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| VISUAL MATERIALS 視覺影像

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The editorial board are pleased to present volume 3 of the Journal of the European Association for Chinese Studies, which opens with a special section on "Visual Materials in Local Gazetteers". Guest edited by Anne Gerritsen and Kenneth Hammond, it has grown from several workshops held between 2018 and 2021 at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science (MPIWG) in Berlin.

本期《歐洲漢學學會學刊》以"中國視覺方志"為主題，由 Anne Gerritsen 和 Kenneth Hammond 客座編輯，延續 2018 至 2021 年間在柏林馬克斯·普朗克科學史研究所（MPIWG）幾次研討會的內容。

Keywords: Editorial, visual materials, Chinese history, Sinology

關鍵詞： 編委，視覺材料，中國歷史，漢學

The editorial board are pleased to present volume 3 of the *Journal of the European Association for Chinese Studies*, which opens with a special section on "Visual Materials in Local Gazetteers". Guest edited by **Anne Gerritsen** and **Kenneth Hammond**, it has grown from several workshops held between 2018 and 2021 at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science (MPIWG) in Berlin.[1] It comprises six articles whose contents are detailed in Hammond's introduction. Each piece deals with the "visual components" (a way to translate the generic term *tu* 圖) one can find in local gazetteers. These are often, but not always, found at the beginning of a gazetteer, and have been somehow ignored by modern scholarship. Therefore, each article seeks to shed light on the importance of these visual materials, whether in relation to the text or not.

Since the local gazetteer genre flourished from the Song dynasty onwards, all six articles focus on the late imperial period, with two articles on the Ming (**Molenaar, Yu**), two on the Ming-Qing period (**Burton-Rose, Gerritsen**), and two on the Qing (**Knorr, Yang**). Geographically speaking, two deal with the whole ecumene (Knorr, Yu), one with the Southern regions (Gerritsen), one with Suzhou (Burton-Rose), one with the Yellow River (Yang), and one with the Southeastern coastal regions (Molenaar). Topically, three concern architectural elements (Burton-Rose, Knorr, Molenaar), one artefacts (Gerritsen), and two natural/scenic views (Yang, Yu). It is worth mentioning that the online publication format chosen by the *JEACS* allows for the inclusion of a high number of illustrations. We would thus like to thank Chen Shih-Pei and Cathleen Päthe from the MPIWG for their help through the editorial process, especially in acquiring the rights for illustrations.

The current volume also marks the beginning of the inclusion of other articles alongside the special section. Based on textual and visual resources, art historian **Fan Lin**'s article explores the shifting memories of the Da Bao'ensi Pagoda of Nanjing, in time (from the Ming onwards) and space (in China and in Europe). It probes the various political, religious, and social discourses that shaped the local and global circulation of knowledge about the pagoda.

Rainier Lanselle's contribution on the late imperial *huaben* genre is divided into two parts, the first of which appears in the current volume, while the second part will be published in volume 4 (2023). In order to examine the relationship between late imperial vernacular stories and their classical sources, the author delves into questions of diglossia, intralingual translation, and rewriting. By combining linguistic, literary, and social factors, Lanselle offers a new methodological approach to the production process of vernacularity. He shows that the very idea of diglossia is not a historiographical construction but that historical actors were very much aware of it.

The last article takes us to contemporary issues. **Adrian Zenz** came into possession of the "Xinjiang police files", i.e. leaked classified state documents which record the administration of the Konasheher "re-education" camp (in Kashgar prefecture) up to 2018. They contain both visual and textual elements, which document speeches directed at camp personnel, police operation directives, and personnel registers which detail the clear ethnic profiling targeted at Uyghurs behind the mass internment policies. More than 5,000

images of prisoners helped Zenz to identify a majority of the people who were imprisoned. All these documents push the author to understand this situation beyond mere propaganda, as he argues that these describe a "crisis mode" of management informed by political paranoia. Although the article contains many illustrations, additional information was uploaded by the author to the University of Vienna Phaidra Open Access repository (links are provided in the bibliography).

Given the political importance of publishing Zenz's new findings in a timely manner, we inaugurated a faster "first view online" process which allowed us early on to provide readers with a fully edited piece, without of course changing anything in our double-blind peer-review process. We intend to continue using this system, especially for the Young Scholar Award (YSA) laureates: we believe that, as early career scholars, winners of the YSA deserve to have their articles published without unreasonable delays.

The articles are followed by four book reviews on recent monographs written in English, Chinese, and French. Two were provided by **Bart Dessein** (Henrietta Harrison's *The Perils of Interpreting* and Melissa Macauley's *Distant Shores*), one by **Irmy Schweiger** (Li Shiyong's *Bainian jiangsheng 1900-2000 Taiwan wenxue gushi* 百年降生 1900-2000 台灣文學故事), and one by **Christian de Pee** (Christian Lamouroux's *La dynastie des Song*).

This long volume ends with the usual list of PhDs defended in 2021 in European universities. Although the list is by no means exhaustive, we were able to gather twenty-six dissertations. Besides abstracts and general information, links are provided when available to freely downloadable versions from their respective universities. Supervisors and successful doctoral candidates are encouraged to send information about their dissertations to the editorial board at any time, for publication in the next issue.

This volume marks on the one hand the final involvement of Bart Dessein and Alexis Lycas as co-editors of the *JEACS*, to whom we are very grateful for their strong support and service, and on the other hand the arrival of Marie Bizais-Lillig, Laura De Giorgi and Irmy Schweiger, whom we warmly welcome to the editorial team.

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Journal of the European Association for Chinese Studies

INTRODUCTION

Visual Materials in Chinese Local Gazetteers

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The six contributions in this volume offer a new way of thinking not only about visual materials included in gazetteers, but also about the genre of gazetteers as a whole. By considering the visuals, and exploring the relationships between visual and textual materials, we understand the significance of the genre of gazetteers in a new light.

本期專題系列的六篇文章以方志中的視覺史志為主題，並把方志作為一種資料體例從整體來考察。通過討論視覺影像和探索視覺材料與文本材料之間的關係，我們對方志這種體例的特點有了新的認知。

Keywords: local gazetteers, history, visual materials, maps

關鍵詞： 地方志，歷史，視覺資料，地圖

In his study of the place of the past in classical Chinese literature, Stephen Owen argues that writing was an endeavour meant to "perpetuate the self" of the author, positing a powerful link between the moment of literary creation and the transmission of the writer's consciousness to later times. As a result of this yearning for connection across time, Chinese literature "internalized its hopes, made them one of its central topics, and everywhere concerned itself with intense experience of the past." On the one hand, in Chinese literature, Owen notes, "The master figure here is synecdoche, the part that leads to the whole, some enduring fragment from which we try to reconstruct the lost totality." But at the same time, a "gap occurs between remembering and what is remembered: memory always moves *toward* what is remembered, but a gap of time, loss, and incompleteness intervenes" (Owen 1986, 1-2).

These observations delineate one mode of connection with the past, which emphasises what has been lost and can only be recalled. Yet there are also modes of relating to the past which yield a sense of fulfilment, of the present as a time when the cumulative attainments of former times can be summarised and celebrated, not in a search for lost time, but as the trajectory to a glorious present. The great editorial compilations of *leishu* 類書, from Cao Wei's lost *Huanglan* 皇覽 down to the great Qing *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, exemplify this practice, assembling and displaying the development across time of China's literary cultural treasure house. Both the remembrance evoked by Owen and the massive archives of literary compendia are textual vehicles for trans-temporal interaction. They draw upon the richness of literary sources and the power of language to evoke a state of mind in the reader linking her to another moment or era.

While cultural connectivity with the past has been an overwhelmingly literary activity, there are also other ways to embody relationships between past and present. Visual representations can be an effective means of conjuring a sense of how things appeared in earlier times, and even of tracing the processes of change across time through a series or sequence of images. Visual materials can convey a sense of spatial relationships more clearly than textual narrative, or may more effectively and immediately illustrate a process which evolves over a lengthy time span by showing its step-by-step advance through successive versions. One particular genre of visual imagery can be seen, in at least a few instances, to have been used to vividly connect the viewer to another historical framework. Cartography, the illustration of geospatial forms and relations, has been paired with textual materials in relating information about specific places. The incorporation of maps in Chinese local gazetteers has generated a significant reservoir of images of geography, some of which have been of an historical nature.

Chinese local gazetteers (*difangzhi* 地方志) have long been recognised as important sources for the history of particular places in China. Beginning in the Song dynasty, though drawing on earlier antecedents, and continuing through the rest of imperial history, local gazetteers, at the county (*xian* 縣), prefectural (*zhou* 州), or provincial (*sheng* 省) level, have recorded immense amounts of information about the political, economic, and social lives of the people and places within their purview. Routinely compiled by local officials, in collaboration with members of elites in the relevant area, gazetteers served as sources of information for administration, for the promotion of pride of place, or for travellers seeking to understand a particular destination. New editions were submitted to higher administrative levels, up to the central imperial government, which sought to maintain an overall awareness of events and circumstances across the

empire. Gazetteers were often printed in commercial editions as well, and were attractive objects for collectors or as memorials of places in which an official had served or which a private individual may have visited (Dennis 2015).

Modern scholars of Chinese history have made extensive use of local gazetteers in a wide variety of studies, mining them for data about people, products, geographic features, and many other kinds of specific facts and figures. Most of these studies have involved the in-depth exploration of a single locality, perhaps using a series of gazetteers produced over a certain span of time. Gazetteers were regularly updated or replaced by later editions as conditions changed or new developments took place. Consulting a sequence of such works for a particular place has been an essential component of research producing valuable insights into change over time in many localities, from rural counties to major urban centres.

In recent years the development of digital technologies has given rise to new approaches to the exploitation of the research potential of local gazetteers. Advances in text mining, the ability to search within the printed blocks of characters for particular words or phrases, has opened up vast new horizons of investigation, allowing the interrogation of not just one or a few gazetteers devoted to a specific location, but of huge numbers of texts over the whole space of the empire and across long swathes of historical time. This has brought us to the threshold of a new era in the study of Chinese history. Gazetteers are by no means the only kind of materials which can be explored digitally, but the richness of the extant body of gazetteers, preserved from the Song dynasty through to the end of the imperial era in the early twentieth century, is an especially exciting reservoir of information for analysis and interpretation. As greater numbers of surviving gazetteers in libraries in China and the West are digitised and made available to researchers, the potential for new approaches to the local and comparative history of China continues to expand.

The Max Planck Institute for the History of Science (MPIWG), in Berlin, has been a vital centre in the creation of digital tools for research into Chinese local gazetteers. A major result of this effort has been the crafting of a search engine called LoGaRT (Local Gazetteers Research Tool). Initially this was concerned with developing the ability to search within textual materials, but over the last four years MPIWG has augmented its LoGaRT system to enable the searching of digitised gazetteers for visual materials as well, such as maps, pictures, diagrams, or other forms of graphic representation. This new application of digital research technology is generating a wave of innovative studies, of which the papers in this journal issue are a representative sample (Chen 2020).

Use of the LoGaRT search engine is a means of finding and aggregating large amounts of data from within the vast reservoir of extant *difangzhi*. The ability to search through many gazetteers, from a wide range of locations over long spans of time, can yield valuable statistical insights into Chinese local history, and to Chinese history more broadly. The creation of large data sets which can be queried and parsed in various ways is a primary value created by such digital tools. But LoGaRT searches can also reveal exceptional materials, rare examples of information or practices of recording which can be of great interest or value as well.

The set of historical maps and other imagery which emerged from the Pages-With-Images searches conducted in 2018 and 2019 provided a unique window into how some Chinese scholars and officials augmented their understanding of China's urban and local history by creating visual expressions of the information available to them beyond what they recorded in the gazetteer texts they were compiling. While these remain exceptional artefacts, they deepen and broaden our own understanding of the richness of Chinese historical consciousness and production. The essays in this volume by six scholars who have taken part in the ongoing work of the Max Planck team cover a wide range of topics, each displaying in different ways the potential of the LoGaRT tool.

Daniel Burton-Rose provides a consideration of one type of primary source in the study of certain architectural features built in educational institutions in late imperial China, towers dedicated to the celestial and Daoist figure Wenchang. He traces the history of the term Wenchang and the development of a cult combining both astral elements and an association with success in the imperial civil examinations. He examines the visual materials available in local gazetteers, accessed via the LoGaRT search engine. He uses the visual representations of these towers to explore the place of these structures within the urban landscape of the Ming and Qing periods, situating them within a complex cultural environment in which religious, intellectual, and local elite interests interacted over long periods of time.

Sander Molenaar's essay on images of the seacoast in late imperial gazetteers highlights the utility of searching large numbers of gazetteers in revealing patterns which would be more difficult to discern on a case-by-case reading. Molenaar shows that, while gazetteers produced in areas bordering the sea regularly featured visual representations of the coast, nearby islands, and maritime traffic, and often featured symbols marking coastal defence elements, these were almost always generic in nature, rather than detailed images of geographic or constructed forms. He argues that this suggests that details of the maritime environment were of less administrative interest to local officials, the primary consumers of gazetteer information, than data pertaining to the land and people under their oversight. Awareness of the sea was not excluded, but was not localised, remaining a marginal zone of concern.

Xin Yu provides a study of the production of "scenic views" in Ming dynasty gazetteers. These were images of locally famous sites known for their natural beauty or historical significance. Sets of scenes of local views began to appear in gazetteers as early as the Song. Over the course of the Ming the inclusion of such sets of images became increasingly common in gazetteers, reflecting, Xin Yu argues, the desire of local officials to assert a kind of administrative oversight of the cultural and political landscape of the areas for which they were responsible. By the late Ming such views were common to gazetteers produced throughout the empire.

Qin Yang's contribution considers visual representations of the Yellow River in gazetteers dating to the early Qing, in conjunction with textual representations. Texts included in gazetteers often follow strict genre guidelines; visual materials in gazetteers, in contrast, are less constrained by genre, and thus, Qin Yang argues, a closer representation of the experiences of those whose lives were shaped by the proximity of the Yellow River. Based on *ca.* 160 visual representations of the Yellow River included in gazetteers, dating mostly to the late Ming and Qing dynasties, Qin Yang is able to distinguish the particularly local

experiences of the river from the more generic representations of place and environment that shape the genre.

Daniel Knorr focuses on the ways in which cities have been depicted, and especially on the representations of the spaces outside the city walls in Qing gazetteers. City walls have long been understood as a distinct feature of urban spaces in premodern China, even when urban spaces and constructions such as walls appeared in an endless variety of distinct forms. Visual representations of urban spaces in gazetteers (*chengtu*) also formed a distinct yet fluid genre. The variability within the genre in turn points to a wide range of conceptualisations of the relationship between the space within the city walls and the spaces without. The gazetteer images explored by Knorr serve to demonstrate the vibrancy of the discourse that both emerged from and constituted urban spaces in early modern China.

Anne Gerritsen, finally, explores the representation of ritual implements in local gazetteers. A distinct subset of gazetteers included such images, with some gazetteers including a handful of images of ritual vessels or musical instruments, and other gazetteers including large sets of images of vessels and other implements, musical instruments, items of clothing, and ritual postures or dances and their choreographies. While ritual texts have been studied for almost as long as rituals have been performed, and visual representations of ritual implements have been key sites for discussions of the correct form of such implements, gazetteers have rarely been included as sources of information on ritual discourse.

Taken together, the six contributions in this volume offer a new way of thinking not only about visual materials included in gazetteers, but also about the genre of gazetteers as a whole. By considering the visuals, and exploring the relationships between visual and textual materials, we understand the significance of the genre of gazetteers in a new light.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Scenic Views of Administrative Units in Ming China

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Designating a set of eight or ten scenic views for a place was widespread in late imperial China. The subjects of this practice, however, had expanded from famous sites to almost all localities by the early twentieth century. This article examines the proliferation of one type of scenic view—those of prefectures, subprefectures, and counties—during the Ming. Focusing on a dataset of scenic views of 503 local administrative units generated through the Local Gazetteer Research Tools (LoGaRT), the article analyses images of scenic views in local gazetteers, traces the development of scenic views across the Ming empire, and probes the mechanism of their production. I argue that although non-official forces controlled and expanded the genre of scenic views in the Ming, local administrators manipulated this genre to their own advantage and made the celebration of administrative-unit scenic views their own space. Scenic views of administrative units were largely symbols of political authority.

擬定一地之景致（如八景、十景）是宋明以來之風尚。然而時至二十世紀初，景致之主體已漸次由名勝轉而各地之府州縣。本文即探討府州縣景致在明代之繁盛過程。筆者聚焦於用"地方志研究工具集"獲取的 503 套明代府州縣景致，探討該類景致在各地的發展過程和生產機制，並著重分析地方志中的景致圖像。本文認為，儘管明代非官方力量支配並拓展了生產景致的空間，地方官仍然掌控了生產官方版本地方景致的權威。府州縣冠名的景致基本是政治權威的象徵。

Keywords: Ming Dynasty, local gazetteers, scenic views, prefects and magistrates, educational officials

關鍵詞： 明代，地方志，景致，府州縣官，學官

Scholars have examined the widespread practice of designating a set of eight or ten views (*bajing* 八景 or *shijing* 十景) for a site or a locality in late imperial China, with each view featuring a poetic title linking to corresponding poems or paintings. Recent studies have traced the history of this practice to at least the Northern Song dynasty, when literati and politicians created scenic views for famous sites such as West Lake (Murck 1996, 113–140; Huang 2014, 60; Duan 2020, 156–181). The subjects of this genre, however, expanded from famous sites to all types of places, especially administrative units, in the Ming and Qing. By the early twentieth century, scenic views of administrative units had become so widespread that the modern writer Lu Xun 魯迅 characterised this phenomenon as an "eight views syndrome" or a "ten views syndrome" that had befallen many Chinese people (Duan 2020, 60). Previous scholars have conducted fascinating case studies on the views of single sites, such as the ten views of West Lake (*Xihu shijing* 西湖 十景), as well as those of administrative units, but it remains unclear how designating view sets developed from a site-specific practice in the Song to a "syndrome" that affected almost all localities in the later years of late imperial China.[1]

The geographic expansion of scenic views in late imperial China corresponded to the development of local gazetteers during the Ming. Editors of the 1784 gazetteer of Hangzhou, a prefecture renowned for its "Ten Views of West Lake", traced the origin of scenic views to the eight views of Xiao-Xiang 瀟湘 in the Song era, but they also emphasised the role of Ming-era gazetteers in documenting scenic views. From the omnipresent records of scenic views in Ming-era gazetteers, they concluded that almost every sub-prefecture and county started to have eight views by the end of the Ming (*Hangzhou fuzhi* 1784, 27.1a). Gazetteers seem to have become one of the major media for recording scenic views.

By analysing scenic views recorded in local gazetteers, this article examines the proliferation of one type of scenic views—those of administrative units—in the Ming. With LoGaRT (Local Gazetteers Research Tools), I gathered 694 sets of scenic views from over 500 Ming-era gazetteers in the database.[2] Focusing on the 503 sets associated with administrative units, which cover the two metropolitan areas, the thirteen provinces, and Liaodong, this article examines images of scenic views in Ming-era gazetteers, traces the development of scenic views of administrative units during the Ming, and analyses the production of scenic views. While earlier research has demonstrated how, in individual cases, scenic-view production on the locality level was part of political transformations (such as conquest, civilising, and development), I show that this mechanism was in fact a systematic, empire-wide phenomenon. Creating and celebrating local landscapes gradually became a commonplace strategy in local officials' repertoire.

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[1] Kathlyn Liscomb, Lo-fen I, and Fei Huang have examined the production of scenic views in specific local contexts, but their works do not reveal the larger picture of the genre across the empire. See Liscomb 1988–1989, 127–152; I 2003, 33–70; Huang 2014.

[2] This material is based upon research conducted while affiliated with the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, and sources were made available during this affiliation via Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin's CrossAsia portal.

Images of Scenic Views

Representing scenic views usually involved multiple media (Duan 2020, 163–165). A gathering to celebrate scenic views often produced poetry collections, painting albums, and printed books. But in most cases only textual representations were incorporated into gazetteers. According to the statistics generated through the PWI functionality of the LoGaRT database, only ten of over five hundred surviving Ming-era gazetteers contain images of administrative-unit scenic views.[3] A survey of the images, though extremely limited in scope, is in order.

Gazetteer	Images' Date of Creation	Size	format
吳江志 (Wujiang gazetteer, 1488, Southern Metropolitan Area)	1488	8 views; 1 image; 4 half-folio pages	Images in the illustration
普安州志 (Puan Subprefectural gazetteer, 1522, Guizhou)	1522	10 views; 1 image; 2 half-folio pages	
太康縣志 (Taikang County gazetteer, 1524, Henan)	1524	8 views; 8 images; 4 half-folio pages	
固始縣志 (Gushi County gazetteer, 1542, Henan)	1542	8 views; 1 image; 2 half-folio pages	
興濟縣志 (Xingji County gazetteer, 1566, Northern Metropolitan Area)	Unknown	8 views; 1 image; 2 half-folio pages	
豐潤縣志 (Fengrun County gazetteer, 1570, Northern Metropolitan Area)	Unknown	8 views; 8 images; 8 half-folio pages	Images attached to related texts in "Mountains and Rivers"; images facing texts
滁陽志 (Chuyang gazetteer, 1614, Southern Metropolitan Area)	Unknown	10 views; 10 images; 20 half-folio pages	
平陽府志 (Pingyang Prefectural gazetteer, 1615, Shanxi)	Unknown	8 views; 8 images; 16 half-folio pages	
來安縣志 (Laian County gazetteer, 1620, Southern Metropolitan Area)	Unknown	10 views; 10 images; 20 half-folio pages	Images in the illustration section
鉅野縣志 (Juye County gazetteer, 1620, Shandong)	1620	8 views; 8 images; 8 half-folio pages	Images in the illustration section; texts incorporated in images

Table 1: Images of views in Ming-era gazetteers.

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[3] Thanks to the PWI functionality, I was able to identify the ten sets of images by quickly leafing through all the images in Ming-era gazetteers.

The first observation is that images of scenic views in the pre-1570 and the post-1570 gazetteers differ in size, format, and style. Table 1 lists the date of creation, size, and format of each set of scenic-view images. The images in the pre-1570 gazetteers are located in the illustration sections at the beginning of the gazetteers; the number of images in each gazetteer is small; the eight or ten views are usually aggregated into the same image. In the post-1570 gazetteers, each view has a separate image, and the images are physically closer to related texts. The changes might have to do with the flourishing of illustrated books in the Wanli 萬曆 era (1572–1620), especially the proliferation of images in print form and the ubiquity of images at that time (Duan 2020, 172; Lin 2018, 378).[4] But since most of these gazetteer illustrations were not from Jiangnan or Fujian, the places renowned for publishing illustrated books, there might be other reasons for the changes.[5]

Fig. 1: Geographic distribution of the 103 gazetteers that contain section names indicating images of scenic views. Made with LoGaRT and CH Map.

Spatially, most (eight out of ten) administrative units that had images of scenic views in their Ming-era gazetteers were in Northern China (defined as north of the Qinling-Huaihe 秦嶺-淮河 line). This pattern seems true also for Qing-era gazetteers. Fig. 1 depicts the geographic distribution of the 103 gazetteers in the LoGaRT database (including one Ming, ninety-three Qing, and nine Republican gazetteers) that feature a section or subsection for images of scenic views. Localities belonging to the Ming-era Southern Metropolitan Area, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Fujian, where the literati elite was more powerful, have few images of scenic views in gazetteers. This might suggest that the production of administrative-unit scenic views belonged to an arena dominated by other forces than literati; the other forces, as this study shows, were sojourning officials.

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[4] On Wanli-era book illustrations, see Hsiao 2007.

[5] Scholarship on the publishing industry in Ming-era Jiangnan and Fujian abounds. See, for example, Chow 2004; Chia 2002.

Visual analysis of the scenic-view images in the pre-1570 gazetteers suggests their emphasis on the connections among individual scenic views. Unlike editors of later gazetteers, editors of the Wujiang, Gushi, and Puan gazetteers put all the scenic views into the same image. For example, Fig. 2, part of "Image of the Eight Views of Wujiang" (*Wujiang bajing tu* 吳江八景圖), presents the five views labelled with textual cartouches together, highlighting their relationships with the water body; Figs. 3 and 4 position the scenic sites of Gushi and Puan around the administrative seats. All three images provide guidance about location and thus resemble mapping, a practice that, according to Julia Orell, "emphasizes the location of isolated features within a conceptual rather than optical construction of space" (Orell 2011, 211).

Fig. 2: Part of "Eight Views of Wujiang." The rectangular cartouches indicate the locations of the views. *Wujiang zhi* 1488, *juan* 1. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

Despite serving the same function of guidance, different gazetteer illustrations drew upon different visual traditions. Fig. 2 mimics the format of a handscroll, focuses on the bridge at the centre, and guides viewers to move along the bridge. This continuous composition alludes to a tradition of printed illustrations modelled on handscrolls, which we also see in other works such as Wang Tingna's *Garden Views of Encircling Jade Hall* and the Kangxi Emperor's *Imperial Poems* (Whiteman 2020, 208–224). This image also reminds us of the Yandang scroll examined by Elizabeth Kindall in that both serve as itineraries (Kindall 2021, 423). In contrast, the compositional focus of Figs. 3 and 4 is on the county/prefectural seat at the centre of the images. This makes the images more akin to standard gazetteer maps, which became an essential component of gazetteers from the Southern Song onward (Lin 2017, 13). These images might thus have functioned similarly to those gazetteer maps, serving as indices to gazetteer texts (Lin 2014, 215–216).
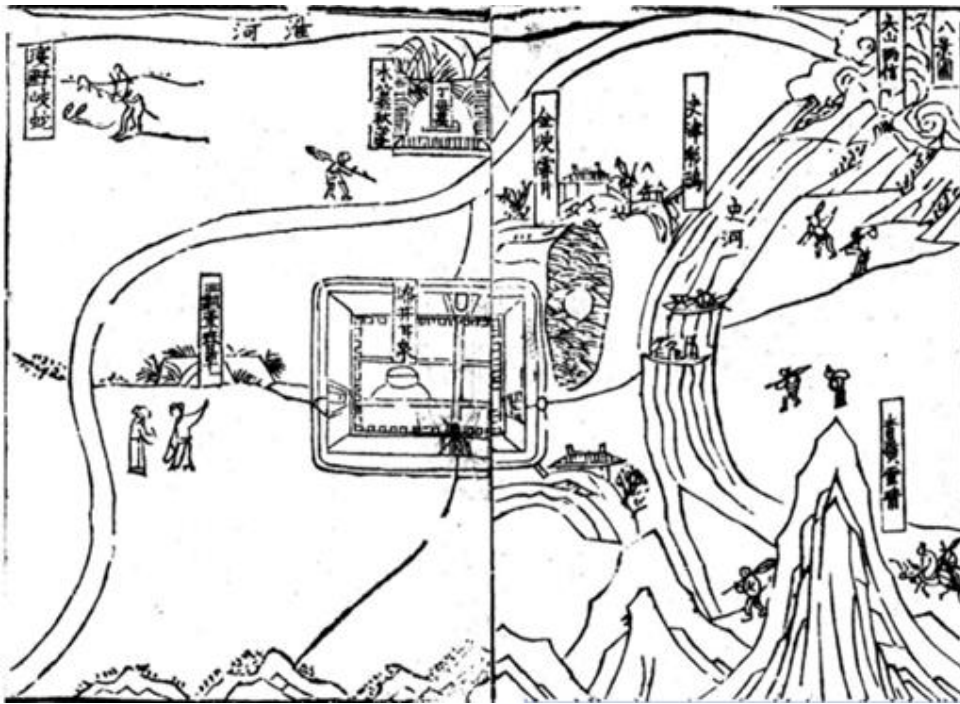
Fig. 3: Eight views of Gushi County. Note that the textual cartouches indicate the locations of the views in relation to the county seat at the centre. *Gushi xianzhi* 1542, 1.*bajing*. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

Furthermore, different images convey diverse ideological messages. For example, Fig. 4, "Image of the Ten Views of Puan Subprefecture" (*Puan zhou shijing tu* 普安州十景圖), expresses a starkly different message from Figs. 2 and 3. In the latter two images, human figures are essential. Fig. 2 depicts several boatmen paddling vigorously in different directions, and Fig. 3 portrays travellers riding horses, carrying umbrellas and cloth-wrapped belongings, or conversing along the paths. The strong interactions between human and natural landscapes create an impression that the sites were desirable destinations for tourists.[6] The emphasis on travel experiences is also echoed in the textual descriptions of the eight views of Wujiang. The texts specify the appropriate season, time of day, and weather for each view (*Wujiang zhi* 1488, 5.13b–14b). For example, the description of "moonlight at the Rainbow Bridge" (*chuihong yeyue* 垂虹夜月) advises tourists to visit the site at midnight when the temperature falls and people become quiet (Ibid., 5.14a). The editors of the Gushi gazetteer also explain that the reason for including the image was "to prepare viewers for travelling" (*Gushi xianzhi* 1542,1.2b).[7] Such specification of season and time, which was popular not only in scenic images in gazetteers but also in "famous-sites" images in general, might serve to invoke viewers' memories of touring the sites (Kindall 2016, 38). Besides, by populating the scenes with tourists, the two images emphasise the attractiveness of the views. The images afford the viewer what Elizabeth Kindall calls an "experiential encounter," one that invokes the viewer's past experience while

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[6] For this same effect in other scenic-view images, see Duan 2020, 166.

[7] 揭名勝以備游觀也。

provoking further interest in re-touring (ibid.). The figures also serve as "focalizers" that allow armchair tourists to tour the sites imaginatively (Kindall 2021, 428).[8]
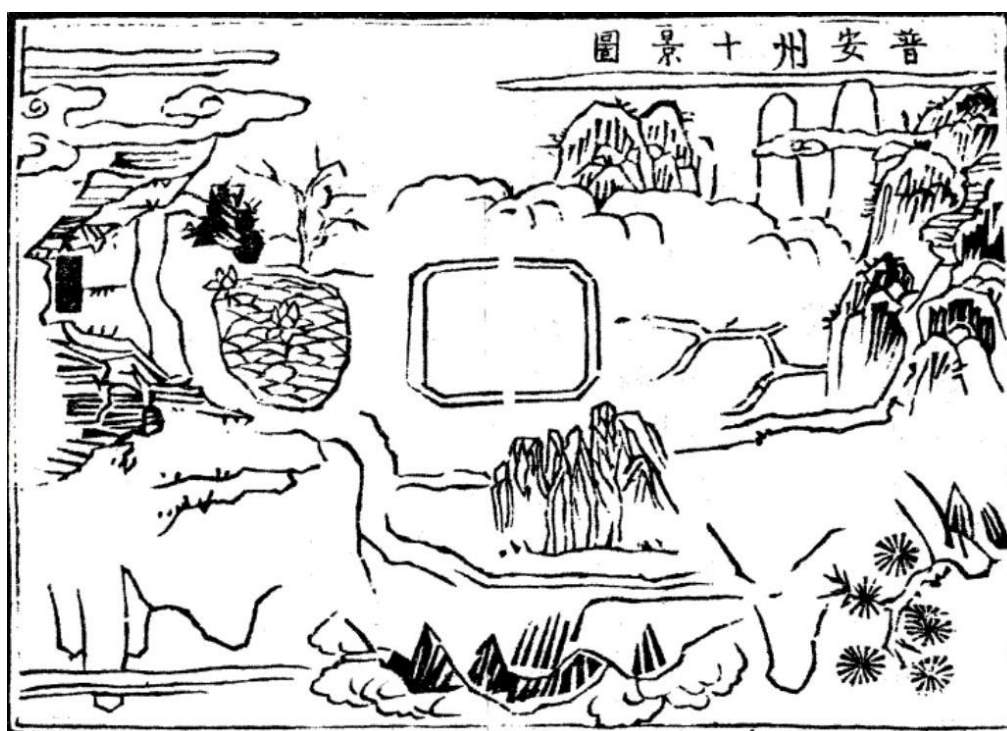
Fig. 4: Ten views of Puan Subprefecture. Note that no textual labels or human figures appear. "Puan zhou shijing tu," in *Puan zhouzhi* 1522. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

In contrast, Fig. 4, an image of a frontier subprefecture in Guizhou, represents another extreme. The image depicts the views in their crudest forms. Some willow trees beside the subprefectural seat—the rectangular structure at the center of the image—signify the view of "green willows at the Spring Embankment" (*chundi cuiliu* 春堤翠柳); symbols of shaded mountains at the bottom of the image suggest that the mountains were covered with snow—hence indicating the scene of "sun-lit snow on Wan Mountain" (*wanshan qingxue* 萬山晴雪). The image has no hint of human presence. Nor does the gazetteer contain textual descriptions of the ten views except for providing their titles (*Puan zhouzhi* 1522, 1.23a). In general, there were many reasons for the absence of figures in landscapes. In this case, where the creator's skill seems poor, the creator would have sketched figures even more poorly than landscapes. Also, the inclusion of figures would distract from viewers' experience of the variable perspective that would require viewers to turn their head to reorient themselves while viewing different parts.[9] Furthermore, the lack of figures here would

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[8] For the theory of focalisation, see Genette 1980, 189–194; Margolin 2009. For a similar analysis of the function of figures, see Clunas 1997, 85.

[9] For "variable perspective", see Yee 1996, 68.

also echo the gazetteer editors' stated purpose of "picturing the sites so as to encourage people to improve the landscape"[10] (*Puan zhouzhi* 1522, *tumu*).

This argument could be further corroborated by the lack of textual labels in this image. In "cartographic landscapes," as Julia Orell argues, textual labels could serve as "a reference system" to remind viewers of a larger body of geographical knowledge (Orell 2011, 225–226). Thus, the textual cartouches in Figs. 2 and 3 would remind readers of the abundant textual and poetic accounts of the views in the gazetteer, as well as the many related activities, such as touring and poetry-writing. Conversely, the lack of textual labels in Fig. 4, coupled with the lack of related textual accounts in the gazetteer, could help the gazetteer editors to claim a lack of site-related culture in that locality.
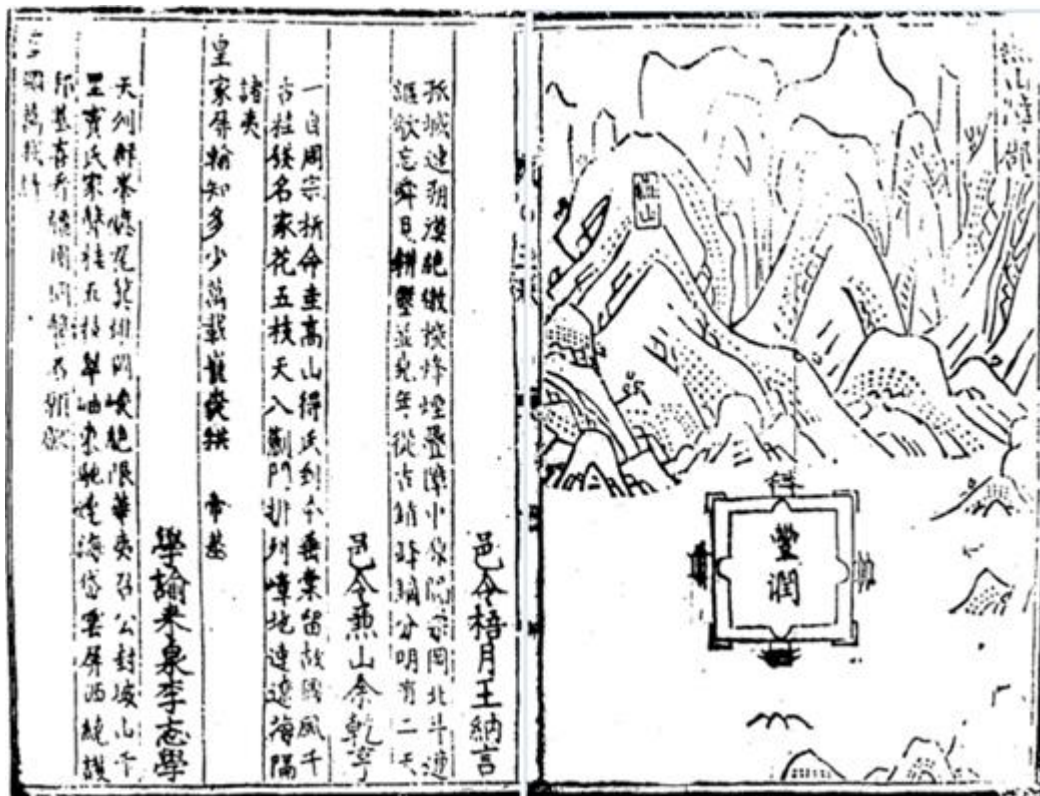
Fig. 5: One of the ten views of Fengrun County. Note that the poems written by sojourning officials are placed on the page facing the image. *Fengrun xianzhi* 1570, 3.7a–b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

The images of scenic views in the post-1570 gazetteers (mostly produced in the Wanli era) have some distinctive features. Each view has a separate image, allowing for the full articulation of its individuality. Moreover, the gazetteer editors attempted to foster text-mage interaction by moving images of scenic views from stand-alone illustration sections to the locations of textual descriptions

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[10] 繪郡境中山川之絕勝處也，茲特別之以見其當改觀耳。

of the views, or by inserting texts directly into illustrations. The images are thus physically closer to their related texts, creating a more engaged viewing/reading experience. For instance, Fig. 5 shows one of the eight views of Fengrun County with three accompanying poems on the facing page. This layout was not new, as scenic views in other formats had been presented this way before (Liscomb 1988–1989, 130–131; Duan 2020, 173). The introduction of this layout in gazetteers makes the illustrated pages resemble painting albums. In doing so, the gazetteer editors attempted to transfer the experiences of reading painting albums or illustrated poetry collections to the reading of gazetteers. Rather than locating the whereabouts of the views or providing a roadmap for touring, the gazetteer editors might have intended to incorporate more cross-media experiences.

In Fig. 5, by juxtaposing the image and poems, the editors wanted readers to read the image and poems together. The image's depiction of the county seat protected by the Yan Mountains 燕山, combined with the caption, informed readers of the strategic importance of the mountains to the county. The accompanying poems foregrounded this message by explaining that the mountains "will remain majestic for tens of thousands of years to protect the foundation of the empire" 萬載龍從拱帝基 (*Fengrun xianzhi* 1570, 3.7b). Readers are reminded of the mountains' significance to both the county and the empire. The text conditions the reading of the image, and the image in turn helps visualise the message conveyed in the text. In another case, the gazetteer editors of Juye County inserted poems directly into images. Fig. 6 shows how the magistrate/chief gazetteer editor Lü Pengyun 呂鵬雲 integrated his own poem into one of the images (*Juye xianzhi* 1620, *bajingtu*.2). Adding his name to the visual-textual composite, he became an important part of the locality's landscape. The combination of images and texts emphasises the magistrate's significance in local landscapes.

The ten sets of images surveyed here point to some patterns. Firstly, although not all the ten gazetteers provided explanations for the inclusion of images of scenic views, the political message conveyed in *Puan zhouzhi* and the officials' names in the 1570 and 1620 gazetteers (Figs. 5 and 6) bespeak the political motivations for producing administrative-unit scenic views, especially on the part of local administrators. Secondly, gazetteer editors increasingly highlighted multi-media representations of scenic views. By moving texts and images closer or by inserting texts into images, they explored ways to reproduce the atmosphere of the original social gathering that produced visual and textual representations in multiple forms. This emphasis on multi-media experience points to a larger mechanism of scenic-view production that involved not only editors of these ten gazetteers but also those of the remaining five hundred gazetteers that included only textual representations of administrative-unit scenic views.

Fig. 6: Hand-drawn reproduction of a printed image in *Juye xianzhi*. Note that the magistrate, Lü Peng-yun, integrated his name and poem into the picture. *Juye xianzhi* 1620, *bajingtu.*2. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

Creating Scenic Views for Administrative Units

Scenic views of administrative units are likely to have existed in the Song, but records of such views are overwhelmingly more abundant in Ming-era documents.[11] The proliferation of records of administrative-unit scenic views in existing documents might be connected to their political use in the Ming. Politicians' engagement with scenic views at the local administration level became prominent in the Ming. In 1414,

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[11] For earlier records, such as the ten views of Qiantang 錢塘 and the eight views of Jiaxing 嘉興, see Duan 2020, 177; *Jiaxing xianzhi* 1637, 19.59a–b.

thirteen officials composed 110 poems for the eight views of Beijing, the future capital (Liscomb 1988–1989, 130). In the poems, the poet-officials expressed their gratitude to the Yongle 永樂 emperor and support for the emperor's plan to establish Beijing as the major capital (Liscomb 1988–1989, 127–130). These poems set up a precedent for later officials to express their political loyalty through writing site-related poems. In the Xuande 宣德 reign (1426–1435), for example, "poet-officials" (*cichen* 詞臣) presented poems on the eight sites of Beijing to the emperor on several festival occasions; this fashion continued until at least the mid-fifteenth century (I 2016, 295). From the start of the Ming, scenic views of administrative units were charged with political meanings.

Although a clear periodisation is impossible to construct, it is likely that local administrators had started to celebrate scenic views within their jurisdiction in the early Ming. In Zhengtong-era 正統 (1436–1449) Daming Prefecture 大名府, the prefect Li Lu 李輅 from Nanjing composed poems for the eight sites of Daming; following in his footsteps, county-level officials also composed poems for their counties (*Daming fuzhi* 1445, 4.*jingwu*; *Daming fuzhi* 1445,7). It is possible that the sites were not newly created, but this was the first time that scenic views of the prefecture and its counties entered local gazetteers in the form of poetry. Demonstrably, these officials were the major force in revitalising the culture of scenic views in this prefecture. Table 2 lists the poets whose poems were included in the 1445 gazetteer. All of them were officials coming from other provinces, suggesting that the most fervent creators and celebrators of local scenic views might have been a community of diasporic officials, as opposed to native elites. Most of the poets (eight out of ten) came from Jiangnan, suggesting either that most early-Ming Daming officials came from Jiangnan or that Jiangnan officials tended to be more active in celebrating local views than officials from other places. A prefect, a magistrate, and a vice-prefect participated in writing the poems, but all the other seven poets were educational officials. Educational officials enjoyed a high status in the early Ming, but after the Ministry of Rites (*libu* 禮部) restricted the standards for their promotion in 1444, they became less prominent (Chen 2005, 237–239). Even so, they were still significant in local society as they were responsible for training local examinees and cultivating literati culture. Therefore, the dominance of educational officials on the list suggests that producing and reproducing local scenic views belonged to the cultural sector of local administration. It was also very likely that officials from Jiangnan brought the strong scenic-view tradition in Jiangnan to Northern China.

A common theme of the poems was to celebrate the peace of the Ming empire. Phrases like "the august Ming" (*huang Ming* 皇明), "the sagacious virtue of the emperor" (*shengde* 聖德), "the august dynasty" (*huangchao* 皇朝), and "the prosperous age" (*shengshi* 盛世) are prominent in their poems and highlighted through honorific indentations (*Daming fuzhi* 1445, 7). A poem entitled "Sunset at the Beacon Tower" (*Fengtai xizhao* 烽台夕照) contrasts the frequent use of the tower in previous dynasties with its disuse in the Ming, emphasising the peaceful rule of the Ming; a sense of complacency exudes from the final line of the poem: "This prosperous and peaceful age has left the remains of the tower lingering against the sunset" (ibid.).[12] For the sojourning officials, the local views mattered mainly because they exemplified the empire's peace and prosperity.

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[12] 盛世升平無事日，空留遺址夕陽中。

Name	Official Title	Native place
Zhou Yuan 周源	Magistrate	Xiushui 秀水, Zhejiang
Xiong Hua 熊鍭	Instructor of Confucian school	Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi
Wu Ji 吳驥	Instructor of Confucian school	Suzhou 蘇州, Southern Metropolitan Area
Zhang Yi 張迻	Instructor of Confucian school	Yunjian 雲間, Southern Metropolitan Area
Dong Yun 董雲	Assistant Instructor of Confucian School	Pengcheng 彭城, Southern Metropolitan Area
Dong Zi 董諮	Instructor of Confucian school	Qijun 齊郡, Shandong
Zhu Shufu 朱叔服	Instructor of Confucian School	Fengcheng 豐城, Jiangxi
Xie Bin 謝斌	Instructor of prefectural Confucian school	Kuaiji 會稽, Zhejiang
Gao Qian 高謙	Vice prefect	Fanchang 繁昌, Southern Metropolitan Area
Li Lu 李輅	Prefect	Jinling 金陵, Southern Metropolitan Area

Table 2: Poets who composed poems for scenic views of Daming and its counties.
Source: *Daming fuzhi* 1445, 7.

By the end of the fifteenth century, celebrating scenic views of localities and recording such celebrations in gazetteers had become widespread in many places. Table 3 shows the number of scenic-view sets in each province extracted from 553 Ming-era local gazetteers in the LoGaRT database. One outstanding province was Shanxi 山西, the buffer zone between the capital and the Mongols. It had the second largest number of view sets in the dataset. Except for a set of four views devoted to a hall built by a magistrate, all the scenic views were created for administrative units, recorded in the format of "the eight views of such-and-such county", e.g., "the eight views of Taiyuan County" (*Taiyuan bajing* 太原八景). All but one set are documented in a separate section entitled "Views" (*jingzhi* 景致), suggesting their growing significance in the late fifteenth century (*Shanxi tongzhi* 1475, 7.39b–50b). Like the views of Beijing, the views of Shanxi places might also have become important as a result of the early-Ming political atmosphere, as the

1620 gazetteer of the same province deleted the "Views" section and most of the scenic views (*Shanxi tongzhi* 1620, 4.1b, 5.4a, 14.3b). The 1475 gazetteer editors briefly explained the context for creating the section as follows:

> Within the scope of the empire, every place, ranging from regions to prefectures and counties, has its scenic views. This dynasty's poets selected the best sites and created titles for the scenic views. Although the titles vary from place to place, people made pictures or composed poems for each view, in order to manifest the famous sites and make them into great splendours (*Shanxi tongzhi* 1475, 7.39b).
>
> 寰宇之內，大而一方，次而一郡一邑，各有景致。近世詞人擫而擬之。其目不一，各形圖詠，蓋表其名勝以為偉觀雲。

The gazetteer editors emphasised that the selection, naming, and celebration of scenic views were a development of "this dynasty." Thanks to "this dynasty's poets," they claimed, obscure local landscapes became "great splendours." If this mindset also held true for editors of other gazetteers, then the widespread celebration of scenic views across the empire could be seen as a process in which "this dynasty's poets" helped transform each locality into a place of distinction.

Provinces	Total Number (unit: set)	Scenic views of administrative units	Scenic views of smaller places
Huguang 湖廣	115	98	17
Southern Metropolitan Area 南直隸	109	49	60
Shanxi 山西	97	96	1
Fujian 福建	73	36	37
Zhejiang 浙江	69	21	48
Northern Metropolitan Area 北直隸	50	50	0
Guangdong 廣東	33	27	6
Henan 河南	30	27	3
Jiangxi 江西	27	16	11
Guizhou 貴州	21	21	0
Shandong 山東	19	16	3
Guangxi 廣西	13	13	0
Sichuan 四川	8	8	0

Shaanxi 陝西	24	22	2
Yunnan 雲南	5	2	3
Liaodong 遼東	1	1	0
Total	694	503	191

Table 3: Sets of scenic views in Ming-era gazetteers.
Source: LoGaRT.

For this reason, the creation of the "Views" section in the Shanxi gazetteer had political implications. The section has ninety-five entries, all listed in a standard format. For example, the first entry goes as follows:

The eight views of Jinyang	*i.e., Taiyuan Prefecture*
Flowing water of the Jin River	*see the "Rivers" section*
Accumulating snow at the Tianmen Pass	*a pass; see the "Passes" section*
Chilly springs of the Lieshi River	*see the "Rivers" section*
Eccentric cypresses at Tutang Mountain	*a mountain; see the "Mountains" section; a temple was built there, see the "Temples" section*
Ancient ferries along the Fen River	*see the "Rivers" section*
Red leaves at Juewei Mountain	*a mountain; see the "Mountains" section; a temple was built there, see the "Temples" section*
Sunset over the ancient city-walls	*i.e., the remains of the Jinyang city-walls*
Moonlight at dawn over Meng Mountain	*see the "Mountains" section*

(Italics indicate characters in smaller type. See *Shanxi tongzhi* 1475, 7.39b)

晉陽八景　*即太原府*

晉渠流水　*見川*

天門積雪　*關 名，見關*

洌石寒泉　*見川*

土堂怪栢　*山名，見山，上建寺，見寺*

汾江古渡　*見漾*

崛圍紅葉　*山名，見山，上建寺，見寺*

古城夕照　*即晉陽城古跡*

蒙山曉月　*見山*

As is typical of the scenic-view genre, the name of each view contains four characters, the first two for the place name and the following two for a feature of the site (Duan 2020, 157–159; Huang 2014, 60). Therefore, for a county with eight views, its entry covers only three vertical lines, one for the name and two lines each having sixteen large characters interspersed with smaller characters. This format places four or five administrative units next to one another on a half-folio page (Fig. 7), making it easy for readers to consult and compare. The gazetteer editors listed the views of about one hundred administrative units altogether under one section, which might help them buttress the claim that most administrative units of Shanxi had created scenic views in their territories. Taken together, by creating a section for scenic views, the editors of the 1475 provincial gazetteer signalled that most Shanxi administrative units had completed the transformation from ordinary places to "great splendours" of the Ming.
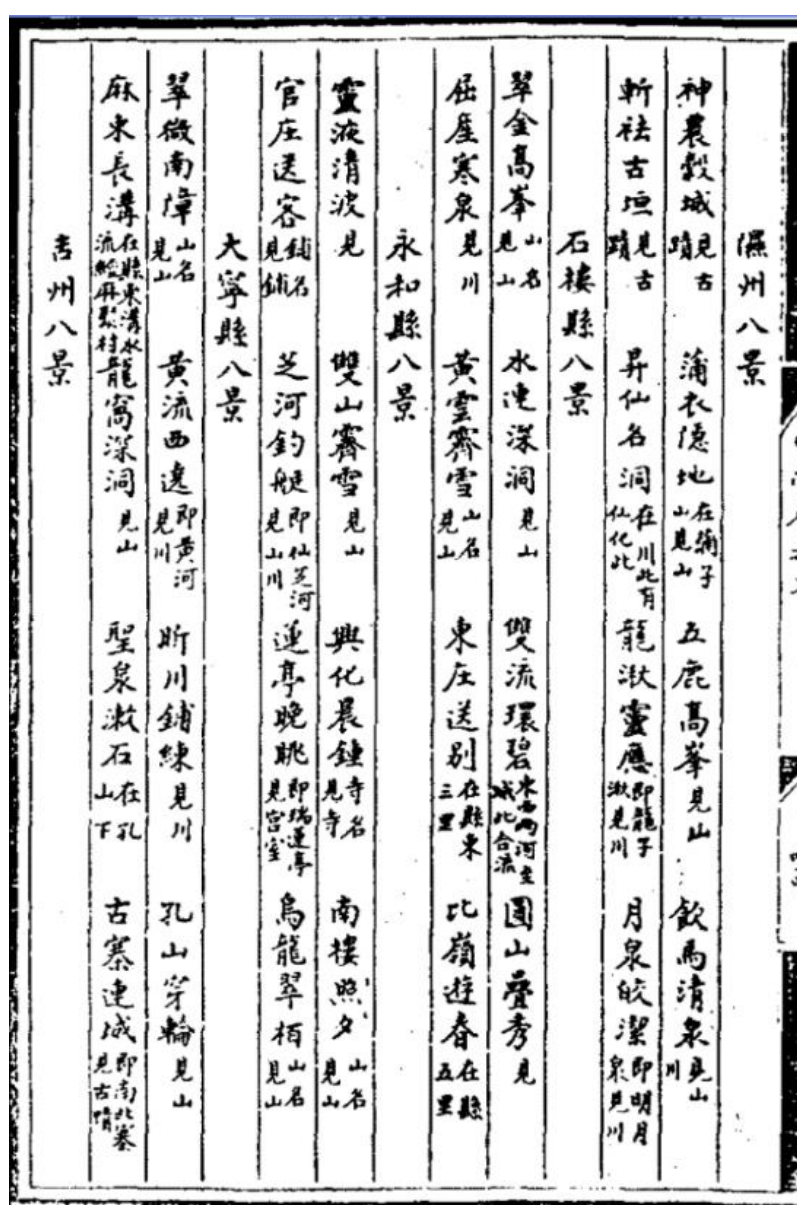
Fig. 7: Five sets of scenic views on a half-folio page. *Shanxi tongzhi* 1475, 7.44b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

This same pattern—demonstrating the transformative power of the Ming rule through local views—seems to have emerged more prominently in northern provinces. Twenty-five Ming-era gazetteers in the LoGaRT database feature a separate "Views" section. Over half of them are gazetteers of Shanxi and Henan; with the exceptions of Huanggang Prefecture 黃岡府, Taoyuan County 桃源縣, and Puan Sub-prefecture 普安廳, all other places are in Northern China. None of the gazetteers is of the Southern Metropolitan Area, Zhejiang, or Fujian, the provinces that ranked top in the number of views of smaller-scale sites, such as villages, temples, and mountains (see Table 3). This seems to suggest a stark contrast between the production of scenic views of administrative units and of small-scale places (villages, mountains, temples, etc.). I am investigating smaller-scale sites in a more comprehensive study, which argues for the dominance of local literati in the production and reproduction of smaller-scale sites. Here, I propose that the widespread celebration of administrative-unit scenic views in the Ming was a result of appropriation by local officials of a longer tradition of celebrating scenic views that had been underway since at least the Southern Song. Then the concentration of smaller-scale sites in the southeast coast, along with the distribution of administrative-unit views in other places, suggests two different modes of cultural production.

The mode for administrative-unit views was one of heavy political weight. This mode was widespread in Henan, Shanxi, Shandong, and the Northern Metropolitan Area, places that surrounded Beijing and had more strategic importance. This theory is supported by a remark made by Fan Congjian 樊從簡, magistrate of Wenshui County 文水縣, Shanxi, in the 1550s. On Wenshui's eight views, he commented:

> In no case will state founders decline to divulge the geography of a place as a way of demonstrating the conquest of the place! As for the territory of Wenyang, various mountains buttress its beauty, and various rivers disseminate its culture. Furthermore, due to the fertility of the land and the abundance of products and due to its strategic significance, its geography ranks top in southern Shanxi. Being pacified and governed, will it not dominate the region and protect the capital for tens of thousands of years (*Wenshui xianzhi* 1625, 1.6b)?

> 蓋立國者未始不表其形勝以示一方之鎮也。文陽之境，諸山聳其翠焉，衆水渙其文焉。而又土物之饒、窨砦之險，其形勝甲于冀南。撫而治之，不可以雄視一方而拱衛邦畿於萬禩者歟？

Fan Congjian argued that the capacity of knowing and "divulging" the geography was essential to the full control of a place, a principle that had its origin in pre-Qin textual sources (Yee 1994, 72–73). Investigating the landscape and then creating scenic views to capture its key features were a significant step toward governance.[13] In this framework, the eight views of a place could play an important role, as they exemplified the core features of the geography and bespoke the state's grasp of it. In the case of Wenshui, the eight

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[13] In this sense, scenic views performed a similar role to maps, one that has been emphasised by recent scholarship. See Mostern 2011, 103–165; De Weerdt 2009, 148.

views and Fan's explanation of them helped to elucidate the strategic importance of the place, which, if properly managed, would "protect the capital for tens of thousands of years." In cases such as this, the creation of eight views of administrative units served to claim control of these places.

Celebrating scenic views of administrative units seems to have become increasingly significant over the sixteenth century in frontier regions, where the creation of scenic views marked a significant step forward in the civilising process. For example, Xundian Prefecture 尋甸府 was the only administrative unit in Yunnan that recorded scenic views in Ming-era gazetteers, probably because the place was "transformed" more successfully than others.[14] Its 1550 gazetteer contains two sets of views, the eight views of Xunyang 尋陽 (another name for Xundian) and the eight views of Mumi Garrison 木密所, both under the "Geography" (*xingsheng* 形勝) section. The "Literature" (*yiwen* 藝文) section also contains poems devoted to the eight views of Xunyang (*Xundian fuzhi* 1550, *juanshang*.14b–17a, *juanxia*.41a–45b). The gazetteer editors justified the inclusion of the poems by emphasising their role in the literary history of the locality. There had been no literature prior to the Ming rule, and each piece in the literature section served to flesh out how the Ming state had gradually civilised the prefecture. "Albeit marginal, the prefecture has attractive views. We printed poems for the eight views, in order to demonstrate that people in our prefecture should not depreciate ourselves for living in a barbarous region" (*Xundian fuzhi* 1550, *juanxia*.10a).[15] The poems of the eight views served to demonstrate the Ming's success in civilising the prefecture by making elegant the local landscape.

This process was probably more successful in Guizhou, as the 1597 provincial gazetteer lists views of eighteen administrative units (*Guizhou tongzhi* 1597, 4.3b, 5.2b, 5.19b, 6.12b, 7.3a, 8.12b, 10.22b, 11.19a, 12.19a, 12.3a, 13.25b, 13.43b, 14.3a, 15.4a, 16.3b, 16.26b, 17.29b, 17.4a). However, the celebration of scenic views in Guizhou lagged by a century. This may be explained by John E. Herman's theory about the Ming's different strategies in the northern and the southwestern frontiers after the Tumu Incident in 1449. While the state closed its northern borders after that year, it continued to colonise its southwestern frontier, making scenic views as tools of civilisation continually meaningful in sixteenth-century Guizhou (Herman 2007, 9–10). This civilising vision is prominent in an essay on the ten views of Sinan Prefecture 思南府, a prefecture established in 1413 (ibid., 101). The writer, a minister of the Ministry of Personnel (*libu* 吏部) named Qian Pu 錢溥, from Jiangnan, posits the creation of the views in that prefecture as a natural outcome of Sinan's transformation. His narrative begins with a "prehistory" of Sinan, that is, a history of the barbarians; the turning point was the incorporation of the place into the Ming empire, after which scholars and officials started to emerge in Sinan; this continuous progress culminated in the rise of An Kang 安康 as a vice director of the Ministry of Revenue (*hubu* 戶部), who felt obliged to "celebrate the extraordinary mountains and rivers" (*biaoyi shanchuan* 表異山川) in his hometown and so created ten views for the prefecture (*Sinan fuzhi* 1566, 1.21b–22a).[16] This narrative exemplifies a common pattern

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[14] *Yunnan tongzhi* recorded three other sets of views, but all of them were devoted to smaller-scale places: a hall built by Mu Cong 沐琮 (1450–1496) and the famous sites of Diancang Mountain 点苍山 and Erhai Lake 洱海. See *Yunnan tongzhi* 1572, 2.23b, 15.8b, 15.38b.

[15] 郡雖僻而景致攸存，詩刻八景，示不可以夷地自鄙也。

[16] For more on Sinan's incorporation into the Ming, see Herman 2007, 96–101.

whereby emerging Confucian scholars on the southwestern frontier reshaped local conditions to meet the state's expectations (Daniel and Ma 2020, 2).

Scenic views frequently appeared in gazetteers in other places as well. Despite the differences in timing and mode of production, it is clear that the celebration of scenic views for administrative units during the Ming was an empire-wide phenomenon with explicit political implications.

Local Officials' Engagement with Scenic Views

Given the political connotations of administrative-unit scenic views, officials were understandably the most important players in celebrating and documenting them. Sojourning officials seem to have monopolised the production and reproduction of scenic views of administrative units, as in the above case of Daming. More commonly, however, poems on scenic views were written by a mixture of sojourning officials and native elites, which, for example, is evident in the composition of the poets who wrote poems for the eighty-six sets of scenic views of administrative units included in the 1522 Huguang provincial gazetteer.[17] In other words, most poems were produced on occasions where sojourning officials and native elites socialised with each other. On such occasions, local officials could familiarise themselves with native elites and gain support from the latter. For instance, in a poetry-writing contest held in the Jiajing 嘉靖 period to celebrate the eight views of Yuci County 榆次縣 (Shanxi Province), a magistrate gathered a group of prominent local men, including at least four *jinshi* 進士 and one *juren* 舉人 (*Yuci xianzhi* 1609, 6.2a–3a, 7.5b, 9.69a–70b; *Yuci xianzhi* 1750, 8.8b).

It is unclear whether the magistrate was at the centre of this gathering, but generally local officials seem frequently to have been in the spotlight. They could decide whether to keep old scenic views or make new ones. In one case, a Jiajing-period magistrate added two views to the eight views that had been previously created by a Hongwu-period 洪武 magistrate (*Changle xianzhi* 1548, 1.22a). In another case, a county school instructor expanded the number of his prefecture's views from eight to fifteen (*Qingyang fuzhi* 1557, 17.15b). In Jingjiang County 靖江縣 (Southern Metropolitan Area), a magistrate wrote an essay to record and justify his changes to that county's scenic views (*Xinxiu Jingjiang xianzhi* 1562, 7.7a). Officials also set up rules for poetry composition, as in Kuizhou Prefecture 夔州府 (Sichuan Province), a prefect decided that every participant in one gathering should write a poem of nine couplets for each view (*Kuizhou fuzhi* 1513, 11.41a). In other cases, participants wrote poems to rhyme with those by officials (*Jianping xianzhi* 1562, 7.11a). Such poetry-writing occasions may have helped local officials confirm their authority in local affairs.

The poems produced on such occasions, if included in gazetteers, would become evidence of local officials' sociability and authority. As such poems accumulated in gazetteers, the names of local officials who had written poems would be placed next to previous officials (see for example Fig. 5). This format facilitated comparisons among officials, as is seen in the continuous accumulation of officials' poems and names

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[17] The views are scattered in the *xingsheng* section of each administrative unit. See *Huguang tujing zhishu* 1522.

in the subsection on scenic views.[18] This effect would be amplified as gazetteer compilation became more frequent in the late Ming. Even though not every cohort of local officials was able to print gazetteers, most officials, as Joseph Dennis has demonstrated, continued piling up materials in preparation to update gazetteers (Dennis 2015, 112). Local officials, regardless of whether they would produce new editions or not, frequently consulted gazetteers (Dennis 2015, 189). Those who managed to update gazetteers tended to add their own poems to their gazetteers.[19] It may have been this mechanism of cross-generational competition that fuelled the continuous reproduction of local views.

Local administrators also engaged with local scenic views to demonstrate their mastery of local knowledge. The logic went as follows: if an official knew enough about his locality's scenic views, he must have consulted gazetteers or toured local landscapes, either of which was a sign of good governance. Thus an instructor in the Confucian school of Ruichang County 瑞昌縣 proudly recorded that he was able to respond to inquiries about the county's scenic views with every detail (*Ruichang xianzhi* 1570, 7.17b–19a). The very act of writing poems on landscapes itself was also considered a sign of good governance, as only in times of peace and stability could local officials have the leisure to do so. According to the editors of the 1584 Xiangyang 襄陽 gazetteer, people had two approaches to landscapes: in times of war, warriors and generals relied on mountains and rivers for defence, while in times of peace, poets and writers enjoyed the beauty of local landscapes (*Xiangyang fuzhi* 1584, 7.5a–b). A magistrate named Song Changgu 宋常固 thus concluded his tenure with a poetry-writing gathering, which he thought would prove his efficient governance (*Huizhou fuzhi* 1542, 12.15a–b). As the famous scholar Zeng Qi 曾棨 wrote in a preface recording this gathering, "given that people of this county are content with the policies and do not trouble the magistrate, it is appropriate for him in his leisure to explore the joy of the mountains and rivers" (ibid, 12.15b).[20] Capable officials who had fulfilled their most imperative duties were entitled to relish beautiful scenery.

It is notable that this gathering produced a set of material objects (ibid, 12.15a). It was common for local officials to amass the poems composed during poetry gatherings and make painting albums to pair with them. For instance, a magistrate of Yixing County 宜興縣 commissioned an album of the county's scenic views based on records in previous gazetteers, and organised a similar poetry-writing gathering thirty years later (*Changzhou fuzhi* 1618, 16.55a–b). A prefectural judge (*tuiguan* 推官) of Jiaxing Prefcture 嘉興府 left the album he commissioned to be circulated in Jiaxing after his tenure ended, in hopes that local residents would remember his contributions (*Jiaxing xianzhi* 1637, 21.12b–13a). In Jurong County 句容縣 (Southern Metropolitan Area), upon the departure of a magistrate, his colleagues, his successor, and local elites organised a poetry-writing gathering to honour his contributions (*Jurong xianzhi* 1496, 12.14b). They used the ten views as metaphors for his virtues. For instance, they used the view of "the erupting springs of Jianghu" (*jianghu quanyong* 絳湖泉湧) to signify the magistrate's unbounded learning (ibid.). They then commissioned a painting album and published it to "broadcast for ever the good governance

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[18] For example, see *Huguang tujing zhishu* 1522, 6.33a–34b, 11.11a–15a.

[19] For instance, see the magistrate Wu Xing 伍性 in *Huazhou zhi* 1572, 2.19a.

[20] 夫邑民既安，政務弗煩，則爲令者視篆之餘而寄興於山水之樂亦宜其然也。

of the magistrate" (*Jurong xianzhi* 1496, 12.18b).[21] The paintings belong to what Elizabeth Kindall terms "honorific paintings" that were produced to commemorate officials' contributions when they left their posts, or what Mette Siggestedt terms "occasional art" for the same reason (Kindall 2009, 141; Siggestedt 2001, 247). With the printed album, the magistrate could prove that he had garnered support from his people. This achievement would be remembered by future generations as parts of the album entered the county's gazetteer (*Jurong xianzhi* 1496, 8.26a–29b).

Engagement with local landscapes thus helped local officials distinguish themselves. Dai Hao 戴浩, a native of Zhejiang and magistrate of Yongzhou Prefecture 永州府 in the 1440s, wrote an introduction to Yongzhou's eight views. He recorded how shocked he had been upon his arrival when he found no record of scenic views in its gazetteer. The lack of eight views not only "causes mountains to be ashamed and valleys to be ridiculed" but also "makes officials like us embarrassed for our prefecture" (*Yongzhou fuzhi* 1494, 7.50a–b).[22] His embarrassment implies his assumption that each prefecture should have a set of scenic views; the lack thereof in Yongzhou thus indicated its backwardness. Thus he created the eight views. In doing so, he also attempted to change the prefecture from a barbarous place to a proper one. As this piece entered the gazetteer, it helped establish the prefect as a civiliser, whose major contribution was recorded as pacifying the "Miao barbarians" 苗寇 (ibid., 3.17b).

All in all, local officials could use local landscapes to establish authority, display achievement, and cultivate reputation. It seems that the creation and celebration of local views were a low-stakes technique for officials to gain political capital. But local officials were certainly not the only makers of scenic views. For instance, in Nan'an Prefecture 南安府, Jiangxi, a local scholar named Deng Dewen 鄧德溫 was able to organise a gathering to celebrate the prefecture's scenic views. Yet this did not bring him the type of political capital that many local officials could garner by organising similar events. The related texts included in Nan'an gazetteers emphasised that he was not the first to write poems for local views (*Nan'an fuzhi* 1536, 25.16b–20a). The reproduction of administrative-unit views by local literati could not have the same political effect as was usually associated with sojourning officials. Although local elites may have dominated the production of scenic views of smaller-scale sites, local officials controlled the production and reproduction of administrative-unit scenic views.[23]

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Ming era witnessed the continuous production and reproduction of scenic views of administrative units. Sojourning administrators actively participated in the making of local scenic views, as such activities could help them establish authority, garner local support, and cultivate a good reputation. Visual representations of scenic views started to appear sporadically in gazetteers but did not gain wide

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[21] 播侯善政於悠久。

[22] 惟此八景未備,是使山靈懷慚、林壑聳誚,亦吾官是郡者之所耻也。

[23] For instance, all the seven sets of scenic views recorded in the 1491 *Xiuning xianzhi* were views of lineage residences. Although external scholar-officials wrote poems and essays for the views, it was lineage members—mostly local scholars—who created the views and commissioned the writings. See *Xiuning xianzhi* 1491, 19.22b–24a, 19.26a–28a, 19.35a–36b, 36.30b, 37.8b–9b, 37.15a, 37.12b–13a.

popularity. By the early Qing, almost every administrative unit in China had its own sets of scenic views. The essence of this development was that local officials appropriated the genre of scenic views, which was originally associated with literati culture, to the celebration of scenic views in their jurisdiction. While literati in the most affluent regions continued to engage actively with scenic views, sojourning officials across China manipulated this genre and created an arena that they could dominate.

Although later gazetteer editors criticised or even ridiculed the celebration of scenic views throughout Ming localities (*Ninghua xianzhi* 1669, *fanli*), no complaints about this practice appear in extant Ming-era gazetteers. It is possible that the Ming mechanism for producing scenic views of administrative units was unique. I argue that although different actors—sojourning officials, local gentry, and other forces—attached diverse meanings to scenic views of administrative units, their political meanings were the major reason for their spread across the Ming empire.

The increasing popularity of scenic views of administrative units was part of the late-Ming "ascendance of *jing*" or scenic sites. The proliferation of writings on geographic information, according to Si-yen Fei, embodied a new mindset whereby people could "articulate their lived experiences through the representations of places;" it also shifted "viewers' gazes away from the symbols of political authority" to "famous sites known for their natural beauty or historical associations" (Fei 2010, 150). The changes in images of scenic views in local gazetteers, as I have shown, confirm Fei's observation that the appeal of scenic views themselves, rather than their political meanings, became more capitalised on. This emphasis on the individuality of famous sites, however, does not mean the demise of their political meanings. While writers, painters, poets, and publishers created more literary space for engaging with landscapes, sojourning officials—mostly prefects, magistrates, and educational officials—came to dominate the production and reproduction of "official" versions of scenic views of the locality. In this sense, gazetteers were an important space for such officials to assert their authority in regulating local landscapes. Native literati's growing power in defining local landscapes did not diminish sojourning officials' authority in the production of administrative-unit scenic views.

In fact, in some cases, sojourning officials' authority in this respect may have increased during the late Ming. As Thomas Nimick has aptly demonstrated, such officials had gained "an extraordinary amount of responsibility and authority" by the early sixteenth century and became responsible for "everything that happened within their jurisdiction" (Nimick 2008, 97). Their expanding duties increased their vulnerability and caused them to prioritise the duties emphasised by their superiors and supervisors and to ignore the common people's needs; this became a social problem and incurred criticism from officials such as Hai Rui 海瑞 (Nimick 2008, 98, 102–103). In this context, doing things less imperative than fulfilling tax quotas would help local officials distinguish themselves from the stereotype and stand on the moral high ground. Touring and documenting local landscapes was a low-stakes investment of this type. If other tasks qualified local officials as competent administrators, then engaging with the scenic views of their governed localities would help them cultivate an image as benevolent "father and mother officials".

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Abbreviation

FZK Airusheng zhongguo fangzhi ku 愛如生中國方志庫 (Airusheng database of Chinese gazetteers) edition.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Locating the Sea: A Visual and Social Analysis of Coastal Gazetteers in Late Imperial China

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Local gazetteers were important tools for local government in late imperial China as they helped officials familiarize themselves with their jurisdiction. Local gazetteers are also valuable historical sources for the study of state and society in late imperial China, but the reading of local gazetteers as historical sources requires careful examination of the process by which knowledge in local gazetteers was produced. Officials and local literati who collaborated in the compilation of gazetteers negotiated between the need for an accurate administrative tool and the desire to represent their locality on a supra-local stage. This negotiation informed decisions around the inclusion or exclusion of content. Agriculture and Confucian education were key aspects of the social order that benefited literati, and were therefore dominant elements in local gazetteers. Along the coasts of late imperial China, however, maritime interests competed with agriculture for influence in local society. This article examines the inclusion or exclusion of local forms of maritime knowledge in gazetteers from coastal counties to gain a better understanding of the process by which knowledge was produced. Moreover, while individual literati showed interest in the maritime world, the question remains to what extent such interests found their way into gazetteers. This article applies collective analysis to visual representations of coastlines to examine their role in the construction of maritime knowledge in the genre of local gazetteers as a whole.

中國明清時期，地方志是幫助地方官員瞭解轄區的重要工具，也是研究國家和社會寶貴的歷史資料。若用作歷史資料則需仔細研究其內容的生成過程。合作編纂地方志的官員和地方文人通常要在對有效行政工具的需求與向上級表達地方訴求之間進行權衡，對收錄的內容進行篩選。農業和儒家教統是建立一套有利於文人的社會秩序的關鍵，因而成為地方志的主導內容。然而明清時期的沿海地區，海岸經濟開始與傳統農業爭奪在當地的影響力。爲了瞭解相關知識的構建過程，本文考察了沿海郡縣地方志中對當地海岸知識的收錄與排斥。雖然個別文人對沿海海域表現出興趣，但這種興趣多大程度上體現在地方志中尚待釐清。爲了研究方志中構建的海岸知識與海岸線的相關性，本文對海岸線的視覺表徵進行了集體性分析。

In 1479, a saltwater flood broke through the sea dikes of Zhangzhou prefecture in Fujian. The prefect, a man named Jiang Liang 薑諒, immediately opened the doors of local granaries to support the farmers who had lost their harvest to the flood. He used famine relief to stop starving farmers engaging in banditry, a common response for officials of the Ming Empire (1368-1644), who governed an empire that was founded on agriculture (Brook 2010, 126-7). Moreover, only a few years earlier his predecessor had done the same after the Jiulong River flooded, and the people of Zhangzhou praised him for his actions. The starving farmers who received famine relief from Jiang, however, still resorted to banditry. Jiang had not considered the difference between a freshwater flood and a saltwater flood. The latter turned groundwater brackish and compromised the soil quality for years. His relief aid may have helped the farmers through one difficult year, but their livelihood would not be restored for several years. Only after banditry engulfed the prefecture did Jiang reach out to the affected farmers in an attempt to understand the root cause of the problem. They explained to him that the sea dikes had been in poor repair for years and offered inadequate protection against saltwater floods. Jiang then repaired the dikes and all seems to have been resolved, at least for as long as the sea dikes were properly maintained (*Zhangzhou fuzhi (Wanli), juan* 4, 317-8).

The saltwater flood of 1479 was recorded in a biography of Jiang in the *Zhangzhou fuzhi* 漳州府志 (Zhangzhou prefectural gazetteer), which was first published during the Zhengde reign (1505-1521). Jiang earned his biography in a section on "famous officials" (*ming huan* 名宦) because he suppressed banditry in Zhangzhou during his term, but the biography also shows that he initially struggled to understand why Zhangzhou residents had turned to banditry. There was a sharp distinction between his knowledge on governance of local society and local knowledge about the impact of the sea on coastal communities. Farmers in coastal counties were well aware of the vital importance of sea dikes for the protection of their fields, but the poor state of repair prior to the arrival of Jiang indicates that officials had not prioritised maintenance. Furthermore, Jiang initially followed in the footsteps of his predecessors and ignored local knowledge about the sea. Only after his conventional response to famine failed to solve the issue of banditry did Jiang turn to local knowledge. But why did Jiang fail to account for the influence of the sea on life in Zhangzhou?

Fertile land in Zhangzhou was scarce and coastal residents engaged in a variety of economic activities other than agriculture, including such maritime activities as fishing, gathering mussels, boiling seawater for salt, overseas trade, and, on occasion, piracy. Effective governance of Zhangzhou depended on an understanding of the role of such activities in local society, but the example of prefect Jiang shows that he overlooked, or at least underestimated, the influence of the sea on coastal communities, even the ones that did engage in agriculture. Officials like Jiang governed their jurisdiction for only a few years before they moved on to their next position, so they often relied on gazetteers with geographical, demographic, and historical information to familiarise themselves with local conditions. Although the gazetteer of Zhangzhou contains a list of dikes for each county, their specific locations remain unclear (*Zhangzhou fuzhi (Wanli), juan* 19, 1398-9). Moreover, gazetteers generally do not distinguish between regular dikes and sea dikes, nor emphasise the importance of the latter in the prevention of saltwater floods. In addition, the map of Zhangzhou (Fig. 1) included in this gazetteer provides names and locations for mountains, islands, administrative

units, and state institutions, but not for the dikes listed in the gazetteer (*Zhangzhou fuzhi (Wanli), juan* 1, 65-6).
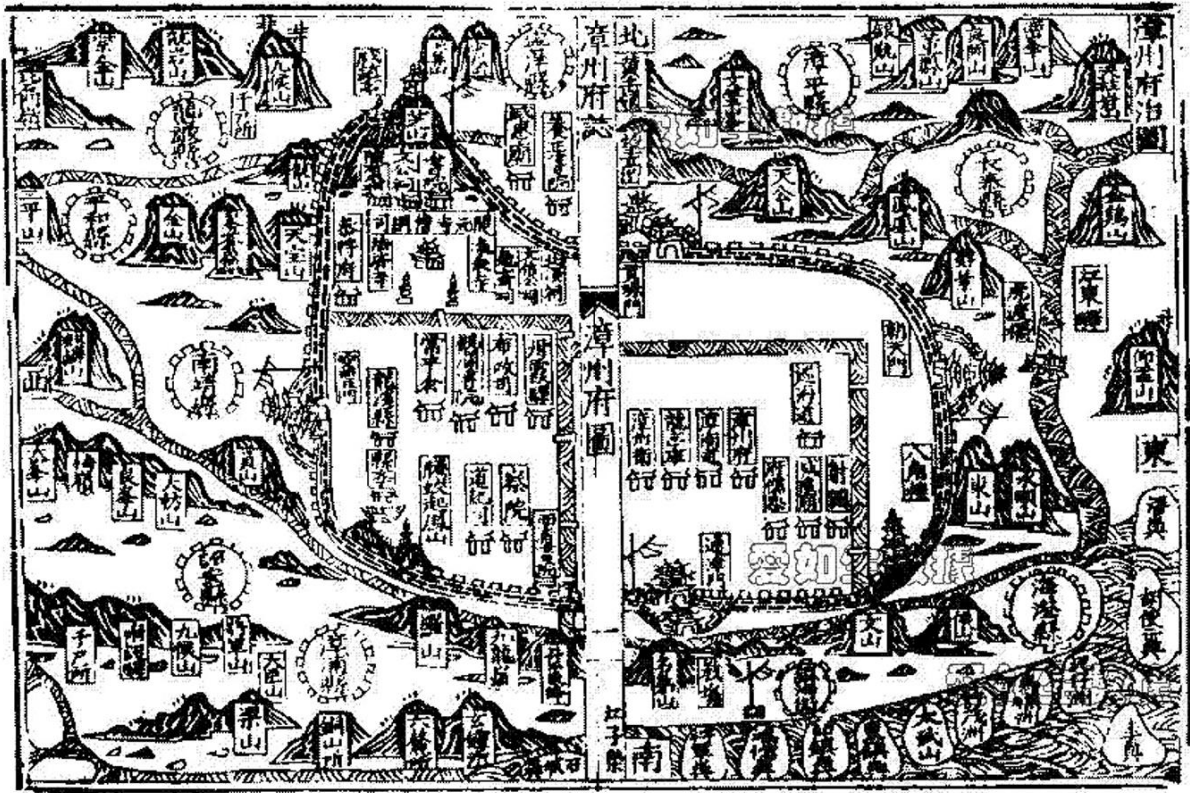
Fig. 1: Map of Zhangzhou, in Luo Qingxiao and Peng Ze, eds, 1573 *Zhangzhou fuzhi, juan* 1, 65-6. Image credit: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.*

In other words, the gazetteer map did not draw the attention of imperial officials like Jiang to the importance of dikes, nor did the list of dikes emphasise the vital role of sea dikes in particular. Jiang was prepared for a freshwater flood, but handled a saltwater flood in the same way, and the gazetteer did not alert him to the disastrous consequences of this approach.

