, Andrew D.W. (2010) *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A Political History of Republican Sinkiang 1911-1949*, Bangkok: White Lotus Press.
- Hansen, Mogens Herman (2000) "The Concepts of City-State and City-State Culture", in Mogens Herman Hansen, ed., *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures: An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre (Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 21)*, Copenhagen.
- Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. (1964/1965) "The Great Policy Debate in China, 1874: Maritime Defense Vs. Frontier Defense", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 25, pp. 212-228.
- Hua Li 华立 (2010) "Xinjiang Junfu Zhidu xia de Limin Tizhi yu Manhanyuan de Renyong" 新疆军府制下的理民体制与满汉员的任用 [The Limin System and the Appointments of Manchu and Han Officers under Xinjiang Military Administration], in *Qingshi Yanjiu* 清史研究, No. 4, pp. 31-39.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1993) "Shiba Shiji Zhongguo de Renkou Liudong yu Bianjiang Kaifa" 十八世纪中国人口的流动与边疆开发 [Population flows in 18<sup>th</sup> century China and development of borderlands], in *Qingshi Yanjiu* 清史研究, No. 1, pp. 23-25.
- Huang Dayuan 黄达远 and Wu Yiqun 吴轶群 (1999) *Duochong Shijiao xia de Bianjiang Yanjiu: 18 Shiji zhi 20 Shiji Chuye de Xinjiang Quyu Shehuishi Kaocha* 多重视角下的边疆研究——18 世纪至 20 世纪初叶的新疆区域社会史考察 [A Multi-perspective Study of the Borderland: Social History of Xinjiang's Regions between the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries], Beijing: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社.
- Hong Tao 洪涛 (1997) "Lishi shang Xinjiang Yili de Guozigou Lu" 历史上新疆的果子沟路 [History of the Guozi Valley Pass in Xinjiang], in *Xiyu Yanjiu* 西域研究, No. 1, pp. 81-87.
- Ji Dachun 纪大椿 (1996) *Xinjiang Lishi Cidian* 新疆历史词典 [Historical Dictionary of Xinjiang], Urumchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe 新疆人民出版社.

- Jia, Jianfei (2011) *Whose Xinjiang? The Transition in Chinese Intellectuals' Imagination of the "New Dominion" during Qing Dynasty*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Working Paper Series; available on-line at [http://www.harvard-yenching.org/sites/harvard-yenching.org/files/featurefiles/Jia%20Jianfei\\_Whose%20Xinjiang.pdf](http://www.harvard-yenching.org/sites/harvard-yenching.org/files/featurefiles/Jia%20Jianfei_Whose%20Xinjiang.pdf).
- Lai Xiaoyun 赖小云 (2006) "Qingmo Talimuhe Xiayou Puchangcheng Xiangguan Wenti Kaoshu" 清末塔里木河下游蒲昌城相关问题考述 [Problems related to Puchang City in the Lower Reaches of the Tarim River in the late Qing Empire], in *Xiyu Yanjiu* 西域研究, No. 1, pp. 79-85.
- Ma Min 马敏 and Wang Yude 王玉德 (2001) *Zhongguo Xibu Dakai fa de Lishi Shenshi* 中国西部大开发的历史审视 [Study of Western China's Development History] Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 湖北人民出版社.
- Millward, James (2007) *Eurasian Crossroads*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1998) *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759-1864*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Na La 娜拉 (2010) *Qingmo Minguo Shiqi Xinjiang Youmu Shehui Yanjiu* 清末民国时期新疆游牧社会研究 [A Study in Xinjiang Nomadic Society in late Qing Dynasty and Republic of China], Beijing: Shehui kexue wenku chubanshe 社会科学文库出版社.
- Newby, Laura J. (1998) "The Beggars of Xinjiang: Between Two Worlds", in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 61, No. 2, pp. 278-297.
- Perdue, Peter C. (2010) *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia*, Harvard University Press.
- Qi Qingshun 齐清顺 and Tian Weijiang 田卫疆 (2004) *Zhongguo Lidai Zhongyang Wangchao Zhili Xinjiang Zhengce Yanjiu* 中国历代中央王朝治理新疆政策研究 [A Study of the Management of Xinjiang by the Successive Dynasties of China], Urumchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe 新疆人民出版社.
- Said, Edward W. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*, New York: Vintage Books.
- Samolin, William (1964) *East Turkistan to the Twelfth Century*, Hague: Mouton & Co.
- Teng, Emma Jinhua (2004) *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895*, Cambridge-London: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Waley-Cohen, Joanna (1991) *Exile in mid-Qing China: Banishment to Xinjiang 1758-1820*, New Heaven-London: Yale University Press.
- Wang Xilong 王希隆 (1990) *Qingdai Xibei Tuntian Yanjiu* 清代西北屯田研究 [A Study of the Qing Military Colonies in the Northwest], Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe 兰州大学出版社.
- Wiens, Herold J. (1966) "Cultivation Development and Expansion in China's Colonial Realm in Central Asia", in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Nov.), pp. 67-88.
- Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Local History Compilation Committee (1997) 新疆通志·军事志 [Xinjiang Annals: Section on Military Affairs], Vol. 28, Urumchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe 新疆人民出版社; abbreviated as Xinjiang Weiwu'erzu Zizhiqu Difangzhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui (XWZDBW) 新疆维吾尔自治区地方志编纂委员会.
- Zhao Weixi 赵维玺 (2009) "Tao Mo zhi Xin Xilun" 陶模治新析论 [Discussion on Tao Mo's Governance of Xinjiang], in *Xiyu Yanjiu* 西域研究, No. 1, pp. 13-19.

# NATIONAL POLITICS THROUGH LOCAL HISTORY: A LOOK AT RECONSTRUCTION ATTEMPTS OF THE DONGLIN 東林 ACADEMY<sup>1</sup>

LIN HSUEH-YI 林學儀  
(Hong Kong Polytechnic University)

In May 1626, an imperial edict from Beijing reached Suzhou, where the censorate seat for the Regional Inspector of Suzhou and Songjiang 松江 was located, ordering the immediate demolition of all private academies in Suzhou and Changzhou 常州 prefectures. Government restrictions on private academies was nothing new during the Ming 明 Dynasty (1368-1644). During the sixteenth century, the Court had imposed similar bans throughout the empire three times. The persecution of academies in 1626, however, escalated into something that was more violent and had more far-reaching consequences. It became one incident in a string of events following the infamous Donglin massacre the year before, during which Beijing Court authorities arrested the associates of the Donglin political faction and executed some of its most outspoken members. Indeed, Donglin was the specific target under attack. The imperial guards pursued one of its major leaders, Gao Panlong 高攀龍 (1562-1626), to the Donglin Academy of Wuxi 無錫 in the Lower Yangtze, and he committed suicide before arrested. Thereafter, the Academy was torn to the ground and its building materials confiscated.

The empire-wide suppression of Donglin came to an end in October 1627, when the Chongzhen 崇禎 Emperor (r. 1628-44) took the throne and rehabilitated the Donglin associates shortly afterwards. In 1633, seven years after the destruction of the Donglin Academy, Qi Biao 祁彪佳 (1602-45, *jinshi* 1622), Regional Inspector of Suzhou and Songjiang, ordered its first restoration. In response, the Wuxi magistrate assigned Tan Laitai 談來泰, the same yeoman who had earlier been in charge of demolishing the Academy, to

---

<sup>1</sup> My thanks to Sarah Schneewind for her encouragement and detailed comments on a draft of this paper, to Cheuk Yin Lee for sharing his insights on the topic of the Donglin, and to the editors of *Ming Qing Studies* for their support. Jesse Sloane helped edit an earlier version of this paper, and two anonymous reviewers provided critical comments for its improvement. Kenneth Dean, Koh Khee Heong, Ong Chang Woei, and Thomas Wilson read and commented this paper in various stages of its development. I also want to thank Willard J. Peterson and Benjamin Elman for guiding me to the topic of Donglin, which still has much to teach us about China's political system from the late Ming period and beyond.

quote the restoration costs.<sup>2</sup> The two individuals had been tangentially connected by the 1633 attempt to restore the Academy but were active in two distinct social groups. Qi Biaoqia came from a distinguished family in Shanyin 山陰 [Shaoxing 紹興], Zhejiang, and had established his name through public service and cultural achievements. He had been known also for leading *literati* activism with his teacher Liu Zongzhou 劉宗周 (1578-1645, *jinshi* 1601), prominent late Ming Confucian. Moreover, his father Qi Chenghan 祁承燠 (火業) (1565-1628) had sponsored the Donglin Academy in its early stage as a local official (see Table 2, II). As for the yeoman Tan Litai, we don't know what happened to him afterwards; we encounter his name today only because of the political retribution imposed on him in 1633. He might have suffered a loss of face in Wuxi—for carrying out an order seven years earlier. The fact that Tan was involved in the two historical events, the demolition of the Donglin Academy in 1626 and the proposal of its restoration in 1633, was not a mere incident. It revealed an intimate picture of the negotiations between national and local politics centering on the fall and revival of the private academy.

“Donglin” was a name that commanded public attention during the Ming-Qing transition and continues to draw scholarly interest in modern times.<sup>3</sup> In the seventeenth century, the name “Donglin” had three distinguished but overlapping referents: first, the physical Donglin Academy in Wuxi directed by Gu Xiancheng 顧憲成 (1550-1612) and Gao Panlong (1562-1626); second, the empire-wide ethical revival movement derived from the networks of Donglin leaders; third, the Beijing political faction based on such networks.<sup>4</sup> These three aspects of the Donglin legacy, however, are not received evenly in modern scholarship. The historical significance of the Donglin movement has overshadowed the physical academy that not only contributed its name but also facilitated its political and ethical reform networks.

<sup>2</sup> *Donglin Shuyuan Zhi* (hereafter *DSZ*), 14: 566-68. Unless otherwise noted, here I rely primarily on the 2004 Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 edition. This edition is largely based on the Yongzheng 雍正 edition (1733), compiled by Gao Tingzhen 高廷珍 et al., which consists of 22 *juan* materials. The 1733 edition underwent an 1881 reprinting often referred to as the Guangxu 光緒 edition. The 2004 Zhonghua shuju punctuated edition of *DSZ* is based on the 1881 edition, with post-Guangxu and 20th century restoration records added.

<sup>3</sup> In Chinese scholarship, Xie Guozhen 1934 and Zhu Yan 1945, both focused on late Ming *literati* societies and factionalism, are the earliest expositions on this topic; Lin Li-yueh 1984 focuses on the Donglin movement as elite activism. In contrast to the earlier emphasis on political history, Gu Qingmei 2004 explores the thought of Gu and Gao in the context of Song-Ming Confucian philosophy. English scholarship on this movement usually situates Donglin in late imperial Chinese political system or intellectual history, see Busch 1949/1955, pp. 1-163; Hucker 1957, pp. 132-62; Wakeman 1972, pp. 35-70; Elman 1989, pp. 379-418; Peterson 1998, pp. 754-87; Dardess 2002. In Japanese scholarship, two influential works on this topic have addressed the social and intellectual aspects of Donglin: Mizoguchi 1978, pp. 111-341; Ono 1996.

<sup>4</sup> Dardess 2002, p. 1. A more detailed analysis of these three aspects of the “Donglin” can be found in Lin 1984, pp. 1-12.

When I first visited the Donglin Academy in Wuxi in 2006, I observed an unfamiliar narrative in the birthplace of the well-known elite movement. On the walls of the corridors, where stone stelae document various reconstruction efforts, the history of the Academy displays a more enduring presence to the local audience. Since the Academy's revival in 1604, there have been continuous efforts to reconstruct it: most were initiated by the local elite and officials, including resident administrators and censors, and sponsored by the imperial government. Although the Academy was demolished by the Ming Court during the 1625-27 persecution of the Donglin faction, traces of government sponsorship have been conspicuous in the subsequent reconstruction efforts. They tell us that the "Donglin" still had extensive appeal after its demise as a political movement. Moreover, during Qing 清 times (1644-1911) the Academy was able to maintain an imperial cult of Confucius and regular worship of the Song Neo-Confucian scholar Yang Shi 楊時 (1053-1135) along with other distinguished Neo-Confucian and Donglin leaders. Conscious efforts towards renovating and rebuilding the academy have lasted into the twenty-first century, with the latest endeavor carried out in celebration of the 400-year anniversary of the academy's 1604 revival. Today the Chinese central government has classified the academy as a cultural relic, one of the "Eighteen Scenic Spots in Wuxi" 無錫十八景 and a "National Key Relics Conservation Unit" 全國重點文物保護單位. Owing to its legacy of late Ming elite activism, it is also designated as a center for "patriotism education" 愛國主義教育 in Wuxi and Jiangsu.

If we see "Donglin" merely as a political and intellectual movement of early seventeenth century China, we may miss what the physical site of the academy tells us: the Donglin Academy and its images have been reconstructed and reinvented throughout late imperial and modern times. Much of this process of reinvention is owed to the stature of the Donglin political/ethical movement and the meanings its symbol conveyed in both local and national contexts. The management of what "Donglin" meant, however, has been not only a substantial part of that story but also a source of our understanding of the Donglin legacy today. By leaving out the post-persecution story of Donglin, modern scholarship has neglected the very period when memories of the Donglin movement began to matter.<sup>5</sup> The stories of the Donglin movement had been in flux and constantly under revisions since late Ming, which created difficulties in writing its history.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> On the reflections on the Donglin legacy from early to mid-Qing, see Lee Cheuk Yin 1985, p. 73, and an elaborate discussion in Dardess 2002, pp. 164-69.

<sup>6</sup> A common confusion concerns Donglin membership. Wen Bing's *Xianbo Zhishi*, written during the 1640s and 1650s, for example, accounts the history of Donglin in late Ming factionalism and includes the complete list of "Donglin Dianjiang Lu" 東林點將錄, one of the late-Ming Donglin rosters. Since the early-Qing, rosters of Donglin members were compiled to convey a certain image of Donglin, such as Huang Zongxi's *Donglin Xue'an* 東林學案 (Survey of the Donglin School of Thought) and Chen Ding's *Donglin Liezhuan* 東林

Starting with the question of disjointed memories of “Donglin”, I examine several efforts to reconstruct the Donglin Academy from the late Ming to the late Qing period, paying special attention to the roles local and government actors played. The Academy was rebuilt in 1604 together with the shrine to Yang Shi. I emphasize the religious dimension centering on worship at the shrines to Confucius and Yang Shi, a highly relevant but often neglected component of the Donglin identity. By understanding Donglin as a historical legacy and national symbol, as a local landmark on which the dynamics between the local and the central government unfolded, and as a space where the religious and the secular interacted, the present study rethinks the significance of Donglin at the intersection of religion, politics, and local history.

Here I use “local” primarily to refer to Wuxi and occasionally to the wider Wu 吳 region, which by and large covered the area around Lake Tai 太湖 in Jiangnan 江南, the Lower Yangtze, throughout numerous changes in the administrative units and their boundaries. My reason for allowing this flexibility in the meaning of “local” is simple: the cities and towns in the Wu region were so intimately connected that their residents’ sense of community was unlikely to be limited to only the particular town or city in which they lived. The 1626 imperial order on the demolition of the private academies in Suzhou and Changzhou is a clear example. Though beginning with the persecution of Donglin, the Ming state had in fact targeted the academic communities in the Wu region as a whole.<sup>7</sup> The fuzzy boundaries of “the local” did not self-evidently correspond to the precinct of Wuxi county in the early seventeenth century, but were rather defined in relation to an outside power, which refers to Beijing in most cases. Some players, like the renowned Donglin leaders of the early seventeenth century, presumably extended their networks from Wuxi to other parts in the lower Yangtze, often to the capital Beijing and beyond. Their sense of “local” included other connected cities in Jiangnan, including Nanjing 南京, the Southern Capital (*Nandu* 南都), when situations arose, but the definition of that “local” by default excluded the Northern Capital (*Beidu* 北都), Beijing.<sup>8</sup>

---

列傳 (Collected Biographies of Donglin Participants). They do not reflect the late Ming personal connections accurately and cannot be the sole sources for determining the Donglin membership. See Lin 1984 for her criticism of Hucker 1957 and Mizoguchi 1978, pp. 99-106. For the politics of the Donglin membership, see the discussion in my PhD dissertation (Princeton 2010), pp. 312-25.

<sup>7</sup> I will illustrate this point in the following discussion on local resistance in response to the purge of Donglin. For the Wu region as a source of identity, see also Clunas 2004, pp. 93-110.

<sup>8</sup> After Yongle 永樂 Emperor (r. 1402-24) moved the capital to Beijing, Nanjing became one of the two auxiliary capitals (together with Fengyang 鳳陽). Though Nanjing had been refashioned into a major cultural center after 1402, its status as a former capital (and later an auxiliary) easily lent itself to being the political center once again in 1644, when Beijing fell to the popular uprising army. More elaborations on this topic, however, would involve the complex history of Ming politics and is beyond the scope of the current paper.

Material culture provides a window into the diverse memories of the Donglin Academy and its role in fostering community bonding. Most major buildings in the academy today date from the late Ming to mid-Qing;<sup>9</sup> I trace the changes of the physical academy from different editions of *Donglin Shuyuan Zhi* 東林書院志 (Gazetteer of the Donglin Academy, hereafter *DSZ*)—in particular the 2004 reprint of the 1881 edition, itself a facsimile of an earlier 1733 edition.<sup>10</sup> This edition includes several types of sources: maps and descriptions of the layout of the Academy, biographies of important Donglin leaders, and accounts of daily life and literary activities in the academy, among other materials ranging from anecdotes to rituals and cultic practices.<sup>11</sup> Particularly of interest are the records on the cultic worship to Confucius and Yang Shi, as well as local official and non-official records documenting the reconstruction history from late Ming to contemporary times, including the correspondences between Donglin directors and Qing officials. Together, these records provide a multi-dimensional history of the Donglin Academy from a valuable local vantage point. In the following I employ them alongside other major sources compiled from the mid-seventeenth to the early eighteenth centuries, such as Huang Zongxi's 黃宗羲 *Donglin Xue'an* 東林學案 (Cases of Donglin Confucians) and the *Mingshi* 明史 (The Official History of the Ming Dynasty), to reconstruct the evolution of the “Donglin” from a private academy to an empire-wide political and ethical movement and eventually to an education institution.

Local schools have provided recent scholarship an important window into the relationship between the state and local society in late imperial China.<sup>12</sup> This study examines the conflicts and negotiations between state and local society through national and local narratives centering on the rise, fall, and post-rehabilitation history of “Donglin.” Whereas “Donglin” has often been represented as an effort to intellectual autonomy, I argue that the early Qing state effected an unprecedented change in imperial consolidation of social order,

<sup>9</sup> None of the buildings are from the 1604 reconstruction. The main part of the academy can be dated back to the Chongzhen period (1628-44) to the earliest; the Shrine to Yang Shi was destroyed during the Taiping 太平 occupation of Wuxi (1860-64) and rebuilt afterwards.

<sup>10</sup> The first edition of *DSZ* was compiled by Liu Yuanzhen 劉元珍 following the 1604 restoration; the second edition, compiled by Yan Jue 嚴毅, was printed during the Kangxi period. The Yongzheng (1733) edition had incorporated most materials from the earlier editions.

<sup>11</sup> As mentioned, the Guangxu (1881) edition of *DSZ* is based on an exact copy of the Yongzheng (1733) edition, with additional records on the rebuilding history of the mid-Qing period. The *DSZ* has provided a wealth of sources on the academic rules and intellectual orientation of Donglin, on the imperial persecution of 1625-27, and the biographies and correspondences of major Donglin figures. It also contains some unfamiliar aspects of Donglin in mainstream scholarship, such as records on the ritual cults on the site of the academy and its reconstruction history.

<sup>12</sup> See for example Schneewind 2006 for a detailed study of the negotiations between the Ming state and society in the operations and maintenance of community schools, the lowest level of centrally-mandated education institution.

witnessed in the state's interest (and success) in controlling private academies, formerly an outlet of intellectual autonomy. The governance of Donglin memories is a striking case of how this epitome of high-brow idealism could also come under the state's domestication. The sections that follow will first introduce the Donglin movement and the academy, and then examine the rebuilding of Donglin Academy throughout late imperial China focusing on relations between state and local society.

### *1. The Donglin Academy*

Today's Donglin Academy is located at 867 East Jiefang 解放 (Liberation) Road, near the East Gate of Wuxi. The compound covers an area of 145,313 square feet, with fifteen blocks of exhibition buildings.<sup>13</sup> Most of these buildings are reconstructions of old structures dating back to 1604, such as the stone archway, the lecture hall (Lize 麗澤 Hall),<sup>14</sup> the main assembly hall (Yiyong Hall 依庸),<sup>15</sup> and the shrines of Confucius and Yang Shi (see Map 1). Since the 1980s, efforts to rebuild the Donglin Academy have been ongoing. The reconstruction of several buildings, including Gao Panlong's study, continues.<sup>16</sup>

Comparing today's Donglin Academy with that of the early Qing period, it is apparent that the academy compound has been enlarged and expanded with more buildings. The illustration from the *DSZ* (see Map 2) reflects a sketch of the academy compound during the early Qing period. It shows that until the early eighteenth century the academy was conceptually and physically divided into two parts: while one axis ran through the main compound to connect the stone archway, academy gate, lecture hall, main assembly hall, and shrine to Confucius, the other part consisted solely of the shrine to Yang Shi.

In the development of Neo-Confucianism throughout the Song and Ming eras, reviving older academies had been a crucial theme in the maintenance of intellectual lineages and local identity. There had been earlier attempts to rebuild the Donglin Academy in other parts of Wuxi since the mid-Ming; however, its history and physical site became established and stabilized only after the 1604

<sup>13</sup> See <http://www.wxdlxy.com/eabout.htm> (accessed March 10, 2015; same during my last visit in July 2016). Note that the ground space has changed from 13,000 to 13,500 square meters, confirming Shi Jianfang's suggestion that there were plans to further enlarge the compound in his 2004 article. See also Shi Jianfang 2004, p. 302.

<sup>14</sup> The Lize Hall is the venue for congregation and lectures. During Donglin's prime, this was the site where invited outside speakers would give lectures. The name Lize (lakes resting one on the other) comes from the *Xiangzhuan* 象傳 of the Dui 兌 (the Joyous) hexagram, the fifty-eighth hexagram in the *Book of Changes*, alluding to the conversations of friends and their practice. See Wilhelm 1967, p. 306.

<sup>15</sup> The name Yiyong is an abbreviation of "yi hu zhongyong" 依乎中庸 (complying with the doctrine of the mean), referring to the emphasis on self-cultivation in the Donglin curriculum.

<sup>16</sup> Shi Jianfang 2004, p. 302.

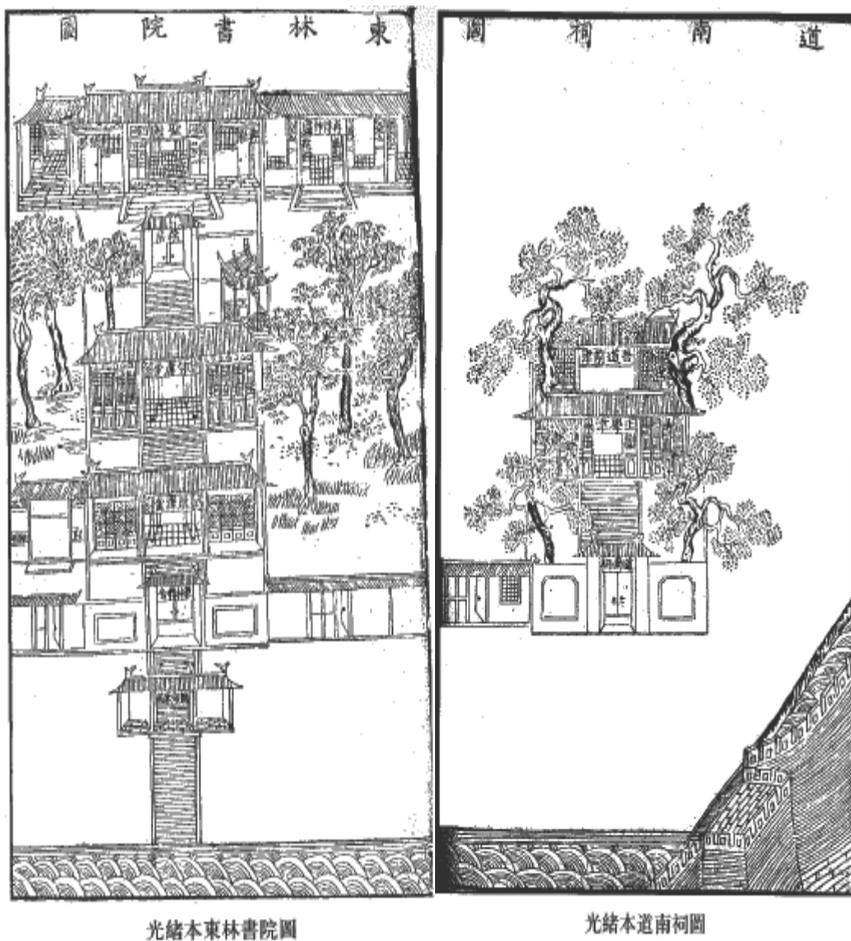
restoration. Doubtless the prominence of the Donglin movement in late Ming politics had a great impact on strengthening its identity in Wuxi local society. In the Yongzheng *DSZ*, the layout of the academy generally retained its late Ming look, with the sole addition of the Zaide Hut.



Map 1. Layout of Donglin Academy after the 2004 reconstruction. The academy today is divided into three main sections. The western section comprises several studies and places for leisure; the central section consists of (from the front) the stone archway, the Lize Hall, the Yiyong Hall, and a Confucius shrine; the eastern section is the shrine to Yang Shi. Between the Yang Shi shrine and the main section are two buildings, Zaide Hut (the study of Gao Shitai) and the Shiyu Room (designated study hall for imperial examinations), both built during the early Qing.

Source: <http://www.wxdlsty.com/index-3.htm> (last retrieved on March 10, 2015).

The latest reconstruction effort in contemporary China, on the other hand, has evidently encompassed the Donglin Academy's multi-layered legacy. The restored academy today includes all above-mentioned buildings and other structures built during the Qing Dynasty, in addition to landscaped gardens at the western wing showcasing Jiangnan garden art. It also includes the Zhengxin 正心 (rectifying the heart-and-mind) pavilion, a newly built pavilion where the examination success of the Donglin men is spotlighted.



Map 2. Layout of Donglin Academy, ca. 1733. Source: Guangxu (1881) edition of *Donglin Shuyuan Zhi*. Since the Guangxu edition is a facsimile of the 1733 Yongzheng edition, this map represents the layout of the academy during the early Qing.

Note that the academy consisted of only two parts, namely the main compound (from the front: the wooden archway, Lize and Yiyong Hall, and the Confucius temple) and the shrine to Yan Shi, with the absence of the Shiyu Room, a main addition to the academy during the Yongzheng period.

The repeated restoration attempts from the late Ming to the present mean that the academy today represents multiple dimensions of the Donglin legacy. One significant example is that the Donglin massacre of 1625-27 and its martyrs, despite their nation-wide recognition and political relevance in mainstream historical narratives, do not occupy a central place in the Donglin Academy. Rather, the site focuses on the earlier leading figures of the academy, most of them natives of Wuxi and resident administrators. Here I traverse the reconstruction history of the academy from late Ming to late Qing and delineate through these reconstruction efforts the dynamics between national narratives and local remembrance.

## ***2. The 1604 Revival of the Donglin Academy***

The 1604 reconstruction has become a well-known story: after Gu Xiancheng and Gao Panlong returned to their hometown and started to educate young students, they attracted a number of students in the Wu region and obtained the support of local officials. Together they revived the name of the Donglin Academy, where the Neo-Confucian scholar Yang Shi had taught and transmitted his teaching during the Southern Song. This was part of a continuing effort to revive Yang Shi's Confucian legacy: at the time Gu and Gao rebuilt the academy, this site had become a Buddhist monastery. There is little documentation regarding how they acquired the land, except for the portion containing the shrine to Yang Shi,<sup>17</sup> but it was clear that in the process of reconstruction they gained considerable support from local officials, particularly Ouyang Dongfeng 歐陽東鳳 (*jinshi* 1589), prefect of Changzhou, to which Wuxi belonged, from 1602 to 1606, and Lin Zai 林宰 (fl. 1601-20s, *jinshi* 1601), then county magistrate of Wuxi. The associated expenses were met largely by donations from the local gentry and officials (see Table 2).<sup>18</sup>

The 1604 revival of the Donglin Academy was closely connected with not only those influential figures in the lower Yangtze's past and present. The relevance of Donglin's revival soon reached beyond the lower Yangtze. Ouyang Dongfeng, who personally supervised this reconstruction and drafted the record of it, embodied one aspect of Donglin's trans-local networks. A native of the Huguang 湖廣 region, Ouyang served in Changzhou for only four years and was

---

<sup>17</sup> Gu Xiangyu, possibly a local physician, donated the land on which the shrine to Yang Shi was built. *DSZ*, 1: 5; *DSZ*, 15: 600.

<sup>18</sup> The estimated cost for the reconstruction was 772.3 taels of silver. Gu Xiancheng donated 120 taels of silver, and Gu Yuncheng and Gao Panlong each donated 100 taels; other donations ranged from 5 to 50 taels [see Table 1]. The number in late Ming official documents, however, does not match that in the other records from the Yongzheng *DSZ*; the amount of silver shown in the former is 300 taels while that in the latter is 570. *DSZ*, 1: 5-6; 15: 555-62.

not involved in subsequent Donglin politics. Nevertheless, his participation in the revival of the academy had earned him a position in local memory, evident in the building of a shrine to him and two other resident administrators, Lin Zai and Zeng Ying 曾櫻 (d. 1651, *jinshi* 1616), in the early Qing.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, Donglin's academic achievements enabled a number of its young students to eventually rise to the court level. Wen Zhengmeng 文震孟 (1574-1636, *jinshi* 1622), who provided the calligraphy for the stele inscription commemorating the 1604 reconstruction, represents this trend in Donglin's trans-local influence and examination success.<sup>20</sup> Coming from a long established family in the Wu region, Wen achieved academic prominence only at a later age. Though less visible in early Donglin political maneuvers, he quickly rose in central politics under the support of Donglin remnants in the Chongzhen reign.<sup>21</sup>

The Donglin leaders clearly followed a common pattern of accruing power and influence at both the local and the central levels.<sup>22</sup> At Court, Donglin participants were mostly active in the Censorial System and the Ministry of Rites, two important offices in the Ming central government.<sup>23</sup> Convinced that they were making history, they also articulated their roles in these events. In the vision of Gu Xiancheng and Gao Panlong, the Academy would serve as a vehicle for the promotion of authentic Confucian learning and ethics not only for their time, but also for later generations. They carried out their reform attempt in an era when Wang Yangming 王陽明 learning had been officially recognized: by the early Wanli period, Wang had been enshrined in the Confucian temple and his learning established in the examination curriculum.<sup>24</sup> Gu and Gao, however, were wary of the far-reaching implications of Wang Yangming's ideas, which theoretically granted each individual considerable autonomy and

<sup>19</sup> *DSZ*, 9: 381-83. Further discussions of Zeng Ying's role in supporting the Donglin Academy and Gao Shitai's building of the Shrine to the Three Gentlemen follow below.

<sup>20</sup> Wen Zhenmeng was a renowned Suzhou calligrapher and great-grand son of Wen Zhengming (1470-1559). He is less well known today than his younger brother, Zhenheng 震亨, late Ming connoisseur whose expertise in the aesthetics of things has been recognized in the study of Chinese material culture. In particular, his reflections in *Zhangwu Zhi* 長物志 (Treatise on Superfluous Things) have been featured in Clunas 1991.

<sup>21</sup> Wen reached political prominence in 1635, when he was supported by Donglin veterans at Court and appointed Chief Grand Secretary. However, he only stayed in the post for three months before being ousted by the Chongzhen Emperor. See *Mingshi*, 251: 6495-99.

<sup>22</sup> Hymes 1986 challenges the assumption of a top-down power relationship between the state and local society by showing how the local elite in Fuzhou strategized their resources and activities according to the shifting central-local relationship. In the advancement of intellectual influence, the Ming *literati* also adopted flexible strategies in their maneuvers between central and local institutions. This pattern clearly shows in the promulgation of Wang Yangming's teaching from his own lifetime to his enshrinement into the Confucius temple.

<sup>23</sup> See Hucker 1966 for the crucial roles of the Censorial System in Ming politics.

<sup>24</sup> On the power dynamics between the Donglin partisans and the Ming state, see Mizoguchi 1978; for the ascendance of Wang Yangming Learning after his death in the context of Ming Confucian thought, see Peterson 1998, pp. 708-54.

freedom. They intended to form a *literati* community with a strong sense of purpose and group identity. This is clearly shown in the compilations of the “Community Rules” and the first edition of *Donglin Shuyuan Zhi*, the academy gazetteer. Its prefaces, written by Gao Panlong and Liu Yuanzhen 劉元珍 (1571-1622, *jinshi* 1595), credit Yang Shi’s legacy to the more conservative Cheng-Zhu school of learning and warn against the undesired influence of some followers of Wang Yangming.<sup>25</sup>

The key to the 1604 revival of the academy was a series of proposals from students to local officials for building a shrine to worship Yang Shi.<sup>26</sup> Yang Shi, a dedicated disciple of the Cheng brothers, had played a vital role in the transmission of their teaching to southern China during the Southern Song. The name of the Daonan Shrine 道南祠 (Way in the South), built in his honor, was attributed to a comment of Cheng Hao’s 程顥 when Yang was about to move to the South: “Our Way will [flourish] southward! 吾道南矣.”<sup>27</sup> Yang Shi developed Zhou Dunyi’s idea of quiescence (*jing* 靜) and adopted Chan meditative techniques for self-cultivation; his stance as a Daoxue 道學 scholar showed in his guarding against heterodoxy, such as proposing to remove Wang Anshi 王安石 from the Confucius temple.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, Yang’s place in the Cheng-Zhu lineage of transmission was equivocal. Zhu Xi 朱熹 accused Yang’s teaching of interfusing Chan Buddhist influence and excluded him from the Daoxue transmission, the orthodox genealogy of the Way.<sup>29</sup> Despite his ambiguous position in the Daoxue genealogy, Yang’s image as a great Neo-Confucian scholar and memories of his devotion to private academy education survived in Wuxi from Song to Ming. Indeed, when Gu Xiancheng and Gao Panlong began their endeavors for a Confucian ethical revival in the post-Wang Yangming era, they saw Yang Shi’s merit in propagating the Cheng brothers’ Daoxue teaching as nothing other than orthodox. By building the Yang Shi shrine and advancing a revised interpretation of Yang’s own position, Donglin men appeared to be consciously aligning themselves with an orthodox Confucian legacy through reinterpreting the genealogy of the Cheng-Zhu school.

Upon further examination, however, the Donglin school of thought proves more nuanced than a simple return to the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy. The “Community Rules” prescribed by Gu Xiancheng show that Donglin leaders managed to reconcile or circumnavigate evident conflicts between the Cheng-Zhu and Wang Yangming lines of transmission through ritual observances and

<sup>25</sup> *DSZ*, 16: 629-31.

<sup>26</sup> *DSZ*, 14: 553-65. Nekar 2001 has elaborated how the shrines of worthies intersected with not only *literati*’s learning and identity, but also their political concerns.

<sup>27</sup> *DSZ*, 15: 593-95.

<sup>28</sup> For an account of Yang Shi’s place in the Cheng-Zhu Dao Learning genealogy, see *DSZ*, 15: 603-4. For Yang’s proposal to remove Wang Anshi from the Confucius temple, see Sommer 2003.

<sup>29</sup> Wilson 1995, pp. 19, 160.

daily practice. Gu proclaimed the academy's purpose to be a Confucian moral fellowship indebted to both Cheng-Zhu and Lu-Wang teachings. He also laid out specific instructions for lecture assemblies, during which various participants from resident administrators and academic directors down to students were united in the veneration of Confucius and recitation of poetry, presumably including poems from both Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming.<sup>30</sup>

Yang Shi's legacy served not only as a medium to connect the Donglin men to the Cheng-Zhu school but also as a concrete cultural symbol on which the local history of Donglin focused. These two dimensions of belonging—how local actors reaffirmed their relationship both to the local past and to a broader, trans-local context—was again echoed in the double sacrifice Gao Panlong made during the 1626 purge. Amid the arrests of Donglin men, Gao, already stripped of official status, was home in Wuxi when a disciple told him that the imperial guards had arrived. Refusing to be taken to Beijing as a prisoner, Gao decided to take his own life. On his last day alive, he paid a visit to the shrine of Yang Shi in the morning, where he made sacrifices and meticulously enshrined Gu Xiancheng and his brother Yuncheng along with four other Donglin men, all Jiangnan natives. He then returned home, spent time with his family, left his last statement, and finally threw himself into a pool.<sup>31</sup> Gao had protected the academy from obliteration up to that point. After his death all buildings in the Donglin Academy were torn to the ground, even their building materials were confiscated and sold to the public within a month.<sup>32</sup>

The large-scale arrest extended further to other counties in the Lower Yangtze region. Wei Dazhong 魏大中 (1575-1625), one of the most well-known Donglin martyrs, had earlier been arrested in his hometown Jianshan, Zhejiang, before being prisoned and tortured to death in Beijing.<sup>33</sup> But at times the Beijing Court's attempt to dominate the region encountered defiant resistance. A remarkable example was during their arrest of Zhou Shunchang 周順昌 (1584-1626, *jinshi* 1613), Donglin associate and Suzhou native, when the imperial guards provoked violent reaction. Allegedly tens of thousands Suzhou residents protested and clashed with them, killing one guard and injuring the rest of them. The agents then reported that “people of the Wu region are all rebelling” 吳人盡反 to Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 (1528-1627), the eunuch who initiated the

<sup>30</sup> *DSZ*, 2: 10-31. Later in Gao Shitai's “Community Rules”, the repertoire for poetry recitation includes poems from Cheng Hao, Shao Yong, Yang Shi, Zhu Xi, Chen Xianzhang, and Wang Yangming. See *ibid.*, 35-6.

<sup>31</sup> The story of Gao Panlong's suicide circulated in several Ming-Qing sources, generally with similar plots. The details are most likely from the biographies by Ye Maocai, see *DSZ*, 7: 236-37. The six men Gao Panlong enshrined are: Gu Xiancheng, Gu Yuncheng (1554-1607), Qian Yiben (1539-1610), Xue Fujiao (1554-1610), An Xifan (1564-1621), and Liu Yuanzhen (1571-1622). See *DSZ*, 13: 540.

<sup>32</sup> According to the official report of Wu Dapu, local magistrate of Wuxi. See *DSZ*, 14: 565-66.

<sup>33</sup> *Mingshi*, 244: 6333-36.

prosecution of Donglin, and this incident refrained him from sending more imperial guards outside Beijing thereafter.<sup>34</sup>

This episode shows clearly the confrontation between some powerful network in the Beijing Court and the local forces in the Wu region. Considering the complicated nature of late Ming central government institutions and the specific political climate of the Wanli 萬曆 (1572-1620) and Tianqi 天啓 (1621-1627) reigns, I do not suggest that there was a general conflict between the central government and local society. Instead, I consider what constituted the local appeal (of the Wu region in this case) amid political prosecutions. Local landmark and religion cults were important elements not only in binding the group identity of local people, but also in providing physical or symbolic shelter. For example, although the Donglin Academy was torn to the ground, the shrine of Yang Shi alone survived because of its official registry in the local gazetteer.<sup>35</sup> So, too, did other local shrines and landmarks, such as the shrine to Taibo 泰伯 (sometimes 太伯). Many Donglin men, fearful of being captured, had hidden nearby in the Huangshan 皇山 (aka Hongshan 鴻山) mountains, a local landmark where people paid homage to Taibo, the legendary progenitor of the Wu region whose virtue Confucius considered as ultimate.<sup>36</sup> Local literati believed that Yang Shi had chosen to stay in Changzhou because of Taibo's legacy.<sup>37</sup> That said, the asylum Taibo's shrine provided Donglin men was two-fold, both for their temporary relief and for their ideal of eternal moral fellowship.