According to Cordell Yee, gazetteer maps "seemed to have served primarily as complements to the verbal description" (Yee 1994, 91). Alexander Akin similarly argues that gazetteer maps served "as an outline upon which the details of the text unfold", but also claims that gazetteer maps help to "orient the reader" (Akin 2021, 43-4). Thus, while text and visual material were juxtaposed, gazetteer maps guided readers in their understanding of the gazetteer texts. In addition, Kenneth Hammond states that maps are graphic representations of physical space that provide selected information "to allow a viewer to understand that space in a particular way" (Hammond 2019, 131). The inclusion or exclusion of map elements shaped how readers understood the physical space that was represented and that particular understanding affected their reading experience. In the case of the *Zhangzhou fuzhi*, the map does not include dikes and does not draw attention to the sea or its potential impact on coastal farmlands. The gazetteer map excluded the

kind of local knowledge about the maritime world that could have helped officials like Jiang prevent salt-water floods. Gazetteer maps helped late imperial Chinese officials to understand the physical space along the coast in a particular way, which affected how they read the gazetteer that familiarised them with their jurisdiction, and that in turn had an impact on how they governed coastal communities.

To understand how gazetteer maps shaped a particular understanding of the coast, this paper examines graphic representations of the sea in late imperial Chinese gazetteers.[1] Following Hammond, who argues that "maps can be seen as texts in themselves", this paper reads graphic representations of the sea with a focus on the inclusion or exclusion of map elements to analyse the cultural construction of the coast in late imperial Chinese gazetteers (Hammond 2019, 131). Whereas Yee and Akin consider gazetteer maps complementary to gazetteer texts, this paper argues that gazetteer maps played a crucial role in the construction of a particular understanding of the coast that marginalised the sea and hindered the inclusion of local knowledge about the maritime world in local gazetteers. The distinction between local knowledge and official knowledge on the governance of local society is already apparent in the *Zhangzhou fuzhi*, but to understand how gazetteer maps in general constructed a particular understanding of the coast first requires a closer look at the genre of Chinese local gazetteers.

Reading Chinese local gazetteers

Local gazetteers are considered a distinct genre in Chinese history, and they have been explored by numerous historians for their wealth of geographical, demographic, and historical information about localities throughout late imperial China. Nearly ten thousand gazetteers from the beginning of the Song dynasty (960-1279) until the founding of the PRC in 1949 are still extant today. Although seemingly simple repositories of historical material, according to Joseph Dennis local gazetteers were "complex texts" and sites of interaction between central government officials and local elites (Dennis 2015, 3). He argues that the production of each individual gazetteer was shaped by the underlying agendas of its compilers. In other words, local information in gazetteers was mediated by the local elites and officials involved in the editorial process. Gazetteers were living documents, and information was continually added, removed, or edited. Some editorial choices were informed by the conventions of genre, for example the biographies of women often focus on the preservation of their chastity, while the biographies of men range from martial heroics or selfless acts of filial piety, to academic success and administrative accomplishments. Other editorial choices were informed by the interests of gazetteer compilers, some of whom turned the local gazetteer into an extension of their family history. Thus, some compilers included the biographies of family and friends on the basis of personal relations rather than some generally perceived notion of merit.

Reading Chinese local gazetteers requires careful attention to the impact of mediation in the editorial process, and even one step prior in the acquisition of local information. Timothy Brook shows how mediators affected the accuracy and reliability of local information in gazetteers. In his discussion of Ye

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Chunji's 葉春及 gazetteer cartography, Brook points out that Ye initially relied on local elders to provide him with local maps, but "it seems they met his request in good bureaucratic fashion: by simply sketching pre-existing drawings or maps … rather than actually surveying their areas" (Brook 2005, 47-8). Although Brook does not further explore the specific reasons why these local elders provided inaccurate information, the general issue of inaccurate maps may be explained through James Scott's concept of "illegibility" (Scott 1998, 29), or local forms of knowledge that were incompatible with the way central government officials viewed society. Ye Chunji's map-making project was an attempt to obtain "an unimpeded view of the territory that it was his job to tax" (Brook 2005, 43), and the information on local geography provided by local elders was incompatible with this aim. Whether on purpose or not, local elders resisted Ye's attempt to bring their locality clearly into the view of the government officials whose task it was to extract tax from this area. Scott and Brook both state that maps were vital tools for the state to locate taxable land, but, according to Scott, local society exercised the capacity "to modify, subvert, block, and even overturn the categories imposed upon it" (Scott 1998, 49). Ye Chunji was in a position to survey the land and produce his own maps, but most late imperial Chinese officials were not. They relied on local gazetteers for information about their jurisdiction, and they relied on local mediators to provide that information in the first place. Inaccurate information offered a degree of protection against state interference in society, and local mediators were in an excellent position to shape information to best serve their own interest. The social context of gazetteer compilation is therefore an integral part of reading gazetteers.

In addition to the importance of mediators in the stages of information acquisition and gazetteer compilation, I would argue that local gazetteers, as sites of interaction between local elites and central government officials, stimulated the construction of an official knowledge community that only selectively integrated local forms of knowledge. Although gazetteers circulated local information outside the locality and thus "helped bind locales to the centralizing state and dominant culture" (Dennis 2015, 3), I contend that the attempt to integrate local information into the dominant culture prioritised the kind of local information that was compatible with the dominant culture at the expense of local forms of knowledge that were not. For example, the aforementioned biographies of virtuous women emphasise the preservation of chastity even if the outcome was death. Gazetteers thus include biographies of women who had been captured by bandits and then committed suicide to preserve their chastity, but not biographies of women who married bandits and brought commercial wealth to their extended family. In other words, the pressure of dominant cultural values affected the production of individual gazetteers. Compilers included or excluded information to meet the conventions of the genre, but by their doing so, gazetteers created an official, supra-local knowledge community that resisted the integration of contradictory or alternative local forms of knowledge.

Genre conventions created a barrier for the inclusion of local forms of knowledge in late imperial Chinese gazetteers. John Brian Harley similarly argues for early modern European cartography that "intentional or unintentional suppression of knowledge in maps" creates silences that can be read as positive statements, rather than as mere absences of something else, and interpreted as "socially constructed perspectives on the world" (Harley 1988, 57-8). Silences tell us as much about the worldviews of gazetteer compilers as their utterances do. They help maintain the political *status quo* through the mediation of knowledge in

gazetteers, and through the intentional or unintentional suppression of incongruous local knowledge. However, officials whose image of their jurisdiction was shaped by official knowledge risked ignoring local forms of knowledge that were vital for efficient governance, either on purpose to maintain the power of the state or as a result of unconscious historical *a priori* assumptions. Although Ronald Po claims that "the Qing dynasty was more involved in maritime management than has previously been acknowledged" (Po 2016, 94), he also shows in his discussion of coastal maps that there was a pressing need to better evaluate coastal conditions and that late imperial officials could not rely on gazetteers to do so (Po 2016, 102-3). As the case of prefect Jiang has shown, even though he managed to learn from local informants, he initially understood coastal society in the same way as any other part of the agrarian Ming Empire, and therefore overlooked or underestimated the importance of sea dikes.[2] Mediators who represented local forms of knowledge pertaining to the maritime world struggled to penetrate the official knowledge community. This lack of accurate and relevant information in local gazetteers about the influence of the maritime world on local society hindered effective governance in administrative units along the coast.

A visual analysis of local gazetteers

Farmers along the coast were intimately familiar with the ways in which the maritime world affected their lives, and they were a potential source of information, but gazetteer compilers were selective in their inclusion of local knowledge. Although gazetteers contain traces of the rich and vibrant maritime world of fisherfolk, maritime merchants, smugglers, and pirates, this paper does not attempt to reconstruct that world, but rather aims to study traces of the maritime world in local gazetteers as evidence for the integration of local forms of knowledge. This paper thus benefits from the works of Brook and Dennis, who shifted the focus of historical inquiry from the relevance of gazetteers for our understanding of historical events to the socio-political negotiations around gazetteer compilation (Brook 2005; Dennis 2015). This paper is concerned with the formation of knowledge *in* gazetteers, not the study of the maritime world *through* gazetteers.[3] Moreover, where the early work of Dennis and Brook primarily studied gazetteer compilation through careful analysis of individual gazetteers in their historical context, this paper takes advantage of recent advances in digital humanities to undertake collective analysis of digitised gazetteers.

The development of the Local Gazetteers Research Tools (LoGaRT) at the Max Planck Institute in Berlin allows for the interrogation of a large number of gazetteers (Chen et al. 2017). Although this approach does not replace the careful contextualisation and analysis of individual gazetteers, the collective approach does open the way for an interrogation of the genre itself (Chen 2020a, 544). While analyses of individual gazetteers shed light on the role of mediators in the compilation of specific gazetteers, the question of local knowledge integration in the body of official knowledge requires collective analysis of a large number of local gazetteers. This paper takes advantage of the abundance of digitised gazetteers to study graphic representations of coasts as a collective, not as individual representations of specific geographical locations,

[2] For more information on official attitudes towards the maritime world, see Dreyer 2007, Li 2010, Po 2018, and Polacheck 1992.

[3] For a discussion of coastal maps and their relevance for the study of coastal geography, see Mills 1954.

but "the coast" as an element in the worldview of late imperial Chinese officials and literati, and as a space where the maritime world had an impact on their agrarian society. Furthermore, while textual descriptions of coasts are scarce and unequally distributed, nearly all gazetteers from administrative units along the coast contain administrative maps and other images that include the coast. This paper is therefore focused on visual material in local gazetteers from such coastal administrative units.

LoGaRT provides access to 4,410 digitised gazetteers from the *Zhongguo fangzhi ku* 中國方志庫 (Database of Chinese local records) and the Harvard Yenching Library Rare Books Collection (Schäfer et al. 2019). This is roughly a quarter of the estimated total of local gazetteers produced between the Song dynasty and the republican period (Chen 2020b). The Local Gazetteer Map (LG Map) function in LoGaRT allows for a visual representation of the spatial distribution of these digitised gazetteers, and facilitates a manual selection of all digitised gazetteers published in administrative units along the coast, leading to a subset of 253 gazetteers. Feeding the book IDs of these gazetteers into the Pages with Images (P.W.I.) search function results in a total of 10,520 images, and around 1,600 of these images contain representations of the coast. Considering that this subset resembles the overarching data set of 4,410 digitised gazetteers in everything except spatial distribution, including chronological distribution and administration type, we can assume that this spatial subset is as statistically representative of all gazetteers published in administrative units along the coast as the overarching database is of the genre. The remainder of this paper analyses these visual representations of the coast through a discussion of the form, focus, and content of these images.

Mapping the sea

More than three quarters of the visual representations of the coast in Chinese local gazetteers can be considered to be maps that show administrative units, or parts thereof, from a bird's-eye view. This dominance of maps in coastal gazetteers is also reflected in the wider genre and should come as no surprise considering the close connection between local gazetteers and administrative units. Less than one quarter of the images can be considered scenic depictions, which, as Luo Qi phrased it, "are closer to paintings than to maps in terms of their non-practical function of appreciating natural beauty" (Luo 2016, 55). According to Luo the visual representations in local gazetteers are too easily lumped together as "maps", even though a small number of illustrations depict a single scene, rather than "orient human beings in the universe" (Luo 2016, 55). Take for example a visual representation of the coast from the *(Chifeng) Tianhou zhi* (敕封)天后志 (Gazetteer of (conferring titles on) the Empress of Heaven), which was compiled in Putian, Fujian, and published in 1778 (Fig. 2).

This scenic depiction shows a ship in distress and several human figures either on the coast or on board the ship. The figure on the coast is Lin Mo 林默, a woman from Putian who was deified as *Mazu* 媽祖 (Maternal ancestor) and *Tianhou* 天后 (Empress of Heaven). Mariners prayed to her for safety at sea, as she was believed to have power over wind and water.
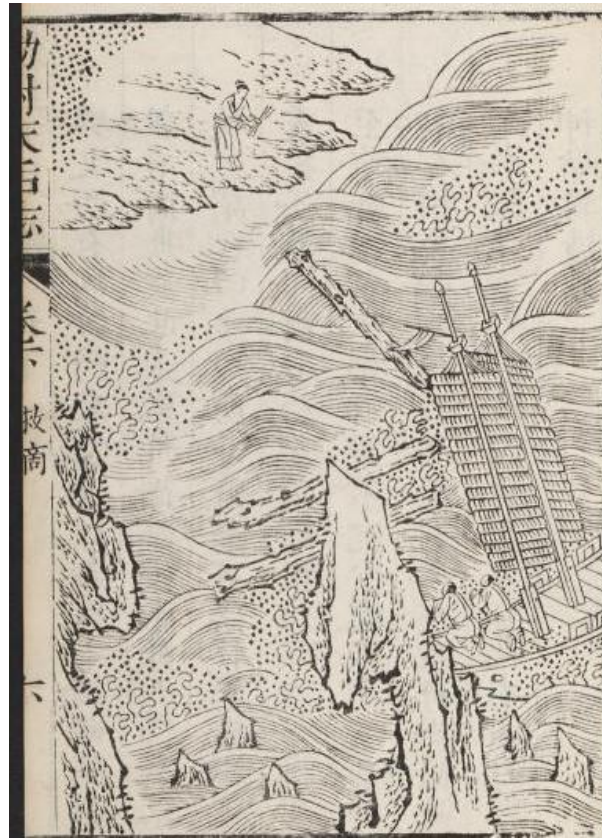
Fig. 2: Scenic depiction of a ship in distress, in Lin Qingbiao, ed., 1778 *(Chifeng) Tianhou zhi, juan* 1, 94. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:5112556?n=94)

The two human figures on board the ship can be seen to kneel with hands clasped in reverence. Unlike maps of administrative units, this visual representation places the coast in a religious context, not as the boundary on an administrative map, but as a landscape with spiritual significance. However, such scenic depictions are unequally distributed over late imperial Chinese gazetteers. Half the scenic depictions are contained in the *(Chifeng) Tianhou zhi* and one other gazetteer, entitled *Putuoshan zhi* 普陀山志 (Gazetteer of Mount Potala), which was compiled in Zhoushan, Zhejiang, and published in 1607. While most gazetteers are occupied with administrative units, such as counties, prefectures, and provinces, these two gazetteers focus on the Lin lineage in Putian and the Buddhist temples on Putuoshan Island respectively. Scenic depictions offer more diverse representations of the coast than maps, as maps were often confined to a stable "repertoire of visual representation" (Hammond 2019, 133). However, the large concentration of scenic depictions in just two gazetteers also shows that such diverse representations of the coast barely penetrated the genre as a whole. This example thus shows an internal boundary within the genre of local gazetteers that largely confined certain constructions of the coast to gazetteers with a religious focus.

Fig. 3: Map of Yangjiang, in Fan Shijin, ed., 1688 *Yangjiang xianzhi*, *juan* 1, 21. Image credit: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.*

Considering the limited influence of scenic depictions on visual representations of the coast in local gazetteers, the remainder of this paper concentrates on gazetteer maps. Visual representations of the coast exhibit different degrees of focus on the sea. In roughly one third of the images the sea is a small sliver in the margin of the image, while in another third of the images the sea occupies a central position. The maps of Yangjiang 陽江 and Chaoyang 潮陽, two counties in Guangdong, illustrate the full range of this distribution (Figs. 3 and 4).

Fig. 4: Map of Chaoyang, in Huang Yilong and Lin Dachun, eds, 1572 *Chaoyang xianzhi*, *juan* 1, 48. Image credit: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.*

The map of Yangjiang relegates the sea to a small margin at the bottom of the map, while the sea in the map of Chaoyang covers half the map. The remaining images fall somewhere in between. The fair distribution along a range of representations from marginal to central shows that in the genre of local gazetteers as a whole the sea occupied an undeniable place. However, the presence of visual representations of the coast does not necessarily provide insight into the presence of local knowledge about the maritime world in the official knowledge community of local gazetteers: this requires collective analysis of the content of these visual representations with emphasis on the symbols that indicate interaction between coastal society and the maritime world. Although one-fifth of the images show no indication of any interaction with the maritime world at all, the remaining images include a wide variety of nautical information, including islands, bays, beacons, ships, and shipping routes.

Fig. 5: Map of Xiangshan in Deng Qian and Huang Zuo, eds, 1548 *Xiangshan xianzhi, juan* 1, 15-6. Image credit: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.*

Islands

More than half the images contain representations of islands, usually symbolised as rounded pyramids protruding from the waves. The 1548 *Xiangshan xianzhi* 香山縣志 (Xiangshan county gazetteer) provides a typical example (Fig. 5). The map shows Xiangshan in the centre and several neighbouring counties along the edges of the map. The rest of the image is occupied by waves from which several islands emerge. Their location is not precise and neither are their shapes, but their presence in this map indicates their presence in the mental landscape of the gazetteer compilers. The gazetteer map thus draws attention to the islands as part of the jurisdiction of any county magistrate in Xiangshan. However, the abstract representation of these islands also erased their uniqueness. As Harley argues, "the lack of qualitative differentiations in maps ... serves to dehumanise the landscape. Such maps convey knowledge where the subject is kept at bay" (Harley 1988, 66). As such the islands were incorporated in the official knowledge community, but stripped first of their qualitative differentiations and turned into abstract elements of the administrative space of Xiangshan.

Fig. 6: Map of Quanzhou, in Huai Yinbu and Huang Ren, eds., 1743 *Quanzhou fuzhi, juan* 1, 162-3.
Image credit: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.*

The 1743 *Quanzhou fuzhi* 泉州府志 (Quanzhou prefectural gazetteer) provides another example (Fig. 6), but here the islands have unique shapes and their location is represented in a way that provides a sense of direction, if not the actual shipping routes, between them. The *Quanzhou fuzhi* turns the islands into concrete and specific locations within Quanzhou prefecture. The map not only informs the reader of the abstract presence of certain islands, but includes information about relative size and location, thus turning the sea into a knowable, and to some extent navigable, space. Maps like the one in the *Quanzhou fuzhi*

also include signs of habitation on the larger islands. This gazetteer extends the prefecture to include the islands, in a way that the *Xiangshan xianzhi* does not, and in doing so incorporates the sea within the prefecture. The maritime world thus became more concrete to the prefects who would have relied on the *Quanzhou fuzhi* to familiarise themselves with this prefecture.

The unique shapes of the islands also indicate the influence of observations from mariners on the graphic representation of these islands in the gazetteer map. As Elke Papelitzky has argued, "the knowledge transfer seems to have been unilateral, running from sailor ... to mapmaker, never in the other direction" (Papelitzky 2021, 112). Brook also indicates that coastal maps are "not nautical in the sense of being produced for navigational purposes", but rather, "the impulse for producing these maps came from the state, which was eager to document its borders" (Brook 2017, 4). Coastal maps, such as the gazetteer map of Quanzhou, were not designed as navigational support, but they were based on information from mariners, and they are evidence of the inclusion of local knowledge on the maritime world in gazetteers. The compilers who included unique, rather than abstract, graphic representations of islands helped their readers understand the coast as a maritime world that included offshore islands and their populations. The gazetteer map of Quanzhou, however, is one of only a handful of gazetteer maps that represent islands in this way. Most gazetteer maps depict islands as abstract circles or rounded pyramids dotted evenly along the coast, as in the gazetteer map of Xiangshan.

Beacon mounds, or wind vanes?

The second most common indicator of interaction with the maritime world, and certainly the most curious one, appears to be a wind vane (Fig. 7). J.V.G. Mills identified this symbol as a "beacon mound" (*feng hou* 烽堠), which was a military observation tower placed at regular distances along the coast (Mills 1954, 158). The beacon mounds on gazetteer maps invoke a sense of potential violence from the direction of the sea, against which beacon mounds provide protection.

Fig. 7: Cropped map of Ganshui, in Dong Gu, ed., 1566 *Xu Ganshui zhi*, *juan* 1, 5. Image credit: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku*.

This impression is further strengthened in gazetteer maps such as the *Guangzhou shu haifang tu* 廣州屬
海防圖 (Map of the coastal defence [fortifications] in Guangzhou) (Fig.8) in the 1758 *Guangzhou fuzhi*
廣州府志 (Guangzhou prefectural gazetteer). This map shows a series of beacon mounds placed along
the coast and next to major rivers, which hints at their significance for coastal defence. Beacon mounds
may have been popularised as graphic representations of coastal defence structures through the publica-
tion of the *Chou hai tu bian* 籌海圖編 (Illustrated compendium on maritime security) (Fig. 9) in 1562.
The maps in the *Chou hai tu bian* were surveyed anew and compiled by Zheng Ruozeng 鄭若曾 in
response to an escalation of coastal violence in the 1550s. Similarities between these maps show that gaz-
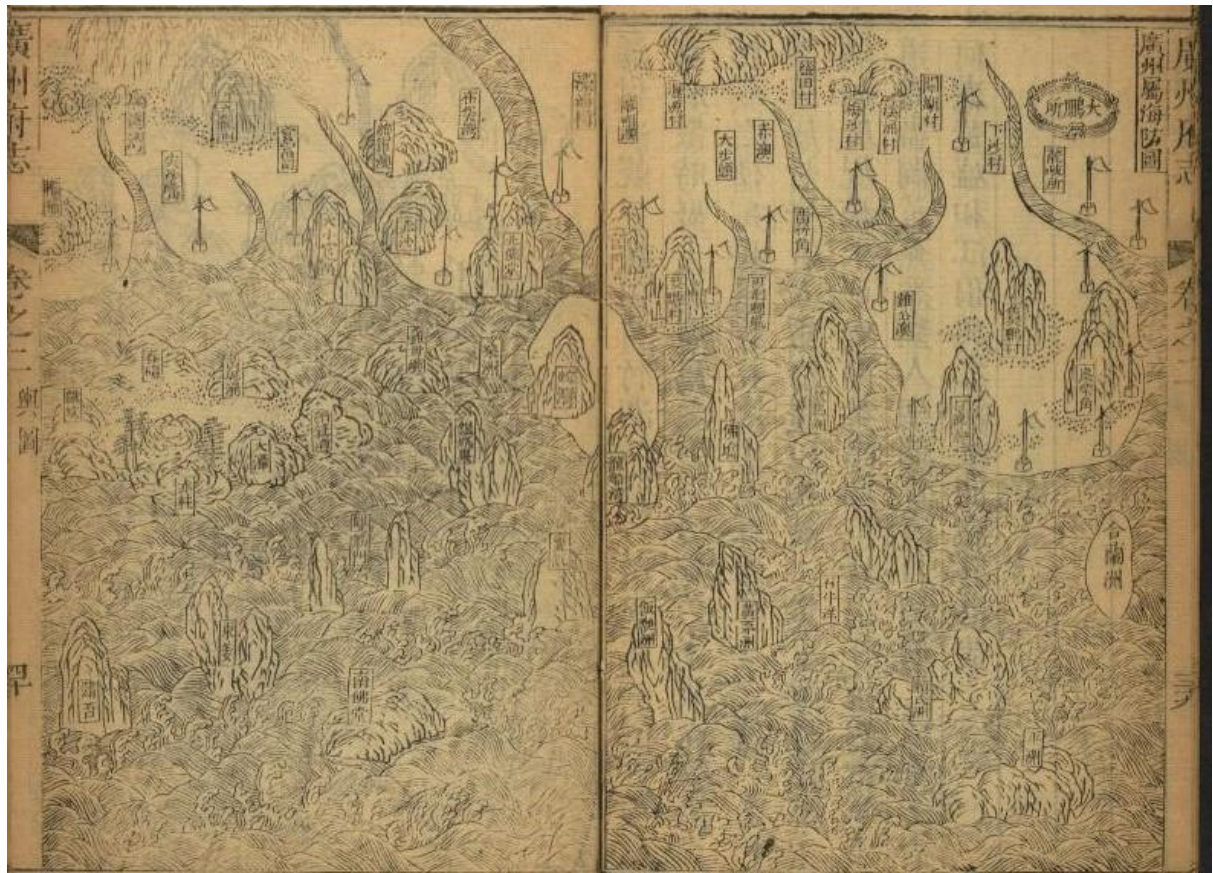etteer maps and other coastal maps shared a repertoire of visual representations.

Fig. 8: Map of coastal defence [fortifications] in Guangzhou, in Shen Tingfang, ed., 1758 *Guangzhou
fuzhi, juan* 1, 167. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.har-
vard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:14816931?n=167)
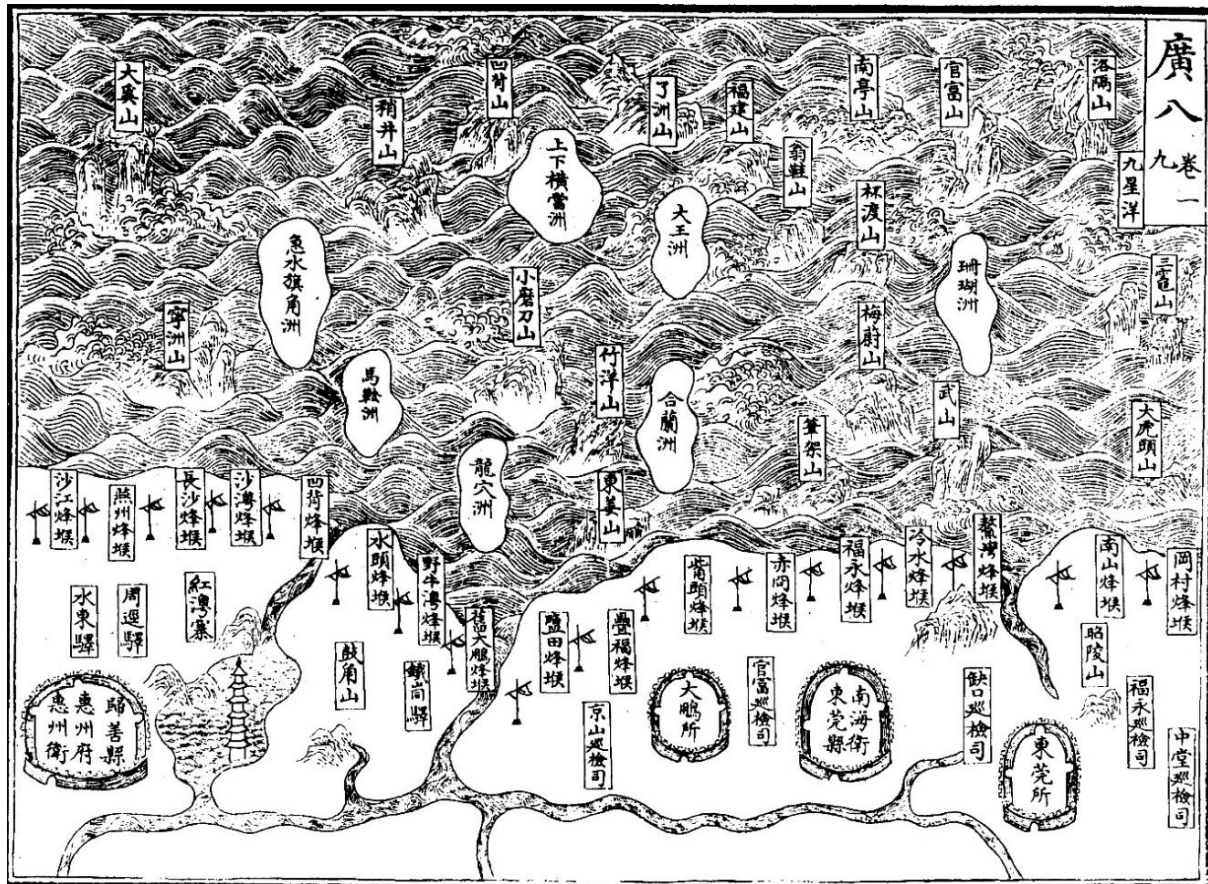
Fig. 9: Guang[dong map] eight, in Zheng Ruozeng, ed., 1562 *Chou hai tu bian, juan* 1, 9.

The *Chou hai tu bian* matches each symbol of a beacon mound with the name of a beacon mound, but the gazetteer map of Guangzhou leaves many beacon mound symbols nameless. Moreover, the map of Ganshui applied the "beacon mound" symbol to a *yan wu ting* 演武亭 (Pavilion for military performance), which was a structure from which military officers and others could overlook military training grounds. While gazetteer maps and other coastal maps shared a repertoire of visual representations, individual gazetteer compilers broadened the meanings attached to such symbols. In addition, the maker of the Ganshui map used nearly identical beacon mound symbols for the *yan wu ting* and for the masts of the ships anchored off the coast of Ganshui (Fig. 7). Rather than adding sails to the ships, the map maker added the flag-like symbol that also represented beacon mounds, which could indicate that the ships were military in nature, like the beacon mounds, or that the banners on top of beacon mounds performed a similar function to the flags on top of masts, which was to indicate wind direction and speed. Either way, the presence of this symbol in a quarter of the visual representations of the coast in local gazetteers indicates an awareness of the maritime world that goes beyond the mere presence of islands. Gazetteer maps that included beacon mounds, or wind vanes, directed the gaze of their readers to the sea. More specifically, the military connotations attached to the beacon mound symbol guided gazetteer readers to an understanding of the sea as a potential source of violence.

The inclusion of this map element in a quarter of the visual representations of the coast in local gazetteers shows that the beacon mound was a widely accepted symbol among gazetteer compilers. Beacon mounds even show up in scenic depictions of the coast. Take the 1673 *Penglai xianzhi* 蓬萊縣志 (Penglai county gazetteer) (Fig. 10) as an example. The gazetteer includes a series of ten scenic depictions, commonly known as *shi jing* 十景 (Ten views). According to Luo, many of the non-map illustrations in gazetteers are part of *ba jing* 八景 (Eight views) or *shi jing* series (Luo 2016, 47, 55). Such series of scenic depictions offered gazetteer compilers an opportunity to highlight the scenic attractions in their locality in a way that maps did not allow. This particular scenic depiction is the fifth image in a series of ten and shows several fishermen on a rock in the sea, as well as two ships, and a beacon mound on top of a steep hill. The title of this image, *Yu liang ge diao* 漁梁歌釣 (Singing and angling on the fishermen's bridge) turns the sea into an enjoyable space for leisure activities, but the presence of the beacon mound, which is only accessible via a steep path, casts a shadow over this scene. The beacon mound thus transcended the boundary between maps and scenic depictions, but constructed in both kinds of visual representation a particular understanding of the sea as a potential source of violence that required constant vigilance.

Fig. 10: Scenic depiction of fishermen angling, in Cao Yonghua and Gao Gang, eds., 1673 *Penglai xianzhi, juan* 1, 26. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12229262?n=26)
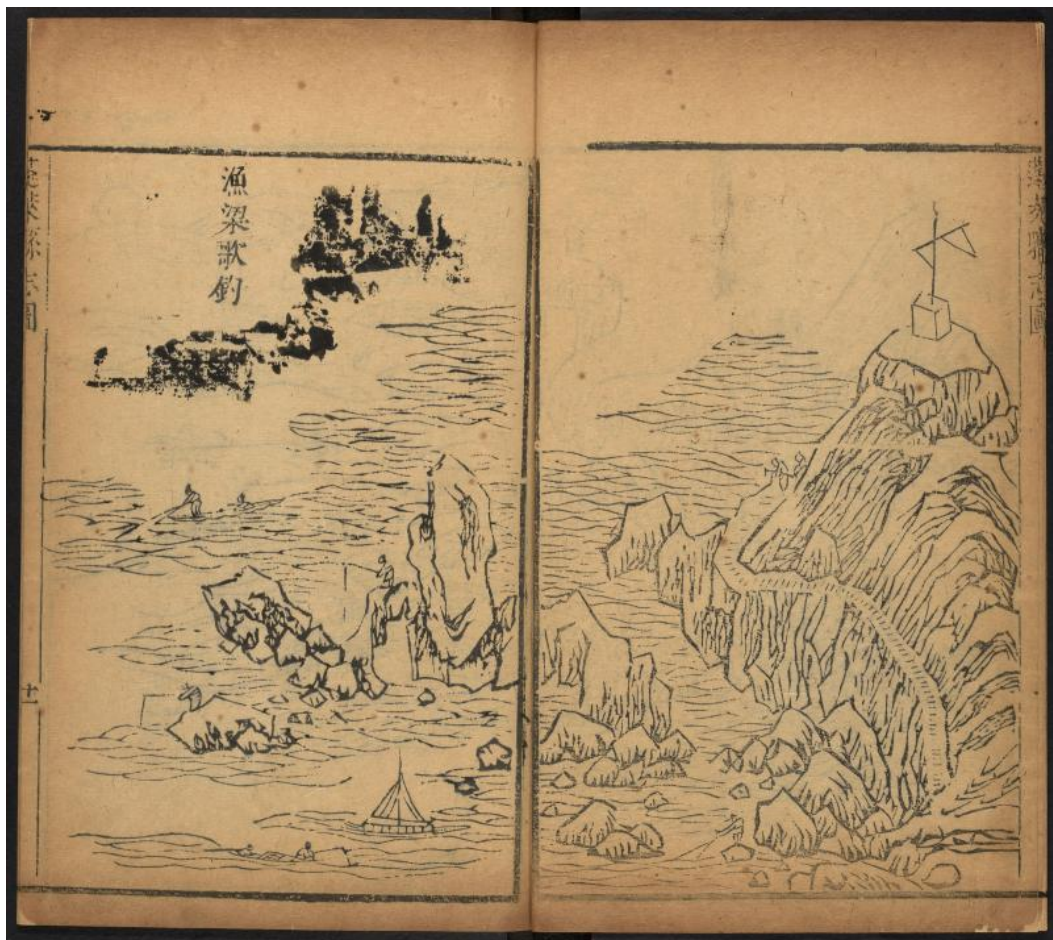
Ships, shipping routes, and other nautical information

Brook argues that "nautical data appears on coastal maps, but only secondarily" (Brook 2017, 4). This holds true for visual representations of the coast in local gazetteers as well. Apart from islands and beacon mounds, ships were a common element in the repertoire of visual representations. Ships appear in sixteen percent of the visual representations of the coast, but like islands, most ships are shown by rudimentary symbols. The map of Ganshui (Fig. 7), for example, represents ships as a half moon shape with a flag on top. Most ships are simple depictions that break the monotony of the waves, as can be seen in the *Bianhai yingzhai tu* 邊海營寨圖 (Map of coastal fortifications) (Fig. 11). There is no indication of shipping routes or other nautical activities.

Fig. 11: Cropped map of coastal fortifications in Pinghu, in Guo Gaoying and Shen Guangzen, eds, 1745 *Pinghu xianzhi*, juan 1, 62. Image credit: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.*

Only 32 images in the dataset visualise specific information about shipping routes, and more than ninety percent of these images come from the various editions of the *Chongming xianzhi* 崇明縣志 (Chongming county gazetteer) (Fig. 12). Chongming is a low-lying island in the river mouth of the Yangzi, now part of Shanghai, and one of the key connections between riverine traffic and maritime traffic. The maps show both the local shipping routes in the river mouth as well as several long-distance routes to Japan. These visual representations thus constructed an understanding of the coast, and Chongming in particular, as a space where riverine and overseas traffic connected. The inclusion of shipping routes brings maritime traffic alive in a way that the simple depiction of a ship does not. Although the *Chongming xianzhi* shows that local forms of knowledge about the maritime world did find their way into local gazetteers, the concentration of 29 out of 32 images in one gazetteer suggests that this was an exception rather than the rule.
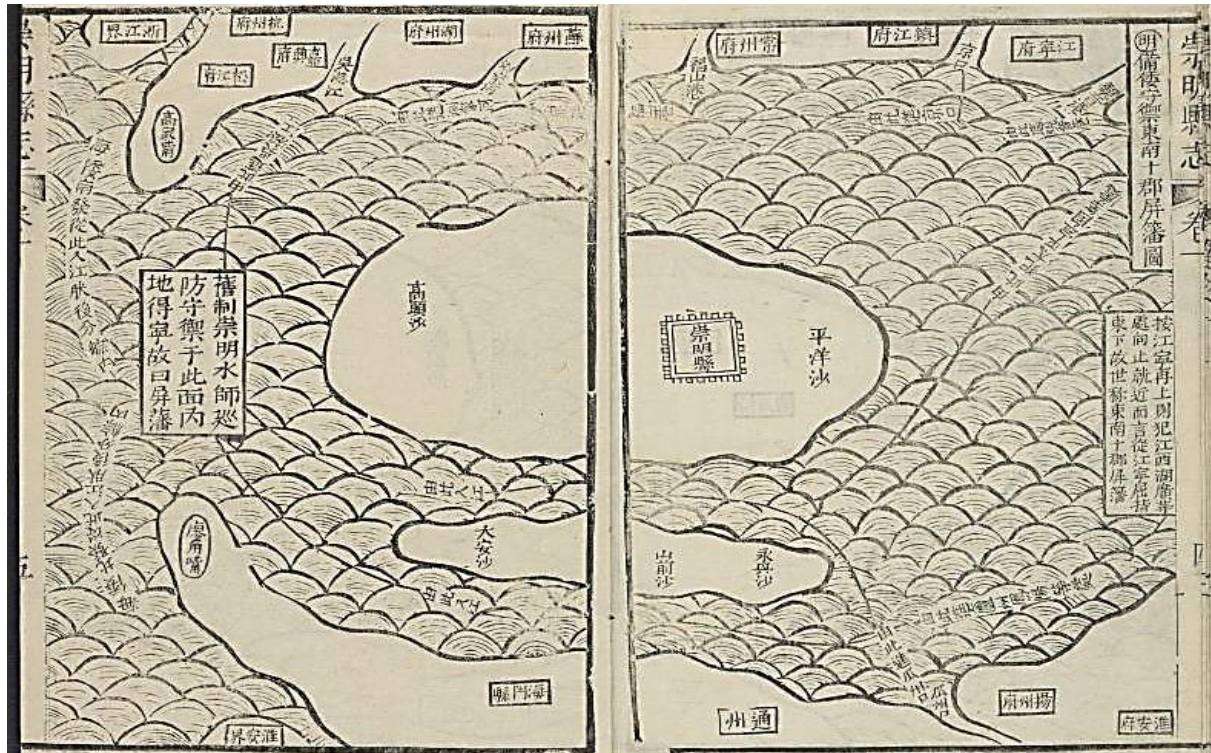
Fig. 12: Map of Chongming, in Shen Longxiang and Zhang Wenying, eds, 1727 *Chongming xianzhi*, *juan* 1, 93. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:14180976?n=93)

One other exception that deserves a mention here is the 1598 *Yue da ji* 粵大記 (Great record of Yue [Guangdong]) (Fig. 13). This gazetteer contains a map that covers 31 pages. The sea occupies a central position, covering the upper half of almost all images. Mills describes such maps as "strip-maps" (Mills 1954, 152). Brook refers to such maps as "route charts" and argues that unlike coastal maps, "route charts were drawn to depict itineraries of sea travel" (Brook 2017, 6).

The *Yue da ji* map is unique in the amount and kind of nautical information included, from names of islands, bays, and other landmarks, to details on anchorage and travel times, and even notes on locations where one can find clams or shrimp. This visual representation of the coast illustrates how local forms of maritime knowledge could be included in the official knowledge community of local gazetteers, but at the same time, as one of the few examples of such integration, how the genre of local gazetteers resisted the integration of local knowledge.

Fig. 13: Map of Guangdong, in Guo Fei, ed., 1598 *Yue da ji, juan* 32, 2112. Image credit: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.*

Conclusion

Visual representations of the coast in late imperial Chinese gazetteers either marginalise the sea or construct an understanding of the sea as a potential threat. There are notable exceptions, such as the *(Chifeng) Tianhou zhi* or the *Yue da ji*, and these gazetteers require further research into the socio-political context of their compilation, but that falls outside the scope of this paper. Instead, this paper has argued, through collective analysis of visual representations, that gazetteer maps display a fundamental bias against local forms of maritime knowledge. Local gazetteers guided officials and other literati in their understanding of the coast, and although Po argues that late imperial Chinese officials showed more interest in the maritime world than studies usually acknowledge, this paper has shown that the majority of gazetteer maps marginalise the role of the sea in coastal society. Gazetteer maps orient their readers. Even when local forms of maritime knowledge enter gazetteers, like the impact of saltwater floods in the biography of Prefect Jiang, most gazetteer maps do not treat the maritime world as an integral part of their locality, and therefore draw attention away from local forms of maritime knowledge in gazetteer texts.

Gazetteer maps were not read in isolation. Readers often had access to other coastal maps, such as the 1562 *Chou hai tu bian*, and gazetteer maps even shared a repertoire of visual representations with non-gazetteer maps, for example in the form of beacon mounds that carried a military connotation. However, the presence of beacon mounds in a quarter of all images also shows that when the sea was not ignored, it was perceived as a potential source of violence. An extremely limited number of gazetteer maps constructed an understanding of the coast as a space for maritime trade, travel, leisure, or the source of maritime resources. Visual representations of the coast in most gazetteers are, if not silent, then at least quiet about the maritime world in a way that betrays the socially constructed perspectives on the world common among gazetteer compilers. The digital humanities approach in this article has exposed a selective inclusion of local knowledge about the maritime world in the visual material of late imperial Chinese gazetteers, which was difficult to perceive in case studies of individual gazetteers. Thus, while contextual analysis of individual gazetteers remains necessary, especially when it comes to exceptional gazetteers such as the *Yue da ji*, a digital humanities approach is required to understand why such gazetteers were exceptional in the first place, and to frame individual gazetteers in the context of genre-wide bias against local maritime knowledge.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Wenchang Buildings in Late Imperial China: A Consideration of the Visual Record in Late Imperial Local Gazetteers

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Structures dedicated to the high god Wenchang and his subordinate Kuixing were a pervasive feature of cityscapes in late imperial China. Common in Daoist and Confucian temples as well as schools both public and private, the buildings also broke free from walled complexes as stand-alone attractions. In the Ming and Qing dynasties, the practice of building a high structure as a geomantic intervention to improve the collective prospects of local candidates on the civil service examinations — first attested in the Southern Song — combined with devotional practices to the Daoist god Wenchang. The present article considers the range of visual sources available on these structures, the questions that can be asked of these images, and the written textual source that complement the visual record. A case study from Suzhou demonstrates the ways in which the visual materials in gazetteers on the Wenchang towers in a particular locality can shed light on urban spatial dynamics and contests for power among local elites.

供奉文昌帝君及其侍從魁星的建築在明清時期普遍可見。它們通常建在道觀、孔廟、公立書院或私塾中，也有的脫離圍墻獨自立於城中而成爲景觀。據史料記載，通過修樓建閣祐助當地學子科考取得功名的習俗最早始於南宋，在明清時期與道教文昌神的祭祀結合了起來。對於目前收錄的相關視覺材料，本文考察了資料的規模、可以探討的問題以及內容上補充視覺記錄的文本資料，以蘇州某地的地方志為案例，展示如何透過文昌閣的視覺圖像洞悉當地空間的發展演化與地方勢力的權力鬥爭。

In the spring of 1897, in the pages of his journal *Shiwubao* 時務報 (Current Affairs), Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) complained bitterly about the pervasive presence in educational institutions of the high god Wenchang 文昌 (fig. 1) and his fierce subordinate Kuixing 魁星 (fig. 2).[1] There was no classical sanction for the worship of either of these deities, Liang lamented, yet students throughout the realm propitiated them, while the proper sacrifices to Confucius were neglected. Icons of Wenchang and Kuixing in schools throughout the empire made a mockery of the transformational capability of pedagogy itself. Liang wrote:

> The *[Book of] Rites* states: "When entering a place of learning, one must perform the *shi* and *dian* sacrifices before the former sages and former teachers,"[2] so that one unifies one's intention and sets one's course, so as to venerate the teachings and be guided to goodness. In today's schools,[3] in addition to Confucius, sacrifices are also offered to Wenchang, Kuixing, and others. In Our Yue [Guangdong], Wenchang and Kuixing are situated in the place of honor to receive the offerings, while the [official] sacrifices to Confucius have died out. For Wenchang [is propriated with] the *youliao* sacrifices[4] as the Commander of Fates and called a celestial deity or [the *Classic of Poetry* line] "Zhang Zhong is filial and amicable"[5] [is invoked] and [he] is regarded as a ghost.[6] Kuixing has inherited the appellation of the *kui* 奎 [lunar] lodge; relying on the shape of the *kui* 魁 character, an illusory form has been created for him, with the appearance of a bizarre demon: it is a flagrantly false conflation, [credence in which is] completely unfathomable. Those who promote and venerate them are followers of the demonic path that deludes the masses; those who follow along and serve them are also engaged in infelicitous illicit sacrifice. Upon entering school, [a pupil] venerates [Wenchang and Kuixing] as gods; however, regarding Confucius, Utmost Sage of Great Completion

[2] The original passage is from the "Wen wang shizi" 文王世子 chapter. It reads：「凡始立學者，必釋奠於先聖先師。」*Liji zhushu*, 20.13a. It is the *locus classicus* for the spring and autumn sacrifices.

[3] *Xueshu* 學塾, a term inclusive of academies (*shuyuan* 書院) and private (clan) schools (*sishu* 私塾).

[4] *Youliao* 槱燎 was a fire sacrifice to asterisms—including the fifth and sixth ones named in the Wenchang constellation—attested in the "Offices of Spring" 春官 "Dazongbo" 大宗伯 chapter of the *Zhouli*: 以槱燎祀司中，司命，飌師，雨師. *Zhouli zhu shu*, 18.2b.

[5] An allusion to the *Shijing*:《詩經·小雅·六月》「侯誰在矣，張仲孝友。」The Mao commentary elaborates: "Zhang Zhong was a worthy minister." 張仲，賢臣也。Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 added: "Zhang Zhong was a friend of Jifu; by nature he was filial and amicable." 張仲，吉甫之友，其性孝友。(*Mao shi* 10.8a). Wenchang explains this connection in Chapter 23 of his spirit-written autobiography: Kleeman 1994, 23, 138–139.

[6] Here Liang alluded to two categories of supernatural being in play in the Wenchang cult. Wenchang devotees regarded him as a high god, whose status did not rely on previous human incarnations; simultaneously, he was considered a historically-attested figure who had been apotheosised as a filial paragon. It is the latter category that Liang termed "a ghost."

Who Transmitted to the World and Established the Teachings, his memorial fire is running out of fuel, his sacrificial vessels almost empty, his dates of birth and death scarcely known by anyone.

《記》曰：「凡入學者，必釋奠於先聖先師」，所以一志趣，定嚮往，崇教而善道也。今之學塾於孔子之外，乃兼祀文昌魁星等。吾粵則文昌魁星，專席奪食，而祀孔子者殆絕矣。夫文昌者，櫺燎司命，或稱為天神；「張仲孝友」，或指為人鬼。魁星者，襲奎宿之號；依魁字之形，造為幻相，狀彼奇鬼，矯誣荒誕，不可窮詰。倡而尊之者，當從左道惑眾之條；沿而奉之者，亦在淫祀無福之例。乃入學之始，奉為神明。而反於垂世立教大成至聖之孔子，薪火絕續，俎豆蕭條，生卒月日，幾無知者。[7]

Fig. 1: Wenchang on his throne, flanked by an attendant. From Huang Zhengyuan 黃正元 (fl. 1734–55), editor, *Yinzhiwen tushuo* 陰騭文圖說 (*The Composition on Hidden Virtue, Explicated and Illustrated*). *Yuan* 元: 1a. Courtesy of the East Asian Library, Princeton University Library.

Liang was a qualified observer of customs in schools during the late Qing: at this moment in in his life, he had spent little time *outside* of educational institutions. Both his grandfather and father had grasped the bottom rung of the examination ladder by earning the *xiucai* 秀才 degree, and had become school teachers

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[7] Liang Qichao, "Lun Xuexiao wu: Youxue" 论学校五：幼学 (On Educational Institutions [5]: Education for the Young) in Liang 2018, 61. This essay was first published 3 Jan.–3 March 1897 in Liang's own periodical *Shiwubao*, then collected as "Bianfa tongyi" 變法通議. Huang Chin-shing frequently discusses portions of this passage; see Huang 2021, 123, 174, 205–06, 225.

(Huang 1972, 11). Liang himself had taken the raised scholar (*juren* 舉人) degree at the precocious age of seventeen.

Fig. 2: Kuixing, from Liu Tishu 劉體恕, editor, *Wendi quanshu* 文帝全書 (Complete Works of the Cultural Thearch), 1: 3a. Changjun 常郡: Yang yi miao Wenchang ge 陽邑廟文昌閣. 1876 edition. Courtesy of the East Asian Library, Princeton University Library.

Liang wrote these words at the beginning of his career as a public intellectual and less than two years before the fallout from the 100 Days Reforms would force him to flee Qing territory (Huang 1972, 45). Though he was on his way to becoming a pathbreaking figure in the intellectual and political creation of modern China, from the perspective of the history of Wenchang devotion, the most striking element of Liang's critique is its lack of originality. Officials first objected to the presence of Wenchang worship in school in the late fifteenth century, as part of a conservative reaction to imperial support for the cult (Zhao 2021, 68). This support continued throughout the remainder of the late imperial period: in 1801 Wenchang was confirmed as a "thearch" (*di* 帝) (Zhao 1997, j. 84 [v. 10: 2542]), while Confucius was only a "king" (*wang* 王) (Nylan and Wilson 2010, 153). What is interesting about Liang's complaint is not the content of the critique but its reiteration on the brink of the collapse of the imperial system.

This conservative Confucian critique of Wenchang devotion should not be confused with the impending anti-superstition discourse that would decimate much of Chinese communal life during the first half of the twentieth century (Goossaert 2006; Nedostup 2009; Katz and Goossaert 2021). But this well-established disdain for Wenchang devotion on the grounds of lack of support in canonical texts would inform the effort of Liang's teacher Kang Youwei to reformulate Confucianism as a world religion modelled on

Christianity. Kang's effort was doomed to failure in part, as Huang Chin-shing has perceived, because Kang sought to strip Wenchang devotion from Confucian praxis, leaving Kang's program with little popular appeal (Huang 2021, 180–82).

At the time Liang was writing, it would have been more remarkable for an official school (*ruxue* 儒學 and associated terms at the prefectural and county level) or private academy (*shuyuan* 書院) *not* to have had a structure devoted to Wenchang than to have had one. Indeed, if one wishes to view the built infrastructure of Confucian education without the presence of Wenchang veneration, one must turn to the Korean peninsula rather than China.[8] According to the *Ming shi* 明史 (Ming History), by the mid-fifteenth century, "instructional institutions throughout the realm … have shrines to propitiate him" (天下學校亦有祠祀者).[9] How did this state of affairs come to pass?

Structures dedicated to Wenchang and Kuixing were a pervasive feature of cityscapes in late imperial China. Common in Daoist and Confucian temples as well as schools both public and private, the buildings also broke free from walled complexes as stand-alone attractions. Ranging from two to four stories tall, they went by a number of different names for both the astral deity propitiated—e.g., "Cultural Star" (Wenxing 文星) as well as "Cultural Splendor" (Wenchang)—and the type of structure: "pavilions" (*ge* 閣), "towers" (*lou* 樓), and "palaces" (*gong* 宮). They were not Wenchang shrines (*ci* 祠) or temples (*miao* 廟), though there could be overlapping ritual uses between the two types of structures. In light of this special issue's focus on visual materials in local gazetteers, the current article considers: 1) the range of visual sources available on these structures in and beyond local gazetteers; 2) what questions can be asked of such materials regarding the distribution of these structures and the intention of those who constructed, renovated, and depicted them;[10] and 3) the written textual sources that complement the visual record.

The article is organized as follows: I provide a brief user-centred overview of the two sources of digitised late imperial local gazetteers to which the Local Gazetteers Research Tools (LoGaRT) interface provides access.[11] I then discuss the origin of late imperial Wenchang towers, positing a coming together of structures initially devoted to two distinct purposes: buildings propitiating the Daoist god Wenchang and towers built by officials at the behest of local elites seeking a geomantic intervention in order to improve the collective prospects of the locality in the civil service examinations. In order to show the ways in which the visual materials in gazetteers can be used in a particular locality, I provide a case study from Ming-Qing Suzhou.

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[8] The twenty-four gazetteers of Korean academies reproduced in Hangug Innmungwahagwon Pyeonjipbu 1998 reveal no trace of Wenchang devotion. On the surviving material culture of Joseon academies, see *Seowon, eojin i reul nopigo seonbi reul gireuda* 2020.

[9] Zhang *et al.* 1308; Zhao 2021, 67–69.

[10] A dramatic illustration of the amount of information available in a detailed field survey compared to that provided in the illustration in a late imperial gazetteer is the pioneering study Liang 2001. At the time of its writing, the Guanyin Pavilion at the Dule Temple 獨樂寺 was the earliest known surviving wooden structure in China. The article includes a hand copy by Liang of the illustration from the Kangxi period *Jizhou zhi* 薊州志 (p. 170), in which there is little to visually differentiate the Guanyin Pavilion from another two story structure of much later provenance (the Qiao lou 樵樓). A Wenchang gong appears among 18 single-storied buildings represented almost identically.

[11] On LoGaRT itself, see Chen *et al.* 2020. For the user guide prepared by Calvin Yeh, see https://logart.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/lg-user-guide/#/.

Gazetteer Databases and the LoGaRT Interface

The numerous printed collections of facsimile reproductions of gazetteers remain invaluable resources.[12] Here I will limit my remarks to the two electronic databases that the Local Gazetteers Research Tools (LoGaRT) content is based upon: the approximately five hundred gazetteers held by the Harvard Yenching Library and another four thousand or so available through the Erudition (Airusheng 愛如生) Series I and II databases.

The primary differences between the two sources of digitised gazetteers for the LoGaRT interface are as follows:

1) The Harvard material is open access. The gazetteers are available as high resolution scans of individual pages directly on the Harvard website free of charge and without registration requirements.[13] Harvard's open access policy allows a greater degree of coordination and planning with the LoGaRT system. This content can be searched through LoGaRT without affiliation with a German institution. In contrast, the Erudition database material is licensed and only available through LoGaRT to scholars registered with the Cross Asia platform run by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin for the benefit of scholars affiliated with German institutions.[14]

2) The cartouches on the diagrams in the Harvard gazetteers have been transcribed, while those from Erudition have not.

3) There is a reliable printed bibliographic catalogue describing the Harvard gazetteers (Li 2013), in addition to the Harvard Library system's impressive online catalogue Hollis. The editions and exemplars (individual copies of an edition) of the Harvard materials are stable: each has a Hollis catalogue number, rare book number, and number assigned within the LoGaRT database. In contrast, the Erudition database provides dates for the gazetteers they provide, but these dates can be erroneous. Even when correct, the data fields for each gazetteer do not provide a means of addressing the complex question of what constitutes an edition in the late imperial Chinese context: e.g., actual date of printing versus date of prefaces; the way in which woodblock printing enabled supplementing or subtracting some materials while retaining others without necessarily indicating the date of these changes; and the degree of involvement of the credited compiler(s).[15] In Joseph Dennis' words, gazetteers were "living documents";[16] as such, they often struggle against efforts to contain them in boxes such as data fields. There is no means of communicating with the vendor in order to correct errors or develop a more complex rubric for dating. There is a notation function within LoGaRT for users to remark on inaccurate metadata, but it is not systematic, and it requires an extra step to investigate (contested or erroneous dates are not automatically

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[12] For an overview of the contents of the major collections, see Li 2013, 287–535.

[13] Chinese Local Gazetteers 中國珍稀舊方志 https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/yenchinglib/galleries/chinese-local-gazetteers-中國珍稀舊方志. The link to the gazetteers in the Hollis catalog was broken as of 23 July 2021, but the link for "Chinese Old Local Gazetteers 中國舊方志" in the following site works: https://guides.library.harvard.edu/Chinese.

[14] https://crossasia.org.

[15] On the last of these issues, see the discussion of editorial personnel in Dennis 2015, 129–139.

[16] Dennis 2015, 121–126.

flagged in the LoGaRT search results). In practice, this means that some of the most impressive data processing features of LoGaRT—such as enabling the user to view the chronological distribution of relevant works in tabular form—presents information that needs to be confirmed through the contents of the database (as opposed to in the accompanying metadata).

More problematically, Erudition does not identify the exemplar provided. Even if a user identifies the edition and exemplar properly (through collection seals), the vendor reserves the right to remove content without notice. In rare cases, the five-digit number assigned to an Erudition text in LoGaRT has been reassigned to another work without notice. For the purposes of citation in published work, such numbers cannot substitute for clearly identifiable editions and exemplars.

In addition to full bibliographic information on the source gazetteer, constructing a full dataset of this material would entail the following fields: section of the gazetteer in which the image appears; title of the image; person who composed or carved the image; position of tower in relation to cardinal directions; relation of tower to other built structures; and other works in which the image was reproduced or adapted.

A full rubric for a survey of late imperial Wenchang towers—rather than only the images available in gazetteers—would entail the following information: structure name (followed by alternative names); name of administrative division in which it is located; date of construction and renovations; and current status of structure (if not extant, last attested date). The commemorative compositions available on many towers can provide the following broadly comparable information: composition title; composition author; examination status or occupation of composition author; other sources in which the composition appears (e.g., literary anthology); variorum in the case of significant variants; other individuals mentioned as significant in fundraising and renovation campaigns; and other structures mentioned. The last significant category would be secondary sources relevant to particular towers.

While the number of Wenchang Towers makes them a daunting subject, the Table provides an example of the type of results made possible through the LoGaRT search of transcribed diagram cartouches from the Harvard-Yenching Library gazetteer collection.

A. Title of Gazetteer (and province) and Book Identification Number (LoGaRT if preceded by "H"; Harvard Rare Book if preceded by "T")
B. Place of illustration in gazetteer
C. Wenchang tower in same illustration? (Yes/No). If no, other immediately relevant structures identified in parentheses.
D. Reign period or year of publication; edition details (if available)

A.	B.	C.	D.
Xianning County Gazetteer 鹹寧縣志 (Hubei) H00C9	Illustration of the official schools 廟學圖	N (Cultural Peak 文峰 column)	1668/82
Wukang County Gazetteer 武康縣志 (Zhejiang) H0070	Illustration of the county seat 縣治之圖	Y	1672
Nangong County Gazetteer 南宮縣志 (Hebei) H0134	Illustration of county seat 縣城圖	Y	1673

Rizhao County Gazetteer 日照縣志 (Shandong) H0196	Illustration of the official school 儒學圖		1673/1715
Taiping County Gazetteer 太平縣志 (Huangshan 黃山, Anhui) H007B	Illustration 圖	Y	1683
Pingshun County Gazetteer 平順縣志 (Shanxi) H00B3	Illustration of the newly constructed walled city 新城圖	Y	1693
Jia County Gazetteer 郟縣志 (Henan) H00EB	Illustration of the Jia county official school 郟縣學宮圖		1694[17]
Xuanhua County Gazetteer 宣化縣志 (Zhangjiakou municipality 張家口市, Hebei) H012D	Xuanhua prefectural seat 宣化府	N	1711/37
Yunlong Department Gazetteer 雲龍州志 H00D2 (Xuzhou 徐州 county, Yunnan)	Illustration	N (Dipper Mother Pavilion)	1716
Xijiang Gazetteer 西江志 (i.e., Jiangxi provincial gazetteer) H0053	Map of Ganzhou Prefectural Seat 贛州府治圖	N	1720
Taishun County Gazetteer 泰順縣志 (Wenzhou 溫州, Zhejiang) H007D	Illustration	Y	1728/29
Jiangxi Province Comprehensive Gazetteer 江西通志 H0051	Map of Ganzhou Prefectural Seat 贛州府治圖 (based on H0053 above)	N	1732
Yanqing Departmental Gazetteer 延慶州志 (T 3269 1004.83; LoGaRT contains only Erudition Series II exemplar [93062])	Illustration of the departmental seat 州城圖	N (Cultural Peak Pagoda 文峰塔; Wenchang Palace)	1742
Wanquan County Gazetteer 萬全縣志 (Zhangjiakou municipality 張家口市, Hebei) H00CE	Illustration of walls and moats 城池圖; Illustration of the walled town of Zhangjiakou 張家口下堡圖 (two different illustrations)	N (first illustration); Y (second illustration)	1742
Jing Departmental Gazetteer 景州志 (Hengshui municipality 衡水市, Hebei) H0160	Illustration of the departmental seat	Y	1745
Queshan County Gazetteer 確山縣志 (Henan) H0093	Illustration of the Cultural Temple 文廟圖	Y	1745
Sishui County Gazetteer 泗水縣志 (Henan) H00E3	Illustration of county seat	Y	1745/69
Heng Departmental Gazetteer 橫州志 (Guangxi) H0097	Illustration of walls and moats of the Heng departmental seat 橫州城池圖	N	1746 (reprinted in 1899)

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[17] contained in same case 函 as 1743 *Continued Gazetteer* 續志 of same county

Shanyang County Gazetteer 山陽縣志 (Huai'an 淮安, Jiangsu) H005E	Illustration of walls and moats of Shanyang 山陽城池	N (includes Wenchang Palace)	1748/49
Zhenhai County Gazetteer 鎮海縣志 (Ningbo 寧波, Zhejiang) H0081	Illustration of the official school 學宮圖	Y	1751/52
Suning County Gazetteer 蕭甯縣志 (Cangzhou 滄州, Hebei) H0136	Illustration of the official school	N (Wenchang shrine 祠)	1754
Yi County Gazetteer 嶧縣志 (Zaozhuang 棗莊, Shandong) H018C	N/A (no section name in central woodblock column 版心)	N	1761
Boxiang County Gazetteer 柏鄉縣志 (Xingtai 刑臺, Hebei) H0132	Illustration	Y	1766
Fenghua County Gazetteer 奉化縣志 (Zhejiang) H007E	Illustration of the official school; Illustration of Jinxi Academy 錦溪 書院圖 (two different illustrations)	Y (for both illustrations)	1772/73
Huimin County Gazetteer 惠民縣志 (Binzhou shi 濱州市, Shandong) H0195	Illustration of the Huimin county seat 惠民縣城圖	N (Cultural Platform 文臺)	1782
Jining Direct Administration District Gazetteer 濟寧直隸州志 H0187	Illustration of the Cultural Temple	Y	1785
Yuxiang County Gazetteer 虞鄉縣志 (Yuncheng 運城, Shanxi) H00B7	Illustration of the county seat	N	1789
Changning County Gazetteer 長寧縣志 (Ganzhou 贛州, Jiangxi) H003D	Illustration of county seat 縣治圖	Y	1851/60
Yanqing Departmental Gazetteer 延慶州志 (Beijing) H00CD	Illustration of the departmental seat	Y (and Wenchang Palace)	1879 (1921 reprint 覆)

Table: Illustrations of Towers Dedicated to Kuixing in Qing Dynasty Gazetteers Held by Harvard-Yenching Library (search terms 魁星閣 and 魁星樓). Arranged chronologically by date of publication of gazetteer exemplar.

Using the search terms Kuixing ge 魁星閣 and Kuixing lou 魁星樓, I list thirty-one images in twenty-nine distinct gazetteer editions dating from 1668 to 1879 (there were no earlier hits, though the search could have been extended into the Republican period). The placement of the images containing the Kuixing towers was consistently in gazetteers either for administrative seats or for the official schools in those walled cities.

Dual Origins: Wenchang Devotion and Geomantic Intervention

This article focuses on buildings devoted to Wenchang: either the classically-attested star name or the Daoist deity. Indeed, I argue that these structures became so widespread because of the space for cultural negotiation provided by these two uses of the term "Wenchang": an official could devote funds to a

structure named after the astral deity while local examination candidates and degree holders could use the same building to pray to the Daoist deity Wenchang. Due to the productive ambiguity of the terminology, some background on the term and the Zitong 梓潼-Wenchang cult is necessary. As evident in the following discussion, this article is located in the overlapping space between Confucian Studies, Daoist Studies, and Architectural History. Buddhist Studies looms in the background because the Wenchang towers that had mushroomed around south China by the sixteenth century were Confucio-Daoist appropriations of the pagoda. In his pioneering survey of the architecture of China, written in the 1940s, Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901–1972; son of the above-quoted Liang Qichao) discussed these structures in the section on pagodas and referred to them as *wenfangta* 文方塔 ("cultural square pagodas").[18] For more than a century scholars have devoted much attention to combinatory discourse in Chinese religions, but many have concentrated on textual sources while ignoring that an inter-credal competition occurred at the level of the built environment.

The phrase "Wenchang" is first attested in the poem "Far off journey" (Yuanyou 遠遊) attributed to Qu Yuan 屈原 (traditionally 4th–3rd century BCE) and preserved in *Lyrics of Chu* (*Chuci* 楚辭). The "Cultural Splendour Palace" (Wenchang gong 文昌宮) is first described in the "Treatise on the Celestial Offices" ("Tianguan shu" 天官書) chapter of Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (ca. 145–86 BCE) *Records of the Historian* (*Shiji* 史記).[19] In the twelfth century these astral figures merged with a Daoist cult originating in Zitong 梓潼 in northeastern Sichuan, resulting in a deity named Wenchang whose duties included overseeing the civil service examination system (Kleeman 1995). The complex history of the Zitong cult—including the filial exemplar with the surname Zhang alluded in the above passage by Liang—made it a target for orthodox Confucians. They contended that none of the available origins for the phrase "Wenchang" or the past lives the god himself related in his twelfth century spirit-written autobiography represented a legitimate object of sacrifice, so the cult deserved to be prohibited as "illicit sacrifice" (*yinsi* 淫祀). As with the complaint by Liang Qichao discussed above, these protests attest to the pervasiveness of these structures. The above-quoted passage from the *Ming History* was in the context of an empire-wide prohibition of shrines to Wenchang in official schools. The prohibition was apparently impotent: Chen Qiyuan 陳其元 (1812–1881) claimed that there were more such orders by the Board of Rites during the Kangxi (1662–1722) and Yongzheng (1723–1735) reigns (Chen 1989, 149–150; discussed in Gao 2008, 29–30).

Just as Wenchang devotion came about through the merging of diverse cultic practices, the towers devoted to Wenchang had different sources, not all of which were the same as the Wenchang cult itself. Most significantly, the Ming and Qing towers fulfilled the function of towers that first began to be constructed in the Southern Song period as geomantic interventions intended to improve the civil examination prospects of the candidates of a particular locality. In his survey of records attesting to these towers in the eleventh century, Liu Hsiang-kuang discusses ones in which the rationale was the same as in Ming and Qing Wenchang towers—e.g., constructing a hill in the southern portion of the administrative unit in the

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[18] Liang 2005, 154. Liang left *wenfangta* untranslated in this book, which he composed in English.

[19] The entire "Treatise" is translated in Pankenier 2013, 444–511; Pankenier translated "Wenchang" as "Promotion of Civic Virtue" (p. 460).

shape of a writing brush (*wenbi* 文筆)—without any mention of Wenchang (Liu 2006, 29). Indeed, as Ronald G. Knapp pointed out in his study of the self-consciously pedagogical use of built environments, village structures intended to imitate the "four treasures of the studio" (*wenfang sibao* 文房四寶) are first attested in the twelfth century in southern China (Knapp 1998).[20]

Daoist Wenchang temples reached the Yangzi Delta region in the twelfth century, and Kuixing towers are attested in schools in the Southern Song (1127–1276) (Chien 2015, 49). The 1316 promotion of Wenchang to "thearch-lord" (*dijun* 帝君) by the Yuan court consolidated the cult and bolstered its legitimacy.[21] A detailed architectural analysis of what may be the oldest Wenchang pavilion still standing— that in the Five Dragons Temple (Wulong miao 五龍廟) in Langzhong 閬中 county, Sichuan[22]—places it in the Yuan. However, the study does not examine the written records on the uses to which the structure was put (Ma *et al.* 2020):[23] an issue that must be investigated given that one and the same structure could— and often did—change names and uses.[24] The Yuan promotion was the highest Wenchang ever received. In 1370, the Ming founder Zhu Yuanzhang struck Wenchang from the official sacrifices. He remained off the register of sacrifices until 1801, but by the mid-Ming the deity's position had improved, in practice if not as policy. Wenchang pavilions became common on the county level by the mid-fifteenth century.[25]

Ample textual and physical material exists for an empire-wide survey of the development and diffusion of these structures: there are thousands of relevant entries in gazetteers, overlapping epigraphic sources, and a significant number of surviving structures.[26] No one has yet attempted such a venture, though Chien Iching has provided the most sustained studies of these structures and the purpose to which they were put, with particular attention to Taiwan from the 1720s to the present (Chien 2013, 2015, 2020).[27] Taiwanese structures have received by far the most attention in secondary scholarship. Studies also exist for these towers in Shandong province from the Yongle reign (1402–24) to the late Qing (Zhao 2021) and Pushi 浦市, Luxi 瀘溪 county, Hunan, from the late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century (Shi and Lu 2020).

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[20] Knapp includes a photo of a tower in Zheng village 鄭村, Sanshui 三水 county, Guangdong province, to illustrate a built structure in imitation of a writing brush (p. 125). This tower is architecturally indistinguishable from many of those associated with Wenchang in the late imperial period.

[21] The promotion order is included in Long and Huang 1997, 176–177.

[22] On religious diversity in late imperial Langzhong, see Brown 2019.

[23] Sichuan sheng Langzhong shi Difangzhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui 1993, 866 does not provide additional information about what textual sources might exist to track the changing usages of this structure over time.

[24] A more conventional Wenchang tower was built in the Jinping 錦屏 area of Langzhong county in the late Ming or early Qing. Called Kuixing lou, it was dismantled in 1808. In 1888, another tower was built on the same site. That tower was then destroyed in the Cultural Revolution; the one that stands today with the same name as the first was built in 1988. (Sichuan sheng Langzhong shi Difangzhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui 1993, 879). In terms of Kuixing worship related to Langzhong county, the county claims as a native son Ma Dezhao 馬德昭 (b. 1824), of Kuixing village. Ma composed the iconic illustration "Kuixing Dots the Dou [Asterism]" (Kuixing dian Dou) 魁星點鬥, in which the deity stands with one leg atop the character for "carp" (*ao* 鰲) while looking over his right shoulder to regard the "Dipper" (Dou 斗) character. One stele inscription of this image is preserved in the Xi'an Stele Forest, while the other is held by in the Zhang Fei Temple 張飛廟 in Langzhong (Sichuan sheng Langzhong shi Difangzhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui 1993, 816).

[25] In his study of Wenchang devotion in Shandong province, Zhao Shuguo identifies records of four county-level Wenchang pavilions constructed in this period: those in Zhucheng 諸城 (possibly dating back to 1404 [record partially effaced]; in the southeastern corner of the county school); Zhangqiu 章丘 (1447); Jinxiang 金鄉 (erected in 1449 at the behest of the magistrate to the east of the Wenchang shrine); and Leling 樂陵 (rebuilt in 1451 at the order of the magistrate). See Zhao 2021, 67.

[26] Chien 2013 is a provisional attempt to provide a chronology of Wenchang structures in schools, but much more material is available. The oldest extant such tower may date from the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368): see Ma *et al.* 2020, which is exclusively concerned with physical evidence provided by the building itself, rather than the textual records on it.

[27] On such towers in Taiwan see also Nikaidō 2011.

Cumulatively, these studies demonstrate the utility of Wenchang structures in homing in on complex local dynamics including the devotional lives of examination hopefuls and degree-holders, the adaptation of Daoist theology within examination culture, and the interface between officials and local elites through fundraising campaigns and their commemoration. They also serve as a caution against making any generalisations about these towers on an empire-wide or even provincial and prefectural basis until more work has been done on the history of particular structures in their local and regional contexts.[28]

General Remarks on Wenchang Towers in Diagrams in Mid-Ming to Republican Period Local Gazetteers

The diagrams including astral towers provide thought-provoking information on spatial relationships involving directional orientations, number of storys, built complexes in which they were situated, and the absence or co-occurrence of related towers. On the most basic level, these were clearly structures in which the local elites in widely divergent areas of the empire felt a pride. Indeed, one of the most obvious reasons for their diffusion is that they were a means whereby a magistrate could be seen to "do something" at the behest of locals in order to improve their condition.

奎　星　樓
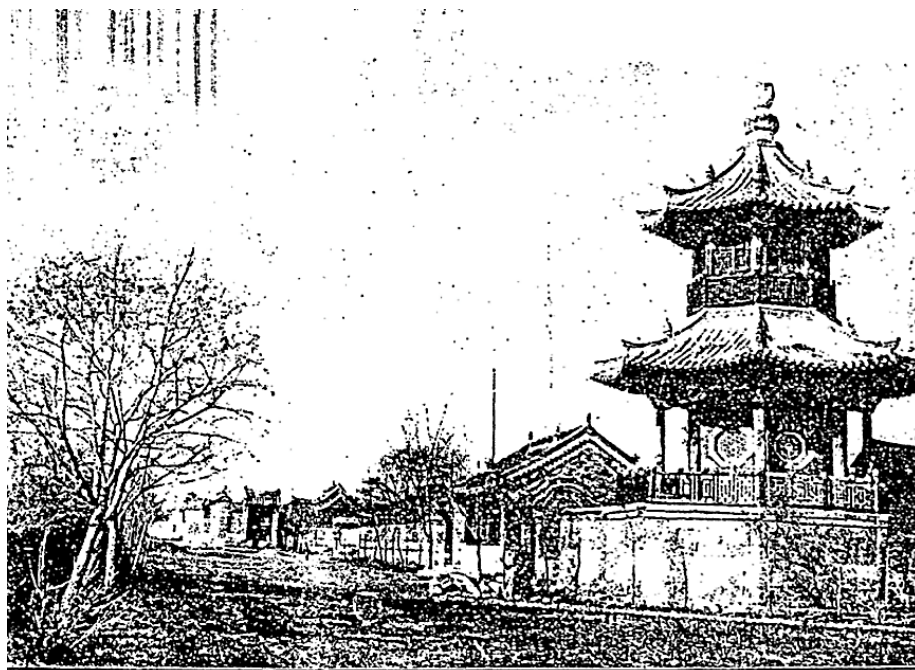
Fig. 3: A lithographic reprint of a photograph of a two-story Kui 奎 Asterism Tower and its environs from the 1921 *Fengcheng xian zhi* 鳳城縣志. Two pages combined by author. Image credit: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.*

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[28] Bujard *et al.* 2017 is the most rigorous collaborative project to survey religious institutions in a pre-modern Chinese city and evaluate the extent to which their material legacy survives into the present. The Shuntian 順天 prefectural school included a Kui tower (Kuilou) (p. 3) adjacent to its Wenchang shrine (pp. 122–123).

On the technical level of reproduction, the vast majority of available images are woodblock prints. However, Republican period letterpress (*qianyin* 鉛印) gazetteers include a significant number of lithographic reproductions of photographs. Examples include two-story Kui Asterism towers (Kuixing lou) in the 1921 *Fengcheng County Gazetteer* (*Fengcheng xian zhi* 鳳城縣志; fig. 3), 1928 *Liaoyang County Gazetteer* (*Liaoyang xian zhi* 遼陽縣志)—both these counties were in Liaoning province—and 1935 *Chiping County Gazetteer* (*Chiping xian zhi* 茌平縣志) from Shandong.
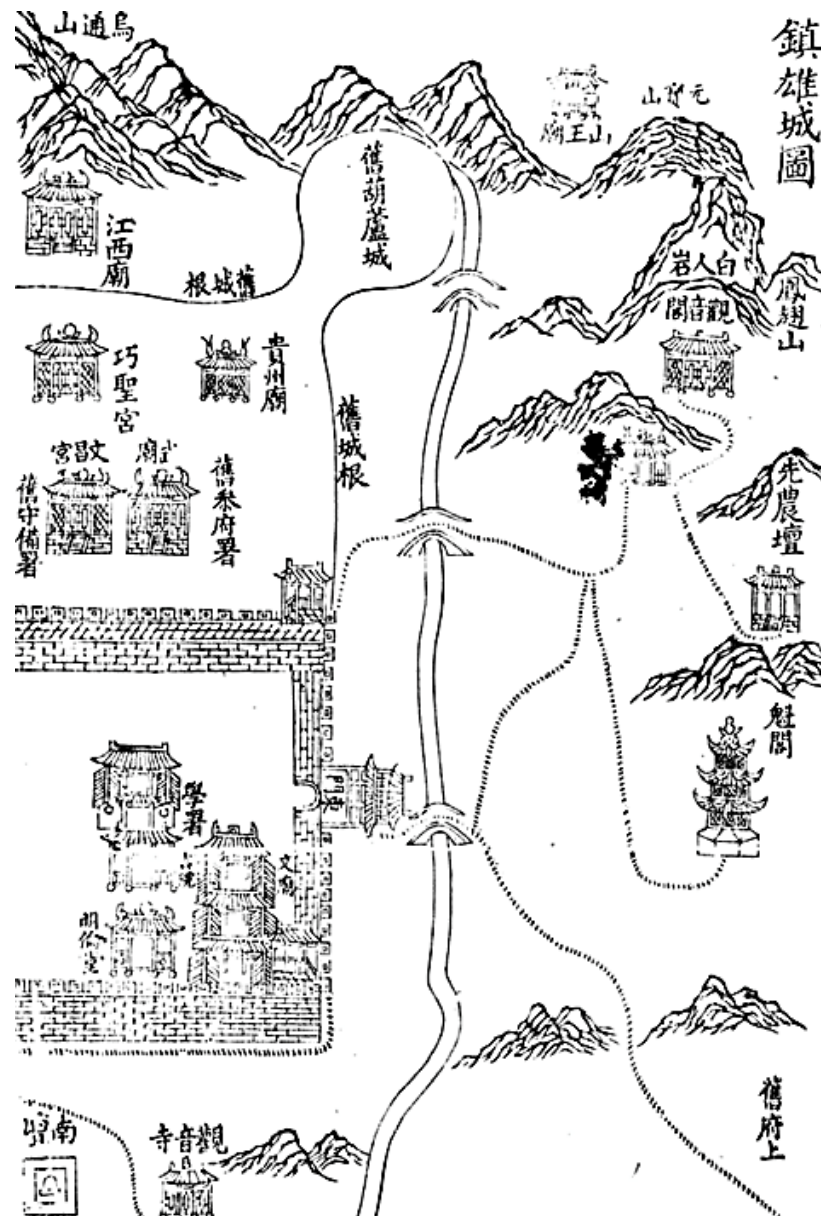
Fig. 4: A three-story Kui[xing] Pavilion outside the city walls in the 1887 *Zhenxiong zhou zhi* 鎮雄州志 (p. 36). Note the Wenchang Palace 宮 immediately north of the current city walls inside the line indicating the old ones. Image credit: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.*

In a testament to the capacity of woodblock printing to convey detailed visual information, the photographic images are a step backwards in clarity from their woodblock predecessors. Woodblock paragons of architectural detail include the three-story Kui[xing] Pavilion depicted twice in the 1887 *Zhenxiong Departmental Gazetteer* (*Zhenxiong zhou zhi* 鎮雄州志) of Yunnan Province: first outside

the city walls in the "city diagram" (*chengtu* 城圖; p. 46, fig. 4); second as a two-page (two half-woodblock pages) spread devoted to the structure itself (pp. 47–48, fig. 5).[29]

魁星閣
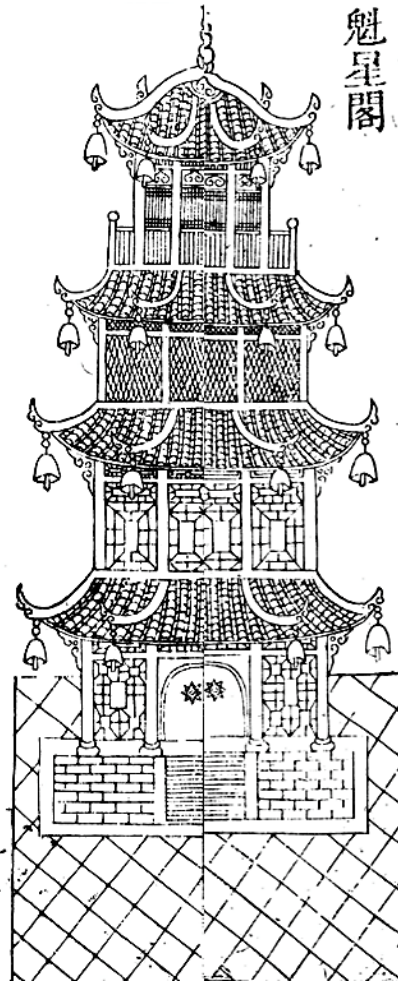
Fig. 5: A four-story Kui[xing] Pavilion in the 1887 *Zhenxiong zhou zhi* (p. 46); presumably the same structure represented as having three stories in the previous illustration. The fine detail renders visible the lattice windows, tiles, bells hanging from the eaves, four front columns, and contrasting square and diagonal patterns of the brick floor before and surrounding the structure. Image credit: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.*

Higher quality means of photographic reproduction were available in China at the time. As the Wenchang towers were frequent draws in the nascent international tourism industry, a number of examples are available. The first known photograph of the Changzhou county Cultural Star Pavilion (on which, see below) is from the Presbyterian missionary Hampden C. DuBose's pamphlet "'Beautiful Soo': The Capital of Kiangsu," produced by the Shanghai-based publisher Kelly and Walsh in 1899 (fig. 6). Tainan in Taiwan (administratively under Fujian province for much of the Qing) hosts several Wenchang structures that have been tourist attractions consistently from the early twentieth century to the present. These are the Wenchang Pavilion built on the site of the former Dutch fort Providentia (Chikanlou 赤崁

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[29] The gazetteer also includes a detailed description of the rites performed at the tower during the provincial examination.

樓; Xie 2003) and that at the nearby Confucian temple.[30] The Kuixing tower on the southeastern end of the lake in front of the official school in Jiading 嘉定 (in Songjiang 松江 prefecture during the Qing) is an example of a later tower—built in 1976 (Zhang 2009, 143)—acting as a tourist draw (fig. 7). The current tourist uses of these structures sometimes diverge dramatically from how they functioned in the Ming and Qing. A prominent example is the Confucian Temple in Hangzhou, where the Wenchang Pavilion houses the series of 16 portraits of arhats by the Five Dynasties (907–79) painter Guan Xiu 貫休 inscribed on stelae. The set was reordered by the Qianlong emperor and housed at the Shengyin Temple 聖因寺 on the other side of the West Lake until the 1960s, when it was brought to the Confucian Temple for protection (Du 2008, 13, 270–86).

Fig. 6: The first known photograph of the Changzhou county Cultural Star Pavilion and the building in front of it. From DuBose's pamphlet "'Beautiful Soo'," first published in 1899.

Most of the available images of complexes with both Wenchang and Kuixing Pavilions show them in the southeast corner: the example presented here is from the Yongzheng edition of the *Taishun County Gazetteer* (*Taishun xian zhi* 泰順縣志) in Wenzhou 溫州, Zhejiang province; fig. 8 and fig. 9). As early as the eleventh century—in accounts of geomantic towers explored by Liu—the southern direction was considered bolstering. By the sixteenth, those who composed texts on the Wenchang towers frequently asserted that the southeastern corner was the proper place to build a tower in order to enhance civil examination performance. In his 1844 manual *Xiang zhai jing zuan* 相宅經纂 (A Selection from Classics of Residential Topomancy), Gao Jiannan 高見南 provided so much directional latitude for siting these towers that three-eighths of the fengshui compass was a viable option. The passage titled "Directional positioning of a high tower [in the shape of a] writing brush" (Wenbi gaota fangwei 文筆高塔方位) reads:

> For, in the capital, the [administrative seats of] provinces, prefectures, departments, counties, and rural villages, when the literati are not benefitting [from the current geomantic order], those who do

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[30] A photograph by S. Sidney from 1870 of the Wenchang tower at the Tainan prefectural examination complex appears in Le Gendre 2012, 128 (Plate 2-13; explanation xxxviii, 421). It shows the tower in dilapidated condition between renovations, with the roof completely destroyed. The caption terms the structure "The Tower of the Gods of Literature"; the plural is because not only Wenchang ("the God of Literature") but his subordinate deities were enshrined there.

not place in the first class on the examination register, can—in the four directional positions of *jia, xun, bing,* or *ding* [positions on the geomantic compass indicating east to south], select an auspicious site, and erect a sharp peak in the shape of a writing brush. It only needs to surpass in height other hills [in its proximity] in order to cause first-class candidates to emerge. Alternatively, one can erect a [structure in the shape of a] writing brush on a hill or on a flat location construct a tall pagoda: all constitute "writing brush peaks."

凡都省府州縣鄉村，文人不利，不發科甲者，可於甲巽丙丁四字方位，上擇其吉地立一文筆尖峰。只要高過別山，即發科甲。或於山上立文筆，或於平地建高塔；皆爲文筆峰。[31]

Fig. 7: The Kuixing tower on the southeast corner of the lake in front of the official school in Jiading, Jiangsu province, built in 1976. Photo by the author, 2014.
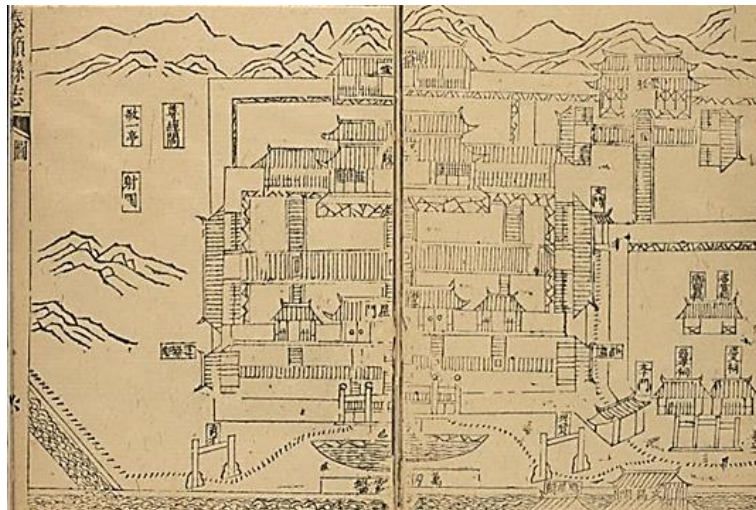
Fig. 8: Paired Wenchang and Kuixing Pavilions in the southeast corner just outside of the walls of the Confucian temple complex in Wenzhou 溫州, Zhejiang province. From the Yongzheng reign *Taishun xian zhi* 泰順縣志, *tu* 5b–6a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:14396917?n=74).

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[31] Gao 1999, 95. I am grateful to Tristan Brown for pointing out this source to me.

Fig. 9: Detail of the Wenchang and Kuixing Pavilions in *Taishun xian zhi, tu* 5b.

As a means of achieving greater height, some towers were erected on the city walls. In the accompanying illustration from the Kangxi edition of the *Pingshun County Gazetteer* (*Pingshun xian zhi* 平順縣志), Shanxi province, the Wenchang Pavilion and Kuixing Tower are both on the city wall in the southeast corner (fig. 10).
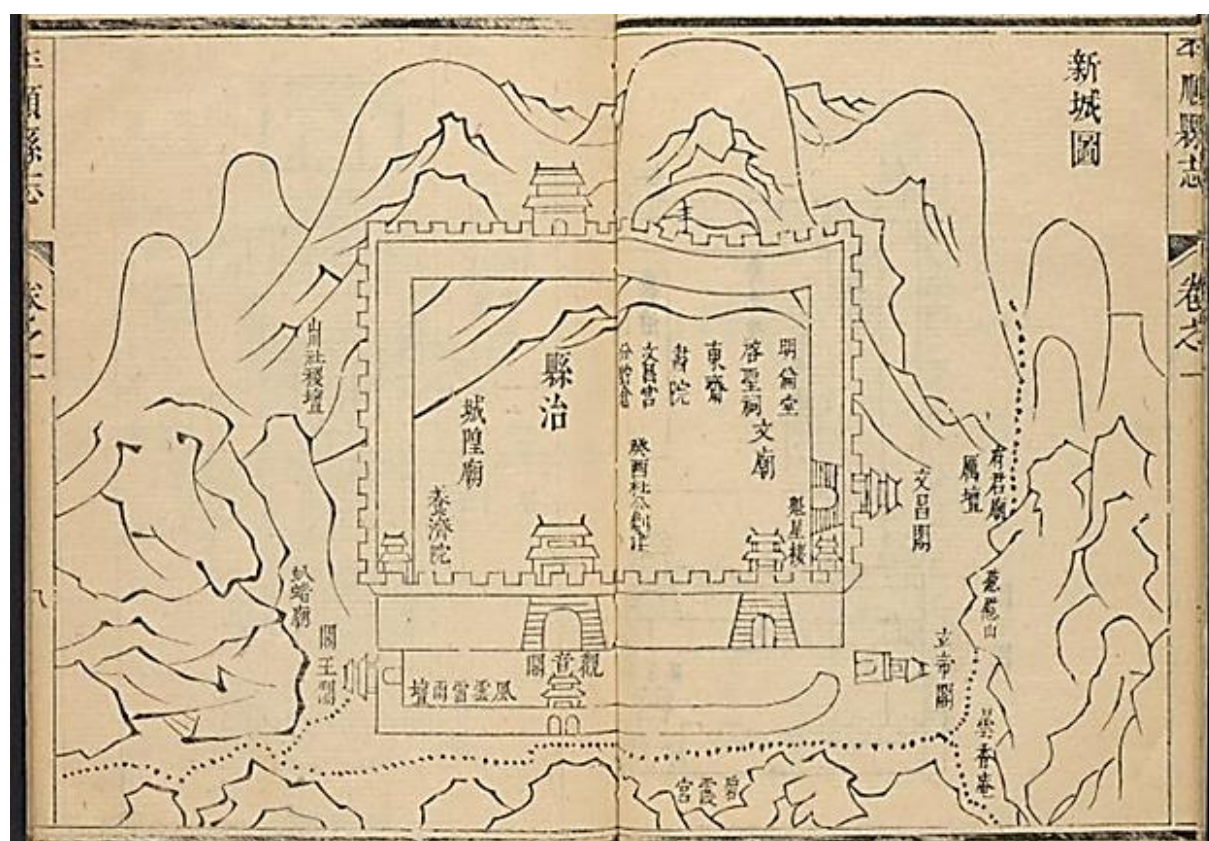
Fig. 10: A Wenchang Pavilion and Kuixing Tower on the southeastern corner of the city walls in the Kangxi edition of the *Pingshun xian zhi* 平順縣志. Note the presence of a Wenchang Palace 宮 as part of the Confucian temple complex inside the city walls. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12771493?n=27)

The Changzhou County Cultural Star Pavilion: Site of Competition Between Eastern and Western Urban Suzhou

The above remarks are primarily based on using the image searching function of LoGaRT without extensive reading in available texts or fieldwork at the relevant sites. This final section considers the available visual records on a tower on which I have done extensive readings and extended fieldwork: the Cultural Star Pavilion (Wenxing ge 文星閣; also occasionally called Wenchang ge 文昌閣) in Changzhou 長洲 county (present day Suzhou; fig. 11).

Fig. 11: The Cultural Star Pavilion on the main campus of Soochow University. Photo by the author, 2011.

Suzhou is one of the most richly documented cities in the imperial period; a profusion of primary sources has inspired a wide array on scholarship on the city, its denizens, and its implications for the urban form in Chinese history more broadly.[32] The Changzhou county Cultural Star Pavilion is one of the best-documented and best-preserved Wenchang towers of the late imperial period.[33] The tower was first constructed in the 1550s as part of a new complex for the Changzhou county school, initiated by a magistrate in response to pleas from students. As Michael Marmé has captured vividly, this was a difficult decade for the city, one characterised by natural disasters and pirate attacks.[34] In 1612, on the advice of geomancy experts who deemed that a taller structure in the *xun* 巽 direction was necessary for the fortunes of the county to improve, the structure was moved a short distance to the southeast. According to one

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[32] The earliest gazetteer record on Suzhou is translated and annotated in Milburn 2015. The same author provides a thoughtful analysis of the most significant Ming gazetteer of Suzhou: Wang Ao's 王鏊 (1449-1524) *Gusu zhi* 姑蘇志 (1506) (Milburn 2009, 105-107). Xu 2000 is a major urban history. Wang 2009 is the fullest attempt at a comprehensive history of the city.

[33] Burton-Rose 2020, esp. 368-69, 379-80.

[34] Marmé 2005, 221-30.

unsourced present day account, there was one more move in the late Ming (Shen 2006, 77). Since that time, the building has remained in place: it survived the Taiping occupation of Suzhou because it served as a useful watchtower over the eastern wall of the city.

Gazetteer diagrams bolster textual evidence regarding the nature of the intervention intended by the backers of this tower from the late Ming through the early Qing (which is far from the only period of interest for this structure). This Cultural Star Pavilion was built in response to a sense of inferiority in the eastern half of Suzhou *vis à vis* the western (Wu 吳 county). As Cao Zishou 曹自守, Wu county magistrate from 1559 to 1563, explained, within the walled city: "Public offices and the mansions of officials, and even [rich] merchants, collect in large numbers on the west side. Hence the land to the east is spacious and that to the west is crowded. It is commonly said that the west side is more cultured than the east."[35]

Fig. 12: The eastern portion of the walled city of Suzhou with few built structures, as depicted in the *Longqing Changzhou xian zhi*. N.p.

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[35] 公署宦室，以逮商賈，多聚於西。故地東曠西狹。俗亦西文於東。Cao 1997, 200. "Wuxian chengtu shuo" 吳縣城圖說 in Gu 1997. Translation modified from Marmé 2005, 229. *ce* 5, 11b–12a.

This disparity between the cultural cachet of western versus eastern Suzhou is on full display in the most spectacular High Qing depiction of Suzhou, *Shengshi zisheng tu* 盛世滋生圖 (Picture of Fecundity in a Flourishing Age; later more commonly known as *Gusu fanhua tu* 姑蘇繁華圖 [Flourishing Suzhou]) of Qianlong period court painter and Wu county (Suzhou) native Xu Yang 徐揚 (fl. 1750s). The painting meanders in and out of western Suzhou and its rural hinterland, without even depicting the two eastern gates of the city (Feng 葑門 in the southeast and Lou 婁門 in the northeast). It includes the prefectural and Wu county Confucian temples—both of which traced their provenance back to the Northern Song reformer and Wu county native Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052)—but not the Changzhou county school (Yang 2008, 83). Astral towers are not depicted in either of these complexes.[36]
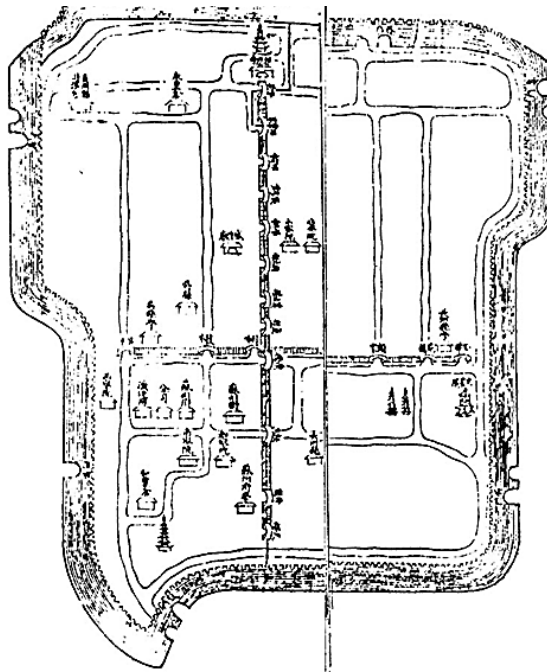
Fig. 13: How Wu county (the western half of urban Suzhou) viewed Changzhou county (the eastern half of urban Suzhou) in the late Ming: empty except for the county school-Twin Pagodas-Cultural Star Pavilion triad. From the 1642 *Wu xian zhi, tu* 4b–5a. Image credit: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku*. Combined in Photoshop by the author.

As a baseline, a diagram of the area from the first extant *Changzhou xian zhi* 長洲縣志 (Changzhou county gazetteer)—that of the Ming Longqing reign (1567–72)—prior to the construction of the Cultural Star Pavilion had so little to show that it included significant portions of the western walled city as well (fig. 12). The Chongzhen (1627–44) reign *Wu xian zhi* 吳縣志 (Wu county gazetteer, preface dated 1642) depicted the Cultural Star Pavilion, but the eastern half of the city remained significantly under-endowed with historical sites in comparison to the western half (fig. 13). The Cultural Star Pavilion can only be comprehended in relation to two other structures: the Changzhou county school, in which it was originally located and with which it continued to be associated even after being physically relocated; and the Twin Pagodas (Shuangta 雙塔) complex directly to the west, which can be traced to initial construction on the same site in 861. Geomancers conceptually converted the shadows of the Twin Pagodas into ink brushes

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[36] The present day Suzhou Confucian temple has a Wenchang Palace (Zhang 2009, 103), but the date of its construction is not yet clear to me.

in the pool in front of the Cultural Star Pavilion, thereby incorporating a more venerable Buddhist complex into a literati-official Confucianisation of the cityscape. The imaginary and symbolic subordination of the Twin Pagodas to the Cultural Star Pavilion is crystallised in the portrait of the tower commissioned by Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645–1719) for his site-specific gazetteer *Modest Gazetteer of the Cultural Star Pavilion* (*Wenxing ge xiaozhi* 文星閣小志, 1704[37]; fig. 14). Peng's illustration amplified the spatial core of Changzhou county depicted in the *Wu County Gazetteer* sixty years earlier, but converted the perceived lack into repletion by magnifying the scale of the Cultural Star Pavilion complex.

Fig. 14: The Cultural Star Pavilion towers over the other complexes that form the cultural core of Changzhou county—the official school and the Twin Pagodas—asserting its pervasive, positive influence over the area. From Peng Dingqiu, *Wenxing ge xiaozhi*, 1704, *Wenxing ge, tu* 1b.

Conclusion

This article is a brief consideration of one aspect of one type of primary source on Wenchang towers in late imperial China. It considers the visual information available on these structures in late imperial gazetteers and the nature of the questions that can be asked of it. It is my hope that this may form a small contribution towards a broader recognition of the significance and diversity of these towers and the uses for which they were employed, and the importance of combining all available sources of information on each individual structure.

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[37] The date of publication comes from Peng's autobiography: Peng circa 1719, 61b.

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All *Siku quanshu* (hereafter SKQS) editions refer to texts accessed through the Kanseki Repository (https://www.kanripo.org/), which are available as a digital facsimile of the Wenyuan ge exemplar juxtaposed with the searchable transcription.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Tiger's Teeth: Local Gazetteers as Sources for Images Related to the Performance of Ritual

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Local gazetteers often include images of ritual implements. This essay studies those images, asking when, where and why such images began to appear in local gazetteers and how these images relate to textual and visual representations of ritual implements in state-level illustrated ritual manuals. The argument this contribution seeks to make is that local gazetteers should be considered among the valuable sources for the study of Confucian ritual. When we look closely at the visual material about ritual in local gazetteers, we see that the process of the appearance of images of ritual implements in local gazetteers should not be understood simply as a top-down diffusion of state-level ritual instruction. The creators of these local illustrations were working within their own circumstances: their skills at creating the illustrations, the models they had to hand, and their understanding of their function were all distinct. While the ambitions of the Qianlong emperor are key to understanding the emphasis on ritual during his reign, as demonstrated by well-known ritual publications such as *Huangchao liqi tushi*, it is also clear that images related to rituals appeared in the local gazetteers at different times and in different cultural spaces from large-scale imperial projects. If we want to understand what local individuals thought about the importance of ritual in Qing society, we have to take the images of ritual implements included in local gazetteers seriously.

地方志中經常能看到禮儀器物的意象。本文旨在研究這些意象並探詢這些意象何時、何處以及為何開始出現在地方志中，以及它們與官方對相關禮儀圖文並茂的記載有何關聯。文章擬論證地方志應被視為研究儒家禮儀的寶貴資料之一。察看地方志中有關禮儀的視覺材料會發現，地方志中禮儀意象出現的過程並非是由朝廷禮部發出指令後自上而下傳播的。圖像的繪製人是獨立工作者：他們的創作技能、手頭的模型以及對圖像功能的理解都各不相同。雖然乾隆皇帝的雄心壯志是理解他統治時期對禮儀重視程度的關鍵，但同樣明顯的是，與禮儀相關的意象在地方志中出現的時間和文化空間與朝廷敕撰的項目並不相同。由此，如慾瞭解在清朝個體對禮儀重要性的看法，則須重視地方志中收錄的有關禮儀器物的意象。

In 1756, a scholar by the name of Ouyang Zhenghuan 歐陽正煥 (1709-1760) published a new gazetteer for Xiangtan 湘潭 county in Hunan province (*Xiangtan xian zhi*, 1756). To modern historians, Xiangtan may be best known as the county of Mao Zedong's birth, but during the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736-1795), the county seems to have wanted to make a name for itself as a place with outstanding ritual implements. *Juan* 8 of this 1756 edition of the Xiangtan gazetteer has a large number of pages with detailed illustrations associated with the performance of Confucian rituals (*li* 禮). First, there is a page with the schematic lay-out of the implements required for the performance of ritual (*chenshe tu* 陳設圖) (*Xiangtan xian zhi* 8.24a-b). Then follow 34 single pages depicting the full complement of ritual vessels (*liqi* 禮器), including such items as the bamboo bowl for food offerings (*bian* 籩), the tall dish (*dou* 豆) and the mountain vessel (*shanzun* 山尊) for offering wine (see Figure 1) (*Xiangtan xian zhi* 8.27a-42b; Wu 2016, 233-53). These are followed by a further 19 single pages depicting the 21 separate musical instruments (*yueqi* 樂器), including the starter (*zhu* 柷, a wooden crate or box) and the stopper (*yu* 敔, a wooden, tiger-shaped object), and the elaborate stands used for banners and flags (Figure 2) (*Xiangtan xian zhi* 8.48a-58a; Lam 2002, 148-50). Finally, there are 24 gazetteer pages with ritual postures or dance moves, each page displaying four separate postures, followed by a page depicting the feather plume (*di* 翟) and flute (*yue* 籥), to be held in the left and right hands, respectively, as well as the hat, belt, robe, and boots to be worn by the dancers (*Xiangtan xian zhi*, 8.58b-71b; Standaert 2006). The quality of the images is excellent: each of the objects is depicted in elaborate detail, as both figures show.

Figure 1: Bamboo bowl (*bian* 籩), tall dish (*dou* 豆) and mountain vessel (*shanzun* 山尊). *Xiangtan xian zhi* (1756), 8.28b–29a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library
(persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13617473?n=204)

This extensive set of images depicts the lay-out of the rituals and all the objects that were to be used in the performance of Confucian rituals in Xiangtan. Their inclusion in the gazetteer of an otherwise hardly outstanding county raises several questions. What exactly is this category of objects, depicted in such detail in this gazetteer? When did images of ritual objects begin to appear in local gazetteers, and why are they included in this genre? How do these images in local gazetteers relate to the textual and visual representations of ritual implements in state-level illustrated ritual manuals? Generally speaking, rituals, ritual performance, ritual manuals, and ritual implements have garnered extensive scholarly attention, but gazetteers have rarely been seen as a particularly valuable source for approaching the topic. Kai-wing Chow's 1994 book on ritualism in late imperial China, for example, does not draw on the genre of local gazetteers (Chow 1994). Joseph Lam's 1998 work on the performance of state rituals during the Ming dynasty, with special focus on the role of music in the imperial sacrifice, does not use local gazetteers (Lam 1998). Nor does Angela Zito's book on Qing ritual of the same year (Zito 1998). Macabe Keliher's recent book (2019) on ritual and the Qing state focuses on the Board of Rites and demonstrates the importance of ritual in the shaping of a specifically Qing administrative order from Ming precedent, and its institutionalisation and codification in the second half of the seventeenth century, but local gazetteers do not feature (Keliher 2019). Nicolas Standaert's study of the visual representations of ritual dances does mention gazetteers (Standaert 2006). But these are very specific gazetteers, namely: *Queli zhi* 闕裡志 (Queli gazetteer), with a preface dated to 1505, which is the gazetteer for Qufu 曲阜, where Confucius was born, the *Nanyong zhi* 南廱志 (Gazetteer of the Imperial Academy in Nanjing), and *Huang Ming Taixue zhi* 皇明太學志 (Gazetteer of the National University in Beijing) (Standaert 2006, 90). These are rather exceptional texts, not typical examples of the genre of *difang zhi* 地方志 (local gazetteers). Lai Yu-chih's recent exploration of image and ritual in the formation and influence of one of the most extensive illustrated ritual manuals published in the mid-eighteenth century also does not take account of its impact on the genre of local gazetteers (Lai 2020).
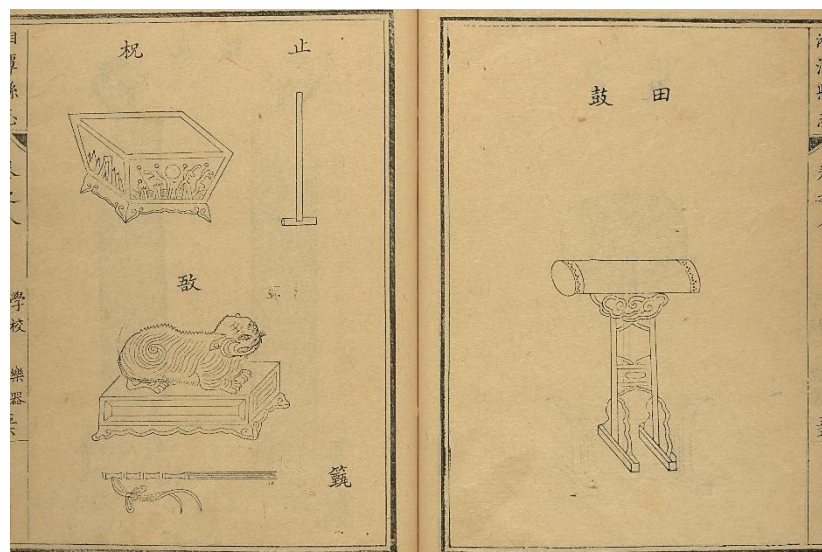

Figure 2: Drum (*tiangu* 田鼓), starter (*zhu* 祝), and stopper (*yu* 敔). *Xiangtan xian zhi* (1756), 8.55b–56a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library
(persistent link: nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13617473?n=221)

The argument this contribution seeks to make, then, is that local gazetteers should be considered among the valuable sources for the study of Confucian ritual. When we look closely at the visual material about ritual in local gazetteers, we see, for example, that the process of the appearance of images of ritual implements in local gazetteers should not be understood simply as a top-down, or central to local, diffusion of state-level ritual instruction. Compilers of local gazetteers such as the 1756 gazetteer for Xiangtan county in Hunan province sourced the visuals to accompany textual information about rituals from other compilations that circulated locally before those visuals appeared in the higher-level compilations about rituals to be discussed below, such as *Huangchao liqi tushi* 皇朝禮器圖式 (Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Imperial Qing Dynasty) or (*Qinding*) *Da Qing huidian tu* (欽定)大清會典圖 (Imperially endorsed illustrated Collected Statutes of the Great Qing).

In what follows, we will begin with an exploration of the category of ritual implements as they appear over time in text and image. This survey focuses on the so-called higher-level publications, often sponsored by the state and disseminated for use throughout the empire. The second section will discuss the earliest appearances of visual information about rituals and ritual implements in local gazetteers. The final section will offer a visual analysis, comparing the images of ritual implements in local gazetteers with the illustrations of ritual objects in other genres of text, to determine how the gazetteer images relate to imperially-endorsed ritual compilations and consider the transmission patterns of visual information about ritual implements in local gazetteers.

Ritual implements (*liqi* 禮器) in text and image

To understand this category of objects illustrated in local gazetteers, we need briefly to look back to earlier sources. Three classical texts referring to the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1046-256 BCE) form the basis of all discussions on ritual in China: the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites), the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rituals of Zhou), and the *Yili* 儀禮 (Etiquette and Ceremonies). The terms *qi* 器 (vessels or insignia or instruments) and *li* 禮 (ritual, rite, or propriety) are ubiquitous throughout those texts. From as early as the Eastern Zhou period (fifth to third century BCE), those terms also appear throughout the writings of the scholars associated with the school of Confucians, or the so-called *Rujia* 儒家. Rituals and implements or vessels are inextricably connected, because, as Wu Hung states, drawing on the *Liji*: "vessels store essential ritual codes" (Wu 2019, 120):

> The idea that vessels store essential ritual codes is stated ... plainly in the *Book of Rites*: "The round and square food containers *fu* 簠 and *gui* 簋, the stand *zu* 俎, and the tall dish *dou* 豆, with their regulated forms and decoration, are the vessels (*qi*) embodying ritual propriety (*li*)" (Wu 2019, 120-121).

The oldest material records that testify to the importance of rituals date to the Three Dynasties (the legendary Xia, the Shang, and the Zhou, *ca.* 2100 BCE to 771 BCE), although recent archaeological excavations suggest that a "ritual system centering on social distinction and hierarchy" had already emerged

in the millennium before 2000 BCE.[1] During this time, society was "regulated by the codified ritual system known as *li*" (Wang 2018, 17). The vessels used as part of this ritual system varied widely in material, form, size, and ornamentation, though the archaeological evidence clearly points to the prominence of bronze vessels during this time (Rawson 2015, 377). Bronze-making technologies had advanced significantly, and the wide range of forms of bronzes in use suggests the increased complexity of society during this time (Falkenhausen 2006). Vessels made of bronze, as with other implements made from jade, were considered especially suitable for use in ritual because of the combination of the aesthetic qualities, the rarity of the material, and the amount of labour and craftsmanship required to work them which they embodied (Rawson 2007, 44). Archaeological excavations have yielded thousands of such ritual vessels and other implements, clearly distinct from objects used in domestic, secular settings.

Despite this archaeological record, it was not easy to identify exactly how the objects used in the performance of rituals in the five categories (*ji li* 吉禮 or auspicious sacrifices, *jia li* 嘉禮 or joyous rites, *jun li* 軍禮 or military rituals, *bin li* 賓禮 or guest ceremonies, and *xiong li* 凶禮 or funerary rituals) should look. Thus, in the centuries that followed, scholars produced texts that sought to establish definitively how rituals should be performed, and what objects would have accompanied the performance of ritual during the Three Dynasties. In the second century AD, the Later Han dynasty commentator on the Classics Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) wrote his famous commentaries on the three classical texts on ritual. From then onwards, they were known collectively as the *San li* 三禮, and Zheng Xuan's commentary as the *Sanli zhu* 三禮注 (Commentaries on the Three Ritual Classics). Allegedly, Zheng Xuan also produced an illustrated version, known as the *Sanli tu* 三禮圖 (Illustrations to the Ritual Classics), though this text is not extant.[2] During the Kaiyuan reign period (713-741) of the Tang dynasty (618-907), the *Da Tang Kaiyuan li* 開元禮 (Ritual Code of the Kaiyuan Period in the Great Tang) was published. It described the *ca.* 150 separate rituals that formed the state ritual program, drawn from Confucian (rather than Buddhist or Daoist) textual sources such as the *Zhouli* and its commentary by Zheng Xuan (McMullen 2010, 217–20). This ritual code came to be seen as the basis for all later ritual codes, and provided detail on the correct performance of state rituals in the aforementioned five ritual categories, thereby anchoring the state in the textual traditions associated with Confucian cosmology and legitimising the political entity that authorised them.[3]

None of these texts was illustrated. It was clear that vessels "embodied ritual propriety" and "stored essential ritual codes", but the lack of agreement over what such ritual implements should look like caused a certain amount of anxiety. Therefore, much scholarly enterprise was spent searching through texts, images, and excavated objects for authoritative information on the correct size and shape of ritual implements, including visual representations of the correct vessels.

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[1] Archaeological excavations at the Taosi site in today's Shanxi province yielded "sets of food vessels, wine vessels, musical vessels (instruments), and weapons". Wu, 2022, 2.

[2] This was alleged by Nie Chongyi, although this was already called into question during the reign of Song Taizu. See Pian 1976, 801; Louis 2016, 22n13. Louis refers to the 2011 study by Jiao Hui 喬輝 on Zheng Xuan's *Sanli tu*.

[3] Ming and Qing scholars quoted extensively from this text. Lam 2002, 142; Wechsler 1985.

Zheng Xuan's *Sanli tu* is no longer extant, but Nie Chongyi 聶崇義 (*fl.* 948-964)'s version of *Sanli tu* is.[4] Nie was a specialist in the Classics and "Professor of the Imperial Sacrifices" during the Later Zhou dynasty (951–960).[5] He was also involved in the "casting of a new set of ceremonial vessels" and the standardisation of "ceremonial jades" at the time of the establishment of the new Song dynasty (960-1279) (Franke 1976, 801). The illustrated text which he offered in 961 to the first emperor of the Song dynasty, Taizu (r. 960-976 CE), proposed several new interpretations of the design and standard measurements of the ritual implements, and thereby determined the fate of his text: it would remain associated with the ritual controversies that surrounded the founding of the Song empire.[6] According to recent studies of Nie's work, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries Nie's illustrations were dismissed as "lacking classical foundation and ... an object of ridicule" (Hsu 2017, 227), and as "creative inventions with no scholarly basis" (Louis 2016, 2).

Nonetheless, Nie Chongyi's text was influential. Nie's illustrations in *Sanli tu* (or *Sanli tu jizhu* 三禮圖集注 (Collected commentaries on the Illustrations to Three Ritual Classics) as the text would later become known) were not his own invention: they were based on what he claimed were ten at the time extant illustrated versions that had been in circulation since the appearance of Zheng Xuan's comments and illustrations. Nie's 20-*juan* text consists of 362 entries, which explain and illustrate the paraphernalia associated with ritual, including over forty vessels, the types of jades, musical instruments, as well as ritual clothing to be worn, and the spaces used for ritual performances. During the reign of Song Taizu, the images of Nie's *Sanli tu* circulated throughout the empire in different ways. The images were painted, first on the walls of the Confucius Temple in the Directorate of Education, and then in 996 in the lecture hall of the State Academy (*guo xue* 國學) at the Directorate, so students could study the ritual texts and view the paintings as an aid to their readings. The images of *Sanli tu* were also distributed in printed form to Confucian schools in the provinces and prefectures, and it seems likely that in the decades that followed, *Sanli tu* images circulated through local schools both in printed form and by way of paintings on the walls of lecture halls.

The status of the *Sanli tu* as an authoritative source for the design of ritual implements which was disseminated in various ways beyond the court did not last. With the eleventh-century excavation of complete sets of bronze implements dating to the Shang (16th-11th century BCE) and Zhou (11th century-256 BCE) dynasties, and the focus being shifted towards what has become widely known as antiquarianism, Nie's *Sanli tu* came under renewed attack (Hsu 2010; Harrist 1995). Amidst extensive and factionalised debates at court and in private academies on ritual implements and music, revised illustrations of ritual implements began to circulate. In the twelfth century, starting in 1102, the last emperor of the Northern Song, Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100-1126), initiated an extensive ritual reform programme (Ebrey 2014, 244-52; Hsu 2013; Lam 2005). As a result, during the Zhenghe reign period (1111-1117) of Huizong's reign, the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀 (New forms for the five rites from the Zhenghe reign period) was published, under the leadership of the ritual specialist Zheng Juzhong 鄭居中 (1059-1123). Described as

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[4] For a detailed discussion of the various extant editions that remain today, see Louis 2016, 128–30.

[5] For details, see the biography of Nie Chongyi by the ethno-musicologist Rulan Chao Pian. Franke 1976, 801–2.

[6] See the extensive discussion of these controversies in Louis 2016, 30–35.

"the first official ritual compendium that seriously attempted to provide ritual procedures for commoners", its over 200 *juan* provided practical detail under headings such as "capping ceremonies", "guest rituals", and auspicious and inauspicious ceremonies (i.e. weddings and funerals) (Liu Yonghua 2013, 5). This text, too, came under attack in later years, and a further revised handbook was subsequently published in the late twelfth century under the aegis of one of Nie's most vocal critics, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), entitled *Shaoxi zhouxian shidianyi tu* 紹熙州縣釋奠儀圖 (Shaoxi [reign] Illustrated Handbook for Worshipping Confucius in the Prefectures and Counties) (Louis 2016, 83; Hsu 2017, 230).
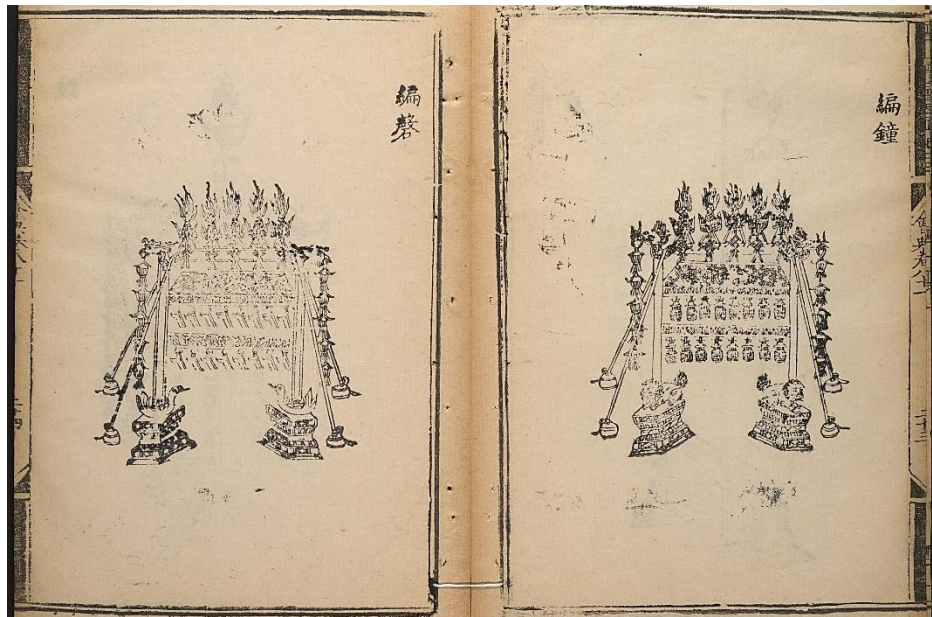
Figure 3: Set of bells (*bianzhong* 編鐘) (right) and set of chimestones (*bianqing* 編磬) (left). *Da Ming huidian* (1587), 81.23b–24a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library
(persistent link: https://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990077710430203941/catalog)

Over the centuries that followed, revised ritual codes were published with a certain regularity, all of them elucidating the topic of state ritual regulations through illustrations. During the Ming dynasty, new editions of extant works appeared, as was the case for *Sanli tu*, but important new compilations also appeared, such as *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (Collected Statutes of the Great Ming). *Da Ming huidian* was produced under the auspices of the Directorate of Ceremonial (*silijian* 司禮監), the most prestigious and powerful of the eunuch-run Directorates. Published under the name of the high official Li Dongyang (1447-1516), it had a preface dated to 1509. The original 180 *juan* of *Da Ming huidian* were subsequently revised and expanded to 228 *juan* by Grand Secretary Shen Shixing (1535-1614) in Wanli 15 (1587) (Figure 3).[7] This definitive edition brought together the information from several ritual compilations dated to the early decades of the Ming, such as the *Da Ming jili* 大明集禮 (Collected rituals of the Great Ming), first compiled during the Hongwu reign period in 1369-1370 by Xu Yikui 徐一夔 (1315-1400), with detailed instructions about music and ritual dance. It also drew on the *Hongwu lizhi* 洪武禮制 (The ritual system of the Hongwu reign period), and the *Liyi dingshi* 禮儀定式 (Regulations for rituals and ceremonies),

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[7] Leiden University has a copy of the Zhengde edition. *Da Ming hui dian* 1509. See also *Da Ming huidian* 1587.

dated 1387 and reprinted in 1545 (Kerlouégan 2012, 16). *Da Ming huidian* went on to provide "knowledge about state structure and the duties and responsibilities of each board in the Ming government" into the Qing dynasty (Keliher 2019, 223n39; Yuan 2007, 181–212).

The 1587 edition of *Da Ming huidian* offers a rich set of illustrations of all aspects of rituals, with details on the hats, robes, and rank insignia (*juan* 60-61), the full set of musical instruments to be used in ritual performance (*juan* 81), and the lay-out to be used for setting out the implements and performing the ritual (*juan* 84-85). These illustrations were quite distinct from those included in *Sanli tu*. The Ming edition of *Sanli tu*, produced by Liu Ji 劉績 (*jinshi* 1490), included simple drawings, offering schematic views of objects and articles of clothing, while the illustrations in the Wanli edition of the *Huidian* are more elaborate and detailed. More importantly, many of the objects that are illustrated in *Sanli tu*, such as the ceremonial attire, the consorts' attire, the pitch pots and archery targets, the different types of bows and arrows, the flags and banners, the sacrificial jades, the wine utensils, the food offering utensils, the offering vessels for ancestral worship, and burial equipment, are not illustrated in *Da Ming huidian*.

In terms of ritual, the Qing system was largely based on its Ming precedent (Smith 2013, 91). The Qing compilations related to ritual implements that were published in the late seventeenth and into the eighteenth century drew in part on Ming ritual manuals, but also brought in significant new information, including objects and materials that had been collected (or better: looted) during Central Asian conquests (Yu 2011). Wu Hung refers to the eighteenth-century efforts of the Qianlong emperor as "the most ambitious project ever attempted to bring old and new materials into a contemporary ritual system".[8] The 50-*juan Qinding Da Qing tongli* (欽定) 大清通禮 (Imperially endorsed General Rituals of the Great Qing), compiled between 1736 and 1757, was the first outcome of this project.[9] In it, the Qianlong emperor hints at his own ambitions when he describes the purpose of the Sage Kings of the Three Dynasties in their regulation of ritual in accordance with people's sentiment, and their creation of ceremony on the basis of human nature, stating: "They could therefore unify the land within the seas and synchronize the population, and could prevent transgressions and rescue the country from decline" (Wu 2016, 250; *Da Qing tongli*, 413). *Da Qing tongli* includes specific detail on the size of the implements and their placement during the ritual but does not illustrate their appearance (Keliher 2016, 55).

New editions of the Collected Statutes also reveal this ambition of the Qianlong emperor to confirm a comprehensive ritual system. The first (Kangxi) edition of the *Da Qing huidian* 大清會典 (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing) had appeared in 1690, with further editions appearing during the reigns of the Yongzheng, Qianlong, Jiaqing, and Guangxu emperors. The full title of the Jiaqing version is (*Qinding*) *Da Qing huidian tu* (欽定)大清會典圖 (Imperially endorsed illustrated Collected Statutes of the Great Qing) in 132 juan, the first illustrated version of the Qing Collected Statutes (Figure 4a-b).[10] It has full

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[8] Wu 2016, 249; on the integration of new (old) objects into existing ritual systems, see Yu 2009, 121–44.

[9] *Qinding Da Qing tongli*. An expanded second edition of this text, with four new chapters, appeared in 1824; for an annotated translation of sections of this text, see Zito 1998.

[10] The Guangxu edition also has images. Ulrich Theobald, via the online encyclopaedia "Chinaknowledge.de", states the following: "Because the version from the Guangxu reign is the most up-to-date version, it attracted much more attention than the earlier versions from the Kangxi, Yongzheng 雍正 (1723-1735), Qianlong and Jiaqing reign-periods. All modern reprints of the canon accordingly made use of the Guangxu edition. The latest edition, published by the Xianzhuang shuju 綫裝書局 as Da-Qing wuchao huidian 大清五朝會典, includes the versions

details and illustrations on all ritual vessels and musical implements, as well as military banners, guns, cannons, and astronomical clocks.

Figure 4a: Ritual vessel (*deng* 登). *Da Qing huidian tu* (Guangxu edition), 23.17a. Digitised for Chinese Text Project. https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=25502&page=51
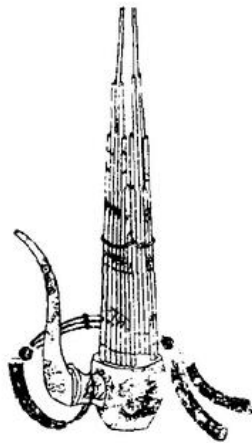
Figure 4b: Bamboo flute (*sheng* 笙). *Da Qing huidian tu* (Guangxu edition), 38. *shengtu* 1. Chinese Text Project. https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=25528&page=82

Da-Qing huidian from the Kangxi and Yongzheng reign-period, the (Qinding) Da-qing hudian (欽定)大清會典 from the Kangxi, Yongzheng and Guangxu reign-periods, the Da-Qing hudian tu 欽定大清會典圖 from the Jiaqing and Guangxu reign-periods, but not the (Qinding) Da-Qing huidian zeli (欽定)大清會典則例 from the Qianlong and the Da-Qing huidian shili 欽定大清會典事例 from the Jiaqing and Guangxu reign-periods. This is quite lamentable, as important sources are missing in the complete collection". http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Historiography/qinghuidian.html Consulted 8 March 2021.
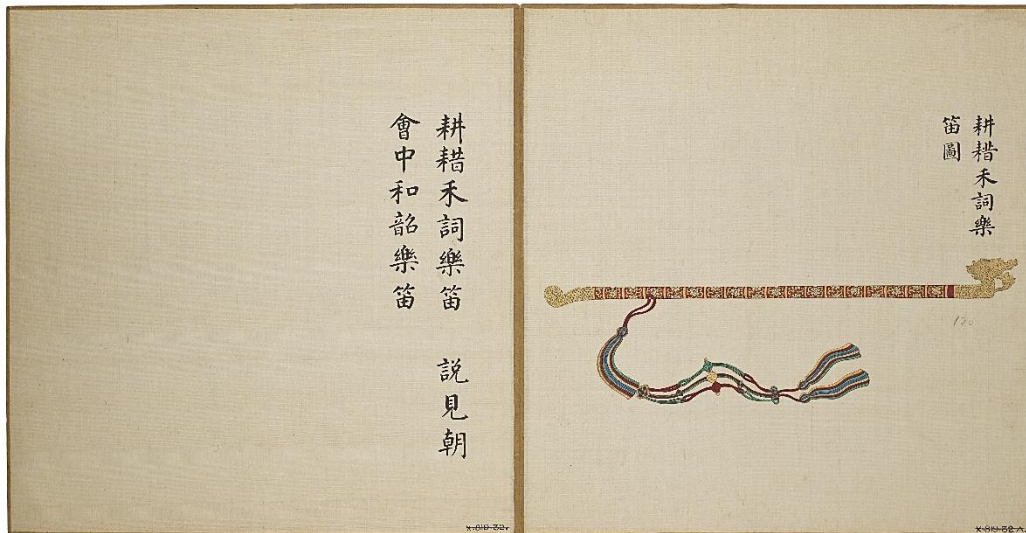
Figure 5: Illustration of the flute (*di* 笛) for the Music to Accompany the Ploughing of the First Furrow from *Huangchao liqi tushi*. Painting on silk album leaf. China, Qing dynasty, c. 1760–1766. © National Museums Scotland.
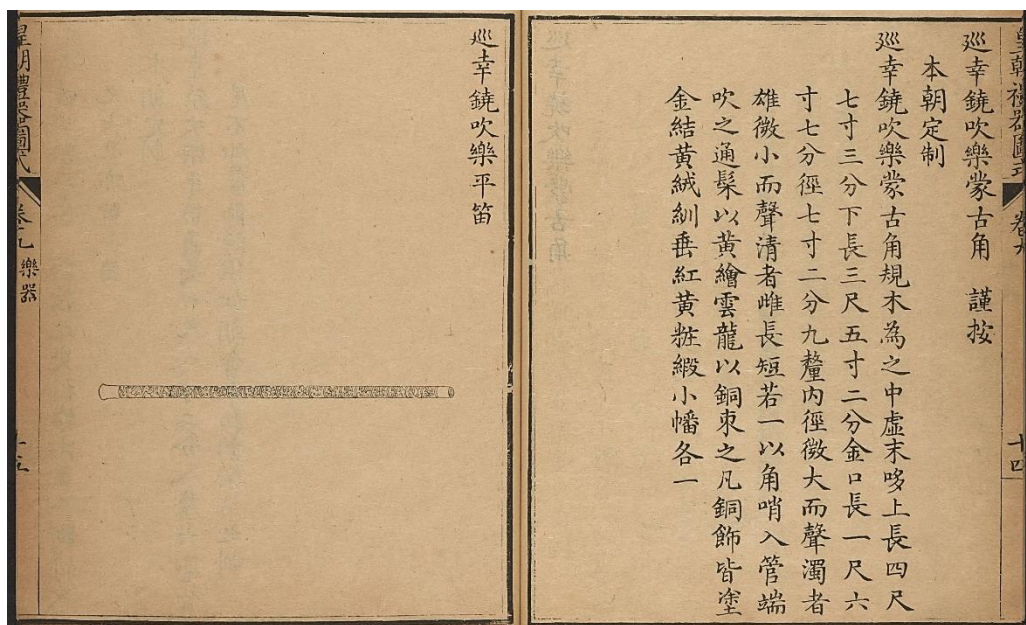
Figure 6: The bamboo flute (*di* 笛). *Huangchao liqi tushi* (1766), 9.14b–15a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:10012889)

Most noteworthy for the study of Qing-era illustrations of ritual implements is perhaps the completion in 1759 of the *Huangchao liqi tushi* 皇朝禮器圖式 (Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Imperial Qing Dynasty) in 18 *juan*.[11] With 1,300 illustrated entries, this, arguably, was the culmination of the ritual reform efforts undertaken during Qianlong's reign (Lai 2020). The *Illustrated Regulations* comprise six separate sections of several *juan* each, covering the following topics: implements

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[11] *Huangchao liqi tushi*. Copies of the manuscript are held at the Palace Museum in Beijing and the National Museum of China. Album leaves of a manuscript copy of this text with coloured illustrations are scattered over several libraries, including the Victoria & Albert Museum, the National Museum of Scotland, the National Museum of Ireland, the Mactaggart Collection of the University of Alberta Museums, and the British Library. *Huangchao liqi tushi*, British Library, OR 9430; for analysis of the provenance of these scattered album leaves, see Zhao 2020.

for sacrifice (*jiqi* 祭器), implements for ceremonies (*yiqi* 儀器), caps and robes (*guanfu* 冠服), musical instruments (*yueqi* 樂器), insignia (*lubu* 鹵簿), and military implements (*wubei* 武備) (Zhang 2016). Each individual item is provided with an illustration; in the original 1759 version produced at the imperial court, these were colour illustrations (Figure 5). A second, monochrome version was produced with woodblock engravings in 1766, which is the version that was included in the *Siku quanshu* and circulated widely (Figure 6) (Zhao 2020). Each illustration is accompanied by a description of its appearance, its size, the materials of which it is made, decorations, and the ways in which the implement is to be used. The compilation even includes 50 optical and astronomical instruments and time pieces that originated in Europe, such as the Western clock (Figure 7). The instruments reflect the interest in Western science of the Qing emperors, while the clock, which was positioned next to the imperial throne, symbolised the emperor's "timely performance of his ceremonial duties" through which he could "figuratively rule the world" (Wu 2016, 250).
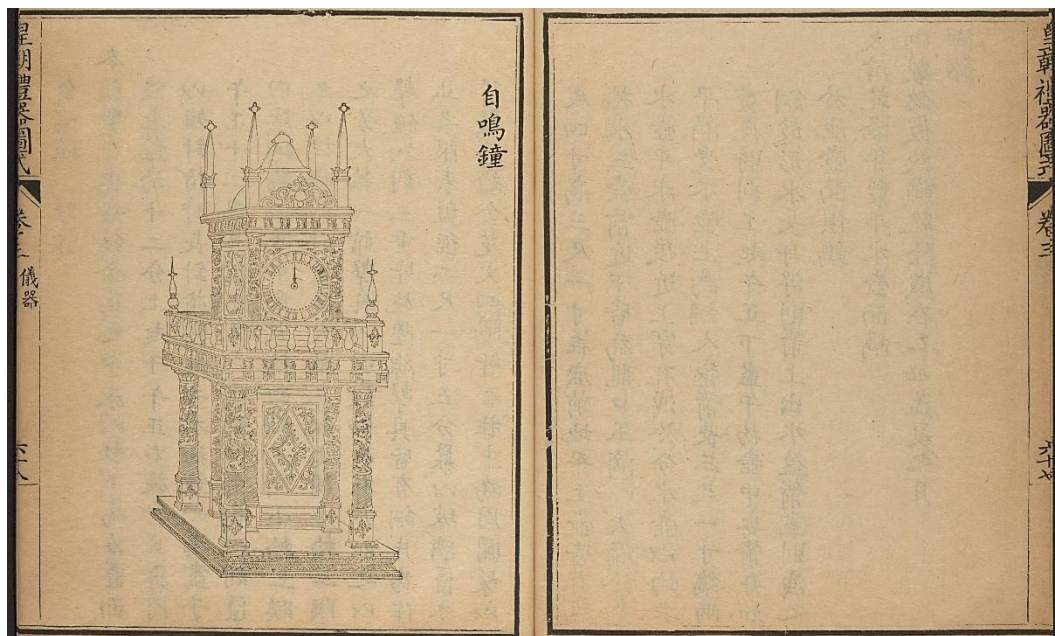
Figure 7: The self-chiming clock (*ziming zhong* 自鳴鐘). *Huangchao liqi tushi*, 3.68a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:10012889)

It is clear, then, that the category of ritual implements includes a wide range of objects. They all relate to the performance of ritual, but in different ways, and over the centuries no agreement seems to have been reached about which implements should be used, what such implements should look like, what materials they were made from, what size and shape they had, and so on. Consecutive emperors and their scholarly advisers concerned themselves with this category of objects and produced texts to confirm their concerns, but none of them succeeded in establishing a definitive set of images that could stand the test of time. The idea of what ritual implements were and should look like continued to change throughout the dynasties. It is also clear that these ideas about ritual implements concerned the court, and the performance of ritual at the level of the state as a whole. This, then, brings us back to the question of the appearance of ritual implements in the genre of local gazetteers, to which we will turn in the following sections.

Images of ritual implements in local gazetteers: when and where

The first edition of the gazetteer for Xinchang 新昌 county may be the first extant local gazetteer with illustrations of ritual implements.[12] Dating to the Chenghua reign period (1477), this edition exists only in manuscript copy in Nanjing.[13] The first *juan* is entitled *tuxiang* 圖像 ("illustrations and portraits"). One or two maps are followed by depictions of the offices and school buildings, and then an image of ritual implements follows (Figure 8a). The Jiajing (1521) edition, which has recently been added to the Airusheng dataset, includes this same set of images (Figure 8b).[14] Also included in this *juan* are schematic depictions of the layout for rituals, landscape illustrations of the village, and a series of twenty official portraits. The ritual implements are not represented in much detail, and the accompanying text is difficult to read, but the standard shapes are all easily recognisable (*Xinchang xianzhi, juan* 1). Interestingly, none of the later Ming (Wanli) and Qing gazetteers for this county, dating to the Kangxi, Qianlong, Tongzhi, and Republican periods, includes any visual depictions of ritual implements. The ongoing relevance of the early Ming images becomes clear in a comparison with the Republican-era edition of the gazetteer (Figure 9).

Figure 8a: Ritual implements (*liqi tu* 禮器圖). *Xinchang xian zhi* (1477), 1.6a. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

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[12] This gazetteer is the subject of extensive discussion in chapter 2 of Dennis 2015, 70–114.

[13] The manuscript copy, dated 1477, is held in the Nanjing Zhongguo kexueyuan dili yanjiusuo 南京中国科学院地理研究所. Dennis 2015, 349.

[14] *Xinchang xianzhi* 1521. The Airusheng set also includes the Wanli (1579), Qianlong (1793), Tongzhi (1872), and Republican (1919) editions of this gazetteer. LoGaRT does not quite match that list: it includes a Kangxi (*shanben*) edition (1671) from the Harvard digitisation project, but it does not have the Jiajing edition.
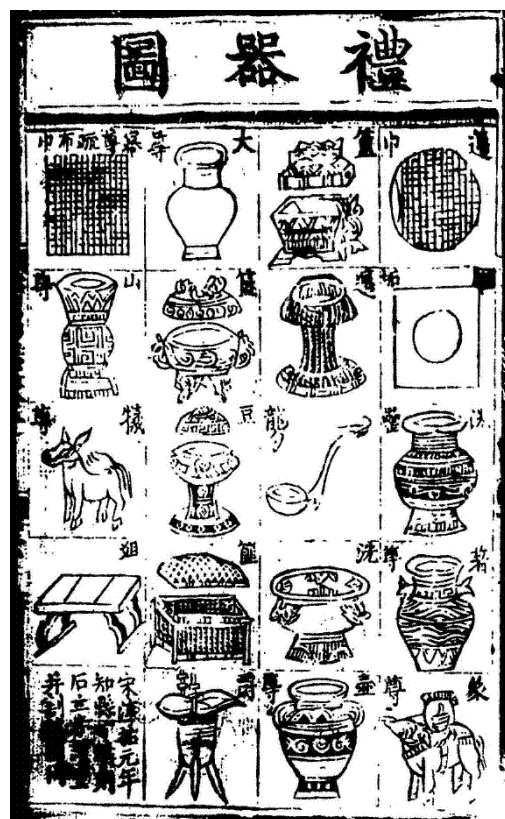
Figure 8b: Ritual implements (*liqi tu* 禮器圖). *Xinchang xian zhi* (1521), 1.6a.
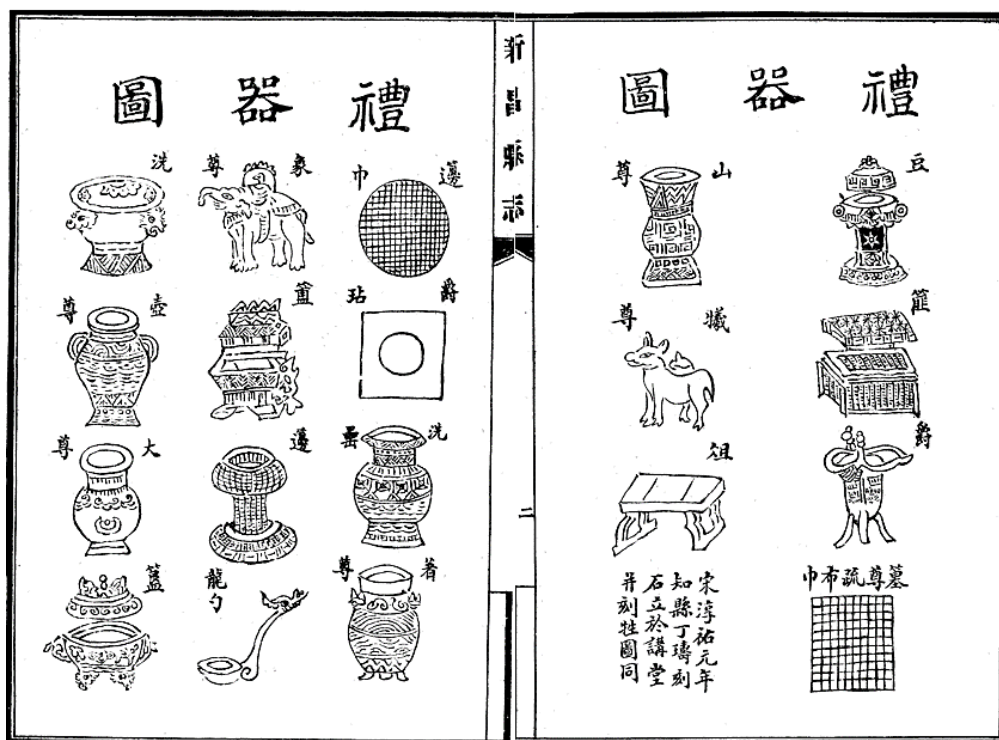
Figure 9a–b: Ritual implements (*liqi tu* 禮器圖). *Xinchang xian zhi* (1914), *tuhua*.16a–b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

Instead of including the ritual implements in the *tuxiang* 圖像 (illustrations and portraits) section, as was the case in the Chenghua and Jiajing editions, the Republican-era edition creates a new section entitled *tuhua* 圖畫 ("pictures") (*Xinchang xian zhi*, "tuhua"). The sequence of the implements is also not quite the same, but a close comparison of individual items of the Chenghua and Republican editions confirms that the selected shapes and text are largely the same. To illustrate the similarity of the Chenghua and Republican editions, Table 1 features a selection of objects from these two editions, and contrasts these with the shape and design of the same ritual objects chosen from a very different gazetteer. The contrasting images in the third column are entirely unrelated to the images in the first two columns; they simply serve to highlight the closeness of the Xinchang gazetteer images and the contrast with the different gazetteer images. The juxtaposition reveals that the Republican gazetteer editors took the images from the Chenghua gazetteer as their source, and re-carved blocks to approximate the original images.[15]

(Chenghua) *Xinchang xianzhi*	(Minguo) *Xinchang xianzhi*	(Guangxu) *Huazhou zhi*

Table 1

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[15] The text reads: "In the first year of the Chunyou reign period of the (Southern) Song dynasty (i.e. 1241), the county magistrate, Ding Shu, had [these] carved in stone and erected in the lecture hall. He additionally carved the images of the sacrificial animals and [did] the same there." 宋淳祐元年知縣丁璹刻石立於講堂并刻牲圖同.

Before we return to the Qing-era Xiangtan gazetteer with which we opened the discussion, it is worth noting that the Ming gazetteers are poorly represented amongst the gazetteers with illustrations of ritual vessels included in the LoGaRT tool. Only two Ming dynasty gazetteers have such illustrations. The first of these is the Jiajing-era (1535) *Guangdong tongzhi chugao* 廣東通志初稿 (Preliminary draft of the Guangdong gazetteer). The five images related to ritual do not illustrate the objects *per se* but offer schematic representations or maps for the set-up for five separate rituals: capping ceremonies, marriage ritual, funerary rites, sacrifices, and archery rituals (*sheli* 射禮). Objects are included, but only in very small form, and for the purpose of illustrating their placement, not their size or detailed appearance (Figure 10).
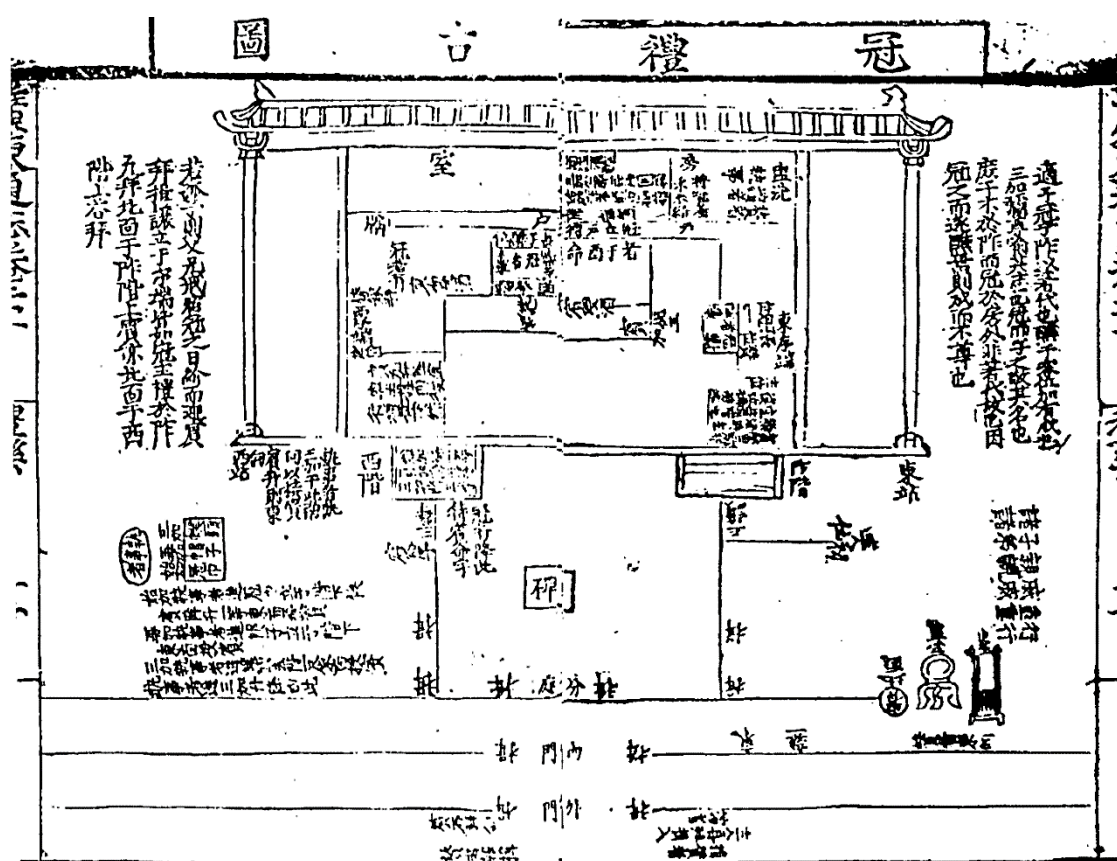
Figure 10: Lay-out for capping ritual (*guan li* 冠禮). *Guangdong tongzhi chugao* (1535), 21.11b–12a.
Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

The marriage ritual map includes no objects, and the maps for the funerary rituals and for sacrifices again only very small images of objects. A variety of ritual implements is included in the lay-out for the archery ritual (Figure 11), though the quality of the image makes it hard to see the details. There are musical instruments and vessels, bows, arrows, and stands, demonstrating who stands where and does what. The other Ming gazetteer with images depicting ritual dates from the end of the sixteenth century and offers the exact opposite of this 1535 gazetteer. This is the Jiajing edition of the Sichuan provincial gazetteer, entitled *Sichuan zongzhi* 四川總志 (General gazetteer of Sichuan), which includes detailed illustrations of eight large vessels (Figures 12 & 13). Oddly, the Wanli edition of the same gazetteer does not include these images. The eight vessels of the Jiajing edition stand out for several reasons: they cover a full page (recto and verso), while most illustrations of objects in the gazetteer fit on half of the page (recto or verso),

and the ornament on the surface of the vessels is provided in great detail. Surprisingly, there is no accompanying text, no description of the object, no name, and no detail in terms of size, shape, material, or use. In both cases, then, we are dealing with representations of implements dating to the Ming that are exceptional or deviate from the usual pattern.
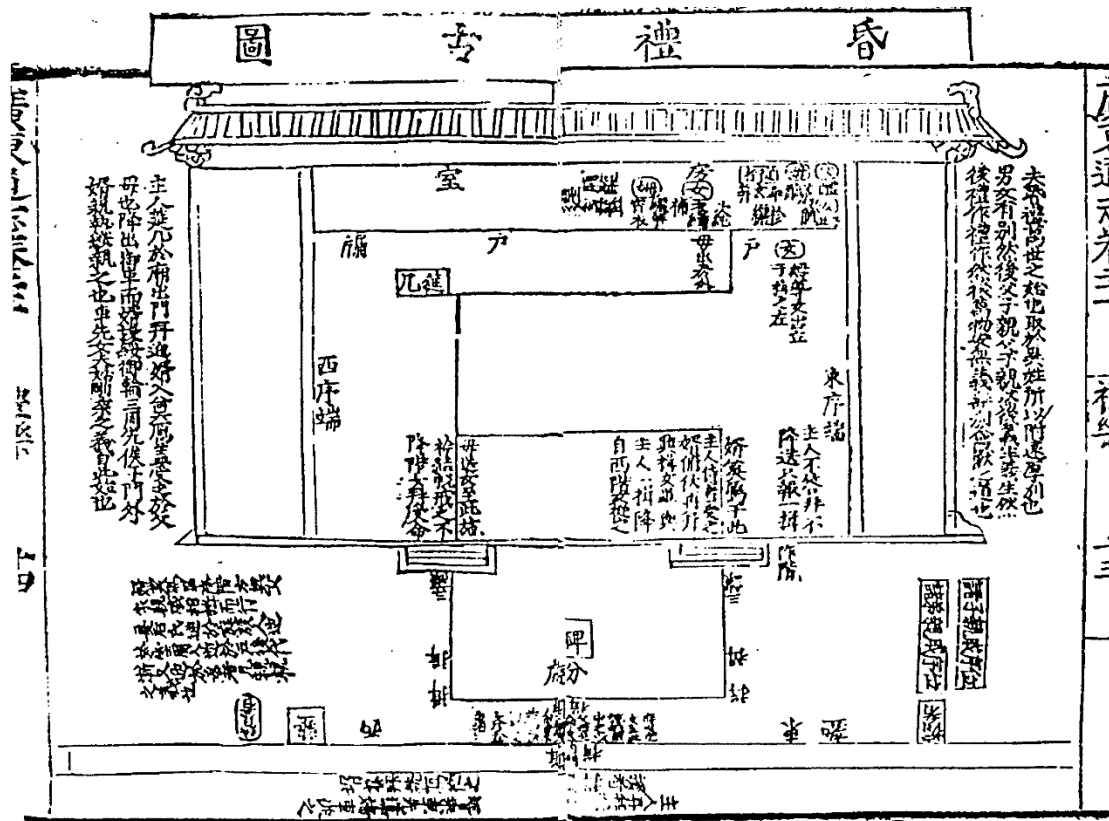

Figure 11: Lay-out for archery ritual (*she li* 射禮). *Guangdong tongzhi chugao* (1535), 21.13b–14a.
Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

Figure 12: Ritual vessel. *Sichuan zongzhi* (1566), 56.4a–b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.
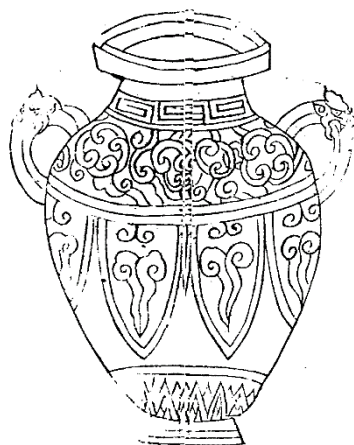
Figure 13: Ritual vessel. *Sichuan zongzhi* (1566), 56.9a–b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

If during the Ming few gazetteers included visual information about ritual, during the Qing dynasty, this changed dramatically. A total number of 164 separate gazetteer titles includes 1,717 separate images depicting an aspect of the performance of ritual. As some of these separate gazetteer titles encompass more than one edition, the overall total number of gazetteers is even larger. As Figure 14 shows, there is a vast difference between the reign periods of the Qing in terms of the appearance of images associated with rituals in local gazetteers. It is an oddly fluctuating publication pattern. The single image related to ritual that was published during the Shunzhi reign period (1643-1661), does not concern an object: it is a schematic representation of the lay-out of the village drinking ritual (*xiang yin zhi tu* 鄉飲之圖).[16] In contrast, during Kangxi (1661-1722), a total of 150 pages with images related to ritual appeared. During Yongzheng (1722-1735), only 48 images were published, while the Qianlong reign period (1735-1796) saw the appearance of 313 images; Jiaqing (1796-1820) 84, Daoguang (1820-1850) 93, Xianfeng (1850-1861) 77, Tongzhi (1861-1875) 494, Guangxu (1875-1908) 453, and finally, during Xuantong (1908-1912), 4. Four reign periods clearly stand out: Kangxi (150), Qianlong (313), Tongzhi (494) and Guangxu (453). These four reign periods, with 1,410 images all together, make up 82% of all the pages with images related to ritual dated to the Qing period.
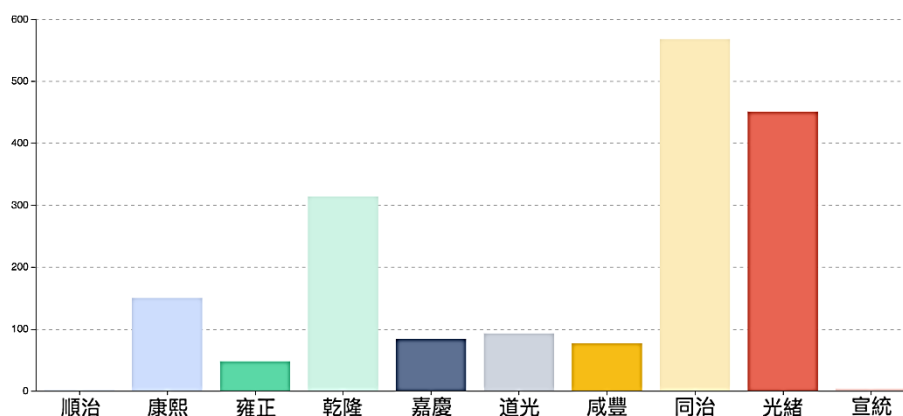
Figure 14: Pages with Images related to ritual, based on LoGaRT database, listed according to reign period.

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[16] *Pucheng xian zhi.* This ritual was performed to confirm the ritual distinction between elder and younger community residents. Smith 1991.

During the Kangxi reign period, 25 gazetteers were published with visual materials concerning rituals. More than half of these include only one or two images, while four out of 25 gazetteers are responsible for 91 of the 150 images (or 60%). These four Kangxi gazetteers are the *Yunmeng xian zhi* 雲夢縣志 (Yunmeng county gazetteer) of 1668, the *Hanyang fu zhi* 漢陽府志 (Hanyang prefectural gazetteer) of 1669, the *Baoqing fu zhi* 寶慶府志 (Baoqing prefectural gazetteer) of 1684, and the *Dongye zhi* 東野志 (Dongye gazetteer) of 1689. It is worth looking at this last publication in greater detail, because, out of these four Kangxi publications, this gazetteer is the only publication with illustrations of ritual implements. The others have images related to rituals, such as the schematic lay-out of the ritual space and the dance moves, but no implements. The Kangxi edition of the *Dongye gazetteer*, however, includes this set of images of 30 individual ritual objects (Figure 15) (*Dongye zhi* 1689, *juan* 1). The notes underneath the illustrations generally provide detail on weight, height, depth, width, and diameter. Further detail on the performance of ritual in Dongye is provided, but not illustrated.