The imperial court's demolition of the Donglin Academy and subsequent bans on private academies empire-wide indicate its apprehension about the autonomy of local society. But the Court was not able to destroy the shrine of Yang Shi, which bore symbolic weight for local religious cult and for Donglin's intellectual lineage. As a response, Gao Panlong's last effort to insert the Donglin leaders into the shrine displayed a determination to remember and glorify the academy's history. It bears repeating that Yang Shi's shrine alone survived, owing to its place in the local gazetteers. The fact that Yang's shrine escaped destruction, together with the tablets of the Donglin personages Gao Panlong placed there before his suicide, calls attention to the apparent limits to the late Ming government's control over local society. In the case of the Donglin, these limits derived not only from the tension between the Court and Jiangnan local society, but also from the interconnectedness of the sacred and the secular in Neo-Confucian institutions, which in turn allowed a certain degree of local autonomy even in the face of state violence.

---

<sup>34</sup> *Mingshi*, 245: 6353-54.

<sup>35</sup> *DSZ*, *juan* 1, 2. Several other records give the same reason for the narrow escape of Yang Shi's shrine from the 1626 persecution.

<sup>36</sup> *Taibo Meili Zhi* (Gazetteer of Taibo's Wuxi), *juan* 1, 1b. For a detailed study of the symbolic relevance of the Taibo shrine and ceremony, see Shang Wei 1995, pp. 98-162.

<sup>37</sup> *DSZ*, 15: 593-94.

During the Chongzhen reign, the Donglin men were rehabilitated, some posthumously, and the academy was partially restored afterwards under Qi Biaoia, during his appointment as censor to inspect Suzhou and Songjiang from 1631 to 1633, and his successor Zhang Guowei 張國維 (1595-1646, *jinshi* 1622).<sup>38</sup>

In sum, the 1604 restoration of the Donglin Academy largely represents a locally initiated and sponsored endeavor to revive and continue a historical legacy. The broad significance of the Donglin restoration in and beyond local society, as its history has shown, was embedded in the unfolding of the Neo-Confucian identity, in the trans-local characteristics of the nature and function of the elite, and in the limitations of the Ming central government.

### 3. Early to High Qing Reconstructions

Two years after the imperial prosecution, the Donglin faction was rehabilitated under the Chongzhen reign; the rehabilitation brought a modest restoration of its two major buildings, the archway and the main lecture hall.<sup>39</sup> Thereafter, the academy fell into disuse for a brief period until Gao Shitai 高世泰 (b. 1604, *jinshi* 1637), nephew of Gao Panlong, assumed its directorship. Gao had retired as a Ming official in the 1640s; returning to Wuxi, he strived to revive the Donglin heritage, in particular its role as an iconic venue for lectures and discussions. In 1655, he secured the support of Qing poet-official Song Luo 宋犛 (1634-1714), native of Henan, to rebuild the main lecture hall and the shrine to Confucius while constructing two new buildings. These include the Zaide Hut 再得草廬, a study which Gao later used to receive guests, and the Sangong Shrine 三公祠, dedicated to three local officials who either aided the 1604 restoration or supported Donglin men during the 1626 purge.<sup>40</sup>

During his years in charge from the 1640s to the 1670s, Gao Shitai taught and socialized at the academy, making it again a public space for local *literati*. At the same time, he maintained the legacy of Gao Panlong by editing his chronological biography and *Gaozi Jieyao* 高子節要 (Essential Writings of Master Gao [Panlong]), and by building a shrine where he had committed suicide. Gao Shitai's management of the memory of Donglin also transformed what it stood for in the local context. Upon the construction of the Zaide ("Regained") Hut, Gao and his friends composed a sequence of

<sup>38</sup> *DSZ*, 14: 566-68. Also see *Mingshi*, 276: 7062-63.

<sup>39</sup> Some Chongzhen official documents indicate that there had been attempts to restore the academy, but substantial exertions were lacking except the attempts of Qi Biaoia and Zhang Guowei.

<sup>40</sup> *DSZ*, 2: 34; 11: 465-68; 12: 517-22. As mentioned above, these three officials are Ouyang Dongfeng, Zeng Ying, and Lin Zai. Ouyang and Zeng were prefects of Changzhou from 1602 to 1606 and 1622 to 1626 respectively, and Lin was magistrate of Wuxi.

corresponding poems to celebrate its completion. These poems compared the narrative of Donglin's rise, fall, and reconstruction to that of the nationwide cataclysm following the decline of the Ming.<sup>41</sup> During his time as director of the Donglin Academy, Gao Shitai included at least eleven men in the Yang Shi shrine, among them some renowned martyrs at the end of the Ming. After his death in 1676, Gao himself was also enshrined there as a Ming remnant subject.<sup>42</sup>

Regarding the Donglin legacy, Huang Zongxi also left some reflections around the same period in his *Donglin Xue'an* (Cases of Ming Confucian Learning). In its preface, he defended Donglin against a prevailing criticism of Donglin's involvement in factionalism at his time:

Nowadays all in the world who talk about Donglin consider its factionalism went hand in hand with the destiny of the [Ming] Dynasty. Petty people have used this as an excuse to blame the fall of the dynasty on Donglin, claiming it to be one of the two factions. Even those who know the real situations also pronounce this: it was not that Donglin men were not gentlemen, but they were too radical; besides, not all of those who attached themselves to Donglin were gentlemen. [Even those who know have concluded] that what Donglin represented was nothing more than the factionalism of the Han period. Alas! This is sleep-talking. Those who gave lectures on learning at the Donglin Academy were no more than a few, and as a private academy it was confined within a prefecture.<sup>43</sup>

Huang's argument, focusing on the local orientation of Donglin's *jiangxue* 講學 (lecturing on learning) activity, was directly responding to a criticism that Donglin's engagement in factionalism through academic lectures had caused the fall of the Ming Dynasty. Huang further argued that Donglin's ethical revival effort had in fact elevated the morality of the society, as Donglin inspired unprecedented loyalism.<sup>44</sup>

During Gao Shitai's years at the academy, it started to attract more attention and support from the government, which not only supported the rebuilding of the academy but also showed interest in its curriculum and in the enshrinement of its associates. After the 1680s, coinciding with the Kangxi Emperor's southern tours, more sponsorship came from the imperial court in response to local requests for tax exemption and restoration expenses. The most notable early Qing reconstruction took place during Song Luo's term as the Governor of Jiangsu. From 1693 to 1694, Song Luo took charge of the most thorough

<sup>41</sup> *DSZ*, 18: 732-59.

<sup>42</sup> *DSZ*, 13: 541-45. Seven men, Gao Panlong included, were enshrined during the Chongzhen reign, but it is unclear whether this was also by Gao Shitai. Gao Shitai took no official positions after the Qing takeover; he was enshrined by Gu Zhenguan (1637-1714), great-grandson of Gu Xiancheng, in 1682.

<sup>43</sup> Huang Zongxi, "Preface", *Donglin Xue'an*, in his *Mingru Xue'an* (Preface 1676).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

rebuilding of the academy, during which most of the buildings destroyed during 1625-27 were restored.<sup>45</sup> A new edition of *DSZ* was also compiled at the time.

In terms of ritual practice, the cults of Yang Shi and Confucius had become subject to official supervision during the same period. Formerly private rituals observed according to the Donglin's regular academic calendar, the cults dedicated to Confucius and Yang Shi were gradually stabilized and standardized by the government from the Shunzhi to the Kangxi reigns. Official objects of worship included Confucius, Yang Shi, Yang's noted disciples, along with Gu Xiancheng and Gao Panlong.<sup>46</sup> Whether these official cults arose from genuine appreciation of the Donglin legacy or were merely intended to enhance local control, they clearly exemplified the imperial court's interest and unprecedented involvement in the academy and in its ritual practice. The state also increasingly controlled academic affairs. Gao Shitai's family had taken charge of the maintenance of the academy, including its tax obligations. When in the early 1690s his descendants requested tax relief, the government demanded that they curtail their *jiangxue* activities, which used to dominate the academic curriculum of the Donglin during the late Ming period, and instead engage in official Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy.<sup>47</sup>

It was not by accident that *jiangxue* activities became an issue for the Qing state. As shown in Huang Zongxi's defense for Donglin, its trademark *jiangxue* activities were already under attack from scholars following the fall of Ming. They condemned Donglin for using lecturing activities to criticize the government and mobilize factional struggles, which in turn led to the collapse of the Ming empire. The restrictions on Donglin's *jiangxue* activities, together with the ban on private academies, reflected the Qing government's apprehension for the public discussions of national politics. These conflicting views on the nature and functions of private academies resulted in the government's takeover of the academic curriculum. Later, when Chen Ding 陳鼎 (1650-ca. 1730) composed *Donglin Liezhuan* (Biographies of the Donglin Associates), he also felt compelled to defend Donglin's *jiangxue* practices by claiming that they had promoted morality and fostered loyalism, which he used as a yardstick to determine Donglin membership.<sup>48</sup>

Efforts to rebuild the Donglin Academy resumed later in the early Qing period, often as collaborations between local elites and officials. In 1731 a new restoration endeavor began, followed by the compilation of the twenty-two *juan* Yongzheng edition of *DSZ*.<sup>49</sup> Notably, the Yongzheng *DSZ* was collected and edited in the Zaide Hut and printed in 1733, the year Yongzheng lifted the ban on private academies. By this time the focus of the Donglin's curriculum had shifted from *jiangxue* to the instruction of examination essays. After the

<sup>45</sup> *DSZ*, 1: 620-22.

<sup>46</sup> *Kangxi Donglin Shuyuan Zhi*, 195.

<sup>47</sup> *DSZ*, 14: 569-78.

<sup>48</sup> *Donglin Liezhuan*, "Preface", 1b-2a. See Lin Hsueh-Yi 2010, pp. 317-19.

<sup>49</sup> *DSZ*, 17: 701; 1: 7 and 15: 623.

Yongzheng period, there were at least two more restoration efforts during the High Qing period, one in 1740 (of the academy) and the other in 1773 (of the Yang Shi shrine).<sup>50</sup> An innovation in the Qianlong era rebuilding of the Donglin Academy was the use of stone to replace the old wooden structure of the memorial archway, which still stands out as the stone archway one can see today.

#### ***4. Late Qing Reconstruction of Donglin***

In contrast with the active roles the early Qing state played in the reconstruction of the Donglin Academy, in subsequent periods, government involvement in its business became more restricted. A watershed in the reversal of the state and local influences on the conception and function of the Academy was the Taiping War, during which Taiping forces controlled Wuxi for four years. The Taiping's iconoclastic campaigns against popular religions and local cults accounted for the destruction of all the shrines and temples in the region, including Yang Shi's shrine and the Confucius temple in the Donglin Academy, but the academy itself survived. After the Taipings were defeated, the Qing government's capacity to achieve post-war recovery was overwhelmed by the devastation during the extended war period in the Jiangnan region. As a result, funds for the restoration of Yang Shi's shrine came entirely from local donations.<sup>51</sup> Strong local participation to the restoration efforts in turn ensured more self-governance and the rejection of government control. Indeed, following the first Sino-Japanese War, the Donglin Academy quickly transformed itself into a new-style school that offered a modern education curriculum and produced important scholars such as the sociologist Chen Hansheng 陳翰笙 (aka Geoffrey Chen; 1897-2004) and Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (1910-98), scholar and writer. Local leadership again predominated in the early twentieth century rebuilding, as shown in the 1947 renovation effort led by Qian Jibo 錢基博 (1887-1957), father of Qian Zhongshu, among others.

#### ***Conclusion***

This paper has reviewed the reconstruction efforts of the Donglin Academy throughout late imperial China, examining the parallel yet disjointed memories of the Donglin movement and the Donglin Academy. In scholarly narratives of the Donglin faction, the storyline remains stable. Most scholars have viewed the Donglin movement as a watershed in late Ming history and as an unsuccessful

---

<sup>50</sup> *DSZ*, "Appendix II", 927-32.

<sup>51</sup> *DSZ*, "Appendix II", 945-50.

elite effort to revive the Confucian ethical system, focusing on texts expressing the thought and politics of major Donglin leaders. Their research emphasizes the elite activism from the Wanli to the early Chongzhen reigns corresponding to the rise, fall, and rehabilitation of the Donglin faction. The result has been a detailed understanding of Donglin leaders' philosophical orientations, the movement's demise, and the Donglin's relation to the Fushe and other late Ming *literati* societies.<sup>52</sup> The consensus is that the Donglin faction no longer exerted its former political influence after its persecution in 1626 and ceased to exist as a political presence after the fall of the Ming. Few have studied the story of the post-persecution Donglin, as if it had faded completely.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, as early Qing public discourse shows, the name Donglin was still highly visible even after its persecution.

Both the origins and legacy of this elite activism appear in an unfamiliar light when one stands in the hallways of the present Donglin Academy in Wuxi. What the site presents is not late Ming Donglin's highly charged politics and heroism, but the Academy's place in local memory and national history. I have tried to show here a crucial silence in most observations of Donglin activism and factionalism: even after its demise, the Academy had continued to be a viable local symbol on which local and imperial or national actors conversed, conflicted, and cooperated as the history moved on. I argue that this story is more than a gap in, or an alternative perspective to, the larger Donglin narratives. The Donglin's highly charged politics had generated highly partisan historiography, and much of it has both shaped and hampered our understanding of the power dynamic between different players. Viewing Donglin from the local perspective gives us a concrete sense of how its legacy was managed, continued, and sometimes even shifted to a completely different direction, as shown in the collaboration between the local leaders and the early Qing government. This story of Donglin has been absent from its public memory but had been a crucial part of the continuation of its legacy.

Besides historical memory, the various attempts to rebuild the Donglin Academy in Ming-Qing times trigger another question: what is the lasting attraction of the academy beyond Wuxi local society, in particular after the fall of the Ming? Indeed, the Donglin movement began as a locally initiated ethical reform program and ended through state-inflicted violence. The unfolding of the Donglin's influence from its power base in Wuxi to an empire-wide ethical revival movement by and large followed an established pattern of the promulgation of Neo-Confucian teachings since Song times. The outcome of the Donglin movement, however, reveals some unique circumstances about the late

---

<sup>52</sup> See Ono 1996; for an earlier study of this theme focusing on the Fushe, see Atwill 1975, pp. 333-68.

<sup>53</sup> For a brief discussion on the memory of Donglin in early Qing based on early Qing private history and *biji*, see Dardess 2002, pp. 164-69.

Ming state and society.<sup>54</sup> In reinterpretations of the Donglin legacy from the late Ming to the late Qing, how did similar interactions continue to play out between center and local, between official and non-official?

Through studying the reconstruction of Donglin, this paper suggests a pattern of interaction between the central government and the local society. I have observed the power dynamic between the state and local society, which usually shifted in relation to the central government's power. The revival of the Donglin as a private academy during the late Ming was born out of a high degree of local autonomy; however, after the early Qing, this local autonomy had been reduced, often voluntarily, in exchange for government support. Only after the Taiping War did the local elite regain fuller control over the academy's curriculum in the absence of state support and control.

The restoration of the Donglin Academy in Wuxi throughout the Ming-Qing period offers us a tangible example to observe the multifaceted idea of "Donglin" as a historical symbol and local legacy to consolidate the identity of Jiangnan local elites. On the other hand, the fate of the shrine of Yang Shi, the other inseparable component of the academy, during the Qing period was less fortunate. A crucial link that connected the Donglin leaders to a trans-regional Neo-Confucian genealogy, the shrine represented the dimension of belief in the development of Neo-Confucianism from Song through Ming. The rites of worship at the shrine, initially under the supervision of the academy directors during the late Ming, had first been taken over by local officials as a result of government intervention during the early Qing, and were then completely eliminated in the Taiping War and modern anti-superstition campaigns. This separation of the destinies of the academy and the shrine, in turn, prefigured the marginalization of religious cults and spirituality in modern understandings of Confucianism.

TABLE I

**Timeline of the Donglin Academy and Daonan Ci, the Shrine to Yang Shi**

- 1117 Yang Shi established the Donglin Academy in Wuxi, where he subsequently taught for 18 years. Some sources give its name as Guishan Academy, after Yang's style name.
- 1135 Yang Shi died. Local worship of him together with other notable Confucians in the Wuxi county school began within a few decades. The shrine also devoted to various other local worthies, but Yang Shi continued to be a central part of the worship.
- 1191 Changzhou prefecture first built a shrine to Yang Shi (perhaps among others).

---

<sup>54</sup> See Charles Hucker's analysis of late Ming institutional constraints and regionalism that had contributed to the demise of the Donglin movement. Hucker 1957, pp. 132-62.

- 1280 Wuxi native You Dong drafted a record for the rebuilding of Wuxian Ci 五賢祠 (the Shrine to Five Worthies), a local shrine dedicated to Yang Shi, Yu Shu 喻樗, You Mao 尤袤, Li Xiang 李祥, and Jiang Chongzhen 蔣重珍.
- 1341-70 The Monk Qiutan 秋潭 built at the site of Yang Shi's academy a Chan monastery and named it Donglin Monastery.
- 1464-87 The prefectural shrine to Yang Shi (perhaps among others) restored.
- 1480s Shao Bao 邵寶 (1460-1527, *jinshi* 1484) instructed students inside the Bao'an 保安 Temple at the South side of Wuxi before he passed the *jinshi* examinations. His students later built an academy there and named it Donglin. Wang Yangming wrote a record for Shao Bao's Donglin Academy.
- 1517 Wuxi's Wuxian Ci restored.
- 1520s At the site where Yang Shi's had taught, Shao Bao built an academy and a shrine dedicated to Yang. Shao named this academy "Daonan" and wrote a record of the restoration.  
The (private) shrine to Yang Shi was named Daonan Ci for the first time.
- 1534-73 Unsuccessful attempts to revive Yang Shi's Donglin Academy by several education intendants including Geng Dingxiang 耿定向, among others.
- 1604 Gu Xiancheng and Gao Panlong revived Donglin Academy together with the Daonan Ci, the shrine to Yang Shi, at the eastern side of Wuxi.  
Liu Yuanzhen compiled the first edition of *DSZ*.
- 1612 Gu Xiancheng died. Gao Panlong became the sole director of Donglin.
- 1625-27 Purge of the Donglin faction. The Beijing Court ordered the demolition of the academy and confiscation of its property in 1626; Gao Panlong committed suicide. Gao Panlong added six senior Donglin men, including Gu Xiancheng and Gu Yuncheng 顧允成, to the Daonan Ci. The Daonan Ci survived.
- 1628-44 Rehabilitation of Donglin. Wuxi native Wu Guisun 吳桂森 donated toward the restoration of the Lize Hall.  
Yan Jue compiled the second edition *DSZ* in 2 *juan* (printed during the Kangxi reign).  
Inclusion of Gao Panlong in the shrine to Yang Shi.
- 1633 Qi Biaoqia, Censor of Suzhou and Songjiang, ordered Tan Lитай, the clerk in charge of the 1626 demolition, to restore the academy. Qi personally donated 100 taels of silver.
- 1640 Zhang Guowei donated 100 taels of silver for the restoration of Donglin. Official documents for this restoration are missing.
- 1640s-70s Gao Shitai, nephew of Gao Panlong, returned to Wuxi as a Ming official and directed the Donglin Academy.  
Gao Shitai included more Jiangnan Donglin men in the Yang Shi shrine.
- 1655 Gao Shitai restored the Lize Hall and the shrine to Confucius, and built the Zaide Hut (Regained Hut) and Sangong Ci (Shrine to the Three Gentlemen).  
Gao Shitai's sons requested tax exemption of Donglin Academy on the ground that the Daonan Ci should be exempted from tax duty.
- 1659 The beginning of official involvement in the Daonan Ci enshrinement: Chen Zhengqing 陳正卿, native of Wuxi, was enshrined under official approval.
- 1660s Restoration of Daonan Ci. Earliest date of official cult (late 1660s).
- 1683 Gu Zhengan 顧貞觀 (1637-1714; great-grandson of Gu Xiancheng) et al. obtained the approval of Tang Bin 湯斌 (1627-87, *jinshi* 1651), Governor of Jiangnan, and

- included eighteen men, both national and local Donglin leaders (such as Feng Congwu 馮從吾, Liu Zongzhou 劉宗周, Huang Daozhou 黃道周, Yang Lian 楊漣, Ouyang Dongfeng, Wen Zhenmeng, among others), in the Daonan Ci.
- 1685 Tang Bin visited Daonan Ci and ordered the renovation of the Donglin Academy. Official worship at the shrines to Gu Xiancheng and Gao Panlong, as well as at the Zhishui Ci 止水祠 (Still Water Shrine), where Gao Panlong committed suicide.
- 1686 Jiangnan Education Intendant ordered that the Donglin curriculum be limited to the Cheng-Zhu learning, and prohibited sectarian disputes.
- 1693-94 Reconstruction of the Donglin Academy. Song Luo's commemorative essay emphasized the importance of *jiangxue*.  
Wuxi magistrate et al. included 20 local Donglin figures in the list of *congci* 從祀 (to follow in sacrifice) in the Daonan Ci.
- 1702 Donglin Academy fell under taxation during a registry of wastelands.
- 1713 Wuxi magistrate relieved part of Donglin Academy's tax duty (based on the precedent of the tax exemption of Yu Shu's tomb. Yu was one of the Wuxi worthies enshrined together with Yang Shi in the Wuxian Ci in 1671.
- 1711 Chen Ding compiled *Donglin Liezhuan*, formalizing a list of Donglin associates whom he found representative of the Donglin intellectual/moral orientation.
- 1731-33 Wuxi magistrate Jiang Rirong 江日容 supported the reconstruction of the Donglin Academy.  
Gao Tingzhen et al. compiled the Yongzheng edition *DSZ* under the sponsorship of Diao Chengzu 刁承祖 (1672-1739), Surveillance Commissioner of Jiangsu (1731-32).  
Increased sacrifices in the worship at Daonan Ci.
- 1740 Reconstruction of the Donglin Academy. Stone was used in the memorial archway to replace the old wood structure.
- 1773 Daonan Ci reconstructed.
- 1797 Restoration of the Donglin Academy (-1802).
- 1813 Daonan Ci restored.
- 1846 Donglin Academy expanded. New official academic rules given, detailing the number of students and stipends.
- 1867-68 Reconstruction of the shrines (to Confucius, Daonan Ci, and Sangong Ci) in the Donglin Academy.
- 1873 Separation of the director of academic affairs and finance manager at the Donglin Academy under Hou Cheng 侯晟 (1803?-1877).
- 1881 Guangxu edition *DSZ* printed.
- 1895 Donglin Academy became a new-style school under Tao Fusheng 陶黼昇.
- 1947 Tang Wenzhi 唐文治, Gu Baochen 顧寶琛, Wu Jingheng 吳敬恆, Qian Jibo, among others, initiated a new restoration of the Donglin Academy. Tang and Qian both left a record of this restoration.
- 1980 Restoration of the Donglin Academy resumed.
- 2004 Reconstruction of the Donglin Academy in celebration of the four-hundred-year anniversary of its revival.

Source: *Donglin Shuyuan Zhi*, "Preface", *juan* 1, 14, 15, 17, & "Appendix II."

TABLE 2

**Individual Donations for the Reconstruction of the Donglin Academy**

I. In support of construction  
(Donations unit in taels of silver unless otherwise noted)

Gu Xiancheng 120	Gao Panlong 100
Gu Yuncheng 100	An Xifan 安希範 50
Liu Yuanzhen 50	Ye Maocai 葉茂才 5
Zhang Mengshi 張夢時 50	Gu Xiangyu* 顧驥宇 Donated the landbase for Daonan Ci
Shi Menglin 史夢麟 10	Wang Yongtu 5
Gu Tingzhi* 顧亭之 15	Gu Muzhi* 顧木之 15
Gu Jiazhi* 顧夾之 30	Qian Yiben 錢一本 10
Chen Youxue 10	

Note: Does not include resident officials' individual donations. \*Gu Xiangyu, Tingzhi, Muzhi, and Jiazhi are courtesy names.

## II. In support of students' stipends

Zhou Kongjiao 周孔教 30	Tang Bin 20
Cai Xianchen 蔡獻臣 20	Wang Zhongsong* 王鍾嵩 30
Zuo ? 左 20	Cai Xianchen 10 (2 <sup>nd</sup> donation)
Lian ? 連 10	Qian ? 錢 10
Xu Tongsheng* 許同生 5	Lin ? 林 6
Qi Chenghan 祈承燭 (火業) 6	Deng Laihe* 鄧來河 10
Qi Chenghan 6 (2 <sup>nd</sup> donation)	Xu Tongshen* 5 (2 <sup>nd</sup> donation)
Wan ? 萬 10	Chen Shihong* 陳石泓 8

Note: Residential officials' donations constituted the majority of donations in this category. \*Courtesy names.

### III. In support of the [purchase of] property

Lin Zai 50 Zhou Kongjiao 20 Zhou Mianzhen* 周綿真 20  An Xifan 21.72 <i>dan</i> ** (land mortgage payment in rice)	Chen Shihong* 100 Zeng ? 曾 10 Wu Qiufeng 吳虬峰*100 <i>dan</i> ** (land mortgage payment in rice)
--	---

Note: \* Courtesy names. \*\* Weight unit, 1 *dan* equaled 50 kilograms.

### IV. In support of restoration (early Qing)

Cheng Qifan 成其範 30  Wang Yan 王燕 40  Xiong Cizan 熊賜 10  Song Luo 20  Li Jishan 李繼善 200* (for the restoration of Daonan ci alone) Zheng Renyao 鄭任鑰 10  Xu Rijong 徐日炯 10  Hu Tingqi 胡亭琦 ?	Li Zhenyu 李振裕 20  Xiong Cilu 熊賜履 10  Xu Shilin 許時霖 40  Xu Yongyan 徐永言 20  Li Mei 李玫 50  Diao Chengzu ?  Jiang Rirong 20  Hu Shen 胡慎 ?
--	---

Note: While all were resident officials, half of them were Wuxi/Jingui magistrates.  
 Source: *Donglin Shuyuan Zhi*, 1: 5-8; 14: 555-559.

## REFERENCES

### *Primary sources*

*Donglin Liezhuan* 東林列傳 [1711], by Chen Ding 陳鼎.  
 [Kangxi] *Donglin Shuyuan Zhi* (康熙) 東林書院志 [1669], repr. in *Wuxi wenku* 無錫文庫, Series 2, Nanjing: Fenuang chubanshe, 2011.

- Donglin Shuyuan Zhi* 東林書院志 [1881], edited by Gao Tingzhen 高廷珍 et al., Guangxu edition (a facsimile of the 1733 Yongzhen edition), repr. Beijing: Zhonghua, 2004.
- Mingru Xue'an* 明儒學案 [preface 1676], by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲, *Sibu Beiyao* 四部備要 repr. Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1935.
- Meili Zhi* 梅里志 [1722] (Gazetteer of Wuxi), edited by Yang Qian, repr. Taipei: Wuxi tongxianghui, 1981.
- Mingshi* 明史 [preface 1739], by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., repr. Taipei: Dingwen, 1980.
- Taibo Meili Zhi* 泰伯梅里志 [1897] (Gazetteer of Taibo's Wuxi), edited by 吳熙, repr. Taipei: Wuxi tongxianghui, 1981.
- Xianbo Zhishi* 先撥志始 [ca. 1650s-60s] (The Disintegration of the Foundation of the Ming: From its Origins), by Wen Bing 文秉, repr. Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguang, 1946.

### Secondary sources

- Atwill, Arthur (1975) "From Education to Politics: the Fushe", in Wm. T. de Bary et al., eds., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Busch, Heinrich (1949/1955) "The Tung-lin Academy and Its Political and Philosophical Significance", in *Monumenta Serica*, 14.
- Clunas, Craig (2004) *Elegant Debts: The Social Art of Wen Zhengming*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1991) *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Dardess, John (2002) *Blood and History: The Donglin Faction and Its Repression*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Donglin Shuyuan Chongxiu Sibai Zhounian Quanguo Xueshu Yantaohui Lunwenji* 東林書院重修四百週年全國學術研討會論文集 (2004), Wuxi: Shidai wenyi chubanshe.
- Elman, Benjamin A. (1989) "Imperial Politics and Confucian Societies in Late Imperial China: The Hanlin and Donglin Academies", in *Modern China*, 15. 4.
- Finnane, Antonia (2004) *Speaking of Yangzhou: A Chinese City, 1550-1850*, Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Gu Qingmei 古清美 (2004) *Gu Jingyang, Gao Jingyi Sixiang Yanjiu* 顧涇陽、高景逸思想研究, Taipei: Da'an chubanshe.
- Han, Seunghyun (2005) *Re-inventing Local Tradition: Politics, Culture, and Identity in Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century Suzhou*, PhD Dissertation, Harvard University.
- Hucker, Charles O. (1966) *The Censorial System of Ming China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1958) "Government Organization of the Ming Dynasty", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 21.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1957) "The Tung-lin Movement of the Late Ming Period", in John K. Fairbank, ed., *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Hymes, Robert P. (1989) "Lu Chiu-yüan, Academies, and the Problem of the Local Community", in Wm. T. de Bary and John Chaffee, eds., *Neo-Confucian Education*, Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1986) *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in the Northern Southern Sung*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Koh, Khee Heong (2011) *A Northern Alternative: Xue Xuan (1389-1464) and the Hedong School*, Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Lee Cheuk Yin 李焯然 (1985) "Lun Donglin Dangzheng yu Wan Ming Zhengzhi" 論東林黨爭與晚明政治, in *Bulletin of Ming-Qing Studies*.
- Lin, Hsueh-Yi (2010) *In the Name of Honor: Qian Qianyi (1582-1664) and the Politics of Loyalty in Late Imperial China*, PhD Dissertation, Princeton University.
- Lin, Li-yueh 林麗月 (2009) "Zudou Gongqiang: Xiangxian ci yu Ming-Qing de Jiceng shehui" 俎豆宮牆：鄉賢祠與明清的基層社會, in Huang Kuanchong 黃寬重, ed., *Zhongguoshi Xinlun: Jiceng Shehui* 中國史新論：基層社會, Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1984) *Mingmo Donglin Yundong Xintan* 明末東林運動新探, PhD Dissertation, National Taiwan Normal University.
- Meyer-Fong, Tobie (2003) *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mizoguchi, Yüzō 溝口雄三 (1978) "Iwayuru Tōrinha jinshi no shisō—zenkindaiki ni okeru Chūgoku shisō no tenkai" 所謂東林派人士の思想—前近代期における中国思想の展開, in *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要, 75.
- Neskar, Ellen G. (2001) *Politics and Prayer: Shrines to Local Former Worthies in Sung China*, Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Ong, Chang Woei (2008) *Men of Letters within the Passes: Guangzhong Literati in Chinese History, 907-1911*, Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Ono, Kazuko 小野和子 (1996) *Minki tōsha kō: Tōrintō to Fukusha* 明季党社考：東林党と復社, Kyoto: Dohosha.
- Peterson, Willard J. (1998) "Confucian Learning in Late Ming Thought", in Denis Twitchett and Fredrick Mote, eds., *The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part 2, Cambridge History of China, Vol. 8*, Cambridge University Press.
- Qian Mu 錢穆 (1937) *Zhongguo Jin Sanbai Nian Xueshushi* 中國近三百年學術史, Shanghai: Commercial Press.
- Schneewind, Sarah (2006) *Community Schools and the State in Ming China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Shang, Wei (1995) *The Collapse of the Taibo Temple: A Study of the 'Unofficial History of the Scholars'*, PhD Dissertation, Harvard University.
- Shi Jianfang 时建方 (2004) "Donglin Shuyuan de Xiufu he Liyong" 东林书院的修复和利用, in *Donglin Shuyuan Chongxiu Sibai Zhounian Quanguo Xueshu Yantaohui Lunwenji* 东林书院重修400周年全国学术研讨会论文集, Wuxi: Shidai wenyi.
- Sommer, Deborah (2003) "Destroying Confucius: Iconoclasm in the Confucius Temple", in Thomas Wilson, ed., *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Wakeman, Frederic Jr. (1986) *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China*, Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1972) "The Price of Autonomy: Intellectuals in Ming and Ch'ing Politics", in *Daedalus*, 101. 2.
- Richard Wilhelm & Cary F. Baynes, trans., (1967) *The I Ching, or Book of Changes*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wilson, Thomas A. (1995) *Genealogy of the Way: The Construction and Uses of the Confucian Tradition in Late Imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Xie Guozhen 謝國禎 (1934) *Ming-Qing zhi Ji Dangshe Yundong Kao* 明清之際黨社運動考, Shanghai: Shangwu.
- Wang Fan-sen 王汎森 (2008) "Qingdai Ruzhe de Quanshentang: Guoshi Rulin Zhuan yu Daoguang Jian Guci Ji de Chengli" 清代儒者的全神堂：《國史儒林傳》與道光間顧祠祭的成立, in *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology - Academia Sinica*, 79. 1.
- Zhu Yan 朱倓 (1945) *Mingji Shedang Yanjiu* 明季社黨研究, Chongqing: Shangwu yinshu guan.

# THE SPEAKING GARMENT: CLOTHES IN WOMEN'S EVERYDAY PRACTICE IN MING-QING CHINA\*

LIN ZHIHUI 林稚暉  
(Hong Kong Baptist University)

## *Introduction*

The so-called Annales School in France as well as modernization theorists, and other trends, such as the Italian microhistory, widened the subject matter of history to include topics such as emotions, history of the body, minutiae of everyday life,<sup>1</sup> material culture (*civilisation matérielle*), modernization of manners, private life and childhood (*le sentiment de l'enfance*). Jacques Le Goff mentions the collective imagery and the representation of the inner reality, states of mind and sensations which regulate social subjects' immediate perceptions.<sup>2</sup> The body is very important in the perception of

---

\*I borrow Dorothy Ko's wisdom of entitling the fourth chapter of her book *Every Step A Lotus: Shoes for Bound Feet*, "The Speaking Shoe", in which she explores how women's lotus shoes speak on wearers' behalf to voice their stories, dreams, and cultural circumstances. See Ko 2001, pp. 97-130. I greatly acknowledge Professors Clara Ho, Paolo Santangelo and Hsiung Ping-chen for offering many valuable inspirations and comments at various stages. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the "In Search of New Methods, Perspectives and Sources: Hong Kong Postgraduate Students Conference on Ming-Qing Studies" held at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University on March 11, 2016. Gratitude is also extended to Professor Chu Hung-lam for his suggestions. I am also grateful to the reviewers of this article, and to Doctors Tommaso Previato and Maria Paola Culeddu for their very useful editing advices.

<sup>1</sup> On "l'introduction de la vie quotitienne dans le domaine de l'histoire", see Braudel 1979, p. 13. For an English version, see Reynolds 1985/1986.

<sup>2</sup> Le Goff and Nora 1974. For a Chinese version, see Hao Mingwei 郝名璋 1988. On "mentality", see Burguière 1982, pp. 424-37, 1983, pp. 333-48. Lucien Febvre emphasized the historical and political importance of emotions: "*Les émotions sont contagieuses. Elles impliquent des rapports d'homme à homme, des relations collectives. [...] les émotions, associant plusieurs participants tour à tour initiateurs et suiveurs—en sont arrivées à constituer un système d'incitations interindividuelles qui s'est diversifié suivant les situations et les circonstances, en diversifiant du même coup les réactions et la sensibilité 'de chacun'.*" See Febvre 1941, pp. 5-20, in English as "Sensibility and History: How to Reconstitute the Emotional Life of the Past", in Burke 1973, pp. 12-26. For a survey of various historiographical schools concerned with emotions—especially for Medieval studies—see Rosenwein 2002, pp. 821-45.

reality and interpersonal communications, as we can see from the interaction of manufacture and feelings, and everyday practice<sup>3</sup> is the most common field in which the body, emotions<sup>4</sup> and self-perception integrated. As Grace Fong forcefully points out, “to approach women’s subjectivity from the critical perspective of the everyday could disclose modes of experience and agency otherwise obscured.”<sup>5</sup> Everyday practice is also an important issue in gender study about late imperial China, but unfortunately, it has received insufficient scholarly attention comparing to fruitful researches on women’s literary achievements, power and agency.

The practice of everyday covers a wide range of activities such as childcare, farming, foot-binding, cooking, weaving, embroidery. By conceiving of women’s cloth making as a productive work, Francesca Bray thoroughly explores the importance of textile and its role of connecting women to the state and value system. Cloth was a key symbol of state power, a basic form of government taxation, an essential element in the establishment and consolidation of social bonds, and a fundamental metaphor of social and intellectual order. In this sense, cloth making transformed women’s inner chambers into “a site of essential productive activity, tying the household into the polity.”<sup>6</sup> While Bray points out how an object and its production process demonstrated women’s roles and helped fabricate them into the broader picture of the society and country, how women in the inner quarters perceived everyday materials and displayed their agency in everyday activities remain little known and require explorations. How did women perceive and transform everyday practice into a way of self-expression? What emotional, intellectual, and spiritual information did they attach to everyday objects? What pragmatic and metaphoric roles did the practice and its production play in the establishment and expression of women’s ‘self’?

This study aims at proposing a different interpretation of women’s daily practice: by examining how everyday practice manifested womanhood and

---

<sup>3</sup> Even the work as important as weaving and making clothes, a work that helped support a self-sufficient household subsistence and secure the government taxation (see Bray 1997), was not “a year-round endeavor”, see Weijing Lu 2004, pp. 19-44. Michel de Certeau suggests to consider everyday practices as “ways of operating’ or doing things” and not merely “the obscure background of social activity”, see de Certeau 1984, p. xi. In using the term “everyday practice” in this paper, I would like to emphasize its universality, frequentality and, most importantly, its profound influence in shaping the practitioners’ lifestyle as well as their inner worlds. It is the foundation of defining cultural roles and also the location of self-perception as well as self-expression.

<sup>4</sup> Paolo Santangelo directs an international research project to collect and evaluate emotions and states of mind based on textual analysis of literary and non-literary Chinese sources. See <http://paolosantangelo.altervista.org/emotions.htm> (last retrieved on March 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017). For his monographs on the representation of emotion, see Santangelo 2003, 2010, 2015 and 2016.

<sup>5</sup> Fong 2004, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Bray 1997, pp. 175-91. See also Bray 2013.

how women applied their agency to re-shape the nature of everyday practice, it contributes to understand women's identity perception in late imperial society. This paper focuses on garments, and places Ming-Qing women's activities concerning garments back to the context of everyday practice.<sup>7</sup> Garments in women's daily practice could be explored from multiple perspectives, such as feminine virtue, material culture, technology and skills, production and consumption, and so forth. Not only activities concerning garments have profound social and moral influences, but "fabricating a dress and wearing it simultaneously define the body as a cultural artifact",<sup>8</sup> which also concern the definition and expression of the 'self' in relation to a value system.<sup>9</sup> In order to unveil and analyze women's emotions, thoughts and agency in this practice, the present study uses female elites' poems recorded in anthologies and separate collections as main sources, because they open the world of women's domestic life and tell us in women's own voice that the practice of every day was never mundane.<sup>10</sup>

The first part of this research examines the pragmatic functions of

---

<sup>7</sup> Bret Hinsch points out that in the early imperial period, "making cloth was the true, definitive, and normative work for the average woman. From a symbolic perspective, all other chores were trivial in comparison", see Hinsch 2003, p. 173. But up to Ming and Qing, while some lower-class daughters had to make garments for subsistence and were "relying on the services of seamstresses, some housewives shunned needlework altogether." See Ko 1994, p. 175. Wu Jen-shu also discusses the ready-made garment industry, see Wu Jen-shu 2005, p. 102. For this reason, the present study will not analyze the skills or economic significance of weaving and cloth making, but focuses on activities such as washing, sending, cutting garments to examine how these practices manifested women's agency, although some female poets under discussion still weaved for garments. It is also for this reason that we could consider elite women's garment making as an emotive expression that conveyed their affection, dedication and sentiments rather than a mere productive activity.