Figure 15a–i: Ritual implements. *Dongye zhi* (1689), 1.14a–21a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:5112649?n=31 until 39)

The next significant increase occurs during the Qianlong reign period. During this period, 52 separate gazetteers with images of ritual-related content were published. Again, not all of these have extensive sets of images: 43 of 52 (or 82%) of those gazetteers have fewer than 10 images, and 43% only one single image. But if we focus again on the four gazetteers with the greatest number of images, that set includes the Xiangtan gazetteer of 1756 with which we opened this piece, which has 63 pages with images related to ritual, as well as the *Guangzhou gazetteer* 光州志 of 1762 (20 pages with images), the *Jiahe county gazetteer* 嘉禾縣志 published in 1766 (27 pages with images), and the *Panyu county gazetteer* 番禺縣志

of 1774 (23 pages with images). To contrast the Xiangtan set, with its very extensive set of images, with the Kangxi-era Dongye gazetteer set, with its far smaller set (Figure 15), and to provide a sense of the sheer quantity of images, an overview image of the Xiangtan images is included (Figure 16). Comparing these two figures reveals that while the *Dongye gazetteer* has an extensive set of objects, much of what is not included amongst the illustrations in the Dongye set, such as musical instruments, robes, and the full complement of dance moves, is illustrated in the Qianlong-era *Xiangtan gazetteer*.[17] The exceptional nature of the *Xiangtan gazetteer* becomes more manifest through such comparison. Before we return to the question of the sources for these images and the motivations behind their inclusion in local gazetteers, a brief investigation of the location of these publications is necessary.

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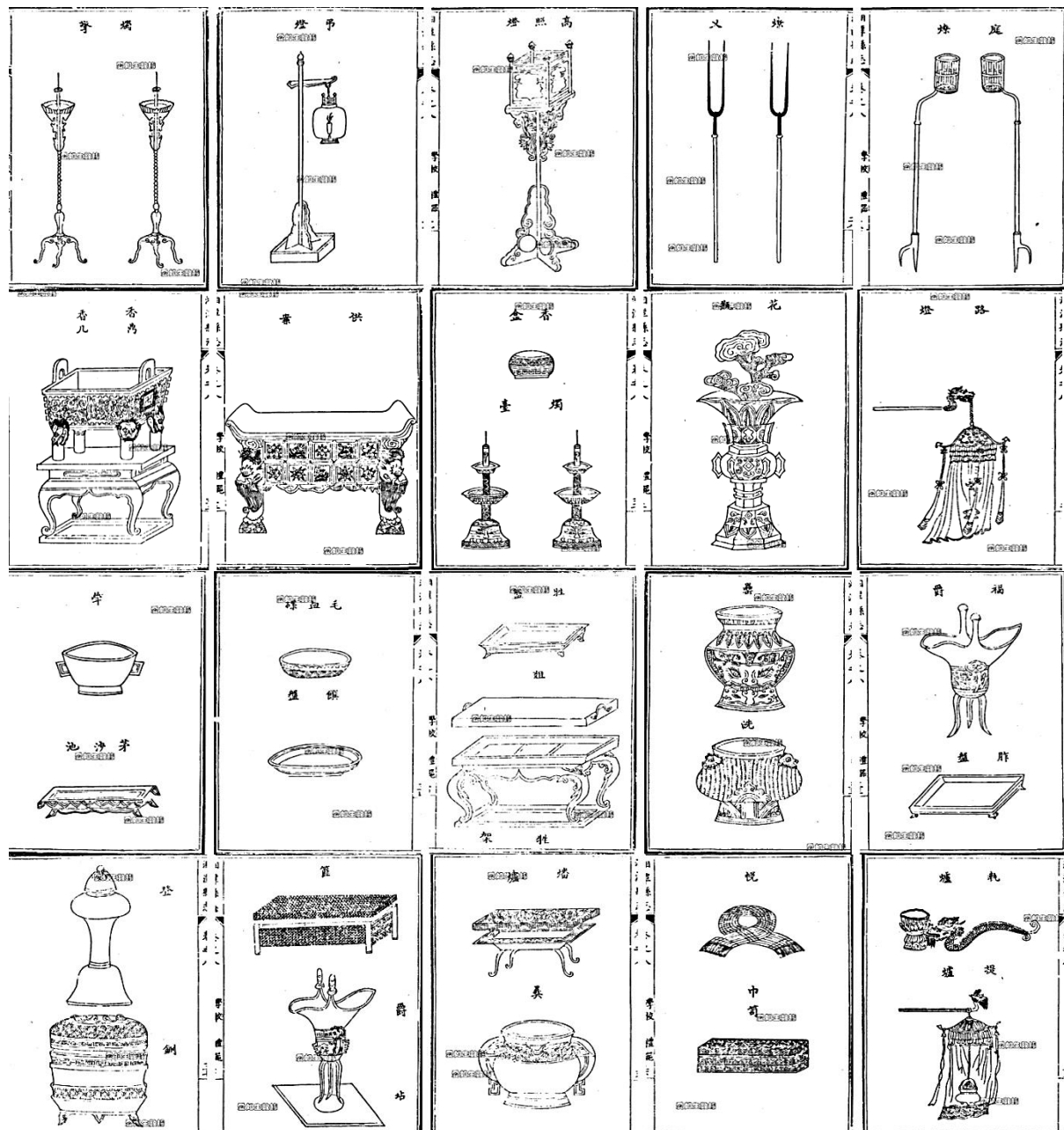
[17] For extensive discussion of the sources of these images, their annotations, and their circulation history, see Standaert 2006.
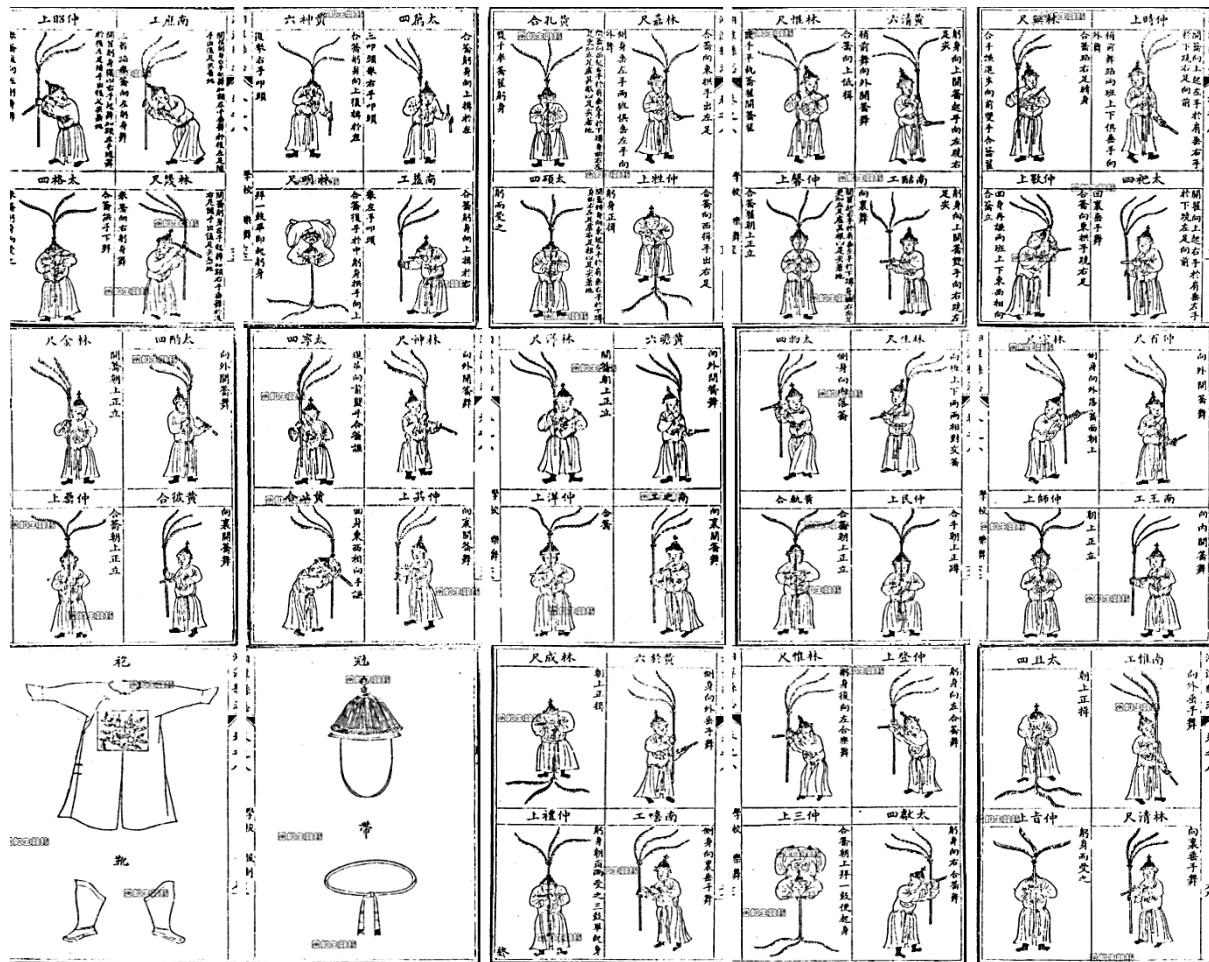
Figure 16: Overview image (contact sheet) of images related to ritual in *Xiangtan xian zhi* (1756), *juan* 8. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku. Screenshots based on CHMap (https://chmap.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de).
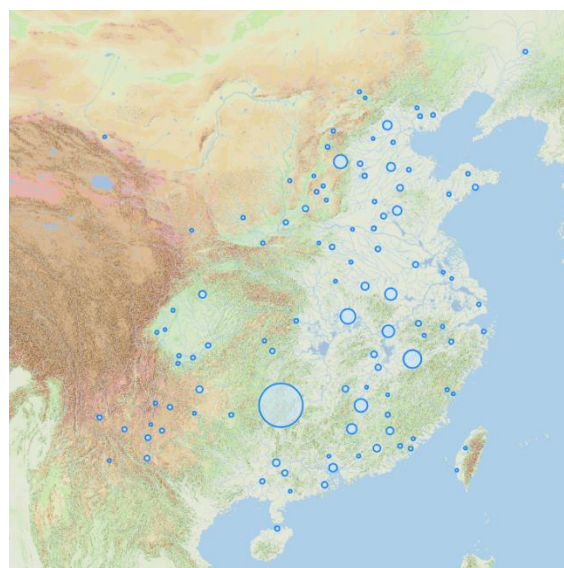
Map 1: Distribution of Qing gazetteers containing pages with images related to ritual. Based on LoGaRT database.

Qing gazetteers with images related to ritual appear scattered all over the empire (Map 1). However, when we zoom in more closely, it becomes clear that, in fact, a single province hosts most of the gazetteers with images related to ritual: Hunan province. Of the 1,717 pages with images appearing in Qing gazetteers, over one third (636, or 37%) appeared in Hunan province alone. Moreover, well over half (58%) of the total number of pages with images originated in only three provinces: Hunan, Jiangxi, and Hebei. Why Hunan, specifically? This is not a function of gazetteer production in general: less than 6% of all gazetteers published during the Qing related to Hunan. It is, in part, a function of Hunan's general prowess in producing gazetteers with images: of all 55,420 pages with images in Qing gazetteers included in the LoGaRT system, just over 10% stem from Hunan; more images were produced in Hunan than in any other single province. But if 10% of all Qing gazetteer images stem from Hunan, and 37% of all images related to ritual stem from Hunan, then there is a significant concentration of images of ritual produced in Hunan (Figure 17 & 18), spread fairly evenly over the counties of Hunan. The *Xiangtan county gazetteer*, with its extensive set of images of ritual implements, thus fits into this wider context of a practice that was reasonably widespread throughout Hunan during the reign periods of the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors. That Hunan was an exceptional place has already been established, for example, by the scholarship of Patrice Fava on the existence of what he calls Daoist society in Hunan and of Alain Arrault on the history of Daoist statuary and cultic images in Hunan (Fava 2013; Arrault 2020). That Hunan was also exceptional in terms of practices associated with Confucian orthodoxy is suggested by these gazetteer images of ritual objects.
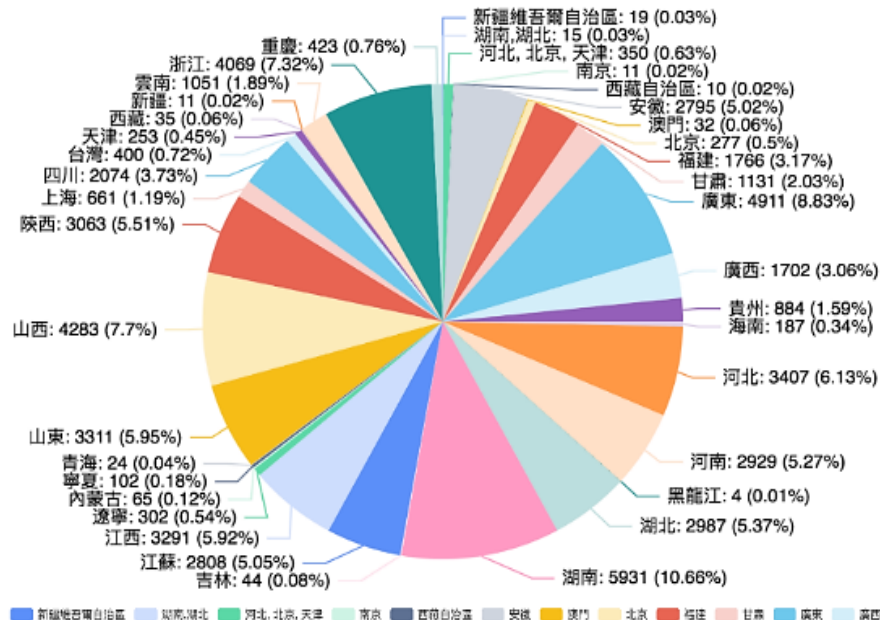
Figure 17: Division of pages with images of ritual implements in Qing gazetteers divided across the provinces. Based on LoGaRT database.
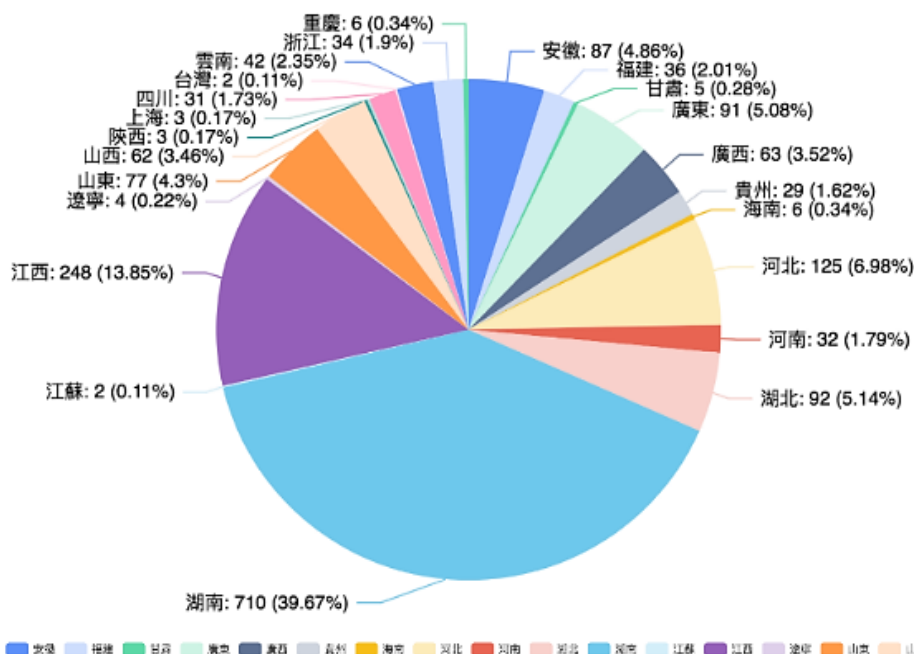
Figure 18: Division of pages with images in Qing gazetteers divided across the provinces. Based on LoGaRT database.

Like most gazetteers, the *Xiangtan county gazetteer* of the mid-eighteenth century included a list of Confucian (or orthodox) rituals to be performed in the area, as well as extensive lists of religious sites such as shrines, monasteries, and temples. In fact, the ritual system of Xiangtan county, as it is presented in the gazetteer, is organised around religious spaces. *Juan* 8 of the 1756 edition, which contains the discussion of the county's institutions of learning (*xuexiao zhi* 學校志), begins with a listing of the sites used for religious performances, and provides brief indications of major changes that took place within the organisation of ritual space. For the main hall of the Confucian temple, the gazetteer adds that from the 9th year of Jiajing (1530), this space was no longer allowed to be called a hall (*dian* 殿) but should be called a temple (*miao* 廟); that several four-character imperial inscriptions were received during the reigns of Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong, for display in the spaces; that the bells and drums were kept in the east and west wings of the main hall, and that the ritual implements and musical instruments were kept on the left and right sides of the main hall (*Xiangtan xian zhi* 1756, 8.2a-4b). Detailed information about the implementation of changes following central government commands is included in the descriptions of all the ritual institutions that fall under the broad heading of institutions of learning in Xiangtan, suggesting a close integration in terms of ritual between central orders and local implementation. The description of the storage spaces used for drums, bells, and other ritual and musical implements also suggests that these objects were actually held and used for the performance of ritual in the county, not merely stated as (unattainable) ideals. Some of the rituals performed at the local level were more or less direct copies of the rituals performed at state level, such as the sacrifice to Confucius (*jikong*); other rituals, especially from the Ming dynasty onwards, were intended specifically for local performance, such as the community libation ceremony (*xiang yinjiu li* 鄉飲酒禮) and the rituals performed at the altars of soil and grain (*shejitan* 社稷壇) (Liu Yonghua 2013, 6; Bol 2008, 259). In Qing Xiangtan, rituals were performed not only for empire-wide prescribed cults such as at the altar for soil and grain, the altar for hungry ghosts

(*litan* 厲壇), and the Confucius temple (*wenmiao* 文廟), but also at various altars for Song dynasty scholars and worthies and locally revered figures with a specific link to Hunan (*Xiangtan xian zhi* 2002, 7.1a-8b).

Instructions for the performance of state rituals were not just relevant for the imperial court but also needed to be cascaded down to the lower administrative levels and disseminated to those responsible for the performance of rituals at the provincial, prefectural, and county levels. During the Ming dynasty, these instructions seem on the whole to have remained limited to textual instructions, or to schematic illustrations with indications of the placement of specific objects, without detailed illustrations of individual objects. During the Qing, however, such illustrations began to appear in significant numbers, especially during the reign periods in which ritual was considered significant, both at the imperial level, such as during the reigns of the Qianlong and Guangxu emperors, and at the local level, especially, as we have seen in Hunan.

Images of ritual implements compared: the tiger and his teeth

It is clear from the above that gazetteers belong amongst the genres of text that provide information about what ritual implements should look like. This, of course, raises further questions. What does the genre of local gazetteers have to do with these illustrated ritual guidelines? Why are images published in gazetteers and how do those gazetteer images relate to the type of texts outlined in this survey? For whom was this information intended, and why? And where did the Qing gazetteer compilers find the necessary information to produce these gazetteer images? To answer such questions, I focus on a smaller subset of images related to ritual: the depictions of musical instruments, and specifically on the so-called stopper (*yu* 敔): the tiger-shaped wooden instrument with teeth running along the back of the tiger. Music, and musical instruments such as the stopper, played a key role in state rituals at court as well as in local rituals.

As Joseph Lam and others have shown, instructions for performing music and dance on ritual occasions had begun to be mandated in the early Ming by Zhu Yuanzhang, but it was not until the late Ming that such musical performances really began to flourish. Numerous publications were produced to offer guidance for the correct performance of music at the Ming court (Lam 1998; Lam 2002; Lam 2011; Wu 1998). These included the *Dacheng yuewu tupu* 大成樂舞圖譜 (Illustrated manual of Confucian rites and music) by Zhang E 張鶚, and the 1609 treatise on ritual music by Qu Jiusi 瞿九思 (1546-1617), entitled *Kongmiao liyue kao* 孔廟禮樂考 (Study of the rites and music of the Confucius Temple), which has no illustrations.[18] Ming publications on music also included the Wanli era *Records on the rites and music of the Confucian Temple* (*Wenmiao liyue zhi* 文廟禮樂志) by Pan Luan 潘巒 and the *Study of sacrificial rites by early masters* (*Xianshi jidian kao* 先師祀典考) by Ma Po 馬樸, but these are all better known through references integrated into *Collection of documents on the Confucian rites and music* (*Dacheng liyue ji* 大成禮樂集) by Shi Jishi 史記事 (Lam 2011; Wang & Wang 2017). The latter includes

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[18] *Dacheng yuewu tupu*, with a 1520 preface, is available only in the Naikaku bunko in Japan. Lam 1998, 78.

illustrations of the schematic lay-out of the instruments, of the suspended bells and chime stones, the zithers and flutes, as well as the starter and the stopper (Figure 19).[19]

Figure 19: The stopper. *Dacheng liyue ji* (1622), 4.28b–29a. World Digital Library.

During the early reign periods of the Qing dynasty, too, materials specific to the performance of music were published. These included, for example, the *Pangong liyue quanshu* 頖宮禮樂全書 (Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), which appeared in 1656.[20] The *Lülü zhengyi* 律呂正義, a short work (5 *juan*) on the correct use of the pitch pipes (*lülü* 律呂) was compiled between 1713 and 1722, under the auspices of the Kangxi emperor. It was printed in 1724, after Kangxi's death, by the Yongzheng emperor, with volumes on astronomy and mathematics, which included information provided by the Jesuits at Kangxi's court. The second of the three sections of *Lülü zhengyi* provided an overview of the eight categories of musical instruments. These categories were material categories, so they distinguished metal, stone, silk, bamboo, gourd, clay, leather (or hide), and wood. Then followed an introduction to the 14 main types of instrument used: the pan pipes (*paixiao* 排簫), vertical bamboo flute (*xiao* 簫), transverse bamboo flute (*di* 笛), the mouth organ (*sheng* 笙), the cylindrical double-reed pipe (*touguan* 頭管), the transverse bamboo flute (*chi* 篪), the egg-shaped flute (*xun* 壎), the zithers (seven-stringed *qin* and 25-stringed *se*), the bells (*zhong* 鐘), chime stones (*qing* 磬), drums (*gu* 鼓), and the starter (*zhu*) and stopper (*yu*) (Wu 1998, 33-34). This text was extended during the eighteenth century, when a volume entitled *Yuzhi Lülü zhengyi houbian* 禦製律呂正義後編 (Sequel to the Imperially approved standard interpretation of music theory) was published in 1746. In this version, the text was reorganised, and extended with sections on other musical instruments (*yueqi* 樂器) and on pieces of music (*yuezhang* 樂章). The text went from 5 *juan* to 120 *juan* and became an important reference work for discussions on ritual at the imperial court (Standaert 2006).

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[19] *Dacheng Liyue ji*, *juan* 2,3, 4. No illustrations are found in *juan* 1 or 5.

[20] *Pangong liyue quanshu*, the Qing publication largely follows its Ming precedent: *Pangong liyue shu* 1618; see also Standaert 2006, 96.
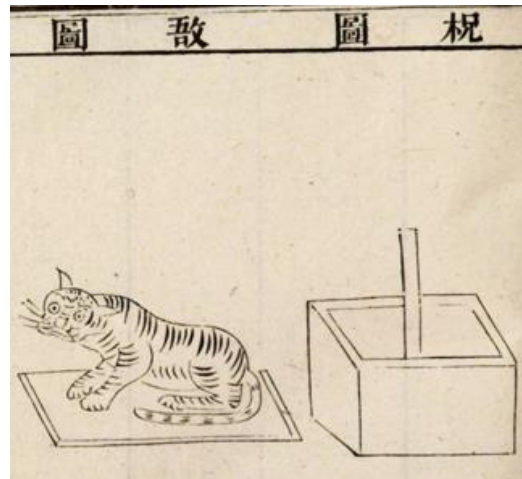
Figure 20: The starter (right) and stopper (left). Lin Changyi, *Sanli tongshi* (1863), 274.15a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://fig.lib.harvard.edu/fig/?bib=007718466)

Throughout the nineteenth century, even whilst the empire faced severe threats from many different directions, scholars continued to produce illustrated publications, on music specifically, but also on the importance of ritual in general. The scholar-official Lin Changyi 林昌彝 (1803-1876), for example, a male relative of the even more famous Lin Zexu 林則徐, published not only descriptions of his experiences of the Opium War, but also a volume entitled *Sanli tongshi* 三禮通釋 (General commentaries on the Three Rites), which included illustrations of musical instruments (Figure 20). The correct performance of ritual was important, at court and throughout the empire. And thus, music, musical instruments, and the choreography of movement also featured in the guidelines for the performance of rituals at the level of prefectures and counties. More than static objects like sacrificial vessels, music, instruments, and movement required elaborate instruction to ensure correct performance, and thus serve our purpose well. Rather than considering the significance of music in ritual *per se*, the discussion below will focus on the visual information on musical instruments provided in gazetteers, to evaluate the significance of the genre of local gazetteers as source of information on the performance of ritual. The LoGaRT database contains 571 pages with images of musical instruments. Most (over 50%) of these date from two reign periods only: Qianlong and Guangxu.[21] The set generally includes the following types of instruments: suspended chime stones, including both single suspended chime stones (*texuan qing* 特縣磬) and sets of chime stones (*bianqing* 編磬); suspended bells, including both single suspended bells (*texuan zhong* 特縣鐘) and sets of bells (*bianzhong* 編鐘); two kinds of zither (*se* 瑟 and *qin* 琴); wind and percussion instruments of various kinds; and the starter and stopper, the two instruments that were used to mark the beginning and end of a ritual musical performance. The stopper, about which more below, always appears in the shape of a crouching tiger on a more or less elaborate pedestal with metal spikes or "teeth" along the ridge of the tiger's back (formally, 27 teeth), accompanied by a small bamboo brush. Using the brush to hit the tiger's head and then running the bamboo brush three times over the teeth on the tiger's back makes the characteristic sound that marks the end of the ritual. The 1890 gazetteer for Huazhou 化州 includes a

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[21] The total number of pages with images of musical instruments breaks down as follows over the reign periods: Kangxi: 26; Yongzheng: 49; Qianlong: 141; Jiaqing: 55; Daoguang: 38; Xianfeng: 47; Tongzhi: 51; Guangxu: 164.

two-page illustration of the entire set of musical instruments used in ritual, showing not only their physical form but also the quantities of the items to be used (Figure 21) (*Huazhou zhi* 6.33a-b).
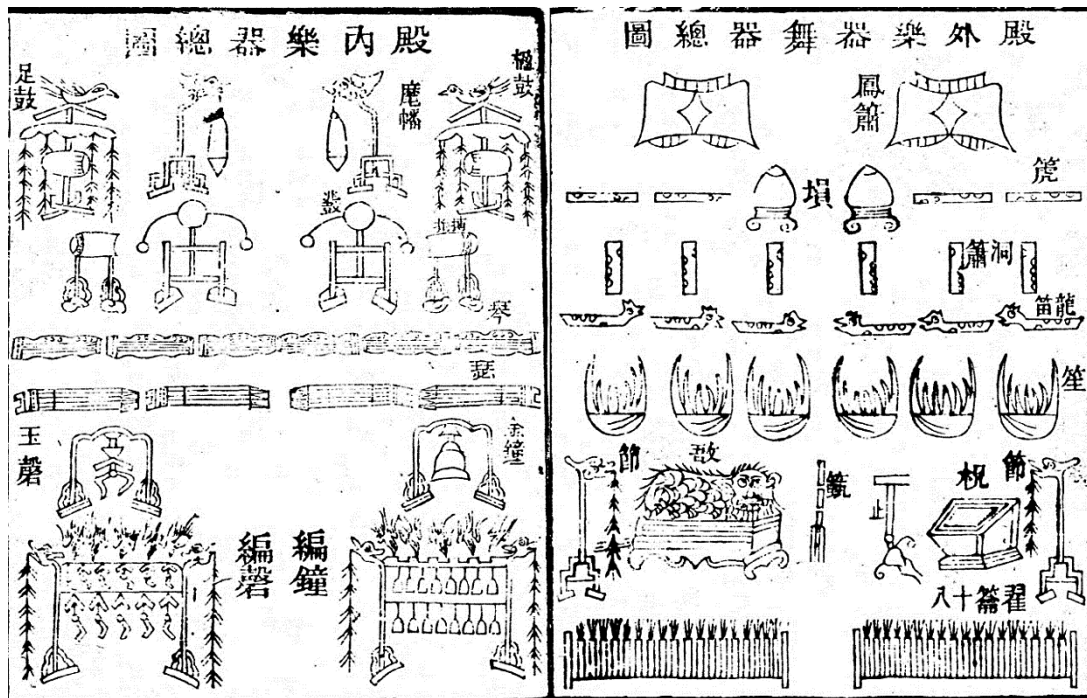
Figure 21: Musical instruments. *Huazhou zhi* (1890), 6.33a–b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

The oldest gazetteer depicting musical instruments included in the LoGaRT database is the 1690 edition of the *Shangcai county gazetteer*. The wooden tiger faces towards the right, crouching low but stretched out, with its belly flat on the pedestal. The teeth of the tiger are not as clearly visible in this illustration, but they seem to follow the slight curve in the back of the tiger. The tiger is covered with a striped pattern, including a distinct twirl in the fur on the stifle (knee-joint) of the tiger. The pedestal it sits on is single layered, with a decorative skirt at the bottom of the pedestal (Figure 22).
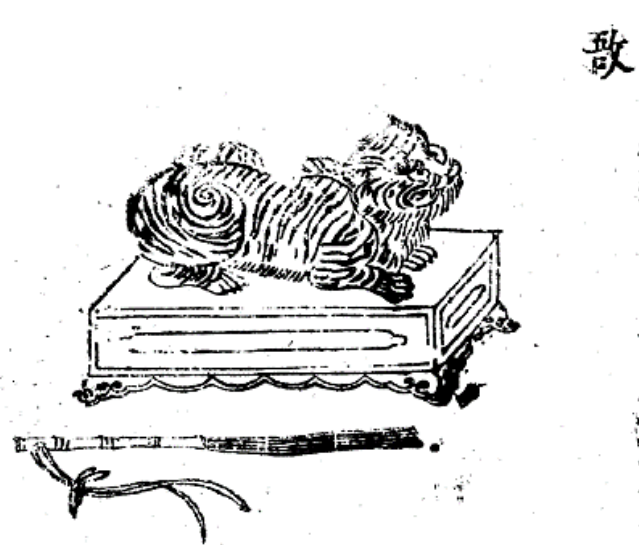
Figure 22: The stopper. *Shangcai xian zhi* (1690), 2.25b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.
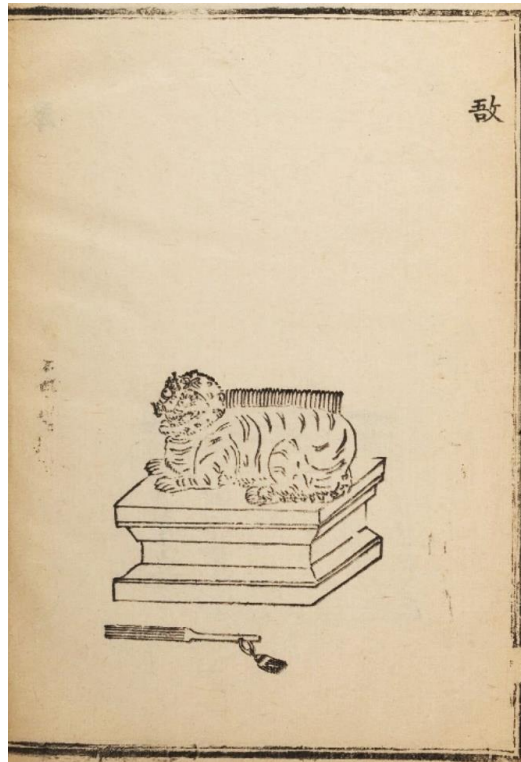
Figure 23: The stopper. *Da Ming huidian* (1587), 81.26a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990077710430203941/catalog)

If we compare this late seventeenth-century image with some of the precedents in circulation at this time, its distinctiveness becomes more manifest. The illustration of the stopper in the 1587 edition of *Da Ming huidian*, for example, is very different (Figure 23). This tiger faces towards the left, and is more condensed in its crouch, with its back paws nearly touching the elbow of its front paws. The teeth of the tiger stand proud on its back, all the same length and in a straight row. Its fur is less busily marked and lacks the distinctive twirl on the stifle. Its pedestal is multi-layered but undecorated. The stopper in the 1622 compilation *Dacheng liyue ji* at first glance seems very different from the example appearing in the Shangcai county gazetteer: facing towards the left, on a decorative, multi-layered panel, with very distinct whiskers that are absent in the other examples. On the other hand, there are some similarities: the teeth follow the curve along the tiger's back, and there is a distinct twirl on the stifle of the tiger. Moreover, the pedestal has a similar decorative skirt at the bottom of the pedestal.

The illustration of the stopper in the aforementioned *Pangong liyue quanshu*, published in 1656 and intended to provide instruction on the performance of music in local schools, has an entirely different stopper yet again. The tiger is not crouching but lying flat and at rest. Facing leftwards, the face is turned towards the viewer, and whiskers stick out away from the snout. The 27 flat-topped teeth are set in a straight line, and the length of the body seems to be determined by the teeth on the back. A long tail lies in front of the resting tiger, and the single-layered pedestal is undecorated except for a simple skirt.

Recognisable, with elements that are similar (the whiskers, and the pedestal), and yet a very distinct and individual shape (Figure 24).

Figure 24: The stopper. *Pangong liyue quanshu* (1656), 15.20a. Image credit: Diaolong Zhong Ri Guji Quanwen Ziliaoku.
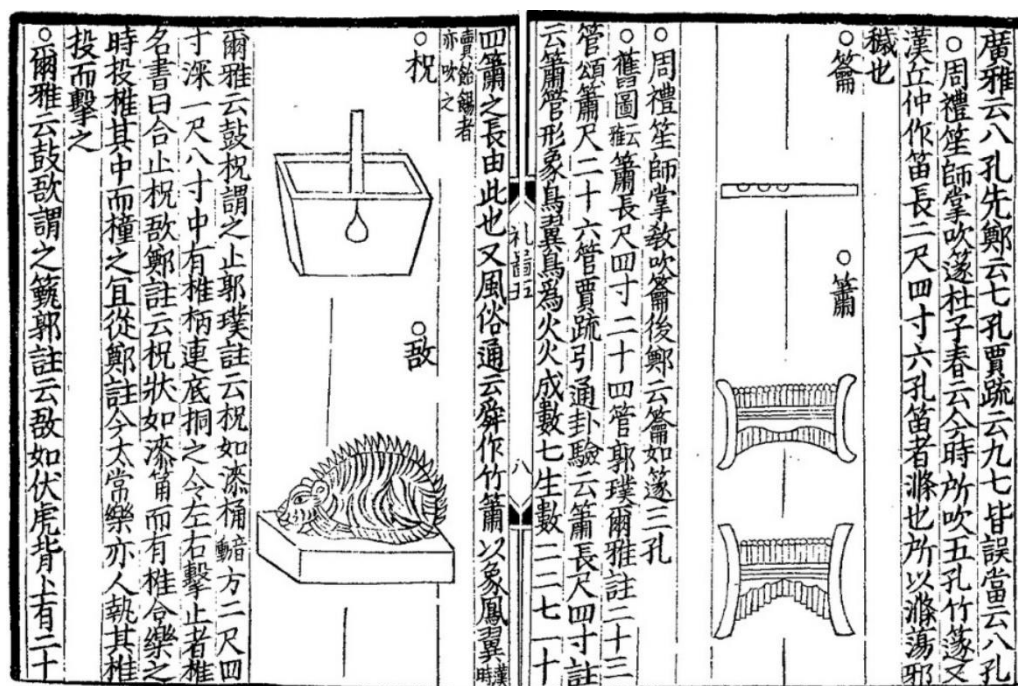
Figure 25: Flutes, the starter and the stopper. *Xicheng Zhengshi jiashu chongjiao Sanli tu* (1247), 5.8a–b. Image credit: Diaolong Zhong Ri Guji Quanwen Ziliaoku.
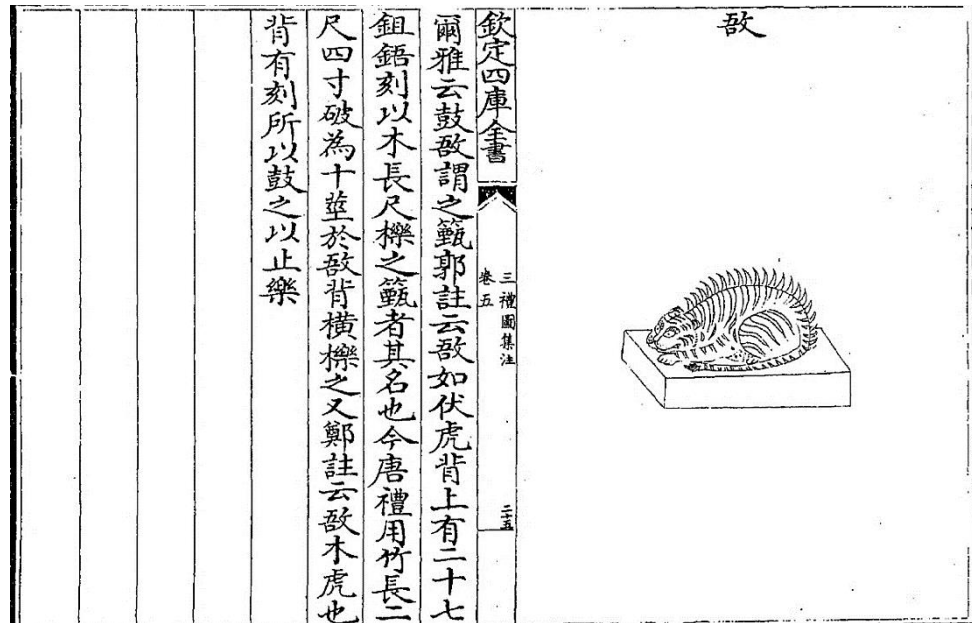
Figure 26: The stopper. *Sanlitu jizhu* (961, reprint, *Siku quanshu*), 5.25a. Image credit: Diaolong Zhong Ri Guji Quanwen Ziliaoku.

In fact, the images of the stopper included in the depictions of musical instruments in gazetteers are all quite different. If we take the example of the stopper in the versions of the *Sanli tu* that were in circulation during the Ming dynasty, we see the shape of the tiger in simple form, almost curled into a ball, and on a single-tiered pedestal (Figures 25 & 26). The spiky teeth of the tiger follow the curve of the back, and we only see the face side-on. No distinct front or back paws are visible, because of the crouching tiger's compactness. This image found some followers. The nineteenth-century gazetteer for Changsha county, for example, includes an image of the stopper that copies this example in some ways (*Changsha xian zhi*, 72.39b). The gazetteer for Yuanjiang county, published in the same year and in the same province, also has more or less the same image, roughly based on the *Sanli* tu example.

Figure 27: The stopper. *Da Ming jili* (1530), 50.12b–13a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: http://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990077711430203941/catalog)

Other representations of the tiger follow a very different model, for example with ornate and multi-tiered pedestals. The stopper in the 1530 edition of *Da Ming jili*, for example, has the flecked tiger crouching on a three-tiered elaborately decorated pedestal, with a long, flecked tail draped along its flank. The teeth follow the curve of the back, the face of the tiger is slightly turned upwards, and small whiskers are discernible (Figure 27) (*Da Ming jili* 50.12b). It is a type of *yu* that appears in several Qing-dynasty gazetteers also (*Qianyang xian zhi* 6.30a). Another set of gazetteer images of the stopper closely follows the image of the stopper from the *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Figure 28).
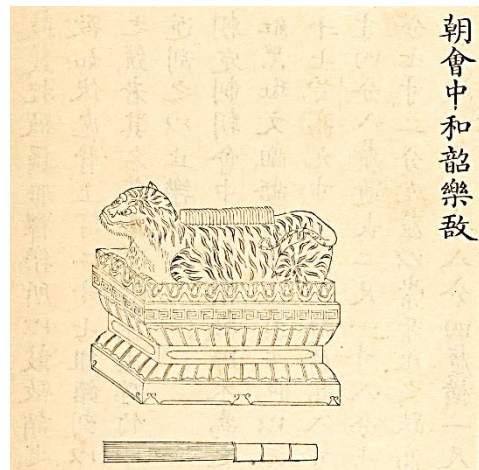
Figure 28: The stopper. *Huangchao liqi tushi* (1766), 8.67a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:10012889)

Recognisable by the upright position of the head, the straight row of teeth along the tiger's back, and the intricately decorated multi-tiered pedestal, with the layers flaring inwards and out again towards the foot, the image included in the *Da Qing huidian* follows this example closely (Figure 29).
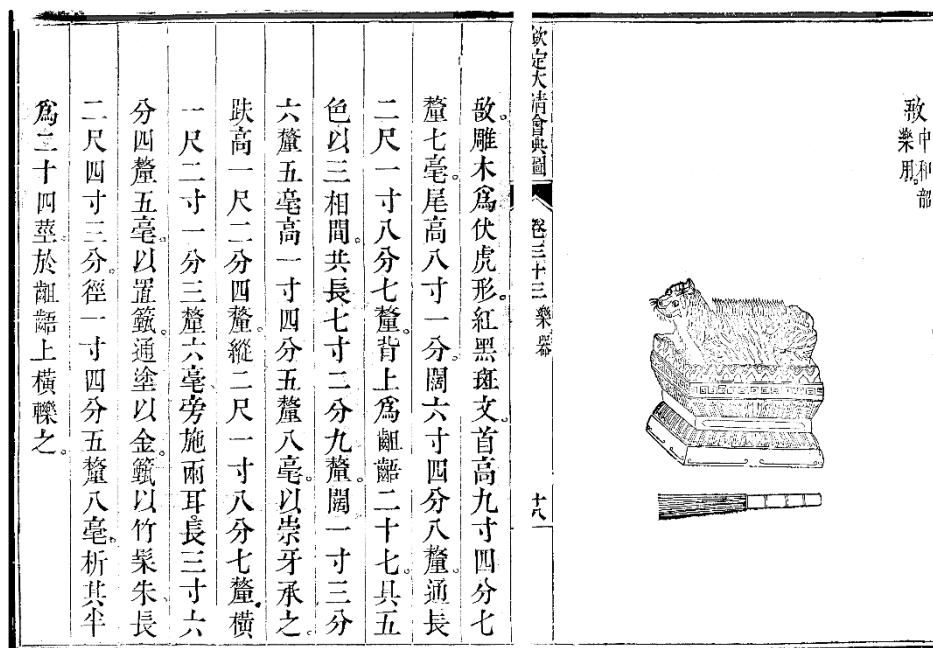
Figure 29a–b: The stopper. *Qinding Da Qing huidian tu* (Jiaqing edition), 33.18a–b. Image credit: Diaolong Zhong Ri Guji Quanwen Ziliaoku.

The *Huangchao liqi tushi* stopper also inspired numerous gazetteer illustrators (*Qianyang xian zhi* 6.30a; *Qufu xian zhi*, tukao.31a; *Pingshan xian zhi* 4.74a; *Gu'an xian zhi* 4.71a; *Anfu xian zhi* 16.62a; *Wuqiao xian zhi* 2.69a; *Liping fu zhi* 4.31b). See, for example, the illustration included in the Guangxu-era *Wuqiao county gazetteer* (Figure 30): it shares the raised head, the straight row of teeth, the indistinct limbs, and the highly decorated pedestal with flaring layers. But it is also distinct: the mouth is open and has teeth, but the face has no whiskers; the tail is striped rather than flecked, and the decorations on the pedestal follow a different decorative scheme.
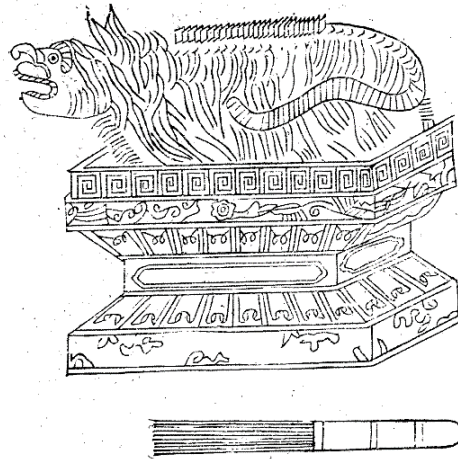
Figure 30: The stopper. *Wuqiao xian zhi* (1875), 2.69a. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.
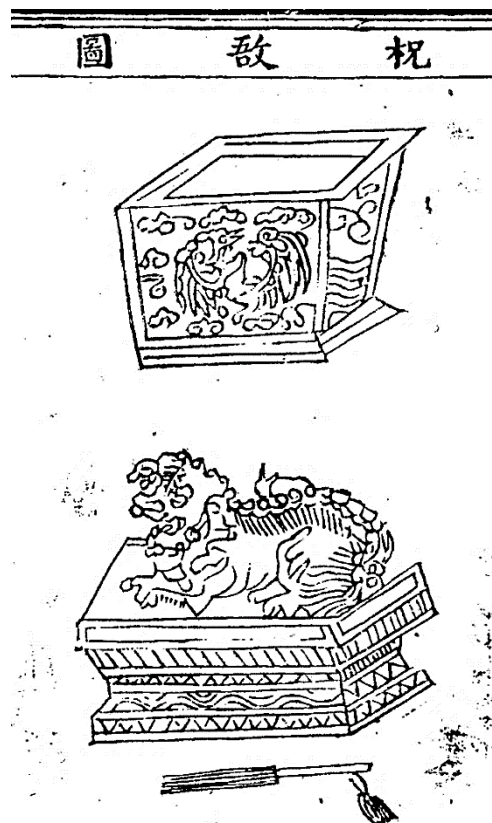
Figure 31: Starter and stopper. *Cangxi xian zhi* (1783), 1.30b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

One final image (Figure 31) serves to confirm the wide range of images in circulation, and the distinct nature of the gazetteer illustrations. The image of stopper and starter shows that the illustrator had some difficulty with perspective: neither the box for the starter nor the pedestal for the stopper are entirely successful in creating the shape. And while we know the image of the stopper represents a tiger, seeing this image without others would make it less easily recognisable. The curved [?] shapes of the teeth on the tiger's back also suggest the illustrator had little sense of what these teeth were intended to do. The illustrator may have seen a model and known the intention was to create a pedestal with a tiger but not had a model close to hand. In their own way, the tigers all form part of a distinct repertoire of images. At the same time, it is also clear that the creators of these illustrations were working within their own circumstances: their skills at creating the illustrations, the models they were working with, and their understanding of the function of the musical instruments were all distinct. That, alone, makes these a very interesting set of sources to consider in discussions of ritual and the genre of local gazetteers.

Final thoughts

The Xiangtan images with which we started this essay now make more sense, and we understand them in a different way. The compilers of that gazetteer, under the leadership of Ouyang Zhenghuan, clearly had access to sophisticated illustrators, with a great deal of skill and understanding, who worked as part of a well-resourced project that aimed to show the extent of ritual performance in accordance with the empire-wide emphasis on ritual. The ambitions of the Qianlong emperor are key to understanding the emphasis on ritual during the Qing dynasty, and the publications produced during his reign period, such as the *Illustrated Regulations*, were an important part of his ambitions, as scholars have pointed out. However, it is also clear that the pages with images related to rituals appeared in the local gazetteers at different times and in different cultural spaces from a large-scale imperial project like *Huangchao liqi tushi*. The *Xiangtan gazetteer* from Hunan province dated 1756 that opened this essay underscores this point. Published three years before the appearance of the *Huangchao liqi tushi* of 1759, and long before the appearance of *Qing huidian tu* in 1811, the images in the *Xiangtan gazetteer* were created by local men who made their own choices and revealed their own ambitions. The comparison of the tiger and its teeth has shown this to be the case not just for Xiangtan, but for counties scattered throughout the empire. The *Huangchao liqi tushi* is unmistakably a key source for understanding the repertoire of ritual implements during the Qing dynasty, but we cannot rely on it exclusively. If we want to understand what local individuals thought about the importance of ritual in Qing society, including not only those who were responsible for sophisticated gazetteers such as Ouyang Zhenghuan but also the craftsmen responsible for the tiger in Figure 31, we have to take the images of ritual implements included in local gazetteers seriously.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Thinking Outside the Walls: Illustrations of Cities and Extramural Space in Chinese Gazetteers

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Walls have long been understood as a distinguishing feature of premodern Chinese cities. Serving both practical and symbolic purposes, they set off urban space from the surrounding countryside. This article examines illustrations of cities (*chengtu*) in Qing-era gazetteers to determine to what extent and in what ways our assumptions about the importance of walls correspond to a common genre of visually representing urban space. Some *chengtu* reflect these assumptions very directly, presenting walled cities as islands floating in the blank space of exurban space. However, most *chengtu* contain some amount of extramural detail, and there is considerable variety in how these illustrations treat the relationship between intramural and extramural space. No single factor, such as geography, the presence of topographical features or religious structures, or the specific title attached to a given *chengtu*, can explain this variation. Instead, *chengtu* reflect tremendous fluidity in visual discourse around cities in the Qing period beyond what existing scholarship on gazetteers and representations of urban space would lead us to expect.

古代中國的城牆一直被視爲城邑的一個顯著特徵。它分隔城郭與郊野，既實用又具有象徵意義。本文通過考察清代方志中的城市圖錄，來印證人們對城牆重要性的認知與城市視覺史志之間的相符程度。有些城邑在城圖中被呈現爲游離在汪洋中的孤洲，明顯契合主流意象。但大多數城圖則包含畫外音，對城郭內外空間關係的處理也不盡相同。而無論是地理位置、地形特徵，還是宗教結構，抑或賦予城圖的特定標籤，沒有任何一項能成爲解釋這種差異的單一因素。由此，城市圖錄在清代城貌的視覺話語中展現出的高度流動性，實非傳統方志和城邑表徵研究令人始料能及。

It is unlikely that any feature of imperial Chinese cities is so emblematic as their walls.[1] Of course, the word "wall" (*cheng* 城) is one component of the modern word for city, *chengshi* 城市, and has long been used as a shorthand for referring to cities. From early times, the ideally rectilinear shape of walls made them microcosmic symbols of the earth, and a concerted wall-building campaign in the early Ming spread this cosmological symbolism across the empire's landscape as part of an effort to reassert Chinese culture after extended periods of rule by non-Chinese dynasties (Wright 1977; Farmer 2000, 486). Walls also offered protection from rebels, pirates, and foreign armies. To be sure, no two city walls were exactly alike, but their combination of form and function helped make imperial Chinese cities recognisable as variations on a shared spatial theme. The fact that walls were not merely state impositions but invested with meaning by local people, who of course made substantial contributions in money and labour to their construction and maintenance, only increases their significance to the identity of Chinese cities (Cheung 2009). "The premodern Chinese city has no life independent of walls," Nancy Steinhardt goes so far as to claim (Steinhardt 2000, 421). By the same token, the destruction of city walls in more recent times—as well as the intentional preservation of a select few—has been a definitive feature of the modern transformation of Chinese urban space (Carroll 2006, 90–94; Des Forges 2009, 50–71; LaCouture 2021, 41–43).

As we would expect, many representations of Chinese cities reflect the importance of their walls. Figure 1, in which urban space is neatly bounded by perfectly shaped walls, is representative of this tendency and is exemplary of one of the most common genres representing Chinese cities—*chengtu* 城圖—which appear in a great number of local gazetteers. Images such as this, in which the walled city floats like an island in an empty sea of white space, seem to substantiate Wu and Gaubatz's claim that "In symbolic (and literal) terms, city walls separated urban residents from the rest of the world" (Wu and Gaubatz 2013, 54).
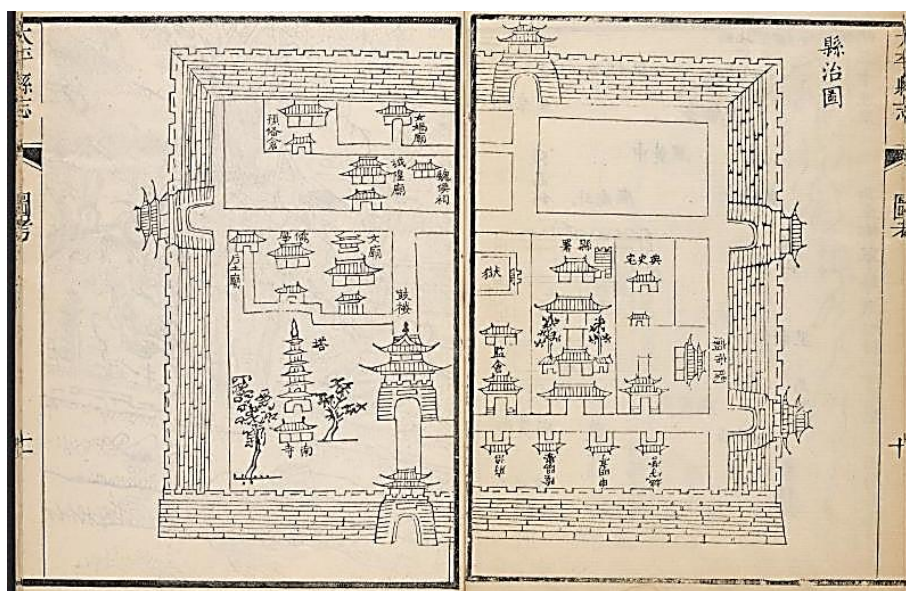
Figure 1: *Chengtu* of Taiping County seat. *Taiping xian zhi, tukao*.10b–11a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12855654?n=34)

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[1] This material is based upon research conducted while affiliated with the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, and sources were made available during this affiliation via Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin's CrossAsia portal.

In both image and reality, though, the spatial composition of Chinese cities was more complicated than this quotation and image suggest. Even in gazetteers, which bore the imprint of the prerogatives of the imperial state, we find great variation among *chengtu*, which often depict urban space spilling beyond the confines of city walls. Not only are features located outside the city wall (extramural) a common presence in gazetteer *chengtu*, but in some rare cases, such as figure 2, they even dominate these illustrations that we would expect to forefront walled space.
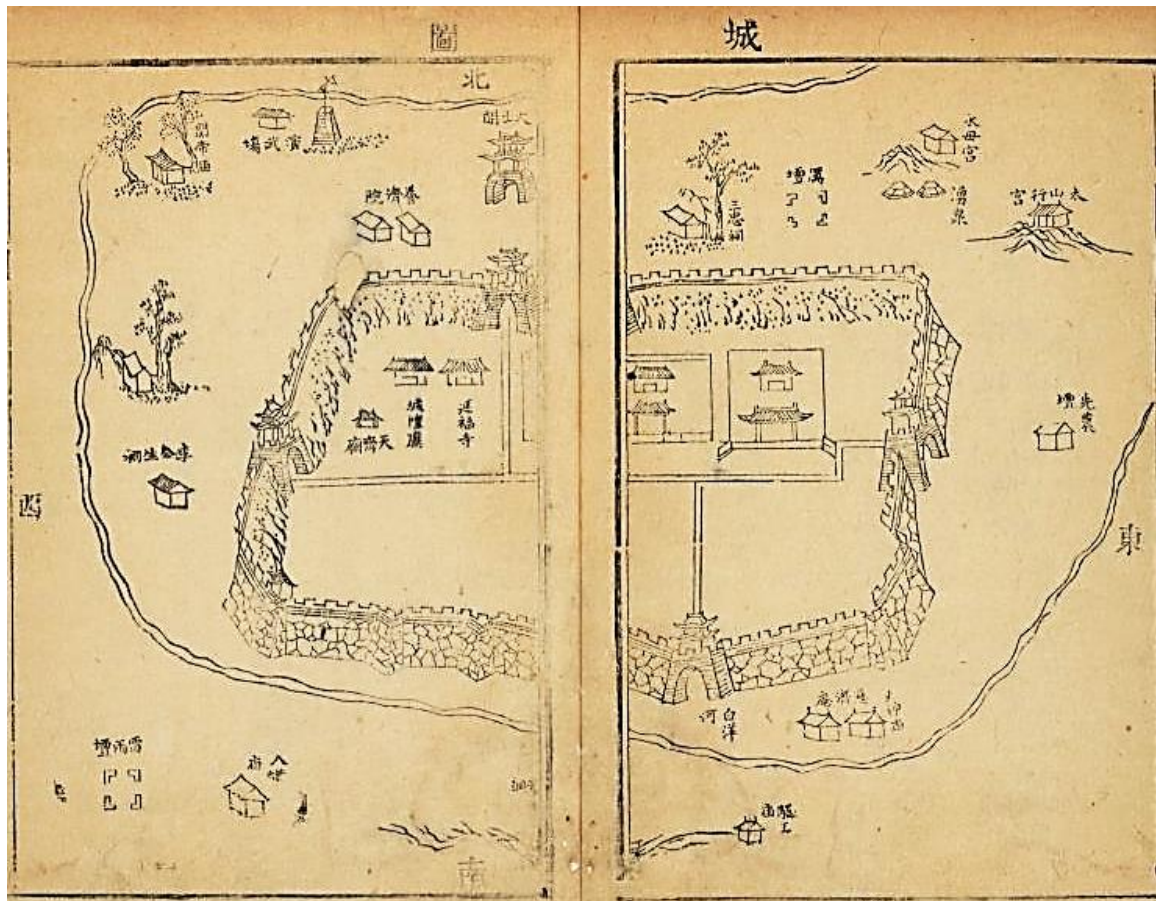
Figure 2: *Chengtu* of Qixia County seat. *Qixia xian zhi*, 0.18b–19a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12229266?n=21)

To some extent, the presence of extramural features in *chengtu* reflects another well-established feature of Chinese urban space, namely the lack of formal jurisdictional distinctions between urban and rural areas. In the absence of autonomous municipal governance, the same magistrate bore responsibility for administrative affairs inside and outside the walled city. In fact, some large cities were split between two different counties, sundering the spatial unity suggested by a single set of walls. Among other factors, this spatial feature led Max Weber to draw a firm distinction between Chinese cities and their European counterparts, whose autonomous municipal governance provided, in his view, indispensable preconditions for the development of capitalist modernity (Weber 1968, 13–20). Weber's dichotomy of Western and Chinese cities has long-since fallen out of favour, but the vague delimitation of Chinese urban space—walls notwithstanding—remains a recurring problem for scholars (Chang 1977, 99; Rowe 1984; Naquin 2000, 256–57, 428–29, 438–39; Xu 2000, 82–83, 154–65; Fei Siyan 2013, 330–35).

The ubiquity of *chengtu* combined with the fact that they bear directly on the question of how or whether people in premodern China understood the boundaries of urban space makes them a valuable source for study. The fact that they offer contradictory and ambiguous answers to this question makes them more complicated than we might expect. This article analyses the diversity of ways in which *chengtu* reflected choices about how to bound urban space and considers possible explanations for this divergence. In the end, no single factor or any simple set of factors can explain how a given *chengtu* represents extramural space. Instead, *chengtu* constituted a flexible genre that allowed artists to express diverse visions of urban space.

One way to interpret this phenomenon would be to revert to the Weberian paradigm, emphasising what *chengtu* as a whole lacked: a clearly bounded sense of urban space (Li 2016, 72). Rather, I consider the diversity of *chengtu* reflective of the generative ambiguity of urban space in early modern China. In the absence of an incontrovertible dictate regarding the boundaries of the Chinese city—and despite some degree of standardisation in gazetteers generally and *chengtu* specifically—*chengtu* offered readers diverse approaches to bounding and representing urban space. In so far as these differences cannot be explained purely by local factors, such as geographical location or the surrounding topography, then they suggest a degree of representational fluidity that contradicts scholars' claims about the overriding significance of walls to defining Chinese urban space. Rather than leaving Chinese cities shapeless, this fluidity allowed people to apply a great variety of shapes to Chinese cities.

The research for this article is primarily based on an analysis of 125 *chengtu* from 66 county (*xian* 縣), departmental (*zhou* 州), and prefectural (*fu* 府) gazetteers during the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong reigns (1662–1795) of the Qing dynasty. By this time, the genre of gazetteers (*fangzhi* 方志) had become both established as a genre distinct from its predecessor, the *tujing* (圖經), and common enough for even many smaller counties to have produced at least one gazetteer (Will 1992, 7–9). These factors, combined with the political stability of China proper in this period, make it possible to conduct a meaningful synchronic analysis of *chengtu* across multiple regions of the empire. This period is certainly long enough to justify considering change over time, but doing so robustly would require either an even larger dataset or a more regionally concentrated one, and so is beyond the scope of this article.

I have conducted this research using the LoGaRT platform developed by the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science. LoGaRT offers two key advantages to this research. First, the platform's Pages With Images (PWI) section makes identifying and digitally collecting illustrations matching certain parameters (e.g. *chengtu* from the time period in question) much easier than using paper sources. Second, LoGaRT makes accessible a selection of gazetteers provided by the Harvard-Yenching Library that, although relatively small (currently 267 for the period under study), includes full-text digitisation of the entirety of these gazetteers, including the labels incorporated in their illustrations. This feature facilitates large-scale quantitative analysis of the textual content of *chengtu* alongside close reading of individual illustrations. To make the most of this opportunity, I have focused my research on *chengtu* with high-quality text digitisation (i.e. with the largest percentage of recognisable characters).

The body of this essay consists of five parts. The first section introduces the genre of *chengtu*, explains how features of it account for some aspects of the diversity it contains, and reviews relevant scholarship.

The second section provides a general picture of the results of quantitative analysis of the inclusion of labelled extramural features in the 125 *chengtu* that compose the dataset. Although we see signs of regional patterns in terms of how detailed *chengtu* are, these patterns break down when we look at the relative number of extramural features specifically. The next section discusses religious sites, which constitute the largest single category of extramural features. The uneven inclusion of altars associated with officially sanctioned religious rituals demonstrates that the mere presence or absence of extramural religious institutions did not determine the inclusion of extramural features in *chengtu*. The next section examines topographical features, demonstrating that while the presence of extramural topographical features did affect the composition of *chengtu*, it did not straightforwardly determine whether and how the authors of *chengtu* depicted extramural space. The last section addresses the place of *chengtu* in the illustrative economy of gazetteers more broadly and again shows the lack of a clear pattern governing the representation of extramural features. Taken together, these sections demonstrate how the possibility of expressing individual (and perhaps collective) creative licence was inherent in the genre of *chengtu*. Rather than pre-empting questions about the boundaries of urban space, this mode of representation allowed literati and craftsmen to experiment with different ways of conveying the relationship between cities, walls, and extramural space.

The Genre of *chengtu*

Chengtu are a common and recognisable genre of illustration in Qing gazetteers. They are recognisable both in terms of their own characteristics and in comparison to other kinds of illustrations alongside which they frequently appear. That said, the genre of *chengtu*, like *tu* 圖 more broadly, is characterised by considerable multivalence. To some extent, this multivalence explains the diversity of *chengtu* we find in gazetteers, although it does not offer a ready explanation for why *chengtu* took such divergent approaches to depicting extramural space.

For our purposes, a *chengtu* is an illustration of a part of a jurisdiction focused on an urban centre, usually a walled city. In rare cases, *chengtu* depict unwalled administrative seats or non-administrative cities and towns. I will focus on *chengtu* that purport to be contemporaneous with the compilation of the gazetteer in which they appear, excluding the historical illustrations of cities that a small number of gazetteers include. Although the names attached to these illustrations vary, variations of *chengtu* are the most common; I therefore refer to the genre as a whole by that name. Versions of *zhitu* 治圖 are also common and somewhat difficult to parse at first glance, since *zhi* can refer to an administrative seat as a whole or specifically to the compound of a presiding official. Both uses appear in gazetteers, but it is usually obvious which one is intended based on the content of the illustration. Other variations are less common and in some instances they do correlate to the *chengtu* giving particular attention to areas outside the walls (*guo* 郭) or to streets (*fang* 坊), alleys (*xiang* 巷), and markets (*shi* 市).

The focus of *chengtu* on walled cities differentiates them from two kinds of illustrations that also frequently appear in gazetteers: illustrations of entire administrative units (*jingtu* 境圖) and illustrations of specific sites, most commonly administrative compounds, such as the magistrate's office (Farmer 2000, 470–71). Often, both the titles of individual illustrations and the co-presence of all three indicate a clear distinction

between them. However, sometimes the boundaries are blurred. *Jingtu* usually include no substantial amount of information about the interior of cities, marking them purely with a square symbol (resembling an empty set of walls) and a text label. However, sometimes they include text labels and even icons of structures inside the city walls. When these illustrations are accompanied by a separate, clearly identifiable *chengtu*, then this does not pose a major challenge to distinguishing between them. However, some gazetteers, particularly prefectural gazetteers that include illustrations for multiple counties, include hybrid illustrations of subordinate counties and their seats that could be classified as either a *jingtu* that contains an inordinate amount of urban detail or a *chengtu* that contains an inordinate amount of extramural detail. Likewise, although *chengtu* are by definition not focused on individual sites within cities, there is considerable variation in how much detail they provide about individual buildings within multi-structure compounds: sometimes they depict and label individual structures, sometimes just the compound as a whole. Similarly, the artistry of *chengtu* varies widely, and those that include a limited number of text labels but considerable artistic flair can resemble illustrations of scenic sites as much as they resemble other *chengtu*.

The pictorial quality of *chengtu* and other geographical *tu* generally is suggestive of the distinctiveness of this genre vis-à-vis "maps". To be sure, contemporaneous European maps also employed considerable artistry and cannot be reduced to their pragmatic uses. However, two distinctive features of *tu* indicate the importance of taking them on their own terms, rather than imposing on them expectations derived from the history of European cartography. First, geographical *tu* remained closely related to the media of both painting (especially of landscapes) and poetry (Yee 1994; Clunas 1997, 81–85). Although the creators of *tu* in gazetteers were of diverse origins, they were by and large literati with some aptitude for painting or craftsmen skilled in painting or woodblock carving, not professional cartographers (Pan Sheng 2004; Liu Gaowei 2018, 27–56). Compared to painting and poetry, verisimilitude was prized more highly in geographic *tu*, and gazetteers sometimes trumpet the quality of their *tu* by referring to in-person investigations undertaken by their creators (Teng 2003, 457; Zhang Andong 2008, 134). However, in *tu* as well as poetry and painting, there was considerable emphasis on revealing underlying truths about the world and expressing the moral quality of the artist, and so technical precision was never the sole priority (Yee 1994, 134–35, 157–62).

Second, from their earliest appearance, geographical *tu* were designed to accompany, not replace, textual descriptions. Thus, the schematic quality of many *tu* did not necessarily imply a lack of concern for mathematical precision, since readers interested in more exact details could be expected to consult the accompanying text, of which there was a great deal in gazetteers. The process of producing gazetteers through woodblock printing and the need to limit costs may have further contributed to the divergence between geographical *tu* in gazetteers and more detailed and map-like representations of space that appeared on stone steles or in print without large amounts of accompanying text (Yee 1994, 138; Su Pinhong 2003, 278–80). This is not to say that *chengtu* were ornamental instead of useful. No less an authority than Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738–1801)—one of the great masters of the gazetteer genre—insisted that the value of *tu* lay in their practical utility, not their artistry (Liu Keming 2010, 15–17). However, what it meant for *tu* in gazetteers to be useful was conditioned by these features of the genre, which differentiated them from

(or made them a very specific form of) maps, and made it possible for *chengtu* to be useful in multiple senses.

Four different terms for viewing images encapsulate the multivalent utility of *chengtu*. First, *chengtu* could enable readers of gazetteers to quickly ascertain the primary features of a city through "surveying" (*lan* 覽). This mode of viewing made the most of the text-image relationship by using the *chengtu* to help the readers visualise the more minute information conveyed in the text (Teng 2003, 460–63). However, *chengtu* could also demand greater depth of attention through "contemplation" (*guan* 觀). In this meditative mode of viewing, the readers looked "into" the image rather than over it. This allowed them to appreciate deeper truths about the place in question, which was supposed to facilitate effective governance, and could also serve as a vehicle for vicarious travel (Clunas 1997, 117, 120; Teng 2003, 467). Third, *chengtu* could draw the readers' eyes across the image, as though reading it (*du* 讀), especially when the *chengtu* itself contained a large number of text labels. Some *chengtu* even varied the orientation of their labels, anticipating that the readers would turn the image in order to reorient it/themselves. Finally, given their tendency towards artistry, *chengtu* could be objects of aesthetic enjoyment (*shang* 賞) (Teng 2003, 467).

Far from being mutually incompatible, *chengtu* could elicit many different permutations of these ways of viewing. Some *chengtu* were clearly designed more for one purpose than another. For example, those with very few text labels were less amenable to "reading," and *chengtu* with fewer pictorial details are more suggestive of "surveying" than "contemplation" or "enjoyment." Along these lines, Bray suggests a bifurcated typology of *tu* more broadly in which some "revealed or explained cosmic processes and were thus endowed with symbolic or ritual power" while others "represented or organised secular information or knowledge" and served didactic purposes (Bray 2007, 34). *Chengtu* span this spectrum of functions and exemplify how, as Bray anticipates, it can sometimes be difficult to separate the symbolic and practical import of *tu*. Similarly, the limited artistry of *chengtu* in general, their production for a reading public through woodblock printing, and their tendency to obfuscate rather than foreground the relationship between author and artifact are features they share with other late imperial *tu* and which distinguish them from the more high-brow medium of painting (*hua* 畫). Again, though, *chengtu* illustrate the fuzziness of the boundaries between these media, since many clearly served aesthetic purposes at least as much as ritual or practical ones and since it was possible to combine these purposes in a single image, as many *chengtu* do (Bray 2007, 46–61).

The principles of compilation (*fanli* 凡例) and notes accompanying illustrations (often called *tushuo* 圖說 or *tukao* 圖考) in gazetteers provide some direct indications of the philosophy that underlay *chengtu*. *Sanshui County Gazetteer* (*Sanshui xian zhi* 三水縣志) reflects on how illustrations should enlighten readers and facilitate good governance, which requires some amount of detail to be included in *chengtu*. Its compilers explain:

> We have also drawn an illustration of the walled county seat, lining up the office rooms and granaries, each with their established regulations, so as to cause viewers to understand thoroughly.

> 又繪邑治城圖，臚列廨宇、倉庫各有定制。庶使觀者豁然。 (41).

Meanwhile, the compilers of the *Yangchun County Gazetteer* (*Yangchun xian zhi* 陽春縣志) emphasise the aesthetic import of *tu* as representations of the landscape, saying,

> The maps (*yutu* 輿圖) at the front of the gazetteer are to illuminate the land. With things depicted at scale, it is easy to see. The present *chengtu* follows the illustration of the administrative unit in the prefectural gazetteer...and adds illustrations of the mountains and caves. And so it records a glorious moment of the whole county.

> 志首輿圖以詔地，事約而易見也。今城圖遵照府志四境圖...外增崆峒巘圖，志一邑之勝時。(25).

A more economising perspective comes from the *Revised Jiashan County Gazetteer* (*Xuxiu Jiashan xian zhi* 續修嘉善縣志), which notes that its *chengtu* "records the broad outline (*lu dagang* 綠大綱)." Illustrations of the magistrate's compound, the granary, and the school provide more detail, but aspects of the county like its topographical features, astral charts, and roads had not changed enough to justify producing new *tu* for them specifically (31). These explanations of *chengtu* lend themselves to a typology of enlightenment, elaboration, and economy, which is of some use. Again, though, strict typologies quickly break down. The most oft-repeated refrain in prefatory material is that the illustrations are meant to facilitate "viewing" (*guanlan* 觀覽), which dissolves the distinction between the *guan* and *lan* modes of seeing described above.

Moreover, texts accompanying *chengtu* generally do not rationalise specific design decisions, including their precise spatial scope. Discussions of *tu* in principles of compilation sections are generally brief, address the full range of *tu* included in the gazetteer, explain their significance in terms of general principles, and say very little about *chengtu* themselves. Texts accompanying *chengtu* primarily amplify the illustrations by providing information not contained in the images themselves, like the height of the walls and the distances between different places, rather than explaining the presence or absence of specific features and areas.

The remainder of this essay, then, works to reconstruct and identify patterns in how *chengtu* do and do not depict space outside city walls. In so doing, it builds on scholarship on the genre of *tu* (Yee 1994; Clunas 1997; Teng 2003; Bray 2007) and gazetteers (Will 1992; Bol 2001; Brook 2002; De Weerdt 2003; Dennis 2015). It contributes to a wide range of scholarship that uses illustrations of cities (in gazetteers and other media) to study urban space in specific places by providing more of a macro-level perspective on the composition of *chengtu* that can be used to contextualise individual cases (Xu 2000; Naquin 2000; Meyer-Fong 2003; Zhu 2004; Fei 2009; Fei Siyan 2013; Wooldridge 2015). It builds on Chinese-language scholarship on gazetteer *tu* and *chengtu* specifically, which is much more developed than its English-language counterpart, both by conducting in-depth analysis of the features of *chengtu* beyond a single case and by addressing a question—the spatial boundaries of *chengtu*—that has so far received little attention (Su Pinhong 2003; Yang Yuzhen 2008; Zhang Andong 2008; Zeng Xin 2013; Pan Sheng 2019; He Peidong 2020).

The most significant exception to the lack of scholarship on the spatial boundaries of *chengtu* is a valuable 2016 article by Yin Jie, Xu Xinghua, and Li Chenchen. Yin, Xu, and Li study *chengtu* from Zhejiang

Province across the entirety of the Qing and are particularly concerned with both the general types of features included in *chengtu* and the location of these features vis-à-vis the city walls. Their general emphasis on the diversity of (representations of) Qing cities is consonant with the findings I present here. Their methodology differs from mine in three respects, each offering its own advantages and disadvantages. First, their research quantifies visual rather than textual features of *chengtu*, which keeps their research closer to the illustrative nature of *chengtu*. The downside of this approach is that it does not support as fine-grained analysis of the content of *chengtu* as I will present here. Second, focusing on a specific province means that the data they present is far more concentrated spatially and thus supports statistically robust analysis of intra-regional variations. Obviously, my use of *chengtu* from a range of provinces offers the complementary benefit of engaging in inter-regional comparison. Finally, by drawing on *chengtu* from across the entirety of the Qing they are able to investigate change over time, a topic I do not address. Their finding that the amount of extramural detail in *chengtu* decreased after 1850 and the inference they draw that this reflects a growing sense of distinct urban identity in the late Qing would be worth testing using a larger number of *chengtu* from different provinces (74–76).

Regional Analysis of *chengtu* and their Depiction of Extramural Space

For the purposes of quantitative analysis, I have narrowed the full dataset of 125 *chengtu* down to those that depict the capital seat of the jurisdiction in question. That is, I have excluded *chengtu* of subordinate county seats in department- and prefecture-level gazetteers in order to prevent their inclusion of multiple *chengtu* from overly distorting the data. I have further removed two highly exceptional *chengtu* that include no labelled intramural or extramural features at all, which makes it impossible to calculate the ratio between the two. This leaves 68 *chengtu* from 64 gazetteers. Analysing these *chengtu* produces three main conclusions. First, while intramural features are generally more numerous in *chengtu*, the inclusion of at least some extramural detail is the norm. Second, this general pattern is subject to a wide degree of variation. Third, while the level of detail in *chengtu* varies by region, the ratio of extramural and intramural detail varies within regions as much as across them.

To analyse the content of these *chengtu*, I have used LoGaRT's text-tagging function to code the entirety of the text contained in these *chengtu* into six categories.[2] Two categories describe text not associated with specific features: title and paratext. Text associated with features is categorised as follows: inside walls, outside walls, between walls and moat, and feature of walls (e.g. gates). From this coding, I have calculated total numbers of items in each category for each of the 68 *chengtu* in the dataset used for quantitative analysis.

Unsurprisingly, *chengtu* generally contain more labelled intramural features than extramural ones, but within this general pattern there is a surprising amount of variation. The average *chengtu* in this dataset includes 26.46 intramural items and 7.04 extramural ones. 20 of the 68 *chengtu* contain no extramural

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[2] The combination of the fact that coding/text-tagging is manual, not automatic, and that the availability of texts with high-quality digitisation is limited accounts for the small size of the source base relative to the number of gazetteers available for the period in question.

detail at all, but most include at least one labelled feature. 14 of the *chengtu* even contain as many or more extramural features as intramural ones. This variability and the existence of a set of *chengtu* especially heavy on extramural detail belie the orthodox image of perfectly wall-bound Chinese cities.
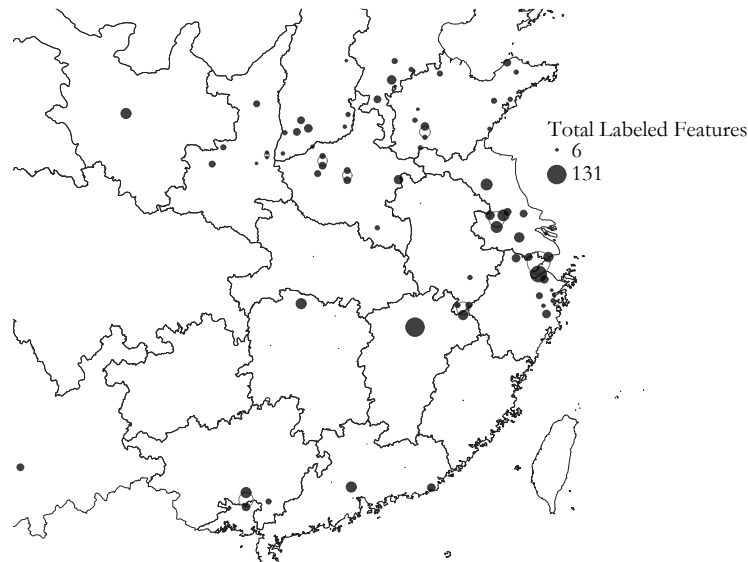
Figure 3: Geographic distribution of total number of labelled features in *chengtu*. Map by author with QGIS.

Figure 3 illustrates the geographic distribution of the 68 *chengtu* in this dataset and the relative number of total labelled features they depict. As summarised in table 1 below, *chengtu* from southern provinces, particularly in Jiangnan, tend to include a larger number of labelled features (average of 49.48) than those from northern provinces (average 28.48).[3] More detailed southern *chengtu* may reflect the tendency for cities in the south to be larger and more complex than their northern counterparts, but this discrepancy could also indicate different regional patterns in the production of *chengtu*.