<sup>8</sup> Zamperini 2003, p. 302.

<sup>9</sup> Barnes and Eicher 1993, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> As early as 1957, Hu Wenkai compiled *Lidai Funü Zhuzuo Kao* 歷代婦女著作考 (An Examination of Women's Writing through the Dynasties) which introduces more than four thousand women's works. But it was not until the 1980s that writing women and women's writing in late imperial China began to receive well-recognition in academia. Exploring the initiatives and literary activities of elite women in the seventeenth-century, Dorothy Ko successfully revolutionizes the conception of "women as victims" and points out that women could expand their world and reconstruct gender relation through their talents and published works. See Ko 1994. In her comprehensive study on women in eighteenth-century China, Susan Mann elaborates how women's life differed from the traditional style that we used to think, see Mann 1997. Kang-i Sun Chang's study points out that for Ming-Qing women, poetry was a significant medium to express emotions, see Chang 1997, pp. 236-58. Grace Fong's monograph examines how women in late imperial period exerted their agency in literary practice to present themselves as authors of their own histories under the constraint of Confucian ethics, see Fong 2008. In addition, she also leads the Ming Qing Women's Writings Project which digitalizes collections of works by women. See <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/mingqing/chinese/index.php> (last retrieved on March 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017).

practices concerning garments and explores how women aptly used their bodily perception, imagination and experience during the process of garment making to transcend the boundary of the inner chamber and the outer world and in fulfilling their responsibility of maintaining long-distance health care for their male counterparts. The second part shows how everyday practice of garment making transcended the material level and transformed into a location in which women interacted with others and communicated their solicitude, moral integrity and associations with state affairs. The third section moves to examine how garments were used as a carrier of their private history in autobiographical expression and as a writing surface to deliver unswerving integrity.

### ***1. Garments for Pragmatic Function: Womanhood and Health-care Responsibility***

In Ban Zhao's 班昭 (ca. 45-117) *Nüjie* 女誡 (Precepts of Women), she claimed *zhuanxin fangji* 專心紡績 (to concentrate on spinning and twisting hempen threads) as a feature of *nügong* 女功 (women's work).<sup>11</sup> This feature also became an indispensable aspect of the four feminine virtues and has profoundly influenced the definition of womanhood in traditional China. Garment making and needlework are thus considered women's responsibilities that should be thoroughly mastered and diligently practiced in inner chambers every day.<sup>12</sup> Written by Song Ruoshen 宋若莘 and Song Ruozhao 宋若昭 (Tang Dynasty), another women's instruction *Nü Lunyu* 女論語 (Women's Analects) detailed the connotation of women's work concerning needlework and emphasized its importance:

凡為女子，須學女工。[...] 刺鞋作襪，引線繡絨。縫聯補綴，百事皆通。能依此語，寒冷從容。衣不愁破，家不愁窮。<sup>13</sup>

Every woman must learn her dutiful work. [...] To stitch shoes and make socks, and to thread a needle and embroider on wool. To sew, to join, to patch, to decorate, and to thoroughly master one hundred things. If act according to these words, you could be unhurried in either hot or cold. No worry about the clothes getting ragged, or the household becoming poor.

Implicated in this instruction is the critical function of garment management:

<sup>11</sup> *Hou Hanshu*, 84: 2789.

<sup>12</sup> Chen Dongyuan claimed that girls in Han Dynasty received only two kinds of education: providing clothes and performing ritual ceremony. See Chen 1979, p. 52. Although proven to be a misconception, the conceptualization of typifying garment making in womanhood is still worth rethinking on.

<sup>13</sup> *Xinzheng Nüzi Sishu Duben*, 2a-b.

not only does it guarantee the order of life, it also suffices family sustenance. In the following chapter of this article, the author also stressed that it was the wife's responsibility to manage husband's garments: "[To manage] thick threads and thin vine/ To iron and to sew. Don't let the cold harm your husband's body" (粗線細葛，熨貼縫紉。莫教寒冷，凍損夫身)，<sup>14</sup> which further defined women's everyday practice concerning garments as an essential feature of wifedom. Dorothy Ko succinctly points out that "the ideal Confucian woman was one who worked diligently with her hands and body, and those who did so were rewarded in terms of power in the family, communal respect, and even imperial recognition."<sup>15</sup> This part of study focuses on how women integrated their bodily perceptions into garment making and managed physical health for their male families.<sup>16</sup>

Serving the pragmatic function of managing body temperature, garment was an important medium through which women attempted to develop and maintain long-distance health care for their afar husbands and sons, and was also considered a representation and a demonstration of womanhood. The cold that female body felt triggered the mechanism of empathy, and sending clothes became the only connection that linked women to their afar beloved ones. There was a long tradition that it was recorded in poetry. Expressing concern about the male counterpart's bodily warmth, the sixteenth poem of "The Nineteen Old Poems" 古詩十九首 showed how the author, who was believed to be a woman, associated her own bodily feeling with the condition of her husband: "The chilly wind has become severe/ Without clothes the traveler is feeling cold" (涼風率已厲，游子寒無衣)。<sup>17</sup> The sensory body of the author stimulated her concern about the traveler's health, and thinking of the husband's lacking of garments aroused her sorrow. Furthermore, through empathetic visage, the sensory female body has crossed the boundary of the inner quarter and the outer world, and became a critical factor in women's attempts of long-distance health care. For example, the couplets composed by Chen Yulan 陳玉蘭 (Tang Dynasty) demonstrates how sensory feelings were channeled: "You are guarding the frontier while I am in Wu/ While the west wind blows on me, I can't help worrying about you. In one line of words I send you thousand lines of tears/ The chill must have reached you, but how about the clothes?" (夫戍邊關妾在吳，西風吹妾憂夫。一行書

---

<sup>14</sup> In *Xinzheng Nüzi Sishu Duben*, 7a.

<sup>15</sup> Ko 2001, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> Questioning the traditional marginalization of women's significance in daily health care, Jen-der Lee amply explores women's roles, identities, and techniques in medical practice during Han to Tang dynasties, and finds out that women are active practitioners in health management. See Lee 2008, especially chapters 6 and 8.

<sup>17</sup> *Gushi Shijiushou Jishi*, pp. 23-5. The poems contained in *Gushi Shijiushou Jishi* were first collected in Xiao Tong's 蕭統 (501-531) *Wenxuan* 文選 (Selections of Refined Literature), they were composed by anonymous poets of the Eastern Han Dynasty. According to the feminine tones, these poems were believed to be written by women, or by male poets who imitated female's voice.

寄千行淚 寒到君邊衣到無?)..<sup>18</sup> Sharing the cold, Chen's bodily perception stirred up her concerns and response of sending garments.<sup>19</sup> These cases showed that garment management – a significant duty in the definition of womanhood – was not only a responsibility, but a comprehensive location which integrated female body, women's traditional work, as well as their emotions and sentiments.

How women performed the responsibility of garment making was recorded in encyclopedic compendia in details, covering a wide range from measuring figure, deciding size, choosing materials, to details such as patterns and decorative embroidery.<sup>20</sup> But it is interesting that women's poems about the process of this everyday practice focused only on the difficulties caused by their husbands' absence from home (Fig. 1). The reason to this puzzle is that what these women recorded was the extraordinary condition of an ordinary practice—as we knew that measuring husbands' figures and cutting garments accordingly were the most common procedures of clothes making—and thus it became most emotionally stimulating. Gao Fenglou 高鳳樓 mentioned her hesitation in the making process: “Time and time again I wanted to cut shape of your winter clothes/ But could hardly measure the width of size” (寒衣頻欲翦，寬窄卻難量).<sup>21</sup> In this line, Gao punned on the word *liang* 量 by integrating measuring actual figure and using estimation to decide on a rough size.<sup>22</sup> Therefore,

<sup>18</sup> Chen Yulan, “Sending Battle Suits to My Husband” 寄外征衣, in *Gujin Nüshi*, 5: 9a-9b; *Mingyuan Huishi* 名媛彙詩 (Poetry Collection of Renowned Ladies), 7: 10a. I would like to thank Professor Clara Ho for her suggestions on the English translation of this poem.

<sup>19</sup> Xu Aiyu's 徐愛玉 couplet “In the inner quarter I know you met the cold/ Under the lamp I hold the writing brush to send you clothes” (閨閣知君寒已到，燈前把筆寄征衣) also demonstrated similar feelings and response. See her “Sending Clothes” 寄衣, in *Mingyuan Shiwei Chubian*, 3: 23a.

<sup>20</sup> *Kunde Baojian* 坤德寶鑒 (Golden Guide to Feminine Virtues), a book especially for female readers, provides detailed instruction on garment making and embroidery, see Vols. 4, 8, and 9. It is housed in Harvard-Yenching Library, with a digitalized full version on HOLLIS Classic. Other encyclopedia of daily use also contain relevant information, for example, *Xinqie Quanbu Tianxia Simin Liyong Bianguan Wuche Bajin* 新鐫全補天下四民利用便觀五車拔錦 (Newly Engraved and Enlarged Edition of Refined Selection of Universal Knowledge for People in All Four Social Strata) depicts the basic process of farming, weaving and garment making, see Vol. 28, *Nongsang Men* 農桑門 (Chapter of Farming and Sericulture). *Xinqin Zengbu Wanjinshuyan Gushi Daquan* 新鉅增補萬錦書言故事大全 (Newly Engraved and Enlarged Edition of Complete Collection of Stories on Maxims) instead describes various names of clothes. See *Mingdai Tongsu Riyong Leishu Jikan*, 6: 30b-32a, *Yifu Men* 衣服門 (Chapter of Garments).

<sup>21</sup> Gao Fenglou, “Joining My Husband's Poem on Sending Ragged Clothes” 和夫子寄敝衣詩元韻, in *Danyi Shuwu Shicao*, 1: 8b-9a.

<sup>22</sup> It is common that women recorded their estimation in garment making. Jin Yi 金逸 (1770-1794) also wrote that “The size of garments is vaguely measured” (裁衣肥瘦依稀度). See Jin Yi's “Song on Cutting Garments”, in *Guochao Guige Shichao*, 7: 24b.

women usually used their experience or old samples to compensate. For example, Lady Liu 劉氏, Ye Zhengfu's 葉正甫 wife, recorded that "According to the previous design I decided on the length of your clothes/ Not knowing whether you are thinner or plumper now" (長短只依先去樣, 不知肥瘦近如何).<sup>23</sup> However, previous size did not always give reliable reference, especially when these male persons were away for many years, as written by Xi Peilan 席佩蘭 (1760-after 1829) that "Size of the pass is hardly accurate for present measurements/ In my dream I find you to take a closer look" (去時寬窄難憑準, 夢裏尋君作樣看).<sup>24</sup> In these cases, imagination remained the only method to which women could resort to determine the length and width they were going to make.<sup>25</sup> With bodily sympathy, affective imagination as well as fulfillment of women's responsibility, the significance of garment making was not limited to a mere pragmatic practice. This everyday practice became an emotive activity in which women integrated their understanding of womanhood and sensitive inner world.



Fig. 1. "Making Garments at the Bamboo Window" 竹窗裁衣圖  
by Shen Zhaohan 沈兆涵 (1855-1941).

<sup>23</sup> Lady Liu, "Sending Garments" 寄衣, in *Mingyuan Shiwei Chubian*, 2: 8b. The Chinese version of the first line has a variant: 長短只依元式樣, see *Gonggui Wenxuan*, 20: 14b-15a.

<sup>24</sup> Xi Peilan, "Song on Sending Garments" 寄衣曲, in *Changzhen'ge Ji*, 1891 edition, 1: 4b-5a; 1920 edition, 1: 3b; also in *Guochao Guige Shichao*, 7: 16b; *Guochao Guixiu Zhengshi Ji*, 15: 21b; and *Suiyuan Nüdzhi Shixuan*, 1: 2a.

<sup>25</sup> For example, Lady Liu's couplet has a variant description of the making method: "By imagination I changed the length for several times" (長短幾番憑想像). See her "Sending Garments," in *Gonggui Wenxuan*, 20: 14b-15a.



The poem in the picture is Jin Yi's 金逸 "Song on Cutting Garments" 裁衣曲.

It shows the woman using a bronze *dou* 斗 to vaguely measure the size of her husband's garment at midnight while her child falls asleep.

(Source: <http://auction.artron.net/paimai-art28020044/>, last retrieved on March 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017)

## 2. *Garments in Transcendence*

### 2.1. *Everyday Practice as an Emotional Location*

When taken with passion or with personal participation, everyday activities—which are considered the humblest ones—become expression and realization of the practitioner's personality; this phenomenon is common to males and females and depends on the attitudes and the ways of dealing by subjects. It has been studied by psychologists<sup>26</sup> and has been understood well in

---

<sup>26</sup> See Csikszentmihalyi 1988.

some philosophies and religions, such as Zen Buddhism and in some trends of Personalism and Existentialism.<sup>27</sup>

However, comparing to other everyday practice such as food preparation, gardening and child raising, garment making distinguishes itself for notable reasons: the material is soft and flexible in texture, which represents and corresponds with the *yin* 阴 (feminine) characteristic of women; the product is intimate to the sensuous body and serves as its protector so that it becomes sentiment-evocative and emotion-related; the preservability and durability enable the garment to accompany its owner for decades to witness the vicissitude of her private history; the production process takes months and requires patience and carefulness, so that women could weave sentiments into the product and unwind a myriad of thoughts and emotions into numerous stitches. All of these features add on its emotive value and emotional intimacy, which thereby turning it into an ideal expression of affections, dedication and other sentiments. Hence, in the context of traditional Chinese culture, everyday practice concerning garments was not only a pragmatic activity with needles and threads, but it also transcended the material level and transformed into a location in which women constructed, nurtured and communicated their inner world. It is in this sense that garment and the making process became symbolic in terms of culture and emotion.



---

<sup>27</sup> Zen Buddhism, especially the branch that values both agriculture and Zen, emphasizes that the essence of Zen lies within everyday practice, so that humans could practice meditation and attain Zen wisdom by living everyday life in a tranquil and supramundane way. See Yinshun 1999. Everyday experience is regarded as supreme by early personalist pioneers. They also believe that experience is not reflection of the natural world but product of the mind. See Bowne 1908 and Bengtsson 2006. From an existential viewpoint, Martin Heidegger insightfully pointed out that average everydayness—the closest and most familiar condition of beings—was ontologically least known. See Heidegger 1962. Henri Lefebvre realized the significance of everyday life in modern society, claiming it superior to technological and productive forces emphasized by Carl Marx. See Lefebvre 1991 and 2013.



Fig. 2. “Painting of Pounding Clothes” 搗衣圖 by Qiu Ying 仇英 (ca. 1494-1552).  
(Source: *Zhongguo Lidai Shiniu Huaqi* 中國歷代仕女畫集  
[Album of Paintings of Chinese Refined Ladies through the Dynasties], Fig. 46)

Maternal solicitude was most associated with and expressed in garment making. Substantial poems entitled “*Caiyi*” 裁衣 (Cutting Clothes), “*Daoyi*” 搗衣 (Pounding Clothes) and “*Jiyi*” 寄衣 (Sending Clothes) demonstrated how women weaved these sentiments into everyday practice and transformed the material practice into a way of emotional expression. The emotion stemmed from and signaled strong interpersonal relations, one of which was between mothers and their descendants. For example, Chen Yunlian’s 陳蘊蓮 (ca. 1810-1860) quatrain written after sending a garment to her daughter on travel was inscribed with the motherly concern conveyed by clothes:

寄到寒衣悲轉深    When winter clothes arrive, my sorrow goes even deeper,  
線痕密密在衣襟    On the lappet, lines of threads grow denser.

身宜珍重歸宜早 Do take proper care of yourself and come home early,  
好慰靈幃慈母心 So as to comfort the fond-hearted mother.<sup>28</sup>

This poem reminds us of the widely chanted work “Hymn of the Traveler” 遊子吟 composed by the famous male poet Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751-814), a poem which canonizes the image of a caring mother holding threads and carefully sewing her concern on the son’s clothes. From an onlooker’s perspective, Meng’s poem recorded his mother’s actions and dismay before his departure. Comparing to Meng’s narrative style, Chen Yunlian articulated her thoughts in the process of cutting and sending garments, and her poem is thus more emotional and direct. It shows that although the process and skill of making garment are probably similar, the difference between interpretations of an observer and expression of the practitioner are significant. Therefore, it is important and necessary to explore the practitioner’s agency, attitude and mentality to unravel the intricacies and significances in their seemingly humdrum and mundane practice. Stitched elaborately in a mother’s melancholy mood and sent to the traveler thousands of miles away, the winter clothing here was endowed dual values: as a protector against cold and as a carrier of maternal concerns. To the woman, the practice was not only to produce a garment, but more about weaving connection and sending emotions to the traveler. Similarly, Gan Lirou 甘立嫫 (1743-1819) also integrated her concern into the making process: “The freezing west wind blows through the window/ I am already exhausted but my wayward boy is wearing thin clothes. Deeply fearing that the cold might become severe along your journey/ I wish to combine ten thousand times of cutting into one” (西風瑟瑟逗窻寒，遊子衣單母力殫。深恐客中寒更重，萬鍼欲併一鍼鑽).<sup>29</sup> Through poetic medium, the dutiful mother Gan explicitly described her anxiety when she endeavored to the utmost to make clothes for her son.

Signifying solitude, uxorial solicitude and melancholy, washing and sending garments were more culturally symbolic and emotionally evocative. The iconic silhouette washing clothes ashore is symbolic and classic in expressing women’s lonesome (Fig. 2). Wu Zongai 吳宗愛 (1650-1674) watched her neighbor hastily making husband’s winter suit and heard the bleak sound of wishing clothes coming incessantly throughout the night. She then composed a poem to communicate her concern: “A young wife sits at the loom with her back turned

<sup>28</sup> Chen Yunlian, “Granting Clothes” 授衣, in *Xinfangge Shicao*, 1: 14b-15a. Yang Binbin 楊彬彬 discusses detailed aspects of Chen Yunlan’s autobiographical desire as reflected in her poetry collection, see Yang Binbin 2010, pp. 95-130.

<sup>29</sup> Gan Lirou, “Words to afar on Making Cotton Clothes for My Son Nian” 為念兒製綿衣寄遠, in *Yongxuelou Gao*, 3: 10a-b. Grace Fong’s monography devotes a chapter to study Gan’s *Yongxuelou Gao* and points out its autobiographical characteristic. As remarked by Fong, Gan’s collection “tell[s] her personal history within the frame of the paradigmatic life cycle of a Chinese woman [...]”; Gan was very conscious of her changing roles that she experienced”, see Fong 2008, p. 14.

to the lamp/ It is late autumn but clothes have not yet been sent to the garrison soldier. [...] Now we all recall the toilsome of soldiers on expedition/ The sound of pounding reverberates over ten thousand homes throughout the night” (機上少婦背燈坐，秋深未寄征人衣。[...] 此時共憶征夫苦，一夜寒砧連萬戶).<sup>30</sup> The disquietude of worry and heartrending sound interlaced with each other, bespeaking a common condition of women’s loneliness. Washing clothes in cold autumn is a recurrent motif, and the plangent monotonous sound breaking the serene nights resounded repeatedly in women’s poems.<sup>31</sup> Recording the sound of washing, female poets imbued in these couplets their solitude and solicitude in a subtle and sensorial way. When the bleak sound resonated tonelessly in the night, it not only reminded women of the approaching of desolate autumn and freezing winter, but also stimulated their sorrow of separation. In Lu Shuyun’s 盧淑韞 poem entitled “Song on Pounding Garments” 搗衣曲, the common structure of rhymes seemed insufficient to convey the rush of emotion:

征夫塞上鐵衣冷	On the frontier, the soldier is wearing cold iron suit,
少婦閨中萬里心	From the inner chamber, the young wife’s worries go ten thousand miles away.
萬里心，幾尺帛	Ten thousand miles, and a few feet of silk,
朝朝暮暮不曾歇	Relentlessly the wife works day and night.
西風滿地霜滿天	The west wind blows through and frost flies in the sky,
一聲擣破千家月	A sound of washing breaks the nighttime’s tranquility of a thousand homes. <sup>32</sup>

The second couplet is a particular expression which demonstrates the emotional significance of garments: although made of only several feet of cloth, it served as a vehicle to carry the wife’s keen solicitude. However, separation and solicitude were not the only two emotions that were cultivated in and expressed

<sup>30</sup> Wu Zongai, “Imitating the Song of Sending Clothes” 擬寄衣曲, in *Xuliefu Shichao*, 1:11b-12a; also in *Guixiu Zhengshi Zaixu Ji*, 1: 7b-8a. Wei Hua also explores Wu’s life story and its reconstruction by male literati, see Wei Hua 2010, pp. 141-75.

<sup>31</sup> For example, Wu Lanze 吳蘭澤 (1644-1911) wrote that “Autumn wind urges the pair of pounding sticks/ The clear sound resonates in the clouds” (秋風急雙杵，清響徹重雲). See her “Pounding Clothes” 擣衣, in *Zhisiju Gucun Cao*, 3a. Susan Mann depicts Wu’s connection with the Zhang family, see Mann 2007, pp. xii-xiii. The couplets by Xu Anji 徐安吉 also recorded that “In the silent night, (the young wife) starts pounding garments on the empty stair/ The sound turns quicker and countless” (空階夜靜初擣衣，繁聲轉急不可數), see her “Poem on Pounding Clothes” 擣衣篇, in *Mingyuan Shiwei Chubian*, 16: 7b. Similarly, Huang Gong’s 黃塏 couplet “The sound of pounding resonates with the autumn wind/ The frequently-waved jade stick hastens the long night” (砧聲時逐秋聲落，玉杵頻催刻漏長) also created an atmosphere of sadness. See her “Pounding Clothes” 擣衣, in *Mingyuan Shiwei Chubian*, 15: 26b.

<sup>32</sup> Lu Shuyun, “Song on Pounding Garments” 搗衣曲, in *Guochao Guixiu Zhengshi Xuji*, Buyi 補遺, 50a.

through battle suits. What feared women the most was the husband's possible death, which might render them desperate and their efforts futile. This was the exact reason why women's making and sending clothes were always shadowed by woeful emotions. For example, the unceasing sound of washing evoked the female poet Liang Wan's 梁琬 suspicion of this possibility: "Chilly wind blows over Chang'an in autumn/ Thousands of people hurry in paddling clothes. Every year, garments are sent to afar but never sent back/ Don't you see? White human bones have piled up in the north" (長安秋聲風瑟瑟, 千家萬家搗衣急。年年寄去不寄回。君不見? 北邙白骨何纍纍).<sup>33</sup> Fear of the underlying tragedy added melancholy to the process of making winter suit for the husband. Therefore, to women, garment was also an object upon which they rested the entanglement of both hope and desperation.

## 2.2. Garments in Women's Dedication to National Affairs and Confucian Core Values

Dorothy Ko insightfully points out that Confucian culture is a one that "placed the highest moral value on domesticity, motherhood and handwork."<sup>34</sup> Constructed and thus construed as one of feminine responsibilities, everyday practice such as garment making seems to contribute to restrict women in their inner chambers. The study below shows that on the contrary, women's everyday practice played an important role in transcending the boundary of domesticity and public daily. In fact, it was the most intimate and natural way through which women weaved themselves into national affairs and the Confucian value system.

Women have long been aware of the significance of their everyday practice and consciously utilized it as a powerful way of self-expression as well as self-realization. Recorded in *Lienü Zhuan* 列女傳 (Biographies of Exemplary Women), the story that philosopher Mencius's 孟子 mother slashed unfinished cloth on the loom to admonish her son to devote unceasing efforts in learning was an apt example, and the mother has been highly praised for centuries.<sup>35</sup> In activities concerning garments, women imbued expectations to their male counterparts, and by extension, concern for the country. In Yuan Dynasty, Zheng Yunduan 鄭允端 (ca. 1327-1356) wrote a poem when she hurried in making winter suit for her husband who was in a battle on the frontier, wishing her garment would keep him warm so that he could devote his full dedication to the country: "I wrapped the garment again and again and sent it to the frontier/ In order to company my husband to exhort loyalty. To build up achievement in the frontier/ And to leave your glorified name in history" (封裘重重即邊使, 為與夫

<sup>33</sup> Liang Wan, "Toward Pounding Garments" 搗衣行, in *Mingyuan Shiwei Chubian*, 9: 3b; *Guochao Guixiu Zhengshi Xuji*, 7: 5b.

<sup>34</sup> Ko 2001, p. 15.

<sup>35</sup> *Lienü Zhuan*, 1: 11a-12b.

君奮忠義。好將勳業立邊陲，要使功名垂史記。<sup>36</sup> Although what accompanied her husband in the battlefield in reality was the winter suit, through making and sending this garment, Zheng Yunduan, the woman who stayed in the inner chamber, gave her full support, encouragement and expectation to her husband, and in this way she participated into fighting the battle. During the process of cutting and sending garments, she repeatedly reposed her concern of the state affair in this garment and enjoined her husband to contribute meritorious service and win honor. The garment thus became a substitute as well as an extension of the woman, which exceeded its pragmatic function to deliver woman's contribution to the nation. A female poet Li Ruying 李汝璜, on hearing the sound of pounding clothes, composed a poem to implore soldiers to send back news of success to the country and to their anxious wives: "Who would take pity on exhausted women? It might be easy to render meritorious contribution on the frontier. I hereby send a word to those who are warring in southern Yunnan/ Please report your victory to Chang'an as soon as possible" (閨中力盡誰能惜，塞上功成諒不難。寄語滇南征戍客，迅將捷報報長安)。<sup>37</sup> This poem demonstrates both public concern and private emotion. In many cases, with garment being an extension of women which crosses the boundary between inner quarter and public space, these two concerns actually came to be combined into one.

In the context of imperial China, a piece of worn clothes was regarded as an indicator of an official's uprightness, uncompromising integrity and free from corruption, all of which were lofty characters especially to an official at the capital level. Therefore, repairing these clothes also implies the wives' appreciation of their husbands' upright personalities in officialdom, linking women to the moral principles which were considered to be men's concern. Mending the suit of her husband who has been a capital official for a decade and yet still wearing outworn clothes, Zuo Xijia 左錫嘉 (1831-1896) highly praised her husband's integrity and honesty: "Wearing shabby clothes, you have been an official in Chang'an for ten years/ Your unyielding ethos and principle stand against the cold" (敝衣十載宦長安，風骨稜稜儘耐寒)。<sup>38</sup> The couplet shows how proud Zuo Xijia was when she held her husband's worn suit in hands and did the needlework. In this case, the opportunity of mending such worn clothing bespoke her understanding of social values. At the end of this poem, she also reminded her husband in the last couplet to always benefit the

<sup>36</sup> Zheng Yunduan, "Imitating the Song of Pounding Clothes" 擬搗衣曲, in *Mingyuan Huishi*, 5: 9b. Wilt L. Idema and Beata Grant explore her way of breaking away from the growing pressure of neo-Confucianism, see Idema and Grant 2004, pp. 270-80.

<sup>37</sup> Li Ruying, "Hearing the Sound of Punching Clothes in Late Autumn" 暮秋聞搗衣聲, in *Chongke Jinyueting Shigao Fu Shisan Mingyuan Shicao*, Shicao 詩草, 6b.

<sup>38</sup> Zuo Xijia, "Answering My Husband in His Original Rhyme on Repairing Clothes" 補衣答外子見贈原韻, in *Lengyinxianguan Shigao*, 3: 3a. Scholars have explored her life and poetry from multiple perspectives, see Mei-yi Lin 2007: 179-222; Wang Yanning 2013, chapter 3.

commoners whether a cold or warm environment he himself was in.

The practice of everyday not only connected women's duty performed in the inner quarters to the public sphere, it was also flexibly and frequently converted into a convenient occasion to demonstrate maternal devotion to family subsistence as well as value education. Forfeiting garments was interpreted in women's own voice as a sacrifice to family. Lingwen 齡文 instructed her son with a poem when she faced poverty and had to mortgage her clothes to economically support the family:

典去新裘又故裘	After impawning a new fur coat, I now mortgage the old,
漫吟短句破深愁	I compose short lines to dispel melancholy.
書中自有千鍾粟	In books you will find a thousand cups of millet,
兒但埋頭子細求	My dear son, you should engross yourself to get that. <sup>39</sup>

Reflected in this quatrain is an emblematically dedicative mother in whose mind her son's prospect took precedence over her own physical comfort and property.<sup>40</sup> In emphasizing her devotion of even the closest valuable items, she not only fulfilled her responsibility to economically sustain the family, but also showed selfless spiritual support to exhort male relative to focus on higher ambitions, which linked her daily life to the broader level of value orientation. Lingwen was not the only women who gave up the clothes she cherished to support her son's examination, instead, she just epitomized numerous women who made similar sacrifices, wishing their devotion would be rewarded by the ultimate ideal that their close male relatives could pass the imperial examination and achieve high positions in the political stratum. For example, Zhang Youshu 張友書 (1799-1875) also wrote about her impoverished situation with a narrative titled "Since My Children are Afar for the Imperial Examination, Spring Clothes are Impawn up and the Family Livelihood Goes into Depression, I Therefore Write a Few Words to Record Poverty" 兒輩赴試不歸春衣典盡家計蕭條率作數言以紀一時貧況.<sup>41</sup> The emphasis of her dedication and the unconcealable pride behind further indicated that although no longer in possession, these impawn garments became medals of her virtue and sacrifice.

<sup>39</sup> Lingwen, "Two Poems to My Son Ji on Pawning Garments" 典衣有感示吉兒二首, in *Xuxiangyinguan Xiaocao*, 1: 20b-21a.

<sup>40</sup> In exploring womanhood and work in the High Qing era, Susan Mann observes that women's work, especially chaste widows', were widely acknowledged by male scholars for their sacrifice to support their sons' official pursue, but it is hard to know whether working women view their work in the same way, and "whereas elite women sometimes expressed in poetry pride or regret over their sons' achievements or failures, no women's poem or memoir links her own work with her son's success." See Mann 1997, p. 169. Although Lingwen was not a maker of the garment she pawned, her poem showed a women's awareness and purpose of her material sacrifice for her son's future. In so doing, she sent great expectation to her son as well as a message that his success might be the mother's last hope of improving living condition.

<sup>41</sup> *Yiyunge Shicun*, 2: 4b.

However, in some cases which garments were treated as emotional sustenance, the necessity to desert them might bring deep sorrow, which in turn made women's sacrifice and feminine virtue more prominent and tremendous. In order to maintain family subsistence, Liang Lanyi 梁蘭漪 (b. 1727) had to forfeit her belongings, previously her hairpin and fan, and now a garment she has cherished for years. Through poetry, she recorded this heartrending activity to mourn her garment: "I am in the difficulty of food supply/ So I had to open the box and find my old dresses. I have been wearing them for twenty years/ And I have experienced happiness several times. Now they will leave me like a flying bird/ In holding them my tears run down like graupels" (藜藿繼又難，開箱尋故練。衣我二十年，幾度歡家醺。衣去飛如鴻，物觸淚如霰)<sup>42</sup> She concealed her sorrow in front of her young son who might not fully understand her reluctance and dilemma. Emphasizing the hardship might not for the mere purpose of remembering a garment, but also to commemorate the ordeal that strengthened the connection between the mother and her child. As pointed out by Hsiung Ping-chen, "the experience of sharing a difficult life and struggling through some particularly harsh and oftentimes humiliating times together nurtured a strong bond between the mother and her children, filled with bittersweet memories, a special intimacy, and an intense sense of comradeship."<sup>43</sup>



Fig. 3. Detail of "Sewing Garments in Painting Series of Bin Custom" 縫衣圖 · 縫衣  
by Wu Qiu 吳求 (Qing Dynasty).

(Source: *Zhongguo Lidai Shini Huaqi*, Fig. 91)

<sup>42</sup> Liang Lanyi, "A Walk to Sell Garments" 賣衣行, in *Wanxianglou Shiji*, 2: 14b.

<sup>43</sup> Hsiung Ping-chen 1994, p. 95.

### 2.3. Garments in Social Interaction and Conjugal Affection

In discussing embroidery, Grace Fong points out that technique was shared by women, and their products were also circulated to the husband's family.<sup>44</sup> Everyday practice, especially needlework, provided opportunities for women to develop and cement connection between kin and female friends (Fig. 3). Similarly, garment itself was also a carrier of women's friendship, and garment making played an important role in women's interaction.



Fig. 4. Detail of “A Lady with Round Fan in Fancy Palace” 瑤宮秋扇圖  
by Ren Xiong 任熊 (1823-1857).  
(Source: *Zhongguo Lidai Shinü Huaqi*, Fig. 188)

The friendship between a female poet and her maidservant is a particular case. When Lady Li, the maidservant who had served Naxunlan Bao 那遜蘭保<sup>45</sup> (1824-1873) for more than six years, was taken to the capital by her sister-in-law, the master gave her a piece of clothing as a souvenir and composed a poem “Presented a Linen Garment to Maidservant Li” 以布衣一襲贈僕婦李氏 to advise her: “Thousands of silk threads pull out my sorrow of parting/ I present a piece of linen clothes to the one parted. Difficult is it to predict your warmth and cold in the future/ I thereby take the name of this garment to wish you prudence” (縷縷絲牽別緒真，布衣一襲贈離人。前途冷暖願難料，借得斯名要謹身).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Fong 2004, p. 9.

<sup>45</sup> Naxunlan Bao was a Mongolian female poet, for a study on her literary achievements, see Yi-Hsuan Fu 2009, pp. 191-210.

<sup>46</sup> *Yunxiangguan Yishi*, 1: 8a; also in *Guixiu Zhengshi Zaixu Ji*, 1: 41b.

In Shan Shili's 單士釐 annotation, the garment presented by Naxunlanbao was a *banbi* 半臂 (half-sleeves, Fig. 4), also called *jinshen* 緊身 (close-fittings) as it was actually a tight short-sleeved upper outerwear.<sup>47</sup> Naxunlan Bao smartly utilized its homophone *jinshen* 謹慎 (prudence) to express sincere suggestion and urge caution on her servant and friend. In so doing, a simple souvenir, a farewell present and a private garment for wearing was transformed into a social object with multiple significances: a vehicle to convey a message, a witness of their profound and permanent female friendship, as well as a representation of the caring old master whom Lady Li had served.

Not only could women's connection consolidate in everyday practice, mutual affection between couples was also strengthened through participating together in this symbolic activity of garment making. In the Chinese traditional metaphoric system, intertwining silk and threads represented 'lingering and lasting affection' (*chanmian* 纏綿), which makes garment a symbol of conjugal love. Xi Peilan recorded that cutting clothes alone reminded her of how her husband, now a traveler on expedition, helped her with the practice of everyday: "I remember in a blizzard night last year/ You added burning incense to iron cold garments for me" (記得去年風雪夜, 添香為我熨寒衣).<sup>48</sup> This poem informs us that Xi's husband Sun Yuanxiang 孫原湘 (1760-1829) also participated in the making process, which indicated that although the practice of everyday was constructed by women's responsibility, it might also become a way of interaction between the couple showing their mutual love.

### 3. *Garments in Autobiographical Expression*

An intimate everyday object that accompanied its owner for years is of personal importance: it tells the owner's private history of which the object itself is an inseparable part. It is an epitome of life story, and therefore becomes a reflection of the possessor's self and a medium of autobiographical expression. Garments are such intimate objects to women. Their body and health, property and wealth, emotion and condition are often weaved with and marked by garments, so are the most memorable moments in their life, such as wedding, giving birth and even death. There is therefore no constant implication of what a piece of garment meant to a woman—the meaning depends on the life trajectory of its owner, but it always mirrors women's own history and their reflections on it.

In the poem entitled "Farewell to My Old Garment" 別故衣, the female writer Zhu Deshu 朱德樹 treated her old clothes as an audience and poured out her heart:

---

<sup>47</sup> *Banbi*, also called *banxiu* 半袖 (half-sleeves), was popular during the Tang, Ming and Qing dynasties. Although without long sleeves, *jinshen* might not necessarily be the same as *banxiu*, as *jinshen* also includes sleeveless vests, see Gao Chunming 2001, pp. 558-69.

<sup>48</sup> Xi Peilan, "Song on Making Clothes" 裁衣曲, in *Changzhen 'ge Ji*, 6: 5a.

貧家無所飾 I was poor and have no accessories,  
 裳衣唯用布 My garment was made of plain cloth.  
 及茲歲屢更 Now many years have passed,  
 絲絲破如絮 And you are worn out like cotton fiber.  
 .....  
 昔曾作嫁衣 You were the wedding dress  
 伴我為新婦 That kept me company as a bride.  
 數載同影形 For years, you are to me what shadow is to the form.  
 非是慙相負 Were you not in a tattered condition, I will never abandon you.  
 但昔護我寒 In the pass you protect me from the cold,  
 而今體俱露 But now my body would be exposed.  
 不忍置汝泥 Neither have I the heart to leave you in dust,  
 亦不棄汝路 Nor to abandon you on the road.  
 願汝乘輕風 Wish you go with the wind,  
 片片化雲去 Piece by piece like the clouds.”<sup>49</sup>

With the speciality of being the bridal dress, this old garment announced the most significant change of becoming a wife and has witnessed Zhu Deshu's life experience since then, which made it a carrier of time and memory, a mirror of their private history, and an intimate friend to which women devoted their commitments. In commemorating this garment, Zhu actually cherished her private history with nostalgia.

Garment also provides an analogy of women's condition and thus becomes an object of contemplation. While a new garment reminds women of the joy of youth and beauty, a worn-out piece hints the threat of oldness and desertion. This comparison inspires women's sensitive self-compassion. In Zhu Deshu's narration, she saw her possible fate from the old garment: "It is said that new dresses are preferable/ So are the old friends. But now old friends were shown no pity/ Then why adore the old dresses?" (曾聞衣取新，又言人欲故。故人尚不憐，衣故復何慕?)<sup>50</sup> She used garment as a metaphor to ponder the fickleness of relationship between people, referring especially to the relation between men and women. Jiang Jinlou's 蔣錦樓 poem also expresses a similar attitude: "For years I have been wearing you, And treasured you as a round jade. [...] The old garments were once new/ And the new ones will become old" (衣爾亦多年，寶之如拱璧。[...] 故衣昔曾新，新衣亦須故).<sup>51</sup> Not only did she recall how she cherished this garment when it was new, she also comforted and sympathized with it when it became ragged and to be deserted.

Interestingly, forfeiting garments to stand the cold was sometimes employed as a way to demonstrate women's scholarly pursuit. Liang Ai's 梁靄 poem "Impawning Garments for Plum" 典衣買梅 is particularly the case:

<sup>49</sup> In *Mingyuan Shiwei Chubian*, 7: 5b-6a.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Jiang Jinlou, "Poem on My Old Clothes" 故衣詩, in *Guochao Guixiu Zhengshi Ji*, 6:13a-b.

鶴奴梅媵儘風華	It shows elegance to take crane for servants and a plum tree as concubine,
裝點書窗稱畫家	With a plum tree decorating the window I claim myself a painter.
拼耐春寒撐瘦骨	I sustain the cold of spring with my skinny body,
不曾孤負一春花	Never to fail a single flower of the season. <sup>52</sup>

Presented in the quatrain was an image of lofty female elite imitating the noble scholar Lin Bu 林逋 (ca. 968-1028) who lived in seclusion and took a plum tree for his wife and crane for children,<sup>53</sup> showing her pursuit of an artistic and romanticized life.