	# *chengtu*	Total Features	Intramural	Extramural	Ratio of Extramural to Extramural+Intramural
Jiangnan Provinces	23	49.48	35.91	7.00	0.16
Northern Provinces	31	28.48	20.13	5.90	0.20
Full Dataset	68	37.91	26.46	7.04	0.21

Table 1: Average number of labelled features in *chengtu* of Jiangnan (Anhui, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Jiangxi) and northern (Shandong, Shanxi, Zhili, and Henan) provinces.

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[3] To keep the regions in comparison relatively coherent and comparable in sample size, this categorisation excludes the smaller number of *chengtu* in the dataset from provinces in the far south and the west.

However, these regional differences diminish, if not entirely vanish, when we consider the balance of intramural and extramural detail. For the entire dataset the average number of extramural features in each *chengtu* is 7.04. Both the northern and Jiangnan *chengtu* fall slightly below this average: 5.90 and 7.00, respectively.[4] Despite the *chengtu* from Jiangnan including, on average, slightly more extramural features than their north China counterparts, the ratio of extramural to intramural features is actually lower for the Jiangnan *chengtu* because of the larger number of intramural features they contain. This makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions about inter-regional (at least north-versus-Jiangnan) variation in the depiction of extramural features based on the current dataset. It does indicate, though, that as far as *chengtu* are concerned the walled space of large southern cities was not necessarily more porous than smaller northern ones.

Moreover, as figure 4 illustrates, there is a considerable amount of intra-regional variation within the dataset. It is not uncommon for *chengtu* of cities in close proximity to each other to fall at opposite ends of the spectrum of relative amounts of extramural detail. This phenomenon is particularly evident in the provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, which contain one of the highest spatial concentrations of data in the set. Of the 18 *chengtu* from these two provinces, 4 fall into the lowest third of ratios of extramural features to intramural ones; 9 in the median third; and 5 in the highest third. *Chengtu* from Shanxi and Shaanxi are even more polarised: 6 each in the lowest and highest thirds and only 3 in the median third.
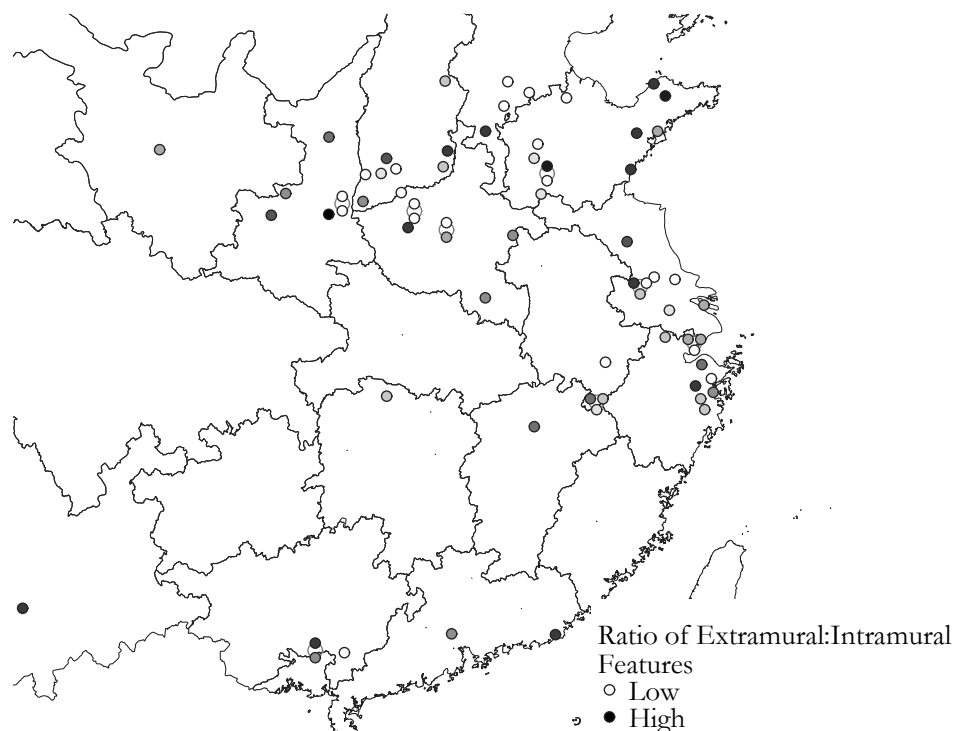
Figure 4: Geographic distribution of ratios of number of extramural features to sum of intramural and extramural features. (White represent a relatively small number of extramural features and black a relatively large number.) Map by author with QGIS.

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[4] Both fall below the overall average because some of the *chengtu* with the largest number of extramural features come from Guangdong and Guangxi, which are excluded from this regional comparison.

To conclude, *chengtu* in Jiangnan tend to include more labelled features than their counterparts in the north. Further research using an even larger dataset, allowing for more nuanced inter-regional comparisons, would be worthwhile. However, the data I have collected do not suggest clear inter-regional differences in the inclusion of extramural detail in *chengtu*. Instead, intra-regional differences predominate. This finding demonstrates that, even within relatively small geographic areas, very different kinds of images of cities could circulate and be available to producers and viewers of *chengtu*. It also suggests the need to examine other factors that could account for these differences between *chengtu*. Doing so will provide an opportunity to examine the types of extramural features that appear most frequently in *chengtu*.

Extramural Religious Sites

The 125 *chengtu* I have analysed include a total of 816 individual extramural labelled features. One of the advantages of using this particular set of materials and the LoGaRT platform is that they facilitate identifying and analysing these extramural features based on the digitised text of the *chengtu*. The vast majority (588, 72%) of these features fall into one of three general categories: religious structures (348), bodies of water or structures and features related to them (145), and mountains and hills (95). Initially, this suggests that we might be able to attribute variability in *chengtu* composition largely to two main factors: the presence of significant extramural natural features and the importance of extramural religious sites. This section will demonstrate why this conclusion is problematic in the case of religious sites in light of the uneven inclusion of extramural altars associated with officially sanctioned religious rites in *chengtu*. The next section will discuss the issue of topography.

Religious structures are ubiquitous in *chengtu* generally. Institutions dedicated to official or other major cults—such as temples to city gods (*chenghuang miao* 城隍廟)—tend, unsurprisingly, to be located inside walled areas of cities. Outside the walls, there is tremendous variety among the 182 extramural temples, shrines, pagodas, and monasteries in the dataset.[5] The largest single sub-category of these is temples to Guandi, of which there are only 13 and which appear far more frequently inside the walls. Other deities associated with extramural religious structures include the Dragon King (*longwang* 龍王) and the God of the Eastern Peak (*dongyue* 東岳) with 7, the Eight Agricultural Immortals (*ba zha* 八蜡), and Xuandi/Zhenwu (玄帝/真武) with 6 each, and the Three Officials (*san guan* 三官) with 5. Neither the common but inconsistent inclusion of extramural religious sites on *chengtu* nor the eclectic selection of such sites we encounter is especially surprising (Naquin 2000). Both likely reflect a combination of the

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[5] These include a variety of categories of structures: *ta* 塔, *ge* 閣, *an* 庵, *ci* 祠, *dian* 殿, *gong* 宮, *guan* 觀, *miao* 廟, *si* 寺, and *yuan* 院. For categories of structures that are not necessarily religious in nature, I have counted only features that appear to be religious in purpose. This count of extramural religious structures is probably conservative in so far as it does not include features that were not possible to categorise based on available information, some of which were likely religious sites.

local particularities of the distribution of religious sites—some cities certainly had more and more important religious sites outside the walls than others—and the fact that extramural religious sites were not the primary subject of *chengtu*.

The remaining 166 features related to religion tell a different story. These features are all altars (*tan* 壇) associated with official cults (Farmer 2000, 468). The largest number of these altars are those used for making offerings to vengeful ghosts (*litan* 厲壇) and the Gods of Grain and Soil (*sheji tan* 社稷壇), which number 43 and 40 respectively. The other major categories of altars are those dedicated to the agricultural deity Xiannong (先農) (22), gods of mountains and rivers (*shanchuan* 山川) (20), weather deities (20), and directional deities (19).

The fact that these altars were present in virtually every county and were associated with official rituals but are only inconsistently included in *chengtu* makes them illustrative of how decisions about whether and how to depict extramural space in *chengtu* were less straightforward than choosing to adopt or depart from a state-defined view of the city. Let us take *sheji* altars as a case study.[6] Extramural *sheji* altars appear on *chengtu* of the primary county seat in 24 of the 66 gazetteers in the dataset. Four additional *chengtu* depict *sheji* altars in other locations: one (very unusually) inside the walls and three between the walls and moat. Of the remaining 38 gazetteers, all but one include textual information in one or another part of the gazetteer about the jurisdiction's *sheji* altar, signifying its existence at the time. Clearly, then, we cannot attribute the inconsistent representation of *sheji* altars to their simply not existing or not being present elsewhere in gazetteers. In a minority of cases, we can find *sheji* altars in other kinds of illustrations in gazetteers: illustrations of entire administrative units (10), an illustration dedicated to the *sheji* altar (1), and a scenic illustration of another site (1). However, that still leaves 25 gazetteers that do not include *sheji* altars in their *chengtu* or other illustrations. There is no obvious way to account for this inconsistency. Again, there is no readily apparent geographic pattern to this treatment of *sheji* altars. The distance of *sheji* altars from the city gates is unlikely to be a factor since they were usually located within a mile of the walls. Whereas other extramural religious sites seem to have been less likely to be associated with the government in any way, *sheji* altars were officially sanctioned.

By virtue of *sheji* altars' association with the state, *chengtu* from which they are absent are not any more state-centred than those where they are present. Contrary to what we might assume, *chengtu* focused exclusively on walled space in fact provide a less complete picture of the ritual significance of urban space than those that include at least some information about extramural sites that were closely associated with government-sanctioned ritual practices and would have been, in all likelihood, of interest to sojourning officials. While this is particularly evident in the case of *sheji* altars, it may be true of other kinds of extramural sites with less obvious associations with the state. For example, Baotu Spring, located immediately southwest of the walled city of Jinan in Shandong, had long been one of the city's most prominent scenic sites. Unsurprisingly, it appears in the *chengtu* in the 1640 and 1773 Licheng County gazetteers (*Licheng*

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[6] The advantage of more closely examining *sheji* altars as opposed to *li* altars is twofold. First it is much more feasible to conduct full-text searches for the two-character term *sheji* than the single-character term *li*. Second the orthography of *sheji* in both original texts and the digital transcriptions in LoGaRT is much more consistent than that of *li*.

xian zhi 歷城縣志) and the 1840 Jinan Prefecture gazetteer (*Jinan fu zhi* 濟南府志). It would be unwise, though, to assume that this pictorial prominence necessarily reflects an extramural assertion of local culture against the administrative offices and other signs of state authority tightly clustered inside the walls. Both the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors visited Baotu Spring on their southern tours and made it—rather than a place inside the city walls—the city's primary repository for steles bearing imperial calligraphy. After 1736, the Shandong salt administration took responsibility for maintaining these steles, which is the most likely explanation for the inclusion of a detailed illustration of the area around Baotu Spring—which was otherwise unrelated to the salt administration's primary functions—in the 1809 edition of the gazetteer of the Shandong salt administration, whereas the 1724 edition had contained no such illustration (Knorr 2020, 119–24, 141–44). In other words, we cannot assume that *chengtu* that depict a larger number of extramural details reflect an anti-statist exercise of representational licence.
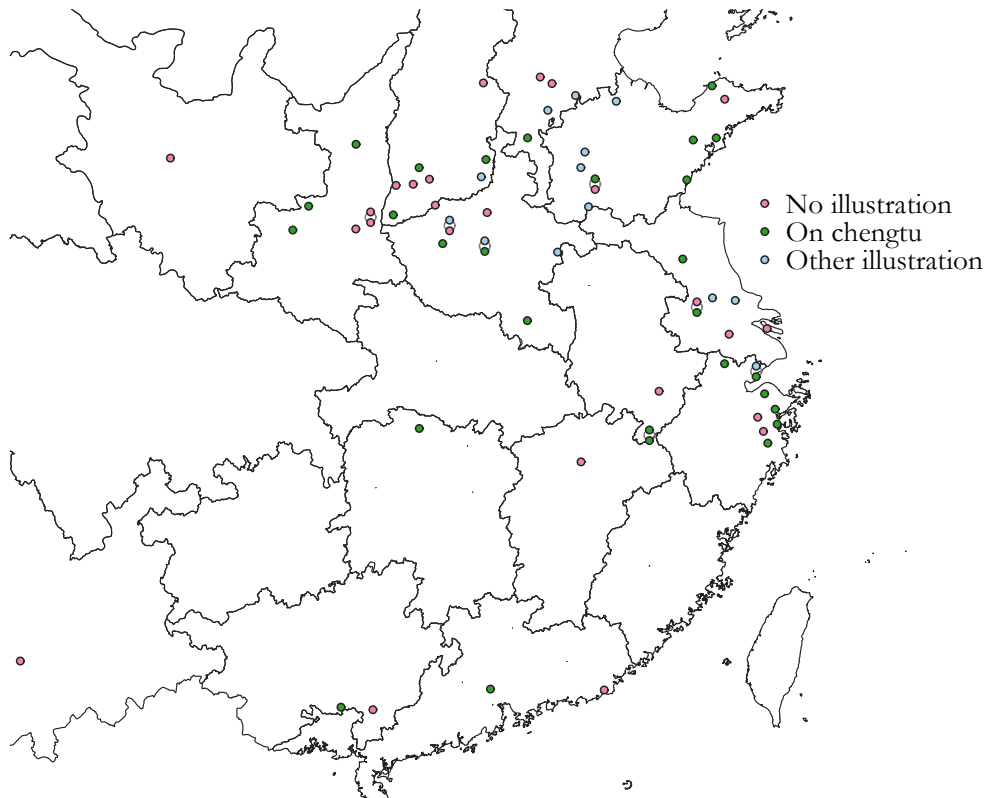
Figure 5: Geographic distribution of illustrations of *sheji* altars in gazetteers. Map by author with QGIS.

Instead, the inclusion of *sheji* altars, like extramural detail more generally, reflects an aesthetic choice about how to depict urban and peri-urban space. Rather than a dichotomy between a normative *chengtu* and departures from it, we see a remarkable lack of clarity about what a *chengtu* should depict. This lack of clarity reflects the ambiguity of urban space in late imperial China as both strictly wall-bound and jurisdictionally boundless, but we can observe this ambiguity only because the genre of *chengtu* sustained a rich and diverse discourse around the boundaries of urban space.

Topography: Textual and Pictorial Depictions

Next to religious sites, items related to topographical features—mountains and bodies of water—are the most numerous extramural features appearing in *chengtu*. 95 of the 816 extramural features in the dataset are related to mountains or hills. Almost all of these are designated as *shan* 山. The 145 features related to water are more diverse. They include various kinds of bodies of water: rivers and streams (38), springs and wells (17), and lakes and ponds (14). They also include a variety of human-made structures related to water, like bridges (20), sluice gates (12), and levees (8). I also include 27 islands in this total.[7]

Two characteristics distinguish topographical features from other kinds of items included in *chengtu*. First, urban and peri-urban topography varied far more widely than the basic set of human-made structures, like magistrate's offices, schools, and temples, that we find in almost all *chengtu*. In the absence of rivers or mountains, it is implausible that one city's *chengtu* would contain as many topographical features as another's. Wright's observation that normative urban morphology, which was first developed on the North China Plain, where flat terrain was in abundance, had to adapt to the more complex terrain of southern China might lead us to expect that extramural topographical features might be especially numerous in southern *chengtu* (Wright 1977, 49–50). As demonstrated already, the *chengtu* I have analysed do not exhibit a stark north-south difference in terms of numbers of extramural features. The premise that more complex physical topography might correlate to greater departures from the idealised form of the "orthodox" *chengtu* might still carry weight at the sub-regional level, though. Yin, Xu, and Li make this argument in their study of *chengtu* in gazetteers in Zhejiang, showing that *chengtu* with larger amounts of extramural detail are more prevalent in mountainous areas of the province (Yin Jie, Xu Xinghua, and Li Chenchen 2016, 74.) A larger dataset might make it possible to extend this analysis to the empire as a whole.

The other distinctive characteristic of topographical features, which is particularly germane to Yin, Xu, and Li's study, is that they lend themselves to pictorial illustration just as much, if not more than, the textual labelling that is central to my methodology. In this sense, Yin, Xu, and Li's method of counting visual rather than textual features is better poised to quantify the full extent to which topographical features appear in *chengtu*. For example, mountainous terrain is ubiquitous in the *chengtu* of county seats in the 1680 *Yan'an Prefectural Gazetteer* (*Yan'an fu zhi* 延安府志), producing distinctive urban morphologies, as in the *chengtu* of Ansai County 安塞縣 in figure 6. Nestled between boldly drawn cliffs that seemingly make a portion of its wall redundant and a rocky crag topped by a gnarled tree, the sparsely-depicted walled city is almost an afterthought. Despite the visual impression of this *chengtu*, though, none of the mountains are labelled with text, nor are any other extramural features. Textually, then, it strikes a sharp contrast, despite their similar visual style, to the *chengtu* of the prefectural seat (figure 7), which includes four labelled mountains (and six other features) outside the city walls. Inevitably, then, the method I have adopted in the foregoing analysis underplays the preponderance of extramural topographical features in *chengtu*. However, in so far as such features enhance the diversity of *chengtu* beyond what their text conveys, then it only strengthens the argument this essay makes about the tremendous variation within the

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[7] Rivers and streams: *he* 河, *jiang* 江, *qu* 曲, *qu* 渠, *fu* 滏, *shui* 水, and *xi* 溪; springs and wells: *quan* 泉 and *jing* 井; lakes and ponds: *hu* 湖, *chi* 池, *tan* 潭, and *wan* 灣; bridges: *qiao* 橋, *pi* 皮, and *ba* 霸; sluice gates: *zha* 閘; levees: *di* 堤 and *tang* 塘; islands: *zhou* 洲.

genre, demonstrating that in *chengtu* we see divergent approaches to depicting not only the spatial boundaries of cities but also their general aesthetic appearance in relationship to their natural surroundings.

Figure 6: *Chengtu* of Ansai County. *Yan'an fu zhi, tu.*5b–6a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13034892?n=76)
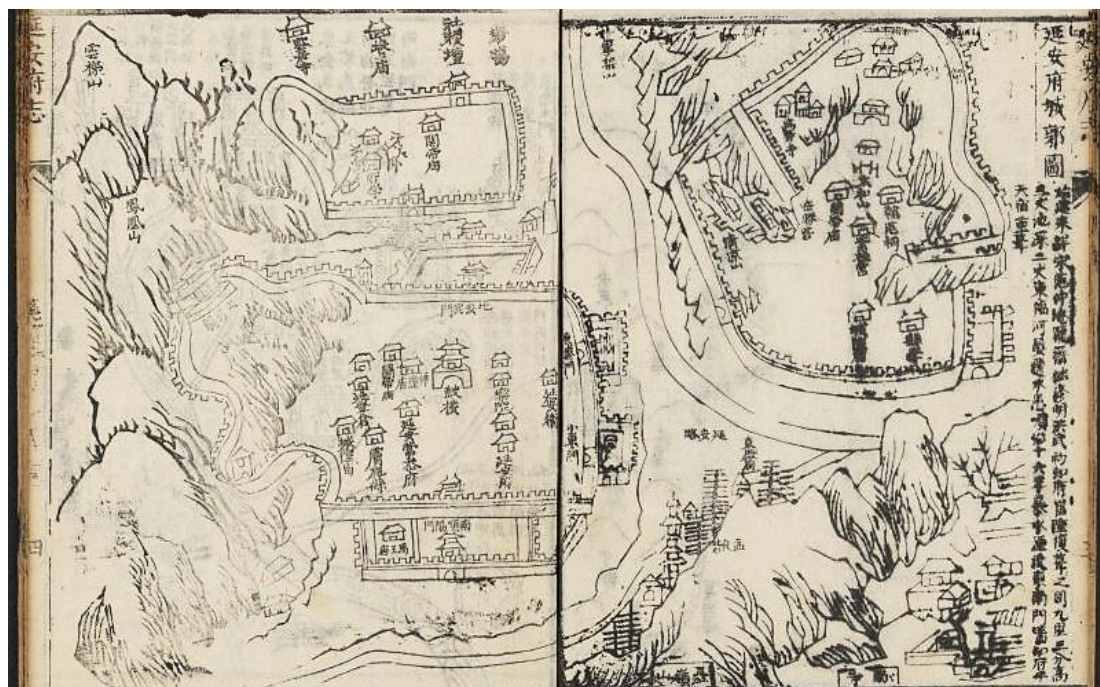
Figure 7: *Chengtu* of Yan'an prefectural seat. *Yan'an fu zhi, tu.*3b–4a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13034892?n=74)

However, even in the realm of topography—putatively permanent and unavoidable—we can discern *chengtu*-creators exercising considerable agency to produce distinctive visions of Chinese cities. Illustrations of Weinan 渭南 in Shaanxi, two from prefectural gazetteers of Tongzhou 同州 (1741 and 1781) and one from a county gazetteer of Weinan itself (1778), illustrate the negotiability of topography in *chengtu*. The *chengtu* in the prefectural gazetteers (figures 8 and 9) are just different enough to prove that the 1781 *chengtu* was not an exact replica of the 1741 one, although it was likely based on it, which was a common practice (Liu Gaowei 2018, 62). Both depict the crescent-shaped enclosures around the city's gates in an unusual amount of detail, but neither contains any extramural features. The *chengtu* in the county gazetteer (figure 10) is almost completely unrecognisable as the same place. The crescent enclosures around the gates are gone, and the city's shape is reduced to a perfect square. More strikingly, the surrounding landscape is now alive with mountains, buildings, a bridge, and, most prominently, two waterways running along the western and northern edges of the city: the Qiu 湭 and the larger river into which it flows, the Wei 渭, which is a tributary of the Yellow River and lends Weinan its name. Besides the city's four gates, these waterways are, in fact, the only labelled items on the *chengtu*. In terms of composition, it is a mirror opposite of the *chengtu* in the prefectural gazetteers, and it is the depiction of the city's topography—presumably one of its more non-negotiable characteristics—that makes all the difference. Again, this reflects how no single factor on its own, be it geographic location or topographical environment, determined the form of a *chengtu*. Instead, we see artists exercising considerable and sometimes contradictory discretion in representing the boundaries and shapes of urban space.

Figure 8: *Chengtu* of Weinan. *Tongzhou fu zhi* 1741, *tu*.2b–3a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13012868?n=43)
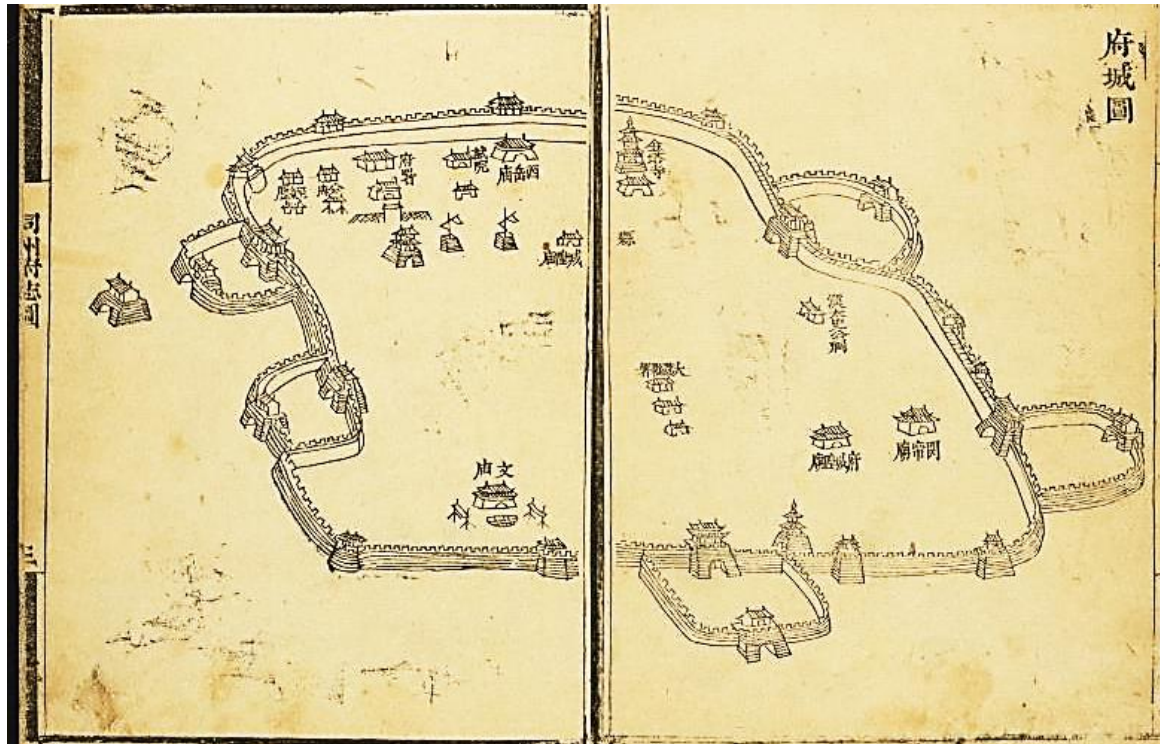
Figure 9: *Chengtu* of Weinan. *Tongzhou fu zhi* 1781, *tu*.11b–12a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12988056?n=19)
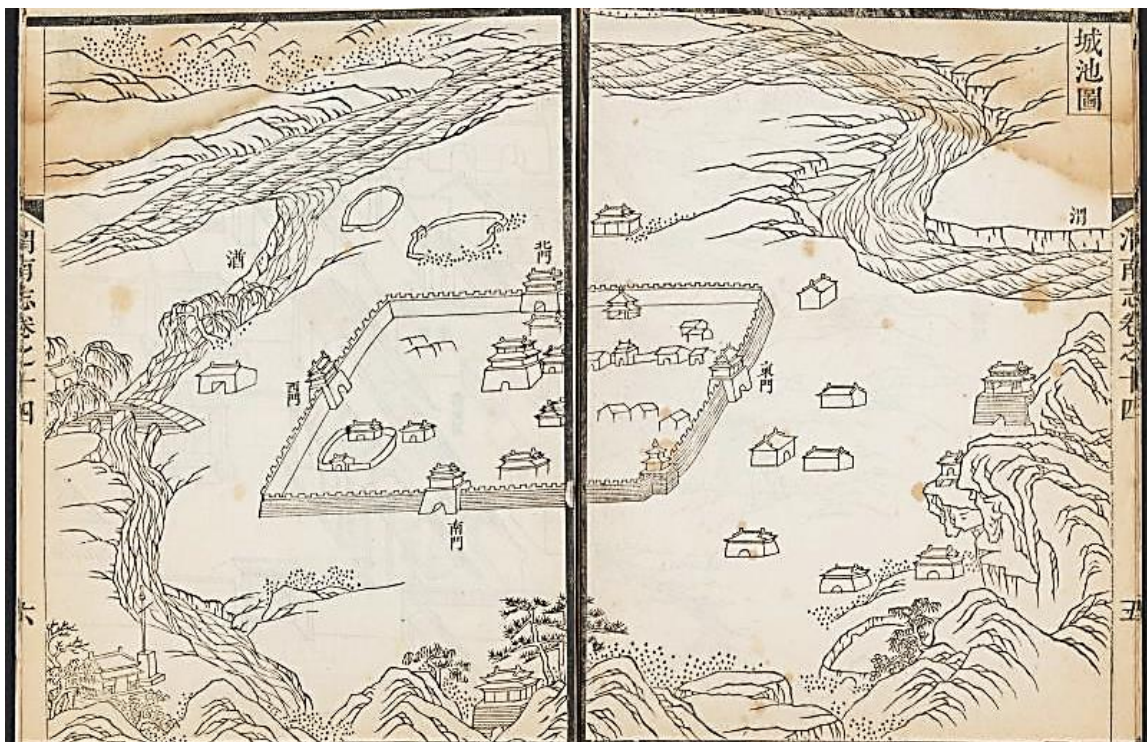
Figure 10: *Chengtu* of Weinan. *Weinan zhi*, 14.5b–6a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13042587?n=481)
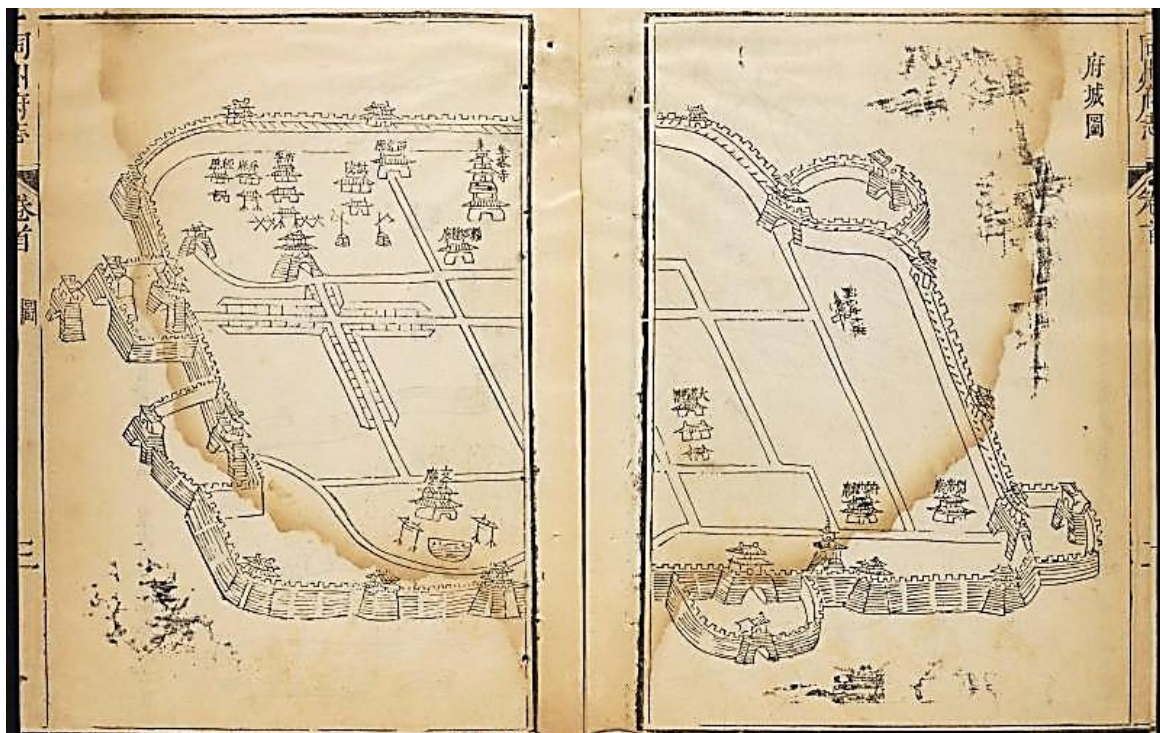
The Weinan *chengtu* raise two further questions that bear examination. First, how equivalent were *chengtu* of the same city in prefectural and county gazetteers? Second, whereas the prefectural gazetteer *chengtu* are both titled *chengtu*, the one in the county gazetteer is titled *chengchi tu* 城池圖, as are other *chengtu*: did different titles for *chengtu* reflect specific approaches that affected the depiction of urban space? The final section considers both questions through examining *chengtu* within the larger context of gazetteers in which they are included.

Chengtu and Their Gazetteers

Having dissected a large number of *chengtu* in order to examine their spatial features, we should now consider them pieced back into the context of the gazetteers in which they were published. Doing so will allow us to examine how three facets of compilation might have affected the composition of *chengtu*. These factors are (1) the naming of *chengtu*, which could reflect different intentions on the part of creators and compilers, (2) the place of *chengtu* in the context of other illustrations included in gazetteers, and (3) the administrative level of the gazetteers in question. In all cases, we find considerable variety within sub-sets of *chengtu* that make it impossible to identify any particular factor determining the amount of extra-mural detail any given *chengtu* depicts.

57 of the 68 *chengtu* of primary administrative seats I have analysed are titled according to one of the following four conventions (sometimes with small variations): *chengtu, chengchi tu, chengguo tu* 城郭圖, and *zhitu*. Translated somewhat literally, these are, respectively: illustrations of walls, of walls and moats, of walls and areas around the gates, and of administrative seats. The largest group is *chengtu* (30), followed by *chengchi tu* (15), *zhitu* (8), and *chengguo tu* (4). Of the remaining illustrations, 9 have other more unique titles, and 2 are not clearly titled. As the name suggests, all four of the *chengguo tu* include some number of extramural features and a slightly greater average number (8.87) than the entire dataset (7.04). There is some variability between the other three categories but all of them display the kind of internal variability that characterises the dataset as a whole. Three of the *zhitu* contain no extramural detail at all, while two contain more extramural than intramural features. We might expect the *chengchi tu* to be similar to the *chengguo tu*, based on the title, and, indeed, 5 of the 15 contain as many or more extramural features as intramural ones, which is a higher ratio than for the dataset as a whole. However, 6 of them include no extramural features, which is also a higher proportion than the rest of the dataset. The numbers for *chengtu* track the entire dataset closely, except that they contain slightly fewer intramural *and* extramural features than average. The variability within each of these sub-groups is more reflective of the diversity of the genre as a whole than any firm distinction between *chengtu* bearing different titles, except in the case of *chengguo tu*.

The large range of illustrations and permutations thereof in gazetteers makes it difficult to analyse how the presence of other illustrations might affect the composition of individual *chengtu*. When *chengtu* that include few extramural details are accompanied by separate illustrations of extramural sites, then we might be tempted to say that the compilers have compensated for the former with the latter. This is the case, for example, with the very rare instance of the gazetteer that includes a dedicated illustration of a *sheji* altar

mentioned above. The *chengtu* of this gazetteer from Jingzhou 景州 in Zhili contains no extramural features and fewer intramural features (19) than average (26.46). However, the gazetteer as a whole contains an inordinate number of individual illustrations, including the magistrate's compound, a granary, three altars, the Confucian temple, and a local river. There is also a series of maps of rural districts. In other instances, though, the lack of extramural detail in a *chengtu* is indicative of a paucity of illustrations in the gazetteer as a whole. Even then, illustrations of the entire administrative unit can compensate for a lack of detail in *chengtu*, as with the ten gazetteers that include the locations of *sheji* altars there rather than in the *chengtu*.

I have drawn the *chengtu* that I am analysing from a mix of county, departmental, and prefectural gazetteers. Up until now, the quantitative analysis I have presented has mixed these types of gazetteers but has excluded the *chengtu* of subordinate county seats included in prefectural gazetteers. Doing so prevents prefectural gazetteers with a large number of *chengtu* of subordinate counties from distorting the data. However, it leaves open the question of exactly how equivalent these *chengtu* are and whether their appearance in county versus prefectural gazetteers has any bearing on the depiction of extramural space.

Regarding the first question, we need to consider two distinctions: (1) between *chengtu* of prefectural seats and *chengtu* of county seats that appear in county gazetteers and (2) between *chengtu* of county seats that appear in county gazetteers and those that appear in prefectural gazetteers (as subordinate counties). The disparity we see in the second case is more significant (particularly for quantitative analysis) than in the first. *Chengtu* of prefectural seats do tend to be more detailed than *chengtu* in county gazetteers, with the former containing, on average, 46.20 labelled items from all categories and the latter 37.09 items. However, this disparity is unsurprising in so far as prefectural seats tended to be larger than county seats and contained more of the kinds of structures that we expect to find in all *chengtu*, particularly government offices. *Chengtu* from prefectural gazetteers contain, on average, more extramural items (8.80) than *chengtu* in county gazetteers (7.19), but the ratio of extramural to intramural features is actually a bit higher in county gazetteer *chengtu* because of the larger number of intramural features in prefectural *chengtu*. In other words, *chengtu* of prefectural seats and *chengtu* of county seats in county gazetteers are not identical, but they are not necessarily less comparable than we would expect *chengtu* of cities of different sizes to be, which suggests that they are basically different manifestations of the same genre.

The disparity between prefectural seat *chengtu* and *chengtu* of subordinate county seats in the same prefectural gazetteers tends to be much larger. Of the ten prefectural gazetteers in the dataset, four contain no *chengtu* of subordinate county seats. In five of the remaining six, the total number of features in the county seat *chengtu* is significantly (40% or more) lower than for the prefectural seat *chengtu*. In the one other case, the difference is less than 10%.

As this suggests, there is also some disparity between the *chengtu* we find in county gazetteers and *chengtu* of county seats in prefectural gazetteers, summarised in figure 11. In five of the six prefectural gazetteers, the average number of intramural and total features in subordinate county seat *chengtu* is considerably lower than the averages for *chengtu* in county gazetteers. In the one other case (Nanchang), both the prefectural and county seat *chengtu* are inordinately detailed. There is, however, a remarkable degree of

variability in the average number of extramural features in the county seat *chengtu* in the prefectural gazetteers. In three of the six cases, there are noticeably fewer extramural features in the county *chengtu* in prefectural gazetteers than in *chengtu* in county gazetteers, in line with there being fewer intramural and total features overall. In the other three prefectural gazetteers, though, there are actually, on average, more extramural features than the average *chengtu* in a county gazetteer. One of those cases is the Nanchang gazetteer, in which the *chengtu* of the prefectural seat also includes an exceptionally large number of extramural features (41). Likewise, in the case of the *Guangping Prefectural Gazetteer* (*Guangping fu zhi* 廣平府志), the *chengtu* of the prefectural seat contains a larger-than-average number of extramural features (21). In both these cases, then, there is stylistic consistency between the gazetteers' prefectural seat *chengtu* and subordinate county seat *chengtu*. The final case, the *Huzhou Prefectural Gazetteer* (*Huzhou fu zhi* 湖州府志), is anomalous both in the sense that there is a very large gap between the number of intramural sites in the prefectural versus county seat *chengtu* (37 versus an average of 6.2) and in the sense that there is also a large but opposite discrepancy in the number of extramural features (only 4 in the prefectural seat *chengtu* versus an average of 11.4 in the county seat *chengtu*).
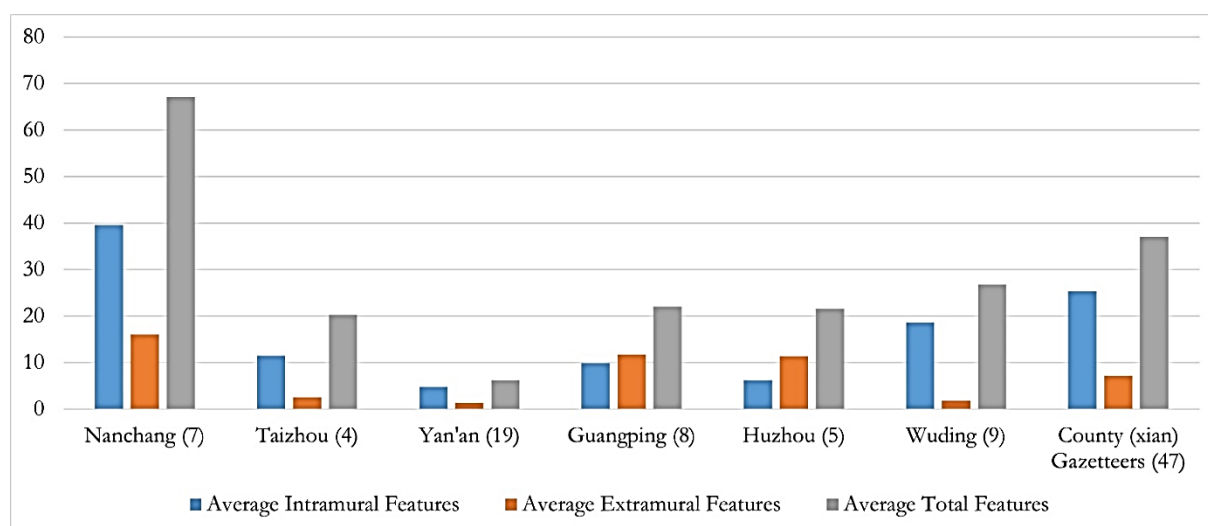
Figure 11: Average number of labelled features in county seat *chengtu* in prefectural gazetteers versus *chengtu* in county gazetteers. Number of *chengtu* in parentheses.

In general, then, we can conclude that there is usually a degree of comparability between *chengtu* from different kinds of gazetteers, but with two caveats. First, *chengtu* of prefectural seats tend to be more detailed than *chengtu* in county gazetteers, which is a pattern we should expect and does not necessarily affect our interpretation of these two kinds of *chengtu*. Second, and more significantly, *chengtu* of subordinate county seats in prefectural gazetteers tend to be less detailed than *chengtu* in county gazetteers. This is likely a product of the pragmatic considerations attendant on compiling larger prefectural gazetteers—reflected by the fact that some prefectural gazetteers do not include *chengtu* of subordinate county seats at all—and corresponds to our expectation that we would find less county-specific textual information in a prefectural gazetteer than a county one. As a result, we should not consider *chengtu* of county seats in county and prefectural gazetteers to be interchangeable, even if the nature of the disparities between the two groups—such as in the inclusion of extramural features—may be difficult to predict.

Conclusion

While *chengtu* appear consistently enough in similar enough forms to speak about them as constituting a genre of illustration, this genre contains a tremendous amount of variability. In the case of extramural features, that variability sometimes reflects, at least roughly, predictable contours, like the surrounding topography of a city and, to some extent, its administrative status. Even then, though, neither these features nor others we have considered, such as region, sub-regional patterns, or the presence of other illustrations in gazetteers, precisely predicts the nature of a given *chengtu*. Instead, *chengtu* reflect not only the material diversity of Chinese cities but also the diverse ways artists and compilers approached representing urban space. Polar opposite approaches to extramural space—completely excluding or emphasising it—can be leveraged to question whether cities in premodern China had distinctive identities, since they suggest, in turn, that conceptions of urban space either conformed to state-dictated norms that defined cities with reference to their administrative and ritual functions or lacked any clear sense of division.

To be sure, the *chengtu* I have examined should help put to rest the notion—if this is still needed—that "the Chinese city" is a meaningful historical type. In *chengtu* we can observe a diverse set of urban forms that do not cohere into a monolithic archetype, even if they share some characteristics like walls—and even then not universally or uniformly throughout history. Moreover, *chengtu* also reflect the diverse modes of representing urban space that circulated during the Qing dynasty. This diversity transcends the idealisation and standardisation we might expect to see and to some extent do see in *chengtu*, given their production for local gazetteers, which reflected (even if not exclusively) the priorities of the imperial government. To this extent, even the basic functionality of LoGaRT's PWI feature is a great boon for making evidence of the rich diversity of Chinese cities readily accessible to a wide audience of researchers, teachers, and students. Nevertheless, it should be used with the caveat that *chengtu* were meant to be consulted alongside the text of gazetteers, which, thankfully, LoGaRT also facilitates.

While *chengtu* provide no single picture of cities in early modern China, their sheer number and diversity indicate the vibrancy of discourse around urban space in this period, even in the context of what we might expect to be a constrained and formulaic genre of representation. Rather than seeking a Chinese conception of urban space in an elusive settled vision of the city, we should appreciate how this discourse itself was constitutive of urbanism.[8] *Chengtu* formed only one aspect of city-making, which scholars will no doubt continue to explore in other textual and visual media. Beyond being a livelier genre than we might expect, one of the great benefits of *chengtu* is their ubiquity. Through them, we can see how people across the empire, not just in major metropolises, worked out how to represent urban space. Further research expanding on the dataset I have used here will allow us to answer questions about change over time and intra-regional variation that have so far been addressed in narrow and/or imprecise ways and greatly expand our understanding of the material and representational construction of urban space in Chinese history.

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[8] For a further elaboration of this approach to theorising urbanity in Chinese history based on the effects of social processes, see Fei Siyan 2013, 327–40.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

"This Belt of River": Visual Representation of the Yellow River as Local Expression in Early Qing Local Gazetteers

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The differing presence of the Yellow River across different regions in north China has shaped how local communities perceived and represented the river. This study uses local gazetteers produced in the early decades of the Qing to explore how people's life experiences of the river affected its visual representations. In local gazetteers, whereas textual accounts usually conform to rules of compilation, such as following a universal format, common categories, and use of classical knowledge, visual representations provide a more direct and effective way of presenting the uniqueness of a place. In early Qing local gazetteers, perceptions of the Yellow River varied significantly at the local level and were manifest in different visual strategies to portray the river. The conscious selection of visual styles not only reveals diverse local experiences, but also lends visual force to the stories told in the text.

黃河在中國北方的不同地域有著不同的存在形態。它們影響和塑造了地方社會對黃河的不同看法和呈現方式。本文從清初的地方志出發，討論不同地方的生活經驗如何造就了方志中對黃河的不同視覺呈現。地方志中，文本往往受到編修體例的諸多限制，如需要符合統一格式，特定門類，援用經典。而視覺呈現一圖一則能以更直接、有效的方式揭示一個地方的特殊性。清初地方志中，（沿岸）各地對黃河的看法存在巨大的地域差異。這些差異體現在描繪黃河的不同視覺技巧中。繪圖方式的選擇不僅揭示了不同的地方體驗，也為地方志文本中講述的故事增加了視覺說服力。

The Yellow River has been a shared ecological and socio-economic element across different regions in north China.[1] Despite being an iconic river from a state point of view, its differing presence along the long river course has shaped how local communities perceived and represented it. For people living in counties or prefectures located close to the river, their experiences of it can be either tangible, regarding transport or flood prevention, or more symbolic, taking it as a local landmark or a cultural symbol. The experience and perception of the Yellow River has formed part of the daily life of a place and has been shared across the social strata. This study aims to explore how different life experiences of the Yellow River affected its visual representation in local gazetteers.

Rich records of the Yellow River, both in text and in images, are preserved in the vast collection of local gazetteers produced since the Southern Song. With the Local Gazetteers Research Tools database, I was able to locate about 160 records of visual representations of the Yellow River in extant local gazetteers produced mainly from the late Ming to the late Qing.[2] The geographical distribution of these sources shows that images of the Yellow River mainly involve prefectures and counties along the middle and lower reaches of its river course, especially in present-day Henan 河南, Shandong 山東, and Jiangsu 江蘇 provinces (Figure 1). With these images, it was then possible to further select those local gazetteers where textual accounts tell compelling stories of the Yellow River with supporting images.
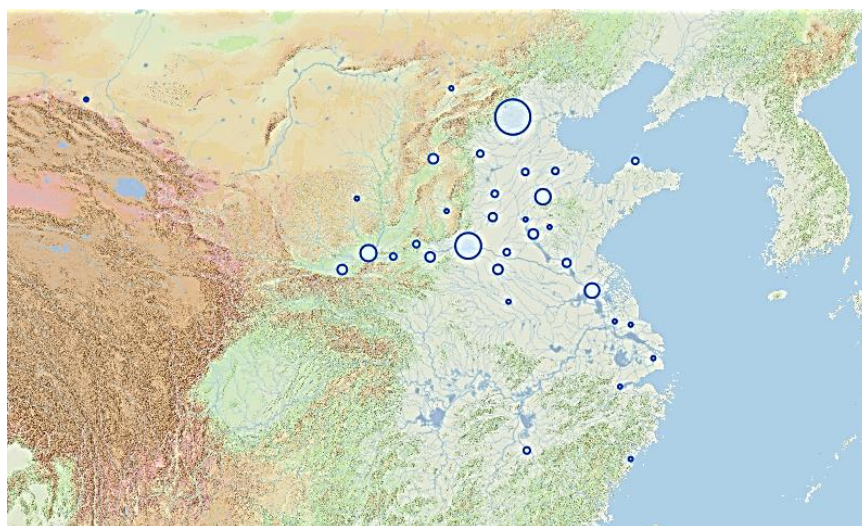
Figure 1: Distribution of depictions of the Yellow River in local gazetteers from Ming to Qing dynasties (image created with LGMap in LoGaRT).

[2] Local Gazetteers Research Tools (LoGaRT) was developed by the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science for the purpose of searching, analysing, and collecting data from digitised Chinese local gazetteers. For a useful overview, see Chen et al. 2020, 544–558. It is a researcher's responsibility to exercise caution during the searching and selection processes. On the one hand, not all results with the search term show a direct or close relationship with the Yellow River. For example, regions far away from the course of the Yellow River could still mention it as a broader geographical reference. On the other hand, some images that include the Yellow River as a landmark might not mark its name clearly and would go undetected in a search. To improve the quality of search results, the database has enabled textual searches from adjacent pages to the image in question. From a user's point of view, however, a safer search methodology would be to use "Pages with Images" searches together with close reading of the textual parts on specific themes.

Within the limit of available data of local gazetteers including images of the Yellow River, those compiled during the first decades of the Qing period especially provide information about the river in a specific historical context. In the 1680s, the Qing central authority commissioned local governments to compile local gazetteers in preparation for a comprehensive record of the state. The materials produced from that period provide an opportunity to examine how unique local stories of the Yellow River were presented within a universal format of gazetteer compilation.[3]

Before turning to the various instances of depicting the Yellow River, I will first contextualise the discussion with a few questions: What did local writing mean for the compilers and readers of local gazetteers? How can we understand the uniqueness of a local record against the standard format of gazetteer compilation? How was local experience represented visually to contribute to the uniqueness of a place?

Local gazetteers and local expression

Chinese local gazetteers were often compiled by a group of local elites.[4] To what extent can we treat them as a collective expression of local people's experience and observation? James Hargett has noted that a new human orientation in local gazetteers had emerged by the twelfth century, with the main focus of each section changing to human affairs. In other words, local gazetteers were no longer texts that simply provided administrative information and periodically needed to be updated; instead, they were compiled for local consumption and served scholarly purposes and local interests (Hargett 1996, 405–442).

Compilers of local gazetteers usually needed to present their local history under certain constraints of genre. Since Song times, the compilation of local gazetteers had largely thrived on the basis of state compilation of universal gazetteers. As Sue Takashi has observed, local gazetteers became increasingly prevalent in the late Northern Song due to the central authority's effort to gather detailed local information for the implementation of New Policy reforms (Sue 2021, 27–38). Therefore, local gazetteers, from the very beginning, inherited some of the main characteristics of a state gazetteer.[5] Two main factors may have functioned to dilute the uniqueness of a local gazetteer: the shared knowledge of antiquity and conformity to a universal format.

First, to add to their authority, compilers of local gazetteers tended to gather and incorporate classical knowledge of the locality. It was especially common for them to draw on the classics to begin sections such as "terrestrial patterns" (*dili* 地理), "regions of the land" (*fangyu* 方輿), and "borders and territories" (*jiangyu* 疆域), to name just a few. In the 1662 gazetteer of Sishui 泗水, a county in Shandong, its "Records of regions of the land" (*Fangyu zhi* 方輿志) starts with a statement that Sishui belonged to Xu 徐, one of

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[3] Although fewer local gazetteers are extant from earlier periods, there had also been initiatives from the Yuan and Ming central governments to compile comprehensive gazetteers, and for that purpose, to issue rules of compilation to local authorities. For a discussion of government initiatives prior to the Qing, see Dennis 2015, 35–48; and Hargett 1996, 410.

[4] For discussions of elites' increasing activity on the local level from the Southern Song, see Hymes 1986, 124–135; Bol 2001, 37–76; and Gerritsen 2007, 9–13, 47–63.

[5] On the relationship between state and local gazetteers before the Song, see Chittick 2003, 63–67.

the ancient Nine Provinces (*jiuzhou* 九州) specified in the "Tribute of Yu" (*Yugong* 禹貢), which is the earliest extant geographical treatise from the canonical *Shang shu* 尚書 (*Book of Documents*).[6] The prefaces of the 1660 *Henan tongzhi* 河南通志 (*Comprehensive Gazetteer of Henan*) also claimed that it "continued the heritage" of the "Tribute of Yu" and "Administering the regions" (*Zhifang* 職方), another major geographical chapter in *Zhou li* 周禮 (*Rituals of Zhou*).[7] Compilers of the early Qing county gazetteer *Qixian zhi* 淇縣志 (*Records of Qi County*) also commented that, "to record mountains and rivers, they followed the 'Tribute of Yu'; to give a detailed account of products, they followed *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (*The Classic of Mountains and Seas*)" (載山川則倣禹貢，詳物產則倣山海).[8] The reliance on the classics for authority resulted in a common narrative strategy in most local gazetteers, which, to some extent, reduces the ability of textual accounts to represent the unique features of a place.

Second, a local gazetteer's mission to record the unique local situation may stand in contrast to the universal format imposed on it as a state-commissioned project. The categories in a local gazetteer may follow a universal style; yet what makes a place unique are its culture and history. As Dagmar Schäfer has pointed out, local gazetteers as working documents created or recognised what was locally known: they are supposed to be an intellectual stance on local knowledge (Schäfer et al. 2020, 391–429). But local gazetteers were closely tied to central government administrative practices: for imperially initiated gazetteer projects, central government officials determined the categories of required content by issuing "rules of compilation" (*fanli* 凡例) (Dennis 2015, 22–51). From late 1672 to 1673, for example, the Kangxi Emperor 康熙 (r. 1662–1722) commissioned local authorities to prepare local gazetteers to be included in a single unified gazetteer (*yitong zhi* 一統志) of the empire. Prior to this edict, the authorities of Henan and Shaanxi 陝西 had already compiled their provincial gazetteers. The central authority then designated their gazetteers as an exemplary style (*kuanshi* 款式) for other places to follow.[9] In the case of the 1672 *Ziyang xianzhi* 滋陽縣志 (*Records of Ziyang County*), its compilation was among many projects which were forced upon local authorities through political pressure.[10] As shown in the 1690 *Suizhou zhi* 睢州志 (*Records of Sui Prefecture*), the central authority had issued "rules and procedures" (*guicheng* 規程) as an "established format" (*dingge* 定格) for local compilers to follow, regarding what to include and what to record in detail.[11] Under the state edict, compilers of local gazetteers needed to "eliminate all local folklore and strange tales" (一切方言隱怪悉汰除).[12] The designated selection criteria of source materials put further limits on how local gazetteers could express local experiences.

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[6] *Sishui xianzhi* 泗水縣志 (1662), 1.1b.

[7] *Henan tongzhi* 河南通志 (1660), Li Cuiran preface, 5a.

[8] *Qixian zhi* 淇縣志 (1660), Wang Qianji preface, 1.1a.

[9] *Caoxian zhi* 曹縣志 (1685), "Xian wen" 憲文, 1b.

[10] *Ziyang xianzhi* 滋陽縣志 (1672), "Yanzhou fu tiewen" 兗州府貼文, 2a–2b.

[11] *Suizhou zhi* 睢州志 (1693), "Yuanxi" 院檄, 2a, 3a.

[12] *Yan'an fuzhi* 延安府志 (1679), Wu Cunli preface, 3a.

From the readers' point of view, local gazetteers or "local records" (*dizhi* 地志 or *fangzhi* 方志) were comparable to ancient "state histories" (*guoshi* 國史). This analogy was first brought up by the early Southern Song scholar Zheng Xingyi 鄭興裔 (1126–1199) in his preface to the local gazetteer of present-day Yangzhou, *Guangling zhi* 廣陵志 (*Records of Guangling*).[13] Since then, recording the local past had become the main aim of local gazetteers, an aim which was lauded by their mostly elite readers. In the early Qing, for example, the local gazetteer of Datong prefecture, *Yunzhong jun zhi* 雲中郡志 (*Records of Yunzhong Prefecture*, 1652), has two prefaces referring to this analogy. One commented that "In the past, each state recorded the mountains, rivers, scenery, customs, and products in its own domain to explain its culture and offer tribute to the kingdom. These records are equivalent to today's prefectural gazetteers" (古者各國紀域內山川景物習俗土宜，以闡風化而貢王國，即今之郡志也).[14] The other simply takes "prefectural gazetteers nowadays as equivalent to the histories of various states of antiquity" (今之郡志，古之列國史).[15] A preface to the 1656 *Heyin xianzhi* 河陰縣志 (*Records of Heyin County*) expressed the idea that a county should have a gazetteer, just like a household having a genealogy and an ancient state having an official history.[16] The renowned mid-Qing scholar Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738–1801), who studied local gazetteers as a type of historiography and was the compiler of the 1779 *Yongqing xianzhi* 永清縣志 (*Records of Yongqing County*), held the same opinion (Chang Shu-fen 1935, 24).

Early Qing scholars also placed great value on local records, seeing them as of equal if not greater importance to the state's history. They regarded local histories as crucial to the provision of primary materials to be assembled into a state's history. In his preface to the 1673 *Caoxian zhi* 曹縣志 (*Records of Cao County*), County Magistrate Men Kerong 門可榮 claimed that "Although a county gazetteer is a document about one place, its significance equals that of a state history" (縣志雖一方之書，允與國史等重也).[17] Another preface written in 1685 by Liu Fengjia 劉逢甲, an Instructor in the Cao County School, emphasised local records as components of the state history: "A county has its record just as a state has its history. Those records are histories. Gathering thousands of county records and storing them in the Shiqu Imperial Library would form the entirety of a state history" (邑有志、國有史，志即史也。彙數千志而藏之石渠，即國史之全書也).[18] Similarly, Zhong Hongdao 仲弘道, the County Magistrate of Ziyang, commented in his preface to the 1672 *Ziyang xianzhi* that, "what were called [local] records are one part of history. In the past when Zheng Qiao composed *Tongzhi* 通志 (*Comprehensive Records*), he gathered

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[13] While *guoshi* can also refer to state histories, in the analogy with local records, *guo* refers to the various pre-Qin states in the sense that it was limited to one specific area. James Hargett seems to have misread *guo* in this analogy as "national" and *guoshi* as "full-scale histories of individual emperors' reigns" in his nevertheless informative study of the history of local gazetteers. See Hargett 1996, 426.

[14] *Yunzhong junzhi* 雲中郡志 (1652), "Yunzhong jun zhi xu" 雲中郡志序, 1a.

[15] Ibid., "Yunzhong jun xinzhi xu" 雲中郡新志序, 1a.

[16] *Heyin xianzhi* 河陰縣志 (1656 [1691]), Fan Weixian preface, 1a.

[17] *Caoxian zhi*, "Chongxiu Caoxian zhi yuanxu" 重修曹縣志原叙, 2a–b. Here the analogy is between the importance of local gazetteers and state histories, rather than saying their contents are the same.

[18] Ibid., "Chongxiu Caoxian zhi houxu" 重修曹縣志後序, 1a.

the records of each prefecture and county and assembled them into a (single) work" (志以名志者，史之一端也。昔鄭樵作通志，即取各郡邑之志而彙以成書).[19]

Visual representation of local uniqueness

The inclusion of visual materials in local gazetteers had been a widespread practice since Song times. It emerged in a larger context where visual representations (*tu* 圖) played an increasing role in the communication of knowledge (Bray 2007, 1–73). Compilers of local gazetteers might include a variety of visual materials to display the uniqueness of a locality. One of the many types of visual representation was the domain map (*jingtu* 境圖).[20] Such maps conveyed to readers a first visual message about the place. They were usually placed in front of the main text in local gazetteers, providing an overview of the landscape and sites of human activities. They also designated the authority of governance by clearly marking out prefectural or county governments. For local officials in particular, maps in local gazetteers served as a visual aid to motivate them to achieve better governance. Luo Jun 羅濬 (fl. 1220s), who in 1228 finished the compilation of the *Siming zhi* 四明志 (*Records of Siming*), commented on how images in local gazetteers worked together with texts to encourage local elites to observe and contribute to local affairs. For them, reading a local gazetteer involved not only reading the text but also examining the illustrations. These two cognitive processes were nicely captured in the action of 'observing' (*guan* 觀):

> Observing the rise and fall of customs, one would think of being cautious and taking the lead. Observing the flow of rivers and weight of mountains, one would think of profiting the people. Observing everything brings benefit to everything.
>
> 觀風俗之盛衰，則思謹身率先；觀山川之流峙，則思爲民興利。事事觀之，事事有益。[21]

Like textual materials, images in local gazetteers could also be susceptible to the constraints of style and format. Craig Clunas has pointed out the tension in Ming local gazetteers between regularity and specificity in visualising a place. He noted that the equal, regular, governmental spatiality as shown in administrative units coincided with an awareness of the geographically specific—the customs of the country, the lay of the local land, and the special products of the local markets (Clunas 2007, 38). On domain maps, therefore, local special features sometimes co-exist with more universal ones.

On these maps, mountains and rivers are invariably the major landmarks and demarcations. This can be traced back to the canonical "Tribute of Yu", in which geographical records were organised mainly by terrestrial features, especially rivers. Perceived as reference points for locations, mountains and rivers (*shanchuan* 山川) had become an important section in local gazetteers. In the state-level gazetteer of the

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[19] *Ziyang xianzhi*, "Ziyang xianzhi jilüe" 滋陽縣志紀略, 3a.

[20] The modern term "map" works here as a convenient generic term for *tu* in the sense that it marks out orientation and natural features of the land. For discussions of the use of traditional maps, see Yee 1994, 96–127; and de Weerdt 2009, 145–167.

[21] *Baoqing Siming zhi* 寶慶四明志 (1228), Luo Jun preface, 1b–2a.

Ming empire compiled around the year 1460, a "Map of the one unified great Ming" represents Ming territory through great mountains and rivers. It presents the iconic "Five great mountains and four great rivers" (*wuyue sidu* 五嶽四瀆) of the empire (Figure 2). The four great rivers were the Yangtze 江, the Yellow River 河, the Huai 淮, and the Han 漢. By placing the Yellow River as one of the most outstanding natural features, the map emphasised its entirety and sole identity as a great landmark of the empire.

Figure 2: Map of the one unified great Ming 大明一統之圖, *Da Ming yitong zhi* 大明一統志 (1461), "Diyu tu" 地輿圖, 1a–1b. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:4739767?n=33)

Compared to central-level or provincial gazetteers, prefectural and county-level gazetteers provide greater details of a place, thus exhibiting more fully the local environment in which people lived. As a representation of local administrative units, domain maps usually cover two levels: the larger units of prefectures (*fu* 府) or subprefectures (*zhou* 州) and the smaller ones of counties (*xian* 縣). This dual structure reflects continuity from earlier state-led geographical compilations. In the case of the Yellow River, a local gazetteer depicts only a section of it alongside local features of administration, cultural and religious sites, and civil engineering projects. In the 1741 *Tongzhou fuzhi* 同州府志 (*Prefectural Records of Tongzhou*), at the prefectural level, the "Domain map of the prefecture" (*fujing tu* 府境圖) represents its ten counties as scattered between the Yellow River and its two tributaries—Rivers Luo 洛 and Wei 渭 (Figure 3). Zooming in to the county level, the "Domain map of Chaoyi county" (*Chaoyi xianjing tu* 朝邑縣境圖) provides a close-up image of the prefectural map on its southeast corner (Figure 4). While the county map includes details such as villages and temples, its dominant frames of reference remain the three major rivers.
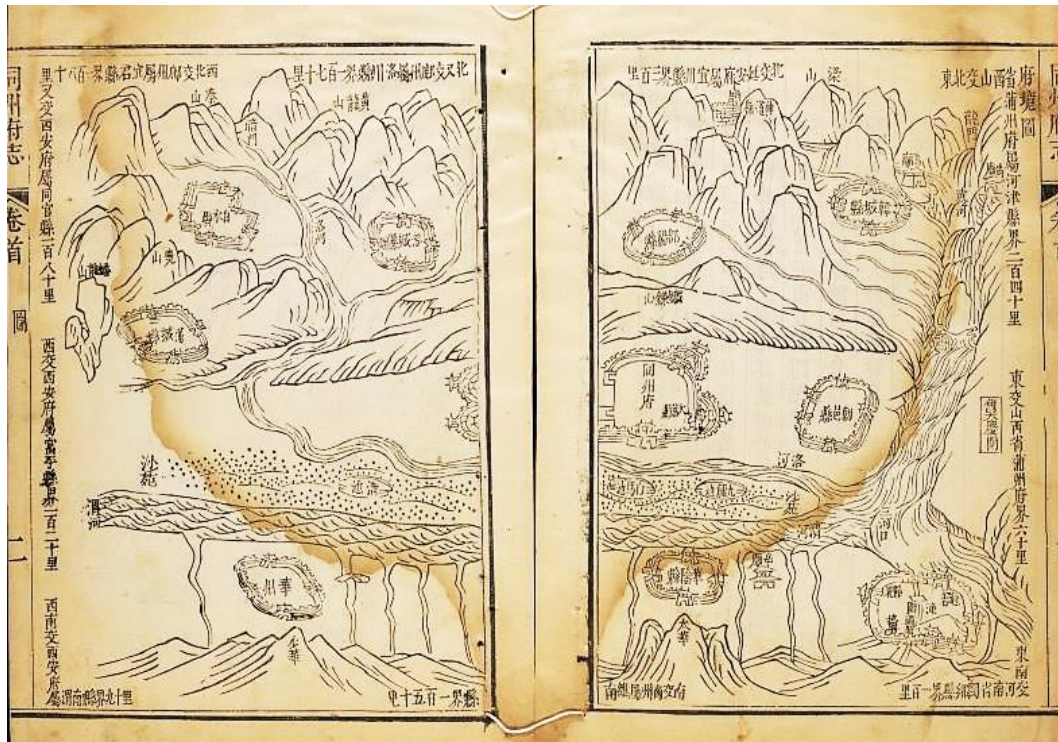
Figure 3: Domain map of the prefecture 府境圖, *Tongzhou fuzhi* 同州府志 (1741), "Tu" 圖, 1b–2a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13012868?n=42)
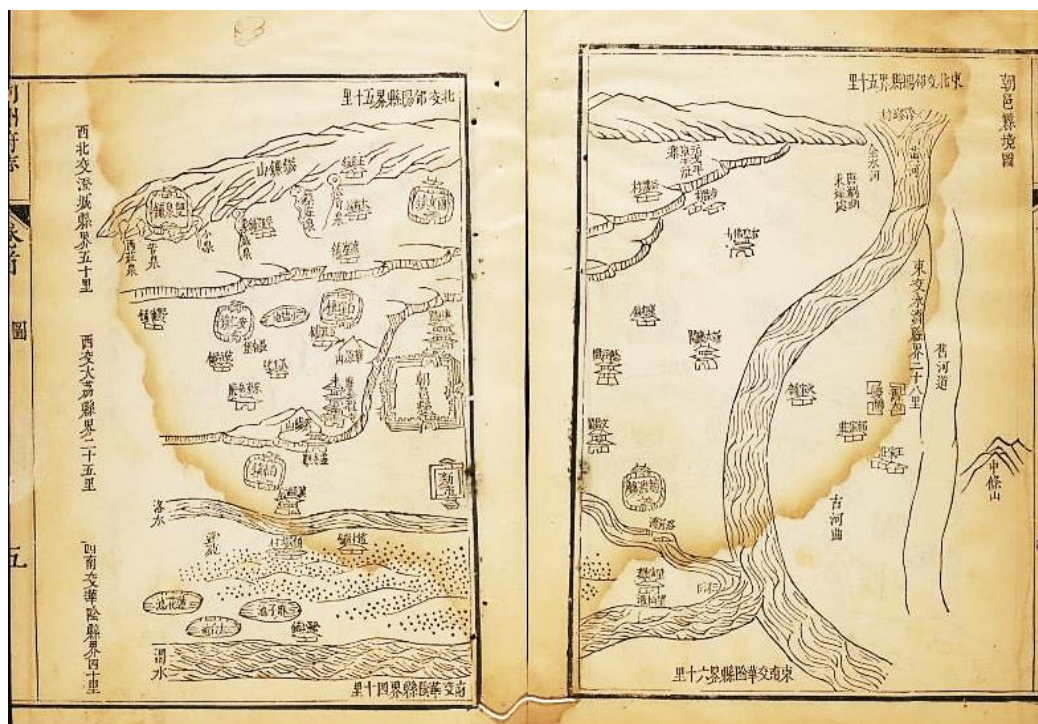
Figure 4: Domain map of Chaoyi county 朝邑縣境圖, *Tongzhou fuzhi,* "Tu", 4b–5a. Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13012868?n=45)

Destined for printing rather than copying, images in local gazetteers are generally not depicted in an aesthetic manner. In the case of the Yellow River, its representations in local gazetteers often exhibit a style falling between a technical one, which features topographical details, and a narrative one, which focuses on human activities. An example of the former is the mid-Qing "Comprehensive picture of the Yellow River from origin to the sea" 黃河發源歸海全圖. The section of the river north of Lake Hongze near Huai'an, in present-day Jiangsu, shows the sites of three shrines of river gods and various types of flood control infrastructure, such as dikes, dams, sluices, and channels (Figure 5). An example of the river in narrative paintings is the eighteenth-century "Picture of transport supervision on the Yellow River" 黃河督運圖. In this propagandistic painting, the river flows in peace and grandeur under the watch of officials to create a sense of orderly governance (Figure 6). Unlike either style, the depiction of the Yellow River in local gazetteers usually adopts a hybrid form between the purely technical and the excessively propagandistic.
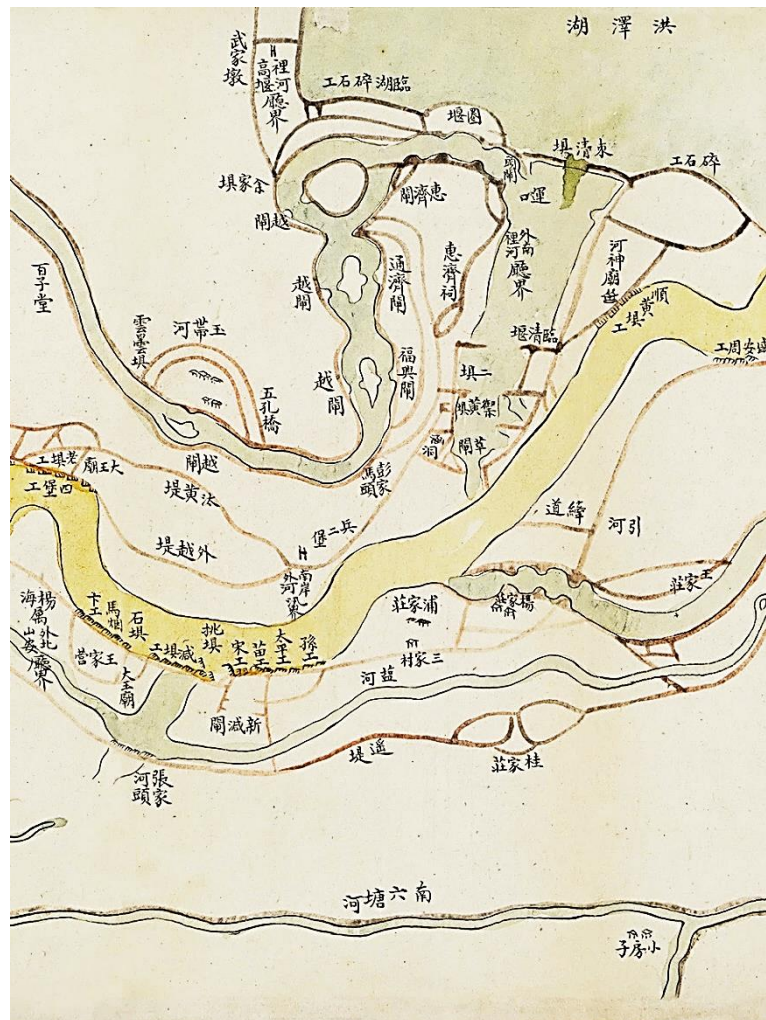
Figure 5: Section of "Comprehensive picture of the Yellow River from origin to the sea" 黃河發源歸海全圖, author unknown, mid-Qing. National Library of China, Beijing. http://www.nlc.cn/nmcb/gcjpdz/yt/dwdy/201409/t20140904_89402.htm (last accessed 18 September 2022)
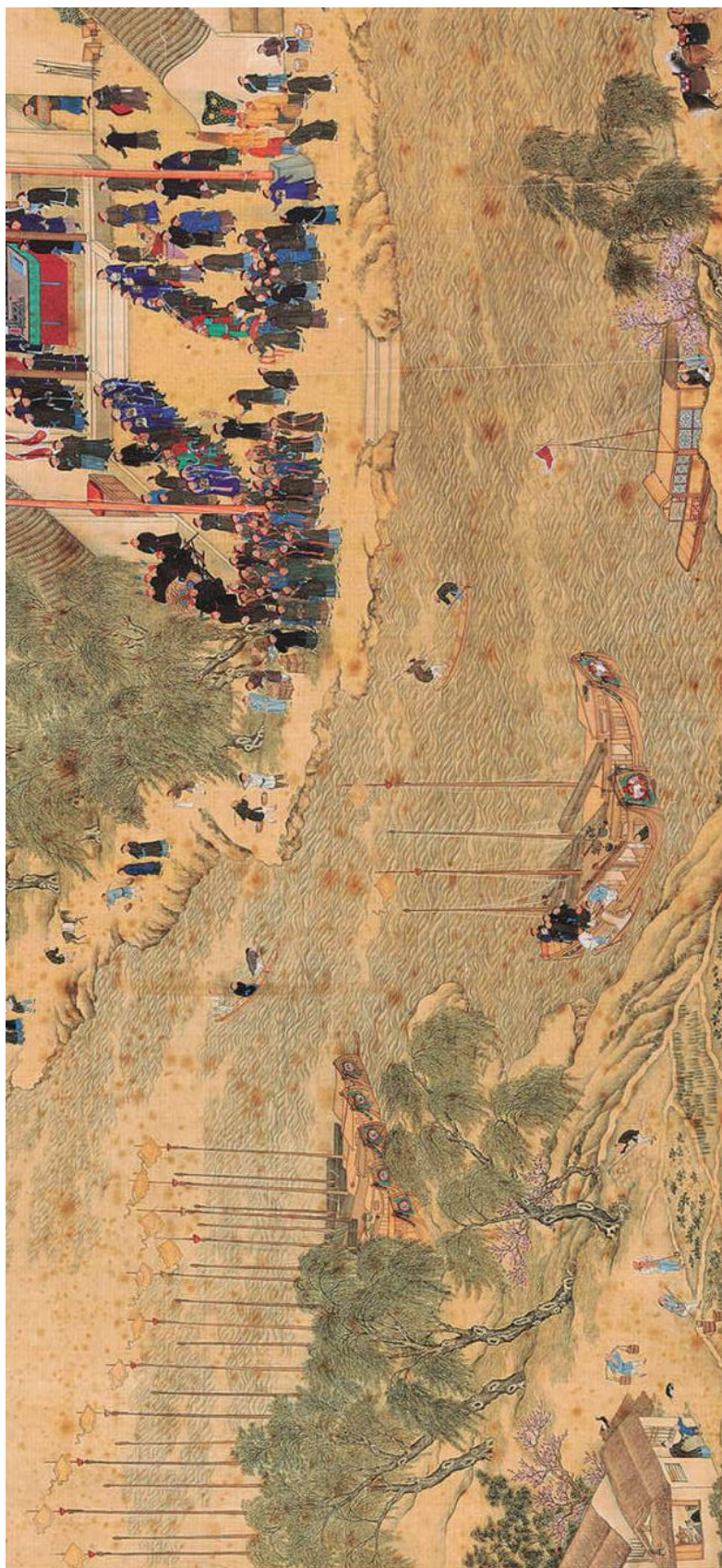
Figure 6: Section of "Picture of transport supervision on the Yellow River" 黃河督運圖, author unknown, Kangxi period. For auction with Mingxuan 明軒 International Auction at Shanghai as of 2016. http://www.mxpm.net/show.aspx?id=699&cid=33 (last accessed 18 September 2022)

In what follows, I will discuss the distinctive styles of depicting the Yellow River in two levels of local gazetteers: the regional level and the county level. Each case in the two categories shows that visual representations of the Yellow River contributed to the formation of its unique local roles.

Regional images of the Yellow River

Yan'an – Regional border and defence

Yan'an 延安 prefecture, bounded by the Yellow River on its eastern border, was located to the south of the River Bend (*hetao* 河套), a vast flood plain enclosed on the north by the Yellow River flowing around the periphery of the Ordos Plateau and stretching to the north of the Great Wall in present-day Shaanxi. Since the mid-Ming, Yan'an had been a military front against the nomads who roamed the River Bend, of which the Ming court had lost control. Towards the end of the Ming and into the early Qing, the River Bend changed from a military frontier to an area of ethnic separation between the Mongol and Han ethnicities divided by the Great Wall (Liu 2004, 22–27; Shu and Liu 2012, 83–88). According to Ruth Mostern, by the seventeenth century, multiple lines of fortified walls ultimately stretched across the grasslands and fragile soils of the River Bend. Ethnic cleansing of the Ordos had made it a region of exclusively Chinese political and cultural dominance that was devoted primarily to agriculture (Mostern 2021, 189–191). Since the conquest of its nomadic Mongol tribes by the Qing in 1635, the area had become part of the Qing territory and been brought under the control of the Qing regime mainly through enfeoffments.

In 1697, the Kangxi emperor commented on his strategy towards the River Bend: "If the Mongols are harnessed properly, even though the River Bend is under their control, how can they do any harm?" (若控馭蒙古有道,則河套雖為所據,安能為患)[22] But the change of the River Bend's status in the early Qing did not affect how Yan'an perceived itself. The 1680 local gazetteer of Yan'an still saw Yan'an as a frontier area with a strong legacy of military defence. To highlight Yan'an's military legacy, compilers of the prefectural gazetteer of Yan'an (*Yan'an fuzhi* 延安府志) surveyed in great detail the history of the River Bend area.[23] They stressed its strategic importance in that "to contend for the River Bend is the way to plan for Yan'an" (爭河套所以籌延安也).[24]

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[22] *Da Qing yitong zhi* 大清一統志 (1788), 196.53a–b. For a survey of the strategic status of the River Bend in earlier times, see Chang 1936, 9–24.

[23] *Yan'an fuzhi*, "Hetao" 河套, 1.3a, 1.6a.