While poems about garments contain women's private history and personal pursuit, poems written upon garments are much more sentimental, autobiographical and demonstrative. Women concealed words on collars and sleeves of garments sent to soldiering men to deliver their unswerving concerns in a literary way.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, as the most physically and psychologically intimate material to women, clothes were also adopted as preferable writing surfaces in extreme cases, especially under desperate circumstances (such as suicide), to state their unyielding chastity and moral integrity.<sup>55</sup> For literate women, writing *jueming shi* 絕命詩 (verses of ending life) was in fact the last chance of manifesting their agency and dignity.<sup>56</sup> Han Ximeng 韓希孟 (1242-1259, Song Dynasty) wrote on both the upper outer garment and the skirt to make sure her poems could be discovered, and her integrity survived after her death. On the upper garment, she wrote twenty couplets recounting her life history from her decent parentage, exalted virtues,

---

<sup>52</sup> *Feisuge Yishi*, 7a.

<sup>53</sup> The Northern Song poet Lin Bu lived a reclusive life by the West Lake in Hangzhou. He loved planting plum trees as well as keeping cranes and claimed them his wife and children; he even rejected the most prestigious official posts offered by Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 who admired his indifference to fame and fortune. In *Song Shichao*, p. 74.

<sup>54</sup> See Liu Cuicui's "Sending a Poem in the Collar" 衣領寄詩 for example, in *Mingyuan Shiwei Chubian*, 2: 7a.

<sup>55</sup> Women's own words were scarce comparing to substantial amount of records about women's suicide written by male literati. Scholars have produced fruitful studies on the women's suicide phenomenon in the Ming-Qing period: T'ien Ju-k'ang attributes the increasing suicide rates to men's anxiety in the late imperial period, see T'ien Ju-k'ang 1988. Katherine Carlitz finds out that literati praised female suicide in order to promote their own fame, see Carlitz 1991: 117-48; she also connects literati's fascination with women's suicide to the cult of *qing* 情 (passion), see Carlitz 2001, pp. 22-46. Weijing Lu instead points out that literati's moral heroism during state crisis contributed significantly to the faithful maiden cult, see Weijing Lu 2008.

<sup>56</sup> Grace Fong thoroughly discusses women's suicide writings and argues that "by the combined acts of writing and self-immolation, these women assert their agency and appeal to future generations for their right to be remembered", see Fong 2001, pp. 105-42, quoted from p. 109. In discussing suicides of faithful maidens, Weijing Lu also points out that writing verses on ending life was a part of suicidal rite for educated women in Qing Dynasty, see Weijing Lu 2008, p. 142.

and the conjugal affection after marriage, up to the disastrous experiences during wartime. This narration was abbreviated in the poem on the ribbon, but the theme and subject remained the same: “My nature was as pure as jade/ Frequently I served at the ancestral temple. One day calamity came upon me/ Then I fell prey in the war. I would rather choose the blade and shed my blood/ Than to preserve myself as a sleeping mat” (我質本瑚璉，宗廟供蘋蘩。一朝嬰禍難，失身戎馬間。寧嘗血刃死，不作衽席完)。<sup>57</sup> Using the clothes as material, she defended her purity and dignity and through material medium with poetic content. Her suicide was highly praised and her story remembered.<sup>58</sup>

In the Ming and Qing dynasties, women’s textual records written on garments differed from that of the previous ages: calm narrations of life story were totally skipped, and the poems started straightforwardly with, and run throughout by, a burst of emotion. After the Jingnan usurpation 靖難之變,<sup>59</sup> relevant officials on Zhu Yunwen’s side were implicated to execution and their wives sent to brothels or betrothed to mahouts. Among them was a woman known as Wudingqiao Liefu 武定橋烈婦 (Heroine of the Wuding Bridge). To defy her fate and defend her chastity, she composed a poem on the ribbon of her clothes right before drowning herself to death:

不忍將身配象奴	It is unendurable to be betrothed to a mahout,
手持陌飯祭亾夫	I carry rice to worship my late husband.
今朝武定橋頭死	Today I die on the bridgehead of Wuding,
要使清風滿帝都	Leaving a cleansing wind blowing in the imperial capital. <sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> The long poem written on the upper garment was named “Poem on Garment Silks” 書衣帛詩, and the shorter one on a different garment was entitled “Poem on the Ribbon of the White Silk Skirt” 練裙帶中詩. These two poems are widely recorded in Ming and Qing anthologies compiled or edited by men, see *Mingyuan Huishi*, 3: 7b-8b; *Mingyuan Shigui*, 22: 12a-13a; *Gujin Nüshi*, 2: 20a-21a; *Lichao Mingyuan Shici*, 9: 15a-16a; and *Gonggui Wenxuan*, 17: 14b-15b.

<sup>58</sup> Zhou Shouchang described her as a *xiannü* 賢女 (virtuous woman) in her biography and demonstrated his intention to spread her laudable deed: “Her woeful words and grieving will never be obliterated, and I recorded her poems to let future people know about this virtuous woman” (哀音憤志，自難泯沒，并錄之以告後人，使知有此賢女也), see *Lichao Mingyuan Shici*, 9: 15a. In Yun Zhu’s biographical inscription, Han Mengxi’s chastity also earned appreciation so that future generations built her a memorial temple in Baling County (her hometown), see *Langui Baolu*, 4: 17a-b.

<sup>59</sup> Happened during 1399 to 1402, the Jingnan usurpation was a civil war between the emperor and a few local princes. It started with the attack by the Emperor Jianwen 建文 (Zhu Yunwen 朱允炆, r. 1398-1402) who felt threatened especially by the military power of the Prince of Yan Zhu Di 燕王朱棣 (Uncle of Zhu Yunwen), and ended after Zhu Di conquered the imperial capital Nanjing and ascended to the throne, becoming the Yongle 永樂 Emperor. During the process, royal members and officials divided into two opposite camps to support Zhu Yunwen and Zhu Di respectively. See *Mingshi*, pp. 69-77.

<sup>60</sup> “Going to the Water” 赴水, in *Mingyuan Shiwei Chubian*, 3: 2a-2b.

Although her real name was lost in history, she was known to posterity through this poem and highly praised for her integrity and sternness.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, Lady Hu 扈氏, a concubine of Deng, was confined in a gloomy chamber by the jealous principal wife until their husband died. After the memorial ceremony, she hung herself to die with the husband, leaving two emotional “Poems Written on Clothing Ribbon” 衣帶詩.<sup>62</sup>

The most intricate and interesting question here is why women chose garments as surfaces to record their death notes, and what connection between women and the material of everyday could be discerned from such a special writing activity. One reason is that they considered clothes the closest materials in the physical world that fully belonged to them, and objects with emotional intimacy. Worn for years, a piece of garment served not only as a protector to keep its owner warm, but also as a self-extension of the owner, because it became a metaphoric location in which a woman’s life history and sentiments were embedded. In other words, clothes were women’s outer selves which they fully trusted. By wearing garments with their notes, these women left a message that the integrity they died with was unshakable, undeprivable and inseparable. Moreover, it might be safer to write suicide notes on garments which were close to their bodies than on other writing surfaces such as paper, as their determination of suicide would be more difficult to detect and stop.

### *Conclusion*

While doing needlework and providing garments remained the responsibility of women and defined the ideal Confucian feminine virtue, the poems by female elite showed their agency and subjectivities in everyday practice, a realm that is commonly shared by all social classes of women in imperial China. As extensions of women themselves, witnesses of private history, as well as carriers of affection, activities concerning garments were not merely responsibilities assigned to women but also emotive and symbolic locations of expression. More importantly, this phenomenon implies that women’s agency was not only embedded through the media of literary productions and cultural interaction, but it was generated, cemented and vigorously expressed in the process of daily practice which integrated their comprehensive involvement at the body, material, mental and moral levels.

This is not to overgeneralize women’s perception of everyday practice or to suggest that the emotions therein reflected have not varied despite of different

---

<sup>61</sup> This story was recorded in *Mingyuan Shiwei Chubian* with the editor Wang Duanshu’s comment on the woman’s integrity. In her brief biography, Wang said “the woman’s name was unknown, but someone said she was the wife of a certain Xie from Songjiang” (失其姓名, 或云松江謝氏婦). See *Mingyuan Shiwei Chubian*, 3: 2a-2b. Yun Zhu’s *Langui Baolu* says almost the exact same words about this woman, see 4: 25b-26a.

<sup>62</sup> In *Guochao Guixiu Zhengshi Xuji*, 2: 4a-b.

social classes throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties. What the present study analyzes are records written by literate women of the gentry class. Due to division of women's roles in society, education and natural conditions, the way that everyday practice was expressed and represented changed with genres. While elite women expressed in literary records, some others might voice in an artistic or material way. How plebeian women, including those who were engaged in weaving to support their family, who sold the cloth they weaved and bought garments from others, who were in the industry of ready-made clothes, thought of their everyday practice remained unknown because they have left little textual legacy. This limitation could be overcome by studying the physical cloth and garments they produced. But for all women, the practice of everyday was not a mere duty, but a location of expression, transcendence, and re-/shaping of womanhood.

## REFERENCES

### *Primary sources*

- Changzhen'ge Ji* 長真閣集 [Collection of the Constant Genuine Attic] [1891], by Xi Peilan 席佩蘭, Qiangshi nangao caolu block-printed edition.
- Changzhen'ge Ji* 長真閣集 [Collection of the Constant Genuine Attic] [1920], by Xi Peilan 席佩蘭, Saoye shanfang stone-block lithographed edition.
- Chongke Jinyueting Shigao Fu Shisan Mingyuan Shicao* 重刻近月亭詩稿附十三名媛詩草 [Re-carved Manuscripts of the Moon-Approaching Pavilion, with Drafts of Thirteen Renowned Ladies] [1814], by Ji Qiwen 紀圯文, block-printed edition.
- Danyi Shuwu Shicao* 澹宜書屋詩草 [Poetic Scribbles from the Study of Tranquility and Appropriateness] [1847], by Gao Fenglou 高鳳樓, printed edition.
- Feisuge Yishi* 飛素閣遺詩 [Left Poetry of the White Suik Pavilion] [1900], by Liang Ai 梁靄, printed edition.
- Gonggui Wenxuan* 宮閨文選 [Selected Literature of Aulic Ladies] [1846], edited by Zhou Shouchang 周壽昌, block-printed edition.
- Guixiu Zhengshi Zaixu Ji* 閨秀正始再續集 [Further Continuation to Correct Beginnings: Poetry by Ladies from the Reigning Dynasty] [1911], edited by Shan Shili 單士釐, movable-type printed edition.
- Gujin Nüshi* 古今女史 [Lady Scholars from the Past and Present] [1628/1644], compiled by Zhao Shijie 趙世杰, Wenqige block-printed edition.
- Guochao Guige Shichao* 國朝閨閣詩鈔 [Poetry of Refined Ladies from the Reigning Dynasty] [1844], edited by Cai Dianqi 蔡殿齊, block-printed edition.
- Guochao Guixiu Zhengshi Ji* 國朝閨秀正始集 [Correct Beginnings: Poetry by Ladies from the Reigning Dynasty] [1831], edited by Yun Zhu 惲珠, Hongxiang guan block-printed edition.

- Guochao Guixiu Zhengshi Xuji* 國朝閨秀正始續集 [Continuation to Correct Beginnings: Poetry by Ladies from the Reigning Dynasty] [1836], by Yun Zhu 惲珠, Hongxiang guan block-printed edition.
- Gushi Shijiushou Jishi* 古詩十九首集釋 [The Nineteen Old Poems with Collected Annotations] [preface 1935], by Sui Shusen 隋樹森, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955.
- Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 [History of the Later Han Dynasty], by Fan Ye 范曄, [Li Xian.李賢 annotated edition], repr. Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1965.
- Langui Baolu* 蘭閨寶錄 [The Precious Records] [1831], by Yunzhu 惲珠, Hongxiangguan block-printed edition.
- Lengyinxianguan Shigao* 冷吟仙館詩稿 [Manuscripts of the Lightly Chanting Pavilion] [1891], by Zuo Xijia 左錫嘉, block-printed edition.
- Lichao Mingyuan Shici* 歷朝名媛詩詞 [Poetry and Song Lyrics by Renowned Ladies from the Past Dynasties] [1772], edited by Lu Chang 陸昶, Hongshulou block-printed edition.
- Lienü Zhuan* 列女傳 by Liu Xiang 劉向, Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1991.
- Mingshi* 明史 [The Ming History] [1739], by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
- Mingyuan Huishi* 名媛彙詩 [1620], edited by Zheng Wenang 鄭文昂, printed edition.
- Mingyuan Shigui* 名媛詩歸 [Poetic Retrospective of Renowned Ladies] [1621/1644], edited by Zhong Xing 鍾惺, block-printed edition.
- Mingyuan Shiwei Chubian* 名媛詩緯初編 [First Edition of Longitudinal Canon of Poetry by Renowned Ladies] [1667], compiled by Wang Duanshu 王端淑, Qingyin Tang block-printed edition.
- Song Shichao* 宋詩鈔 [Selected poems of Song Dynasty] [preface 1671], selected by Lü Liuliang 呂留良, Wu Zhizhen 吳之振 and Wu Zimu 吳自牧, [Li Xuangong critical edition 李宣龔校], repr. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935.
- Suiyuan Nüdzì Shixuan* 隨園女弟子詩選 [Selected Poetry of Ladies from Suiyuan] [preface 1796], edited by Yuan Mei 袁枚, bookshop-block-printed pocket edition, 1796/1850.
- Wanxianglou Shiji* 畹香樓詩集 [Collections of the Fragrance Mansion] [1895], by Liang Lanyi 梁蘭漪, Feihongge shulin stone-block lithographed edition.
- Xin角度 Shicao* 信芳閣詩草 [Poem Scribbles from the Genuine Fragrance Attic] [1859], by Chen Yunlian 陳蘊蓮, block-printed edition.
- Xinqie Quanbu Tianxia Simin Liyong Bianguan Wuche Bajin* 新鐫全補天下四民利用便觀五車拔錦 [Newly Engraved and Enlarged Edition of Refined Selection of Universal Knowledge for People in All Four Social Strata] [1597], by Xu Sanyou 徐三友, repr. in Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Lishi Yanjiusuo Wenhushi 中國社會科學院歷史研究所文化室 compiled edition, *Mingdai Tongsu Riyong Leishu Jikan* 明代通俗日用類書集刊 [Collections of Encyclopedia of Daily Use in Ming Dynasty], Chongqing: Xinan shifan daxue chubanshe; Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2012.
- Xinqin Zengbu Wanjinshuyan Gushi Daquan* 新鐫增補萬錦書言故事大全 [Newly Engraved and Enlarged Edition of Complete Collection of Stories on Maxims] [1573/1620], by Xu Xinlu 徐心魯, repr. in Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Lishi Yanjiusuo Wenhushi 中國社會科學院歷史研究所文化室 compiled edition,

- Mingdai Tongsu Riyong Leishu Jikan* 明代通俗日用類書集刊 [Collections of Encyclopedia of Daily Use in Ming Dynasty], Chongqing: Xinan shifan daxue chubanshe; Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2012.
- Xinzeng Nüzi Sishu Duben* 新增女子四書讀本 [Newly Enlarged Edition of *Four Books for Women*] [1914], Juanxia 卷下, compiled by Wang Xiang 王相, repr. Shanghai: Wensheng shuju.
- Xuliefu Shichao* 徐烈婦詩鈔 [Selected Poems of the Heroine Xu] [1875], by Wu Zongai 吳宗愛, Yunhe xianguan block-printed edition.
- Xuxiangyinguan Xiaocao* 絮香吟館小草 [Scribbles of the Catkins Fragrance Pavilion of Chanting] [1886], by Lingwen 齡文, printed edition.
- Yiyunge Shicun* 倚雲閣詩存 [Poems from the Cloud Pavilion] [1886], by Zhang Youshu 張友書, block-printed edition.
- Yongxuelou Gao* 詠雪樓稿 [Drafts from the Pavilion for Chanting about Snow] [1843], by Gan Lirou 甘立嫫, Xu Xintian banjizhai block-printed edition.
- Yunxiangguan Yishi* 芸香館遺詩 [Left Poetry of the Fragrant Weed Pavilion] [1874], by Naxunlan Bao 那遜蘭保, writing-engraved edition.
- Zhisiju Gucun Gao* 職思居姑存草 [Tentatively Preserved Drafts of the Dutiful Meditation House] [1899], by Wu Lanze 吳蘭澤, Hongdu zhizhi shuju printed edition.

### Secondary sources

- Barnes, Ruth and Joanne B. Eicher, eds., (1993) *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, Providence: St. Martin's Press.
- Bengtsson, Jan Olof (2006) *The Worldview of Personalism: Origins and Early Development*, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bowne, Borden Parker (1908) *Personalism*, Boston-New York: Houghton, Mifflin and co.
- Braudel, Fernand (1979) *Civilisation matérielle, Economie et capitalisme XV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les structures du quotidien: Le possible et l'impossible*, Paris: Armand Colin. Produced in English as: Sian Reynolds, trans., (1985/1986) *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, Vol. 1, in *Civilisation and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*, New York: Perennial Library.
- Bray, Francesca (2013) *Technology, Gender and History in Imperial China: Great Transformations Reconsidered*, New York: Routledge.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997) *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Burguière, André (1983) "La notion de 'mentalites' chez Marc Bloch et Lucien Febvre: Deux conceptions, deux filiations", in *Revue de synthese*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 111-112, pp. 333-48.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1982) "The Fate of the History of Mentalites in the Annales", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 24, pp. 424-37.
- Carlitz, Katherine (2001) "The Daughter, the Singing-Girl, and the Seduction of Suicide", in Paul S. Ropp, Paola Zamperini, and Harriet T. Zurndorfer, eds., *Passionate Women:*

- Female Suicide in Late Imperial China*, Leiden: Brill.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1991) "The Social Uses of Female Virtue in Late Ming Editions of the *Lienü Zhuan*", in *Late Imperial China*, 12.2, pp. 117-48.
- Chang, Kang-i Sun (1997) "Ming-Qing Women Poets and the Notions of 'Talent' and 'Morality'", in T. Hunters, et al. eds., *Culture and State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Chen Dongyuan 陈东原 (1928) *Chinese Women's Life History* 中国妇女生活史, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆, repr. Taipei: Hetu luoshu chubanshe 河图洛书出版社, 1979.
- Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly and Isabella Selega Csikszentmihalyi, eds., (1988) *Optimal Experience: Psychological Studies of Flow in Consciousness*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- de Certeau, Michel (1984) Steven Rendall, trans., *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Febvre, Lucien (1973) "Sensibility and History: How to Reconstitute the Emotional Life of the Past", in Peter Burke, ed., K. Folca, trans., *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1941) "La Sensibilité et l'histoire: Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?", in *Annales d'histoire sociale*, 3, pp. 5-20.
- Fong, Grace (2008) *Herself an Author: Gender, Agency, and Writing in Late Imperial China*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2004) "Female Hands: Embroidery as a Knowledge Field in Women's Everyday Life in Late Imperial and Early Republican China", in *Late Imperial China*, 25.1, pp. 1-58.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2001) "Signifying Bodies: The Cultural Significance of Suicide Writings by Women in Ming-Qing China", in Paul S. Ropp, Paola Zamperini, and Harriet T. Zurndorfer, eds., *Passionate Women: Female Suicide in Late Imperial China*, Leiden: Brill.
- Fu Yi-Hsuan (2009) "Mengguzu Nüshiren Naxulan Bao (1824-1873) Jiaoyoushi Xilun" 蒙古族女诗人那逊兰保 (1824-1873) 交游诗析论, in *Dongfang Renwen Xuezhì* 东方人文学志, 8.4, pp. 191-210.
- Gao Chunming 高春明 (2001) *Zhongguo Fushi Mingwu Kao* 中国服饰名物考, Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe 上海文化出版社.
- Heidegger, Martin (1962), John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson, trans., *Being and Time*, London: SCM Press.
- Hinsch, Bret (2003) "Textiles and Female Virtue in Early Imperial Chinese Historical Writing", in *NAN NÜ: Men, Women, and Gender in Early and Imperial China*, 5.2, pp. 170-202.
- Hsiung, Ping-chen (1994) "Constructed Emotions: The Bond between Mothers and Sons in Late Imperial China", in *Late Imperial China*, 15.1, pp. 87-115.
- Hu Wenkai 胡文楷 (1957) *Lidai Funü Zhuzuo Kao* 历代妇女著作考 [An Examination of Women's Writing through the Dynasties], Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan; revised and enlarged by Zhang Hongsheng 张宏生 (2008), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.

- Hua, Wei (2010) "From Private Life to Public Performances: The Constituted Memory and (Re)writings of the Early-Qing Woman Wu Zongai", in Grace S. Fong and Ellen Widmer, eds., *The Inner Quarters and Beyond: Women Writers from Ming through Qing*, Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Idema, Wilt L. and Beata Grant (2004) *The Red Brush: Writing Women of Imperial China*, Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Press.
- Ko, Dorothy (2001) *Every Step a Lotus: Shoes for Bound Feet*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1994) *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Le Goff, Jacques (1974) "Les mentalités. Une histoire ambiguë", in Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora, eds., *Faire de l'histoire: Nouveaux problèmes, nouvelles approches, nouveaux objets*, Vol. 3, Paris: Gallimard; in Chinese as: Hao Mingwei 郝名玮, trans., (1988) *Shixue Yanjiu de Xin Wenti, Xin Fangfa, Xin Duixiang: Faguo Xin Shixue Fazhan Qushi* 史学研究的新问题、新方法、新对象: 法国新史学发展趋势, Beijing: Shehui kexue chubanshe 社会科学出版社.
- Lee Jen-der (2008) *Niiren de Zhongguo Yiliao Shi: Han Tang Zhijian de Jiankang Zhaogu yu Xingbie* 女人的中国医疗史——汉唐之间的健康照顾与性别, Taipei: Sanmin shuju 三民书局.
- Lefebvre, Henri (2013) Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore, trans., *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1991) John Moore, trans., *Critique of Everyday Life*, London: Verso Books.
- Lin Mei-yi (2007) "Shilun Yanghu Zuoshi Erdai Cainü zhi Jiazhu Guanxi" 试论阳湖左氏二代才女之家族关系, in *Zhongguo Wenzhe Yanjiu Jikan* 中国文哲研究集刊, 30, pp. 179-222.
- Lu, Weijing (2008) *True to Her Word: The Faithful Maiden Cult in Late Imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2004) "Beyond the Paradigm: Tea-picking Women in Imperial China", in *Journal of Women's History*, 15.4, pp. 19-44.
- Mann, Susan (2007) *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997) *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Rosenwein, Barbara H. (2002) "Worrying about Emotions in History", in *The American Historical Review*, 107, pp. 821-45.
- Santangelo, Paolo (2016) "Emotions, a Social and Historical Phenomenon: Some Notes on the Chinese Case", in *Histoire intellectuelle des émotions, de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Damien Boquet et Piroška Nagy, eds., *L'Atelier du Centre de Recherches Historiques*, 16; available on-line at <https://acrh.revues.org/7455?file=1>.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2015) with Tian Yuan Tan, *Passion, Romance, and Qing: The World of Emotions and States of Mind in Peony Pavilion*, Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2010) *Materials for an Anatomy of Personality in Late Imperial China*, Leiden: Brill.

- \_\_\_\_\_ (2003) *Sentimental Education in Chinese History: An Interdisciplinary Textual Research on Ming and Qing Sources*, Leiden: Brill.
- Tianjin Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 天津人民美术出版社, ed. (2007) *Zhongguo Lidai Shinü Huaji* 中国历代仕女画集, Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe.
- T'ien, Ju-k'ang (1988) *Male Anxiety and Female Chastity: A Comparative Study of Chinese Ethical Values in Ming-Ch'ing Times*, Leiden: Brill.
- Wang, Yanning (2013) *Reverie and Reality: Poetry on Travel by Late Imperial Chinese Women*, Lexington Books.
- Wu Jen-shu (2005) *Shechi de Nüren: Ming Qing Shiqi Jiangnan de Xiaofei Wenhua* 奢侈的女人：明清时期江南的消费文化, Taipei: Sanmin shuju.
- Yang Binbin 楊彬彬 (2010) “Ziwo de Kunjing: Yibu Qingdai Guixiu Shiji zhong de Jibing Chengxian yu Zizhuan Yuwang” “自我”的困境——一部清代闺秀诗集中的疾病呈现与自传欲望, in *Zhongguo Wenzhe Yanjiu Jikan* 中国文哲研究集刊, 37, pp. 95-130.
- Yinshun 印順 (1999) *Zhongguo Chanzong Shi* 中国禅宗史, Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe 江西人民出版社.
- Zamperini, Paola (2003) “On Their Dress They Wore Body: Fashion and Identity in Late Qing Shanghai”, in *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, 11.2, pp. 301-30.

**THE CONCEPT OF *QING*  
IN *HONGLOU MENG* (PART 2) -  
ILLUMINATION FROM THE  
ZHIYAN ZHAI COMMENTARIES**

YIU CHUN LAM 姚春琳<sup>1</sup>  
(University of Michigan)

If *Honglou Meng* is a conscious exploration of a variety of emotions and sensibilities, then the Zhiyan Zhai commentaries should at least be described as a conscious effort to gloss them. In view of the complementarity between *Honglou Meng* and the Zhiyan Zhai commentaries, Angelina Yee compares Zhiyan Zhai and the author with the two protagonists of the novel, Jia Baoyu and Lin Daiyu:

The interdependence between the Stone Page and the Crimson Pearl Weed is dramatized in the relationship between Baoyu and Daiyu: she seeks emotional communion through writing, and he relies on a profound empathy with a woman [...] This provides a striking analogue to the meta-narrative of the intimate collaboration between the writer and the reader, Zhiyan Zhai, their mutual exchange of tears and sighs graphically represented by the intertwining of the black and red ink on the text.<sup>2</sup>

[...] her (Daiyu) supernatural name, Jiangzhu, recalls the blood and tears that make up the book, visually represented by the red ink with which Zhiyan Zhai sprinkles the text with emotion.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that, in this paper, the Zhiyan Zhai commentaries are regarded as an integral whole, and different editions will be cited and specified. While some scholars cast doubts upon the reliability of the Youzheng edition, and some believe that all its pre- and post-chapter comments are written by a scholar of a later generation whose name is Li Songxuan, I subscribe to Yu Pingbo's view that it remains improbable to distinguish the exact contributors of every thread of comment; in addition, his name only occurs once in a prefatory poem written on Chapter 41. The existing evidence does not suffice to make out a strong case for Li Songxuan's theory. Hence, the Youzheng edition will still be consulted and referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Angelina Yee 1995, p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 397.

While such view may seem highly romanticized, it testifies to the unmistakable emotional communion between the author and the critics which never escapes the notice of scholars and readers. Attempts to understand the novel with the assistance of *pingdian* commentaries never peter out in China, but among all the commentaries, premodern and modern, the Zhiyan Zhai-annotated editions remain the most authoritative. This is not only because the commentators reveal themselves as close associates of the author, casting precious light on the authorial background and the creative process, but also because through the commentary writing, the commentators create for themselves, as well as for the author, an image as the epitome of *qing*. In so doing, they provide useful elucidations which facilitate the conceptualisation of *qing*, and, divulge information about the putative *qing*-related denouement of the novel, reinforcing its thematic significance. Since the concept of *qing* in the novel is personified by the major characters, in particular the two protagonists, Jia Baoyu and Lin Daiyu, the present paper will focus on the critics' expositions of several key concepts concerning their *qing* in the hope that such exploration will illumine the author's treatment of *qing* as a whole.

### ***1. The Critics' Involvement***

Apart from partaking in the editing of the novel proper, the Zhiyan Zhai critics also take pains to leave their distinct fingerprints on it. To achieve that, they not only establish themselves as 'privileged readers'<sup>4</sup> who are most familiar with the textual meaning, central theme, and authorial background of a work, but also exhibit their utmost, unique identification with the fictional characters and events. For example, in the scene which depicts the Crimson Pearl Flower's resolution to repay the Divine Luminescent Stone-in-Waiting with 'the tears shed during the whole of a mortal lifetime',<sup>5</sup> there is an upper marginal comment which reads:

In all likelihood only the author has knowledge of the debt of tears. I also know its import, but I am obliged not to disclose it. (Jiaxu edition)<sup>6</sup>

Similar statements abound in the commentary. By betraying that they possess secret information about the text, they automatically ostracize general readers from the circle of insiders, highlighting their close acquaintance with the novel as well as with the author. Their sense of participation is also evidenced in their insistence that the story comes from their personal and first-hand experience.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Martin Huang 1994, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 19. Unless otherwise specified, all the translations of the Zhiyan Zhai commentaries are by me.

<sup>7</sup> See Chen Qinghao 1986, pp. 61, 294, 669, 695, 703, 710.

According to Anthony Yu, the manner the critics address the fictional characters as if they know them personally highly enhances their authority:

Indeed, the strong sense of themselves as participants in the novel's creation has led Red Inkstone and Odd Tablet to a form of indulgence normally reserved for the author. Throughout their comments, they refer to many of the principal fictive characters as practically their own children or kin, addressing them with such hypocorisms or augmentatives as Ah So-and-So, a child, big brother, and beloved. Thus they would have us see their intimacy with the novelistic household as a link paradoxically secured by the special knowledge of real history and the special authority of a creative artist. As a result of this unusual combination, the temptation which their comments offer to all subsequent readers of the work is to submit to that authority and as much as possible to acquire that knowledge.<sup>8</sup>

And in response to the episodes where Baoyu's zany behaviour is portrayed—i.e. his instantaneous getaway the moment he is informed that his father is also visiting the Prospect Garden, and his attempt to imitate the style of *Zhuangzi* and write a sequel passage—the Zhiyan Zhai critics suggest that the protagonist, Baoyu, is actually modelled on one of the critics (Zhiyan Zhai) in at least two threads of the commentary,<sup>9</sup> which clearly illustrates the blurred boundaries between the commentator and fictional characters, real and unreal. This can also be seen in the way they address the fictional characters in the novel, as if they know the characters in person. For instance, in Chapter 1, Jihu Sou says “he would like to find the Greensickness Peak so that he can talk to Brother Stone” and laments that “he fails to chance on the scabby monk (Jiaxu edition).”<sup>10</sup> In Chapter 19 as Baoyu makes fun of Daiyu by concocting a story of mice and comparing her with a young and weak mouse, in response the commentators write: “Brother Stone, Brother Stone, you have offended Frowner (Gengcheng edition).”<sup>11</sup> Comments as such abound in the novel.<sup>12</sup> They are testimony to the commentators' strong sense of participation, evincing how they, instead of critiquing the novel as objective onlookers, take the initiative to partake in the fictional events, to share the characters' feelings and even to interact with them. According to Maram Epstein, the comments they make

identify strongly with the novel's lyric vision. Although the comments occasionally point to allegorical or moral readings and frequently draw attention to the compositional superiority of *Shitou Ji* (The Story of the Stone), they most often echo

---

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Yu 1997, pp. 11-12.

<sup>9</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, pp. 306, 417.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 386.

<sup>12</sup> For instance, as Daiyu complains that Baoyu, Baochai and Xiangyun are all in league against her, and to make fun of her, the critics make the following remark: “this is precisely the way Frowner would talk. Though in a disadvantaged position now, she is just worth all the love and compassion.” Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 406.

the emotions evoked in the novel and are filled with heightened affective expressions referring to the tears, sighs, nostalgia, admiration, and indignation Red Inkstone shares with both the author and the fictional characters. Throughout he engages with the fiction and creates for himself a literary mask as a person of *qing*, the equal of the author or any of the fictional characters.<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, in the prechapter poem of Chapter 21 (Gengcheng edition), the critics juxtapose Baoyu and Zhiyan Zhai: “The noble at his rosy-misted casement has a *qing* that is boundless; How infinite is the regret of the man of the Red Inkstone?”<sup>14</sup> And in Chapter 5 as Fairy Disenchantment explains that one has to be an insider in order to appreciate her suite ‘A Dream of Golden Days’, the critics pose a curious question: “I wonder who is an insider. Is Bao-yu an insider? But then, is the Stone also an insider? Is the author also an insider? Is the reader, too an insider?”<sup>15</sup> Such active, at times excessive, involvement is of course one of the most distinctive features of the commentaries that seek to obfuscate the boundary between fiction and reality, something the novel systematically attempts to achieve.

Above all, as they travel between the poles of author and reader, reality and fiction, the critics serve as a key to building up a persona of the author. Throughout the commentaries, the critics scatter hither and thither pieces of precious information about the author, which enable us to at least reconstruct his image as a person of *qing*. For instance, in the first chapter of the novel, where the mythical framework is built, and the unworthiness of the discarded magic stone is described, quite a number of comments are dedicated to revealing the author’s sense of failure:

These words (having been found unworthy to repair the sky) are the shame and sorrow of the author’s life. (Jiaxu edition)<sup>16</sup>

His words of regret (“Long years a foolish mortal man was I”) sound as if a whimper that reverberates. (Jiaxu edition)<sup>18</sup>

Besides revealing the author’s life woes and remorse, the commentators also display thoroughly their own feelings, be they grief for the author’s premature death, reminiscences of the past or admiration for the author’s talent. For instance, in Chapter 22, there is an overall comment which laments that the author expires before he finishes that particular chapter.<sup>19</sup> Similar comments can

<sup>13</sup> Epstein 2001, p. 60.

<sup>14</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 405.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128; the English translation follows Anthony Yu 1997, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> The comment is signed by Jihu Sou and recorded in the Gengcheng edition. Chen Qinghao, 1986, p. 449.

be found in Chapter 1, as one critic, Jihu Sou, expresses his immense grief at Cao Xueqin's death and also claims that Cao dies running out of tears (Jiaxu edition).<sup>20</sup> Another critic, Meixi, expresses his wish to shed tears reading Qin Keqing's forewarning of the gloomy future of the Jia household.<sup>21</sup> Considering the countless times the critics claim they cry as they read the novel, perhaps it is after all not too much of a mental leap for Angelina Yee to compare them with the lachrymose River Queen, Daiyu. Indeed, Maram Epstein even believes that they "intentionally blur the emotions evoked by fictional events with their grief at Cao Xueqin's early passing" because they "thoroughly immerse themselves in the conventions of *qing*."<sup>22</sup> Together with the author, the critics weave a tangled web of emotions which cover the writing and reading, fiction and reality, within and without.

## 2. The Explications of the Concept of 'Qing' as Shown in the Zhiyan Zhai Commentaries

One significant contribution the Zhiyan Zhai critics make to illuminating the concept of *qing* is their revelations of the putative ending of the novel, the so-called *qingbang* 情榜 (the Celestial Roster of Lovers). Throughout the commentaries, the Roster is mentioned at least for four times. For instance, in Chapter 18 where the supercilious nun, Miaoyu (Adamantina) makes her debut, the commentaries read:

In the preceding chapters, the identity of the Twelve Beauties is never definite; rather, it seems entirely unpremeditated. It is until I read the Celestial Roster of Lovers in the last chapter that I knew the fragrant names of the Main and Supplementary Registers of the Beauties. (Gengcheng edition)<sup>23</sup>

In the discussion of *qingbang*, many of the scholarly efforts are concentrated on speculation of the actual number and identity of the 'lovers' recorded. For instance, Sun Xun believes that since Baoyu tops the Roster, there are 61 people on it;<sup>24</sup> Zhao Gang contends that there are in fact 62 people on it.<sup>25</sup> And Zhou Ruchang sees its lineage to Feng Menglong's *Qingshi* and argues that 108 characters are included, corresponding to the original number of chapters.<sup>26</sup> From their comments, one can deduce that though nonexistent today, a

---

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

<sup>22</sup> Epstein 2001, p. 186.

<sup>23</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 331.

<sup>24</sup> Sun Xun 1981, pp. 200-201.

<sup>25</sup> Zhao Gang 1978, "Shitou Ji li de Qingbang" (The Celestial Roster of Lovers in *The Story of the Stone*), in *Huaxiang Tongchou Du Honglou*, p. 122.

<sup>26</sup> Zhou Ruchang 1989, pp. 214-220.

tabulation of female characters ranked commensurate with the degree and nature of their *qing* is believed to be the original ending of the novel, with the protagonist, Baoyu, being the only exception to be included as a male. Needless to say, the actual Roster is no longer extant today and the views of these scholars will always remain mere speculations. But both structure-wise and motif-wise, the revelations of *qingbang* are highly important. First, the existence of *qingbang* shows that *Honglou Meng* is a novel that begins with *qing* and ends with *qing*. In the first chapter of the novel, we are told that the story begins as the magic stone is discarded at the foot of Greensickness Peak, or the Peak of the Root of *qing*, where the Magic Stone's *qing* is kindled. If the novel does end with *qingbang*, it serves to accentuate *qing* as the main theme recurring throughout the novel. In addition, it suggests that *qing* is a decisive quality to evaluate the characters. And above all, as Baoyu, the epitome of lust, *qing* and deliverance, comes first on the Roster, it testifies to the notion that the wide spectrum of *qing* can range from lust to enlightenment and *qing* is, after all, the pendulum between the two extremes. This notion will be discussed in detail in the following sections as we look into the Zhiyan Zhai critics' explications of *qing*.

### 2.1. Lin Daiyu's *Qingqing* (to be devoted to the one of *qing*) and *Chi* (folly)

The concept of *qing* in *Honglou Meng* is much personified by the multitudinous characters; and many a time and oft, the critics provide insightful elucidations, giving us a better grasp of the concept, however abstruse it is. This section will delve into the terms and comments which illuminate the various kinds of *qing* embodied by the characters, in particular the protagonists Lin Daiyu and Jia Baoyu, for they both represent the utmost form of folly and love, and yet their paths deviate in completely different directions. To understand their commonalities, as well as their dissimilarities may help one penetrate *qing* as a theme. Among all the characters, Lin Daiyu is the one who represents a love that is uncompromising and somewhat monomaniacal, a love that plagues and emaciates her. This love has a close association with the concept of *chi* 痴, folly, blindness and delusion. Before delving into such relation, it is necessary to examine Daiyu's background, behaviour and psychology in order to get the full picture of her *qing*.

Though dwelling in an opulent, aristocratic family, Daiyu does not consider herself well-placed. Instead, she finds herself a frail flower wasting away in the storms of life, unprotected and defenceless. Oft-times she takes her sentimentality to extremes. Her vulnerability to insecurity and anxiety prompts her to take offence at trifles and often respond with hostility and bitterness. A very good example lies in Chapter 7. As Daiyu is informed that other girl

cousins have already received the palace flowers from Zhou Rui's wife – much to her displeasure, she immediately fires a stinging attack at the latter:

I thought as much, I get the leavings when everyone else has had their pick.<sup>27</sup>

Another example can be found in Chapter 8, the moment she catches sight of Baoyu in Pear Tree Court (the residence of Baochai), Daiyu, consumed with jealousy, 'lets out a wail of mock dismay':

Oh dear! I have chosen a bad time to come! [...] If I had known he was coming, I shouldn't have come myself [...] I mean that if I only come when he does, then when I don't come you won't have any visitors. Whereas if we space ourselves out so that he comes one day and I come the next, it will never get either too lonely or too noisy for you. I shouldn't have thought that needed much explaining.<sup>28</sup>

In the matter of her defensive, and somewhat umbrageous behaviour, every now and then, the Zhiyan Zhai commentaries contain the following remark:

Truly I know not of what Pin'er's heart, teeth, mouth and tongue are made, nor do I have the slightest idea of the unfathomable, intricate thoughts (*qiuhaio*) in her mind. (Jiaxu edition)<sup>29</sup>

The compound, 'qiuhaio' 丘壑, literally denotes 'mountain and valley'; taken symbolically, it represents a realm of thoughts, a mental reality. Instead of censuring Daiyu for her seemingly wilful and unforgiving personality, the critics astutely observe that there is more to her overreaction than meets the eye. Yet perceptive as the critics are, they fail to put into words the rationale behind Daiyu's behaviour. To understand this indescribable 'qiuhaio' and account for her short temper, Anthony Yu draws attention to her precarious health:

If the actions of [Daiyu] thus strike us as overly reactive and her emotions as highly unstable, the underlying causes of such behaviour should also be apparent. Her physique has been devastated early by what is, in all likelihood, pulmonary tuberculosis, and this disease not only has made her moody, irritable, chronically depressive, and continuously susceptible to fatigue, but it has also severely curtailed even her enjoyment of food and drink.<sup>30</sup>

Whether her weak constitution is, the sole fountainhead of her moodiness is, by all means, arguable. While some may believe that Daiyu's poor health is self-

---

<sup>27</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 75; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 175.