[24] Ibid., "Hetao", 1.6b.
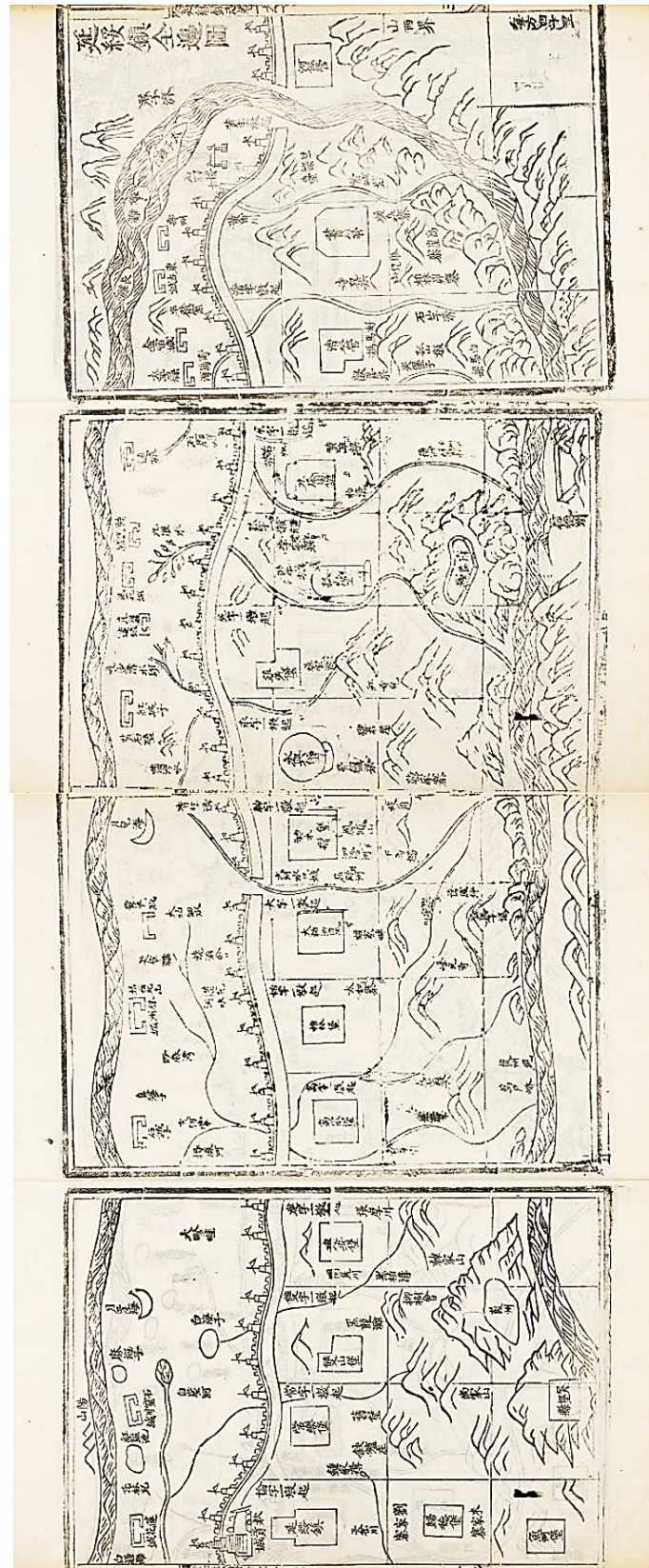
Figure 7a: Map of the complete borders of Yan Sui garrisons 延綏鎮全邊圖 (part I), *Yan Sui zhenzhi* 延綏鎮志, "Tu pu" 圖譜, 3b–5a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13411981?n=32&33)
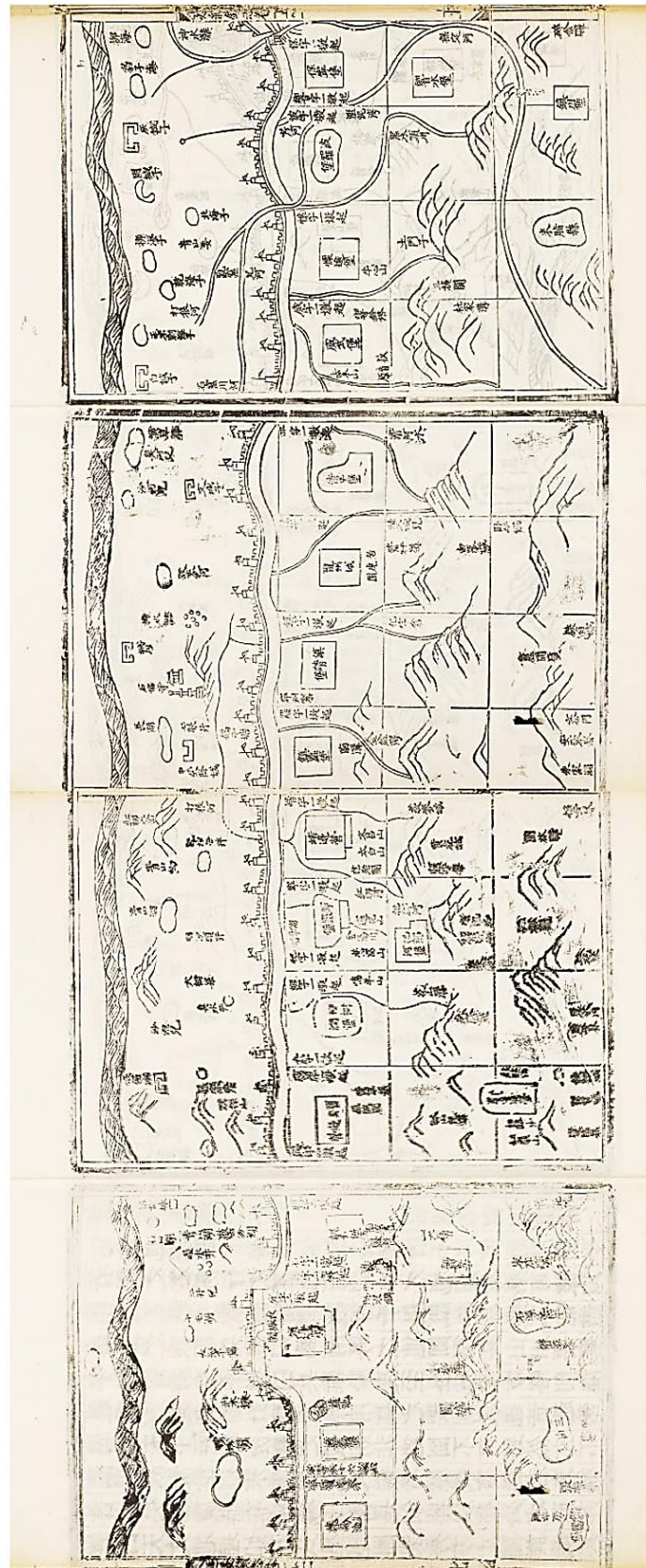
Figure 7b: Map of the complete borders of Yan Sui garrisons 延綏鎮全邊圖 (part II), *Yan Sui zhenzhi* 延綏鎮志, "Tu pu" 圖譜, 5b–7a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13411981?n=34&35)

To express visually how they perceived Yan'an, the compilers of the gazetteer of Yan'an adopted various visual techniques in its maps. The "Map of the complete borders of Yan Sui garrisons" (*Yan Sui zhen quanbian tu* 延綏鎮全邊圖) represented the Yellow River as the border for the whole River Bend area. The vast area, meanwhile, was arranged into a prolonged shape enveloped within the Yellow River. As a result of this peculiar distortion of the area, the Great Wall runs across the Bend horizontally (Figure 7).[25] The horizontal arrangement conveys a stronger visual force of defence from the perspective of those inside the Great Wall as opposed to outside of it. This visual arrangement in the map signals Yan'an's strong local identity as a military front, as shown through the numerous military forts inside the Great Wall. The status of Yan'an during a time of peace in the early Qing, however, was represented through marking out orderly places of civility, such as the various sites of counties (*cheng* 城 or *chengzi* 城子) and temples (*si* 寺), as well as ferries (*ji* 濟), wells (*jing* 井), and channels (*gou* 溝).

The map also shows points of visual contradiction due to the agenda of highlighting one particular aspect of Yan'an. On the one hand, to exhibit the strategic location of Yan'an, the map had to include the Yellow River as well as the whole River Bend. However, it dedicated two thirds of its space to portray in great detail the topography of Yan'an, leaving only the remaining one-third of its space for the River Bend area, whose span was many times broader. On the other hand, this perspective cannot explain the bird's-eye view when it came to representing the Yellow River—it appears in equal width for the reader on both the near end and the far end. Together, the map's visual arrangements suggest the perception of the Yellow River on Yan'an's far north as a strategic presence.
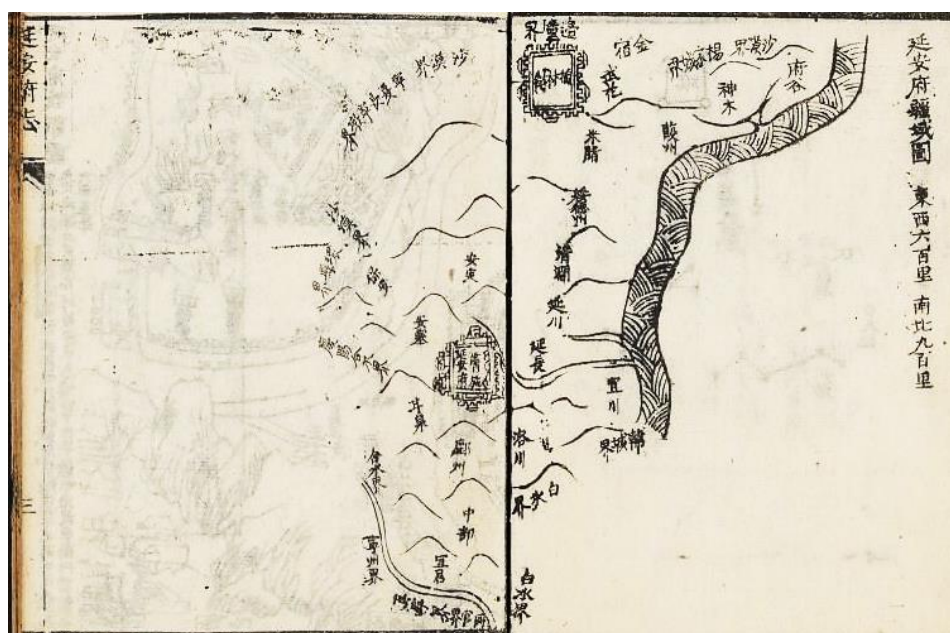
Figure 8: Map of borders and territories of Yan'an prefecture 延安府疆域圖, *Yan'an fuzhi* 延安府志, "Tu" 2b–3a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13034892?n=73)

[25] The map took the spatial perspective from the south-east, looking to the north-west. In contrast, a modern cartographic representation of the River Bend in 1820 shows that the Great Wall runs diagonally. See Tan et al. 1987, 26–27.

In contrast, to the east of Yan'an prefecture, the Yellow River served more as a natural border. The "Map of borders and territories" uses bold brush strokes to represent the powerful presence of the Yellow River, contrasting with the gentle lines used to depict mountains and minor rivers in the area (Figure 8). The Yellow River is represented in such a way as to resemble the backbone of Yan'an, providing a stable structure not only for Yan'an's geographical features but also for its administration.
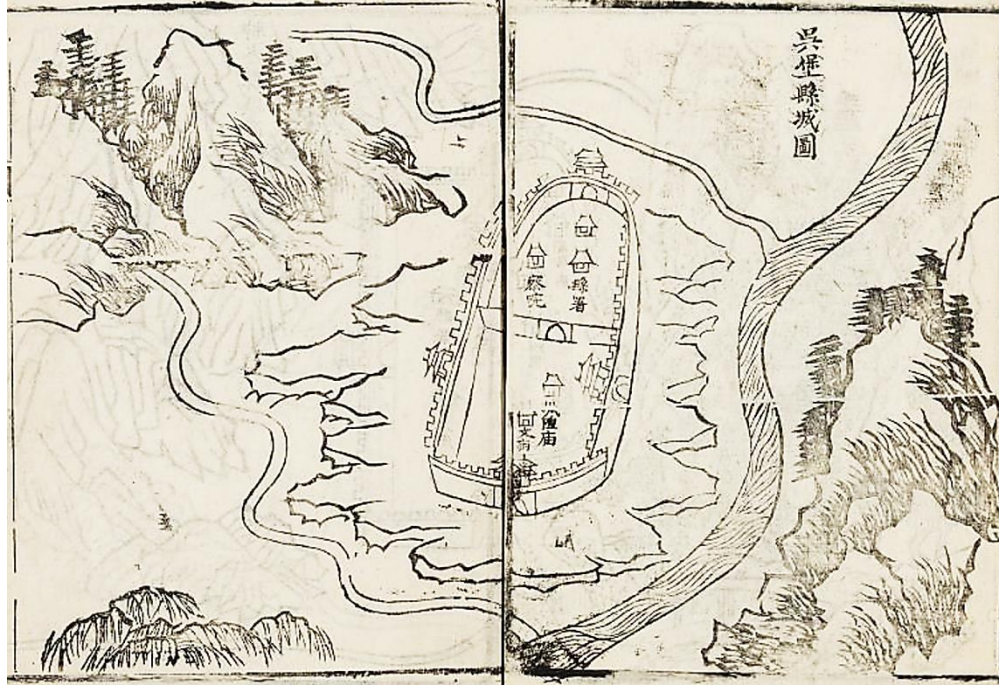
Figure 9a: Map of Wubao county 吳堡縣城圖, *Yan'an fuzhi*, 20b–21a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13034892?n=91)
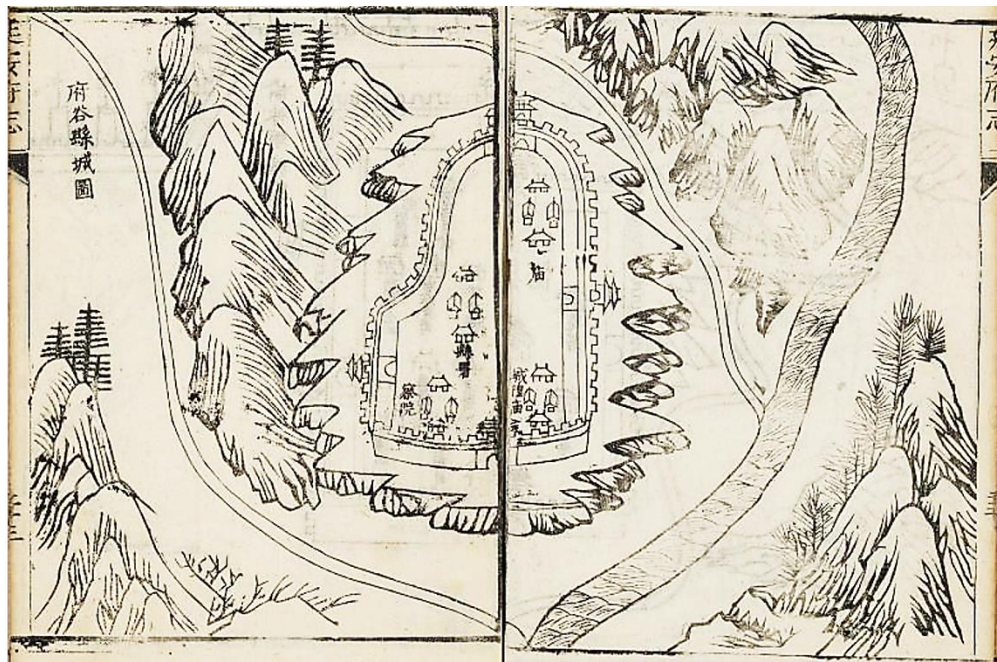
Figure 9b: Map of Fugu county 府谷縣城圖, *Yan'an fuzhi*, 22b–23a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13034892?n=93)

The compilers of *Yan'an fuzhi* also perceived the Yellow River as in peaceful coexistence with the counties of Yan'an. Their depictions of the Yellow River in county maps mostly feature a harmless river. For example, maps of both Wubao 吳堡 and Fugu 府谷 counties employed the same pattern. Both counties are protected by mountains, while minor rivers flow harmlessly past them and join the Yellow River (Figures 9a, 9b). Both are located safely along the west bank of the Yellow River on elevated lands much higher than the water level. Within the county walls, even the same sites were marked out—administrations such as the County Office (*xianshu* 縣署) and the Investigation Bureau (*chayuan* 察院), and religious sites such as the Confucius Temple (*wenmiao* 文廟) and the City God Temple (*chenghuang miao* 城隍廟). Most county maps for Yan'an in the same gazetteer share these patterns in depicting their landscape. The representation of the Yellow River as a major border, either regional or local, points to the common perception of it as part of the geographical and political experience of the local population.

Henan – Cultural symbol and diversified streams

The Yellow River in Henan had long been a cultural symbol since the time of the early classics and historical records. First, its association with ancient sages appears early in the canonical "Attached statements" (Xici 繫辭) in the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), which states that ancient sages used as models the auspicious signs from the Yellow River and the Luo River (河出圖，洛出書，聖人則之).[26] There is a long history of apocryphal and commentarial interpretation of this classical statement. But the mainstream interpretation established since the Tang official commentary was the one summarised in the 1660 *Henan tongzhi*. Beside two images of the River Chart (*Hetu* 河圖) and the Luo Writing (*Luoshu* 洛書), it states that, "In high antiquity when the legendary king Fuxi 伏羲 ruled the world, his sagely virtue reached Heaven. Since Heaven did not keep the Way to itself, a dragon-horse carrying the Chart emerged from the Yellow River" (昔者伏羲氏之王天下也，聖德格天。天不愛道，故龍馬負圖而出於河).[27] The tale of Fuxi is paired up with the story of a later sage king, Yu 禹, the founder of the legendary Xia dynasty (c. 2070–c. 1600 BCE). It draws a parallel in that "In high antiquity of the divine Yu, Earth was spread out and Heaven was completed. Since Earth did not keep treasures to itself, a divine tortoise bearing the Writing appeared in the Luo River" (維昔神禹，地平天成。地不愛寶，故神龜戴書而呈於洛).[28]

The two rivers in Henan—the Yellow River and the Luo River—then had a symbolic meaning bestowed on them: it was through the rivers that Heaven delivered messages to sage kings. The two ancient messages come in the form of two schematic diagrams—the River Chart composed of numbers one to ten in dots and the Luo Writing of numbers one to nine in lines.[29] But local gazetteers were written for general readers; therefore the 1660 *Henan tongzhi* added pictorial representations under the more abstract numerological

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[26] *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義, 7.29b.

[27] *Henan tongzhi*, "Tu kao" 圖考, 1.13b.

[28] Ibid., 1.14b.

[29] The two images obtained their current form mainly in the eleventh-century commentary on the *Book of Changes*—Liu Mu's 劉牧 *Yishu gouyin tu* 易數鈎隱圖 (*Daozang* edition).

diagrams (Figure 10). Again, these depictions were not new in the early Qing but were copied from illustrated commentaries produced since Song times. These images help to strengthen the roles of the two iconic rivers in Henan as influential cultural symbols.
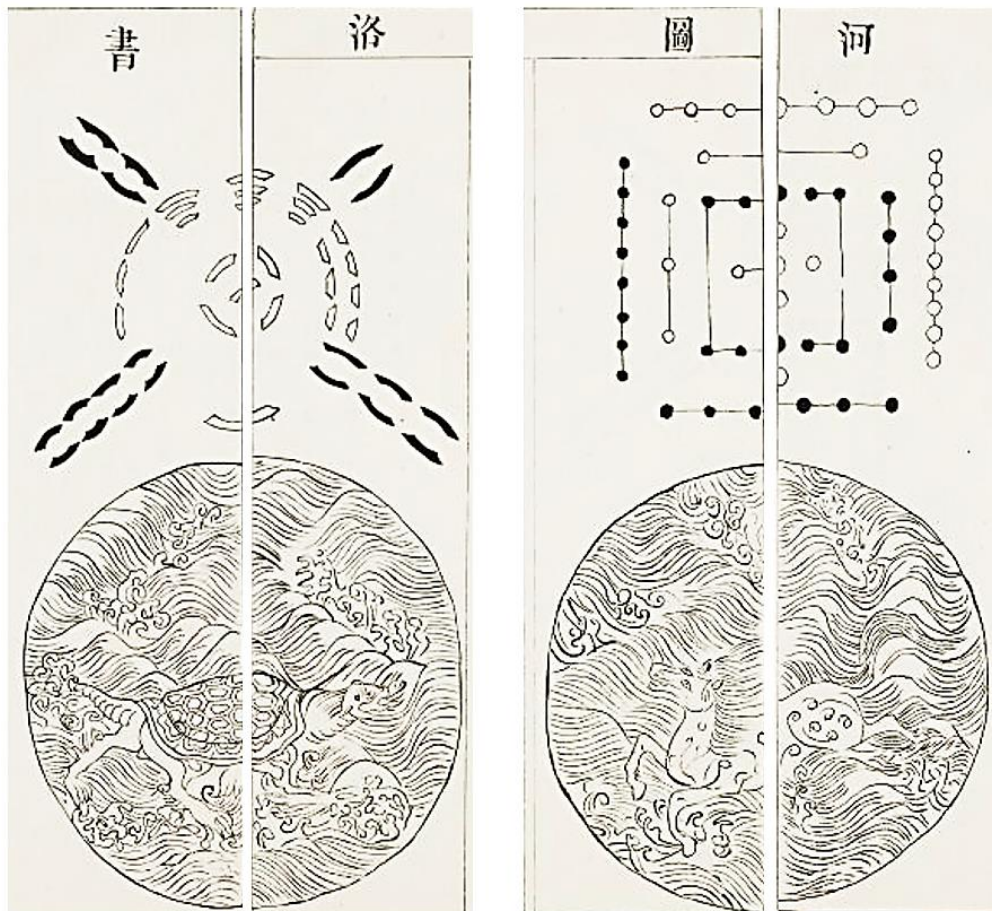
Figure 10: The River Chart 河圖 and the Luo Writing 洛書, *Henan tongzhi* 河南通志, "Tukao" 圖考, 1.13b–15a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12326303?n=134&135)

Furthermore, there was an entrenched notion of Henan as the land of ancient sage kings and the centre of All-under-Heaven. In early classics, both the canonical *Shang shu* and *Shi ji* 史記 (*Records of the Grand Historian*) gave detailed accounts about the construction of the new Zhou capital Luoyi 洛邑, which was regarded as the centre of All-under-Heaven.[30] The 1660 Henan gazetteer included a brief text, alongside a map, telling a reduced version of the story:

> King Wu 武王 [1076-1043 BCE] moved the Nine Tripods to Luo and planned to take Luo as the capital. [His younger brother] Duke Zhou 周公 [fl. 11th century BCE] accomplished this, building the Royal Capital to accommodate the Nine Tripods and equalising tributes from the four quarters.

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[30] *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義, "Luo gao" 洛誥, 15.1a; and *Shi ji* 史記, "Zhou benji" 周本紀, 4.133.

He then built Chengzhou to place the recalcitrant people [of the previous Shang regime] for them to stay close to the imperial clan and to achieve their submission.

武王遷九鼎于洛邑，意欲宅洛。周公成之，建王城以居九鼎，俾四方朝貢均焉。又營成周以處頑民，俾密邇王室，式化厥訓。[31]

The sense of cultural privilege—a deep connection to ancient sages—found expression in the hypothetical "Map of Duke Zhou constructing the capital of Luo yi" 周公營洛邑圖. It features two parts of the planned new capital Luo yi—the Royal Capital 王城 and Chengzhou 成周—in the centre surrounded by three mountain ranges and four rivers (Figure 11). On the map, the Yellow River is arranged on the top and connected to the capitals through the Luo River. The Yellow River is also portrayed as a greater river, like a dragon, compared to the four local streams. While it does not appear in the Zhou story, its inclusion in the map as an outstanding element signals its cultural significance. Symbolically, the Yellow River provides a more distant origin of the legitimacy to rule, as embodied in the bestowal of the River Chart discussed above. The depiction of it on the hypothetical map, therefore, conveys the message that the Yellow River had been crucial to Henan's cultural heritage of sagely rulership in antiquity.
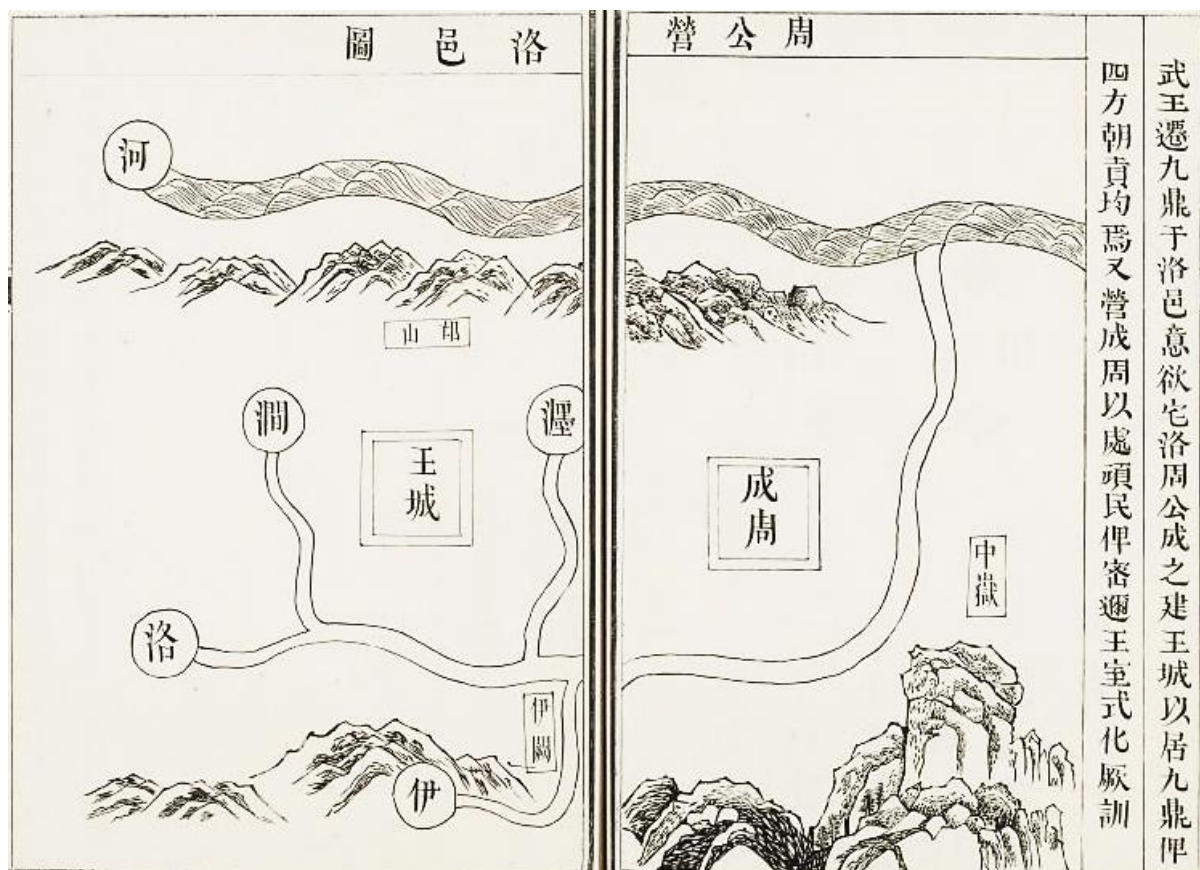
Figure 11: Map of Duke Zhou constructing the capital of Luo yi 周公營洛邑圖, *Henan tongzhi* 河南通志, "Tukao" 圖考, 1.17b–18a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12326303?n=138)

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[31] *Henan tongzhi*, "Tu kao" 圖考, 1.17b.

The administrative area of Henan remained largely unchanged from the Ming to the early Qing and so did the perception of Henan's strategic location. The 1660 *Henan tongzhi* exhibits a continued pride in Henan's cultural heritage and strategic significance. Literati officials of the time, who were associated with Henan either by official position or by birth, proudly commented on Henan's distinctiveness in their prefaces to this gazetteer. One wrote that:

> Our Great Liang [present-day Kaifeng in Henan] is in fact located in the central area of the world. ... Here, both nature and the human world are grand and resplendent, the greatest of the empire. Emperors and kings made it their capital repeatedly; sages and worthies emerged for generations; its customs and cultivation naturally stood out.

> 吾大梁所隸，寔為大塊之中區... 其間山川人事鉅麗，弁于天下。帝王更都，聖賢代作，風教固殊焉。[32]

There was also a shared identity among these literati officials derived from the central strategic location of Henan. One claimed that "Our land is located at the centre of the empire" (吾邦處天下之中).[33] Another was more specific that "Due to the geography of Yu 豫 [Henan], in the past it was taken as the centre to settle the tripods [i.e. establish a capital] and today it is a strategic site of unparalleled importance" (豫之形勢，昔則宅中定鼎，今則鎖鑰獨急也).[34] Yet another further declared that "Henan is the key to the empire. Order in Henan is the start of order for the empire" (夫河南天下之樞也，河南之治，天下之治之始也).[35] These testimonies to the Henan identity are just a few from the large number of prefaces written for the 1660 gazetteer.

Both perceptions of Henan, as the origin of ancient sages and as the centre of the whole territory, rely on the Yellow River as a major geographical reference. The domain map of Henan shows its nine prefectures, among which six are located along the Yellow River. Their shared cultural association may have contributed to a unique overview of the Yellow River which is not found in other provincial-level gazetteers. On the section of the Yellow River flowing through Henan, compilers of the 1660 *Henan tongzhi* commented that "Among the nine bends of the Yellow River, five are located on Chinese lands; and Henan has two. Now one has been lost" (大河九曲，五在中華。豫得其二，今且失一矣).[36] The first bend of the Yellow River in Henan refers to the south-flowing river turning almost ninety degrees eastward at Tongguan. The second, lost bend refers to the change of the river course in eastern Henan, from heading north-east to south-east. The compilers then gave an assessment of the natural setting of the river:

> From Mengjin upstream, the many mountains contain its water so that its strength is restrained. Downstream from [its two tributaries of] the River Xing and the River Si, it exits the highlands into lower ground, starting to broaden out and prone to overflowing dikes.

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[32] Ibid., Xu Zuomei preface, 1b–2a.

[33] Ibid., 2a.

[34] Ibid., Li Mu preface, 3a.

[35] Ibid., Li Cuiran preface, 2a–b.

[36] Ibid., "He fang" 河防, 9.1a.

自孟津以上，群山束水，勢不得肆；自滎汜以下，出險就易，始汗漫善決。[37]

Through this overall evaluation of the Yellow River, accompanied by a detailed visual depiction, readers of the gazetteer of Henan were expected to achieve good governance that would spare labour and allocate provincial resources evenly.[38]

The representation of the Yellow River in *Henan tongzhi* has two implications. First, it reflects the river's natural features. On a long scroll, it depicts the section of the Yellow River flowing through Henan with details of the topography on both riverbanks (Figure 12). The upper reach between the Tong Pass 潼關 at the western end of the map and Zhengzhou 鄭州, which is close to the middle, features a mountainous landscape, with the river flowing between the mountain range of Taihang on its north and various mountains on its south. Between Meng county 孟縣 and Zhengzhou, four smaller rivers—Ji 濟, Luo 洛, Si 汜, and Qin 沁—join the Yellow River, gradually increasing its volume of water. It is in this section that flood prevention infrastructure starts to appear on the map to the north of the river. Further downstream, the river flows on to open land and we see flood prevention infrastructure in larger numbers and more diversified types, such as diverging channels, dikes, and dams, mostly on the north bank. These details in depiction exhibit profound local knowledge of, and experience with, the Yellow River as an important part of Henan's natural environment.

Second, the depiction of the Yellow River may be diverse in style. Unlike for Shaanxi and Shanxi 山西, where the Yellow River was mostly a great regional border, for Henan, the river was culturally symbolic and naturally diversified. Its unique presence in Henan is manifested in the three different types of wave patterns on the map. From Tong Pass to Mengjin 孟津, the water waves are shown in a regulated and controlled style, to reflect the fact that they were contained by the mountainous riverbanks (Figure 12a). Then from Mengxian 孟縣 to Chenliu 陳留, the depiction of the river starts to show wilder waves, the width of which is several times that of the previous section (Figure 12b). The last section of the river from Lanyang 蘭陽 to Yongcheng 永城 at the east end of the map shows a wave pattern that is long and smooth, representing the river as tamed and made more civil (Figure 12c).

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., Liang Yuming preface, 4b.
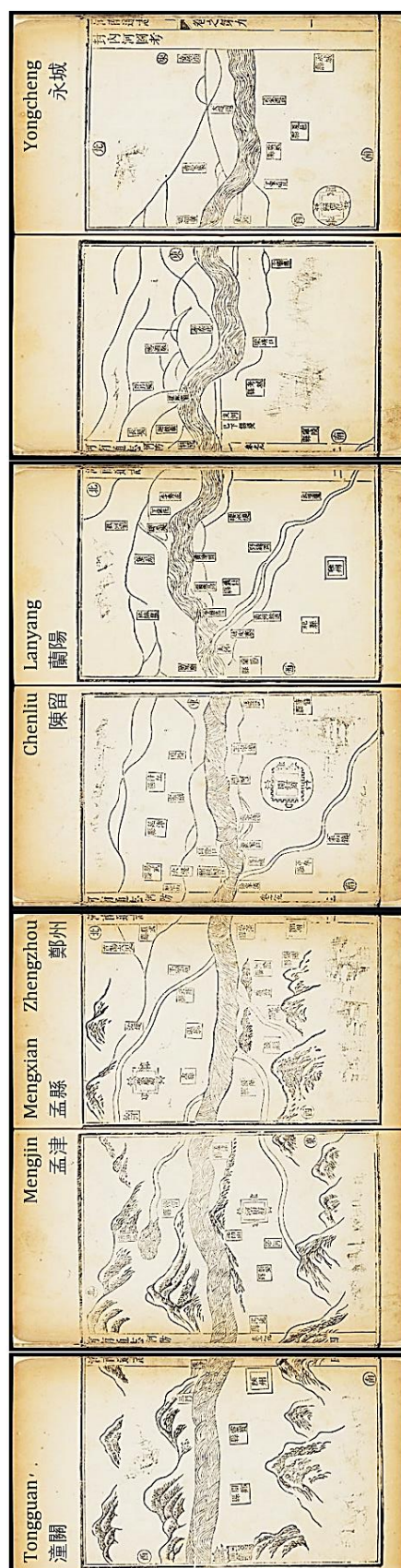
Figure 12: "Map investigating the River within the boundary" 封內河圖考, *Henan tongzhi*, 9.1b–4b. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12326303?n=363 until 366)

Figure 12a, 12b, 12c: Different wave patterns in the "Map investigating the River within the boundary".
Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: same as above)

The differentiation of wave patterns within the same map may show a careful evaluation of the water force of the river in different regions. Yet it may also be a visual detail with political significance. Two other maps in the same 1660 gazetteer of Henan, a map of Luoyang in ancient times (Figure 11) and a contemporary domain map, both depict the Yellow River with a single wave pattern. We may explain the homogeneous wave pattern as serving the purpose of portraying the Yellow River as a unitary cultural icon; for that purpose, no local variations are necessary. In contrast, a map dedicated to representing the Yellow River for contemporary purposes needs finer details and regional distinctions. Furthermore, the smooth wave pattern in Figure 12c stands in stark contrast with the wild wave style used in the local gazetteer of another adjacent locality in the lower stream (Figure 14a, discussed below). Here, as an image included in a provincial gazetteer—an official document to some degree—the representation of the Yellow River in its lower reaches needs to reflect the efficacy of the huge amount of effort and resources put into river defence. In that area, with the presence of multiple flood prevention infrastructure, the river was supposed to flow smoothly and under control.

County-level expressions about flood defence

Towards the east end of the river course, accounts of the river became dominated by flood control and other preventive measures. As the folk saying explained, "In ten *dou* of turbid water from the Yellow River, six are mud. Sufferings are many, benefits are occasional" (濁河一石，其泥六斗。患苦良多，利益時有).[39] Flooding of the Yellow River had especially affected its middle reaches, mainly in present-day Henan. This is in stark contrast to the fact that none of the local gazetteers of the upper to middle-stream region depict sections titled "River defences" (*hefang* 河防). Local gazetteers of the lower reaches, therefore, provided much detailed information about the construction and maintenance of dikes and the division of local responsibilities in this collective enterprise.

Flood management required a huge amount of labour resources, and local authorities might respond to flooding disasters in different ways. Since the Five Dynasties, both central and local authorities had developed a systematised and coordinated procedure to report and record flood disasters (Chang Liao-ch'ieh 1935, 5–19). For central authorities from the Northern Song onwards, the management of the Yellow River had had two major aims: taming or rerouting the river and prioritising the socio-economic well-being of the central plains (Zhang 2016, 141–161). Yet on the local level, a prefect's levee maintenance simply accelerated the river's current through his jurisdiction and passed the problem along, exacerbating flooding further downstream.[40]

Separate from fiscal and labour arrangements by the central state, local gazetteer writing reflects people's experience and attitudes toward flood defence at the county level. For the various local regions which

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[39] *Caoxian zhi*, "Hefang zhi" 河防志, 7.1a. For its earlier source, see *Han shu* 漢書, "Gouxu zhi" 溝洫志, 29.1697.

[40] Ruth Mostern also took the eleventh century as an example. Officials' career advancement depended in part on what transpired along the river within their jurisdictions. This encouraged local rather than systemic responses, and it fostered inconsistency between one district and the next. A new bureaucratic infrastructure therefore emerged to gather, store, and protect material and mobilise workers. See Mostern 2021, 160.

suffered from regular, sometimes repeated, floodings, not only did they rely on the central state for disaster relief, but they also needed to mobilise their own resources—reserves of food supply, materials, labour, etc.—to overcome these hardships. In the administration of flood or famine relief, images illustrating disaster accounts could act as visual agents to influence policy (Clunas 2007, 12). They add especially to the persuasiveness of the text in calling for immediate political action.

Cao county – active effort

Cao county 曹縣 in present-day Shandong was an outstanding case in portraying the Yellow River as the cause of natural disasters and regional bickering. Cao county was located to the north of the Yellow River. It had been subject to flooding from the early dynasties, and subsequently these experiences led to specific local knowledge about floods and preventive measures. In 1673, the local authority of Cao county compiled the *Caoxian zhi* in response to the 1672 decree for the central authority's compilation of the *Da Qing yitong zhi* 大清一統志.[41] The Cao county gazetteer included a special section on the definitions and descriptions of seasonal flood waters (*shuihou* 水侯) throughout the year. Besides detailed information about measures for building, monitoring, and maintaining the dikes, it also recorded disputes with neighbouring counties regarding local responsibilities for flood prevention.

Cao county's perception of the Yellow River came together with the self-declaration and self-defence of its own status as a critical point in combating floods. On its soil, there had been three major flood control projects, one in the Yuan and two in the Ming.[42] For this reason, Cao county perceived itself as a major contributor, providing more than its obligatory share of effort, to the safety and prosperity of the area. The "Records of river defences" in its gazetteer commented as follows:

> No doubt this belt of river, on the upper [state] level, determines the ease of the transportation of grain tax, and on the lower [local] level, affects prefectures and counties along its course. It is not only the people of Cao county who worry about being flooded. Yet when the dikes are breached, the people of Cao are the first victims of the disaster. In repairing the breaches, the people of Cao are tasked with most of the labour. Those who benefit from the completion of this task should remember this.

> 蓋此一衣帶水，上係漕運之通塞，下關瀕河之州縣，不止曹人有其魚之慮也。而衝決之時，曹人首罹其害；堵塞之際，曹人偏職其勞。膺平成之託者，尚其軫念焉。[43]

This attitude portrayed in the local gazetteer of Cao county was probably a response to a dispute two years earlier with the bordering Kaocheng 考城 county in Henan, regarding the division of responsibility for building preventive dikes. In 1683, Kaocheng county, a neighbour of Cao county also on the north

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[41] *Caoxian zhi*, Men Kerong preface, 5b.

[42] Ibid., 7.1b.

[43] Ibid., 7.2a.

riverbank, appealed to the central authority to let it shed its burden of building dikes. The county complained that the project would provide more benefit for Cao county, and hence Cao county should be responsible for the project. Kaocheng argued that:

> Building dikes protects only the land in Shandong, whereas maintaining them is only a burden for the people of Henan. ... This has been the case where those relying on them for protection simply enjoyed the benefit of flood control, while those who gained no benefit were in fact burdened with the labour.
>
> 築堤專衛山東之地，修防獨累河南之民。... 是資其保障者坐享平成之利，無毫裨益者反受力役之勞。[44]

In disagreement, Cao county raised a counterargument, saying that it had devoted more resources than it should have for the benefit of a broader area: "The dikes in Cao county add up to over 140 *li*. Together they build up a fence for canal transport extending hundreds of *li*, from which protection mostly goes to the land of other counties, whereas there is little benefit to its own" (曹邑之堤，共計一百四十餘里，總爲漕運數百里之藩籬，其間捍衛外邑之地多，而專護本縣之地少).[45] In the local gazetteer of Cao county, therefore, the depictions of the Yellow River served not only the purpose of local flood prevention but also of negotiating responsibility, or at least of maintaining the established division of labour in flood control.
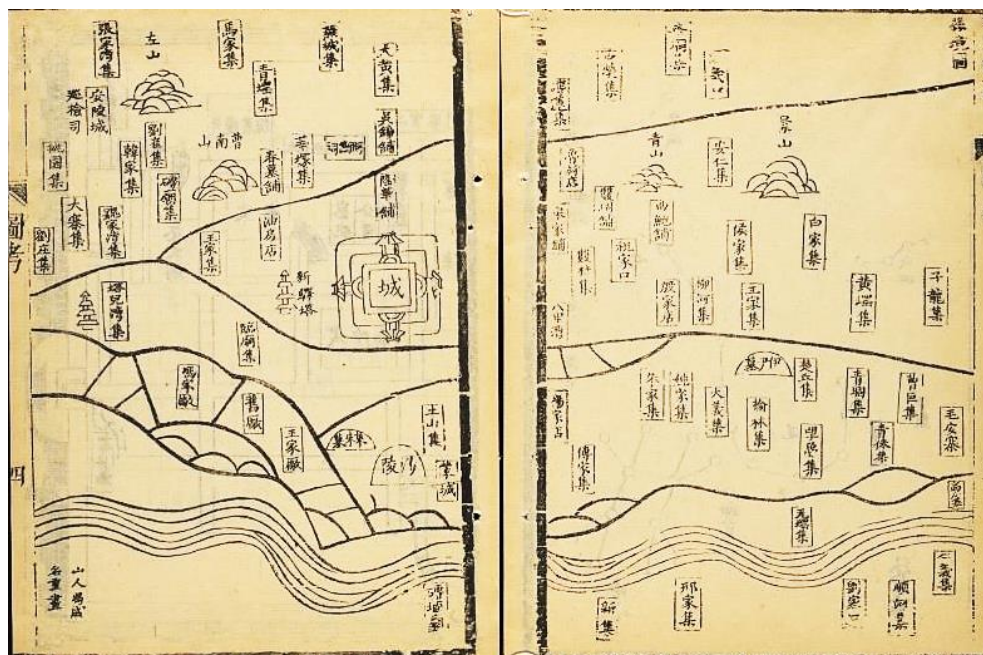
Figure 13: Map of the county domain 縣境圖, *Caoxian zhi* 曹縣志, "Caoxian xingye yudi zhitu" 曹縣星野輿地之圖, 3b–4a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12242921?n=50)

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[44] Ibid., 7.28a–28b.

[45] Ibid., 7.30a.
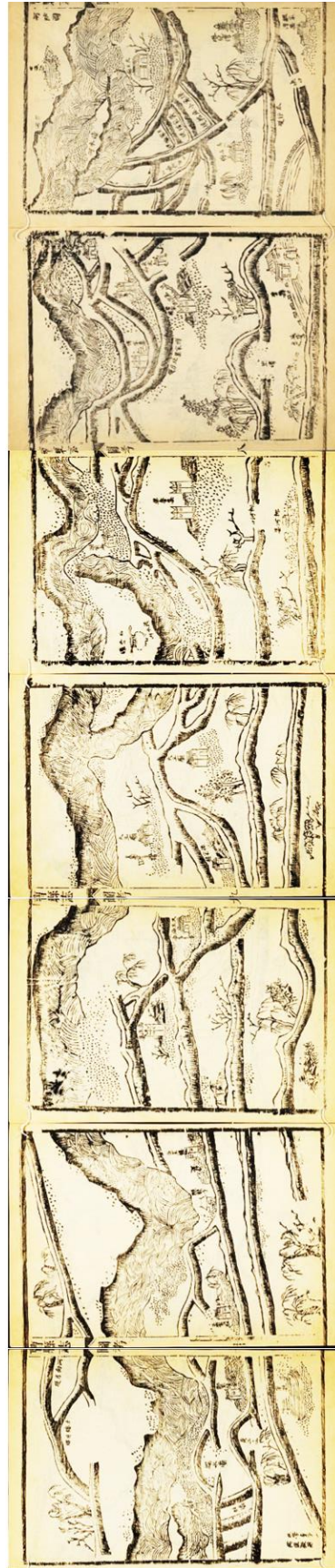
Figure 14: Map of river defences 河防圖, *Caoxian zhi*, "Caoxian xingye yudi zhitu", 7b–10b. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12242921?n=54 until 57)

The "Map of the county domain" portrayed the Yellow River in simple sketches and placed it at the bottom, in the south. It also represented the river flow using arrays of simplified long wavy lines. In contrast, the more outstanding element on the map is the elaborate depiction of the dikes in bold lines along the riverbank (Figure 13). The differentiation in portraying the details suggests a focus on what the county had done in terms of flood prevention. A more detailed portrait of the river appears later in the "Map of river defences". It shows in great detail the riverbanks depicted with shading and delicate shorter lines to show the powerful force of the river flow. On the northern riverbank, oriented counter-intuitively at the bottom of the map, there is a bird's-eye view of the various flood prevention dikes. Again, this civilian infrastructure occupies a larger portion of the whole map than does the river itself (Figure 14).

The first section of the "Map of river defences" portrays in great detail the western end of the county's flood prevention projects (Figure 14a). The two major dikes in the domain of the county were the Taihang Dike 太行堤 and the Great Northern Dike 北大堤, measuring about 80 *li* and 62 *li*, respectively. The two longest dikes provided the final safety lines for the county.[46]

The opposite orientations and the placement of the Yellow River in these two maps show how visual style could serve the different purposes of the maps. The Yellow River flowed along the south of Cao county. While the "Map of the county domain" represents the Yellow River as a border line on the south, the "Map of river defences" shows the opposite orientation. It places the river above the county walls, creating an image of an urgent threat which the county has to fight against.
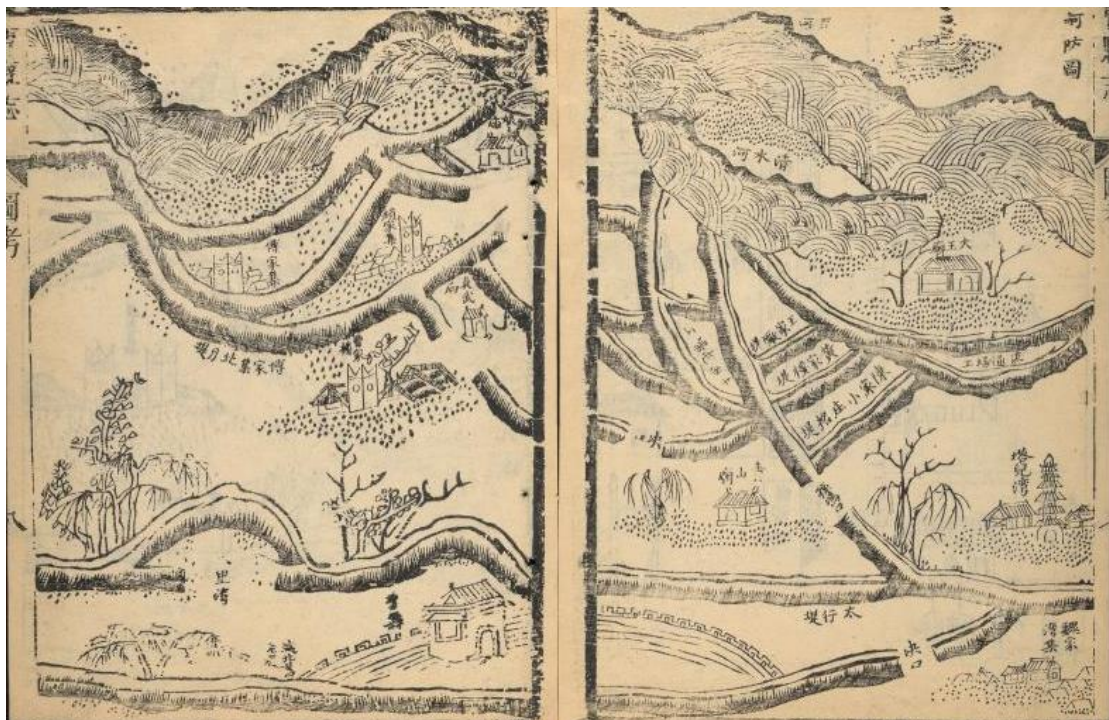
Figure 14a: The first section of the "Map of river defences". Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: same as above)

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[46] Ibid., 7.8b.

Heyin – disengagement

Unlike the active role played by Cao county, the small county of Heyin 河陰 in central Henan showed a relatively disengaged attitude in regard to flood prevention. The locals perceived Heyin as "a tiny place" (*zui'er zhi qu* 蕞爾之區) in front of Mt. Guangwu, which lay immediately on the south bank of the Yellow River.[47] The compilers of a local gazetteer of Heyin admitted that "On the map of the empire, Heyin is like a grain of millet in a vast sea" (河陰之在輿圖，譬滄海之一粟).[48] In the preface to the domain map in the gazetteer, members of the local gentry further expressed their negative perception: "For this small patch of land, with no strength to draw from, it is not known what could be used to compensate for its weaknesses" (藐茲片壤，無長可絕，不知短於何補哉).[49]

The bitterness in Heyin's perception of itself might have been a response to the unjustified burden of labour for flood prevention. As the "Record of river defences" claims, the river flowed on the north of Mt. Guangwu, in the arms of which the domain of the county was located. Therefore, it complained that:

> The county seat relies on the barrier provided by mountains. There is no need to go to the trouble of building anything. … During summer and autumn for many years, we have helped other counties by supplying willow branches [as materials for building dikes]. Gaining no benefit from the river, the people were still burdened by it. They laboured for the benefit of others. They could only stifle their sobs in sorrow.

> 邑治倚山作險，不須煩畚築也。… 連歲夏秋間協濟他邑梢柳，無河之利而民悴於河，爲他人做嫁衣，蓋吞聲祇有憐矣。[50]

Its depiction of the Yellow River reflects this stance. Due to flooding of the river, the county had moved its administration twice, to the south of Mt. Guangwu. Local people of the county believed that the mountain stood beyond the reach of the floods. The "Map of the county domain" marked out the old county (*jiucheng* 舊城) with city walls in a perilous location on the riverbank (Figure 15). The "Map of the four reaches" (*sizhi tu* 四至圖) also portrays the Yellow River as flowing outside the shield of the mountainous areas to the north of the county (Figure 16). As the section on "Mountains and rivers" in its gazetteer describes, Mt. Guangwu is located only five *li* to the north of the county. Externally it defends the county against the great river; internally, it surrounds fertile soil and pacifies the county by the river.[51] Both maps highlight the natural protections for the county and illustrate an argument against the need for preventive labour on its part.

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[47] *Heyin xianzhi*, Shen Qicai preface, 1a.

[48] Ibid., "Tian wen" 天文, 1.2a.

[49] Ibid., "Zong tu" 總圖, 1a.

[50] Ibid., "He fang" 河防, 2.1a.

[51] Ibid., "Shan chuan" 山川, 2.1a–1b.
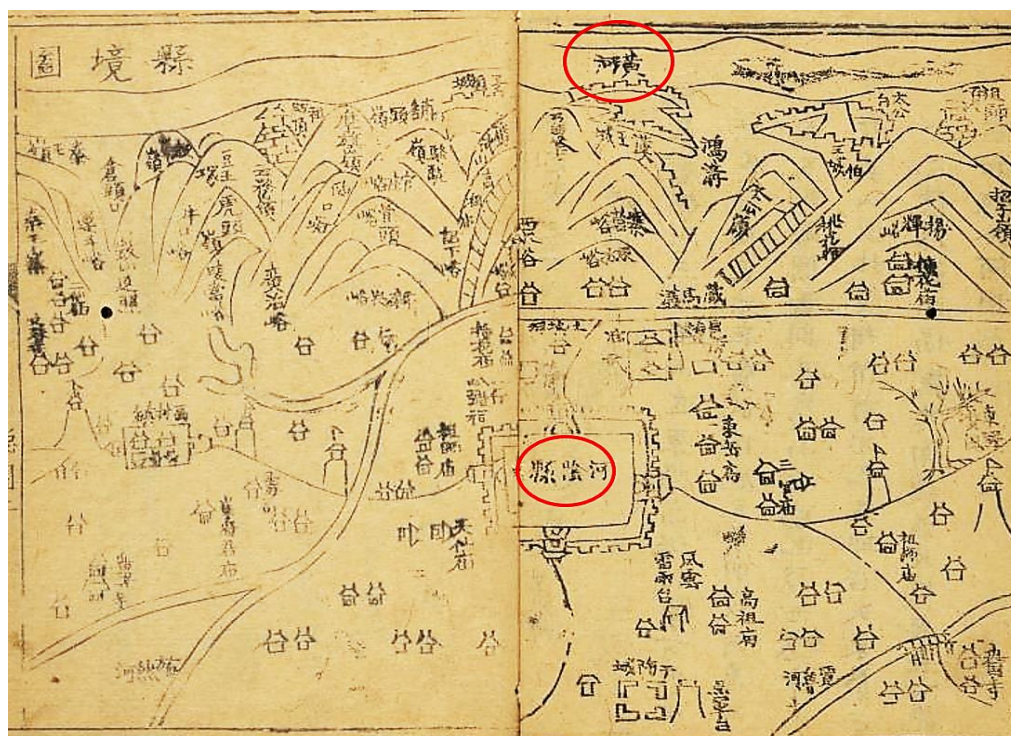
Figure 15: Map of the county domain 縣境圖, *Heyin xianzhi* 河陰縣志, "Zong tu" 總圖, 1.1b–2a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12419794?n=27)

Figure 16: Map of the four reaches 四至圖, *Heyin xianzhi*, "Si zhi" 四至, 1.2a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12419794?n=41)

Suizhou – altruistic sacrifice

Suizhou 睢州, a prefecture located in eastern Henan, provides yet another type of perception of the Yellow River. With vast stretches of land but no natural defence from great mountains and rivers,[52] Suizhou constantly fell victim to river flooding. Its gazetteer attributed the unpredictable and repeated flooding to the structural reasons of flat land and soft soil. Therefore, from Xingze 滎澤 to Yifeng 儀封, ranging over three hundred *li* across the whole distance, whenever there was a breach, Suizhou would always face a head-on confrontation with the flood.[53] Historically, there were times when Suizhou escaped flooding—when the Yellow River shifted to its northern course towards Shandong, instead of south towards Jiangsu. But then the flooding in the north would still affect the county indirectly. As the compilers commented in the section on river defences: "If the River breaches its bank towards the south, then the River causes harm; if the River flows in its old course, then corvée labour causes harm." (河決而南則河爲害，河行故道則役為害)[54]

The compilers, however, then turned the discourse about the infliction of suffering from the river flooding (*hehuan* 河患) into one about the county's willingness to sacrifice its local benefit for the public good. The sections on river defences in both the 1658 and 1690 editions of the gazetteer of Suizhou include a quotation from a former Ming official in charge of the Yellow River course, who praised an official from Suizhou for wishing that the river would shift south to protect the Grand Canal as a part of the state infrastructure. The gazetteer of Suizhou reconstructed and retold the story as follows:

> Cai Shigang remarked, "If the Yellow River shifts southward, it would be a blessing for the state and a benefit to the Grand Canal. It would be worth it as long as prefectures and counties directly confronting the flood have built dikes so that their city walls will not be damaged; and as long as soldiers and commoners impacted by the flood are made exempt from taxes and corvée so that they will not end up displaced." Shigang was a Sui local. Sui suffered severely from the river, yet his remarks as such demonstrated an impartial concern for the whole of the empire.
>
> 蔡石岡云：「黃河南徙，國家之福，運道之利也。當衝郡邑作堤障之不壞城郭已矣。被災軍民免其租役不至流徙已矣。」石岡，睢人也，睢河患為甚，而其言若此，公天下為心矣。[55]

The "Map of the prefectural domain" represents the Yellow River as two divergent branches surrounding the city of Suizhou (Figure 17). In contrast to the several-layered city walls, the dikes immediately surrounding the city, and the many channels radiating out from the city, the map diminished the role of the Yellow River into a relatively weak presence. Despite not having any natural defence like that of Heyin, and despite the image of Suizhou as a location confronting the flow of the river, the domain map also

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[52] *Suizhou zhi*, "Shan chuan" 山川, 1.11a.

[53] Ibid., 1.5a.

[54] Ibid., "Hefang zhi" 河防志 1.5b.

[55] Ibid., 2.4a; also *Suizhou zhi*, "Hefang zhi" 1.6b.

conveyed a visual message that Suizhou nevertheless did not perceive the Yellow River as a threat, and it remained prepared for any flooding that might arise.
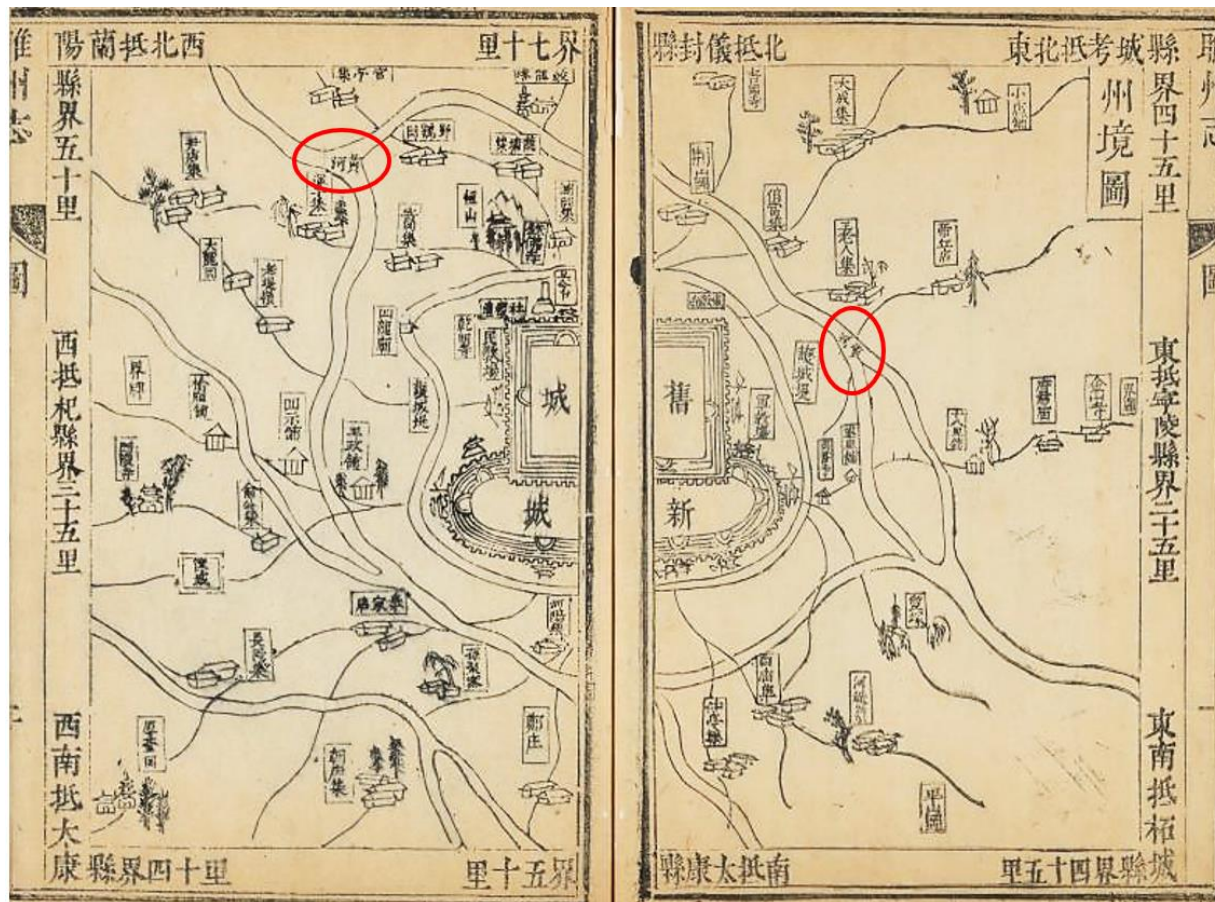
Figure 17: Map of the prefectural domain 州境圖, *Suizhou zhi* 睢州志, "Tu" 圖, 1b–2a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:12540376?n=22)

Conclusion

Local gazetteers compiled under the early Qing regime possess dual features: expressing unique local experiences and being compiled under a universal format. While it is possible to copy and share a format or style, it is ultimately the local people's experience of the place that makes a local gazetteer distinguishable from those of other places. In this sense, the experience of a local landscape, and the subsequent perception of it, form a large part in the production of a unique local gazetteer. Yet in the production of local gazetteers, factors such as a universal format, common categories, and similar use of classical knowledge can place limits on how a local gazetteer presents the unique localness. The tension between standardised knowledge and life experiences may also shape how local gazetteers tell local stories.

This is where visual materials come to play a role in creating a sense of place. In the various early Qing cases examined above, the Yellow River constitutes a unique presence in local life. It provides a point of comparison among depictions of its different sections. We see that perceptions of the Yellow River

showed significant variations at the local level and corresponded to different visual strategies in its representation. While there are common structural factors in its depiction—such as its superior width, the unparalleled force of its current, and its close relationship with its surroundings, we can still detect thematic and stylistic variations in representation which reflect local perceptions of the river. The conscious selection of style in representing the Yellow River, either in pictorial details, such as the patterns of its water waves, or in the overall arrangement of its spatial composition, reveals diverse local perceptions. The various visual techniques, in turn, lend visual force to the stories told in the text.

The study of visual materials in local gazetteers also poses challenging questions. At face value, the relationship between visual materials and gazetteer text may appear complementary. Yet the two components of a local gazetteer can stand independently from each other. For example, do images just illustrate what is written in gazetteer text, or do they present a story in their own way? What if what is expressed visually cannot be found in the text? In other words, how should we process information that is embedded in the images but not talked about in the text? With no direct textual evidence, will visual evidence still be convincing? This paper has attempted to address some of these methodological issues using the case of the Yellow River in early Qing local gazetteers. Yet more work needs to be done through close examination of both images and textual records to hear more clearly local voices in local gazetteers.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Bifurcated Memory: A Cultural Biography of the Porcelain Pagoda of Nanjing

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The ways in which disparate meanings can be assigned to a place in different times is precisely illustrated in writings and drawings about the pagoda at the Da Bao'ensi (Great Monastery of Repaying Parental Kindness) in Nanjing (Jinling). Completed in 1428, the pagoda was once the tallest building in the city until it was destroyed during the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864). The goal of this article is not to reconstruct the material details of the pagoda in history, but to inquire how it was remembered and imagined in various cultural contexts in the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) periods. This article will first examine how the cultural meanings of the pagoda were created in four contexts: imperial edicts implying the political agenda for its construction; monastery gazetteers presenting it as monastic property; works of literati featuring it as a landmark in the cityscape; and European travelogues and encyclopedias recontextualising it as an exotic spectacle in the conceptualised landscape. While the pagoda was referred to as the *Liuli ta* (glazed pottery pagoda) in late imperial China, it was commonly known as the "Porcelain Pagoda" in post-seventeenth century Europe. The last part of the article examines the differing cultural logic behind the naming in the early modern global context. Through the study of the multiple trajectories of images of the pagoda, this article explores how religious, political, cultural, and social discourses were embedded in the complex processes of place-making. Writings about and images of the pagoda contribute to making the pagoda into a place resembling a literary trope, a pictorial metaphor of power and belief, and a cultural icon; they also enrich our understanding of how a religious place was woven into the urban fabric and contributed to cultural exchange in late imperial China and beyond.

一個地方可以被賦予各種不同的意義，建於明代南京的大報恩寺琉璃塔就是最好的例證。這座佛塔於 1428 年完工，曾是城市最高的建築，後於太平天國運動中被毀壞。本文宗旨並不在於重現報恩寺塔的準確歷史，而是探討它在明清時期的各種文化背景中如何被記憶和想像的。本文首先通過四種不同的文本討論這座佛塔的文化含義，即隱含政治目的的詔書、作爲宗教建築及寺產的佛寺志、被標示為城市坐標的文人游記、將其作爲概念化景觀中奇異景象的歐人遊記及百科全書。明清時期，報恩寺塔被稱作"琉璃塔"；在十七世紀之後的歐洲，它卻常被稱作"瓷塔"。對早期全球現代化背景下這種一物多名的文化邏輯，文章最後部分將進行解讀。透過考察對報恩寺塔多重意象的生成，本文從多種視角探討宗教、政治、文化和社會話語與地方建構交織在一起的複雜過程，並闡述有關報恩寺塔的文字和圖像如何豐富我們對宗教場所融入城市肌理以及明清時期起中國對外文化交流的理解。

Like a person or a thing, a place can have a life and afterlives shaped by the collective yet somewhat nebulous intentions of the people who create, visit, or live in it. The ways in which disparate meanings can be assigned to a place in different times is precisely illustrated in the writings and drawings about the pagoda at the Da Bao'ensi 大報恩寺 (Great Monastery of Repaying Parental Kindness, hereafter Bao'en Monastery) in Nanjing 南京 (Jinling 金陵). During the past five decades, research on urban space in late imperial Jiangnan has gained tremendous momentum, but scholars have mainly approached the topic from the macro perspective of a whole city.[1] This article delves into the conceptual and visual transformation of one single site. It defines the pagoda at the monastery as a place instead of a stand-alone architectural structure, and situates the pagoda in layers of lived contexts. The discussion below will especially revolve around how the pagoda was represented in images and texts as a place in the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) periods.

Completed in 1428, the pagoda was once the tallest building in the city until it was destroyed during the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864). Before and even after its destruction, its appearance was prominently recorded and marvelled at in memoirs, essays, travelogues, and encyclopedias, although the material aspects of the pagoda were never accurately documented. Therefore, existing research and archaeological excavations during the past decade have striven to uncover the material existence and historical facts about the pagoda (Eng 2016; Qi and Gong 2008; Qi and Zhou 2016; Smentek, 2019). However, it still remains unclear what roles the visual representations of the pagoda played in the imagination of it in the Ming-Qing periods. The aim of this article is not to reconstruct the material details of the pagoda in history, but to inquire how it was remembered and imagined in different contexts. It will first examine the meanings of the pagoda created in four contexts: imperial edicts implying the political agenda for its construction; monastery gazetteers treating it as a religious monument and a monastic property; literati travelogues featuring it as a cultural landmark in the cityscape; and European travelogues and encyclopedias recontextualising it as an exotic spectacle in the invented geography. While the pagoda was referred to as the *Liuli ta* 琉璃塔 (glazed pottery pagoda) in late imperial China, it was commonly known as the "Porcelain Pagoda" in post-seventeenth century Europe. The difference in naming was indicative of the trajectories of the bifurcated memory of the pagoda and its creative refashioning in both the Chinese and European representations. The last part of the article explores the different cultural logic behind the naming in the early modern global context. While the grandeur of the pagoda serves as the departure point of the complex story of the pagoda, the story is not complete without an understanding of how the religious, cultural, political, and social discourses were embedded in the complex processes of place-making. I consider both writings and images as texts in the sense that their narrative follows certain epistemological and institutional patterns. They contribute to making the pagoda into a place resembling a literary trope, a pictorial metaphor of power and belief, and a cultural icon; they also enrich our understanding of how a religious place was woven into the urban fabric and contributed to cultural exchange in late imperial China and beyond.

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[1] For a schematic overview of the main trends in urban development in late imperial China, see Rowe 2013. For research on Ming-Qing Nanjing, especially from the perspective of urban-rural continuum, see Mote 1977 and Fei 2010a. For research on other cities in the Jiangnan region, see Mote 1973 on Suzhou; the five case studies of Jiangnan cities by Michael Marmé, Susumu Fuma, Paolo Santangelo, Antonia Finnane, and Linda Cooke Johnson in Johnson 1993; Goodman 1995 on Shanghai; Meyer-Fong 2003 on Yangzhou.

A Political Legacy: Making the Pagoda to Repay Parental Kindness

In 1412, eleven years after ascending the throne, Emperor Yongle 永樂 (Zhu Di 朱棣, r. 1402–1424) issued an edict to rebuild a pagoda at the Bao'en Monastery. The pagoda is tied to the earliest textual reference to a stupa in Chinese history.[2] It allegedly housed the relics of the Buddha, which Kang Senghui 康僧會 (d. 280) brought to the Wu Kingdom (222–280) (*Jinling fancha zhi* 3a). By Yongle's time, the pagoda had been repaired and rebuilt numerous times, the most recent being a major renovation ordered by Yongle's father, Emperor Hongwu 洪武 (Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, r. 1368–1398), the founder of the Ming dynasty. Although rulers were inclined to claim that they followed King Aśoka (r. 268-232 BCE) in commissioning Buddhist stupas for the purpose of generating merit for the state, this meritorious project served a particular agenda. Yongle's edict does not even mention the relics of the Buddha but accentuates the bond between him and his late parents. The monastery was thus renamed Bao'en 報恩 (Repaying Parental Kindness), a term specific to the indigenous Buddhist tradition in China (*Jinling fancha zhi*, 31.7b-8a). It reflects a value that was not only long rooted in Chinese Buddhism, but also central to Confucianism.[3] Promising to transform his deepest gratitude into the material form of a grand pagoda, Yongle ordered, "Rebuild the pagoda. Its height, strength, grandeur, and beauty should all surpass previous dynasties" (重造浮圖，高堅壯麗，度越前代) (*Jinling fancha zhi*, 31.8b). In doing this, the emperor vowed, "I carry on the sacred aspiration of my honourable father and mother, and express my filial piety and sincerity" (用仰承我皇考、妣之聖志，而表朕之孝誠) (*Jinling fancha zhi*, 31.8b-9a). Yongle's claim to be a filial son can be interpreted as a two-fold message to counterbalance his infamous seizing of the throne from his nephew, Emperor Jianwen 建文 (Zhu Yunwen 朱允炆, r. 1398–1402), and to put an end to rumours about his humble origin on his mother's side (Chan 1988, 193-202). Significantly, shortly before his death in 1424, a second edict, inscribed on a four-metre-high stele, made it clear that his "honourable father" was Emperor Hongwu, and his mother was Empress Ma 馬皇后 (1332–1382) and not the long-suspected low-status concubine (*Jinling fancha zhi*, 31.8a). The construction lasted seventeen years before completion in 1428, the fourth year of the reign of his grandson, Emperor Xuande 宣德 (Zhu Zhanji 朱瞻基, r. 1425–1435).[4] On its completion, the pagoda was the tallest building in the city. Together with other ambitious projects orchestrated by Yongle, it embodied the official discourse about his genealogy and physically planted his authority into the new urban landscape of Nanjing, the

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[2] The transformation from a mound-like stupa into a timber-frame pagoda occurred in the 6th century (Steinhardt 2019, 97-100).

[3] About early debates on Buddhism and filial piety, see Zürcher 2007, 281 and Schopen 1984. *Da fangbian fo bao'en jing* 大方便佛報恩經 (The great skilful means sutra on the Buddha's repayment of kindness) and *Fumu enzhong jing* 父母恩重經 (Sutra on deep indebtedness to one's father and mother) were widely circulated from the Tang dynasty onwards.

[4] The last stage of the project was connected to one of the most prominent figures in early Ming history, Zheng He 鄭和 (1371–1433). The short-lived Emperor Hongxi (r. 1424–25) was disenchanted with the six ocean voyages between 1405 and 1422. After he had ascended the throne, he appointed Zheng He as defender of Nanjing, which now became the empire's southern capital. Zheng made use of the leftover funds from the six voyages, took charge of the construction of the Bao'en pagoda, and completed it in 1428 (Chan 1988, 232-236).

southern capital. Located just outside the inner city, the pagoda was made a visual proof of filial piety and an affirmation of Yongle's status as successor to the throne (Map 1).
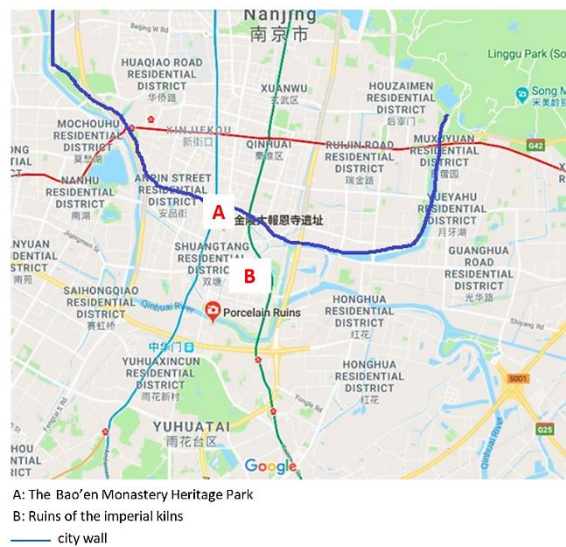
Map 1: Map of Nanjing. Source: Google Maps. Accessed on 8 September 2022. Symbols by author.

After the capital had been moved to Beijing in 1421, the centre of political gravity also shifted to the North. The suspicious circumstances of Yongle's ascension were no longer a matter of stigma for the imperial family but only juicy gossip in popular novels and dramas. The pagoda then became a place associated with the imperial power and authority. In a depiction of Xu Xianqing 徐顯卿 (1537-1602), who obtained the degree of provincial graduate (*juren* 舉人) in Nanjing when he was 31 years old, the pagoda on the other side of the Chang'an 長干 River and the Ming palace looming in the background suggest the recognition of the court and his promising career (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Xu Xianqing 徐顯卿, Yu Ren 余壬, and Wu Yue 吳鉞, "Luming chege" 鹿鳴徹歌 (Song on conclusion of the Deer-Call banquet), in *Xu Xianqing huanji tu* 徐顯卿宦跡圖 (Illustrations of Xu Xianqing's official career). 1588. Album leaf, ink and colour on silk. 62 cm x 58.5 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

After the Qing conquest of the Ming, the pagoda became a site recalling past glory. In his nostalgic reminiscences, the loyalist of the previous Ming dynasty, Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597–1684), describes the pagoda as a "grand antique object of the central kingdom and a magnificent work from the Yongle kilns" (中國之大古董，永樂之大窰器) (*Taoan mengyi*, 2; Kafalas 2007, 27). It became a place to commemorate the best days of the Ming:

> If it were not for Emperor Chengzu's spirit, resources and capability, and achievement and resolution to found the dynasty, if it were not that his courage, wisdom, talent, and strategy were up to swallowing up and spitting out this pagoda, then it could not have been completed (ibid.).

> 非成祖開國之精神，開國之物力，開國之功令，其膽智才略足以吞吐此塔者，不能成焉。

Figure 2: Wang Hui 王翬. Detail of *Kangxi nanxun tu* 康熙南巡圖 (The Kangxi Emperor's southern inspection tour), scroll 11. 1698. Handscroll, ink and colour on silk. 67.8 x 2313.5 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

Zhang Dai also reminded his readers how the magnificence of the pagoda impressed foreigners. After seeing it, they would without fail bow and sigh in praise: "In all the four continents such a thing was not to be found" (謂四大部洲所無也) (ibid.). Its grandeur in the past turned the monastery into a place where other Ming loyalists such as Shitao 石濤 (1642-1707) and Kuncan 髡殘 (1612-1674) gathered in the early decades of the Qing conquest (Hay 1999, 44; Hay 2001, 126-127, 160). Paradoxically, because of its association with this loyalist sentiment, the site came to be one of the places where the Qing (1644–1911) authority called for reconciliation with southern literati. In order to pacify these "leftover subjects" (*yimin* 遺民) of the Ming, the Kangxi Emperor 康熙 (r. 1661–1722) and his son the Qianlong Emperor 乾隆 (r. 1735–1796) visited the monastery many times during their southern inspection tours (Qi and Gong 2008, 54-58). Upon his first visit in 1684, Emperor Kangxi also paid visits to the remains of the Ming palace and the tomb of Hongwu. At the Bao'en Monastery, he ascended the pagoda, inscribed a signboard for each of the nine floors, and donated a statue and a set of the Diamond Sutra (*Chijian Bao'ensi fancha zhi*, 127; Zhang 2007, 75-85). The pagoda is the visible departure point in the eleventh volume of *Kangxi nanxun tu* 康熙南巡圖 (The Kangxi Emperor's southern inspection tour) (Figure 2). The strategic tour of Kangxi

was to some extent successful. Shitao himself was among the monks and other *yimin* literati to greet the emperor (Hay 2001, 88-89). Thus, the monastery and the pagoda provided a site for the malleable transformation of political legacies and reconciliation of political agendas.

A Religious Icon and a Monastic Property

The director of the Bureau of Sacrifices in the Ministry of Rites (*libu cijisi* 禮部祠祭司) in Nanjing, Ge Yinliang 葛寅亮 (1570–1646), compiled the *Jinling fancha zhi* 金陵梵剎志 (Gazetteer of Jinling Buddhist monasteries) and had it printed at the Buddhist Registry (*senglu si* 僧錄司) in 1607.[5] At his post in Nanjing, Ge witnessed the dwindling of Buddhism with the move of the court to Beijing, lamenting that monasteries in Nanjing had to struggle to keep their landed property from being encroached upon by local gentry. Sympathetic to the monastics and possibly a Buddhist convert himself, Ge initiated a series of reformative measures to secure temple properties, verify monks' ordination certificates, reestablish sangha regulations, restore dilapidated buildings, and establish Buddhist schools. In doing so, Ge's main goal in compiling the gazetteer was to "provide evidence for the future" (以徵信將來) (*Jinling fancha zhi*, 1. Xu.2a).