<sup>28</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 86; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 197.

<sup>29</sup> Such comment is made on the several episodes mentioned above – that she takes offence at Zhou Rui's wife and loses her equilibrium the moment she sees Baoyu at Baochai's residence. See Chen Qinghao 1986, pp. 169, 188-189, 191.

<sup>30</sup> Anthony Yu 1980, p. 207.

induced, holding her responsible for her fate, Yu's analysis at least offers a new angle to evaluate her character as an integral whole, not some dissected fragments. Indeed, to conclude her *qing* as a jealous and narrow-minded kind without considering her plight, as well as the larger framework of the novel would do her an injustice. To make sense of her adversities, another scholar, Ann Waltner probes into eighteenth-century China:

Lin Dai-yu lived a society where love was not a necessary or even a desirable prelude to marriage. In eighteenth-century China, marriage was a transaction involving the families of the bride and groom. While the interests of the young couple themselves might not be ignored totally, neither were their interests paramount. Furthermore, among the upper classes, female seclusion was such that a woman might not even see her husband until her wedding night.<sup>31</sup>

Her forlorn orphanhood and reduced family fortune,<sup>32</sup> though often underrated, speaks volumes for her twisted thoughts when they are weighed against the society she lives in. The acute self-consciousness of her position begins to wrack her since she is a child, when she first enters the Rongguo Mansion:

Daiyu tried to imagine what the people who employed these superior beings must be like. When she arrived at their house she would have to watch every step she took and weight every word she said, for if she put a foot wrong they would surely laugh her to scorn.<sup>33</sup>

It continues besetting her throughout her adolescence. Never has she forgotten her loss of parents, and its implications, particularly in regard to the patrician nature of the Jia family. Without the support of her parents, she considers herself nothing more than a burden, unwanted and disliked, someone who has not a say even in her own matrimonial fate. What aggravates the matter is Baoyu's seeming, if not actual, lack of awareness of the future. While Daiyu is fully cognizant of what will befall her as she comes of age, Baoyu appears completely ignorant:

Take your hands off me! We're not children any more. You really can't go on mauling me about like this all the time. Don't you understand anything?<sup>34</sup>

It is true that Baoyu, from time to time, would draw an analogy between their relationship and the love between Zhang Sheng and Cui Yingying in *The*

---

<sup>31</sup> Waltner 1989, p. 63.

<sup>32</sup> Though the financial predicament of her family is little mentioned in her first appearance, in Chapter 57, it is divulged from the mouth of Nightingale, Daiyu's closest maid, that "[t]he Lins may be too poor to afford a square meal." See *Honglou Meng*, 2: 625; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 3, p. 99.

<sup>33</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 24; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 55.

<sup>34</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 316; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 103.

*Western Chamber*,<sup>35</sup> and it is equally true that he deems Daiyu singular and he himself is aware of his love for her:

In my eyes and in my thoughts there is no one else but you. I can forgive the others for not knowing this, but surely you ought to realise? If at a time like this you can't share my anxiety – if you can think of nothing better to do than provoke me with that sort of silly talk, it shows that the concern I feel for you every waking minute of the day is wasted: that you just don't care about me at all.<sup>36</sup>

“Have you ever heard Miss Lin talking that sort of stupid rubbish?” said Baoyu. “I'd long since have fallen out with her if she did.”<sup>37</sup>

Yet owing to a hapless twist of fate, Daiyu never has the good fortune to be assured of his real thoughts. It is true that sometimes he would directly state his preference for her over other female cousins,<sup>38</sup> or he would declare that in her supposed absence as in the case of the second excerpt cited above, but at other times, on a whim, he may repeat what is supposed to be exclusive for Daiyu to other people. For instance, in Ch. 31, as an impetuous response to Aroma's professed wish to die, he blurts out his inclination to become a monk after Aroma's death even in the presence of Daiyu, which of course earns him her derision.<sup>39</sup> In fact, even if she is familiar with every thread of his thoughts, their ending may not necessarily be happy, for he takes their union too much for granted and often forgets himself. The aristocratic background, her acute sense of self, together with an obtuse lover and an obscure future, give her cause for distress and disconcertment, rendering her *qing* incommunicable. But if we piece together the scattered threads of the Zhiyan Zhai comments on Daiyu, a fuller picture of her feelings and mentality will be formed, and her 'qiuhaò', illuminated.

One of the Zhiyan Zhai comments perhaps remains the most succinct, if not insightful, gloss on Daiyu's *qing*:

Destined is the match of gold and jade. Now that the author deliberately employs the technique of “mixing the colours”<sup>40</sup> and writes about the gold kylin (to make the text

---

<sup>35</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 234, 268-269.

<sup>36</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 310; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 89.

<sup>37</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 337; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 151.

<sup>38</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 206.

<sup>39</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 326.

<sup>40</sup> 'Mixing the colours' is originally a painting technique to add layers of colour. In literary criticism, it refers to an author's attempt to divert the readers by shifting the focus of the narrative. For explications of the technique, see John Wang 1978, p. 213; Li Tailin 1992, pp. 46-50; Wu Jiansheng 1993, pp. 72-74; Fan Shengtian 2001, pp. 5-6; Chen Juan 2009, pp. 49-53.

more elusive). Why, should Pin'er (Daiyu) be mystified by that? Hence it fits Pin'er to be called "to be devoted to the one of *qing*" (*qingqing*). (Gengcheng edition)<sup>41</sup>

Any reader who is familiar with the Zhiyan Zhai commentaries would not find the term '*qingqing*' 情情 alien. According to the critics, *qingqing* is the epithet designated to Daiyu in the Celestial Roster of Lovers. The term is, doubtless, not coined by the critics; nevertheless, their use of the term often in itself casts much light on the nature of her love. In the above example, the critics insinuate that her love is the hindrance to proper judgement of her situation. As the embodiment of a single-minded pursuit of love, she is much too absorbed in her love to make sense of what is truly going on. Her devotion engenders fear and blindness, giving rise to unnecessary misunderstanding and miscommunication. In fact, when illustrating Daiyu's *qingqing* and Baoyu's *qingbuqing* 情不情 (to have feelings for the unfeeling),<sup>42</sup> oft-times the critics would employ another important concept, namely, *chi* (folly):

Such thought (his self-deprecation of seeing himself unworthy, as compared with Aroma's fine-looking cousin, of living in a wealthy household) actually resides in Baoyu's mind and bosom; it is by no means contrived talk. Hence one may well say he is unparalleled in history and in the present. To hear his undigested, puzzling words, to perceive his delicate, feeling heart, to fathom his whimsical, meandering thoughts, one cannot but conclude that he and the writing of him have no parallel or equal in history. He cannot be said to be virtuous, nor fatuous, nor good-for-nothing, nor good, nor evil, nor honourable, nor despicable, nor accomplished, nor unrefined, nor lust-filled, nor love-crazed. Only Pin'er can be his equal. Others may judge them in vain, without the slightest idea what they are born of, what flesh and bones they are made of. Perusing this book, I have a great liking for its language, yet I fail to make out these two people. As I read the Celestial Roster of Lovers in the last chapter, which says, "Baoyu has feelings for the unfeeling; Daiyu is devoted to the one of *qing*", I realise such epithets are made about their *chi* (folly); these are, too, undigested, puzzling words. Very well! (Gengcheng edition)<sup>43</sup>

Daiyu is depicted ten times more love-crazed (*chi*) than Baoyu. (Gengcheng edition)<sup>44</sup>

[...] the folly (*chi*) of the love and character of both Baoyu and Daiyu are vividly portrayed, as if captured in a picture [...] (Youzheng edition)<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 551.

<sup>42</sup> The English translation of the term, *qingbuqing* is borrowed from Martin Huang 2001, p. 273. Also see how Anthony Yu translates it into "to make the unfeeling feel" and Li Waiyee translates into 'feeling not-feeling'. See Anthony Yu 1997, p. 163; Li Waiyee 1993, p. 205.

<sup>43</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 367.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 456. The comment is made on Daiyu's fancy of burying the fallen petals in a flowers' grave instead of tipping them in the water as suggested by Baoyu.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 556.

The word, 'chi', has a long and rich history in Chinese culture. Originally a pejorative term, it is defined as 'unwise' in *Shuowen Jiezi*, and 'a lack of consciousness and intelligence, a form of illness' in *Xuyue*, as quoted in the *Kangxi Zidian*.<sup>46</sup> After the introduction of Buddhism in the Han Dynasty, the word acquired other implications. A Buddhist concept, the Sanskrit word, 'moha' (*chi*), is one of the three poisons,<sup>47</sup> meaning 'delusion', 'confusion', 'benightedness', and 'foolishness'; it refers to "a fundamental confusion concerning the true character and the phenomenal world and is thus an affliction and cause of future suffering."<sup>48</sup> According to Zhou Ruchang, *qing*, whether it denotes feelings, emotions or relationships, is possibly the most desired and delusory thing in the mundane world, and this is how *qing* comes to be closely related to *chi*.<sup>49</sup> In the Wei-Jin period, 'chi' is seen as emblematic, as representative, as illustrative of a new form of eccentric aesthetics among men of letters. For instance, in *Shishuo Xinyu*, Wang Dao (276-339) is recorded to have said, "so people of folly and love do exist!"<sup>50</sup> The famous painter, Gu Kaizi (348-405) is described to carry talent, painting and *chi* to the utmost. To consider 'chi' in the context of the late-Ming cult of *qing*, Paolo Santangelo argues that,

the revival of 'foolishness', 'outrageous', 'unrestrainedness' (*chi*, *kuang*, and *pi*, *dai*, *chun*, *yu*) with both the metaphorical meaning of 'lack or retardation of mental brightness and understanding', and the notion of 'lack of judgement and wisdom' in the sense of abnormal evaluation and madness, gained a certain success as new models of personality in intellectual circles.<sup>51</sup>

Many scholars have made similar observation. For example, Chou Derliang believes among the Ming literati, there exists a quasi-ill, degenerate taste of *chi* (folly), *pi* (僻) (obsession), *kuang* (狂) (outrageousness);<sup>52</sup> Mao Wenfang discerns the 'wild *chan* Buddhist thoughts' of the Taizhou branch and Wang Yangming's School of the Mind;<sup>53</sup> and Wang Ayling argues that the philosophies of several major figures of the Taizhou School, namely, Yan Jun (1504-1596), He Xinyin (1517-1579) and Li Zhi (1527-1602), together with literary theories of the Gong'an School, produce in the late Ming a number of people of *kuang* and *chi*, who are not only dissipated and unrestrained, but also

---

<sup>46</sup> *Shuowen Jiezi*, 356; and *Kangxi Zidian*, 345.

<sup>47</sup> Alex Wayman gives an inspiring account of the three poisons in Buddhism and the necessity of using the word poison to describe 'chi' in English. See Wayman 1957, pp. 107-109.

<sup>48</sup> Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Donald S. Lopez Jr. 2013, p. 546.

<sup>49</sup> Zhou Ruchang 1989, p. 149.

<sup>50</sup> *Shishuo Xinyu*, 683.

<sup>51</sup> Santangelo 2016, p. 15.

<sup>52</sup> Chou Derliang 2009, p. 87.

<sup>53</sup> See Mao Wenfang 2001, pp. 171-200.

preoccupied and obsessed with *qing*.<sup>54</sup> And such views do have solid grounds. Apart from Feng Menglong's craze for *qing* (*qingchi*) as expressed in *Qingshi*,<sup>55</sup> in his *Gujin Tan'gai*, a whole chapter is dedicated to recording different kinds of folly;<sup>56</sup> Zhou Hui's (1546-?) *Jinlin Suoshi* (The Trifles of Jinlin) has a section recording the anecdotes about a man called Shi Chi, and the piece not only includes the word, *chi*, for numerous times, but also the author's admiration for Shi Chi's foolish behaviour; and Cheng Yuwen (1644-1722) lists a set of grotesque aesthetic principles which centre on *chi*, *pi*, *kuang*, etc., as opposed to the mainstream aesthetics in late Ming.

Within the Buddhist tradition, much has been said concerning 'moha'. In fact, one of the masters mentioned by Baochai in the novel, Shenxiu (606-706), who is the founder of the Northern line of Chan Buddhism, postulates an interesting theory: "the mind, from within its source, by itself, produces the Three Poisons naturally."<sup>57</sup> While Daiyu's folly may well seem self-generated, as suggested by Shenxiu, hers is actually limned analogous to an illness which is inherited from the past life. Before she makes her debut in the Jia household, we are informed by Jia Yucun's mouth that "her always delicate constitution" suffers from "a severe attack of a recurrent sickness"<sup>58</sup> because of her mother's death. Later when she first meets the matriarch Grandmother Jia, her female relatives all observe that she is "suffering from some deficiency."<sup>59</sup> Yet only the medicine she takes is mentioned, leaving the readers in the dark about the actual illness. It is in a fight between Baoyu and her that her illness is fully uncovered:

It was unfortunate for him (Baoyu) that Daiyu herself possessed a similar streak of morbid sensibility (*chibing*, literally the illness of folly).<sup>60</sup>

In *Weimojie Jing* (The Vimalakirti Sutra), the lay practitioner, Vimalakirti, is recorded to have articulated the following words concerning love, folly and illness:

Stupidity (*chi*) leads to love (*ai*) which is the origin of my illness.<sup>61</sup>

Much similar to the definition given in the ancient dictionaries and Chou Derliang's proposition quoted above, *chi* is associated with illness. Yet in addition to that, it is also linked with love and attachments. In fact, the Chinese

<sup>54</sup> Wang Ayling 2001, pp. 140-142.

<sup>55</sup> *Qingshi*, 1: 3.

<sup>56</sup> *Gujin Tan'gai*, 6: 48-62.

<sup>57</sup> Zeuschner 1978, p. 71.

<sup>58</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 16; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 33

<sup>59</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 26; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 59.

<sup>60</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 309; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 89.

<sup>61</sup> *Weimojie Jing*, 121; Luk 1972, p. 50. Unless otherwise specified, all the English translations follow Charles Luk's *The Vimalakirti Nirveda Sutra*.

original of the quotation actually indicates that love (*ai*) originates from folly (*chi*). Precisely, this *chi*, in other words, delusion and blindness, is the kernel of Daiyu's *qingqing* and may serve to explain her temperamental difficultness. Scattered in divers places of the commentary are the commentators' attempts to explore and elucidate the relationship between her behaviour and her morbid folly of love. An illustrative example can be found in Chapter 9, as Baoyu hurries to bid Daiyu farewell before he is off to begin school, she flings back an acerbic question:

Aren't you going to say good-bye to your cousin Baochai?<sup>62</sup>

In response, the critics make the following remark:

Such scathing retort must come out from her mouth to render her Daiyu. It is her lifelong illness. (Youzheng edition)<sup>63</sup>

At first glance, one may be perplexed at the implication of this comment. But a closer examination would put on view its consistence with the novel itself. As mentioned earlier, we know from her first appearance that “[n]ature had bestowed a sickly constitution on her delicate frame.”<sup>64</sup> And there are descriptions of the prescription, symptoms and aggravation, if not galore, then aplenty, in the novel, more often than not, following any tugging at her heartstrings. An illustrative instance can be found in Chapter 57, as she learns that Baoyu is stricken with some delirium, half-dead from Nightingale's threat, she too at once, sinks into a moribund state:

If she (Nannie Li) said it was all up with Baoyu, it must be all up with him. There was a horrible sickening sound as she vomited up the medicine she had just taken, followed by a dreadful paroxysm of silent coughing that seemed to rack every nerve and fibre of her body. She coughed until her face was scarlet and her hair was in disorder, until her eyes bulged and the veins stood out on her forehead, coughed until she was so breathless that she was unable to lift her face up from the bed. Nightingale at once began thumping her, but Daiyu raised herself with an effort from the pillow and, after struggling for some moments to regain her breath, pushed her away [...]<sup>65</sup>

The severity of her illness is subject to oscillating emotions, which are much governed by her relationship with Baoyu. For instance, the excruciating episode of flower burial is above all induced by a misunderstanding between them, and subsequent to that, quite a long passage is dedicated to the discussion of her

---

<sup>62</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 95; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 215.

<sup>63</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 206.

<sup>64</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 32; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 75.

<sup>65</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 2: 626; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 3, p. 101.

naturally weak constitution and the medicine she takes.<sup>66</sup> As Jihu Sou shrewdly suggests, such discussion insinuates her deteriorating health,<sup>67</sup> which clearly indicates the intensity of the outburst of grief she has in the previous chapter. In fact, her illness of folly is not only conditioned by the sorrow and sadness of her love life, but also its bright side – the exclusive intimate spiritual communion between Baoyu and her. In a recapitulatory comment on Chapter 23, the critics clearly display their awareness of the relation between love and Daiyu's illness:

(The author) makes use of the words from *The Western Chamber*, the songs from *The Peony Pavilion*, together with the spellbinding, mesmeric poems which capture the interpenetration of the scene and its ambience, to sow seeds of sickness in her [...] (Gengcheng edition)<sup>68</sup>

It goes without saying that structurally this chapter is of particular significance, recording the first instance of flower burial, the immediate incident that transpires after the imperial concubine, Yuanchun, issues an edict ordering all the girls and Baoyu to reside in the Prospect Garden. On the one hand, it doubtless offers an inkling of the author's devising and designing of the fate of the girls and the necessary destruction of the utopian world, especially considering the strong connection between the female character and flowers;<sup>69</sup> on the other hand, it deliberately culminates in the intimate communion between her and Baoyu as they share deep sympathy for the wilted flowers, as well as their mutual enthrallment with the classic play of love, *The Western Chamber*, so that it starkly contrasts with the harrowing scene of the second flower burial. Nonetheless, seldom do readers observe the third function of this chapter – to enkindle Daiyu's yearning for love and union, which will, eventually precipitates her decline and death. In a later chapter, as she overhears Baoyu's warm admiration of her, myriads thoughts flash through her mind, one of which unfolds her fret about her illness and infirmity:

I feel so muzzy lately and I know that illness is gradually gaining a hold on me. (The doctors say that the weakness and anaemia I suffer from may be the beginnings of a consumption). So even if I am your true-love, I fear I may not be able to wait for you. And even though you are mine, you can do nothing to alter my fate.<sup>70</sup>

And after Baoyu secretly sends her a pair of old handkerchiefs as a token of love and care, caught in her own tangled and muddled emotions, she does not

<sup>66</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 287-288.

<sup>67</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 540.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 458-459.

<sup>69</sup> Numerous scholarly attempts have been devoted to discussing the linkage between the female characters and flowers in the novel, identifying which specific flowers they represent and the symbolic meanings. See Chen Jiasheng 1997, pp. 311-318; Yu Xiaohong 1997, pp. 319-331; Lene Bech 2002, pp. 99-128.

<sup>70</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 337; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 153.

discover she is 'witnessing the first symptom of a serious illness' with 'her whole body burning hot all over' and 'her cheeks afire'.<sup>71</sup> On several other occasion, Baoyu expresses his concern for an exacerbation of her illness induced by her worry and misery.<sup>72</sup> Yet little does he realise that, in addition to her fluctuating emotions, her love conduces much to her deteriorating health. It is no accident that the details of her illness are often recounted in the episodes where a chord in her is touched; nor is it coincidental that the commentators allude her jealous words to a lifelong illness. If the folly of love is a disease that afflicts her, then all her overreacting, and at times, inimical gestures, should be best described as its symptoms.

Indeed, in numerous places of the novel, Daiyu is identified with the folly of love. For instance, at least four chapter titles, including two from the last forty chapters, refer to her as a person of *chi* or make reference to the foolish nature of her love:

The girl of blind passion, *chi*, takes her deep love to new heights.<sup>73</sup>

And Aunt Xue comforts (the *chi*) Frowner with words of loving kindness.<sup>74</sup>

And the ailing Naiad, in a nightmare, confronts the soul of her blind folly, *chi*.<sup>75</sup>

Lin Daiyu burns her poems to signal the end of her heart's folly (*chi*).<sup>76</sup>

Indeed, following her burying of fallen petals, as well as in her self-defining poem, the 'Flower Burial Song', she demonstrates a keen awareness of her own *chi*:

Let others laugh at the folly I conceive as to bury the flowers [...]<sup>77</sup>

The others are always teasing me about my morbid folly. Surely there can't be another morbid one up there?<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>71</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 358; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, pp. 199-201.

<sup>72</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 338; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 527.

<sup>73</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 301; Hawkes translates the Chinese original into "And the highly strung rise to new heights of passion." See Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 65.

<sup>74</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 2: 622; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 3, p. 93.

<sup>75</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 4: 11; in *The Story of the Stone*, John Minford translated the title as "And the ailing Naiad, in a nightmare, the spectres of her fevered mind." See Minford 2012, Vol. 4, p. 25.

<sup>76</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 4: 170; Minford 2012, Vol. 4, p. 387.

<sup>77</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 284; In Hawkes' translation, the line is rendered as "Let others laugh flower-burial to see: Another year who will be burying me?" See Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 25.

<sup>78</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 285. The translation is mine. In Hawkes' translation, the line is rendered as "[t]he others are always telling me I'm a 'case' [...]. Surely there can't be another 'case' up there?" See Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 27.

The backbone of her devotion, her love, this folly, manifested in the form of ailment, as some scholar terms it as an ‘illness of love craze’,<sup>79</sup> finds its origin in the greater allegorical framework, i.e. her preincarnate life:

This fairy girl wandered about outside the Realm of Separation, eating the Secret Passion Fruit when she was hungry and drinking from the Pool of Sadness when she was thirsty. The consciousness that she owed the stone something for his kindness in watering her began to prey on her mind and ended by becoming an obsession.<sup>80</sup>

The sense of being beholden to Divine Luminescent Stone-in-Waiting, is translated into the ‘deficiency’ she suffers in her mortal life, which fuels Daiyu’s sentimentality, sensitivity and self-absorption.<sup>81</sup> Another aspect that people often overlook is the fact that Daiyu comes from a patrician background:

Such human recipients, whether they be male or female, since they are already amply endowed with the benign humour before the evil humour is injected, are incapable of becoming either greatly good or greatly bad [...] Born into a rich or noble household they are likely to become great lovers or the occasion of great love in others (*qingchi*, *qingzhong*); in a poor but well-educated household they will become literary rebels or eccentric aesthetes; even if they are born in the lowest stratum of society they are likely to become great actors or famous hetaerae. Under no circumstances will you find them in servile or menial positions, content to be at the beck and call of mediocrities.<sup>82</sup>

This excerpt is of course only Jia Yucun’s theory of positive and negative cosmic forces in explanation of Baoyu’s peculiar disposition. But it may also serve to explain Daiyu’s eccentricity, for like Baoyu, she too, is the recipient of the combination of the benign humour and the evil humour, and she too, is born into a rich and aristocratic family, rendering her an archetype of folly and love (*qingchi* and *qingzhong* 情種). What Baoyu and Daiyu share is an ailment of folly, a morbid sensibility, or in Baoyu’s own words, an incurable malady of love:

Dearest coz! I’ve never before dared to tell you what I felt for you. Now at last I’m going to pluck up courage and tell you, and after that I don’t care what becomes of me. Because of you I, too, have made myself ill – only I haven’t dared tell anyone about it and have had to bear it all in silence. And the day that your illness is cured, I do believe that mine, too, will get better. Night and day, coz, sleeping and dreaming, you are never out of my mind.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>79</sup> See Lin Suwen 2011, pp. 38-39.

<sup>80</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 6; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 11.

<sup>81</sup> For a discussion of how such deficiency affects all her unreasonable behaviour, see Xu Meifang 2007, pp. 460-474.

<sup>82</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 20; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 43.

<sup>83</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 339; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 155.

Indeed, he does suffer from actual bouts of insanity as he comes to believe Nightingale's trumped-up story that Daiyu is returning to Soochow:

His forehead was beaded with sweat and there was a red, inflamed look about his face [...] His eyes had a fixed and glassy stare, a little trickle of saliva ran from each corner of his mouth, and he seemed to have lost all consciousness of what he was doing [...]<sup>84</sup>

That he is afflicted with illness on account of Daiyu recurs repeatedly. While the validity and authenticity of the last forty chapters may always remain in doubt, there is a scene in Chapter 96 that well demonstrates and corresponds to the integration of folly and illness, a concept so dominant in the discourse of love in the novel:

There were no greetings exchanged, no courtesies, in fact no words of any kind. They just sat there staring into each other's faces and smiling like a pair of half-wits. Aroma stood watching, completely at a loss.

Suddenly Daiyu said:

"Baoyu, why are you sick?"

Baoyu laughed.

"I'm sick because of Miss Lin."<sup>85</sup>

In the same vein to his previous declaration of love, Baoyu is in a trance-like state of consciousness, thrown and transfixed. And in all of the instances, Baoyu associates his feelings for Daiyu with sickness. It is curious to see how love is conveyed only in a disturbed, deluded mental state, in other words, an extreme state of *chi*, and how love to the utmost is described as a form of illness. Little wonder Liu Zaifu proposes that among all the characters in the novel, Baoyu and Daiyu possess the utmost form of *chi*, to the degree that *chi* becomes their lives;<sup>86</sup> and many other scholars believe that *chi* is the highest ideal of *qing* in the novel.<sup>87</sup> Though ostensibly irrelevant, Baoyu's proclamation of having fallen ill owing to Daiyu is somewhat reminiscent of Vimalakirti's discussion of a Bodhisattva's illness:

Because all living beings are subject to illness (which finds its source to stupidity and love) I am ill as well. When all living beings are no longer ill, my illness will come to an end. Why? A Bodhisattva, because of (his vow to save) living beings, enters the realm of birth and death which is subject to illness; if they are all cured the Bodhisattva will no longer be ill. For instance, when the only son of an elder falls ill,

---

<sup>84</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 2: 625; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 3, p. 101.

<sup>85</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 4: 169; Minford 2012, Vol. 4, p. 383.

<sup>86</sup> Liu Zaifu 2009, pp. 81-83.

<sup>87</sup> He Li 2014, p. 98. Also see Lin Suwen 2013, p. 163; Liao Xianhao 1993, p. 88. For further discussions of the relations between *chi* and *qing* in *Honglou Meng*, see Zhou Ruchang 1989, pp. 141-172; Zixu 1999, pp. 31-38.

so do his parents, and when he recovers his health, so do they. Likewise, a Bodhisattva loves all living beings as if they were his sons; so when they fall ill, the Bodhisattva is also ill, and when they recover, he is no longer ill [...] A Bodhisattva's illness comes from (his) great compassion.<sup>88</sup>

Whereas a Bodhisattva is ill because of all living beings, Baoyu is ill because of Daiyu. Though emerged in bifurcation, their illnesses actually share the same root, that is, love and compassion. And compassion is precisely the elemental constituent of Baoyu's *qingbuqing*, which will be examined in detail with the explications of the Zhiyan Zhai commentaries in the following section.

To conclude the *qing* of Daiyu, one thread of the commentaries that clearly demonstrates the difference between *qingqing* and *qingbuqing* is given here as a cessation of further discussion:

As they first encounter each other, Daiyu is portrayed as "astonished" whereas Baoyu gives a laugh; the former contains her feelings in the bosom, and the latter expresses his outwardly [...] (Jiaxu edition)<sup>89</sup>

Much as the critics believe that *qingqing* and *qingbuqing* are the epithets made basing on the same origin of their love, aka *chi* (folly), there is something that bisects them in terms of their conduct and behaviour. Even though both Daiyu and Baoyu experience a feeling of *déjà vu* in their first mortal reunion, Daiyu is portrayed to start at the extraordinary familiarity of Baoyu while the latter gives a laugh and speaks his mind directly. The above comment displays the critics' discernment of the difference between them, i.e. her self-restraint and his self-expressiveness. Having a load of burden of her background as an emotional block to her inner world, her *qingqing*, the single-minded, concealed devotion suppresses any proper expression, distorts the way she conducts herself throughout the novel, and precludes tolerance and understanding. Whereas the source of her convoluted thoughts and sensitive love ultimately lies in *chi*, this malady of love is kept under stifling oppression; thus when it gathers strength and becomes uncontrollable, it erupts in a passionate, at times confrontational, manner. The Zhiyan Zhai comment here will serve as a summing-up of the actual behaviour of Daiyu's *qingqing*, as well as a central divide between Baoyu and her.

## 2.2. Baoyu's *Qingbuqing* as a Key to Understanding His Spiritual Transcendence

The last section centres on the relationship between love, folly and illness, all of which are well present in both Daiyu and Baoyu. In fact, very early on in the

<sup>88</sup> *Weimojie Jing*, 121-122; Luk 1972, pp. 50-51.

<sup>89</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 84.

novel, as Baoyu is disdained by the fairy maidens in his first visit to the Land of Illusion, he becomes “overwhelmed with a sense of the uncleanness and impurity of his own body” and seeks “in vain for somewhere to escape to”,<sup>90</sup> there is a thread in the Zhiyan Zhai commentaries that reads:

A young nobleman of tender birth actually seeks somewhere to escape to instead of flaring up – there is certainly a natural streak of folly of love in Baoyu. (Jiaxu edition)<sup>91</sup>

His folly is depicted as natural and innate. While Daiyu’s *qing* is focused and devoted, his radiates and extends to different people, earning him the epithet, *qingbuqing*, a notion the previous section briefly touches on. It is propounded that love and compassion are the pivot of his *chi*, its centre, its core. Owing to its sympathetic nature, C. T. Hsia argues in his treatise, “Love and Compassion in ‘Dream of the Red Chamber’”, that *Honglou Meng* as a whole “is ultimately concerned more with agape than with eros, more with sympathy and commiseration than with sexual passion”;<sup>92</sup> and Baoyu’s feelings for girls are composed of two elements:

admiration and compassion – admiration for her embodiment of celestial beauty and understanding and compassion for the fact that all too soon her celestial essence will be completely obscured in her forced conformity to a marital state and her inevitable enjoyment, if she survives, of the mean pleasures of greed, envy, and malice.<sup>93</sup>

Hsia’s proposition, perhaps not exhaustive to illumine every bit of Baoyu’s *qing*, holds true to a large extent. In this section, the compassionate side of his *qingbuqing*, and its position as the nexus between several important concepts, namely *chi*, *yi Yin*, and *titie* will be explored. Although today the Celestial Roster of Lovers is no longer extant, and not a single epithet remains in existence, as Chen Wanyi proposes it, if what the Zhiyan Zhai commentators state is valid and bona fide, then *qingbuqing* would be the author’s definitive conclusion of his brain child, Baoyu, as well as his personal path to enlightenment.<sup>94</sup> Given the centrality of Baoyu in the novel, *qingbuqing* is perhaps the key to unravelling the love motif of the novel. It is believed that *qingbuqing* has two layers of meaning – the first is doubtless his indiscriminate concern for both sentient and insentient beings, and the second has to do with his spiritual awakening. His *qing*, engendered from folly, turns into *buqing*, aka a state of transcendence, through his life of *yi Yin* and *titie*, all the blood, sweat and tears he sheds for his love. In the Zhiyan

---

<sup>90</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 52; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 123.

<sup>91</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 126.

<sup>92</sup> C. T. Hsia 1963, p. 262.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 264-265.

<sup>94</sup> Chen Wanyi 1984, p. 16.

Zhai commentaries, the critics illustrate a percipient understanding of such transformation.

To begin with, the first layer of Baoyu's *qingbuqing* will be examined. As mentioned in the last section, a considerable part of Baoyu's *qing* bears similitude to Vimalakirti's mental picture of a Bodhisattva, i.e. both fall ill because of the compassion they feel for another entity. There is a tinge of self-sacrificial overtone in both of them. Indeed, some scholars even perceive him comparable to the Buddha and Jesus Christ, and his *qingbuqing*, altruistic and selfless.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, some of his deeds do fit in such exaggerating assertion. For instance, in Chapter 30, an episode where Baoyu sees Lingguan (Charmante), one of the opera actresses, hunkers down by the side of the trellis, scratching at the ground with her pin in a desperate attempt to write out the name of her lover, he thinks to himself:

One can see from her outward behaviour how much she must be suffering inwardly. And she looks so frail. Too frail for suffering. I wish I could bear some of it for you, my dear!<sup>96</sup>

Later as the rain falls in sudden downpours, he only sees the water streaming down her body without realising his own body is soaked. Even when he is heading back to his abode, he still frets about whether Lingguan has a place to shelter from the rain. This scene seems particularly interesting if another similar episode is taken into account. In Chapter 35, in the hope of propitiating Silver, whose sister, Golden, takes her own life after she is expelled from the Rongguo Mansion, as a consequence of flirting with him, Baoyu not only ingratiates himself with Silver exercising his charm and gentleness, but also makes her serve him with his soup and hoaxes her into drinking from the same bowl. As they carelessly upset the bowl, the hot soup splatters over his hand:

Baoyu, insensitive to his own pain, inquired anxiously after Silver.  
 “Where did you scald yourself? Does it hurt?”  
 Silver and the rest all laughed.  
 “You’re the one who’s been scalded”, said Silver. “Why ask me?”  
 Only then did Baoyu become conscious that his own hand had been burned.<sup>97</sup>

While some scholar upholds such improbable claim that “[...] even in his own dreams, Baoyu does not feel guilt for the fact that his behaviour made Golden commit suicide”,<sup>98</sup> his treatment of Silver is obviously much driven by a sense of self-reproach, as “the sight of Silver, reminding him, with a pang of mingled

---

<sup>95</sup> Li Chendong 1958, p. 154. He borrows Wang Guowei's remark on brilliant lyrics written by Li Yu (ca. 937-978), the overthrown ruler of the Southern Tang. See *Renjian Cihua*, 24.

<sup>96</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 320; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 113.

<sup>97</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 369; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 227.

<sup>98</sup> Eifring 2004b, p. 286.

shame and sorrow, of her sister Golden.”<sup>99</sup> And his sense of guilt is poignantly revealed as the narrative describes how Baoyu, a person who relishes the mirth and merriment of festivity, stealthily sneaks out to a temple to make offering to the deceased Golden before Xifeng’s birthday party since Golden and Xifeng happen to share the same birthday.<sup>100</sup> What this scene and the last with Lingguan illustrate is Baoyu’s genuine interest in the well-being of his girls, so much so that, sensitive as he is, he becomes oblivious, even immune, to his own sufferings. In order to understand this layer of meaning of his *qingbuqing*, one must first get to the bottom of two other concepts, namely, *yiyin* 意淫 (lust of the mind) and *titie* 體貼 (attentiveness).

The idea of ‘yiyin’ is first introduced in Fairy Disenchantment’s words:

To be moved by woman’s beauty is itself a kind of lust. To experience loving feelings is, even more assuredly, a kind of lust. Every act of love, every carnal congress of the sexes is brought about precisely because sensual delight in beauty has kindled the feeling of love – The reason I like you so much is because you are full of lust. You are the most lustful person I have ever known in the whole world! In principle, of course, all lust is the same. But the word has many different meanings. For example, the typically lustful man in the common sense of the word is a man who likes a pretty face, who is fond of singing and dancing, who is inordinately given to flirtation; one who makes love in season and out of season, and who, if he could, would like to have every pretty girl in the world at his disposal, to gratify his desires whenever he felt like it. Such a person is a mere brute. His is a shallow, promiscuous kind of lust. But your kind of lust is different. That blind, defenceless love (*chiqing*) with which nature has filled your being is what we call here “lust of the mind.” “Lust of the mind” cannot be explained in words, nor, if it could, would you be able to grasp their meaning. Either you know what it means or you don’t. Because of this “lust of the mind” women will find you a kind and understanding friend; but in the eyes of the world I am afraid it is going to make you seem unpractical and eccentric. It is going to earn you the jeers of many and the angry looks of many more.<sup>101</sup>

The observation of Disenchantment is of paramount importance not only owing to her divine omniscience, but also, as Ying Wang so shrewdly discerns, because of her role as “the spokesperson of the implied author.”<sup>102</sup> So how does she make of Baoyu? The word, *yiyin*, is what she stamps on his life. According to a thread of comment written in the Jiaxu edition of the Zhiyan Zhai commentaries, the term is both ‘original and refined’.<sup>103</sup> Another Qing critic, Hong Qiufan (no dates available), even sees it a brilliant stroke of genius that is

---

<sup>99</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 367; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 221.

<sup>100</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 2: 464.

<sup>101</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 57; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 137.

<sup>102</sup> Wang Ying 2005, pp. 137-141. Also see Chen Wanyi 1984, pp. 14-15.

<sup>103</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 134.

unparalleled in previous works, classics or anecdotes.<sup>104</sup> To penetrate this indefinable, novel term, interesting investigations into its origin emerge in an endless stream. For instance, Lin Jingsu focuses on its linguistic semantics and pragmatics, referring its denotation to *Shuowen Jiezi*, arguing that the former word, ‘yi’, points to something more spiritual and psychological, whereas the latter, ‘yin’, bespeaks something more corporeal and physical.<sup>105</sup> Another scholar, Xu Weihe, sees the medical overtones in the terminology, traces its origin to *Huangdi Neijing* (The Inner Classic of the Yellow Emperor), and lists a series of medical classics which discuss the symptoms of *yiyin*.<sup>106</sup> And according to Guo Yuwen, ‘yin’ in its literal sense means ‘to cover or saturate with water’, hence strictly speaking, *yiyin* means Baoyu’s *qing* bestrews and bedews everywhere.<sup>107</sup>

Regardless of its source, most scholarly interpretations diverge and divaricate in two major directions: whether it is compassion-based or lust-based; or as Chen Wanyi puts it, whether they see a rigid dichotomy between the two words *yiyin*, and centre on only either one of them: *yi* (intent), or *yin* (lust). Besides C.T. Hsia the former group includes Guo Yuwen, who in another article, calls *yiyin* “an attitude that is unselfish, disinterested, non-possessive and sympathetic”, and that it “is tantamount to religious compassion and commiseration”, “an atonement for sins committed by all men on earth.”<sup>108</sup> On the other hand, many equate *yiyin* with infidelity and unfaithfulness. For instance, according to one prominent *pingdian* critic, Wang Xilian (1805-1877), Baoyu’s desire for Baochai’s snow-white arm, his burial of the ‘husband and wife’ orchid and the purple skullcap,<sup>109</sup> and Nightingale’s comment on his fickleness – flitting from one girl to the next – are all expressions of his *yiyin*.<sup>110</sup> Another scholar, Li Baichun alleges that Baoyu’s relations with Daiyu, Baochai, all his maids and even Keqing and Xifeng, in other words, almost every woman around him, are dubious and unsavoury.<sup>111</sup> His idea finds an echo in Wu Bangwei, who goes as far as to compare *yiyin* with libido, believing that it is the outward expression of his suppressed sexual desire.<sup>112</sup> In view of such diverse opinions, one is prompted to inquire, why must compassion and sexual desire be mutually exclusive? According to the

<sup>104</sup> Yi Su 2004, Vol. 1, p. 236.

<sup>105</sup> Lin Jingsu 2005, pp. 108-133.

<sup>106</sup> Xu justifies his view on the grounds of Cao Xueqin’s obvious familiarity with Chinese medicine, see Xu Weihe 2007, pp. 341-370.

<sup>107</sup> Guo Yuwen 2004, pp. 143-188.

<sup>108</sup> Guo Yuwen 1994, pp. 29, 33. The English translation is mine.

<sup>109</sup> In the novel, Caltrop has a ‘husbands and wives’ orchid and immediately gets teased by the troupe of actresses. Baoyu later takes out a ‘two heads are better than one’ purple skullcap that can match Caltrop’s orchid. See *Honglou Meng*, 2: 692.

<sup>110</sup> Such view is also held by another scholar, see Sa Mengwu 1977, pp. 171-176.

<sup>111</sup> Li Baichun (1990) “Ganyou Qingchi Baohen Chang”, in *Honglou Meng Xuekan*, Vol. 2, p. 63.

<sup>112</sup> Wu Bangwei 2002, pp. 72-74.

observation of Fairy Disenchantment, lust exists in three forms, namely, skin-deep promiscuity, loving feelings and defenceless *yiyin*. While the word, lust, may denote different things, but all lust is after all, the same. And can Baoyu, being 'the most lustful person in the whole world', be without any of the three? It is true that in order to label Baoyu a person of *yin*, the author especially coins this novel term, on the one hand to reveal that, instead of a complete exception who stands aloof from lust, he too, like Qin Keqing, is the embodiment of both *qing* and *yin*; but on the other hand, paradoxically enough, it is used to illustrate his distinctiveness from 'mere brutes'. Such paradox well reflects the novel's relationship with tradition and classics – while the author endeavours to establish it an unconventional work, breaking a new path in novel writing, *Honglou Meng* is essentially the fruit of the author's marshalling a selection of precedents. The same goes for many of the motifs in the novel, reality and illusion, femininity and masculinity and enchantment and disenchantment. Another very illustrative example can be found in Jia Rui's looking at A Mirror for the Romantic. On the back of it shows a grinning skull, to all appearances the symbol of death; and on the front, it shows the beautiful Xifeng, the object of desire. Be that as it may, the images lead to completely contrary paths. The implication is not only that conflicting ideas are two sides of the same coin (and indeed there are many different sides to this coin), but also that the actuality of one thing can be quite the opposite of what it appears to be. In the case of Baoyu's sexual experiences, while Skybright may suggest what a femme fatale would look like, profligate, wayward and temperamental, especially taking into account the famous fan-tearing episode,<sup>113</sup> it is the reserved, conventional Aroma to whom Baoyu loses his virginity.<sup>114</sup>

So how do the Zhiyan Zhai critics make of Baoyu's *yiyin*? In response to Dischantment's declared inexplicability of the lust of the mind, the critics write:

Considering Baoyu's nature and personality throughout his life, they are nothing but *titie* (attentiveness), hence the word *yiyin*. (Jiaxu edition)<sup>115</sup>

Certainly, as compared with *yiyin*, *titie* is a far more commonplace word, perhaps too commonplace to mark. In fact, in the novel, the author also employs the term to describe Baoyu:

[...] they (the other pupils at the clan school) saw in Baoyu one whom nature and habit had made humble and accommodation in spite of his social position, always

---

<sup>113</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 59.

<sup>114</sup> In Chapter 77, the wife of Skybright's cousin, Ms. Deng (Deng Guliang) actually expresses disappointment at finding out that there is nothing inappropriate between Baoyu and Skybright. See *Honglou Meng*, 2: 880.

<sup>115</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 135.

willing to defer to others in the interest of harmony; they observed his affectionate disposition (*titie*) and familiar manner of speech [...]<sup>116</sup>

What this passage shows is a few specifications of Baoyu's *titie*: inattention to his own social position, innate and acquired humbleness and willingness to defer to others. In the Youzheng edition, it is said that "such a depiction delineates all men of *qing*, ancient or present."<sup>117</sup> In other editions of the commentaries, similar observation of Baoyu's disposition is made. The few places where the word *titie* is attached to Baoyu are all somewhat 'inconsequential' consideration he shows other people. For instance, in Chapter 8, in the midst of the dramatic entertainment at the Ningguo Mansion, after Baoyu sends Grandmother Jia back to her quarters for rest, he does not go back 'to the other mansion to watch the plays' as expected by his maids and nurses because he is "afraid that his presence would be an inconvenience to Qinshi and his other 'juniors'" even though he "would have liked to go back and watch some more plays."<sup>118</sup> Another example can be found in Chapter 25. After hearing that Baoyu's face is scalded by the malicious Jia Huan, Daiyu hurries to his chamber to see how he is. "But when she approaches him to look closer, he averts his head and waves her away. He knows how squeamish she was, and fears that the sight of it would upset her."<sup>119</sup> Such seemingly insignificant actions are what the critics call 'descriptions of importance', 'gestures of attentiveness',<sup>120</sup> for they are related to the crucial pivot of the character of Baoyu, the so-called *qingbuqing*:

According to the Celestial Roster of Lovers (*qingbang*), Baoyu has feelings for the unfeeling (*qingbuqing*). Hence even for every insentient, inanimate subject under the sun, he would attend to (*titie*) it with his devoted feelings (*chiqing*). (Jiaxu edition)<sup>121</sup>

The fountainhead of his attentiveness, lust of the mind, is after all, his folly and *qing*; and, to radiate this *qing* and extend it to all things, be it sentient or not, is the manifestation of his *qingbuqing*.

Of course, examining closely the words of Fairy Disenchantment, one cannot but concede that desire is well present in Baoyu's *yiyin*, and such desire in Baoyu is but innate. Whether this desire is self-involved and narcissistic is another major divide among scholars. And not every scholar views this self-generated, nature-endowed desire in a positive light. For example, according to Liao Xianhao, his desire finds its origin in a sense of insufficiency. And, to satiate this desire, the Prospect Garden, an ideal world of youth, is created. Hence, 'yin' should be denoted as 'indulgence' and/or 'attachment' [...] the lust

<sup>116</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 95; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 217.

<sup>117</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 207.

<sup>118</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 81; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 189.

<sup>119</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 253; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 595.

<sup>120</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, pp. 179, 482.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

of the mind is a spiritual indulgence, implying Baoyu's reluctance to enter adulthood, and his tendency to take shelter in the feminine world, for girls represent the world of youth.<sup>122</sup> Chen Weizhao maintains a similar position, arguing that Baoyu's concern for girls is nothing but self-love, self-pity, and a subjective hope to divert himself from loneliness.<sup>123</sup> Both Li Waiyee and Martin Huang hold similar views; the former thinks that "the obverse side of [his] selfless devotion is extreme self-indulgence, the desire that the universal order of things should conform to one's wishes";<sup>124</sup> whereas the latter believes that "his attention to a girl is not completely altruistic: his favour needs to be returned in the form of 'tears'."<sup>125</sup> Another scholar who perceives this *yiyin* as self-generated desire is Anthony Yu, though his attitude is less censorious or judgemental. He believes Disenchantment's remark

may indicate that the content of such desire Baoyu experiences will be determined more by his own subjectivity than by its object. Intellectually and emotionally far more capacious than those worldly profligates who respond only to immediate physical stimuli, he is someone who also feels the grip of desire through vicarious participation in memory or imagination.<sup>126</sup>

Yu's proposition is well reminiscent of Wang Guowei's division of personal and impersonal states of *ci*, lyric poetry – "There are personal and impersonal states [...] In the personal state the poet views objects in terms of himself and so everything takes on his own colouring."<sup>127</sup> The previous examples of Baoyu's concern for both Lingguan and Silver well illustrate Anthony Yu's argument – he bases his feelings for them on an active imagination of their pain and suffering to the extent that he forgets his own afflictions, especially in the case of Lingguan as the stream of empathic thoughts runs through his mind. Indeed, in many other places of the novel, such aspect is manifested. In Chapter 44, he originally takes pleasure in helping Patience with her toilet, his delight turns into despondency the moment he ruminates on her life:

He thought of Patience serving that precious couple, alone in the world without parents or brothers and sisters to defend her, somehow contriving to steer an even course between Jia Lian's boorishness on the one hand and Xi-feng's vindictiveness on the other, yet today, in spite of all her efforts, falling a victim to their cruelty. Truly her lot was an unhappy one – more unhappy even than Dai-yu's! At this point in his reflections he became so upset that he began to shed tears, not bothering on this occasion to restrain them [...]<sup>128</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup> Liao Xianhao 1993, pp. 86, 94. Also see Liao Xianhao 1986, pp. 137-143.

<sup>123</sup> Chen Weizhao 2000, pp. 236-244.

<sup>124</sup> Li Waiyee 1993, p. 207.

<sup>125</sup> Martin Huang 2001, p. 277.

<sup>126</sup> Anthony Yu 1997, pp. 202-203.

<sup>127</sup> *Renjian Cihua*, 3.

<sup>128</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 2: 471-472; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 471.

Of course there is a certain subjectivity in his thoughts, but it is not necessarily as negative as Martin Huang sees it – that he tries “to please and win admiration from every beautiful girl he encounters” and hence his excitement for having “an opportunity to ingratiate himself with Patience.”<sup>129</sup> If his *qing*, his *titie*, are for nothing other than self-gratification, as Huang puts it, why does he bother to sympathise with Patience without the presence of anyone and sadden himself after he assists her with her toilet? Indeed, irrespective of the source of his *qing*, his *chi*, or perhaps even his desire – be they generated from a sense of unworthiness, self-love or sheer escapism – what distinguishes him from the ‘mere brutes’ and his depraved male counterparts is his active involvement in the well-being and suffering of another person or another thing. And this is precisely the essence of *qingbuqing*: extending the subjective feelings and love of his very own to the people who may be indifferent to him (for example, Silver, Lingguan, Patience and Caltrop), and the things which are insentient. While the examples of Silver and Lingguan cited above well illustrate his attentiveness towards the people of low social standing including maids and singsong girls, the following are how he shows consideration for insentient objects. In Chapter 23, before he joins Daiyu in the flower burial, it is described that

he does not like to shake them (the fallen petals that cover his clothes, his book and all the ground about him) off for fear they would get trodden underfoot, so collecting as many of them as he can in the lap of his gown, he carries them to the water’s edge and shake them in.<sup>130</sup>

In the Gengcheng edition, such action is labelled as ‘qingbuqing’.<sup>131</sup> And concerning the two other incidents that serve as evidences of his *qing* for illusory objects—i.e. his whimsical fancy to provide company for a painted beauty and his worship for the imaginary Fu Qiufang—the Zhiyan Zhai critics conclude that Baoyu is a peerless man of *qing* and folly (*qingchi*).<sup>132</sup> In Chapter 70, there is another instance that serves as a repetition of his companioning the portrait of the beautiful woman. As Nightingale sends Daiyu’s kite to the sky, Baoyu laments over it and cuts the string of his own kite to keep it company:

“What a pity we don’t know where she will land!” said Baoyu. “It would be nice if she landed somewhere where there are people and some little child were to find her. But suppose she lands in some uninhabited wilderness: how lonely she will be! I think I shall send my lady after her, to keep her company!” He asked for the scissors and cut the string himself, and a second pretty lady went hurrying after the first one until it, too, disappeared.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Martin Huang 2001, pp. 276-277.

<sup>130</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 234; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 555.

<sup>131</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 455.

<sup>132</sup> Both comments are recorded in the Gengcheng edition. See Chen Qinghao 1986, pp. 354, 568.

<sup>133</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 2: 789; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 3, p. 495.

In the novel, even the two nannies of Fu Qiufang, to a certain extent complete outsiders to the Jia household, are aware of the way he injects his *qing* into people, as well as supposedly feelingless objects:

A number of them told me about it when I came here last. Once when he was out in the pouring rain and himself as wet as a drowned chicken, he says to someone, "It's raining", he says, "run inside and get out of the rain." What a laugh! Heh! heh! heh! And he often cries or laughs when no one else is by. They say that when he sees a swallow he talks to the swallow, and when he sees a fish in the river he talks to the fish, and when he sees the stars or the moon, he sighs and groans and mutters away to himself like a crazy thing. And he's as soft as a baby. Even the little maids can do what they like with him.<sup>134</sup>

In a later chapter, Baoyu spells out his rationale:

What do you know about it? Not only plants and trees, but all things that live and grow have feelings. And like us, they are most responsive to those who most appreciate them. There are plenty of examples from history [...] Surely you can't deny that all these are instances of sympathy between plants and humans?<sup>135</sup>

Seeing a connection between plants and humans, Baoyu perceives the withering of half of the crab-apple tree a portent of Skybright's death. What should be noted here is his faith in the capability of feelings of ostensibly insentient things, a faith that is not only consistent with the author's overall design of the preincarnate union of the mythical stone and plant,<sup>136</sup> but also illustrative of the Zhiyan Zhai critics' idea of supreme *qing* – according to a thread of comment in the Jiayu edition, the pairing of a stubborn stone and a fairy plant is 'the utmost of *qing*'; it is believed that the author especially has these insentient objects experience all romantic affairs, and to taste to the full the feelings of love in order to alleviate his own disconsolation.<sup>137</sup> Whether the intention of the author is truly to palliate his own feelings may be open to doubt, but the critics are probably right in proposing that the involvement of insentient objects in the mortal romantic entanglements is the author's systematic scheme to accentuate the pervasiveness and predominance of *qing*.

The discussion of the Zhiyan Zhai critics' idea of *yiyin* has hitherto centred on its more empathetic aspect, impelling one to ponder over its more lustful aspect. At first glance, the Zhiyan Zhai commentaries would seem nothing more than puritan morals, especially considering the critics' defence for Baoyu's dubious behaviour. For example, in Chapter 19, Baoyu catches Daiyu taking an

<sup>134</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 369; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 227.

<sup>135</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 2: 877; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 3, pp. 693-695.

<sup>136</sup> According to Anthony Yu, it is "the tragic dilemma of the plot" showing that "inanimate objects could be even more involved than humans in desire's entanglement." See Anthony Yu 1997, p. 47.

<sup>137</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 18.

afternoon nap, and he stays chatting to her to keep her from falling asleep as he believes sleeping after a meal would do her harm. All of a sudden, he becomes “preoccupied with a subtle fragrance which seems to emanate from Daiyu’s sleeve – a fragrance that intoxicates the senses and causes one to feel rather limp. He seizes hold of the sleeve and demands to know what perfume she is wearing.”<sup>138</sup> In response to such unseemly gesture, the Zhiyan Zhai critics remark:

His action gives every appearance of lust, but there is not a slightest tinge of lewdness in it. (Gengcheng edition)<sup>139</sup>

Later in Chapter 21, Baoyu calls on the girls’ quarters and chances on the sleeping Xiangyun, who “lies with her hank of jet-black hair tumbled untidily beside the pillow, a white arm with its two gold bracelets thrown carelessly outside the bedding and two white shoulders exposed above the peach-pink coverlet, which barely reaches her armpits.”<sup>140</sup> The sight inspires feelings of tenderness in Baoyu, who sighs ruefully as he draws the bedding up to cover her. And in the Gengcheng edition, the critics’ comment on such behaviour is that: “it is strange for him to sigh – all ordinary men would take indecent pleasure in such sight”,<sup>141</sup> implying his pure-mindedness. Such comment prompts some scholar to conclude that the critics, while dichotomising love and lust and often censuring the latter, connives in Baoyu’s morally questionable behaviour by demarcating him from lust.<sup>142</sup>

Nonetheless, a closer examination of the commentaries may tell a different story. In Chapter 6 where Baoyu conducts his first venereal experiment, his only explicit sexual transgression depicted in the novel, the critics, while acknowledging such act, attribute it to *yiyin*:

The affair between Baoyu and Aroma is nothing more than a common happening in a noble family. The purport is to convey Baoyu’s full grasp of Disenchantment’s teachings of the lust of the mind. (Jiaxu edition)<sup>143</sup>

Instead of taking pains to dissociate Baoyu from lust, the Zhiyan Zhai critics actually refer to his pre-marital sex with Aroma as “a full grasp of Disenchantment’s teachings of the lust of the mind”, implicating lust and desire are necessarily included in *yiyin*. And much similar to the attitude to the author, the critics express not even a hint of disapproval; instead, they deem it nothing

<sup>138</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 196; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 461.

<sup>139</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 383.

<sup>140</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 208-209; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 489.

<sup>141</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 408.

<sup>142</sup> Lin Jingsu 2005, pp. 33-37.

<sup>143</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 138.

out of the ordinary in an aristocratic family. In another chapter, as Baoyu helps Musk comb her hair, Skybright sarcastically mocks them:

Fancy! Doing her hair already – before you've even drunk the marriage-cup!<sup>144</sup>

In reaction, the critics write a somewhat ambiguous comment: “although it is only some teasing, it offers a brief glimpse into the trivialities at the Yihong Yuan (Green Delights)”,<sup>145</sup> suggesting that there may be a lot more goings-on. Little wonder that some would take Baoyu as a womanizer who does all manner of evil – dallying with maids and committing incest.<sup>146</sup> Yet the attitude of the author as well as the critics may be as simple as Yu Yingshih puts it:

Nor did he (the author) follow some kind of dualism and treat love and lust as distinctly separate entities [...] In general, he believed that love can, and indeed must, embrace lust. When love leads to lust, then lust is essentially love, which is why love is also called “lust of the mind” [...] What the world looked upon as unforgivable “adultery” may not be a sin to the author [...]<sup>147</sup>

What distinguishes Baoyu's *yiyin* from other forms of lust is not the absence of licentiousness, but the presence of unparalleled empathy. And Yu Yingshih's passage cited above will serve as a cessation of further discussion of *yiyin*, for the lust of the mind is only a means by which Baoyu attains enlightenment – the second aspect of *qingbuqing*.

The peculiarity of the *qing* in *Honglou Meng* lies in its potentialities and possibilities. Resembling a pole, it connects two completely opposite ends – debased, it can lead to licentiousness; sublimated, it provides a route to awakening. Early on in the novel, the author already demonstrates his perception of transcendence through the Taoist, Vanitas's reading and rereading of the magic Stone's mortal experiences:

As a consequence of all this, Vanitas, starting off in the Void (which is Truth) came to the contemplation of Form (which is Illusion); and from Form engendered Passion; and by communicating Passion, entered again into Form; and from Form awoke to the Void (which is Truth).<sup>148</sup>

An encapsulation of a spiritual journey, this famous passage also offers a glimpse into Baoyu's pre-existence and human life. Created by the goddess Nǚ-wa, the magic stone originates from nothingness; his sense of unworthiness as a

---

<sup>144</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 203; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 477.

<sup>145</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 395.

<sup>146</sup> Yi Su 2004, p. 210.

<sup>147</sup> Yu Yingshih 2006, pp. 54-55; Diana Yu 2006, in *Honglou Meng de Liang ge Shijie*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>148</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 5; Hawkes 2002, Vol. 1, p. 7.

discard enkindles desire to enter the mundane world, where he becomes attached to and entangled in human ties; and, the bereavements and separations inspire his awareness of the transiency of life and form, and he thereby renounces the temporal world. What is to be noted in this process is that, Baoyu is also offered two chances to awake to enlightenment: the first is his tour to the Land of Illusion where he is offered a glimpse at the celestial registers to understand the fates of all the girls around him, but like Vanitas, he fails to take heed of the lesson and it is in his second perusal, an actual experience that he finally reaches the truth. That Vanitas renames himself Brother Amor, or the Passionate Monk, rather than indicating that the author prefers Buddhism to Taoism, essentially makes plain that nothingness is not the way to true deliverance. Instead, *qing* is the indispensable key. And Baoyu's earthly journey to liberate himself through *qing*, the latter half of the above passage, is condensed into only one phrase – *qingbuqing*. Unlike Daiyu's mortal life which begins with *qing* and ends with *qing*, as her epithet, *qingqing* suggests, Baoyu's commences with *qing* and concludes with awakening.<sup>149</sup> His *qing*, as mentioned earlier, shares the same origin with that of Daiyu – *chi*, yet their paths diverge as she concentrates her love on a single person while he radiates it in all directions. If what differentiates them is the presence of the extension of love, in other words, *yiyin* and its outward expression, *titie*, then one is prompted to inquire, how do they contribute to spiritual liberation? According to Stephen Soong, Baoyu

has feelings for each of the girls, yet in the end, he performs such feelingless (*buqing*) deed (as to renounce the world). That is to say, the zenith of *qing* turns out to become *buqing*.<sup>150</sup>

This seemingly paradoxical notion is not without precedents. In the preface to one of his four major plays, *Nanke Ji* (A Dream under the Southern Bough), Tang Xianzu writes: “To dream in order to awake; to love in the cause of enlightenment.”<sup>151</sup> In late imperial fiction and drama, oftentimes spiritual transcendence, be it Taoist or Buddhist, is presented as the final severance of worldly entanglements: Tang Xianzu's *Nanke Ji* and *Handan Ji* (The Handan Dream), Kong Shangren's (1648-1718) *Taohua Shan* (The Peach Blossom Fan), and even Li Yu's (1610-1680) *Rou Putuan* (The Carnal Prayer Mat), to name but a few. In fact, in his perceptive analysis of *Honglou Meng*, Erzhi Daoren (1763-1836) also quotes Tang Xianzu's pithy observation in the discussion of Baoyu's renunciation of the earthly attachments.<sup>152</sup> Taking into account the substantial literary precedents, perhaps his deliverance should come as no surprise. But still, such explanation does not seem comprehensive enough not because of the overall authorial attempt to break away from tradition, but it fails

<sup>149</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 710.

<sup>150</sup> Stephen Soong 2000, p. 48.

<sup>151</sup> *Nanke Ji*, 1; the English translation is mine.

<sup>152</sup> Yi Su 2004, p. 103.

to explicate why Daiyu, as someone who possesses an 'understanding of these matters (koans, gāthās)' that is 'far in advance of'<sup>153</sup> Baoyu cannot attain enlightenment. To put it differently, in the novel, Baoyu and Daiyu are depicted to be 'of one mind', both share 'a streak of morbid sensibility' (*chiqing*),<sup>154</sup> and as the Zhiyan Zhai critics reiterate it again and again, only Daiyu can be Baoyu's equal in terms of love, what makes him, her intellectual and spiritual inferior, reach transcendence? How do *yi* and *tie* contribute to it?

To answer these questions, a number of interesting theories have been formed among scholars. In Lu Xun's view, Baoyu's "love is indiscriminate and hence weariness is engendered. His worries and miseries grow with each passing day."<sup>155</sup> According to Guo Yuwen, "'tie' bespeaks 'empathy' [...] (it) is exactly his (Baoyu's) way to reach spiritual enlightenment and transcendence."<sup>156</sup> And Wang Guowei believes that the death of Daiyu reinforces his determination.<sup>157</sup> While all of their explanations hold certain truth in their own rights, one must not forget the larger allegorical framework and her position as a mere debtor in her pre-incarnate life. Unlike the Magic Stone who is created out of nothing, the Crimson Pearl Flower could not have come to life but for his fancy and kindness. Such difference may mark the dividing line of their *qing* – whether it is directed at a specific target, hence *qingbuqing* or *qingqing*. In fact, in the Zhiyan Zhai commentaries, an alternative angle to view the matter is posed:

Practically all the forms and illusions would not arise or accumulate but for *qing*. *Qing* is manifested in passion (*ai*), and when passion is profuse, the heart is not constant. Inconstancy occasions all kinds of illusions, and begets all forms of incubi, verging on unfeelingness. This is how Baoyu goes from affectionate to feelingless [...] (Wangfu edition)<sup>158</sup>

And in the Youzheng edition, it is stated that:

[...] Because of *qing*, Daiyu is lost in contemplation and concentration, and she becomes oblivious her own self and sickness; whereas Baoyu becomes servile and subservient, forgets about his position, his suffering and his nature [...] a person who has universal love is not single-minded. New objects of love in addition to old ones, how can there be an end? Hence his inconstant heart cannot but be reduced to unfeelingness.<sup>159</sup>

From the above two passages, two points can be safely deduced. First and foremost, supreme *qing* engenders unawareness. In the commentaries, more

<sup>153</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 223; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 529.

<sup>154</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 309; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 87.

<sup>155</sup> Lu Xun 1992, p. 210.

<sup>156</sup> Guo Yuwen 1994, pp. 29, 33.

<sup>157</sup> Yi Su 2004, p. 252.

<sup>158</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 568.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 569.

often than not, Daiyu and Baoyu are described as the ones who possess the highest form of *qing*. What is suggested in the Youzheng edition is that the utmost *qing* comes with a price: it blinds, befuddles people, making them so fixated that they forget about their own selves. In addition, forms and illusions originate from love. Hence, a profuse and universal love engenders manifold of them. And this can extinguish love. Of course, as propounded by Lu Xun, weariness may be the cause of the extinguishment of love. Of course we need not see his priestly vocation as positive as Wang Guowei does – “realizing the errors of his father and ancestors, he [Baoyu] therefore could not bring himself to repeat them and thereby redouble their guilt [...] Thus Baoyu’s idea that ‘when one son leaves the family, seven generations would find deliverance’ may well be construed as true insight [...]”<sup>160</sup> But if we examine the novel from Anthony Yu’s perspective and see it as “a grand parable of Buddhist quest and enlightenment”,<sup>161</sup> then perhaps we can understand better why Baoyu’s indiscriminate love conduces to his awakening. As mentioned earlier, love emanates from *chi*, folly, blindness or delusion which precludes liberation. Since Baoyu’s objects of love and desire are considerable, the illusions (Form) engendered from each form of *qing* abound and vary. And ‘by communicating Passion’, he enters deep into Form and experiences it to the full. As all ‘emotional attachment and romantic longing are systematically thwarted’,<sup>162</sup> he awakens to the ephemerality, the transience of every form of *qing* and is able to transcend them.

Indeed, the narrative has progressively unfolded Baoyu’s spiritual journey. Apart from the two times he declares, though flippantly, that he will become a monk upon the deaths of Daiyu and Aroma, and the ostensibly random portents (for example in the drinking game conducted by Grandmother Jia’s maid, Faithful, the two lines uttered by the participants, “the Second Prince plays in the Five Holy Hills, [t]he immortals dwell far off from mortal ills”<sup>163</sup> obviously allude to Baoyu’s image as a wandering monk), the plot shows positive reinforcement of his inclination to enter the monkhood. In Chapter 21, ignored by Aroma and Musk as a punishment for his spending the night at Daiyu’s quarters, Baoyu entertains the following thought before he flips a volume of *Zhuangzi* and reads the chapter, ‘Rifling Trunks’:

“Suppose they were all dead”, he said to himself. “I should have to make do on my own somehow or other!”<sup>164</sup>

And inspired by a passage, he ‘picks up a writing-brush’ and adds a few lines to the margin:

<sup>160</sup> Yi Su 2004, p. 258; the English translation follows Anthony Yu 1989, p. 61.

<sup>161</sup> Anthony Yu 1989, p. 77.

<sup>162</sup> Levy 1999, p. 64.

<sup>163</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 431; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 371.

<sup>164</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 211; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 497.

Away then with Musk and Aroma, and the female tongue will cease from nagging. Discard Baochai's heavenly beauty, destroy Daiyu's divine intelligence, utterly abolish all tender feelings, and the female heart will cease from envy. If the female tongue ceases from nagging there will be no further fear of quarrels and estrangements; if Baochai's heavenly beauty is discarded there will be no further grounds for tender admiration; and if Daiyu's divine intelligence is destroyed there will be no further cause for romantic imaginings. These Baochais, Daiyus, Aromas and Musks spread their nets and dig their pits, and all the world are bewitched and ensnared by them.<sup>165</sup>

This passage records the first time Baoyu ever shows a tendency to distance himself from his beloved cousins and maids. Seeing tender feelings and the female heart the source of quarrels and estrangements, he expresses a wish to break away from their enchantment. Though he is reconciled with Aroma in the end, such thoughts continue to occupy him in the following chapter. In Chapter 22, finding his essay to reconcile Xiangyun with Daiyu futile, Baoyu, under the immediate influence of both the play, *Zhishen at the Monastery Gate*, and the mystical *Zhuangzi*, internalises the messages conveyed by both works and sees himself "naked and friendless through the world to roam." He then conceives such a fancy as to write a Buddhist gāthā and an expository verse, 'Clinging Vine':

I swear, you swear,  
With heart and mind declare;  
But our protest  
Is no true test.  
It would be best  
Words unexpressed  
To understand,  
And on that ground  
To take our stand.<sup>166</sup>

You would have been at fault, if not for me;  
But why should I care if they disagree?  
Free come, free go, let nothing bar or hold me!  
No more I'll sink and soar between gloom and elation,  
Or endlessly debate the depth of our relation.  
What was the point of all of that past pother?  
When I look back on it, it seems scarce worth the bother.

Again such idea is subdued and he is left in awe of the spiritual shrewdness of both Daiyu and Baochai. It is very much what the Zhiyan Zhai critics suggest:

---

<sup>165</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 212; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 499.

<sup>166</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 222; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, pp. 525-527.

[...] the author subtly unfolds Daiyu's keen koans, her propounding improvement on Baoyu's gāthā, as well as Baochai's recount of the story of the Fifth and Sixth Patriarch and their composition of gāthās, in order to strike Baoyu utterly speechless. In such wise, this spiritual stone fails, after all, to stay out of the Celestial Roster of Lovers, and the narrative thus continues.<sup>167</sup>

Whether Baoyu is included in the Celestial Roster of Lovers because of the retorts of Daiyu and Baochai is of course open to question, but it is true that at this point of the narrative, Baoyu is deterred from seeking religious liberation. But it should be noted that such idea is never obliterated from him. In Chapter 28, upon hearing Daiyu's heart-rending 'Flower Burial Song', the first thought that hits his mind is the realisation of the vanity of worldliness:

Lin Daiyu dead! A world from which that delicate, flowerlike countenance had irrevocably departed! It was unutterable anguish to think of it. Yet his sensitized imagination did now consider it — went on, indeed, to consider a world from which the others, too — Baochai, Caltrop, Aroma and the rest — had also irrevocably departed. Where would he be then? What would have become of him? And what of the Garden, the rocks, the flowers, the trees? To whom would they belong when he and the girls were no longer there to enjoy them? Passing from loss to loss in his imagination, he plunged deeper and deeper into a grief that seemed inconsolable.<sup>168</sup>

Unlike the previous two times he conceives a renunciatory idea, this time, he is not caught in any conflict or contention. To put it more precisely, he is yet to know that Daiyu is beside herself with both grief and rage because she mistakenly believes he refuses to open the door for her, and therefore the renunciatory idea is not taken as some easy comfort or temporary escape from a difficult situation. More importantly, this episode marks his initial insight into the brevity of life, its illusory nature, and the unreliability of Form.

In a later chapter, as Lingguan rejects to sing for him, he realises the impossibility of his most narcissistic and fanciful aspiration, that is, to die while the girls "are all around him" and their "tears could combine to make a great river that his corpse could float away on, far, far away to some remote place that no bird has ever flown to, and gently decompose there until the wind had picked his bones clean, and after that never, never to be reborn again as a human being."<sup>169</sup> He thus becomes disillusioned:

I mean, that stuff about all of you making a river of tears for me when I die: I realise now that it's not possible. I realise now that we each have our own allotted share of tears and must be content with what our own fate.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 443.

<sup>168</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 285; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 27.

<sup>169</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 379; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, pp. 249-251.

<sup>170</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 381; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 255, with modifications.

Of course, as suggested by Martin Huang, his egotistic wish well resonates with the fairy tea and wine of the Land of Illusion introduced in Chapter 5 – “Maiden’s Tears” and “Lachrymae Rerum.”<sup>171</sup> But there is more to his disillusionment with such wish than meets the eye. Just as the chapter title, “Baoyu visits Pear-tree Court and comes to understand love and fate from a performer”,<sup>172</sup> directly spells out, this episode is meant for him to fathom the futility of love and the unavoidability of fate, the prerequisite for his awakening.<sup>173</sup> And after this chapter, little concerning his spiritual path is mentioned for he already has some understanding of the hard facts of life. What remains for him to acquire is the actual experience. In Chapter 77, after he learns that Parfumée, Number Four and Skybright are sent away, the following is how he pulls through the situation after some disagreement with Aroma:

Mention no more of this. Assume that they all expired.<sup>174</sup>

It is certainly no coincidence for him to utter such words. As cited above, the first time he ever comes close to spiritual awareness, he murmurs to himself:

Suppose they were all dead [...] I should have to make do on my own somehow or other!<sup>175</sup>

And it is exactly how he reacts upon the departure of one of his favourite maids. True that in the following chapter he grieves for her and composes the celebrated affecting ‘Invocation to the Hibiscus Spirit’, but the above response illustrates how such ideas keep recurring to him. In the Gengcheng edition, the Zhiyan Zhai critics astutely observe something profound about these thoughts:

This is why Baoyu can start off with *qing* and ends with awakening.<sup>176</sup>

It is through a systematic and step-by-step course that Baoyu’s fate unfolds in the narration. Yet according to the Zhiyan Zhai critics, Baoyu after all fails “to stay out of the Celestial Roster of Lovers.”<sup>177</sup> How do we make

---

<sup>171</sup> Martin Huang 2001, pp. 275-276.

<sup>172</sup> David Hawkes translates *qingfen* into ‘hard facts’, which may not suffice to illustrate its flavour in Chinese. See Hawkes 2012, Vol. 2, p. 255.

<sup>173</sup> In Jiang Shunyi’s (ca. 1826) view, such realisation is precisely why Baoyu can sever all worldly ties. Yue Hengjun believes that this episode “finally unfolds Baoyu’s, if not the author’s, disapprobation of life [...] Baoyu so anguishes over it (Lingguan’s love for Jia Qiang) that he awakens to truth. And because of it, Baoyu’s soul can be relieved from the burden of desires”; another scholar, Huang Nanshan, also perceives this as a major watershed that profoundly changes his belief. See Yue Hengjun 1976, p. 203; Huang Nanshan 1992, p. 61.

<sup>174</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 2: 877; in Hawkes’ English translation this line is omitted.

<sup>175</sup> *Honglou Meng*, 1: 211; Hawkes 2012, Vol. 1, p. 497.

<sup>176</sup> Chen Qinghao 1986, p. 710.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 443.

sense of such assertion? If what the critics hold is true and Baoyu's position in terms of *qing* actually antecedes every other character, then is his enlightenment authentic? Here is what Sun Xun proposes may shed some light on the issue:

Cao Xueqin introduces *qing* as an intermediary between the traditional Buddhist concept, "sekong" (Illusion and Void) [...] so the originally two-way, complementary "se" (Illusion) and "kong" (Void) becomes the more complex series: "Void, Illusion, *Qing*, Illusion, Void." The concept of *qing* is of paramount importance, it is not merely an indispensable intermediary between Illusion and Void, for this intermediary is significantly magnified [...] it is all that constitutes one's life [...] Cao Xueqin's *Honglou Meng* is basically an elaboration of *qing* between Illusion and Void.<sup>178</sup>

As implied in the two-fold meanings of Baoyu's epithet, *qingbuqing*, true transcendence fundamentally includes the extension as well as the disillusionment with *qing*. One scholar, Huang Nanshan, refers to the author's ideal as the *chan* (meditative Buddhism) of *qing*, which in itself, includes the element of *qing*.<sup>179</sup> Indeed, instead of eliminating *qing*, the author positively incorporates it into the spiritual path of both Vanitas and Baoyu for it is deemed conducive to enlightenment. That may explain why the former changes his name to Brother Amor or the Passionate Monk, or why Baoyu finally renounces the world having experienced thorough every form of *qing*.

## Conclusion

The present paper believes the Zhiyan Zhai commentaries make a great contribution to illuminating the concept of *qing* in *Honglou Meng*. In the first place, the critics create for themselves, as well as the author, the personae as people of *qing*, revealing the author's life's woes and remorse, and displaying thoroughly their own feelings. More importantly, the critics provide the best gloss for the novel's exploration of a variety of emotions and sensibilities; in particular, they shed light on the common ground and point of divergence between Daiyu's *qingqing* and Baoyu's *qingbuqing*. The *qing* in *Honglou Meng* represents a possibility, a wide spectrum ranging from lust to deliverance, as illustrated in its protagonist, Jia Baoyu, the epitome of the highest form of *qing*, is the most lustful person in the world, yet he is capable of achieving spiritual deliverance in the end. Resembling a pole, the pendulum between the two, *qing* connects two completely opposite ends – debased, it can lead to licentiousness; sublimated, it provides a route to awakening.

<sup>178</sup> Sun Xun 1991, p. 188.

<sup>179</sup> Huang Nanshan 1992, pp. 55, 57.

## REFERENCES

### Primary sources

- Diwu Caizishu Shinai'an Shuihu Zhuan* 第五才子書施耐庵水滸傳 [1641], by Jin Shengtian 金聖歎, [repr. Wen Zisheng critical edition 文子生校點], Henan: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1985.
- Diliu Caizishu Xixiang Ji* 第六才子書西廂記 [1656], by Jin Shengtian 金聖歎, [repr. Zhang Jianyi critical edition 張建一校注], Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1999.
- Fenshu* 焚書 [1590], by Li Zhi 李贄, [repr. Zhang Jianye critical edition 張建業編, *Li Zhi Wenji Diyi Juan* 李贄文集第一卷], Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2000.
- Gujin Tan'gai* 古今譚概 [app. 17th century], by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍, [repr. Wei Tongxian critical edition 魏同賢校點, *Feng Menglong Quanji* 馮夢龍全集, Vol. 6], Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1993.
- Honglou Meng* 紅樓夢 [app. 18th century], by Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹, [repr. Yu Pingbo critical edition 俞平伯校訂, *Honglou Meng Bashihui Jiaoben* 紅樓夢八十回校本, Vols. 1-4], Hong Kong: Zhonghua Book Company, 1974.
- Kangxi Zidian* 康熙字典 [1716], by Chen Tingjing 陳廷敬 and Zhang Yushu 張玉書, repr. Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962.
- Mao Zonggang Piping Sanguo Yanyi* 毛宗崗批評三國演義 [1679], by Mao Zonggang 毛宗崗, repr. Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1991.
- Mudan Ting* 牡丹亭 [1595], by Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖, repr. Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2000.
- Nanke Ji* 南柯記 [1600], by Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖, repr. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960.
- Qingshi* 情史 [app. 1632], by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍, Vols. 1-2, repr. Shen Yang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1986.
- Renjian Cihua* 人間詞話 [1910], Wang Guowei 王國維, repr. Harbin: Harbin chubanshe, 2006.
- Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 [app. 2nd century], by Xu Shen 許慎, [repr. Duan Yucai critical edition 段玉裁注], Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1969.
- Shishuo Xinyu* 世說新語 [app. 5th century], by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶, [repr. Yang Yong critical edition 楊勇編校, *Shishuo Xinyu Jiaozhan* 世說新語校箋], Hong Kong: Hong Kong dazhong shuju, 1969.
- Xiaoshuo Kaozheng* 小說考證 [1910], by Jiang Ruizao 蔣瑞藻, repr. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1984.
- Xingshi Hengyan* 醒世恆言 [1627], by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍, [repr. Wei Tongxian critical edition 魏同賢校點, *Feng Menglong quanji* 馮夢龍全集, Vol. 4], Nanjing: Jingsu guji chubanshe, 1993.
- Weimojie Jing* 維摩詰經 [app. 100], repr. Hong Kong: Vajrayana Buddhism Association Ltd., 1996.
- Yuan Zhonglang Quanji* 袁中郎全集 [app. 1629], by Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道, repr. Shanghai: Guoxue zhengli she, 1935.
- Zaozhuang Xianbi* 棗窗閒筆 [app. 18th century], by Yurui 裕瑞, repr. Beijing: Wenxue guji chubanshe, 1957.

Zengping Buxiang *Quantu Jinyu Yuan* 增評補像全圖金玉緣 [1884], by Wang Xilian 王希廉, repr. Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2002.