Although Ge claimed that the compilation of his gazetteer was inspired by the sixth-century account of Buddhist temples, *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang), the structure of the *Jinling fancha zhi* shows a clear purpose of political administration. Ge's compilation starts with edicts of the Ming emperors; its main body consists of the accounts of 330 individual monasteries. The gazetteer arranges monasteries into four tiers: great monastery (*dacha* 大剎), secondary monastery (*cidacha* 次大剎), medium-sized monastery (*zhongcha* 中剎), and small-scale monastery (*xiaocha* 小剎). The Bao'en, Linggu 靈谷, and Tianjie 天界 monasteries are the only three 'great monasteries' in Nanjing. While they are under the direct control of the Buddhist Registry, each of them also oversees a certain number of monasteries in the three lower tiers. The Bao'en monastery, therefore, is in charge of two secondary, fourteen medium-sized, and over forty small-scale monasteries (*Jinling fancha zhi*, 1.Fanli.1a–4b).

The account of Bao'en Monastery, like all other great and secondary monasteries, is accompanied by a topographic map by artisans of local repute, painter Ling Dade 凌大德 and woodblock carver Zhang Chengzu 張承祖, both active in the early seventeenth century (Figure 3).[6] The city of Nanjing at this time was already established as a centre for print culture, and thus attracted the most skilled painters and carvers (Fei 2010b, 226–248). Four times wider than a regular page, the map combines the styles of topographic map and landscape painting. Although it follows mapmaking conventions by indicating the names of all major locations and buildings, it does not provide cardinal directions but only notes "left" (*zuo* 左) and

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[5] Ge Yinliang was appointed as the director of the Bureau of Sacrifices, a position overseeing various rituals and affairs related to astronomy, geography, medicine, divination, music, and Buddhist monks and Daoist priests (*Ming shi*, 72.1748). For detailed introduction to Ge Yinliang and *Jinling fancha zhi*, see He 2011, 61-92.

[6] The fact that both Ling and Zhang left their names on the map suggests that they might have been locally reputed artisans. Ling's name also appears in maps in the *Jinling Daoist Temple Gazetteer* (*Jinling xuanguan zhi* 金陵玄觀志), which was also compiled by Ge Yinliang.

"right" (*you* 右) on each side, suggesting that the map should be read like a handscroll painting. Therefore, the reader would begin with the Yuhua Terrace (Yuhua tai 雨花臺), a scenic hill to the south of the monastery. Along the lower register, the boundary of the monastery is clearly demarcated by its front gate, trees, and railings and by the clearly outlined walls. At the lower left corner, we see the Southern Gate of the inner city, indicating the monastery's proximity to the city.
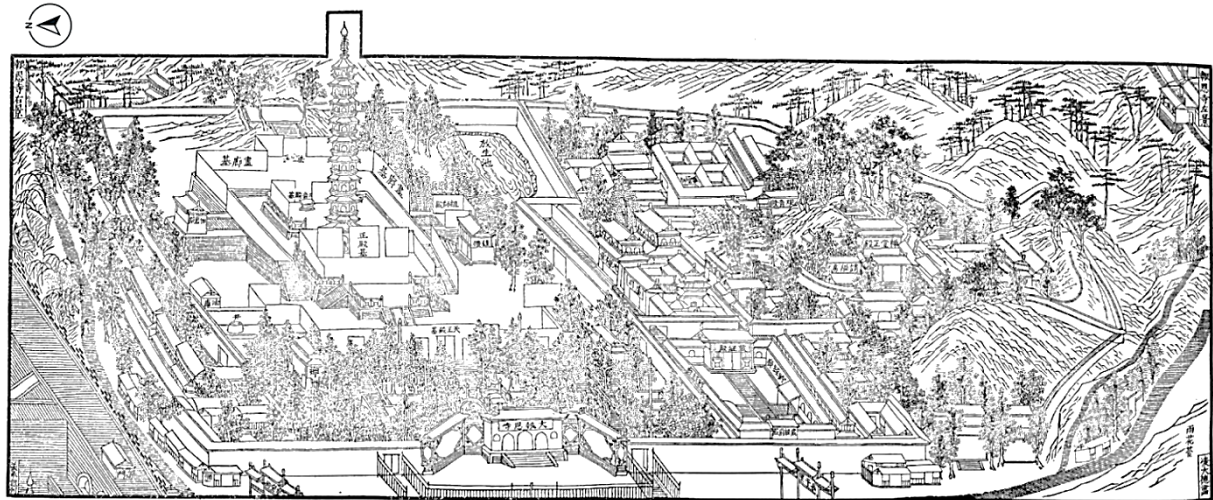
Figure 3: Ling Dade 凌大德 and Zhang Chengzu 張承祖, Illustration of the Bao'en Monastery, in Ge Yinliang 葛寅亮 ed., *Jinling fancha zhi* 金陵梵剎志. Woodblock print. 1607, reprinted Zhenjiang, 1936. Harvard-Yenching Library/Harvard Library, Cambridge, MA.

Visual vocabulary from multiple mapmaking and painting traditions contributes to a geomantically desirable view of the monastery. The map adopts a quasi-bird's-eye view. Yuhuatai Terrace, depicted as a cluster of hills just across the mountain road on the map, is in reality located much farther from the monastery and its altitude is lower (Map 1). Together with the clear boundary, the hills surrounding the monastery walls at the top and right sides of the page place the monastery in physical and figurative protection. When the map is fully unfolded, the viewer can finally see the monastery in its entirety: the living compound in the south (right) and the pagoda compound in the north (left). The southern compound is dedicated to monastic daily life and practice; it includes the Meditation Hall, the residence of the monks, a pagoda dedicated to the reliquary of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664),[7] and a library that houses the woodblocks of the Hongwu edition of the Tripitaka. The northern compound on the left page features the Bao'en Pagoda in the centre, the foundation of the main hall in the foreground, and the Painted Gallery (*hualang* 畫廊) in their surroundings.[8] With its finial protruding beyond the top frame of the page, the pagoda is the most prominent building on the map. Breaking through the image frame is an innovative way to highlight the visible presence of the pagoda on one hand and to maintain its place as an integral part of the monastery on the other. This pictorial strategy is in line with the textual narrative. As mentioned

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[7] *Jinling fancha zhi*, 31/3a (1073). For an overview of the discovery of the relic of Xuanzang, see Brose 2016, 143–176. For the controversy about the burial of Xuanzang, see Liu 2009, 2–97.

[8] A huge fire destroyed the Main Hall in 1566; its reconstruction was completed only in 1690 (Zhang 2007, 121–122).

above, Ge Yinliang's gazetteer was aimed at keeping track of the monastery's landed properties, so it inventories the size of every building in the monastery as well as the area of the landed properties in the suburbs of the city. The pagoda does not receive much extra attention in the text. As a part of the monastery, it is only listed as "the treasure pagoda made of *liuli* ceramic [bricks], nine storeys" (琉璃寶塔 九級) (*Jinling fancha zhi*, 31.2a–2b).

The format of Ge's gazetteer formed the basis for *Chijian Bao'ensi fancha zhi* 敕建報恩寺梵剎志 (Gazetteer of the imperially commissioned Buddhist Monastery of Repaying Parental Kindness). This monastery gazetteer was compiled by Monk Wuming 悟明 (fl. 18th century–19th century) of the Bao'en Monastery in 1807, about one-and-a-half centuries after the end of the Ming. Following *Jinling fancha zhi*, Wuming placed the aforementioned map at the beginning of his text, and continued to record all properties of the monastery at an extremely detailed level. It documents the sizes of all buildings, regulations and compacts, titles of sutras in the library, and area of landed properties that are currently owned or were once owned in the previous dynasty (*Chijian Bao'ensi fancha zhi*). The chapter on the pagoda starts with its height in precise measurement: from the ground to the top of the finial, it is 78.75 metres tall (通高地面至寶珠頂二十四丈陸尺一寸九分) (*Chijian Bao'ensi fancha zhi*, 74). Each of the nine sections in this chapter is devoted to the structure, decoration, and property on each floor: the sign boards inscribed by Kangxi and Qianlong, the height of the floor, the area of the interior and exterior space, the number of the statues, the sizes of gates and windows, the material of the balustrades, the number of the stairs, and other belongings such as incense and sutras. Like other chapters, this chapter gives a precise calculation of the cost for lamps and candles:

> Each floor has 16 lamps, and each needs 4 *liang* [1 *liang* = 37.3 gm] of oil. Therefore, each floor needs 4 *jin* (1 *jin* = 596.8 gm) of oil per night, and eight floors 32 *jin*. Eight glass lamps on the ground floor, each in need of 2 *jin*, need 16 *jin* per night. Four glass lamps in the centre of the pagoda, each in need of 2 *jin*, need 8 *jin* per night. During a long month, 1,680 *jin* of oil is needed; during a short month, 1,626 *jin*. Candles in plain red colour: eight, i.e. four pairs, each weighing 1 *jin*, 44, i.e. 22 pairs, each weighing 4 *liang*. Lamp wick: 1 *jin* and 5 *liang* (*Chijian Bao'ensi fancha zhi*, 86-87).

> 每一層十六盞，每一盞該油四兩，每一層見一夜該油四斤，八層該油三十二斤。塔下琉璃燈八盞，每一盞該油二斤，見一夜該油一十六斤。塔心琉璃燈四盞，每一盞該油二斤，見一夜該油八斤。月大該油一千六百八十斤，月小該油一千六百二十六斤。紅素燭，一斤重八枝，計四對。四兩重四十四枝，計二十二對。燈草一斤五兩。

Wuming, a monk in the monastery, was fully aware of the religious function of the pagoda to house the relics of the Buddha, the political agenda of Yongle, and the praise of its impressive appearance expressed by educated visitors. However, throughout the whole book, his description of the monastery and the pagoda remains focused on the value of the property and daily cost of living. His account of the pagoda is so pragmatic that it was almost irrelevant to the "height, strength, grandeur, and beauty" promised by Yongle; rather, the compelling appearance of the pagoda in political and literary rhetoric is translated into concrete and accurate terms for resources and property.

A Landmark and Spectacle within the City

Given that the Bao'en Pagoda was the building in the southern capital and had a special connection with the emperor, it was most likely not open to the public in its earliest decades. A century after the court was moved to the North, when Nanjing had become a vibrant urban centre, the pagoda began to appear as a landmark in the cityscape in various genres of literary and pictorial media. After returning to his home in Nanjing, retired official Chen Yi 陳沂 (1469–1532) composed a text entitled *Liuli ta ji* 琉璃塔記 (*Record of the Liuli-Ceramic Pagoda*) in 1531 (Fan 2009, 398-404). Unlike the temple gazetteers by Ge Yinliang and Wuming, this essay by Chen hardly mentions the monastery, but highlights instead its extravagance, its building cost, and the spectacle that the pagoda creates. It zooms in to look enthusiastically at every single detail of its intricate design on each floor: eight *liuli* ceramic doors facing outward, four functional and four decorative; sixteen windows embellished with Udumbara flower motifs; four splendid guardian kings carved on the walls; elaborate interlocking brackets and pillars supported by auspicious animals such as lions and elephants; and various elegant flora and fauna patterns filling empty space. The structure was even more prominent during the night, when 144 lamps, 16 on each floor, were lit. The lamps, according to Chen, "look like fire dragons descending from the sky, and their light can be seen from miles away" (如火龍自天而降,騰熖數十里). Not simply a pleasure to the eyes, it also dazzled the sense of hearing with its 144 gilded windchimes on the eaves. It is said that "the wind chimes can be heard from a few *li* [1 *li* = 500 meters] away and are especially clear during rainy nights" (風鐸相聞數里,響振雨夜) (*Jinling fancha zhi*, 31.15b–16b). Chen's description offers a local view of the pagoda, which dominated the urban horizon day and night, rain or shine. Standing at the top of the pagoda, one would have been offered a vantage point overlooking the capital. On the top floor, for the first time, Chen saw familiar places and scenes in the southern capital from an unprecedented angle. From this bird's-eye view, places associated with different social categories and hierarchies seemed flattened onto the same surface: the old palace, government offices, streets and canals, houses, alleys and markets, and people walking around in the near distance, as well as the Yangtze River, mountain ranges, and passes and roads farther away (ibid.). In this text, the pagoda is interwoven with the urban landscape but detached from the monastery.

Chen's positioning of the pagoda as a landmark is echoed in poems, essays, and travel books. In the late Ming, the original purpose and the political significance of the pagoda as well as its connection with the monastery had faded in the writings of educated men. Visitors often presented the pagoda as a geographical reference in Nanjing and a cultural marker of the lively city. In 1609, *Xinjuan hainei qiguan* 新鐫海內奇觀 (The newly engraved marvellous views within the seas) lists the pagoda among forty popular attractions in the illustration of Jinling (Figure 4). The illustration juxtaposes the icon of the pagoda with those of other indexical locations such as scenic sites, historic buildings, government complexes, and leisure attractions. The building complex of the prefectural government, Yingtian fu 應天府, which would have been the usual focus of an official gazetteer map, recedes into the background in this illustration, and its icon is even smaller than the pagoda and the Taibo Wine Shop (Taibai jiulou 太白酒樓). Most notably, the accompanying text lists the pagoda, not the monastery, in the itinerary, and gives weight to its height and craftsmanship. In the new urban scene, the pagoda was another exciting place where the lettered man could visit and temporarily stay.
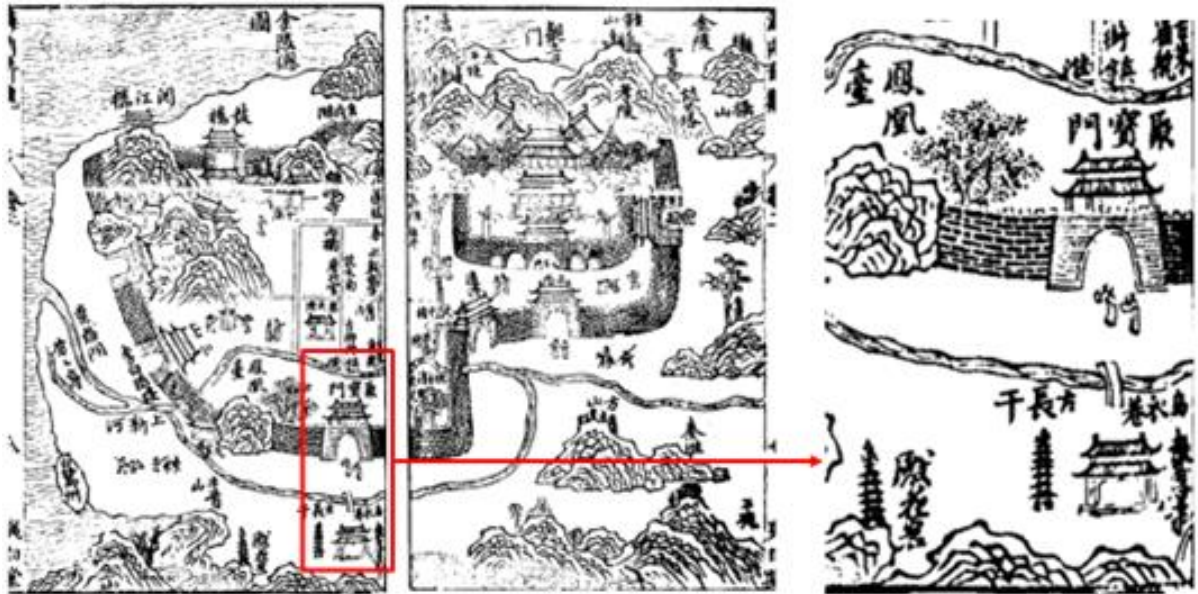
Figure 4: Yang Erzeng 楊爾曾, Map of Jinling, in *Xinjuan hainei qiguan*, 2.7b-8a. Woodblock print. 1609, Yibai tang edition. Harvard-Yenching Library/Harvard Library, Cambridge, MA.

Zhu Zhifan 朱之蕃 (1558–1626), previously a successful politician, returned to Nanjing in retirement. In 1624, he composed the *Jinling tuyong* 金陵圖詠. His book also lists the Bao'en Pagoda instead of the monastery among the forty famous sites of Jinling (Figure 5).
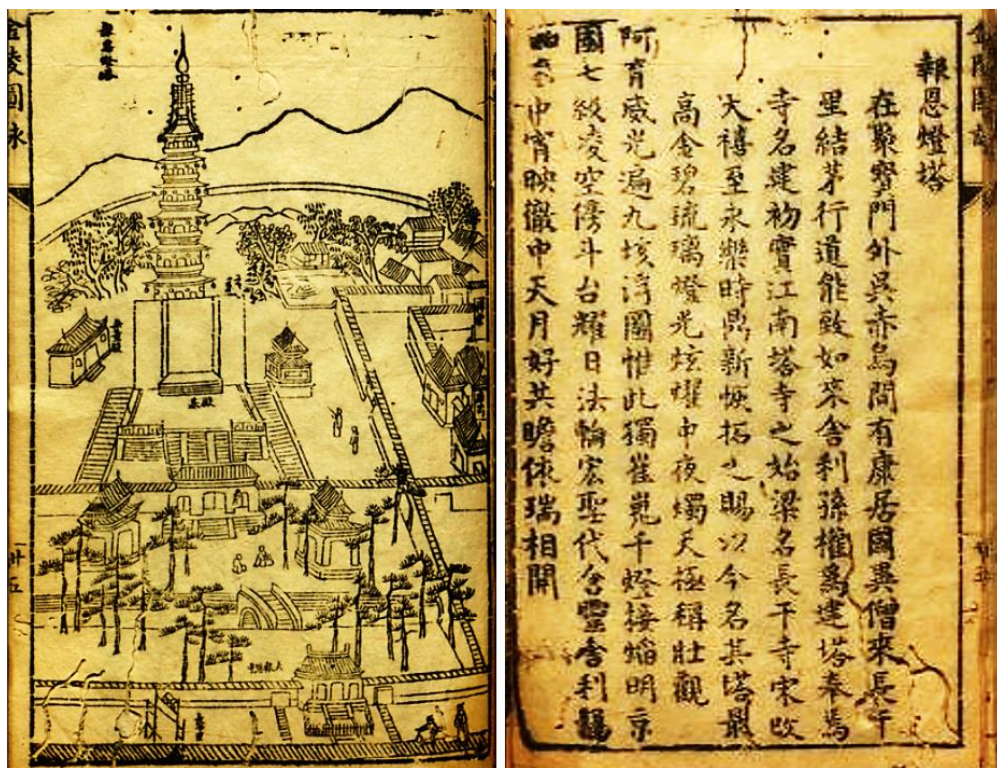
Figure 5: Zhu Zhifan 朱之蕃, "The Bao'en Monastery Pagoda," in *Jinling tuyong*, 35a. Woodblock print. 1624, Nanjing edition. Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Famous sites did not become famous naturally. Numbered lists of the scenic sites in a city, commonly with an even number of eight or more, first became popular in Yangzhou in the early seventeenth century and quickly spread to the Jiangnan area (Wang 2005, 1–52). The illustration by Zhu clearly makes use of the composition of the pagoda in Ge Yinliang's *Jinling fancha zhi*, but it leaves out other major monastic buildings to highlight the pagoda. In order to draw viewers' attention to the pagoda, the thick foliage behind the entrance in the gazetteer map is replaced by sparse pine trees. The illustration also adds more figures in the courtyard. Two monks in the foreground and two scholar-like visitors in the middle ground suggest the identity of potential visitors. One scholar is pointing at the pagoda, a visual device that underlines the pagoda's central place within the image. The accompanying text includes a brief history of the pagoda and a poem by Zhu Zhifan praising its height, the dazzling *liuli* glaze, and the lamps. The pictorial and verbal representations by scholars turn the pagoda into a more inviting space. They decontextualise the pagoda from the monastery, place it in the urban landscape, and make it speak directly to the city dwellers and travellers.
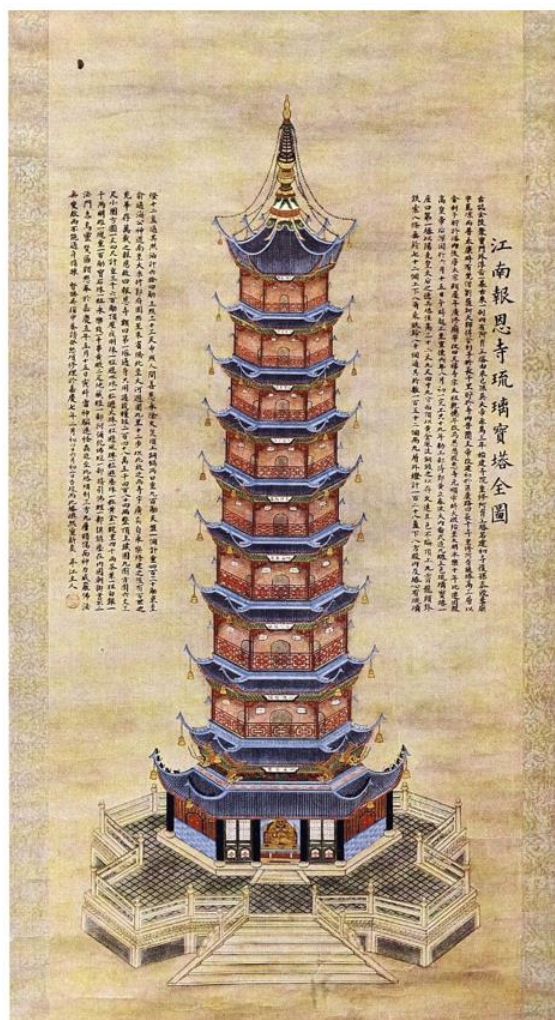
Figure 6: *Jiangnan Bao'ensi liuli baota quantu* 江南報恩寺琉璃寶塔全圖 (Complete image of the Liuli-Ceramic Treasure Pagoda of the Monastery of Repaying Parental Kindness in Jiangnan). (a) Pingjiang zhuren 平江主人 1802, in Boerschmann 1931, Plate 1. Leiden: Leiden University Libraries. (b) Anonymous 1808, in Wellcome Collection, London.

While the pagoda was a meaningful presence to the urbanite, its restoration could also become a public event. Partially damaged by lightning strikes, the pagoda was repaired in 1802 and 1808. The fact that it survived these natural calamities was taken as a miracle: "The divine power is magnificent, and the Buddha dharma is boundless, so the pagoda cannot be completely destroyed" 神力威嚴，佛法無邊，故不能通身損壞 (Figure 6a-6b). Copies of its image were made into talismans to protect commoners' houses. The inscription "protecting houses to ensure peace" (*zhenzhai ping'an* 鎮宅平安) on the image linked the wellbeing of urban families with the presence of the pagoda (Figure 6b).

An Exotic Spectacle in European Travelogues

While the early Qing (1644–ca. 1680s) government still held on to the tribute model that once served both the need for trade with a limited number of neighbouring countries and the self-esteem of the central kingdom, the visit of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) opened a new chapter for the so-called "encounter of East and West", and gave the image of the pagoda a new life in Europe. In 1655, in the same year when Zhang Dai lamented through the pagoda the loss of his own identity, the VOC sent a group of envoys to the Qing empire, aiming to expand their South- and Southeast-Asian trading networks towards the North (Blussé 2013, 15). While the VOC's proposal failed to win the favour of the Qing court, Johan Nieuhof (1618-1672), as an agent of the VOC, managed to make detailed accounts and richly illustrated images during his two-year visit to China. After his return to Amsterdam, Nieuhof left his manuscript with his brother Hendrik. Together with the Amsterdam-based publisher Jacob Van Meurs (c. 1619–c.1680), Hendrik Nieuhof edited the text, added more illustrations, and published the travelogue in 1665. Subsequently, the book was translated into French (1665), German (1666), and English (1669).[9]

Nieuhof was immensely impressed by the "beauty, art, and cost" of the pagoda and the intricate details in its design, and he believed that the craftsmanship of the pagoda surpassed all other architectural monuments in China. Thus, he wrote:

> This tower has nine rounds, and a hundred eighty-four steps to the top; each round is adorned with a gallery full of images and pictures, with very handsome lights: The out-side is all glazed over and painted with several colours, as green, red, and yellow. The whole fabric consists of several pieces, which are so artificially cemented, as if the work were all one piece. Round about all the corners of the galleries hang little bells, which make a very pretty noise when the wind jangles them: The top of the tower was crowned with a pineapple, which (as they say) was made of massy gold. From the upper gallery you may see not only over the whole city, but also over the adjacent countries to the other side of the River Kiang [Yangtze], which is a most delightful prospect, especially if you observe the vast circumference of the city, reaching with her suburb to the river side (Nieuhof 1669, 84–85).

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[9] The original manuscript of Nieuhof's travelogue was rediscovered in 1984 (Blussé and Falkenburg 1987, 15–16).
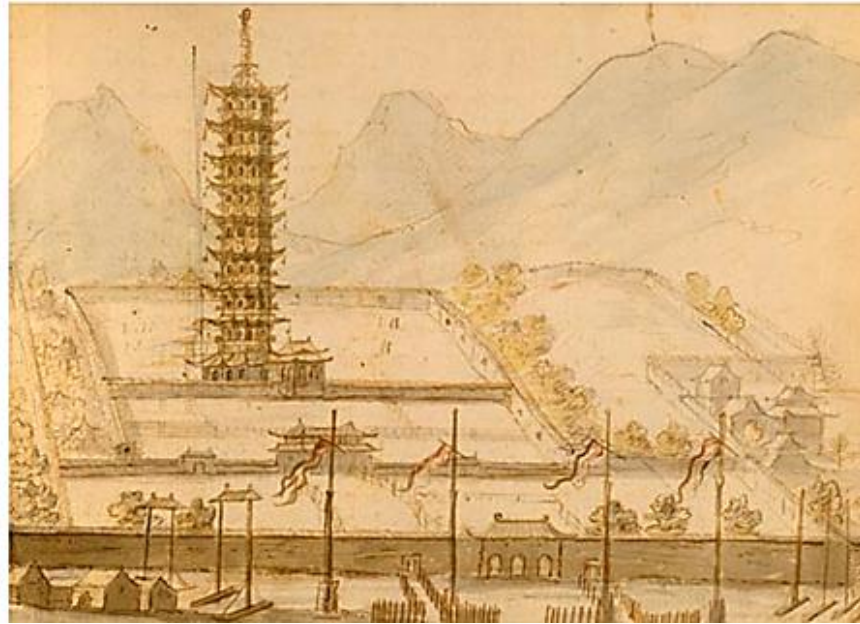
Figure 7: Johan Nieuhof, The Bao'ensi Pagoda. Drawing. 1657-1665. Watercolor and ink on paper, 24 x 17 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Reproduced in Leonard Blussé and R. Falkenburg, *Johan Nieuhofs beelden van een Chinareis, 1655–1657* (Middelburg: Stichting VOC publicaties, 1987), Plate 95.

Like most Europeans of the time, Nieuhof had very limited knowledge of Buddhism. The Bao'en Monastery is only mentioned in passing as an "idol temple" (ibid.) As John Finlay correctly points out, there was a clear disdain for Buddhism or other religions at the time, and Europeans' only interest in pagodas was their physical resemblance to pyramids, the symbol of antiquity for Europeans (Finlay 2020, 79). In Nieuhof's travelogue, the pagoda stands out as an architectural marvel and an exotic spectacle that is isolated from the monastery and even from the city. A comparison between the sketch in the manuscript and the etchings in the printed version shows that the publisher strategised to further foreground the pagoda as an iconic structure. In Nieuhof's manuscript, pagodas appear in twenty-two out of eighty sketches, but in the printed edition, at least ten more pagodas were added to the illustrations (Nieuhof 1669). It is evident that they were added in the process of editing and publishing to appeal to the market. The manuscript contains only one sketch of the Bao'en Pagoda (Figure 7), but it was made into two etchings in the printed version, with one representing the pagoda compound and the other its close-up (Figure 8a-b). The etchings were rendered as mirror images of the sketch, but the reversed directions would not make a difference to its readers, who had never been to the city. As the only building that is illustrated twice, the pagoda occupies a unique place in the book. The etchings stage the pagoda in a setting that appears more dramatic and more "Chinese" to European eyes: The buildings dedicated to monastic daily life in the southern compound are largely omitted, and the empty space in the foreground is filled with figures who are clad in European-style attire. They are performing greeting rituals and carrying parasols, two indexical features of Chinese cultural tradition in the eyes of Europeans. The background is decorated with exotic trees including palms that could be found only in the Dutch settlements in Southeast Asia but never grew in Nanjing. Although both the sketch and Nieuhof's text portray a nine-storey pagoda, the building in one of the etchings has ten storeys (Figure 8b). According to Chinese architectural conventions, pagodas usually have seven, nine, or, at any rate, an odd number of storeys, but just as with

the reversal of the image, a ten-storey pagoda would not be a concern to either the publisher or the readers of this book.
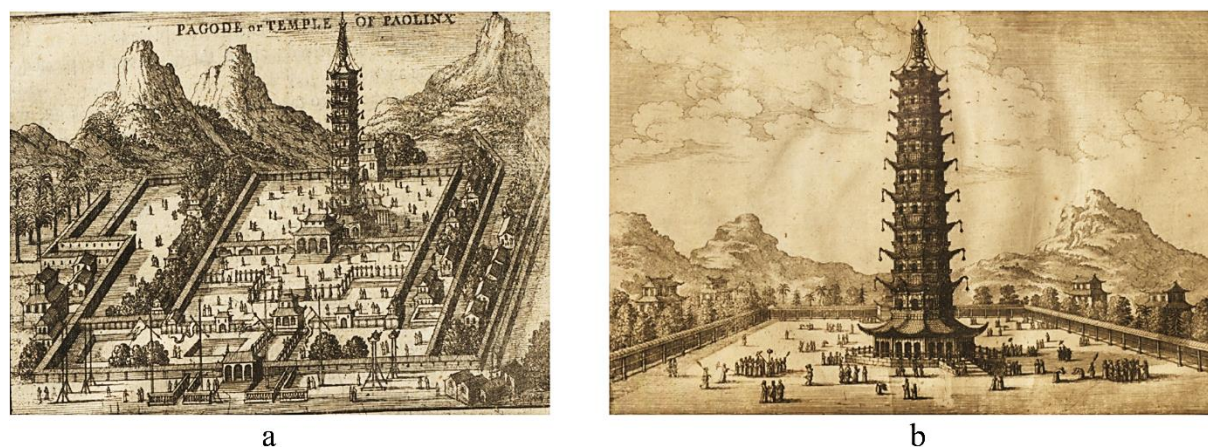
Figure 8 a-b: Johan Nieuhof, "Pagode of Temple of Paolinx." Print. 1665, reprinted in *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperour of China* (London: Printed by John Macock for the author, 1669), 84. McGill University Library, Montreal.

In parallel to Nieuhof's trip to China, the Jesuits were also impressed by the pagoda. Among them was Louis-Daniel Le Comte (1655–1728), who provides the most authoritative written source about the pagoda in 1696 (Le Comte 1697–98, 135). Based on the accounts of Le Comte and Nieuhof, the renowned encyclopedist Jean-Baptiste du Halde (1674–1743) presented the Bao'en Pagoda to the larger European public in 1735. In addition to its octagonal structure, its nine storeys, and its green glazed roof tiles, du Halde's entry also notes that the height of the tower is 200 feet (60.96 metres) and the length of each side 14 feet (4.27 metres) (Du Halde 1735, I.129). Various historical and archaeological sources show that the pagoda was about 78 metres high, and a recent excavation shows that each side of the pagoda was about 3.7 metres long (*Chijian Bao'ensi fancha zhi*, 74. Qi and Zhou 2016, 127–128). Although the information provided by du Halde is not accurate, the genre of encyclopedia would leave the impression among its readers that the presentation of the pagoda was based on rational and scientific knowledge.

It was Nieuhof's illustrations that became most quickly popularised and adopted into European works about China. The genre of travelogue engendered an impression of eyewitness and accuracy, and such knowledge was often generated and accepted in the predominant orientalist atmosphere. Along the same lines, the architect William Chambers (1723–1796), who visited Canton twice, in 1743–4 and in 1748–9, as an agent of the Swedish East India Company, looked at Chinese architecture, even with first-hand experience, as odd, simple, and neat "toys" (Chambers 1757, ii). Based on his own experience and the narrative promoted by Nieuhof and du Halde, Chambers believed that pagodas were simply a common form of architecture in cities as well as in rural areas, but ignored their religious function (Chambers 1757, 5–6; Chambers 1773, 62). Chambers materialised his idea of the Chinese pagoda in the Great Pagoda of Kew Gardens for his patron Augusta, Princess Dowager of Wales (1719–1772) in 1762 (Chambers 1763, 5). Chambers' design was meant to be a translation rather than a faithful replication (Porter 2010, 44). Although bearing a resemblance to a Chinese pagoda with its octagonal shape and decorative bells, the Great Pagoda was built after Nieuhof's drawing and even perpetuated his mistake by building the pagoda with ten storeys. This is not a surprise, as Chambers stated that Chinese pagodas usually consist of "seven, eight, and sometimes ten stories," although as mentioned above, pagodas with even-numbered storeys

were rarely seen in China (Chambers 1757, 5). Chambers' design fulfilled the popular imagination of and taste for Chinese buildings as "light, frivolous, immediately pretty and gaily coloured" decoration in the royal garden (Impey 1977, 146). Alongside other exotic plants, trees, and architecture, it constituted part of an ambitious project of collecting the world. It was the underlying logic of Nieuhof's depiction of the pagoda that led to its exoticisation in early modern Europe. As Benjamin Schmidt argues, it was the "self-conscious strategy of exoticism" that marketed the idea of the exotic outside world and gave its form to the prints appealing to readers, viewers, and consumers across Europe (Schmidt 2015, 83–161). After the Great Pagoda of Kew Gardens, the concept of the pagoda was materialised in other major European palaces, especially the pagoda at the Chateau de Chanteloup (Qi and Gong 2008, 124-127). The design of the pagoda at Chanteloup was inspired by Chambers, but the two characters, "acknowledging gratitude" (zhi'en 知恩), inscribed on its ground floor show its direct connection with the Bao'en Pagoda.[10] One century after Nieuhof's visit to China, pagodas had been completely stripped of their religious or cultural connotations and coated with a veneer of the Orient.

Cultural Preference: *Liuli ta* vs Porcelain Pagoda

While the pagoda was recorded as the *Liuli ta* in late imperial China, it was commonly dubbed the "Porcelain Pagoda" in post-seventeenth-century Europe. The terms *liuli* 琉璃 (glazed ceramic) and porcelain expressed not just technological means but, more significantly, cultural implications. From the modern perspective of ceramic production, *liuli* is usually fired at a temperature of 800°C to 1000°C, whereas porcelain is fired at a much higher temperature of 1200°C to 1400°C. A higher temperature demands technological advancement, and thus porcelain, in comparison with pottery, implies higher quality. However, in the historical context, the epithets convey cultural implications and social status. In medieval China, *liuli* referred to glass or colored gemstones. Both were precious materials imported from Central Asia and commonly used in Buddhist ritual offerings (Yu 2018, 237–238). During the Ming period, *liuli* referred to glazed ceramic, which was made for palaces, government buildings, and state-sanctioned temples (Hsu 2012–13, 38–39). Therefore, the term *Liuli ta* signifies the prestige of the pagoda and its relationship with the imperial family. At the same time, it is not a surprise that Nieuhof and the Europeans who wrote after him chose to use the phrase "porcelain pagoda" (Figure 8a). By the time of Nieuhof's visit, porcelainware had already captured European interest as a valued commodity, and the word "porcelain" in seventeenth-century Europe would have been understood as the blue-and-white type (Impey 1977, 92–94). Therefore, it might not be a coincidence that in the decades after the publication of Nieuhof's travelogue, Europe witnessed the appearance of miniature pagodas made of blue and white porcelain in the grand residences of the social elite, such as the one in the collection of Theodore Royer (1737-1807) (van Campen, 17-27) (Figure 9).

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[10] Zhi'en and Bao'en are often used together in classical Chinese as an idiom, meaning to acknowledge the kindness and thus to repay the kindness. For the design and history of the pagoda, see Smentek 2019, 161–175.

Figure 9: A porcelain pagoda from the collection of Theodore Royer (1737-1807). Porcelain and wood. 119 x 25 cm. Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden.

The Bao'en Pagoda was unfortunately destroyed during the Taiping Rebellion in 1856. Due to its height, the remarkably ambitious leader Wei Changhui 韋昌輝 (1823–1856) bombarded the pagoda while the city was besieged by the troops of an opposing leader, Shi Dakai 石達開 (1831–1863).[11] Various visual and textual sources in China and Europe failed to provide consistent, complete accounts of its building materials. Therefore, its material composition and its exact appearance have remained "a persisting enigma" (Eng 2016, 178–188). Archaeological findings suggest that both porcelain and *liuli* were used in the construction of the pagoda. The clay that was used to make the *liuli* tiles was transported from Dangtu county (in Anhui province), about 70 kilometres upstream on the Yangtze River, but the *liuli* building parts were fired locally: more than seventy official kilns have been found in the neighboring villages near Jubao Mountain (Map 1). [12] Two *liuli* arches were reconstructed with components unearthed from the ruins of the pagoda and the nearby kiln sites (Figure 10).[13] Zhang Dai, the above-mentioned Ming loyalist, recorded that three identical sets of each building part were made—one used for the actual building and the other two numbered and buried beneath the pagoda. Therefore, if a tile or brick was damaged, the Board of Works could dig out the identical piece according to the reported number (*Taoan mengyi*, 2. Kafalas 2007, 27). Inscriptions have been found on *liuli* pieces showing such a numbering system, possibly used to number the replacement pieces as Zhang Dai suggested (Eng 2016, 180–181; Qi Haining 2018, 81).

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[11] Zhang 2007. For the conflict between Wei and Shi 1980, see Kuhn 1978, 295.

[12] An immense number of *liuli* tiles and bricks were not only made for the construction of the pagoda, but also for that of the imperial palace and other state-related projects (Eng 2016, 181–182; Leng 2016, 56–57).

[13] These two arches are housed in the Nanjing Museum and the Nanjing Municipal Museum. Although the excavated parts seem to fit the reconstructed arches, this does not necessarily mean that they originally belonged to the pagoda. Some parts might have belonged to the monastery or the imperial palace.

Figure 10: Arch-surround of the Bao'en Pagoda, reconstructed with pieces excavated from the site of the Bao'en Monastery and the ruins of the imperial kiln. Nanjing Museum (9 September 2022, photo by Xing Yue).

In addition, white porcelain bricks have been discovered on the ruined site of the pagoda since the Republican Era (1911–1949). These bricks, typical of the 'sweet white' (*tianbai*甜白) wares of the Yongle period, have a pure, lustrous white glaze, without any decoration. Their production site has been traced to the Zhushan official kiln in Jingdezhen.[14] The pieces excavated under the pagoda and in Zhushan have various sizes and shapes (Figure 11). As scholars shrewdly point out, these porcelain slabs were mostly used to line the interior and exterior faces (Eng 2016, 182; Zhang 2018, 91–93). Therefore, although both *liuli* ceramic and porcelain were used in its construction, *liuli* was most likely the predominant material for the pagoda.
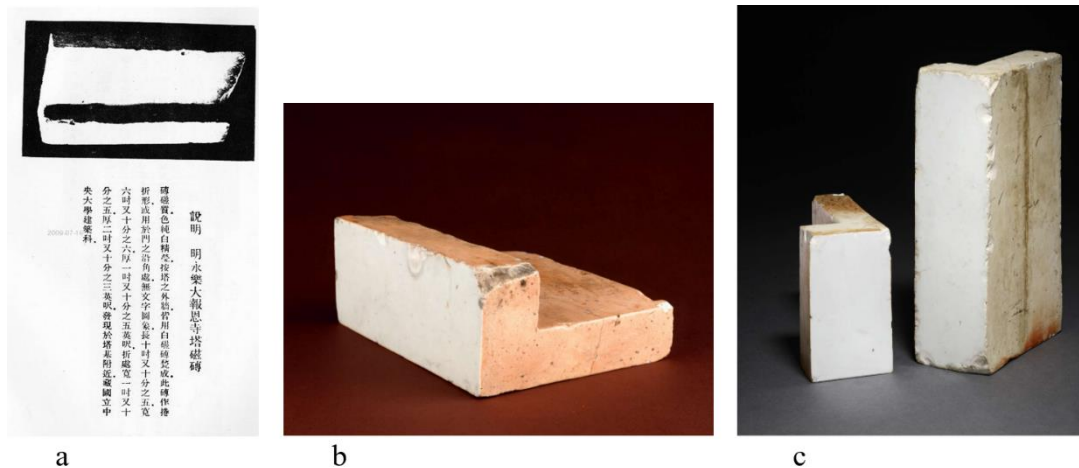
Figure 11: Porcelain tiles from the Bao'en Pagoda: (a) H. 3.8 cm, w. 26.67 cm, d. 16.8 cm. Photo by Zhang Huiyi 張惠衣, in *Jinling Dabaoensi ta zhi* 金陵大報恩寺塔志 (Treatise on the Great Monastery of Repaying Parental Kindness and its pagoda in Jinling) (Beijing: Shangwu chubanshe, 1937), Plate 9. Harvard-Yenching Library/Harvard Library, Cambridge. MA, (b) H. 3.7 cm, w. 18.8 cm, d. 14.9 cm. British Museum, London. (c) H. 13-37 cm. British Museum, London.

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[14] An exhibition on Ming imperial kilns at Shandong Provincial Museum in 2017 provides solid evidence about the usage and function of these white porcelain cladding pieces (Zhang 2018, 91–93).

Existing images of the pagoda should not be taken as objective representations. Chinese and European paintings favored different colour schemes. In Xu Xianqing's painting (Figure 1), *Kangxi nanxun tu* (Figure 2), and images of the pagoda made by Buddhist converts in the early nineteenth century (Figure 6a), the façade of the Bao'en Pagoda is predominantly covered in red, green, and yellow, colours which were not only common for glazed *liuli* ceramic but also more auspicious than white. By contrast, English architect and artist Thomas Allom (1804–1872) and Irish writer George Newenham Wright (c. 1794–1877) illustrated the walls of the pagoda as predominantly white in colour, suggesting porcelain as the main building material and *liuli* ceramic as decoration (Figure 12). Like Nieuhof, they listed it as an architectural marvel in their account. Under the title of "The Porcelain Tower, Nanking," is written:

> The inner part, or body of the walls, is brick, but the inside lining and the facing without, of beautiful white glazed porcelain slabs, fixed in the masonry by means of deep keys, cut like a half T in the brick. The projecting roof of each story consists of green and yellow porcelain tiles in alternate perpendicular rows, and running up each angle is a moulding of larger tiles, glazed and coloured red and green alternately (Allom 1858–9, 162).

Today, this passage is often taken as evidence to verify excavated building parts, but there is no proof that Allom or Wright ever visited China. Their knowledge most likely was drawn from various first-hand and second-hand accounts, as after the First Opium War (1840–1842), writings about and images of Nanjing by missionaries, soldiers, and merchants were widely available in Britain. Allom's illustration situates the pagoda in a reconstructed context: the pagoda is made the focus of the composition, but the walls of the monastery are conveniently omitted. What is placed in the foreground is a funeral procession, composed of a mixture of sedan chairs, labourers with shoulder poles, and funeral banners. Such a spatial configuration situates the pagoda in a curious ethnographic setting, a collage of visual vocabulary that was exotic yet comprehensible to European viewers. The choice of the word "porcelain" in both the caption and the text reflects the pervasive European enchantment with the material from the eighteenth century onward.

Figure 12: Thomas Allom, "The Porcelain Tower, Nanking," in Allom and George Newenham Wright, The Chinese Empire Illustrated: Being a Series of Views from Original Sketches, Displaying the Scenery, Architecture, Social Habits etc., of that Ancient and Exclusive Nation, London: The London Printing and Publishing Company (Limited), 1858-1859, Volume 2, Division 6, 10. Harvard-Yenching Library/Harvard Library, Cambridge, MA.

Conclusion

A doctrinal interpretation of the purpose of constructing a pagoda would immediately point to the central role of relics. However, this was often not the case in reality. As John Kieschnick points out, stupas or pagodas after the sixth century were often more than a repository of sacred objects: they were remembered as monumental architecture or helped prominent officials and members of the imperial family to secure prestige (Kieschnick 2003, 56). This is clearly testified in the case of the Bao'en Pagoda. As the archaeological discovery in the 2010s showed, the relics were already interred under the pagoda during the Song dynasty, but their existence was never mentioned in any of the above texts. During the two centuries after its construction, the Bao'en Pagoda was assigned different meanings that were not necessarily associated with relics. The textual sources and visual representations referring to the pagoda were not static but became active agents redefining its cultural underpinnings and stimulating new forms of narrative and visual representation. In the Yongle imperial edict, its construction is part of a political strategy; in the monastery gazetteer, it is documented to consolidate the monastery's property; in Ming and Qing literary works, it is a landmark rising on the horizon of the cityscape; in Nieuhof's travelogue, its prominent place sparked the fascination with the Chinese landscape in the European imagination.

The Bao'en Pagoda was not only an urban spectacle; its height also made it a strategic military vantage point. It was for this reason that it was destroyed during the Taiping Rebellion. Afterwards, the pagoda fell into ruin and the site never resumed activity as a monastery until it was reconstructed in 2015. Despite its destruction, the pagoda never ceased to exist in the imagination and continued to generate images commemorating it. While it remained as the *Liuli ta* in the Chinese memory, it gained more malleable forms as the "Porcelain Pagoda" in the refashioning of European living style. In so doing, the complex process of place-making of the pagoda was not limited to the construction of its physical structure; more importantly, it was texts and images that contributed to the creation of its meanings and multiple faces.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Diglossia, Intralingual Translation, Rewriting: Towards a New Approach to the Analysis of the Relationship between Ming-Qing Vernacular Stories and their Classical Sources (1)

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The article addresses the issue of the numerous vernacular narratives of the *huaben* 話本 genre (late Ming/early Qing period, 17th c.) that are the result of the rewriting of earlier sources in literary language. It introduces a new method of analysis of this transformative process based on a systematic survey of the components of these stories: language, narrative points of view, rewriting micro-strategies. This allows for a detailed description of the way in which the authors/editors of the time produced these narratives. This methodology is anchored in a comprehensive theoretical approach to the development of the vernacular in the period under consideration, underlining that the definition of the vernacular is not purely linguistic but includes many other factors. It recalls that the situation of diglossia in written Chinese was a subject that authors of the time were acutely aware of and which they discussed extensively in their critical writings. It suggests that the process whereby *huaben* were produced from earlier sources corresponds to what has been described in modern times as intralingual translation, which could be defined as a commentary, but a commentary that plays on several language registers.

十七世紀中國出現大量基於文言小說改編的話本小說。本文通過考察話本這一敘事體裁的語言、敘事視角和微觀改寫策略，介紹一種分析小說改編過程的新方法，用以詳細描述作者或編者的寫作方式和敘述宗旨。文章立足於對明末清初通俗文學發展的綜合性理論研究，強調對"俗"的特殊定義，比如"白話"不單純指一套語言上與文言相對的體系，而是還包括許多其他因素。評論著作表明，當時的作家和文人都敏銳地意識到中文書面語中白話與文言並存的現象。基於文言模本的話本小說，其編寫過程在某種意義上實屬翻譯學的"語內翻譯"範疇。語內翻譯基本上可視為一種評述，在這裡則表現爲一種轉換不同語體的評述。

Introduction[1]

One of the most fascinating observable phenomena in the making of Chinese classical premodern fictional literature is the way so many of its products result, not from creation, but rather from *re*creation: from the recycling of earlier sources, tirelessly rewoven into new stories. Far from being a limitation on the creative process, this practice which consists in generating new contents from a network of pre-existing textual references shows how heavily the imaginary realm relies on the power of rewriting.

Nowhere, perhaps, does this power of rewriting seem more obvious than in the production of vernacular short stories of the Ming and early Qing periods—what are commonly referred to in sinological literature as *huaben* 話本-type vernacular novellas.[2] Of the few hundreds of stories of the time that have come down to us, almost always published in collections, a significant part are the result of the reprocessing of previous sources. Each chapter typically consists of at least one introductory story and one main story, with each of these having its own sources.[3] Over decades of scholarly research, a huge number of these sources have been identified.[4] Sometimes they were given by the writers themselves within their own narratives. The existence of such a wealth of material, including source texts and target texts resulting from their rewriting, provides ample fodder for textual comparisons. Modern observers have extensive matter therein to analyse in full detail the making of a considerable number of literary texts, with an access to related data rarely equalled in the whole Chinese literary tradition.

It is the aim of this paper to propose a general description of the textual strategies developed and implemented by the authors/editors of the late Ming period writing in this particular genre, and to attempt to analyse some of the effects, intended or unexpected, which result from such strategies. These strategies, as some of the examples cited will show, will remain embedded in writing practices well beyond the period under consideration. As will be further outlined, it is remarkable how textual strategies developed by authors/editors of the late Ming period anticipate theoretical approaches developed in translation studies, in particular in relation to the act of rewriting or operations of intralingual translation.

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[1] The author wishes to express his thanks to the two anonymous reviewers for their careful reading of this paper and for their very helpful suggestions. He also would like to express his sincere gratitude to the editors of the *Journal of the European Association for Chinese Studies* for agreeing to the publication of this long article in two successive issues of the journal.

[2] Classic references on this genre include Hanan 1973, Hanan 1981, Lévy 1981, S. Hu 1980.

[3] At least up to the collections written by Li Yu 李漁 (1610-1680). A strong advocate of originality and personal imagination in the creation of theatrical plays as well as short story collections (*Wusheng xi* 無聲戲/*Liancheng bi* 連城璧, *Shierlou* 十二樓), he rarely explicitly relied on previous stories. See Hanan 1988, Chap. 3, "The necessity of invention", p. 45-58. After him, *huaben* authors tended increasingly to create their own stories.

[4] Some have been published, as is the case for sources for Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574-1646) and Ling Mengchu's 凌濛初 (1580-1644) five collections in Tan 1980. Some have been exhaustively inventoried, as in Lévy et al. 1978–2006, the most comprehensive compendium to date for story by story descriptions of the genre, which provides plot summaries and a great number of sources for close to five hundred chapters amounting to many more individual stories, in around twenty-five collections. New publications regularly give reports of new sources that have been identified, for individual stories or even full collections (see, e.g., Rao 2006 or H.-H. Chan 1995).

Keeping in mind how rewriting changes the destiny of a text, we will outline how language strategies were as important to the authors/editors as the contents of their narratives—in other words, how they were constantly led by the assumption that *how* things were said was inseparable from *what* was said. Their approach to writing as rewriting sheds light on how they interpreted texts: their *modus operandi*, obviously indebted to their own practice of commentary, can be seen as an interpretation, which in turn is not fundamentally different from actual translation.

Rewrite, recycle, translate

In the above-mentioned division between the *how* and the *what*, the former has always attracted surprisingly little interest in the scholarly literature describing the making of *huaben* stories. This was not for want of a thorough knowledge of the hundreds of textual sources at the origin of hundreds of vernacular stories, nor for lack of remarkable studies on the subject, especially in the West, during the few last decades of the 20th century, including Idema, Lévy, and Hanan, to name a few. (Idema 1974) (Lévy 1981) Perhaps because of a greater interest in historical, diachronic perspectives, many Western scholars have favoured approaches that prioritise questions of dating, authorship, and composition understood in a predominantly stylistic way. In this respect, Patrick Hanan's work has had such a profound and lasting influence, at least in Western Sinology, that it may have durably inhibited other possible approaches to the analysis of short story formation—in particular the concrete description of textual micro-strategies that authors, synchronically, implemented in order to transform a textual source, typically written in literary Chinese, into a vernacular story. (Hanan 1973) If one does find in Western scholarship sustained reference to a story as "amplification" of a source text, *how* exactly this was done is rarely documented in a concrete, descriptive way, and certainly not in full detail.[5] It is true that it would be a very time-consuming task, as it would imply minute textual comparisons in an extensive way; but it would be extremely rewarding, as has been demonstrated by Vibeke Børdahl in a slightly different field, namely storytellers' narrative variations on a given theme. (Børdahl 2013; Børdahl and Ge 2017)

I believe this lack of interest is partly due to the fact that the translation paradigm implied in the writing of vernacular stories has been largely neglected. This question relates to that of the diglossia of the Chinese language, a subject that, as it happens, never appears to its full extent as a proper theoretical object under the pen of historians of literature; more often it surfaces as something referred to *en passant*, while the focus of the study is directed at other topics. Not that there has never been a consciousness that something like translation was at stake: surprisingly, this has been repeatedly mentioned, and even from very early on. For example, Jaroslav Průšek, sticking to the storyteller's figure in the writing of short stories, talks about "the artistic way in which the story-teller adapted, expanded and remodeled his pattern". (Průšek 1970, 376) Patrick Hanan refers repeatedly to the practice of what he can only call "translation" in the work scheme of *huaben* editors when they created a vernacular story on the basis of a classical tale, as is

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[5] Lévy, e.g., remains quite short on "L'utilisation des sources" and the precise way in which the sources are used: Lévy 1981, 211–18.

the case in "dozens of such pairs of stories", in the work of Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574-1646) and other publishers. However, while acknowledging the importance of "the choice of a particular language, literary or vernacular", and the transformative relationship between the two, he cannot fully agree with a translation paradigm, as he considers the diglossic situation at stake "is merely one of the elements within the total narrative method", which encompasses many other narrative and rhetorical features, and above all a "mode of commentary" distinct, in his view, from the act of translation. (Hanan 1967, 172–73) Indeed, how can we talk about translation when, in some cases, the rewriting barely even shifts from literary to vernacular? And yet, Hanan acknowledges, how deftly even the "most economical adaptation possible" changes everything from one version to another, how "subtle" the "differences of character and theme", with what virtuosity the "mode of commentary" plays as "a lens through which the whole work appears different"![6] More recently, Roland Altenburger, discussing a female knight-errant story in literary language rather faithfully transformed into a vernacular story by Ling Mengchu 凌濛初 (1580-1644), again incidentally refers to this relocation as a "translation". But, interestingly enough, he does this while mitigating the use of the word "translation" with several correlated procedures such as "recycling", "rewriting", "compiling", "arranging", and with the *caveat* that it is more or less relevant, again, to commentary, and above all, tied up by the need to *control the story's interpretation*.[7] Actually, all these words relate to hugely important issues, to which we will come back in due time.

To sum up, in Western Sinology, an understanding of (re)writing as a form of translation in the production of stories is no sooner sketched out than it is immediately eschewed, because of a kind of general avoidance regarding this very word of *translation*, which may sound strange in this context. Its use hardly goes beyond a vague reference as a metaphor, not in its full meaning. In Chinese Sinology, it almost goes without saying that, partly for ideological reasons, referring to the relationship between *su* 俗 and *wen* 文 as one of translation would be regarded as outright heresy.[8] This is despite the fact that the most recent research in China has produced some excellent studies on the narrative specificities of *huaben* stories, including comparisons with other genres in terms of literary language. But this research tends to remain within a framework of general comparison between narrative modes rather than a systematic source/target

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[6] Patrick Hanan about "TY 29", *i.e.*, *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言, chap. 29, an "early" story published by Feng Menglong: Hanan 1973, 178.

[7] Altenburger discusses Hu Rujia's 胡汝嘉 (*jinshi* 1553) story "Wei Shiyiniang zhuan" 韋十一娘傳 rewritten into Ling Mengchu's story "Cheng Yuanyu diansi dai changqian, Shiyiniang Yungang zong tanxia" 程元玉店肆代償錢 十一娘雲岡縱譚俠, in chap. 4 of *Pai'an jingqi* 拍案驚奇. He states: "Neither Ling Mengchu nor Feng Menglong should principally be regarded as the original authors of the stories in their collections, since they practically always reworked extant narrative material. Therefore, their authorial functions rather consisted in the editorial procedures of textual "recycling", such as rewriting, translating from classical diction to the vernacular idiom, compiling and arranging. While the classical tale used to be presented with rather little narrative and commentarial framework, the vernacular novella was commonly accompanied by a vast apparatus of rhetorical and commentarial features which aimed at controlling the story's interpretation." See Altenburger 2009, 129.

[8] Oddly enough, the term *yi* 譯 ("translation") is routinely used nowadays in editions of Classics in modern *baihua* 白話. But it is never used when commenting on vernacular stories rewritten from previous material in literary language. Discussing the making of several such stories, the word most often used by the great *huaben* specialist Hu Shiying 胡士瑩 is *fuyan* 敷演, literally "elaborate" (on a theme), "expound the meaning" (of the Classics). See S. Hu 1980, vol. 2, 455–58. While this activity is unquestionably implied, it does not cover the full range of the writing strategies at stake in such textual production that we will discuss further on.

text juxtaposition, and generally places little emphasis on the linguistic features of the texts.[9] In both cases, it is remarkable to see how little attention has been paid to minute, factual analysis of the textual strategies and micro-strategies implied in the writing of such stories from extant sources, and on how this shift between the source in *wenyanwen* 文言文 (literary Chinese) and a target text in *tongsu* 通俗 (vernacular) operates on a concrete level, with reference to textual evidence. Let us confess it: in Western Sinology at least, this notion of rewriting has been considered a weakness instead of something to be celebrated, and as a sign of limited imagination—which may be why, conversely, an author like Li Yu 李漁 (1610-1680), a strong advocate of originality and personal imagination who claims to care very little for the recycling of pre-existing sources, has garnered so much attention. In China, it is the linguistic transformation between the two realms of literary and vernacular languages that is most easily overlooked: if much erudition is always dedicated to the diachronic evolution of narrative themes, much less is said about its synchronic effects at the narratological, stylistic, and linguistic levels.

In concluding these introductory remarks, and before going on to our central topic, I would like to pause briefly here to comment on terminology and methodology.

First, with regard to terminology, I have no qualms whatsoever about repeatedly using the term *huaben* 話本 to refer to the Ming-Qing vernacular stories as published under the names of Feng Menglong, Ling Mengchu, and their many emulators and successors. I prefer the Chinese term over its English equivalents—if only as its two syllables come in rather handy! This being said, no scholar of premodern Chinese narrative literature is unaware that this term, which has been in common use in international Sinological practice for decades, is to a large extent a reconstruction dating back to the 1920s, that it only very partially covers the reality of the terms that have historically been used by authors and publishers contemporary with the production of these texts, and that it is an accurate way to designate a genre that itself is far from having a formal unity and has been the subject of continuous debate for almost a century. I see no reason, though, to reject a well-established term, widely used by Chinese colleagues, who resort to it in full knowledge of its complex history and of the heterogeneous aspects it conveys. Such a case of denomination as a relative artifice is in fact common to many literary genres, and no matter how much we like it or not, there has to be a term, however imperfect, for a reality that we want to investigate in writing. I will also readily use its English equivalents, such as short story, vernacular story, or novella, but with the *caveat* that these equivalents often tell us more about the history of English literature than anything else. If we refer to the terms used by Patrick Hanan's French counterpart André Lévy at the time both were researching the subject, we are forced to note that establishing a coherent terminology between two

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[9] This is the case, for example, of Li Guikui 李桂奎 in his comparison between the narration of the *chuanqi* 傳奇 Tang tale in literary language and that of the *huaben*: not to mention intralingual translation, which is absent as might be expected, the linguistic question between the two genres, though striking from a Western point of view, is almost entirely ignored in his study. In his otherwise comprehensive and competent analysis, it is reduced to a few final pages, mainly in the form of a reference to "empty words" and other grammatical markers typical of the literary language: G. Li 2013, 244–47. Liu Yongqiang's 劉勇强 work presents a notable exception in this respect, devoting an entire chapter of his book to an analysis, including linguistic analysis, of the way in which the narratives of the *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 by Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202) were transformed and vernacularised in the *huaben* of the *San Yan Er Pai* 三言二拍 (the five collections in total compiled by Feng Menglong and Ling Mengchu) : Y. Liu 2015, 58–82.

relatively close European languages proved hardly possible, the French literary framework being different, which reveals by contrast that the objectivity of the English translations was itself relative, being dependent on usages specific to that language. For example, the English *novella* does not cover the same thing as the French *nouvelle*, which itself means *short story* but would not be applicable to this particular kind of Chinese text. This debate could go on endlessly and would be nothing short of sterile, and the author of these lines prefers to remember the exchanges he had about it with Lévy, who found the discussion rather flawed and had the common sense to give as a Chinese subtitle to the vast *Inventaire analytique et critique du conte chinois en langue vulgaire* he had directed: *Huaben zongmu tiyao* 話本總目提要. Better *huaben* then, than its not-that-objective foreign substitutes…[10]

More importantly, the second point aims at providing the reader with some explanation of the outline adopted by this article and the reason why I have considered developing a new methodological approach. This paper is relatively long, which accounts for its publication in two parts. The first part has a certain descriptive and technical character; the second part is more theoretical. As a matter of fact, the theoretical dimension has intellectually preceded the practical dimension, which is the way I have attempted to put certain conceptual models to the test. But in order to support the theoretical arguments, it is essential to have first described our method of analysis and put forward some data. Thus the need to deal with the more technical aspects as a first stage, and with the theoretical ones in the subsequent part.

In the course of years of exposure to *huaben* literature, I have always been under the impression, in those cases where these texts had known sources, that the vernacular versions were in fact nothing more than their commentaries. Among the many different traditions of commentary that have permeated China's intellectual and literary history, this one had the particular characteristic of involving continual changes of linguistic register. This was its most original trait: that which showed tensions, and remarkable displays of virtuosity, between the two poles of literary language and vernacular, with many possible intermediary nuances. There was thus a dimension of translation included in the commentarial process. The inter-semiotic transfer inextricably mixed utterance and enunciation, content (meaning) and form (linguistic variations). This interested me because of a personal position resolutely in favour of the broadest possible definition of what I would call the spectrum of translation: it was obvious to me that the dimension of translation was to be considered fully, and not just as a metaphor or an image.

In order to assess these questions, I turned to the field of Translation Studies, a discipline still far too neglected by the Sinological community, although this is beginning to change, because it was initially developed under very Eurocentric conditions, with little consideration for East Asian realities. Within it, a niche research area—itself subject to contrasting assessments—deals with what is known as intralingual translation. From its point of view, we can observe that, far from being original, the situation of the

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[10] Lévy addressed these terminological issues in various publications from as early as the 1960s: Lévy and Lei 1968; Lévy 1971; Lévy 1976. An excellent summary of the term was given by Lévy in the "Hua-pen" entry of the *Indiana Companion*: Lévy 1985. The use of the term *huaben* is definitely not avoided by most Western scholars of Sinology today, who, like myself, find it unproblematic provided they are aware of its history. Idema and Haft, *e.g.*, use it throughout the related chapters of their authoritative guide to Chinese literature: Idema and Haft 1997, 212–30. Scholars of the younger generation rightly follow this line, such as Ewan MacDonald throughout his PhD dissertation (MacDonald 2016), to cite only one among innumerable examples.

formation of Chinese vernacular narratives on the basis of classical sources was in fact very similar to what is described in completely different contexts, both culturally and temporally—for example in Greece, Turkey, and Denmark. In each case the drive for intralingual translation typically took place in times of strongly evolving socialities, and paradigm shifts characterised by the emergence of vernaculars. Sometimes this occurred with much more radical changes than those observed in China: the case of Turkey, for example, shows massive upheavals of combined lexicographic and graphic systems. This raised recurrent questions, which I was able to share with some colleagues, about the role of the vernacular in the transmission of knowledge and the role played by new literacies in premodern China.[11]

The testing of the intralingual translation paradigm thus constitutes the focal point of this paper, insofar as it proposes a reasoned reflection on resemantisation phenomena considered in a broad sense. These can take a variety of forms, from recognisable translation strategies to more exotic forms including literary amplifications with no obvious connection to the source. But in order to talk about intralingual translation, it is essential to first discuss what is implied by the notion of the vernacular. Of this notion, which is covered by the semantic field of the term *tongsu* 通俗, widely used in premodern sources, one might quip that it is what Sinologists talk about all the time while carefully avoiding having to give it a definition. It is not our aim to give a complete answer to this complex subject, but we will at least offer some observations in which our method of textual analysis will be put to use. Let us say from the outset that the field of *tongsu* combines elements that are obviously linguistic with others that are more related to social bonds or semiological strategies. We can thus notice that it is not necessary to write in the vernacular in order to engage in vernacular discourse, and that vernacularisation can very well be situated less on a level of enunciation (language) than on utterance (the rearrangement of content). This can be shown objectively. But in order to talk about *tongsu,* there is still another precondition: one must first have raised another crucial question, that of diglossia. Here again is a subject that is very often neglected in the Sinological discourse, even, perhaps surprisingly, among specialists of vernacular literature. In this field more than anywhere else, it is important to give full weight to historical voices: what did the authors, commentators, preface writers of the times say about it? It so happens that they have left us many reflections in this regard, to which we will give our full attention.

This, then, is essentially the roadmap we propose to follow, and the few theoretical elements we have just sketched out will suffice for the moment to determine roughly in which direction we are heading, pending further development in the second part of this paper. Before turning to these issues, we must first address the question we started from: how were the rewritings (or amplifications, or intralingual translations) achieved, in regard to the factual process of their making? Since we have determined that the process of rewriting involved in the formation of *huaben* stories fundamentally combines two voices, a properly linguistic voice and a voice that is more specifically hermeneutic, we have to manage to take them jointly into account.

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[11] See, for example, the workshops I co-organised with Barbara Bisetto and Roland Altenburger: "Dynamics of knowledge transmission and linguistic transformation in Chinese textual cultures" (2021): https://knowl-lingtrans.sciencesconf.org ; "Premodern Chinese literature as an archive of vernacular knowledge and everyday life culture" (2022): https://vernaknowl.sciencesconf.org .

Towards a new methodology of textual comparison: I. Textual analysis, rewriting dynamics, micro-strategies

This combination of the linguistic *and* hermeneutic dimensions comes to light if we make the effort to conduct a careful analysis of the textual strategies implemented by authors/editors in order to produce their stories. Having undertaken a systematic survey of these strategies through concrete cases of textual comparisons between source texts and vernacular stories written on their basis, I have experimented with a methodology that takes into account concomitantly both the linguistic/stylistic aspects and the rewriting procedures involved. (Lanselle 2018) To put it in more theoretical terms, what needs to be accounted for at the same time here pertains to both indexical and denotational levels. By indexical level, I mean the language and enunciation characteristics (*how* things are expressed, *i. e.*, in what language and from what narrative point of view, or diegetic position); by denotational level, I understand the utterance per se, *i.e.*, the different micro-strategies involved to transform a source text into a target text (*what* is expressed).[12] The table below summarises all the categories, defined after several rounds of trial runs, involved in the textual analysis and characterisation of rewriting procedures. It will be the reference for all subsequent descriptions.

I. Indexical Level

➜ Language and Enunciation Characteristics

I.a. Linguistic Characteristics

- Literary Chinese
- Vernacular Chinese: Standard Guanhua
- Vernacular Chinese: Dialectal
- Mixed Language
- Bivalent

I.b. Narrative Point of View

- 1st Person Narration
- 3rd Person Narration
- Dialogue
- Inner Monologue
- Reported Speech/Reported Text
- 3rd Person + Dialogue Combination
- Rhetorical Dialogue/Storyteller's Stock Phrase
- Inserted Verse/Inserted Depiction

II. Denotational Level (Utterance)

➜ Textual Transformation Micro-strategies

- Verbatim Quotation
- Quasi-Quotation/Amplified Quotation

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[12] Hereafter I shall refer to source text as ST and to target text as TT.

- Translation/Replacement by (Quasi-)Synonym
- Amplified Translation
- Explanatory Translation/Reformulation
- Divergence
- Addition/Amplification
- Diverging Addition/Diverging Amplification
- Omission
- Textual Displacement

Below are some explanations, accompanied by examples, in the knowledge that any textual comparison between a given source text (ST) and a given target text (TT) necessarily implies characteristics relevant to each of the three categories, I.a, I.b and II.

Two points should be noted about the examples given. First, they are not taken randomly from the texts: all the quotes are drawn from a corpus of textual comparisons made in full between a *huaben* text and a source (or sometimes more than one)—a time-consuming but systematic task.[13] Second, the purpose of the examples given is to highlight the processes of transformation, not to explain the context in which these examples are embedded, which would take us out of our scope. Our only interest at this stage is to demonstrate a methodology of survey in order to offer new possibilities for interpretation.

I. Indexical Level (Language and Enunciation Characteristics) : I.a. Linguistic Characteristics

With virtually 100 % of the ST written in literary Chinese, TT, even though generally referred to as "vernacular literature", actually combines the full palette of the possible linguistic combinations of vernacular and classical written styles in both prose and verse. While making wide use of a typically standardised vernacular, based on the Northern *guanha* 官話 as spoken in the lower Yangzi regions with the influence of the Henan so-called *Zhongzhou yun* 中州韻, TT also makes use of many dialectal expressions. The vernacular literary language of the *huaben* stories was to some extent a supra-regional style of writing, which in no way means that it would not have been a language spoken by anyone. As has been observed in all instances of the formalising of written vernacular expression, in Asia or elsewhere, and as has often been demonstrated in relation to the role of theatrical performances, the vernacular style has been a powerful lever for the standardisation of a spoken language at a national level.[14] Though it may seem quite obvious for any reader of vernacular literature, we should stress nevertheless that there

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[13] The methodology described in this paper is the result of the detailed analysis of *ca.* 20 *huaben* and their identified ST, this corpus being regularly expanded.

[14] On *guanhua*, see the reference work Ōta 1958, with its Chinese translation Ōta 2003. See also the entries of the Brill *Encyclopedia of Chinese Language and Linguistics*: Coblin 2015; Lamarre 2015; Simmons 2015; Kaske 2015; C. W. Li 2015; Altenburger, Wan, and Børdahl 2015, 8, 40, 175, 286-287, 345, 360, 379 n. 20; Børdahl 2010a; Wan 2020, 63–71. On *Zhongzhou yun*: Picard and Lau 2016, 133-135. On opera and linguistic standardisation in the Ming: Vedal 2022, 105–34. Many dialectal expressions found in *huaben* literature are collected in D. Lu 1979, re-ed. D. Lu 2009. On dialect in *huaben* short stories: Lan 2017; Lei 2003. An excellent and up-to-date account of the linguistic situation of standard *guanhua* in early Qing and its Jiangnan influence is given by Simmons 2021, 14–19. This situation was described in the West as early as Father Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674-1743): Simmons, *ibid*, 17. W. South Coblin repeatedly refers to the role played by vernacular narratives: Coblin 2000.

probably does not exist a single case of a *huaben* story in which literary Chinese is not also present, sometimes massively. Actually, translation/rewriting from literary Chinese to literary Chinese deserves special attention, and for this reason we will come back to it too in part II. of this paper.

The Mixed Language category, or intermediary language, is very interesting and relevant everywhere as well, as literary and vernacular writing so often appear as tightly interwoven. One can even affirm that to a large extent the intermingling of different nuances between the two styles is what makes the stylistic richness of the so-called "vernacular" literature. [15] Here is an example of "Translation/Replacement by (Quasi-)Synonym" (cf. micro-strategies classification as detailed below), with a small added amplification, between a source text in literary Chinese and a target text in mixed language:

Source Text (hereunder ST):

公大驚恐，不早相接，妾之罪也，然寶鏹已取，卻僕與馬當即至也。

Sir, you've been exposed to a great deal of fright, and it's my fault that I didn't come to meet you sooner. I have retrieved your goods, as for your servant and your horse, they will be arriving right away.

Target Text (hereunder TT):

公如此大驚，不早來相接，甚是有罪！公貨物已取還，僕馬也在，不必憂疑。

Sir, you've been exposed to a great deal of fright, and it's a great fault of mine that I didn't come to meet you sooner. I have retrieved your goods, your servant and your horse are there too. You have nothing to worry about. [16]

The translation closely follows the original, with the last sentence of TT as a slight amplification. In a TT otherwise marked by the grammar and vocabulary of the classical language (公如此大驚, 甚是有罪, 不必憂疑), elements of vernacular include the verb *lai* 來 inserted in the middle of the original phrase; the suppression of *ran* 然 at the beginning of a clause and of the classical particle *ye* 也 at the end of another clause; the lexical replacement of the rather rare *baoqiang* 寶鏹 by the more common *huowu* 貨物; the replacement of the monosyllabic verb *qu* 取 by the resultative construction *quhuan* 取還, the use of *ye* 也 as the vernacular adverb ("too"), and not as the classical particle. The monosyllabic *gong* 公 (honorific "you", "your") appears only once in ST and twice in TT, giving the impression that while the rewriting aims at easing the reading, it still wants to display a somewhat dignified tone. The "translation" is the same size as the original (ST 25 char./TT 24 char., excluding punctuation). [17] Overall, it can be said that the

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[15] On "intermediate", or "mixed" language used in the *huaben* stories, see Hanan 1981, 14–16.

[16] ST: Hu Rujia, "Wei Shiyiniang zhuan" 韋十一娘傳 (The Story of Lady Wei Eleven); TT: Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 4, "Cheng Yuanyu diansi dai changqian Shiyiniang Yungang zong tanxia" 程元玉店肆代償錢 十一娘雲岡縱譚俠 (Cheng Yuanyu pays for a meal at a restaurant, Lady Eleventh explains swordsmanship on Mount Cloud), main story. See Ling 1981, 84, vol. 1; R. Hu 1995, 2b and R. Hu 1997, 26. On the origin of Hu Rujia's story "Wei Shiyiniang zhuan" 韋十一娘傳 and its two different editions in *Gen shi chao* 亙史抄 and *Shanbu wenyuan zhaju* 刪補文苑植橘: Altenburger 2009, 129–33. More generally on the story of Wei Shiyiniang and its rewriting by Ling Mengchu: Altenburger 2009, 127–51. I am thankful to Roland Altenburger who shared with me these two versions of Wei Shiyiniang's story. See also: Lévy et al. 1978–2006, vol. 3, 838; Tan 1980, vol. 2, 603–4.

[17] In this paper, all punctuation marks are excluded from the character count, as they are usually modern additions.

mixed language statement tends to open up the original ST in literary language, to make it more accessible, but without going as far as a complete vernacular transformation; it retains some of the advantages attached to the literary language statement (e.g. in terms of the authority associated to the use of the latter, as in the case cited below, p. 238).

The presence of literary language in vernacular writing is in fact so important and so universal that in order to account for it we also have recourse to an additional "Bivalent" linguistic category. This category concerns cases of statements which are fundamentally in literary language, whether from the point of view of grammar or lexicon, but which are naturally inserted unchanged into the flow of a vernacular statement. The cases are very varied, and reflect the deep and lasting imbrication of the literary language in even the most vernacular utterances and their structuring quality, a phenomenon still much present in today's Chinese. A typical case is that of *chengyu* 成語 or proverbs—for which it is not necessary to cite examples, so common are they in the *huaben* narratives. Another is that of nominal statements, as in the following example (underlined):

ST:

其桃梅榛栗等菓，日輪猴形者二人供辦。

As for the peaches, plums, hazelnuts and other fruits, two monkey-like men took turns every day serving them.

TT:

<u>桃梅果品</u>，日輪猴形人兩個供辦。

For fruits such as peaches and plums, two monkey-like men took turns every day serving them.[18]

In many cases, these statements expressed in a bivalent register are the result of a translation: the author/editor of TT has been keen, for reasons that are sometimes difficult to pinpoint, to reformulate the ST but without departing from the original classical form. This effort is universally invested even when the gain in clarity appears to be minimal. This is the case in the following example from the same story, where we find two successive bivalent statements in TT, one resulting from a translation (underlined), the other from a verbatim quotation (double underlined):

ST：

婦女十餘人，倚臥不一，如醉迷之狀。

There were about ten women there, some reclining and others lying down, giving the appearance of being drunk.

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[18] ST: Zhou Shaolian 周紹濂 (Diaoyuan huke 釣鴛湖客), *Yuanzhu zhiyu Xuechuang tanyi* 鴛渚志餘雪窗談異, chap. 2, #14, "Dashi zhuxie ji" 大士誅邪記 (The story of the bodhisattva who puts the evil spirits to death); TT: Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 24, "Yanguanyi laomo meise Huihaishan dashi zhuxie" 鹽官邑老魔魅色 會骸山大士誅邪 (The old demon of Yanguan county indulges in debauchery, The bodhisattva on mount Huihai puts the evil spirits to death), main story. See Tao and Zhou 2008, 227; Ling 1981, vol. 2, 507; Q. Li 2013, 9; X. Wang 2018, 62, 65–67; Lévy et al. 1978–2006, vol. 3, 961–65.

TT：

婦女十數個，或眠或坐，多如醉迷之狀。

There were about ten women there, some of them lying down, others seated, most of them giving the appearance of being drunk.[19]

It should be noted that, of all the features defined to describe the different facets of textual transformations, linguistic features are undoubtedly the most delicate area. As in any language, points of contact and hybridisation between different speech levels are pervasive.[20] This is even more so in the case of Chinese due to its diglossic characteristics, where the continuous incorporation of the classical register into the vernacular sometimes makes the analysis tricky. This is why, if on the one hand the question of the vernacular language is relatively clear given its distinct grammatical and lexical characteristics, we have defined the three registers of the literary language, the mixed language, and a bivalent register in an attempt to account for the interactions of the vernacular with its classical environment—an effect of the pervasiveness of the practices of the written culture of the time. As much as we are aware of the experimental character of this endeavour at this stage, which may be subject to further refining, we nevertheless maintain that the analysis requires distinctions to be made, and therefore categories to be defined, without which any data-sustained investigation into textual transformations would be impossible.