### Secondary sources

- Bech, Lene (2002) “Flowers in the Mirror, Moonlight on the Water: Images of a Deluded Mind”, in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, Issue 24, pp. 99-128.
- Cai Yijiang 蔡義江 (ed.) (1998), *Honglou Meng Congshu Quanbian* 紅樓夢叢書全編, Vols. 1-4, Taiyuan: Shanxi guji chubanshe.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1993a) “‘Shiji’ Chaoxi ‘Hanshu’ de Qitan: Ping Ou Yangjian Zhiben Zuoyi Shuo” 《史記》抄襲《漢書》之類的奇談——評歐陽健脂本作偽說, in *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Issue 3, pp. 151-165.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1993b), “‘Shiji’ Chaoxi ‘Hanshu’ de Qitan: Ping Ou Yangjian Zhiben Zuoyi Shuo Xu” 《史記》抄襲《漢書》之類的奇談——評歐陽健脂本作偽說續, *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Issue 4, pp. 228-245.
- Chen Qinghao 陳慶浩 (1986) *Xinbian Shitou Ji Zhiyan Zhai Pingyu Jijiao Xinbian* 新編石頭記脂硯齋評語輯校(增訂本), Taipei: Jinglian chuban shiye.
- Chen Wanyi 陳萬益 (1984) “Shuo Jia Baoyu de Yiyin yu Qingbuqing: Zhiping weitan zhiyi” 說賈寶玉的意淫與情不情——脂評微探之一, in *Zhongwai Wenxue* 中外文學, Vol. 12, Issue 9, pp. 10-44.
- Chen Yijun 陳怡君 (2008) “*Honglou Meng* Zhiping Jifa zhi Yanjiu” 《紅樓夢》脂評技法之研究, M.A. dissertation, National Taiwan Normal University 國立臺灣師範大學.
- Cheng Peikai 鄭培凱 (1995) *Tang Xianzu yu wanming wenhua* 湯顯祖與晚明文化, Taipei: Yunchen wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi.
- Chou Derliang 邱德亮 (2009) “Pishi Wenhua: Lun Wanming Wenren Guitai de Meixue Xingxiang” 癖嗜文化——論晚明文人詭態的美學形象, in *Wenhua Yanjiu* 文化研究, Vol. 8, pp. 61-100.
- Dai Bufan 戴不凡 (1991) *Hongxue Pingyi Waipian* 紅學評議外篇, Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe.
- Du Jinghua 杜景華 (1998) “*Honglou Meng* yu Dao” 紅樓夢與道, in *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Issue 4, pp. 71-91.
- Eifring, Halvor (2004a) “Emotions and the Conceptual History of ‘Qing’”, in Halvor Eifring, ed., *Love and Emotions in Traditional Chinese Literature*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 1-36.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2004b) “The Psychology of Love in ‘The Story of the Stone’”, in Halvor Eifring, ed., *Love and Emotions in Traditional Chinese Literature*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, pp. 271-324.
- Epstein, Maram (2001) *Competing Discourses: Orthodoxy, Authenticity and Engendered Meanings in Late Imperial Chinese Fiction*, Cambridge-London: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Feng Qiyong 馮其庸 (2004) “Lun Jiaxu Ben” 論甲戌本, in *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Issue 4, pp. 12-34.

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1991) *Honglou Meng: Miren de Yishu Shijie* 紅樓夢——迷人的藝術世界, Taipei: Guanya wenhua shiye youxian gongsi.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1987) “Chongyi Pingdianpai: Bajia Piping ‘Honglou Meng’ Xu” 重議評點派——《八家評批紅樓夢》序, in *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Issue 1, pp. 1-32.
- Gan Chaoduan 干朝端 (1981) “Yangai Ruhe Pingjia Zhiyan Zhai” 應該如何評價脂硯齋, *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Issue 4, pp. 157-162.
- Gong Pengcheng 龔鵬程 (1988) *Wenhua, Wenxue yu Meixue* 文化、文學與美學, Taipei: Shibao wenhua chuban gongsi.
- Gu, Dongming (2003) “The Hongloumeng as an Open Novel: Towards a New Paradigm of Redology”, in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 51, pp. 253-282.
- Guo Yuwen 郭玉雯 (2004) “Qingyu yu Lijiao: Honglou Meng yu Ming Qing Sixiang”, Hsiung Pingchen and Yu Anbang 熊秉真、余安邦, ed., *Qingyu Ming Qing: Suiyu Pian* 情欲明清——遂欲篇, Taipei: Maitian chuban, pp. 143-188.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2001) “Wang Guowei Honglou Meng Pinglun yu Shubenhua Zhexue” 王國維《紅樓夢評論》與叔本華哲學, in *Hanxue Yanjiu* 漢學研究, Vol. 19, Issue 1, pp. 277-308.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1994), *Honglou meng renwu yanjiu* 紅樓夢人物研究, Taipei: Da'an chubanshe.
- Hao Yanlin 郝延霖 (1979) “Moluo Guizu de Zhexue: Lun ‘Shitou Ji’ Zhiyan Zhai Ping” 沒落貴族的哲學——論《石頭記》脂硯齋評, in *Xinjiang Daxue Xuebao* 新疆大學學報, Issue 1-2, pp. 14-22.
- Hawkes, David (2012) *The Story of the Stone*, Vols. 1-3, bilingual edition, Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- Hsia, C.T. 夏志清 (1963) “Love and Compassion in ‘Dream of Red Chamber’”, in *Criticism*, Vol. 5, pp. 262-268.
- Hu Qing 胡晴 (2008) “Lun Zhipi Dute de Qinggan Tourun dui qi Renwu Piping Jianshang Fengge de Yingxiang” 論脂批獨特的情感投入對其人物批評鑒賞風格的影響, in *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Issue 5, pp. 237-256.
- Hu Shi 胡適 (1942) *Zhonghuo Zhanhui Xiaoshuo Kaozheng* 中國章回小說考證, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian.
- Huang Huai-hsuan 黃懷萱 (2003) “Honglou Meng Fojia Sixiang de Yunyong Yanjiu” 佛家思想的運用研究, M.A. dissertation, Guoli zhongshan daxue 國立中山大學.
- Huang, Martin (1994) “Author(ity) and Reader in Traditional Chinese ‘Xiaoshuo’ Commentary”, in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, No. 16, pp. 41-67.
- Huang Nanshan 黃南珊 (1992) “Lun Cao Xueqin de Qingchan Sixiang” 論曹雪芹的情禪思想, in *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Vol. 4, pp. 55-76.
- Ji Zhiyue 季稚躍 (1990) “Jin Shengtian yu Honglou Meng Zhipi” 金聖歎與紅樓夢脂批, *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Vol. 1, pp. 291-304.
- Jr. Robert E. Buswell and Jr. Donald S. Lopez (2013) *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Knoerle, Jeanne (1972) *The Dream of the Red Chamber: A Critical Study*, Bloomington-London: Indiana University Press.
- Levy, Dore J. (1999) *Ideal and Actual in the Story of the Stone*, New York: Columbia University Press.

- Liao Xianhao 廖咸浩 (1993) "Shuo Yin: Honglou Meng 'beiju' de Houxiandai Chensi" 說淫——「紅樓夢」「悲劇」的後現代沈思, in *Zhongwai Wenxue* 中外文學, Vol. 22, Issue 2, pp. 85-99.
- (1986) "'Shuangxing Tongti' zhi Meng: 'Honglou Meng' yu 'Huangye zhi Lang' zhong 'Shuangxing Tongti' Xiangzheng de Yunyong" 「雙性同體」之夢: 「紅樓夢」與「荒野之狼」中「雙性同體」象徵的運用, in *Zhongwai Wenxue* 中外文學, Vol. 15, Issue 4, pp. 120-148.
- Li Chendong 李辰冬 (1958) *Honglou Meng Yanjiu* 紅樓夢研究, Taipei: Xingxing shuju.
- Li Zhiqi 李知其 (1984) *Honglou Mengmi* 紅樓夢謎, Hong Kong: self-published.
- Li, Waiyee (1993) *Enchantment and Disenchantment: Love and Illusion in Chinese Literature*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Li, Zehou 李澤厚 (1994) *The Path of Beauty: A Study of Chinese Aesthetics*, Song Lizeng tr., Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Lin Cheng 林辰 (1992) "Zhenhen Hongxue de Xinshuo: Zhiyan Zhai, Zhipi Zuowei Jiemi" 震撼紅學的新說——脂硯齋、脂批作偽揭秘, in *Zhongguo Tushu Pinglun* 中國圖書評論, Issue 5, pp. 55-56.
- Lin Gang 林崗 (1999) *Mingqing Zhiji Xiaoshuo Pingdianxue zhi Yanjiu* 明清之際小說評點學之研究, Beijing: Peking University Press.
- Lin Jingsu 林景蘇 (2005) *Buli Qingsedao Zhenru: Honglou Meng Jia Baoyu de Qingyu yu Wudao* 不離情色道真如——紅樓夢賈寶玉的情欲與悟道, Taipei: Da'an chubanshe.
- Lin Suwen 林素玟 (2013) "Zhenxin, Shenqing yu Qingjing: Honglou Meng Dute Xushi de Renwu Meixue" 真心、深情與清淨——《紅樓夢》獨特敘事的人物美學, in *Guowen Xuebao* 國文學報, Vol. 54, pp. 149-183.
- (2011) "'Honglou Meng' de Bing/Zui Shuxie yu Liaoyu" 《紅樓夢》的病 / 罪書寫與療癒, in *Huafan Renwen Xuebao* 華梵人文學報, Vol. 16, pp. 31-77.
- Liu Jibao 劉繼保 (2014) "Wenxian Zhenli, Wenben Chanshi, Lilun Jianggou: Guanyu 'Honglou Meng' Pingdian ben di Zhenli yu Yanjiu" 文獻整理、文本闡釋、理論建構——關於紅樓夢評點本的整理與研究, in *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Issue 6, pp. 194-202.
- Liu Zaifu 劉再復 (2009) *Honglouren Sanshi Zhong Jiedu* 紅樓人三十種解讀, Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co. Ltd.
- Lu Xun 魯迅 (1973) repr. *Lu Xun Quanji* 魯迅全集, Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe.
- Luk, Charles (1972) *The Vimalakirti Nirveda Sutra*, Berkeley-London: Shamabala.
- Miao Huaiming 苗懷明 (1996) "Honglou Meng Pingdian Jia Chen Qitai Shengping Kaoshu" 《紅樓夢》評點家陳其泰生平考述, in *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Issue 1, pp. 261-271.
- Ouyang Jian 歐陽健 (2001) "Youzheng Ben Xungen: Zhipi Wanyu Youzheng Ben Zaibian" 有正本尋根——脂批晚於有正本再辨, in *Guizhou Daxue Xuebao* 貴州大學學報, Vol. 19, pp. 58-63.
- (1993) "Youzheng Ben 'Shitou Ji' Piyu Bianxi" 有正本《石頭記》批語辨析, in *Mingqing Xiaoshuo Yanjiu* 明清小說研究, Issue 1, pp. 170-186.
- (1992) "Zhiyan Zhai Biankao" 脂硯齋辨考, in *Qishi Xuekan* 求是學刊, Issue 1, pp. 67-73.

- Plaks, Andrew H. (1987) *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1978) "Full-length Hsiao-shuo and the Western Novel: A Generic Reappraisal", in *New Asia Academic Bulletin*, Vol. 1, pp. 163-176.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1976) *Archetype and Allegory in the Dream of the Red Chamber*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rolston, David L. (1990a), "Sources of Traditional Chinese Fiction Criticism", in David Rolston, ed., *How to Read the Chinese Novel*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 3-34.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1990b) "The Historical Development of Chinese Fiction Criticism Prior to Chin Sheng-t'an", in David Rolston, ed., *How to Read the Chinese Novel*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 35-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997) *Traditional Chinese Fiction and Fiction Commentary: Reading and Writing between the Lines*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1993) "'Point of View' in the Writings of Traditional Chinese Fiction Critics", in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, Issue 16, pp. 113-142.
- Sa Mengwu 薩孟武 (1977) *Honglou Meng yu Zhongguo Jiu Jiating* 紅樓夢與中國舊家庭, Taiwan: Dongda tushu.
- Santangelo, Paolo (2016) "Transition to Modernity: New Results of Textual Analysis on Emotions and Collective Imagery", in *International Communication of Chinese Culture*, Vol. 3, Issue 1, pp. 9-30.
- Shan Dexing 單德興 (1991) "Shilun Xiaoshuo Pingdian yu Meixue Fanying Lilun" 試論小說評點與美學反應理論, in *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly* 中外文學, No. 3, pp. 73-101.
- Soong Stephen (2000) *Honglou Meng Shiyao* 紅樓夢識要, Beijing: Zhongguo shudian.
- Sun Xun 孫遜 (1991) "Guanyu Honglou Meng de 'Se', 'Qing', 'Kong' Guannian" 關於紅樓夢的「色」、「情」、「空」觀念, in *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Vol. 4, pp. 187-200.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1981) *Honglou Meng Zhiping Chutan* 紅樓夢脂評初探, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.
- Tan Fan 譚帆 (1996) "Xiaoshuo Pingdian de Mengxing: Ming Wanli Nianjian Xiaoshuo Pingdian Shulüe" 小說評點的萌興——明萬歷年間小說評點述略, in *Wenyi Lilun Yanjiu* 文藝理論研究, Vol. 6, pp. 87-94.
- Tu Shumin 涂淑敏 (2015) "Gudian Xiaoshuo de Yijinghua Pingdian: Yi Zhiping 'Honglou Meng' Wei Li" 關於小說的意境化評點——以脂評《紅樓夢》為例, *Donghai Daxue Tushuguan Guanxun* 東海大學圖書館館訊, Vol. 168 (2015), pp. 97-117.
- Waltner, Ann (1989) "On Not Becoming a Heroine: Lin Dai-yu and Cui Ying-ying", in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 15, No. 1, p. 61-78.
- Wang Ayling 王璦玲 (2001) "Mingmo Qingchu Caizi Jiaren zhi Yanqing Naihan ji qi suo Yinsheng zhi Shenmei Gousi" 明末清初才子佳人劇之言情內涵及其所引生之審美構思, in *Zhongguo Wenzhe Yanjiu Jikan* 國文哲研究集刊, Vol. 18, pp. 139-188.
- Wan Qing 宛情 (1994a) "Zhiyan Zhai bushi Cao Xueqin de Hezuoze" 脂硯齋不是曹雪芹的合作者, in *Ming Qing Xiaoshuo Yanjiu* (Jan.) 明清小說研究, pp. 46-53.

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1994b) “Zhiyan Zhai bushi Cao Xueqin de Zhi'ai Qinpeng” 脂硯齋不是曹雪芹的至愛親朋, in *Ming Qing Xiaoshuo Yanjiu* (Apr.) 脂硯齋不是曹雪芹的合作者, pp. 66-72.
- Wang, John (1978) “The Chih-yen-chai Commentary and the *Dream of the Red Chamber*: A Literary Study”, in Adele Austin Rickett, ed., *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 209-217.
- Wang, Ying (2005) “The Disappearance of the Simulated Oral Context and the Use of the Supernatural Realm in ‘Honglou Meng’”, in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, Vol. 27, pp. 137-150.
- Wayman, Alex (1957) “The Concept of Poison in Buddhism”, in *Oriens*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Jul. 31), pp. 107-109.
- Wu Shichang 吳世昌 (2000) *Honglou Tanyuan* 紅樓探源, repr. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe.
- Wu Bangwei 胡邦煒 (2002) *Honglou Meng B Mian Jiedu* 紅樓夢 B 面解讀, Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe.
- Xu Jizi 徐季子 (1991) “Fojia Sixiang dui ‘Honglou Meng’ de Yingxiang” 佛家思想對《紅樓夢》的影響, in *Wenyi Lilun Yanjiu* 文藝理論研究, Vol. 5, pp. 46-51.
- Xu Meifang 許玫芳 (2007) *Honglou Meng Renwu zhi Xingge Qinggang yu Yiping Guanxi: Kua Zhongxi Yixue (Jingshen Yixue, Neike, Fuchanke, Pifuke) zhi Yanjiu* 紅樓夢人物之性格情感與醫病關係: 跨中西醫學《精神醫學、內科、婦產科、皮膚科》之研究, Taipei: Xuesheng chubanshe.
- Xu Naiwei 徐乃為 (2005) “Cong Luoji Cuowu Dao Shishi Shicha: Ping Ou Yangjian Xiansheng de ‘Huanyuan Zhi Yanzhai’ 從邏輯錯謬到事實失察——評歐陽健先生的《還原脂硯齋》”, in *Shanxi Daxue Xuebao* 山西大學學報, Issue 1, pp. 57-61.
- Xu Weihe 許衛和 (2007) “Lun ‘Honglou Meng’ zhong ‘Yiyin’ Yi Ci de Chuchu ji qi Youmo yu Yiyi” 論紅樓夢中意淫一詞的與出處及其幽默, in *Hanxue Yuajiu* 漢學研究, Vol. 25, Issue 1 (June), pp. 341-370.
- Ye Lang 葉朗 (1982) “Buyao Qingyi Fouding Zhiyan Zhai de Meixue: Jiu Zhiyan Zhai de Pingjia Wenti yu Hao Yanlin, Xu Chi Deng Tongzhi Shangque” 不要輕易否定脂硯齋的美學——就脂硯齋的評價問題與郝延霖、徐遲等同志商榷, in *Xueshu Yuekan* 學術月刊, Vol. 3, pp. 52-54.
- Yee, Angelina C. (1995) “Self, Sexuality, and Writing in Honglou Meng”, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 55, pp. 373-409.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1990) “Counterpoise in ‘Honglou Meng’”, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 50, pp. 613-650.
- Yi Su 一粟 (ed.) (2004) *Honglou Meng Ziliao Huibian* 紅樓夢資料彙編, Vols. 1-2, repr. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Yu, Anthony C. (1997) *Rereading the Stone: Desire and the Making of Fiction in Dream of the Red Chamber*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1989) “The Quest of Brother Amor: Buddhist Intimations in The Story of The Stone”, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 49, pp. 55-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1980) “Self and the Family in the ‘Hong-lou Meng’: A New Look at Lin Tai-yü as Tragic Heroine”, in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, pp. 55-92.

- Yu Pingbo 俞平伯 (1984) *Honglou Meng Yanjiu* 紅樓夢研究, Hong Kong: Zhongliu chubanshe.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1975) *Zhiyan Zhai Honglou Meng Jiping* 脂硯齋紅樓夢輯評, Hong Kong: Taiping shuju.
- Yu Yingshih 余英時 (2006) *Honglou Meng de Liang ge Shijie* 紅樓夢的兩個世界, Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press.
- Yue Hengjun 樂衡軍 (1984) *Gudian Xiaoshuo Sanlun* 古典小說散論, Taipei: Chun wenxue chubanshe.
- Zeuschner, Robert B. (1978) "The Understanding of Mind in the Northern Line of Ch'an (Zen)", in *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 28, pp. 69-79.
- Zhang Jinchi 張錦池 (2009) *Honglou Guankui: Zhang Jinchi lun Honglou Meng* 紅樓管窺—張錦池論紅樓夢, Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe.
- Zhang Shuoren 張碩人 (1983) *Honglou Meng Yanjiu Diandi* 紅樓夢研究點滴, Bangkok: Guoguang tushu zazhishe.
- Zheng Qingshan 鄭慶山 (1992) *Li Songxuan Ben Shitou Ji Kaobian* 立松軒本石頭記考辨, Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe.
- Zhao Gang 趙岡 (1978) *Huaxiang Tongchou Du Honglou* 花香銅臭讀紅樓, Taipei: Shibao wenhua chubanshe.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1970) *Honglou Meng Xintan* 紅樓夢新探, Hong Kong: Wenyi shuwu.
- Zhao Jinming 趙金銘 (1986) "Zhiyan zhai chuping shitou ji shi zai shenme niandai" 脂硯齋初評石頭記是在什麼年代, in *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Vol. 4, pp. 293-300.
- Zhou Ruchang 周汝昌 (1995) *Honglou Meng de Zhen Gushi* 紅樓夢的真故事, Beijing: Huayi chubanshe.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1993) "'Honglou Meng' yu Qing Wenhua" 紅樓夢與情文化, in *Honglou Meng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊, Issue 1, pp. 67-78.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1989) *Honglou Meng yu Zhonghua Wenhua* 紅樓夢與中華文化, Taipei: Dongda tushu gufen youxian gongsi.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1953) *Honglou Meng Xinzheng* 紅樓夢新證, Shanghai: Tangdi chubanshe.
- Zhu Yixuan 朱一玄 (1984) *Jin Ping Mei Ziliao Huibian* 金瓶梅資料匯編, Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe.
- Zixu 子旭 (1999) *Jiedu Honglou Meng* 解讀紅樓夢, Taipei: Yunlong chubanshe.



# REVIEWS



**Schorkowitz, Dittmar and Chia, Ning, eds. *Managing Frontiers in Qing China: The Lifanyuan and Libu Revisited*. Leiden-Boston: Brill Academic Publishing, 2017. ISBN 978-90-04-32995-9 (hardback), xv + 462 pp. \$146.00.**

*Review by Tommaso Previato (Academia Sinica)*

*Managing Frontiers in Qing China* is a collection of thirteen essays which examine the Qing empire-building endeavor in Inner Asia from the perspective of those institutional forms of indirect rule and offices specifically designed for this purpose—namely the *Tulergi Golo be Dasara Jurgan* (lit. Ministry for Governing the Outside [non-Chinese] Regions), more commonly known as *Lifanyuan* 理藩院 (Court of Colonial Affairs), and *Libu* 禮部 (Board of Rites). The history of these two offices, especially of the former whose “main function was to [...] communicate imperial policies and decisions of the Grand Council [軍機處] (*Junjichu*) and the Grand Secretariat [內閣] (*Neige*) to the imperial peripheries of Inner Asia” (p. 4), informs of the mechanisms through which the Manchu Court enforced state authority along its jurisdictional boundaries and handled ethnic and religious diversity. While outlining the latest breakthroughs in a so far largely underinvestigated yet important area of Qing studies, this edited volume gives a fascinating reading of Qing emperorship which brings out a multi-layered narrative of military conquest, cultural negotiations, ritual protocols and cross-border integration running parallel to the main theme of frontier management. “Integration by difference” is one of the other leitmotifs that appears within the bulk of the book and provides a common thread between the arguments raised by each individual chapter. A number of approaches have been deployed in the attempt to sort out the distinguishing features of an allegedly ‘Manchu’ model of integration; ranging from the fields of historical inquiry on social institutions and anthropology of ethnicity to comparative analyses of colonialism and theories of empire, the authors show great concerns about how state power is reproduced locally, nationally and transnationally, with special attention paid to the Court’s governing praxis and its loose network of trade connections, political alliances and tributary relations with Inner Asian elite groups.

This seminal work edited by Dittmar Schorkowitz (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale) and Ning Chia (Central College, Pella/Iowa) is primarily focused on the administration of China’s Inner Asian dependencies (Mongolia, Xinjiang and Tibet) and the three provinces which constituted the Manchu homeland (Fengtian, Kirin and Heilongjiang). From the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the *Lifanyuan* was first established as an enlargement of the *Monggo Jurgan* (Ch. *menggu yamen* 蒙古衙門, lit. Bureau for Mongol [Military] Affairs), till the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Qing policy towards these newly-

conquered territories was that they should remain a “bannerman’s preserve”, implying thereby that Han subjects were generally not allowed to inhabit them.<sup>1</sup> In the course of just a few decades, this policy of segregating China proper from its Inner Asian posts would prove ineffective as the Han Chinese expansion brought by the high rate of population growth and the implementation of trade initiatives at the empire’s frontiers—a mechanism known as “[relying on] resettled population to strengthen border defence” (Ch. *yimin shubian* 移民戍邊)—would in the long run made inevitable their sinicization.<sup>2</sup> This point is expressly remarked by Uradyn E. Bulag, who in his contributed essay on the late development of this controversial practice in Inner Mongolia (Chapter XII) highlights how the dismantling of the *Lifanyuan* in 1906 and the subsequent installation of a brand new system of counties and provinces out of the previous banners and leagues resulted in accelerating Chinese expansion—de facto a form of settler colonialism (p. 358). A few contrasting examples drawn from Tsarist Russia and the Western maritime nations (see esp. Chapters IV, V, VIII and XIII) sufficiently detail this argument by ranking the Qing imperial enterprise as being “in no way inferior to overseas colonial acquisitions and empire-building by European powers of the time” (Introduction, p. 2). This (re)interpretation of China’s colonial past and imperial spatial hierarchies, as acknowledged by the authors on several occasions throughout the text, owes considerably to both Michael Hechter and Alexander Etkind’s findings on “internal colonization” (pp. 28, 399, 415 and ff), which the latter defines either as “[a] multi-edged process of exploring, populating, cultivating and depleting new lands [through] [...] culture-specific domination inside national borders, actual or imagined; [or as a] process of colonization [...] constructed as self-referential and internal, rather than as object-directed and external.”<sup>3</sup> Against this backdrop, the book offers a striking new set of conceptual lenses for deciphering Qing’s colonial representation(s) of frontier minorities as well as the strategies of social engineering adopted by the Court to regularize its relationship with non-Han indigenous peoples. The resulting picture not only attests the existence of a colonial discourse out of the Eurocentric experience of overseas imperialism, but also reveals the shortcomings of traditional approaches to Chinese history which, more or less intentionally, continue to portray Qing imperial order as a part of a Chinese harmonious whole, and thereby ignore the fact that Manchu rulers sought, and eventually succeeded, in transforming their Inner Asian identity into a tool for reducing social conflicts at

---

<sup>1</sup> Fletcher 1978a, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37; see also Fletcher 1978b, p. 351.

<sup>3</sup> Etkind 2011, pp. 7, 66, 70 (text slightly reframed). Hechter’s approach, which instead is more sensitive to the mechanisms of administrative differentiation resulting from structural inequalities between core and peripheral regions, further distinguishes between “internal *colonialism*, or the political incorporation of culturally distinct groups by the core, [and] internal *colonization*, [referring to] the settlement of previously unoccupied territories within state borders.” See Hechter 1975, p. 32 (note 2), emphasis mine.

the empire's northwestern fringes. Nowadays, pursuing such a line of inquiry requires a great deal of academic boldness. As confirmed by the highly political overtones of current debate over 'Manchu-centrism' and the accusations of revisionism made by some Chinese academics against the theorists of the so-called "New Qing History" (Ch. *xinqingshi* 新清史), all those Western historians of China who tend to place excessive emphasis upon experimental historiographical paradigms or alternative readings of Qing colonial administration in Inner Asia would find themselves easily thrown into a political minefield, with the not unlikely consequence of being denied access to archival records and manuscript repositories.

Perfectly in line with the methodological assumptions of the *xinqingshi* scholarship, Michael Weiers's "The Lifanyuan: A Review Based on New Sources and Traditional Historiography" (Chapter II) is certainly an essay that does not lack boldness. It touches upon the importance of evaluating non-Chinese sources—such as the original Manchurian and Mongolian documents of the Yongzheng 雍正 (r. 1723-1735) and early Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1736-1796) periods, now available in printed or unpublished hand-written forms at the Toyo Bunko, First Historical Archives of China and Paris Bibliothèque Nationale—when reconstructing the *Lifanyuan*'s responsibilities, legal procedures and daily routine activities. In so doing, it brings about background information of particular relevance to old-school sinologists "who, in spite of the textual alterations, use source material influenced by the views of the *Siku Quanshu* project for their studies" (p. 77); the 'doubtful' nature of this substantial body of literature that, as Weiers warns us, "was written with the intention to harmonize and reconcile the events of the past with the intentions of [the late] Qianlong's time" (*ibidem*) is thus further unravelled. Coterminous with this discussion on the selective use of primary sources and the inherent 'harmonization' of indigenous narrative(s) are the visual representation(s) of Manchu colonial power, an issue which is brilliantly espoused by Laura Hostetler in Chapter VI through a penetrating analysis of a mid-Qianlong work of descriptive ethnography—the *Huangqing Zhigong Tu* 皇清職貢圖 (Qing Imperial Illustrations of Tributary Peoples). By reassembling relevant knowledge of art history and complementing it with existent literature on the Qing tributaries (both internal and external), this chapter showcases how Qing's account of frontier peoples was not only limited to the subjects administered by the *Lifanyuan*, but extended also to those falling under the *Libu* which was in charge of supervising diplomatic relations with the neighboring countries. This is an indispensable contribution for it redirects scholarly attention to non-textual sources which are seen here as equally important to disentangle the multifarious expressions of agency in the context of Qing westward expansion. Not less important are the processes through which the legal authority of these two offices was exercised and the degree to which their corresponding duties ingrained in the nexus of core-periphery relations, succumbing either to the changing dictates of the other central bodies of Qing government, or to the

decisions made by local rulers to whom authority was often delegated. The intriguing interplay of ambivalent actors, recipients and go-betweens is extensively addressed in Chapters VII and IX, with two case studies focused on the broader Mongolian society and the Turkic Muslim territories (Ch. *huijiang* 回疆) of today's southern Xinjiang respectively. The matter is also examined in Ye Baichuan and Yuan Jian's co-authored essay (Chapter VIII) with reference to the Sino-Russian treaties of Nerchinsk (1689) and Kyakhta (1728), which ended a series of intermittent yet long-term border conflicts between the two countries, and other bilateral trade agreements up to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Chapters X and XI, instead, deal chiefly with the incorporation of Tibetan affairs into the *Lifanyuan* and the centuries-old path that led certain administrative measures of the office to remain in force until very recently within the framework of the Taiwan-based Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission (Ch. *Mengzang Weiyuanhui* 蒙藏委員會), now barely surviving as an uncertain rubric under the Mainland Affairs Council (*Dalu Weiyuanhui* 大陸委員會).

Although most of the contributors have made considerable effort in exploring the roots of internal colonialism comparatively by identifying ruling patterns and governmental institutions essential to the process of imperial expansion, the issue of colonialism as applied to Qing-ruled China remains, nevertheless, quite a problematic one. This is due to the intrinsic organizational character of the *Lifanyuan*, which, we should not forget, was the only Manchu-initiated office within the Eight Yamen's (Ch. *bayamen* 八衙門) legal establishment, being all the others—respectively the Boards of Appointments (*libu* 吏部), Revenue (*hubu* 戶部), Military (*bingbu* 兵部), Punishment (*xingbu* 刑部), Public Works (*gongbu* 工部), Rites (*libu* 禮部) and the Censorate (*duchayuan* 都察院)—a mere replication of Ming-time system of governance. As Chia Ning points out in her “*Lifanyuan* and *Libu* in Early Qing Empire Building” (Chapter I), an analysis of *Lifanyuan*'s ethnically diverse workforce in the upper-level positions suffices to demonstrate how the character of this office was such to discredit any hypothesis of internal colonization; “[its] nationality ratio was [in fact] absolutely unique not only in comparison with the *Libu* but also with all other Qing institutions” (p. 50). Similar concerns on the viability of this hypothesis are shared by Pamela Crossley in her highly readable essay “The *Lifanyuan* and Stability during Qing Imperial Expansion” (Chapter III). By reconstructing what she names “the proto-history of the *Lifanyuan* functions” (p. 102) which traces back to the earliest exchanges between Chakhar Mongol aristocrats and the Jurchen (Jin) khanate, Crossley elucidates how this office, far from being expression of an externally-imposed state apparatus engaged in the unilateral exploitation of Inner Asian indigenes, worked in many circumstances to ensure some degree of local autonomy (pp. 108-109). The very fact that Mongol elites filled up the highest ranks of *Lifanyuan*'s administration speaks in favor of the existence of multiple sources of normative ordering within the Qing government

which, quite rightly in my opinion, further undermines the editors' quest for a scaffolding of internal colonization to apply to the case of late imperial China. Indeed, this is one of the major contentious aspects of this publication which calls for both theoretical recalibration and more empirical evidence. But the authors are not entirely to blame for such inconsistency. Recent scholarship on the problem of knowledge compartmentalization in the field of Chinese studies, in fact, shows that methodological issues on the compatibility of Chinese imperial polity with colonial models borrowed from the West are so far temporarily suspended as a sword of Damocles over the head of both Western and Chinese scholars despite their divergent ontological positions.<sup>4</sup> Apparently, a groundbreaking work as the one here in question, can hardly change this state of things, no matter how comprehensive might its contents be. At the heart of this impasse obviously lies the need to pull away from a priori models imposed more by current geopolitical contours than by the degree of adherence to historical 'facts' or the (in)accuracy of historiographical reasoning. Any historical (re)exploration of the Qing imperial enterprise should therefore turn the spotlight on the shifting priorities of the Manchu imperial house in the post-conquest period as well as on the changes in the Qing's normative orientations at a time when holding the empire together meant either compromising with local indigenous elites (i.e. Turkic Muslim *begs*, Mongol princes, Kazakh khans, Amdo and Kham Tibetan *tusi* chiefs and minor tribal leaders) over the control of the newly-acquired Inner Asian territories,<sup>5</sup> or, in the worst-case scenario, renouncing 'Manchuness' and being ultimately absorbed into Chinese culture.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> See Previato 2016.

<sup>5</sup> For the entire length of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), the priorities of the Manchu rulers were shaped by the interactions between an expanding China-based empire and its Inner Asian neighbors. Because of the range of territorial expansion and the numerical disadvantage of the Manchu which makes it impossible for them to set up a truly centralized administrative system across the whole breadth of the empire, the implementation of a policy of indirect rule—with local indigenous officials supervised by Manchu bannermen—was seen as a requisite for maintaining positive interactions. Since the beginning and most prominently at the end of the Qianlong era when the Eight Banners (Ch. *baqi zhidu* 八旗制度) became no more effective, one of the Manchu priorities in the ethnically fragmented and politically unstable northwest was to keep the Han and Hui soldiers of the Green Standard Army (*luyingbing* 綠營兵) under control. The best way to achieve this goal was to set up an intricate system of overlapping powers where the army's brigadier-general (Ch. *zongbing* 總兵), the provincial-commander-in-chief (*tidu* 提督), the inspector-general (*xunfu* 巡撫) and the local viceroy (*zongdu* 總督) were demanded to check each other, so that the central government could watch over them all. Despite the enforcement of these measures, law and order were hardly ensured below the county level. Here community leaders tended to tilt the balance of power towards themselves and, not infrequently, against the Qing national interest (see Chu 1966, pp. 10-15). This point is, among others, emphasized by Kim Ho-dong (2004) with particular concern to Xinjiang, where the Qing's indirect rule through indigenous *beg* officials soon took the form of interethnic exploitation on the grounds that "[t]he enormous expense to maintain a [dual administrative] structure [had become] a serious burden not only to the Qing [themselves] but also to the local population" (see Kim 2004, p. 180, text slightly modified).

Regardless of the said occasionally conflicting research trajectories and unavoidable inconsistencies, each essay contributes in its own way to show that the dynamics of social interaction in Qing's Inner Asia were much more complicated than an intersection of center-periphery narratives opposing a Manchu-dominated Han core, from which imperial power emanated, to a constellation of institutionally subdued subjects (i.e. potential allies, vassal tribes or countries) whose relationships with the former were guided exclusively by Confucian rituals (*li* 禮). The authors based their assessments on one shared working assumption—that of a close and sustained intertwining of China's domestic security with foreign encroachments in Inner Asia and Qing's geopolitical status on the strategic chessboard of the region. By so doing, they demonstrate that securing national 'borders' implied, in most cases, either an outward expansion of state hegemony or a 'frontier' advancement; combined together, these two impulses constantly redrew the impalpable line of ritual submission to the emperor and thereby redefined 'Chineseness' in both its internal and external representations. More indirectly, they also illustrate how a properly dispassionate grasp of the Manchu colonial past would help develop a clearer understanding of anti-Manchuism and revolutionary tendencies of late Qing times, a topic that, unfortunately, has been addressed solely in a couple of offhanded statements (pp. 360, 409) as a supplement to more general speculations on clashing nationalism(s) and the racial distinctions of the early Republic of China; it could have been further elaborated, especially in light of Rebecca Karl's undisputed formulation of "Manchu-as-colonizer" mode of analysis.<sup>7</sup> Besides this, there are several questions which have not yet been fully

---

The most representative example of dual administration in Xinjiang is that of Ili, today's Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture. Fletcher's (1978a) findings on northern Xinjiang's situation during the 1770s reveal that all the Turkic population of Ili engaged in the agricultural sector was subject to the authority of a military governor, while the Muslim Hui and other Chinese-speaking groups of immigrants coming from western China—mainly craftsmen, merchants and miners—came under the direct jurisdiction of Gansu and were governed by a circuit intendant (Ch. *daotai* 道台) stationed in Urumqi (see Fletcher 1978a, p. 66).

<sup>6</sup> The so-called "absorption theory"—the idea that all the Inner Asians who poured into China proper ended up adopting Chinese culture and being ultimately assimilated—has worked, and to some extent still works, either as "an explanation for cultural change [and at the same time] an ideology of historical causation" (Crossley 1999, p. 13, note 23) to which most of contemporary Chinese academics and modern mainstream sinologists have passively subscribed, or as the "intellectual attempt [of twentieth-century Han chauvinism] to integrate the experience of conquest into a Confucian framework" (Rawski 1996, p. 839). I do not want to enter here into a discussion of the ideological nuances of Manchu sinicization which has so far proved deeply inconclusive, nor to downplay the distinctiveness of Qing emperorship, but simply to highlight what for the Manchu rulers constituted a political risk as well as a fear that prolonged residence in China would have inevitably caused widespread acculturation and loss of ethnic identity. See also Elliott 2001, pp. 29-31, 257 and ff, 276-277.

<sup>7</sup> How to deal with the 'foreigner', or Inner Asian character, of the Manchu empire was one of the key issues at the heart of the late Qing intelligentsia's debate on constitutional reform. Shortly after the failure of 1898 reform movement, two major political factions emerged out

answered. How did the Qing experience of colonialism relate to the colonial discourse of modernity at large? To what extent, and under which circumstances, did it work as a force towards the formation of modern Chinese nationalism? Along with China's transition from empire to republic, what role did it play in the making of a new national consciousness? Which new meanings came to be ascribed to previous Qing's Inner Asian dependencies? How to make sense to institutional continuities during this transitional period? How legitimacy was granted to new forms of frontier administration when the Qing's system of indirect rule ultimately vanished and local elite groups were gradually replaced? Despite the unequal weight given to these questions, the book remains an essential reading for specialists in Inner Asian and Chinese history, as well as for anyone interested in probing into the institutional and operational aspects of frontier management in early modern empires.

## REFERENCES

- Chu, Wen-Djang (1966) *The Moslem Rebellion in Northwest China 1862-1878: A Study of Government Minority Policy*, The Hague-Paris: Mouton & Co.
- Crossley, Pamela K. (1999) *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology*, Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Elliott, Mark C. (2001) *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Etkind, Alexander (2011) *Internal Colonization: Russia's Imperial Experience*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fletcher, Joseph F. (1978a) "Ch'ing Inner Asia c. 1800", in John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Ch'ing History of China, Vol. 10, Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Part 1*, London-New York-Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, pp. 35-106.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1978b) "The Hayday of the Ch'ing Order in Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet", in John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Ch'ing History of China, Vol. 10, Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Part 1*, London-New York-Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, pp. 351-408.
- Hechter, Michael (1975) *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press.

---

of this debate: on the one side, there were the republicans headed by the charismatic Sun Yat-sen who in the name of "racial revolution" (Ch. *zhongzu geming* 種族革命) pushed for driving out the Manchus and thereby putting an end to the Qing's colonial regime; on the other, the constitutional monarchists, like Liang Qichao and his far-famed mentor Kang Youwei, advocating for a "broad nationalism" (*daminzu zhuyi* 大民族主義) that could eventually accommodate the Manchus into an all-inclusive new Chinese nation together with a historically wrought composite of other 'ethnic aliens'. It is due to the rhetorical engagements of these two opposed factions that anti-Manchusism, coupled with racially biased views of social evolution and nationalistic concerns for China's territorial integrity, came to dominate and inform the political agenda of the time. See Zarrow 2004, pp. 68-71; Tang Xiaobing 1996, pp. 127, 145-150. For an in-depth excursus on Qing's colonial experience as constitutive of the modern Chinese nationalist project, refer to Karl 2002, esp. pp. 83-148.

- Karl, Rebecca E. (2002) *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, Durham-London: Duke University Press.
- Kim, Ho-dong (2004) *Holy War in China: The Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia, 1864-1877*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Previato, Tommaso (2016) "Epistemological Turn in Recent Chinese Studies: Some Critical Considerations on Disciplinary Compartmentalisation", in Tommaso Previato, ed., *Moving across Borders in China: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Cultural Diversity in Marginal Areas*, Rome: Aracne Editrice, pp. 1-30.
- Rawski, Evelyn S. (1996) "Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History", in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (November), pp. 829-850.
- Tang, Xiaobing (1996) *Global Space and the Nationalist Discourse of Modernity: The Historical Thinking of Liang Qichao*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Zarrow, Peter G. (2004) "Historical Trauma: Anti-Manchuism and Memories of Atrocity in Late Qing China", in *History & Memory*, Vol. 16, No 2 (Fall/Winter), pp. 67-107.

**Handler-Spitz, Rivi, *Symptoms of an Unruly Age: Li Zhi and Cultures of Early Modernity*, Seattle-London: University of Washington Press, 2017. ISBN 978-0-295-74150-5 (hardcover), 256 pp. \$ 50.00.**

*Review by Paolo Santangelo (Sapienza University of Rome)*

Possible parallels with early modern Europe have been discussed under different perspectives in the last decades. The category of "early modern" and its applicability to China's history has been extensively debated in the volume edited by Struve (2004) which has stimulated discussions among historians on the periodisation of 'late imperial China', on its integration into global history beyond any eurocentric or sinocentric narrative.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, another essay, authored by Ng On-cho (2003), raises the question whether the revolutionary concept of modernity elaborated for the European 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries with specific significance in Western Europe is only fitting for a Eurocentric periodisation, or can be applied also to other areas of the world, including China and Korea. Ng is sceptical about the affinity of the emerging symptoms of a dynamic change in China with the European early modernity: he touches upon the lack of a significant break with the past tradition, and of an interconnection with political changes in Chinese history.<sup>9</sup> Notwithstanding the plausibility of

---

<sup>8</sup> Lynn A. Struve, ed., *The Qing formation in world-historical time*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004. The challenging contributions (by Peter C. Perdue, James A. Millward, Nicola Di Cosmo, John E. Wills jr., Evelyn S. Rawski, Jack A. Goldstone, Jonathan Hay, Lynn A. Struve) go beyond the questions on the Eurasian periodization to offer various perspectives to better understand the role of China in the world history.

<sup>9</sup> Amongst the various solutions quoted by Ng, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt and Wolfgang Schluchter extrapolated from the early modern European experiences the formation of the

this thesis, by adopting a comparative perspective over a long-term period, it is possible to speak of a multiplicity of modernities, and thereby account for the internal historical developments of each socio-cultural system on its own terms.<sup>10</sup>

In this perspective, the volume by Rivi Handler-Spitz can be considered an interesting contribution to this debate, even if her approach and aims are rather different. It is a serious and ambitious attempt to analyse the symptoms of blurring identities, the counterfeiting language and arguments that afflicted both Chinese and European societies at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century as well as the cultural manifestations of early modernity, and signs of early modern change in mentality. The book covers various cultural and economic aspects of European and Chinese life, with special attention to language, rhetorics, identity and exegetical and hermeneutic methods. Nevertheless, the most convincing contribution concerns the interpretation of Li Zhi's thought. Rivi Handler-Spitz

---

nation-state, the emergence of a civil society with the construction of collective identities, and the rise of a capitalist economy. Björn Wittrock singles out the separation of religious and secular power, the emergence of the political order of national monarchies and royal absolutism, and formation of a public sphere. Ng proposes three interrelated comparable issues, derived from the intellectual European experiences: “[In Europe] [t]he highly divisive polemics of the Reformation and the resulting religious conflagrations culminating in the Thirty Years’ War generated a crisis of authority. This crisis in turn gave rise to new, and indeed revolutionary, ideas in the following domains of the European intellectual universe: the nature of knowledge, the sense of the past, and the claim of the ultimate grounds for ethical-moral values.” Ng identifies the premises of modernity in the controversies of the Reform and in the religious conflicts that culminated in the Thirty Years War and in the consequent crisis of authority, whose ethical foundations was called into question, which in turn bred a new revolutionary attitude toward the nature of knowledge, the sense of a separated past. Therefore Ng excludes an analogy in the case of China. Cf. Ng On-cho, “The Epochal Concept of ‘Early Modernity’ and the Intellectual History of Late Imperial China”, in *Journal of World History*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2003, pp. 37-61. Any attempt of comparison should take into account the peculiarities of different traditions. For instance, the social and cultural background of Confucianism followed historical dynamics quite different from those of the Judaic-Christian tradition in Europe. Such a difference manifested primarily in their intellectual, political, and social impact, in the relationship between theory and practice, as well as in the very foundation of their ultimate values. See also Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1983, and on the psychological side, Kulich Steve J., and Zhang Rui, “The Multiple Frames of Chinese ‘Values’: From Tradition to Modernity and Beyond”, in M. H. Bond, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Chinese Psychology*, Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 241-278. The issue of indigenisation has been discussed intensively by Taiwanese psychologists, who argue in favour of a multi-dimensional approach to modernisation (see Hwang Kwang-Kuo, “Constructive Realism and Confucian Relationalism: An Epistemological Strategy for the Development of Indigenous Psychology”, in Kim U., Yang, G.-S, and Hwang, K.K., eds., *International and Cultural Psychology: Understanding People in Context*, New York: Springer, 2006, pp. 73-107).

<sup>10</sup> When I say multiplicity, I do not mean just a “translated” process imported from the West, as it is explained by some scholars, like Wang Ning 2004 and 2015, p. 23, but different and parallel paths which lead to the present evolution.

is one of the few Western scholars who have extensively and deeply studied the whole production by Li Zhi, and offers a new, articulated description of Li Zhi's personality and thought, on the background of cultural trends in China and Europe.

The “unruly age” from the title of the volume – which refers to “early modernity” both in Europe and in China – is a term inspired by Montaigne's *un siecle desbordé*, and by analogous expressions (such as *wen* 紊, and *hun* 溷) contained in Zhang Dai's tomb inscription (自為墓誌銘). In this regard, Montaigne says:

L'escrivallerie semble estre quelque symptome d'un siecle desbordé: Quand escrivismes nous tant, que depuis que nous sommes en trouble? Quand les Romains tant, que lors de leur ruine? Outre-ce que l'affinement des esprits, ce n'en est pas l'assagissement, en une police: cet embesongnement oisif, naist de ce que chacun se prent laschement à l'office de sa vacation, et s'en desbauche. La corruption du siecle se fait, par la contribution particuliere de chacun de nous: Les uns y conferent la trahison, les autres l'injustice, l'irreligion, la tyrannie, l'avarice, la cruauté, selon qu'ils sont plus puissans: les plus foibles y apportent la sottise, la vanité, l'oisiveté: desquels je suis. Il semble que ce soit la saison des choses vaines, quand les dommageables nous pressent. En un temps, où le meschamment faire est si commun, de ne faire qu'inutilement, il est comme louable. Je me console que je seray des derniers, sur qui il faudra mettre la main: Ce pendant qu'on pourvoira aux plus pressans, j'auray loy de m'amender: Car il me semble que ce seroit contre raison, de poursuyvre les menus inconveniens, quand les grands nous infestent.<sup>11</sup>

After the first few pages the reader is assailed by the doubt if an “unruly age” can be found also in other periods of history both in Europe and in China, and if Li Zhi's struggles with questions of authenticity and falsification may have parallels also in other times. The author is conscious of the dangers of comparisons, mentioning the “we-too-ism” or the obsolete great question of 20<sup>th</sup> century historiography on the reasons of China's *failure*. Thus, she is very

---

<sup>11</sup> Montaigne – *Essays* – Livre III, Ch. IX (De la Vanité): “Scribbling seems to be a symptom of a disordered and licentious age. When did we write so much as since our troubles? When the Romans so much, as upon the point of ruin? Besides that, the refining of wits does not make people wiser in a government: this idle employment springs from this, that everyone applies himself negligently to the duty of his vocation, and is easily debauched from it. The corruption of the age is made up by the particular contribution of every individual man; some contribute treachery, others injustice, irreligion, tyranny, avarice, cruelty, according to their power; the weaker sort contribute folly, vanity, and idleness; of these I am one. It seems as if it were the season for vain things, when the hurtful oppress us; in a time when doing ill is common, to do but what signifies nothing is a kind of commendation. Tis my comfort, that I shall be one of the last who shall be called in question; and whilst the greater offenders are being brought to account, I shall have leisure to amend: for it would, methinks, be against reason to punish little inconveniences, whilst we are infested with the greater.” Transl. by Charles Cotton (1630-1687).

cautious in the use of categories, and offers a series of documented elements, so that, in the following chapters, wariness and objections are mostly dissolved.

The author further develops her argument by providing a short description of the economic situation of the time in both areas. The monetary instability, prices fluctuation, value of merchandise, and the general distrust in such tumultuous conditions are paralleled with the style of writing, especially with Li Zhi's ambiguous and contradictory discourse and multifarious self-presentation (pp. 88-106). Indeed, the analysis of Li Zhi's "Self-Appraisal" is one of the most interesting parts of the book. The author notices the incongruities among the layers of Li Zhi who presents two incompatible images of himself: a humble narrator and an objectionable character. By presenting himself in a negative light, lacking self-knowledge, eager to deceive others and arrogant, Li confounds the reader on his own identity but also on the possibility of an accurate and consistent representation. This sense of unreliability is manifested in the titles of Li's works too. The *Cangshu*, "A Book to Keep (Hidden)", plays with the ambiguity of "to be stored up" and "to hide": the two divergent meanings stimulate readers' curiosity whether the book conveys wisdom worthy of being preserved for posterity, or contains dangerous ideas to be kept out of sight. This ambiguity is strengthened by the authorial preface and some letters that present the book as a personal pleasure and a thesaurus to be kept far from vulgar people. But obviously, Li was eager to publish the volume. Even more ambiguous is his allusions to Sima Qian, whose judgments on historical figures and events are often subverted by Li, and thus unclearly reverential or ironic. The author compares this with the authorial prefaces by Rabelais and Montaigne. The reason of this paradoxical attitude is explained with the trend of the time: "Like many of his contemporaries, Li Zhi was infected by the rapid and unpredictable changes taking place throughout the early modern world. For this reason, the rhetorical bluffing symptomatic of the age may be understood as an indexical sign, a manifestation of the tempestuous state of signification in early modern societies" (p. 68).

If we examine other literary cases, we discover that the phenomenon of ambiguity and contradiction is rather widespread.<sup>12</sup> Karl Kao, discussing the self-reflexivity of works such as the *Honglou meng* and the *Xiyou bu*, highlights the parodic fiction, the self-consciousness of the polysemanticism of language, the uncertainty over the relationship between false-real, signifier-signified, and fiction-reality.<sup>13</sup> Moreover Anthony C. Yu has discussed the profound paradox emerging from *Honglou meng* in the numerous ways of its elaboration with the

---

<sup>12</sup> For instance, cases of doubled or mistaken identity in Chinese and European theatre.

<sup>13</sup> Karl Kao, "Self-Reflexivity, Epistemology, and Rhetorical Figures", in *CLEAR* 1997, No. 19, pp. 59-83. However, he notices the limits as "the philosophical-religious orientation of these works that put their 'reflexiveness' in an existential framework, the experience represented there to be read as an illustration of the "illusory nature of human life" rather than as an instance of semiotic play" (p. 69).

affirmation of the truth of insubstantiality and the revolutionary juxtaposition of the problem of representation and the process of reading:

The use of the myth of Nügua ironically contrasts the public, culture-building nature of a cosmogonic legend with the “uselessness” of a rejected stone and its story. The introduction to the myth of plant and stone, the preincarnate antecedents of the story’s real protagonists, sets up the tragic dilemma of the plot – that inanimate objects could be even more involved than humans in the entanglement with desire. At another level, the playful, enigmatic debate between a monk and a Taoist and the stone provides provocative clues not only to the story’s origin but also to its nature and the possible effect of its perusal. Still at a third level, the parade of human characters who are kinfolks of the Jia clan of the central story presumably ushers us into the realistic, mundane plane of the plot, but their names (Jia Yuchun [false, demotic language enduring], Zhen Shiyin [true events concealed], and Yinglian [deserving to be pitied]) alert us, if not to the possibility of allegory, at least to the presence of deliberate rhetorical manipulation of our response.<sup>14</sup>

No less provocative is Pu Songling’s ambivalence with his “continual blurring of literal and figurative truth in *Liaozhai*, [where] fibs, metaphors, and jests – like dreams – tend to come true.”<sup>15</sup> And in Yuan Mei ‘strangeness’ and ‘absurd’ are even more dramatic than the seven “inexplicabilities” (不可解) listed by the mentioned Zhang Dai’s tomb inscription. I will quote *Zibuyu* 子不語, “What the Master Would Not Discuss”, a title which is itself a program. In his preface, Yuan mentions some Classics that dealt with anomalies in order to illustrate the many mysterious ways of the universe – such as the *Classic of Changes* and the *Commentary of the Spring and Autumn Annals*. By so doing, he seems attempting to prove that the ‘strange and inexplicable’ are topics that have their dignity in the tradition, notwithstanding Confucius’ statement. Furthermore, the author stresses this ‘infraction’ as a paradox, emphasising that his work was intended as amusement: his selected tales may well convey horrible messages but they are so frivolous that neither he nor the reader necessarily believes them (lit. he is not deluded by them); they delight both writer and reader, combatting ennui, tedium and the mediocrity of sedentary life. Thus the justification of his choice as conforming to the true spirit of ancient Classics and writers, is followed by his claim of pleasure in collecting stories from far and wide that delight the heart and astonish the ears (遊心駭耳之事), even if they should not be taken too seriously (妄言妄聽): just like tasting strange and sophisticated dishes cures the gourmet of his lack of appetite or listening to barbarian folk songs delights the musicologist, reading about such absurd and ghastly phenomena drives away the public’s boredom, mediocrity and expels laziness.

<sup>14</sup> Anthony C. Yu, “History, Fiction, and the Reading of Chinese Narrative”, in *CLEAR* 1988, No. 10, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> J. T. Zeitlin, *Historian of the Strange: Pu Songling and the Chinese Classical Tale*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993, p. 166.

But, if the collection is so frivolous, why pretend to justify his transgression? Is it not a paradox that his tales are just a divertissement for amusement (游戲譎言) and yet they are the ‘voice of the heart’ (言爲心聲)? He obviously does not ignore that some of the taboos he presents are already the subject of a well-established literary genre, the *zhiguai*, whose topics often concern the etiology of disasters in a cosmologic perspective. In fact, as the author parodically notes, this equation between disasters, supernatural events and social order was coherent with the warnings of morality books (*shanshu*), the retributive moral vision of the universe, and the didactic Confucian concept of history. But the belief in retribution and in the gods’ fear is just the object of the sarcastic irony of his tales. These examples may be used to show the extension and hugeness of the phenomenon as well as can be considered a legitimate witness of the rhetorical bluffing of the age.

The volume verifies analogous ambiguities in the field of clothing and speculates further on the way Li Zhi presents himself: a Confucian scholar in Buddhist shape, but also a Buddhist monk who refuses to obey some religious precepts and keeps some signs of the Confucian man of letters. Li Zhi’s shaving his head in Buddhist fashion but keeping his long beard and wearing traditional Confucian robes in sign of his multilayered and ambivalent identity indeed “reflect[s] his paradoxical position within and outside Confucian official culture” (p. 70). The work demonstrates how Li Zhi went beyond the ostentatious and eccentric remark of the traditional syncretic attitude toward the three doctrines. This analysis is supported by the discordance of Li Zhi’s motives: the disconcertment of Li Zhi’s contemporaries seems to confirm his arbitrary and by chance decision, his search of independence from external control, avoidance of familial responsibilities and professional obligations (pp. 83-87). The scope of enquiry is extended to the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century China and Europe, to Chinese and European discourses on clothing, its social meanings, uses and abuses. Many studies have demonstrated the social function of clothing as manifestation of identity.<sup>16</sup> Especially in China, correct clothing is associated with proper rites and the maintenance of social order, so that sartorial distinctions evidence social distinctions or personal, temporal or stable conditions. Not only that, we cannot but agree that change in clothing may trigger actual changes in behaviour, as identity and values are strictly connected. The perception of decline of sumptuary legislations in every traditional society, and not only in China, marks the perception of blurring of boundaries between social strata. The volume presents various examples outside China, from the Diets of Worms (1521) and Augsburg (1530). Among quotations, Juan de Santa Maria (d. 1622) invoked Sallust’s warning against sartorial confusion, and this reference recalls similar complains in Roman history, the typical attitude of the *laudatores temporis acti*

---

<sup>16</sup> For instance, Kelly Olson has stressed the role of clothing as *a tool of social regulation* and their link with *values*. See K. Olson, “*Matrona* and Whore: The Clothing of Women in Roman Antiquity”, in *Fashion Theory*, 2002, No. 6, pp. 387-420.

(praisers of time past) and the general perception of great changes, which may happen in certain situations in any latitude and age. Law against the extravagant lifestyle was enacted by Julius Caesar, which even Tertullian still praised in his *Apologeticum* (6: 2), followed by Augustean reforms on clothing, Cicero's criticism of the abandon of the virile toga for effeminate clothing, Plinius the Younger warning women to wear clothing fitting to the status of their future husband, or Horace's complain against the confusion of dresses for honourable and dissolute women, in a general worry for the loss of the ancients' morality, *mos maiorum*. The frequency of the phenomenon is made more complex by the fact that if "[i]t is clothes that wear us and not we them" (Virginia Woolf), at least at the individual level, "*l'habit ne faict poinct le moine*" (Rabelais) or "*all Hoods make not Monks*" (Shakespeare). This means that we can cautiously accept the conclusion that "a shared perception in early modern China and Europe that society was unravelling and that this process was finding equal expression in the unruliness of language, the lawlessness of clothing, and the malleability of social identity" (p. 78). Anyway, the thesis of the author on this shared process remains a seducing and plausible hypothesis.

In the conclusive chapter the author raises two basic questions: the first, whether textual meaning is fixed or "flexible, subjective, and open-ended"; and the second, whether Li's unorthodox messages had a persuasive or provocative function. These two problems lead to a final and meaningful question: "I interrogate whether late Ming readers were inclined to take Li's assertions at face value and place their trust in them or whether contemporary readers were inspired by Li's provocative assertions to cultivate their own critical sensibilities and arrive at their own conclusions" (p. 18). The volume demonstrates how Li Zhi more or less consciously developed a strategy to improve the readers' critical and subjective interpretation and to free them from the habit of relying on the authority of traditional exegesis and old sources (pp. 44-68, 127-152).

After reading the whole volume, one obtains a concrete and precious picture of Li Zhi's personality, thought and style. Still some skepticism remains on the fascinating hypothesis of a new axial age, but we are sincerely grateful to the author for the impressive effort in discussing so many materials and arguments. The "unruliness" of texts remains for both the ancients and moderns a *vexata quaestio*, and historians and exegetes always struggle between an unrecoverable and a renewed past.

**Zou Ying, "Talent, Identity, and Sociality in Early Qing Scholar-Beauty Novels", *T'oung Pao*, 102-1-3, 2016.**

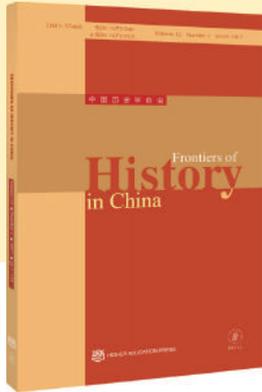
*Review by Paolo Santangelo (Sapienza University of Rome)*

The article marks a further step of the author's research, which explores how pre-modern Chinese romance addresses cultural and ideological changes in the representation of desire, morality, and women, and in the construction of self

and agency. It follows another relevant essay ('Cross-dressing and Other Disguises in *Zaisheng yuan*', *Late Imperial China* Vol. 33, No. 2, 2012, 119-153), which offers evidence for the significance of disruption and reconstruction of gender roles in the case of cross-dressing in the 'beauty-talent' genre.

The article 'Talent, Identity, and Sociality in Early Qing Scholar-Beauty Novels' casts new light on the interaction between the Han elite's identity crisis after the fall of the Ming and the establishment of the Qing dynasty, and the evolution of female identity in the same period. Authors and editors trace an anatomy of individual characters, included heroines, playing on *qing* 情 and *cai* 才 to stress the unicity of individuals, and offer a *space* to maneuver within the moral world of the orthodox Neo-Confucian ideology: each individual has his or her own *qing*, a kind of bridge between the private-particular and the public-general rule, psychology, and morality. We must take into consideration an individual's *qing* and circumstances, because the moral implications of the individual's action and choices are numerous. The Master of the House of Heavenly Flowers, in his 'Preface to the combined edition of the Book of Seven Talents' (合刻七才子書序), elevates the role of 'talent' in defining one's self, and adds 'talent' to 'emotions' and 'nature'. While nature (*xing* 性) is common to all, talent and emotions are grounded on one's individuality, and differ from person to person. Thus, talent takes on new importance as a mark of distinction. *Cai* is innate and contains a distinctly sophisticated sensibility and is part of the common nature of human beings as well. In particular, the essay discusses the transformation of the 'beauty-talent' genre into an efficient medium to project one's self-definition and cultivate one's public profile, based on an ideal community of writers and readers. 'Beauty-talent' novels make an attempt to channel sexual relations into new responsibilities by subtly reinterpreting the meaning of *qing* and expressing a sense of self-responsibility, and romance is functional to expressing a sense of male sociality built on the recognition and exhibition of talent within communities of like-minded literary men: the concept of *dingqing* 定情, 'loyal and controlled love', replaces that of *qing* and leads to the question of how to maintain the constancy of *qing* and of self-mastery; relationships between *qing*, 'se' 色 (beauty), and *cai* are conceptualised as 'Love comes from beauty, and beauty depends on talent' (情生於色, 色因其才). The materials examined – among which *Ping Shan Leng Yan* 平山冷燕 (The Two Talented Beauties), *Fenghuang chi* 鳳凰池 (The Phoenix Pool), and *Dingqing ren* 定情人 (A Story of Loyal Love), concern the genre's involvement with the larger cultural project of the early Qing Han elite's self-fashioning in reaction to the Manchu conquest. The role of the talented woman, according to Zou Ying, is given a certain form of power with a new female ideal that particularly emphasises the heroine's intellectual superiority, inner qualities, and literary activities, rather than [it] being the mere product of the male literatus's self-projection. An appendix contains a rich table with the Early Qing 'Scholar-Beauty' Novels Emphasising the Protagonists' Friendship and Social Activities.





( 中 国 历 史 学 前 沿 )

# Frontiers of History in China

ISSN print edition:

1673-3401

ISSN electronic edition:

1673-3525

CN11-5740/K

## Call for papers

Frontiers of History in China (FHC) aims to reflect the most recent scholarly achievements in the research of Chinese history throughout all historical periods. Topics for consideration include, but are not limited to: social and cultural history, political and economic history, environmental history, gender history, and historical anthropology. FHC seeks to promote academic communication and cooperation between historians in China and the rest of the world. All submissions, correspondence to the editors, and books for review should be sent to: zhangchun@hep.com.cn, and journalsubmission@pub.hep.cn

## Highlights

**Minghui Hu (Vol. 11, No. 3, 2016)**

The Scholar's Robe: Material Culture and Political Power in Early Modern China

**Guotong Li (Vol. 11, No. 3, 2016)**

Local Histories in Global Perspective: A Local Elite Fellowship in the Port City of Quanzhou in Seventeenth-Century China

**David Faure, Xi He (Vol. 11, No. 4, 2017)**

The Secret Society's Secret: The Invoked Reality of the Tiandihui

**Di Wang (Vol. 12, No. 1, 2017)**

A College Student's Rural Journey: Early Sociology and Anthropology in China Seen through Fieldwork on Sichuan's Secret Society

**Shiming Zhang (Vol. 12, No. 1, 2017)**

Painting and Photography in Foreigners' Construction of an Image of Qing Dynasty Law

**Lee H. Yearley (Vol. 12, No. 2, 2017)**

Conflict, Order, Harmony: The Modern Meaning of the Confucian Tradition

**Robert Stern (Vol. 12, No. 2, 2017)**

Rethinking the History and Theory of Jus Publicum Universal: The Formation of China as a "Semi-Civilized" Legal Subject

**Paolo Santangelo (Vol. 12, No. 3, 2017)**

The Literati's Polyphonic Answers to Social Changes in Late Imperial China

## Editors

Di Wang

University of Macau

Zujie Yuan

Sichuan University

## Associate Editors

Peter J. Carroll

Northwestern University

Joe Dennis

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Timothy B. Weston

University of Colorado at Boulder

## Book Review Editors

Ning Chang

Academia Sinica

Huayu Chen

Arizona State University

Marc Andre Matten

University of Erlangen-Nuremberg

## Editorial Board

Cynthia Brokaw

Brown University

May Bo Ching

Sun Yat-sen University

Kai-wing Chow

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Prasenjit Duara

National University of Singapore

Benjamin Elman

Princeton University

Joseph W. Esherick

University of California, San Diego

Antonia Finnane

University of Melbourne

Zhaoguang Ge

Fudan University

Chongyue Jiang

Beijing Normal University

Christian Lamouroux

L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

Hsiao-ti Li

City University of Hong Kong

Zhitian Luo

Sichuan University

Peter Perdue

Yale University

Elizabeth J. Perry

Harvard University

William T. Rowe

The Johns Hopkins University

Paolo Santangelo

Sapienza University of Rome

Angela Schottenhammer

Ghent University

Helen Siu

Yale University

Mathew Sommer

Stanford University

Nicolas Standaert

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Ann Waltner

University of Minnesota

Q. Edward Wang

Rowan University

Xi Wang

Peking University

Wen-hsin Yeh

University of California, Berkeley

Madeleine Zelin

Columbia University

Guogang Zhang

Tsinghua University

Yifeng Zhao

Northeast Normal University

# World Sinology

*World Sinology*, edited by GENG Youzhuang and YANG Huilin, is a professional periodical for Sinology / Chinese Studies focusing on the history, tradition, ideas and methods of sinological studies in different regions of the world. It also provides new information on developments in the field of Sinology / Chinese Studies, including those on individuals and institutes as well as on publications and projects. *World Sinology* is co-published by the Research Institute of Sinology and School of Liberal Arts, Renmin University of China.

**World Sinology 2016 Autumn, Issue No. 16**

## CONTENTS

### PRINCIPLES OF SINOLOGY

- A Promising Future as a Present to the Past: Keynote Speech at the 4<sup>th</sup> World Sinology Conference ..... XU Jialu
- The End of Western Sinology ..... Benjamin HAMMER
- Comparative Classics and the Dialogical Nature of Sinology ..... Benoit VERMANDER
- China's Early Twentieth Century Critique of the Enlightenment in Worldwide Perspective ..... Guy ALITTO (USA)
- A Temptation for the West: Treating China as Symbol ..... Ross TERRILL (USA)

### HISTORICAL EXPLORATION IN SINOLOGY

- Exchange of Learning but Failed Encounter: Behind Challenges, the *Acta Pekinensia*, an Unpublished Manuscript ..... Yves CAMUS
- The Jesuits and the First Great Age of Western Sinology ..... Colin MACKERRAS (Australia)
- Why does the West Need "Wise Men" from the East: The Jesuit Invention of Confucius ..... Dorothy FIGUEIRA (USA)

### NEW IDEAS IN SINOLOGY

- The Persecuted German Sinologists in 1933-1945: An Absent Generation and A Long Expected List ..... Mechthild LEUTNER and Martin LEUTNER (Germany)
- Bertrand Russell and *The Problem of China* ..... Don STARR (UK)

### RENOWNED SINOLOGISTS

- François Noël and Latin Translations of Confucian Classical Books Published in Prague in 1711 ..... Vladimír Liščák (Czech)
- Discovering Three New Peaks in the Sinological Himalayas: Presenting the Lives and Works of Iakinf (Nikita Y. Bichurin, 1777-1852), Séraphin Couvreur (1835-1919), and Joaquim Angélico de Jesus Guerra (1906-1993) ..... Lauren F. Pfister

### INTERPRETING THE CLASSICS

- Jesus Missionaries and Confucian Classics: Translator or Traitor? ..... Thierry MEYNARD
- From Confucian Education to the *Three Character Classic* of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom ..... Archie C. C. LEE

### STUDIES ON THE HISTORY OF ART

- Chinese Art and Chinoiserie in Russia: a Part of Russo-Chinese Contacts in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries ..... Rostislav BEREZKIN



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.

Please contact:

Dr. ZHAO Jing & Ms. WEI Lin

Tel: 86-10-62511170 Email: [ruchts@163.com](mailto:ruchts@163.com)

Postal Address: Room 515, Guo Xue Guan, 59 Zhongguancun Street, Beijing, 100872, China

## 《世界汉学》

《世界汉学》由中国人民大学汉学研究中心和中国人民大学文学院主办，为汉学研究的专业期刊，已出版 16 卷，以研究世界各国汉学的历史与传统、理念与方法，介绍汉学家、汉学著作和汉学机构，传递汉学研究最新讯息为主要内容，包含“汉学义理”、“汉学史论”、“汉学新论”、“汉学名家”、“文学中国”、“艺术史辩”、“经籍释读”、“文学对话”等专栏。

### 《世界汉学》第 16 卷目录

#### 【汉学义理】

200 年河东、200 年河西，未来康庄——在第四届世界汉学大会上的讲话/许嘉璐

西方汉学的“终结”/孟巍隆

比较经典与汉学的对话性/魏明德

从全球视角看中国 20 世纪初期对启蒙的批评/[美国]艾恺

西方的倾向：将中国视为象征/[美国]特里尔

#### 【汉学史论】

学术的交流，失败的相遇：众多挑战背后的《北京大事记》——一篇未出版的手稿/赵仪文

耶稣会士与西方汉学研究的第一次兴盛/[澳大利亚]马克林

西方为何需要东方的“智者”：耶稣会笔下的孔子/[美国]多萝西·菲盖拉

#### 【汉学新论】

1933 至 1945 年遭受迫害的汉学家：缺失的一代与一个期待已久的清单/[德国]罗梅君、罗马丁罗素和《中国问题》/[英国]司马麟

#### 【汉学名家】

卫方济和 1711 年在布拉格出版的儒家经典拉丁语翻译/[捷克]李世佳

汉学喜马拉雅山脉的三座新峰——雅金甫、顾赛芬、戈振东的生平及作品/费乐仁

#### 【经籍释读】

耶稣会士与儒家经典：翻译者，抑或叛逆者？/梅谦立

从儒家教化到太平天国《三字经》/李炽昌

#### 【艺术史辩】

中国艺术在俄国与俄国的中国风：17-18 世纪中俄文化交流史一隅/白若思

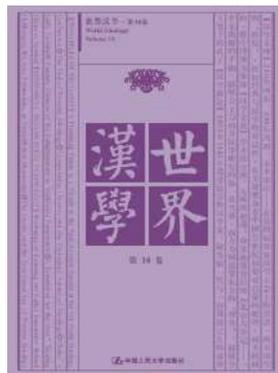
编辑部信息

联系人：魏琳 时霄

电话：010-62511170

电子邮件：[ruchts@163.com](mailto: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）



# The Review of Korean Studies

*The Review of Korean Studies (RKS)* is an English-language peer-reviewed, academic journal published biannually by The Academy of Korean Studies. Since its first publication in 1998, the *RKS* has been striving to promote the exchange of ideas, theories, and perspectives among Koreanists in both Asia and the West, by publishing cutting-edge articles in all subfields of Korean Studies. The *RKS* is widely recognized by scholars as one of the leading English-language journals in the field of Korean Studies. All papers featured in the *RKS* are also accessible in PDF format at <http://review.aks.ac.kr>.



## Contents of Vol.20 No.1:

### • Articles

Communist Visions for Korea's Future: The 1920-30s

Rethinking Korean Chain-Drama and Historiography: Hong Eam's *Compatriots (Dongpo)* Published in San Francisco (1917)

Korea and the Philippines: A Comparative Study of Political Leadership in Development

The Issue of Healing War Wounds Viewed from Two Sides: Through Korean and Vietnamese Literary Works

A Study of the Diaspora Problem in Japanese and Korean Performing Arts Based on Joseon Tongsinsa 朝鮮通信使: Focusing on Cross-Cultural Examination of Musical *Tsubame* つばめ (2002) and Changgeuk *Jebi* 春燕 (2004)

Understanding *Seon* in Go Eun's 108 Poems in *What (Mwonya 뭐냐?)*

### • Materials on Korean Studies

An Annotated Translation of *Daily Records of King Yeonsangun*, Chapter One (the 25<sup>th</sup> Day to the 29<sup>th</sup> Day of the 12<sup>th</sup> Month of 1494)

### Call for Papers

The *RKS* is always soliciting research articles from potential authors in any field of Korean Studies. For publication in the June issue or the December issue, the recommended submission deadline is February 28 and **August 31** respectively.

### For submissions and further information, please contact:

Managing Editor of *The Review of Korean Studies*

The Academy of Korean Studies

323 Haogae-ro Bundang-gu Seongnam-si Gyeonggi-do 13455, Korea

Tel: 82-31-730-8746

Email: [review@aks.ac.kr](mailto:review@aks.ac.kr)

Homepage: <http://review.aks.ac.kr>



## Asia Orientale

1. Paolo Santangelo  
*L'impero cinese agli inizi della storia globale. Società, vita quotidiana, e immaginario. Volume I L'impero cinese e il resto del mondo*  
ISBN 978-88-548-4189-5, formato 17 x 24 cm, 224 pagine, 15 euro
2. Paolo Santangelo  
*L'impero cinese agli inizi della storia globale. Società, vita quotidiana, e immaginario. Volume II Stratificazione sociale*  
ISBN 978-88-548-4264-5, formato 17 x 24 cm, 208 pagine, 15 euro
3. Paolo Santangelo  
*L'impero cinese agli inizi della storia globale. Società, vita quotidiana, e immaginario. Volume III Aggregazioni sociali*  
ISBN 978-88-548-4265-6, formato 17 x 24 cm, 164 pagine, 14 euro
4. Paolo Santangelo  
*L'impero cinese agli inizi della storia globale. Società, vita quotidiana, e immaginario. Volume IV Pubblico e privato, visibile e invisibile*  
ISBN 978-88-548-4190-1, formato 17 x 24 cm, 224 pagine, 15 euro
5. Paolo Santangelo  
*L'impero cinese agli inizi della storia globale. Società, vita quotidiana, e immaginario. Volume V Bibliografie*  
ISBN 978-88-548-4266-3, formato 17 x 24 cm, 308 pagine, 22 euro
6. Paolo Santangelo  
*Ming Qing Studies 2011*  
ISBN 978-88-548-4463-3, formato 17 x 24 cm, 636 pagine, 40 euro
7. Paolo Santangelo  
*Canti d'amore a Suzhou nella Cina Ming*  
ISBN 978-88-548-4460-5, formato 17 x 24 cm, 308 pagine, 20 euro
8. Paolo Santangelo  
*Laughing in Chinese*  
ISBN 978-88-548-4620-3, formato 17 x 24 cm, 472 pagine, 26 euro

9. Paolo Santangelo  
*Ming Qing Studies 2012. Volumi I e II*  
ISBN 978-88-548-5764-3, formato 17 x 24 cm, 1272 pagine, 50 euro
10. Stefania Stafutti, Elisa Sabattini  
*La Cina al femminile*  
ISBN 978-88-548-5562-5, formato 17 x 24 cm, 232 pagine, 15 euro
11. Paolo Santangelo  
*Ming Qing Studies 2013*  
ISBN 978-88-548-6635-5, formato 17 x 24 cm, 500 pagine, 27 euro
12. Yu Dafu  
*Naufragio*  
ISBN 978-88-548-6865-6, formato 17 x 24 cm, 211 pagine, 12 euro
13. Alessandro Dell'Orto  
*Racconti di templi e divinità*  
ISBN 978-88-548-7037-6, formato 17 x 24 cm, 260 pagine, 16 euro
14. Paolo Santangelo, Sai Han  
*Proceedings of the "Social Changes in China" Academic Workshop*  
ISBN 978-88-548-7631-6, formato 17 x 24 cm, 152 pagine, 10 euro
15. Paolo Santangelo  
*Ming Qing Studies 2014*  
ISBN 978-88-548-8073-3, formato 17 x 24 cm, 296 pagine, 17 euro
16. Cristiana Turini  
*Tessendo nel cosmo la trama del corpo*  
ISBN 978-88-548-8700-8, formato 17 x 24 cm, 324 pagine, 25 euro
17. Leonardo Sacco  
*Temi del Taoismo*  
ISBN 978-88-548-8761-9, formato 17 x 24 cm, 164 pagine, 12 euro
18. Paolo Santangelo  
*Ming Qing Studies 2015*  
ISBN 978-88-548-8958-3, formato 17 x 24 cm, 352 pagine, 25 euro

19. Tommaso Previato (*edited by*)  
*Moving Across Borders in China*  
ISBN 978-88-548-9850-9, formato 17 x 24 cm, 292 pagine, 24 euro
20. Paolo Santangelo  
*Ming Qing Studies 2016*  
ISBN 978-88-548-9936-0, formato 17 x 24 cm, 352 pagine, 20 euro
21. Lucia Battaglia, Giorgio Trentin  
*Filippo Coccia. Lettere dalla Cina*  
ISBN 978-88-255-0309-8, formato 17 x 24 cm, 148 pagine, 13 euro
22. Giusi Tamburello  
*Antologia di racconti postmaoisti (1977-1981)*  
ISBN 978-88-255-0574-0, formato 17 x 24 cm, 380 pagine, 20 euro
23. Paolo Santangelo  
*L'impero cinese agli inizi della storia globale. Società, vita quotidiana e immaginario. Volume I: L'impero cinese e il resto del mondo*  
ISBN 978-88-255-0633-4, formato 17 x 24 cm, 236 pagine, 16 euro
24. Paolo Santangelo  
*L'impero cinese agli inizi della storia globale. Società, vita quotidiana e immaginario. Volume II: Stratificazione sociale. Società, produzione e distribuzione*  
ISBN 978-88-255-0655-6, formato 17 x 24 cm, 212 pagine, 16 euro
25. Paolo Santangelo  
*L'impero cinese agli inizi della storia globale. Società, vita quotidiana e immaginario. Volume III: Aggregazioni sociali. Legalità e illegalità*  
ISBN 978-88-255-0716-4, formato 17 x 24 cm, 164 pagine, 12 euro
26. Paolo Santangelo  
*L'impero cinese agli inizi della storia globale. Società, vita quotidiana e immaginario. Volume IV: Pubblico e privato, visibile e invisibile. Ideologia, religione, morale e passioni*  
ISBN 978-88-255-0750-8, formato 17 x 24 cm, 224 pagine, 16 euro
27. Lavinia Benedetti  
*Storia del Giallo in Cina. Dai casi giudiziari al romanzo di crimine*  
ISBN 978-88-255-0687-7, formato 17 x 24 cm, 456 pagine, 23 euro

28. Paolo Santangelo

*Ming Qing Studies 2017*

ISBN 978-88-255-0927-4, formato 17 x 24 cm, 196 pagine, 16 euro



Printed in December 2017  
by «System Graphic S.r.l.»  
00134 Rome – via di Torre Sant'Anastasia, 61  
on behalf of «Giacchino Onorati editore S.r.l. -- unipersonale», Canterano (Rome)