I. Indexical Level (Language and Enunciation Characteristics): I.b. Narrative Point of View

While third-person narration is generally predominant in both ST and TT, the other categories are much more differently distributed. It is interesting to note that first-person narration is much more often to be found in ST, *i.e.*, in texts in literary style, than in TT. Sources in literary Chinese, often pertaining, besides historical works, to collections of tales and stories (*e.g.*, *chuanqi* 傳奇), or to *biji* 筆記 and other miscellanea categories, are by tradition environments within which authors are inclined to self-expression, albeit in a very coded way. All manner of rhetorical resources exist for the expression of self in the literati's classical culture—and this includes their culture of examinations. By contrast, TT regularly illustrate a kind of rule by which the more open the style, tending to more transparency by the use of the vernacular, the

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[19] *Ibid.* See Ling 1981, vol. 2, 509; Tao and Zhou 2008, 227–28.

[20] As Patrick Hanan puts it, rightly pointing out the difficulty, at times, of defining exactly what vernacular is: "Since grammar is, in essence, constant, and since there are no inflections in the proper sense, Classical and vernacular may easily be allowed to interpenetrate on the printed page. They are, to a large extent, grammatically compatible systems with different sets of interchangeable parts. It is therefore possible to design a language constructed of both Classical and vernacular elements. In fact, many modern expository and scientific styles use Classical for the syntactical words and vernacular for the substantive words, to borrow a traditional distinction. [...] The vernacular writer has the ever-present opportunity and inclination to create an intermediate language, or more commonly, to adopt one ready made. The two languages can be alternated or they can be mixed, but although a rigorous standard is maintained for Classical, the vernacular writer always compromises to some degree. In the vernacular, the two languages are thus effectively reduced to styles or ingredients of styles. The writer, being bilingual [by this term Hanan clearly means: "diglossic"], can if he chooses work out his own combination of styles, both serially, alternating the two languages, and synthetically." Hanan 1981, 14. With John DeFrancis, who quotes him (DeFrancis 1985, 58), I have reservations, however, if what Hanan expresses by speaking of "grammatically compatible systems" and "in essence, constant" "grammar" implicitly amounts to positing the existence of a single, universal Chinese grammar.

more hidden the direct authorial expression. This phenomenon has been amply discussed, and is consistent with the fact that the practice of anonymity has been much more widespread with the writing of novels and vernacular story collections than with, say, theatre, until the eighteenth century at least.[21] Routinely, when first-person narration occurs in stories and novels, the "I" (and by this I understand the use of any first-person pronoun or of any noun playing the role of a pronoun by proxy) is a narrator distinct from the author, whose identity is typically embodied in the persona of a story-teller, as in the following example:

> 如今待小子再宣一段話本，叫做《包龍圖智賺合同文》。你道這話本出在那裡？

> Today let your humble servant tell you a *huaben*-story, which is entitled "Thanks to his sagacity, Judge Bao reclaims the contract". And where, do you ask, did that *huaben* occur?[22]

In this regard, the most extreme case of first-person narration in short story collections is the *Doupeng xianhua* 豆棚閒話 (Idle Talk under the Bean Arbor), in which virtually all twelve stories should be theoretically considered entirely narrated in the first person, as the author expresses himself through the speeches of twelve successive narrators/villagers in the position of impromptu storytellers taking turns to tell a story in the frame of the bucolic bean arbor. The storytelling device includes the persona of a rector of a Confucian school giving a lesson, again speaking in his own name, in the twelfth and concluding chapter.[23]

We do not need to cite a particular example of dialogue here either, as source rewriting routinely includes the transformation of third person narration into dialogue form. One would not be surprised to find that the proportion of dialogic narration is far greater in vernacular versions of stories in comparison with their sources in literary Chinese, even when no fundamental changes to the plotline occur, as vernacular language is par excellence the domain of subjectivity. By this word I mean something very different from what is being expressed under the signifier of the first person in the case of texts in classical language. The latter, as we have just said, are quite coded, mostly in the sense of an introspection or discovery of one's interiority. But talking about one's interiority does not necessarily mean that one will reveal much about one's subjectivity, as these are two very different notions. Some of the posturing present in the autobiographies of scholars (for example, the constant references to Buddhism) act more as masks than as revelators. The definition I would give of subjectivity is quite the antithesis of this. It corresponds to what Maria Franca Sibau expresses so nicely in her book essentially devoted to the study of the *Xingshi yan* 型世言 collection:

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[21] Robert Hegel contrasts the case of poetry, in which the "persona of the poet" is openly asserted, and that of vernacular short stories and novels where the authorship is routinely masked behind pseudonyms: Hegel 1985, 27. For a study on autobiographical writings, see P. Wu 1990. For discussions on the anonymity of fiction writers see M. Wang 2012, 35–36, Zhu 2004, 69–72. Martin Huang notes how eighteenth-century novels see the rise of autobiographical sensibilities along with the decline of formal autobiographical writings: Huang 1995, 6–9.

[22] Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 33: Ling 1981, vol. 2, 704.

[23] On *Doupeng xianhua*, see Lévy 1965, 110–37, Lévy 1981, 400–403, "Aina" in Hanan 1981, 191–207, Lanselle 2006; translations: Aina jushi 2010, Aina jushi 2017; on the 12th and last chapter, to which we will come back at the end of this paper: H. Wu 2017a, H. Wu 2017b, 229–89.

(...) these stories offer an ideal vantage point to illuminate the rhetorical and ideological differences between classical language biographies and vernacular *huaben*. The vernacular stories, as one would expect, typically flesh out the characters' background and motives for action, often adding subplots and incidents to the terse biographical account. Most significantly, the vernacular stories feature what I have called "discursive frame." Typically, the plots are built around a moral conflict of sorts, which, however, is not presented as an interiorized dilemma, in that there is no depiction of hesitation or inner torment over the proper course of action. Rather, the dilemma is externalized, so that the significance of the heroine's act, the alternative courses of action, and the claims of competing values are discussed by a more or less colorful crowd of relatives, servants, friends, and neighbors. What was portrayed as an individual, private drama in the original biography becomes an issue whose social ramifications are explored in the vernacular story. Such a discursive frame thus opens a textual space in which a debate over the moral choice can be articulated. (Sibau 2018, 107)

Maybe unknowingly, Sibau points here towards a perfect Lacanian definition of subjectivity. In contrast to an interiority as an autonomous entity, it is one in which the psyche is constituted from elements that are essentially external to the individual. To put it in Lacan's categories, we find the components of the symbolic (language, discourse, social rules, morality), the imaginary (what image of myself does the Other send back to me?), and the real (the background, events, all the hard facts over which the individual has no control, and which they come up against). The subjectivity in question then becomes that of a divided subject, in which the uncanny of the "darker side of human action and psyche" looms. (*Ibid.*, p. 2) Its narrative is less that of an inner voice understood as something retaining a certain level of singular agency, than one in which several voices are inextricably intertwined and where it is no longer clear who is in the driver's seat. Even inner monologue, far more frequent in TT than in ST, comes much less as introspective than as a lively, dialogic response to external stimuli, words, or situations ("she considered:...", "hearing this, he thought:..."). It is no wonder then that the vernacular voice needs so much amplification, compared to the tightness of the classical text, to give an account of everything that truly constitutes a subject!

Not only does vernacular narration favour dialogue, which enriches motifs and makes situations more complex, but it also opens windows on interiority in a way that makes use of a rich palette of narrative point of views, or diegetic positions, including inner monologue, reported speech, and densely interwoven mixtures of dialogue and third-person discourse. Through them subjects openly explore their own subjectivity and that of others, and this appears in vernacular versions in a far wider scope than in their counterparts in literary style, which incline towards elliptical turns of phrase and dwell less, or in a more conventional way, on characters' motivations. Take a story in which strange things or dreams occur, triggering strings of inner conflicts, fears, doubts, etc., as in Feng Menglong's story "Student Dugu enters a raucous dream while en route home". None of its three ST has a single sentence of inner monologue, whereas in the TT, no less than 21 inner monologues appear. All are attributable to the editor (Langxian 浪仙), the overwhelming majority consisting in additions or pure amplification (see classification of micro-strategies as detailed below), while a few are expanded (amplified) translations, as in this example:

ST2:

遐叔悵然悲惋。謂其妻死矣。

Upset, Xiashu sighed in sorrow. He told himself his wife was dead.

ST3:

張君謂其妻已卒。

Zhang told himself his wife was already dead.

TT:

那遐叔想了一會，歎道："我曉得了。一定是我的娘子已死，他的魂靈遊到此間，卻被我一磚把他驚散了。"

Xiashu thought for a moment, then sighed, "I know. It is certainly that my wife is already dead, and her soul has travelled all the way here, but it has been dispelled by the brick I threw."[24]

Like the inner monologue, the reported speech/reported text is a way to turn into direct speech elements of dialogue which otherwise would be recorded in the third person. But whereas inner monologue appears as much more frequent in TT than in ST, and as such tends to appear more or less as a device related to vernacularisation, reported speech/reported text is frequent in ST as well as in TT, to such an extent that it is often a case in which the ST is itself reproduced with little change in TT, as a (quasi-)quotation. See this example from the same *Pai'an jingqi* 拍案驚奇 (Slapping the Table in Amazement), chap. 4. quoted above:[25]

ST:

"道姑欣然接納，曰：'此地不可居，吾山中有別業。'"

"The Daoist nun accepted me cheerfully and said, 'You cannot stay in this place, I have a separate villa in the mountain.'"

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[24] ST2: *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, chap. 281, "Dreams, Six" 夢六, "Dugu Xiashu" 獨孤遐叔 by Xue Yusi 薛漁思 (n.d.), originally in *Hedong ji* 河東記; ST3: *Taiping guangji*, chap. 282, "Dreams, Seven" 夢七, "Zhang Sheng" 張生, by Li Mei 李玫 (n.d.), originally in *Zuanyi ji* 纂異記; TT: "Dugu sheng guitu naomeng" 獨孤生歸途鬧夢 ("Student Dugu enters a raucous dream while en route home"), in Feng Menglong, *Xingshi hengyan* 醒世恆言 (Constant Words to Awaken the World), chap. 25, main story. (There is also an ST1, which on that particular passage says nothing.) See: *Taiping guangji* 1981, vol. 6, 2244–45; *ibid.*, 2250–51; Feng 2007, 3:529–53. The first version of the story is "Sanmeng ji" 三夢記 ("Story of Three Dreams") by Bai Xingjian 白行簡 (775-826): see P. Wang 1958, 108–10. In ST3, the main character is named Student Zhang 張生 (referred to as Zhang-jun 張君), whereas in other versions his name is Dugu Xiashu 獨孤遐叔. For a thorough study of the rewriting process leading to the composition of *Xingshi hengyan*, chap. 25, see Lucas 2018, 196–250 & 688–769. Pages 688-769 include the texts of five versions of the same story as well as two stories inspired by them, with their full French translations, including full-length translation of the main story of *Xingshi hengyan*, chap. 25. The study includes a detailed and extensive commented textual comparison of Langxian's story with ST1, ST2, and ST3. On the source texts, see also Tan 1980, vol. 2, 505–8, Lévy et al. 1978–2006, vol. 2, 712. On Langxian's identity and authorship, see Hanan 1967, 120–39.

[25] See p. 216, n. 16.

TT:

"道姑欣然接納，又道：'此地不可居。吾山中有庵，可往住之。'"

"The Daoist nun accepted me cheerfully and added, 'You cannot stay in this place, I have a hermitage in the mountain, we can go live there.'"

We associate Reported Text in the same sub-category as Reported Speech. Instead of being spoken, what is reported in this case is any written document, such as a letter, poster, judicial decision, etc. For example:

出一單榜在通衢，道："有能探訪得女兒消息來報者，願賠家產，將女兒與他為妻。"

He put up a sign in the street, which said, "Anyone who will be able to find my daughter and give me information will be given a share of my estate, and will receive my daughter in marriage."[26]

It appears that a specific category of comparison analysis, "3rd Person + Dialogue Combination", often comes in handy in order to analyse narrative sections. Such combinations are present in both ST in literary Chinese and in TT in vernacular, but dialogues are so prevalent in the latter that one often finds rewritings in which TT is fragmented in more complex sequences than ST, with both points of view closely interwoven. This often leads to long amplifications, but here we will limit ourselves to a short example:

ST:

乃王氏之女。因暴疾亡。不知何由至此。

It was the daughter of the Wang family. As she had died of a sudden illness, she did not quite understand why she was here.

TT:

那女子見人多了，便說出話來，道："奴是此間王家女。因昨夜一個頭暈，跌倒在地，不知何緣在此？"

The young woman, seeing that many people had come, started to speak and said: "Your servant is the Wangs' daughter, from this locality. Last night as I suddenly felt dizzy, I fell on the ground. I don't understand for what reason I am here."[27]

With the last three categories (Inner Monologue, Reported Speech/Reported Text, 3rd Person + Dialogue Combination), the expression of subjectivity in vernacular narratives rises to the level of true polyphony, with expanded incursions into the subjects' inner realm and outward excursions towards their connections, as compared to the relatively limited means of the sources in literary language, with their predominant extra-diegetic point of view interspersed with limited dialogic inserts. One wonders to what extent this

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[26] Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 24, "Yanguanyi laomo meise Huihaishan dashi zhuxie", main story (*op. cit*). TT. See Ling 1981, vol. 2, 508.

[27] ST: "Liu shi zi qi" 劉氏子妻, originally from *Yuanhua ji* 原化記, in *Taiping guangji*, chap. 386; TT: Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 9, "Xuanhuiyuan shinü qiuqian hui Qing'ansi fufu xiao tiyuan" 宣徽院仕女鞦韆會 清安寺夫婦笑啼緣 (In the Director's garden, young ladies enjoy a swing-set party; At Pure and Peaceful Temple, husband and wife laugh and cry at their reunion), introductory story. See *Taiping guangji* 1981, vol. 8, 3082–83; Ling 1981, vol. 1, 179; Tan 1980, vol. 2, 631–33.

masterly manipulation of so many narrative levels is indebted to the practice of drama, with its habit of rewriting well-known stories into elaborate dialogic form—to say nothing of the role of songs. What is certain is that this development in the sense of narrative complexity will ultimately have the effect of pushing classical writing as well towards a more sophisticated use of dialogues and monologues, as with authors like Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (1640-1715), Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1797), Shen Qifeng 沈起鳳 (1741-?), and many others.[28]

The last two subcategories in the "Narrative Point of View" category, "Rhetorical Dialogue/Storyteller's Stock Phrase" and "Inserted Verse/Inserted Depiction", are composed of narrative devices that most often interrupt the flow of the narration and are placed on a plane that overlooks it. The majority are external to the plot of the story and its characters and represent the main areas where the author/editor operates, one might say, in plain sight. But while Rhetorical Dialogue/Storyteller's Stock Phrase is essentially extradiegetic in nature, this may vary for Inserted Verse/Inserted Depiction. And if the former appears always as additions present only in TT and not in ST, the latter, while being mostly additions too, may sometimes be already present in ST. In any case, their effects are innumerable, and figure among the most lasting characteristics of vernacular stories and novels.

Rhetorical dialogue and storyteller's stock phrase do not need many illustrations as they are ubiquitous. Much has been written on the "storyteller's manner" in vernacular literature, a characteristic which is very obvious in *huaben* stories but is significant in other genres as well.[29] Stories are full of "the story goes that" (*hua shuo* 話說), "let me tell you" (*qie shuo* 且說), "in your opinion" (*ni dao* 你道), "let's not mention it" (*bu ti* 不題), "we're not telling about that" (*bu zai huaxia* 不在話下), "storyteller, I am asking you" (*shuohuade, wo qie wen ni* 說話的, 我且問你), "readers/members of the audience, there is something you should know" (*kanguan you suo buzhi* 看官有所不知), and dozens of other expressions or narrative devices which all deserve to be distinguished as a particular category. In the counting of occurrences, it would be unwise to separate rhetorical dialogue from storyteller's stock phrases, as they are intrinsically related and appear in neighbouring locations. Both come explicitly from the "mouth" of the narrator, and are emphatically relevant to a lively, "realistic" conversational tone. Needless to say, they always appear as additions in TT, and are basically never present in ST. In a way congruent with their extradiegetic nature, they are more often found in places that surround the story proper, typically in opening, introductory, or concluding parts, or in transitions (often marked by a new paragraph in modern editions). For this reason, too, they are often highly likely to be associated with moralistic, commanding, "controlling" messages that form the explicit motive of the story and its vernacular writing, as "storyteller" and "schoolmaster" are often interchangeable personae. Here is a typical example of a transitional usage:

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[28] For example, the influence of vernacular fiction on Pu Songling's writing style has been amply demonstrated by Allan Barr: Barr 2007.

[29] See, e.g., Idema 1973; Lévy 1981, 112–41; L. T. Chan 1997; Lévy 2010. See Vibeke Børdahl's careful analysis of stock phrases and simulated dialogue between author and reader in the case of the story of Wu Song fighting the tiger and its numerous rewritings: Børdahl 2013, 114–26. See also Børdahl 2003; Børdahl 2010b.

不道人情難料，事有不然。偏又有一等得了美人為妻，又要去惹閑花、沾野草的。天公知道，豈不惡其淫心無厭，於是即以其人之淫，還報其人之身，使聞之者，略加警悟。在下得諸傳聞，頗覺新異，聊述與看官醒一醒睡。

話說清朝初年，福建州府地方，有一鄉紳，姓趙名虞，字舜生，年方二十一歲，即連科中了進士。

But we can never say enough about how unpredictable human affairs can be and how upsetting events can be. For mention should also be made of those who, married to beautiful women, are constantly picking other flowers and gleaning wild herbs. This inextinguishable lust does not fail to arouse the wrath of the Lord of Heaven, who one day makes the offender personally pay the price for his turpitude, thus leaving an example to ponder for those who hear it. Your servant will tell you a novel fact that he finds rather curious, which he has been made aware of by hearsay, a story, dear reader, that will not fail to bring you out of your drowsiness.

The story tells that in the early years of the Qing Dynasty, a rich notable named Zhao lived in Fuzhou Prefecture in Fujian. His personal name was Yu and his public name was Shunsheng. Barely twenty-one *sui* old, he had passed all the official examinations one after the other and had become a metropolitan graduate.[30]

The presence of inserted verse and inserted depictions is another well-known hallmark of *huaben* short stories, whose prosimetric characteristics have been widely studied, and of novels as well—though to a lesser extent, generally speaking. Distichs, quatrains, eight lines regulated verses, but also *ci* 詞 and *qu* 曲 songs, even *gāthā* (偈), to name only a few of the forms involved, are omnipresent, although the frequency of their use can vary greatly. (For example, they are everywhere with Langxian, while Li Yu barely uses them.) The most typical use of this device is the interruption of the story to make a point in verse about a description of a scene or to give a brief moralistic lesson. They are often introduced by a "truly" (*zhengshi* 正是), or "there is a poem in testimony" (*you shi wei zheng* 有詩為證), as in the following example:

有詩為證：

朝灌園兮暮灌園，灌成園上百花鮮。

花開每恨看不足，為愛看園不肯眠。

There is a poem in testimony:

He watered his garden in the morning, he watered it at night,

And tended to it so well that a hundred flowers bloomed in all their brightness.

When the blossoms bloomed, he could not get enough of them,

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[30] *Fengliu wu* 風流悟, chap. 2, "Yi qi yi qi anzhong jiaoyi, Shijie shijie sihou chongfeng" 以妻易妻暗中交易　矢節失節死後重逢 ("With a wife make an exchange of wives: shadowy trade; Chastity versus bawdiness: a meeting after death"): Hong P. and Zuohua sanren 2012, 198–99.

And for the sake of his garden no longer wanted to find sleep.[31]

In this moralistic example, the sententious aspect brings it closer to a proverb:

正是：

日間不做虧心事，夜半敲門不吃驚。

Truly:

He who does not commit shameful acts in broad daylight

Has no reason to be afraid when there is a knock on his door in the middle of the night.[32]

In these instances, the inserted verses are entirely extradiegetic, to the point of having, in the case of moralistic sentences or proverbs, a kind of "superegotic" flavor intended to make the reader reflect upon themselves. But they can also be intradiegetic when they are enunciated by the characters of the stories, as in this example:

伯牙道：

「摔碎瑤琴鳳尾寒，子期不在對誰彈！

春風滿面皆朋友，欲覓知音難上難。」

And this was Boya's reply:

"The zither smashed, the phoenix's tail grew cold.

Now that Ziqi's gone, for whom can I play?

All call themselves friends and give you a smile,

But to find a true friend is all too hard."[33]

In this example, verses put in the mouth of a character are composed by the author/editor of the vernacular story and are not present in the ST. They can be copy-pasted from other sources than the source of the story: one remarkable example is the inclusion of the 104 lines "Song of eternal sorrow" ("Changhen ge" 長恨歌) left by the heroine of one of Feng Menglong's stories when she kills herself, which results from the insertion of a (modified) quotation of a poem borrowed from a poetry collection inside the amplification of the story, borrowed from a different ST.[34] In many cases though, they come as quotations

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[31] *Xingshi hengyan*, chap. 4, "Guanyuan sou wan feng xiannü" 灌園叟晚逢仙女 : Feng 1981c, vol. 1, 81. For Yang Shuhui's and Yang Yunqin's translation, see Feng 2009, 87.

[32] Ling Mengchu, *Erke Pai'an jingqi* 二刻拍案驚奇, chap. 5, "Xiangmin-gong yuanxiao shizi, Shisanlang wusui chaotian" 襄敏公原宵失子 十三郎五歲朝天: Ling 1980, 116.

[33] Feng Menglong, *Jingshi tongyan*, chap. 1, "Yu Boya shuai qin xie zhiyin" 俞伯牙摔琴謝知音: Feng 1981b, vol. 1, 10. Translation by Yang Shuhui and Yang Yunqin: Feng 2005, 20.

[34] Feng Menglong, *Jingshi tongyan*, chap. 34, "Wang Jiaoluan bainian changhen" 王嬌鸞百年長恨. The ST comes from Feng's *Qingshi leilüe* 情史類略, chap. 16 (citing a story, "Zhou Tingzhang" 周廷章, from an unidentified, possibly Yuan, original source), while the poem is drawn from Zhong Xing's 鍾惺 (1574-1624) *Gujin Mingyuan shigui* 古今名媛詩歸 (1621), chap. 27, introduced by an abstract of the plot. See Tan 1980, vol. 1, 358–60; Lévy

of the ST. This is the case, for example, in the ninth chapter of Ling Mengchu's *Pai'an jingqi*, with two *ci* 詞 to the tunes "Pusa man" 菩薩蠻 and "Man jiang hong" 滿江紅, which are improvised by a character in order to show his literary talent, and which are verbatim quotations of the ST.[35] Generally speaking, inserted verse and inserted depiction can take all conceivable forms, in verse as well as in prose, in order to achieve all kinds of desirable effects, from the sternest admonitions or ominous warnings to the most sententious pieces of wisdom or the most comically inflated descriptions. The stylistic palette is as wide as we can possibly imagine, and in the case of depictions, it is interesting to see how the *ci* and *qu* forms, which are in a category of their own, strongly tending towards vernacular, neighbour with pieces of parallel prose essays in classical language which come from a very different background: that of "eight-legged" (*baguwen* 八股文) examination essays—a fact which is rarely identified as such.[36]

II. Denotational Level (Utterance) (Textual Transformation Micro-strategies)

While all the different categories and subcategories cited above can apply, at least theoretically, to any section of both ST and TT, are intrinsically static, and are indexical in nature—they are concerned with *how* something is said—the textual transformation micro-strategies are inherently dynamic. They are only concerned with the way ST is turned into TT, implying a comparison analysis of *what* is said in the new text as compared with *what* is said in the preceding text. So, they should be considered as applying to TT only, but dynamically and always by comparison with ST. They are denotational in nature as they deal with content rather than form. They lie at the core of the rewriting/intralingual translation operation, and one may find they constitute the most fascinating part of the process. In the textual transformation involved in the writing of *huaben* stories, we can observe that writers actually relied on a limited number of micro-strategies: according to my survey, as shown in the list above, no more than ten of them are needed to achieve the full range of the rewriting possibilities. They can be grouped into five categories:

    1. Quotation

        a. Verbatim Quotation

        b. Quasi-Quotation/Amplified Quotation

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    et al. 1978–2006, vol. 2, 542; Feng 1984, 483–86 ; Zhong 1621, 13a–17b, fasc. 13.

[35] Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 9, "Xuanhuiyuan shinü qiuqian hui Qing'ansi fufu xiao tiyuan" 宣徽院仕女鞦韆會 清安寺夫婦笑啼緣 (In the Director's garden, young ladies enjoy a swing-set party; At Pure and Peaceful Temple, husband and wife laugh and cry at their reunion), main story: Ling 1981, vol. 1, 181–82. Source in Li Zhen 李禎 1376-1452, *Jiandeng yuhua* 剪燈餘話, chap. 4, "Qiuqianhui ji" 鞦韆會記 : Qu, Li, and Shao 1981, 253, Tan 1980, vol. 2, 634.

[36] The most extensive among recent studies on the subject of *ci* 詞 and *qu* 曲 in prosimetric literature, going well beyond the *(ni) huaben* (擬)話本 genres, is Zhao et al. 2013. Depictions in *baguwen* form inserted in *huaben* stories are present everywhere. For example, in Langxian's *Shi diantou* 石點頭, there is an average of one per chapter, not including the numerous letters or "official" documents which are written in the same style. See, e.g., *Shi diantou* 2015, 3 & 5 (chap. 1), 35-36 & 44 (chap. 3), 132-133 (chap. 10). The influence of *baguwen* on vernacular literature is still a little-studied subject, but one whose importance is increasingly recognised. On the case of its influence on *(ni) huaben*, see, e.g., Y. Zhang 2008, 100–112, Ye 2009, 508–17, Y. Zhang 2010, Jia 2011.

    2. Translation

        a. Translation/Replacement by (Quasi-)Synonym

        b. Amplified Translation

        c. Explanatory Translation/Reformulating

    3. Divergence and Addition

        a. Divergence

        b. Addition/Amplification

        c. Diverging Addition/Diverging Amplification

    4. Omission

    5. Textual Displacement

The micro-strategies are explained below, again accompanied with examples whenever relevant. Here, even less than in the previous cases, the examples given, intended to show cases, are only commented on in terms of form, and not in terms of hypotheses about the supposed motivations of the authors.

1. Quotation: a. Verbatim Quotation

The first of the two types of quotation, this is the most basic operation of "rewriting": that within which any section (word, phrase, whole sentence, poem, etc.) of ST is copied, unchanged, into TT. The verbatim is typically in literary Chinese, as this is the language in which most ST are written, but verbatim quotations from vernacular to vernacular can also be found. This is a universal practice, to the point that it is very rare not to find some verbatim quotation of ST, no matter how small, in any given TT. Verbatim quotations play a huge role in the recreation of a story, their presence being universal in Chinese textual practices, and with multiple effects. Here is a basic example, in which the verbatim quotation part is underlined, and belongs to a dialogic passage:

ST:

含屍以玉珥，留一自含，曰：「九泉之下，以此為信。」

She put a jade earring in the corpse's mouth, keeping the other to be put into her own mouth [at her death], and said: "Below the Nine Springs, it will be our authentication token".

TT:

殮時，出二玉珥，以一納善世口中，以為含。一以與母，道：「留為我含，九泉之下，以此為信。」

When the body was laid into the coffin, she produced two earrings, one of which she put in [Gui] Shanshi's mouth for him to be buried with it. The other one she gave to her mother, saying: "This

is to be kept in order to put it in my mouth [at my death], below the Nine Springs, it will be our authentication token".[37]

In this example the contrast between what is identical in ST and TT and what has been translated into vernacular between ST and TT is even more obvious:

ST:

[...] 生自相門，窮極富貴，第宅宏麗，莫與為比。然讀書能文，敬禮賢士，故時譽翕然稱之。

This student came from a ministerial family, he enjoyed an immense fortune and a high status, lived in luxurious mansions, to such extent that no one could compete with him. Yet he had studied and was versed in literary composition, and expressed reverence for the virtuous scholars, which is why his good reputation at that time was unanimously praised.

TT:

生在相門，窮極富貴，第宅宏麗，莫與為比。卻又讀書能文，敬禮賢士，一時公卿間，多稱誦他好處。

This student was of a ministerial family, he enjoyed an immense fortune and a high status, lived in luxurious mansions, to such extent that no one could compete with him. But in addition, he had studied and was versed in literary composition, and expressed reverence for the virtuous scholars; at that time, among the high-ranking officials, most praised his fine qualities.[38]

In the above example, we should note how, despite the high proportion of verbatim quotation in classical Chinese, TT is vernacularised nevertheless through the translation of grammatical words or articulation into more common, vernacular equivalents: *zi* 自 becomes *zai* 在, *ran* 然 becomes *que you* 卻又.

Obviously some of the verbatim quotations come as *yanyu* 諺語 (adages), *chengyu* 成語 (set phrases), and other forms of fixed phrases. Fixed phrases are universal in oral as well as in written vernacular literature,[39] and it is a fascinating fact that in any given story or episode one will have a hard time not to find at least one kernel of verbatim material transferred from ST to TT. It is also very intriguing to see how these verbatim quotations emphatically concern seemingly insignificant material details over facts that might appear more important, as if the unchanged detail was a simple indicator of the importance of a scene and insignificant in itself. For example when, in the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, Tian Feng 田豐 "strikes

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[37] ST: "Gui liefu Chen shi zu" 歸烈婦陳氏卒", in Chen Jian 陳建 and Shen Guoyuan 沈國元, *Huang Ming cong xin lu* 皇明從信錄 chap. 38 (Wanli 34 = 1606): J. Chen and Shen 1620, 34a–36a, fascicle 25. TT: Lu Renlong 陸人龍, *Xingshi yan* 型世言 chap. 10, "Liefu ren si xun fu Xian'ao ge ai cheng nü" 烈婦忍死殉夫 賢媼割愛成女: R. Lu 1993, 184. NB: at the end of the TT, the author specifies that the ST story is by Gui Zimu 歸子慕 (1563-1606).

[38] ST: Li Zhen, *Jiandeng yuhua*, chap. 4, "Qiuqianhui ji", *op. cit.*; TT: Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 9, "Xuanhuiyuan shinü qiuqian hui Qing'ansi fufu xiao tiyuan", main story, *op. cit.* See Qu, Li, and Shao 1981, 252–53; Ling 1981, vol. 1, 181–82; Tan 1980, vol. 2, 634.

[39] Vibeke Børdahl's analysis of the story of Wu Song fighting the tiger has no less than 30 occurrences about fixed phrases in her index (Børdahl 2013, 532). See in particular *ibid.*, p. 211-215.

the ground with his staff" in anger as Yuan Shao 袁紹, troubled by the illness of his youngest son, refuses to send his army to attack Cao Cao 曹操, you can bet that this particular gestural detail is present in the source text: and indeed it is.[40] And yet this small gesture is an apparently irrelevant detail compared with the great military defeat that would ensue. The following example shows how such telling details can indeed be found repeatedly through many different sources of the same story before being employed unaltered in the vernacular version:

ST1:

李云: "曾得龍巾拭唾，<u>御手調羹</u>（...）"

Li [Bai] said: "I had the dragon handkerchief wipe the drool on my mouth, the imperial hand stir my broth..."

ST2:

但曰: "曾用龍巾拭吐，<u>御手調羹</u>（...）"

He said simply: "My vomit was wiped with the dragon handkerchief, the imperial hand stirred my broth..."

ST3:

天子親迎降輦，<u>御手調羹</u>。

The Son of Heaven descended from his carriage to meet me, the imperial hand stirred my broth.

TT:

眾人知是李謫仙學士，<u>御手調羹</u>的，誰敢不依?

The assembly knew that he was the Academician Li the Exiled Immortal, the one who had the imperial hand stir his broth, who would dare not to obey him?[41]

The great commentator Jin Shengtan 金聖歎 (1608-1661) suggests that the verbatim repetition of a particular concrete detail is valuable, as it gives dynamic structure to a narrative. He works out one of his famous narrative micro-strategies (*fa* 法), the "strategy of the snake in the grass or discontinuous chalk line" (*caoshe huixian fa* 草蛇灰線法) on the basis of the eighteen repeated occurrences of the same word *shaobang* 哨棒 (fighting staff) in chapter 22 (of his own edition), which, he explains in his interlineal commentaries, echo the number of bowls of wine Wu Song 吳松 drank before encountering the tiger at

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[40] ST: "豐舉杖擊地曰：[...]" *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 1959, vol. 1 (Wei shu, j. 6), 197; TT: "田豐以杖擊地曰：[...]" (*Zuben Sanguo yanyi* 足本三國演義 1958, 144–45, chap. 24). The quotation is actually a quasi-quotation as ST's 舉 is replaced by 以 in TT (and TT has the complete name 田豐 instead of the sole *ming* 豐 in ST), but quasi-quotation and verbatim quotation are functionally but one single micro-strategy.

[41] ST1: Liu Fu 劉斧 (11th c.), *Qingsuo gaoyi* 青瑣高議, chap. 2; ST2: Feng Shihua 馮時化, *Jiushi* 酒史, chap. 1; ST3: Tu Long 屠隆 (1543-1605), *Caihao ji* 彩毫記, scene 12, "Xiang E si yi" 湘娥思憶; TT: Feng Menglong ed., *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言, ch. 9, "Li Zhexian zui cao he man shu" 李謫仙醉草嚇蠻書 ("Li the banished immortal writes in drunkenness the letter that terrifies the Barbarians"). See Tan 1980, vol. 1, 262, 263; Tu n.d., p. *shang* 上 34a; Tu 1982, vol. 5, 30; Feng 1981b, vol. 1, 111; Lévy et al. 1978–2006, vol. 2, 398–99.

Jingyang Ridge 景陽崗.[42] To him the verbatim repetition gives life to a narrative.[43] The importance of the detail of Wu Song's "broken staff" is enduring: Børdahl finds it in every single one of the seven versions of the episode she examines, without counting the novel and drama versions. (Børdahl 2013, 207)

1. Quotation: b. Quasi-Quotation/Amplified Quotation

In this second of the two types of quotation, an ST segment is reproduced almost identically in TT, with various modifications, such as word order, replacement of a character by another one or of a syntagm in the classical language by its vernacular equivalent, switching to mixed language, or introducing additions. For statistical as well as logical reasons, we do not separate quasi-quotation and amplified quotation, lest we would be faced with differentiations sometimes very tricky to establish, and would be forced to hazard a guess about the author's intention. Indeed, a quotation may become a quasi- or amplified quotation for any number of reasons. The change can be made involuntarily or voluntarily. Because quotations are part of cultures where rote learning holds an important place, a quasi- or amplified quotation may be the involuntary result of errors in memorising or due to a lapse in copying when the author is working with the original text in front of him. Voluntary changes in quotations are often aimed at fluidifying the insertion of the quotation within its environment in TT, or simply to give an equivalent (which often borders on translation), or in order to add a new layer of authority to a quotation in literary language, or even to change the meaning of the text cited.

Here is a basic example:

ST:

七竅流血而死。

He died bleeding from the seven apertures.

TT:

九竅流血而死！

He died bleeding from the nine apertures.[44]

In the following example the quasi-quotation is slightly amplified, and no more than in the previous example are the changes due to chance or inattention; on the contrary they pertain to a kind of careful quasi-translation, in which the literary language of ST shifts inconspicuously into mixed language:

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[42] "Du Diwu caizi shu fa" 讀第五才子書法, parag. 53, *Diwu caizi shu Shi Nai'an Shuihu zhuan* 1985, vol. 1, 22; interlineal comments to chap. 22, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 366-371. See also Rolston and Lin 1990, 140–41.

[43] "If you look at it in haste, there seems to be nothing. But if you search in the details, you find there is one single thread in the middle of it: pull on it and it gives movement to the whole body." 驟看之，有如無物，及至細尋，其中便有一條線索，拽之通體俱動. (*Diwu caizi shu, ibid.*)

[44] Hong Mai, *Yijian (ding) zhi* 夷堅(丁)志, j. 15, "Zhang ke qi yu" 張客奇遇, quoted in Feng Menglong, *Qingshi leilüe*, j. 16, "Nian Erniang" 念二娘. TT: Feng Menglong, *Jingshi tongyan*, chap. 34, "Wang Jiaoluan bainian changhen" 王嬌鸞百年長恨, introductory story. See Tan 1980, vol. 1, 356–57; Lévy et al. 1978–2006, vol. 2 (1979), 542; M. Hong 1981, vol. 2, 666–67; Feng 1984, 499–500 ; Feng 1981b, vol. 2, 517.

ST:

時已昏黑，乃就升榻上施衾褥，命程臥，仍加以鹿裘。

By this time, it was already dark, so she climbed on the couch and spread out the bedding, and having told Cheng to lie down, further added a buckskin cloak.

TT:

時已夜深，乃就竹榻上施衾褥，命程在此宿臥，仍加以鹿裘覆之。

By this time, it was already late at night, so she spread out the bedding on the bamboo couch, and having told Cheng to sleep there that night, in addition put a buckskin cloak on top of him.[45]

In this example, the vernacularisation in TT is observable through several details: the place of the locative *zaici* 在此; the transformation of the monosyllabic *wo* 臥 into the disyllabic *suwo* 宿臥; the relocation of the coverbal construction of means *yi luqiu* 以鹿裘 in anteposition to the verb *fu* 覆. Note also how the chain *reng jia yi* 仍加以 is also opportunistically deconstructed and reconstructed, grammatically speaking, in the process: in ST the logic is *reng* 仍 + *jiayi* 加以, with a construction, typical of classical language, in which V + *yi* 以 introduces a direct object (*luqiu* 鹿裘); whereas in TT the logic is *rengjia* 仍加 + *yi* 以, in which *rengjia* 仍加 becomes a simple prepositional group ("and in addition"), and *yi* 以 introduces the coverbal complement of means in vernacular speech, preceding V (as in constructions with *jiang* 將 or *ba* 把). Thus, between ST and TT, the verbal function switches from *jia* 加 to *fu* 覆.

The following example is a typical amplified quotation, in which the vernacular narrator borrows from the natural authority of the formulation in literary language, with its resource in parallelism, in order to redouble its sentencious character:

ST:

躍而籲天，俯而泣地。

Jumping up and down, I sighed towards Heaven; bowing my head, I sobbed to the earth.

TT:

躍而呼天，天不我憐。俯而泣地，地不我惜。

Jumping up and down I implored Heaven, but Heaven had no mercy on me; bowing my head I sobbed to the earth, but the Earth didn't care about me.[46]

In the following instance, a quasi-quotation is clearly intended to modify the meaning of the source text:

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[45] ST: Hu Rujia, "Wei Shiyiniang zhuan", *op. cit.*; TT: Ling Mengchu "Cheng Yuanyu diansi dai changqian, Shiyiniang Yungang zong tanxia" in *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 4, *op. cit.* See Ling 1981, vol. 1, 81; R. Hu 1995, 6a and R. Hu 1997, 29.

[46] ST: "Li Zheng" 李徵, in *Taiping guangji*, chap. 427 (originally from *Xuanshi zhi* 宣室志); TT: Dong Lu Gukuang sheng 東魯古狂生, *Zuixing shi* 醉醒石, chap. 6, main story, "Gaocai sheng aoshi shi yuanxing Yiqi you niangu fen banfeng" 高才生傲世失原形　義氣友念孤分半俸. See *Taiping guangji* 1981, vol. 9, 3478; *Zuixing shi* 1985, 87.

ST :

氣蒸雲夢澤. 波撼嶽陽城

A breath of steam surrounds the Yunmeng marshes,

The waves shake the walls of Yueyang.

TT:

氣吞雲夢澤，聲撼嶽陽樓

A breath that engulfs the Yunmeng Marshes,

A voice that shakes the Yueyang Pavilion.

In this playwright's example, the meaning of the original distich from Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689/691-740), quoted by the great storyteller Liu Jingting 柳敬亭 (1592-1674/1675), is deliberately twisted, in a humorous and self-centred way, into a play on words intended to advertise Liu's professional talents.[47]

2. Translation: a. Translation/Replacement by (Quasi-)Synonym

Of all the transformative strategies, the most fascinating is obviously the translation part. It is at the heart of the rewriting process, with its strong linguistic component and as an act consciously bridging the gap between different states of the Chinese language. Translation can be very close to the original or can incorporate added elements and amplifications in varied proportions.

The first sub-category, translation or replacement by (quasi-)synonym, is what comes closest to pure translation. In essence, although we are talking about intralingual translation, there is no fundamental difference here from what happens in interlingual translation. A semantic chain is reproduced by means of alternative linguistic signs in an equivalent manner, with as few exogenous signifying elements as possible. As in the case of interlingual translation, a certain latitude remains in the choice of words, in rewording or in the reconfiguration of turns of phrase, or in making some details more explicit, but without ever adding anything intrinsically foreign to the original. Finally, the process relies on the author's full awareness and understanding of the linguistic factors at play. This kind of translation can be found everywhere in Ming-Qing vernacular stories. Here is a typical example, in which the dialogic form of ST is respected, and with only barely visible clarification:

ST:

"適無所攜，而已饕主人飯，奈何？"

"Just now I came with nothing on me, and I have just gobbled down all your food, master innkeeper. What's to be done?"

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[47] ST : Meng Haoran, "Looking at Dongting Lake—Presented to Prime Minister Zhang [*i.e.*, Zhang Jiuling 張九齡, 673-740]" ("Wang Dongting hu zeng Zhang chengxiang" 望洞庭湖贈張丞相); TT: Kong Shangren 孔尚任 (1648-1718), *Taohua shan* 桃花扇, scene 13. See *Quan Tang shi* 1996, vol. 5, 1633, chap. 160; Kong 2016, 90.

TT:

"適才忘帶了錢來，今飯多吃過了主人的，卻是怎好？"

"Just now I came forgetting to take money with me, and I have just gorged myself on your food, master innkeeper. What's to be done?"[48]

The intralingual translation implied in such rewritings often gives the opportunity to appreciate the authors' consummate linguistic mastery, both in terms of lexicon and grammar of the two aspects, literary and vernacular, of the Chinese diglossia—as for example when a *fan ji bi* 飯既畢 ("when she had finished eating") is faithfully transformed into a *chibale fan* 吃罷了飯.[49] This often raises the question of where authors acquired such a command of both vernacular language writing and translating skills, as those were by no means part of their official learning curriculum.[50] In the following example we can only admire how every single element of the original text has its distinctly chosen counterpart in the target text:

ST:

適有飛蛾來火上，媼佯以扇撲之，燈滅，偽啟門點燈。

At this moment a flying moth came near the flame; the old woman intentionally gave it a flick with her fan, putting it out, and then pretending to open the door in order to light a lamp.

TT:

只見一個飛蛾在燈上旋轉，婆子便把扇來一撲，故意撲滅了燈，叫聲：「阿呀！老身自去點個燈來。」

At this moment a flying moth came fluttering around the lamp; the old woman gave it a flick with her fan, intentionally putting it out, and exclaiming: "Aya! I am going outside to light a lamp."[51]

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[48] ST: Hu Rujia, "Wei Shiyiniang zhuan", *op. cit.*; TT: Ling Mengchu "Cheng Yuanyu diansi dai changqian, Shiyiniang Yungang zong tanxia" in *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 4, *op. cit.* See Ling 1981, vol. 1, 81; R. Hu 1995, 1a and R. Hu 1997, 24. In the *Shanbu wenyuan zhaju* 刪補文苑楂橘 version, 饕 is replaced by 餐, though Ji Xianlin 季羨林 and Ding Kuifu 丁奎福 recognise that the manuscript they relied upon had 饕 (R. Hu 1997, 31); thus their correction may not be justified. I agree with Altenburger that for Ling Mengchu the source of this story was not the *Shanbu wenyuan zhaju* version, anyhow, but Pan Zhiheng's 潘之恆 (1556-1621/1622) *Gen shi* 亙史 (Altenburger 2009, 133).

[49] Ling Mengchu, *op.cit.*

[50] An indication of the need to learn to master this form can be found in Jin Shengtan, who constantly encourages "young people" (*zidi* 子弟) to learn to write by reading novels or plays, and draws up, partly for educational purposes, a list of exemplary works mixing literary and vernacular writings. He explains this extensively, for example, in his "How to Read the Sixth Book of Genius, *The Story of the Western Wing*" ("Du diliu caizi shu *Xixiang ji* fa" 讀第六才子書西廂記法): see items 9 to 14, *Jin Shengtan piben Xixiang ji* 1986, 11–13.

[51] ST: Feng Menglong, *Qingshi leilüe*, chap. 16, "Zhenzhu shan" 珍珠衫, based on Song Maocheng 宋懋澄 (1569-ca. 1620), *Jiuyue ji* 九籥集, "Bieji" 別集, chap. 2, "Zhushan" 珠衫 (somewhat transformed by Feng, who, compared to Song Maocheng, has brought his version of *Qingshi* closer to his own vernacular version); TT: Feng Menglong ed., *Gujin xiaoshuo* 古今小說, chap. 1, "Jiang Xingge chonghui zhenzhu shan" 蔣興哥重會珍珠衫, "Jiang Xingge Re-encounters the Pearl-Sewn Shirt". See Feng 1984, 478; M. Song 1984, 272; Tan 1980, vol. 1, 4; Feng 1981a, vol. 1, 19; Lévy et al. 1978–2006, vol. 1, 158–59.

The only parts in this example that do not fully adhere to the original are the liberty taken in having the moth "fluttering around the lamp" (*zai dengshang xuanzhuan* 在燈上旋轉) instead of "coming near the flame" (*lai huoshang* 來火上), and the transformation of the last segment from a third person narration into a dialogic form, both obviously in order to make the scene appear even more lively. But this licence is more about expressive change, with barely any semantical addition, and does not exceed the limits of what would be commonly found in any interlingual translation, especially at that time. It is as though the author of the rewriting, despite being in such a monolingual written space as premodern China, knew what the basic rules of translation proper were to be.[52] As in innumerable other cases, the intralingual translation is strikingly faithful to the original. Some renderings could very well figure in a text book of classical *vs* vernacular grammar (see, e.g., *shi you fei'e* 適有飛蛾/*zhi jian yige fei'e* 只見一個飛蛾; *yi shan pu zhi* 以扇撲之/*bian ba shan lai yipu* 便把扇來一撲).

Below is another example of this skill, this time under the brush of Ling Mengchu:

ST:

此南有支徑可二十餘裡直達河水灣，又二十餘裡即鎮耳。公官道迂回，故不相及。

South of here there is a shortcut, perhaps over twenty li, which leads directly to a bend in the river, and again over twenty li further on you arrive at a town. The public roads take detours, which is why you will not be able to keep up with me.

TT:

此間有一條小路，斜抄去二十裡，直到河水灣，再二十裡，就是鎮上。若你等在官路上走，迂迂曲曲，差了二十多裡，故此到不及。

Close to here there is a small road which makes a shortcut, perhaps twenty li, which allows you to reach directly a bend in the river, and twenty li further on you arrive at a town. If you take the public roads, you will make all sorts of detours, and that will make more than twenty li of difference, that is why you will not be able to keep up with me.[53]

This example again shows a remarkable skill in matter of intralingual translation, with the typical way in which this is performed in Chinese. The main signifiers remain almost identical (*heshui wan* 河水灣, *zhen* 鎮, *gongguandao* 公官道/*guanlu* 官路), whereas the updating of the language is more centred on grammatical articulation: *zhida* 直達 (ST) becomes *zhidao* 直到 (TT), *ji* 即 (ST) becomes *jiushi* 就是 (TT), *yuhui* 迂回 (ST) becomes *yuyuququ* 迂迂曲曲 (TT), while *you zhijing ke ershiyu li* 有支徑可二十餘裡 (ST) is turned into *you yitiao xiaolu, xiechao qu ershili* 有一條小路，斜抄去二十裡 (TT).

In many cases the motivation to translate into the vernacular reflects a need to highlight an idea, to make it more immediately understandable to everyone. After all it seems to be the common-sense understanding

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[52] Here the licence, with this small change in point of view, is akin to what occurs in the context of stage translation, where the translator "cannot simply translate a text linguistically": here it adds a tiny fragment of dialogic *mise en scène*. Pavis 1989, 25; Y. Yang 2020, 80.

[53] ST: Hu Rujia, "Wei Shiyiniang zhuan" *op. cit.*; TT: Ling Mengchu, Pai'an jingqi, chap. 4., *op. cit.* See Ling 1981, vol. 1, 82; R. Hu 1995, 2a and R. Hu 1997, 26. See also: Lévy et al. 1978–2006, vol. 3, 838; Tan 1980, vol. 2, 603–4; Altenburger 2009, 127–51.

of the necessity to translate into an easier language (as expressed in many prefaces), and it should appear as the basic reason for the need for intralingual translation. In the following case, in which a mother explains why she accepts her daughter's decision to commit suicide, translation into the vernacular enhances an important twist in the story:

ST:

母見其志堅不可奪，慨然曰：“女死不過一時痛耳，吾旦暮之人，適使吾無後累。”

Her mother, seeing that her determination was unshakeable, said with deep emotion: "That you die, my daughter, will after all be but a momentary pain, and for me, who am at the dusk of my life, this at least will relieve my worries about what will happen after me."

TT:

其母聞言，見他志氣堅執不移，也泫然流淚道：“罷，罷！你死，少不得我一時痛苦，但我年已老，風中之燭，倒也使我無後累。”

At her words, and seeing that her determination was unshakeable, her mother said, her eyes fogged with tears: "All right! All right! That you die will after all be but a momentary pain, but for me, who am old already, like a candle flickering in the wind, this at least will relieve my worries about what will happen after me."[54]

But it is also true that in a fascinatingly high number of cases, the translation process is from literary Chinese to literary Chinese or mixed language. In these cases, there is no or little change of linguistic register, but there is nonetheless a need to translate. From a methodological point of view, this is why plain intralingual translation and replacement by a synonym or a quasi-synonym need to be included in the same sub-category in spite of their theoretical differentiation. Examples such as the following are common:

ST:

儵即呼僕命筆，隨其口書。近二十章，文甚高，理甚遠。

[Yuan] Can then called a servant and ordered him to take a brush to record its words. This resulted in a total of almost twenty sections, whose literary qualities attained a very high degree of refinement and whose principles were very far-reaching.

TT:

儼即呼隨行吏人，聽虎所言，命筆書之。近二十章，文理甚高遠。

[Li] Yan then called an officer from his retinue, and, listening to what the tiger would say, ordered him to take a brush to have it recorded. This resulted into a total of almost twenty sections, whose

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[54] ST: Gui Zimu, "Gui liefu Chen shi zu", in Chen Jian & Shen Guoyuan, eds., *Huang Ming cong xin lu*, chap. 38, *op. cit.*; TT: "Liefu ren si xun fu Xian'ao ge ai cheng nü", in Lu Renlong, *Xingshi yan*, chap. 10, main story, *op. cit.* See J. Chen and Shen 1620, j. 38, year Wanli 34 (*bingwu*, 1606), p. 38b, fascicle 25; R. Lu 1993, 184; Lévy et al. 1978–2006, vol. 5, 39.

literary qualities and principles attained a very high degree of refinement and were very far-reaching.[55]

This kind of classical language to classical language translation, which can seem paradoxical as it does not correspond *stricto sensu* to a vernacularisation, is of such importance that we will discuss it in greater depth further on.

2. Translation: b. Amplified Translation

Unmitigated translation is not the most frequently used of all micro-strategies. Much more common is the case of amplified translation. This is the supposedly typical approach of storytellers fleshing out the original story, seen as a canvas on which telling details are added, with new elements large or small. The important point in order to identify such a procedure properly is that it does not imply details that diverge fundamentally from the original (as in diverging addition, below), but only ones that render the original more plausible and comprehensive.

Here is a basic example, with limited amplification:

ST:

盜果取其鏹而去，勯勸中僕馬俱失所在。

The bandits did actually walk off with his money, and in the rush of the moment he could find neither his servant nor his horse.

TT：

那一夥強盜聽了說話，果然只取包裹來，搜了銀兩去了。程元玉急回身尋時，那馬散了韁，也不知那裡去了，僕人躲避，一發不知去向。

The bandits, on hearing these words, took his bag, searched it, and did actually walk off with the money they found. When Cheng Yuanyu, in the rush of the moment, turned round to look for them, the horse whose reins had been let go had disappeared into thin air, and his servant, who had taken cover, was also nowhere to be found.[56]

In a number of cases, as in other subcategories of translation, we find amplified translations in which the TT remains in literary Chinese, as in this example:

ST:

婦曰：“[...] 何心為名？”

The woman said: "[...] What heart would I have to do this for the sake of reputation?"

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[55] ST: "Li Zheng", *op. cit.*; TT: *Zuixing shi*, chap. 6, main story, *op. cit.* See *Taiping guangji* 1981, vol. 9, 3479; *Zuixing shi* 1985, 88. NB: the name of one of the protagonists, Yuan Can 袁儳 in ST, is changed to Li Yan 李儼 in TT.

[56] ST: Hu Rujia, "Wei Shiyiniang zhuan" *op. cit.*; TT: Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 4., main story, *op. cit.* See Ling 1981, vol. 1, 83; R. Hu 1995, 2b; R. Hu 1997, 26.

TT:

烈女道：“兒亦何心求貞烈名，但已許夫以死。”

The chaste woman said: "What heart would your daughter have, to do this for the sake of securing a reputation for chastity? It is only that I promised my husband that I would die."[57]

It is a well-established fact that the "storyteller's manner" (Idema), or more accurately in view of the authorial practices in operation with textual production, the "storyteller's rhetoric" (McLaren) is deeply related—if not phylogenetically, at least as a deep-rooted reference—to the formation of *huaben* style stories; and it is all too normal that "interplay of the oral and the written" may often appear in a very talkative fashion in the (re)writing practices. (Idema 1974, xii, 70; McLaren 1998, 194, 261–78; Børdahl 2013, 20, n. 14; Børdahl and Wan 2010) It should therefore not come as a surprise that this particular micro-strategy of amplified translation, which is one of the most creative among the different ways of rewriting from a source, may show a strong tendency to dramatise ST in proportions that can become significant. But it is also essential to observe—and this also counts for our classification—that these amplifications are always achieved on the basis of an existing kernel, identifiable as such in the continuum of the ST, and not as a simple addition, which would constitute a different category. Given the extent of the reference to oral practices in the art of amplification, it is also expected that the amplification will be mostly in vernacular language—and according to my survey to date, such is obviously the case. But this linguistic aspect is not the primary factor, as we also find many occurrences in which the amplified translation comes in literary language, as in the example above. It is again illustrated in the following example, taken from a particular "vernacular story" that is basically a patchwork of rearranged source texts in literary language, barely turned into vernacular. In this example, a mere four characters in the ST chunk are turned into a 52-character-long corresponding chunk in TT, an increase of over ten times the original core:

ST:

逞欲無厭，[...]。

He indulged insatiably in his own desires.

TT:

凡平日曾與淫者，悉召入內宮，列之妃位。又廣求美色，不論同姓、異姓，名分尊卑，及有夫無夫，但心中所好，百計求淫。多有封為妃嬪者。

He also summoned into the palace and ennobled as Imperial Consorts all of the women with whom he had shared his excesses in the days before his rise. He eventually sent agents far and wide to seek out beautiful women. Whether or not the woman shared his surname, whether she was noble

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[57] ST: Gui Zimu , "Gui liefu Chen shi zu", in Chen Jian & Shen Guoyuan , eds., *Huang Ming cong xin lu*, chap. 38, *op. cit.*; TT: "Liefu ren si xun fu Xian'ao ge ai cheng nü", in Lu Renlong, *Xingshi yan*, chap. 10, main story, *op. cit.* See J. Chen and Shen 1620, j. 38, year Wanli 34 (*bing-wu*, 1606), p. 38b, fasc. 25; R. Lu 1993, 184.

or common or whether she was married was no concern of his; as long as he was attracted, he would use any means to satisfy his lust. Many of the women he ennobled as Imperial Consorts.[58]

2. Translation: c. Explanatory Translation/Reformulating

Third in the category of translation, the subcategory of explanatory translation, or reformulating, is a kind of intralingual translation wherein the transfer between ST and TT is accompanied by a clear explicative, explanatory intent. It is basically a paraphrase. There is no significant additional narrative poured into the rewording from one text to another, as in the case of amplified translation, but it can involve at times copious extraneous commentarial content. The rewriting concerns primarily the linguistic field but may affect the semantic field as well, in the form of an expansion of the ST's semantic reach. The process is typically used in the case of a narrative involving an (at least imaginary) expert-to-lay relationship of educational bearing, where the meaning of ST is presented as needing to be explained. It shows a clear intent at elucidation, clarification, or comment regarding the ST. The paraphrasing can be quite simple but at times lengthy, especially when the pedagogical intent is emphatic. This kind of translation, where the author/editor clearly wants to make a point, is particularly present in stories that show a strong pedagogical or moralistic purpose. It is probably where intralingual translation comes closest to being a simple commentary. We should also note that, according to my survey to date, the proportion of vernacular versus literary language is higher than in the other two types of translation—which is consistent with its explanatory function. Here is a basic example, with a limited amplification but an intent at making the discourse as clear as possible for any reader:

ST:

自數宜死者四：無子宜死；年少宜死；舅姑老，異日無倚，宜死；舅姑自有子奉養，無須我，宜死。

She had listed the four good reasons she had for dying. She had no children: reason to die. She was young: reason to die. Her parents-in-law were old and one day she would be without support: reason to die. Her in-laws had sons of their own to support them, and did not need her: reason to die.

TT：

我有四件該死，無子女要我撫育，牽我腸肚，這該死；公姑年老，後日無有倚靠，二該死；我年方二十三，後邊日子長，三該死；公姑自有子奉養，不消我，四該死。

There are four reasons why I'd better die. I don't have children to bring up, and who would be a cause for concern: for this reason, I'd better die. My in-laws are old, and later on I will be left without any support: second reason why I'd better die. I am only in my twenty-third year, and I still

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[58] ST: *Jin shi* 金史 (*History of Jin*), chap. 63, "Liezhuan" ("Biographies") 1, "Hailing hou Tudan shi, Hailing zhubi fu" 海陵后徒單氏，海陵諸嬖附 ("Lady Tudan, The Consort of Prince Hailing (1115–1234), with addendum, The Favourites of Prince Hailing"). TT: "Jin Hailing zongyu wangshen" 金海陵縱慾亡身 ("Prince Hailing of Jin Dies from Indulgence in Lust"), in Feng Menglong, *Xingshi hengyan*, chap. 23, main story. See *Jin shi*, vol. 5, 1508; Feng 2007, 3:472 ; Tan 1980, vol. 2, 482; Tan 1980, vol. 2, 482.

have plenty of time to live: third reason why I had better die. My in-laws have sons of their own to support them, and don't need me: fourth reason I'd better die.[59]

This example is drawn from a collection well known for its strong moralistic stance, the *Words to Rectify the World* (*Xingshi yan* 型世言), by Lu Renlong 陸人龍 (*ca.* 1632). (Sibau 2018) This particular sentence can be considered the core of the moralistic discourse of the whole story. This is a tragic narrative replete with stern Confucian values on female behavior, almost openly advocating the suicide of widowed women, especially if they have not yet borne children. Here the principles that validate the reasons for committing suicide are exposed as plainly and clearly as possible, as if it was a lesson to be retained by heart, as with the *Biographies of Exemplary Women (Lienü zhuan* 烈女傳), in which the author describes the heroine as being immersed since childhood. The rewriting is a good example of what we call "mixed" or "intermediate" language. The ST in literary language is opened up towards a translation with vernacular characteristics (e.g., the more common *gai si* 該死 instead of *yi si* 宜死; the usual *gonggu* 公姑 instead of *jiugu* 舅姑; *buxiao* 不消 instead of *wuxu* 無須), in a way that tends to make the meaning clearer for everyone while retaining the commanding characteristics of the original, literary register (e.g., the use of the negatives *wu* 無, *wuyou* 無有", *nian fang* 年方 for "aged only", the verbatim quotation of *zi you zi fengyang* 自有子奉養). The rhythmic characteristics of ST are retained in TT, to a formulaic effect, while the necessary explanations in TT are given in order to make the statement appear even more logical than in ST; this intention is further underlined by the inversion of reasons 2 and 3, more logical in TT's order. Last but not least, the reformulating implies a switch from third-to first-person narration, strongly enhancing the value of the passage as something to be interiorised.

The following example is taken from another collection rife with educational purpose, but in a different way, the *Second West Lake Collection* (*Xihu erji* 西湖二集), edited by Zhou Qingyuan 周清原 in the late Chongzhen period. It is well known for its at times very instructive and practical message. (Wivell 1969, 34–37; Y. Liu 2015, 218–30; H. Hu 2019, 400–401) In the context of the late Ming civil wars, its encyclopaedic practical knowledge goes so far as to give recipes for cooking in food shortage situations or methods for defending the coasts against piracy.[60] In the following instance, it takes the opportunity of an ST giving a hint about population relief in such a situation and then expands it into how-to recommendations on the appropriate treatment of famine victims. This is a good example of the manner in which *huaben* stories act on the imaginary expert/novice relationship.

ST:

遇歲飢，發私廩以賑餒夫，所活以千計。

In years of famine, he would take from his personal granaries to help the starving, and the lives he saved numbered in the thousands.

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[59] ST: Gui Zimu, "Gui lienü Chen shi zu", in Chen Jian & Shen Guoyuan , eds., *Huang Ming cong xin lu*, chap. 38, *op. cit.*; TT: "Liefu ren si xun fu Xian'ao ge ai cheng nü", in Lu Renlong, *Xingshi yan*, chap. 10, main story, *op. cit.* See J. Chen and Shen 1620, j. 38, year Wanli 34 (*bing-wu*, 1606), p. 54a, fasc. 25; R. Lu 1993, 183.

[60] *Xihu erji*, chap. 34: Lévy et al. 1978–2006, vol. 4, 204; Y. Liu 2009, 172–73; Q. Zhou n.d., 31b–37a, fasc. 5. These practical instructions are deleted from most modern editions.

TT:

他每遇饑荒之歲，便自己發出米糧以救饑餓之人。又搭造篷廠，煮粥於十字路口，使饑者都來就食。又恐怕饑餓過火之人，一頓吃上十餘碗，反害了性命，只許吃三五碗便住，吃三五碗之後，又要他暫時行走數步，以消腹中之食，行走之後，方許再吃。費了一片心，方得饑餓之人無患。如此設法救饑，不知救活了多多少少百姓。

In years of famine, he would take some of his own grain to save the starving. He had shelters built to prepare porridge at the crossroads, so that the hungry could come and eat. And to prevent those who were too hungry from swallowing ten bowls at once, which might have killed them, he allowed them only three to five bowls, and then these three to five bowls once eaten, he made them walk a certain number of steps to allow them to digest what they had in their stomachs, and only after they had walked did he allow them to eat again. He took great care to ensure that the hungry could be put out of harm's way. So, by establishing this method of famine relief, the lives he saved among the people were countless.[61]

A last example of this particularly interesting category is from vernacular to mixed and bivalent languages, in the style of "easy classical" commonly used in narratives of the Republican era. It is taken from outside the *huaben* tradition, just to recall how this kind of intralingual translation has become a long-lasting rewriting technique, valid far beyond the limits of any given genre and time. In this case it is found in one of those editions of classical works— here, more specifically, drama—published under the name of *yanyi* 演義 during the first decades of the last century:

ST:

(小旦)草草妝完，抱他下樓罷。(末抱介)(旦哭介)奴家就死不下此樓。(倒地撞頭暈臥介)。

(Xiao Dan) Now that she is more or less attired, we must carry her down the stairs. (Mo grasps her in his arms) (Dan, crying) Even if I should die, I won't go down from this house. (She falls to the floor, hits her head, and lies there unconscious)[62]

TT:

貞麗曰："草草妝竟，速抱下樓無遲。"龍友乃急抱之，香君大哭曰："儂誓死不下此樓！"言時用力過猛，此身向前一傾，龍友勢不能支，頭已撞地，身亦隨之而倒，昏暈不省人事。

Li Zhenli: "Now that she is more or less attired, we must carry her down the stairs straight away." So Longyou hurried to grasp her in his arms. Crying loudly, Xiangjun said: "I pledge my life I will never go down from this house!" And as she said this, having employed too much strength, her

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[61] ST: Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381), "Jingyou miao bei" 景祐廟碑, in *Song xueshi wenji* 宋學士文集, j. 71; TT: *Xihu erji*, chap. 29. See: L. Song, n.d., 3b, j. 71, fasc. 14; Q. Zhou 1981, vol. 2, 557–58; Ren 2014, 98–99 ; Lévy et al. 1978–2006, vol. 4, 180.

[62] Xiaodan: Li Zhenli 李貞麗; Mo: Yang Wencong 楊文驄 (Yang Longyou 楊龍友); Dan: Li Xiangjun 李香君.

body tilted forward. Longyou was in such a position that he could not prevent her fall, and her head hit the floor as she fell over. She fainted and passed out.[63]

3. Divergence and Addition: a. Divergence

In some cases, the wording in TT shows that the author/editor intends to diverge from the original meaning. This particular subcategory concerns occasional, one-off discrepancies, limited in scope, that do not give rise to amplification. They may have a significant impact though, as in the following example:

ST:

夫婦愧嘆，待之愈厚，收為贅婿，終老其家。

Husband and wife sighed with shame, and treated him more generously than before; they took him as an adopted son-in-law, a position which was to remain his in their family until his old age.

TT:

三夫人見說，自覺沒趣，懊悔無極，把女婿越看待得親熱，竟贅他在家中終身。

The Third Lady, on hearing these words, was embarrassed and found herself endlessly remorseful; she treated her son-in-law much kindlier than before, and invited him to become an adopted son-in-law in their family, a position which was to remain his until his old age.[64]

This example shows how a textual divergence (underlined here) can be consequential, however small it may be. Whereas in the ST the responsibility for mistreating the fiancé of the family's daughter by finally refusing marriage after he became poor is shared by both spouses, in TT it is the sole responsibility of the woman. The father is thus cleared, the mother is turned into a shrew, and the lesson of the vernacularised story, differing from ST, may be that a husband should not let himself be influenced by his wife—a conservative moralistic view shared by many vernacular narratives.

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[63] ST: Kong Shangren, *Taohua shan*, scene 22; TT: Jiang Yinxiang 江蔭香 (1877-?), *Taohua shan yanyi* 桃花扇演義, chap. 22. See Kong 2016, 151; Jiang 1919, 113. It is interesting to note that this skilful intralingual translation is faithful to the original on a level that the interlingual "translation" by Harold Acton and Chen Shih-hsiang falls far short of. The latter appears much more like an interpretation, as it translates 倒地撞頭暈臥 as: "She falls to the ground wailing, and knocks her head against it till she faints", completely warping the original text and changing an obviously accidental injury into an intentional self-harming attempt. (K'ung 1976, 166) It is true, though, that this crucial passage of Kong Shangren's play has given rise to many fanciful interpretations. Tina Lu clearly adheres to Acton and Chen's construal: T. Lu 2001, 164, 167–68, 188–89. See Lanselle 2013, 112–13, Lanselle 2021, 437–41. I am thankful to Barbara Bisetto for sharing with me the rare 1919 edition of Jiang Yinxiang's *Taohua shan yanyi*, and I would like to refer to Bisetto's ongoing research on *yanyi* more generally: Bisetto 2018a; Bisetto 2018b; see also her presentation on *Xixiang ji yanyi* 西廂記演義 at our common workshop "Dynamics of knowledge transmission and linguistic transformation in Chinese textual cultures" (2021): https://knowl-lingtrans.sciencesconf.org.

[64] ST: Li Zhen, *Jiandeng yuhua*, chap. 4, "Qiuqianhui ji", *op. cit.*; TT: Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 9, "Xuanhuiyuan shinü qiuqian hui Qing'ansi fufu xiao tiyuan", main story, *op. cit.* See Qu, Li, and Shao 1981, 255; Ling 1981, vol. 1, 187; Tan 1980, vol. 2, 635.

3. Divergence and Addition: b. Addition/Amplification

This category is a huge one. It refers to parts of the TT that are simply added to flesh out the story, as pure amplification. It is related to amplified translation, with the difference that amplification builds on a pre-existing core, whereas in this case addition does not elaborate on an element already present in ST. Additions are ubiquitous in the vast majority of stories, and the higher the ST/TT ratio in terms of number of characters, the more this category is likely to be represented. We are talking here about additions that are consistent with the original story, that develop it, and do not diverge fundamentally from it in terms of narrative contents or spirit. Typically, the additions serve to reinforce and amplify narrative features already present in ST. The size of such additions can be large, even very large. For the sake of practicality, we will limit ourselves here to two relatively short examples, in vernacular and literary languages, showing the position of the addition in the TT continuum, and the position of the segments relative to those of the ST.

In vernacular language:

ST	TT	Textual Transformation Micro-strategy
劉氏子者，少任俠，有膽氣； There was a certain son of a Liu family, who in his youth boasted of chivalry, and showed a certain bravery;	有一個劉氏子，少年任俠，膽氣過人， There was a certain son of a Liu family, who in his youth boasted of chivalry, and showed uncommon bravery;	Translation/Replacement by (Quasi-)Synonym
	好的是張弓挾矢、馳馬試劍、飛觴蹴鞠諸事。 he was especially fond of archery, horse racing and fencing, boozing and football games.	**Addition/Amplification**
交遊多市井惡少。 his company consisted mainly of the town's young ruffians.	交遊的人，總是些劍客、博徒、殺人不償命的無賴子弟。 His company consisted mainly of lawless sons of families, thugs, gamblers, and people who could get away with murder.	Amplified Translation[65]

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[65] ST: "Liu shi zi qi", in *Taiping guangji*, chap. 386, op. cit; TT: Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 9, "Xuanhuiyuan shinü qiuqian hui Qing'ansi fufu xiao tiyuan", introductory story, *op. cit.* See *Taiping guangji* 1981, vol. 8, 3083; Ling 1981, vol. 1, 176; Tan 1980, vol. 2, 631. Note that the passage "交遊多市井惡少" is a case of textual displacement (see below): in ST it is not positioned exactly in the corresponding place in relation to TT.

In classical language:

ST	TT	Textual Transformation Micro-Strategy
「君今既為異類，何尚能人言耶？」 "But if you now belong to another species, how come you still speak the language of humans?"	「君既為異類，則有咆哮而已，何尚能人言耶？」 "But if you now belong to another species, you should only be roaring: how come you still speak the language of humans?"	Quasi-Quotation/Amplified Quotation
虎曰： The tiger replied:	虎對道： The tiger replied:	Translation/Replacement by (Quasi-)Synonym
「我今形變而 "Today my form has been changed but	「我形雖虎， "Although my form is that of a tiger,	Explanatory Translation/Reformulating
心甚悟， my heart is very much awakened.	心猶人也。 my heart is still human.	Divergence
	往昔之事，念念不忘。自居此處，不知歲月，但見草木榮枯，亦時時泣下，沾草被木。恨無人可與言，亦不得與人言也。近日絕無過客，久饑難忍，忽見馳驅，故挺身而出，冀得一飽餐。 I have not forgotten anything of the past and I think about it constantly. Since I have been here, I have lost track of months and years, but I see the plants blooming and then withering, and often I cry to such extent that my tears moisten the grass and spread over the trees. I suffer from having no human being who can talk to me, or to whom I can talk. For the past few days, no traveller has passed through here, and I was hungry, so when I suddenly saw you galloping past on your horse, I came out boldly, enticed by the promise of a meal.	**Addition/Amplification**
故有撞突，以悚以恨， So to have offended you horrifies me and fills me with remorse	不意唐突故人，慚惶無地。」 That is how, unexpectedly, I offended you, my old friend; this fills me with confusion, and I do not know where to hide my shame.	Explanatory Translation/Reformulating
難盡道耳。」 to an extent I cannot express."		Omission[66]

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[66] ST: "Li Zheng", in *Taiping guangji*, chap. 427, *op. cit*.; TT: Dong Lu Gukuang sheng, *Zuixing shi*, chap. 6, main story, "Gaocai sheng aoshi shi yuanxing Yiqi you niangu fen banfeng" *op. cit*. See *Taiping guangji* 1981, vol. 9,

Inserted poems and verse, inserted depictions including those sung to a *ci* 詞 or *qu* 曲 tune, final verses, and inserted final morals usually belong to this category, unless they are present in ST.

3. Divergence and Addition: c. Diverging Addition/Diverging Amplification

In some cases, the addition, or amplification in TT, can diverge from ST, which makes it different from the last category. Note that by "divergence" we do not mean opposed to, or in contradiction with, the original narrative: simply that a different content is present, which was not part of the storyline of ST, and which has developed opportunistically out of the narrative elements present in the source, but not by expanding a distinct kernel present in it. Such occurrences are widespread throughout the *huaben* literature. This can result in a set of added elements distributed in different places in the text which, even if they are not contiguous, relate to this new amplification continuum. This may generate relatively brief divergent additions in places, which may bear some similarity to, but should not be confused with, the occasional divergences discussed in 3.a.

A good example of this sub-category is Chapter 24, main story, of the *Pai'an jingqi*. The original story, as well as its rewriting, tells of the abduction of a girl from a well-to-do family by a libidinous Taoist magician, who spirits away and abuses women, followed by her return to her family. In TT, this story has two Diverging Additions/Diverging Amplifications. One involves a conversation between the mother and daughter back at her parents' home, in which the mother makes sure that her daughter has not been raped and that she has returned from the kidnapper's lair a virgin. A second one, which is more developed—and also clarifies why the first was necessary—concerns the girl's rescuer. The ST segment in which this figure is referred to, somewhat vaguely, as:

好事者

a helpful person

becomes in TT:

內中有一秀士，姓劉名德遠，乃是名家之子，少年飽學，極是個負氣好事的人

Among them was a talented scholar with the surname of Liu and the personal name of Deyuan ['Whose virtue goes far'], who was the son of a reputable family; young and full of knowledge, he was someone who was extremely willing to take up the cudgels on behalf of others.[67]

The whole ending of the story as rewritten by Ling Mengchu takes a romantic turn, culminating in marriage, with the girl's family discovering all the good qualities of the young man, who ends up being considered the ideal son-in-law. For reasons of length, we do not give any other quotations here as examples. The sequencing chart on page 253 below, however, shows the distribution of the TT's diverging elements in the narrative continuum of this story. One can see the proportion of Diverging Addition/Diverging

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3478; *Zuixing shi* 1985, 87.

[67] ST: Zhou Shaolian, *Yuanzhu zhiyu Xuechuang tanyi*, chap. 2, #14, "Dashi zhuxie ji", *op. cit.*; TT: Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 24, "Yanguanyi laomo meise Huihaishan dashi zhuxie", main story, *op. cit.* See Tao and Zhou 2008, 227, Ling 1981, vol. 2, 509.

Amplification across its entire final part. The example given by this *huaben* is typical of the prevalent *modus operandi* in which the vernacular version adds substance to the characters, making them more like identifying objects (sympathetic characters, romantic adjuvant), or corresponds to vernacular concerns (virginity of the girl, family values, exemplarity).

4. Omission

The Omission is in some ways the opposite of the Additions described in 3.b and 3.c. Any passage of the narrative in ST that is not found in TT is tagged in the textual comparison as an Omission. Note that we do not call an omission an element that would not be found identically in TT simply because it has been transformed by translation or reformulation: an omission must be a significant element, however small, of ST that is not reproduced in TT. Omissions are very frequent. They appear most often as intentional, motivated by reasons that can be very diverse and often deserve to be analysed according to what can be perceived as the intentions of the author of TT in exploiting his source. Here is a simple example:

ST	TT	Textual Transformation Micro-strategy
酒至紫衣者。 It was now the turn of the purple-robed one to toast.	那酒就行到紫衣少年面前。 It was now the turn of the purple-robed young man to toast.	Translation/Replacement by (Quasi-)Synonym
復持盃請歌。 Raising his cup as well, he called on her to sing.		**Omission**
張妻不悅，沉吟良久，乃歌曰：[...] Zhang's Wife was unhappy; after remaining silent for a long time, she sang another song, that said: [...]	白氏料道推託不得，勉強揮淚又歌一曲云：[...] Considering she would not be able to get out of it, Dame Bai, wiping away her tears, forced herself to sing another song, that said: [...]	Explanatory Translation/Reformulating[68]

The effect of the small omission in this passage is to shift the motivation of the song to the woman's own will rather than the host's prompting. If Feng Menglong considered the small segment he omitted to be superfluous, it is arguably because this omission was consistent with his overall plan to emphasise the subjectivity of the characters, as noted above (p. 14); this appears to be evidenced in TT by a rephrasing that includes a hint of inner monologue ("considering" 料道) as well as the mark of increased emotional response ("wiping away her tears" 揮淚).

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[68] ST: *Taiping guangji*, chap. 281, "Dugu Xiashu" by Xue Yusi, *op. cit.*; TT: "Dugu sheng guitu naomeng" in Feng Menglong, *Xingshi hengyan*, chap. 25, main story. See: *Taiping guangji* 1981, vol. 6, 2250; Feng 2007, 3:546 ; Tan 1980, vol. 2, 508; Lévy et al. 1978–2006, vol. 2, 712; Lucas 2018, 693. As noted above (p. 10, n. 24), names differ between this source and Feng's story: in this ST, Dugu Xiashu 獨孤遐叔 is referred to as Student Zhang 張生, and Née Bai 白氏 is referred to as Zhang's Wife 張妻.

5. Textual Displacement

Generally speaking, *huaben* authors/editors tend to follow their source quite closely. The many examples above have shown how at times they pay surgical attention to the smallest detail of the original narrative(s): far from writing more or less loosely from the outline of a story to recast the narrative in their own way, the writing of a *huaben* story, when inspired by a source, is more akin to a form of continuous commentary. Most often we can imagine the authors working with the source books sitting open right on their desk. The chronology of the events reported, and more generally the order of the narrative elements, are mostly respected. It is therefore all the more important to pay attention to cases of Textual Displacement. By this we mean chunks of the text that, in the order of narration, may have been relocated either by anteposition or by postposition in the TT with respect to their original position in ST.

These displacements obviously correspond to a need to modify the layout of the narrative, for example to maintain the reader's expectation and interest by creating suspense and tension or by modifying the strategies for revealing details of the story. We know to what extent commentators on novels and theatre, in the tradition of Jin Shengtan, have paid attention to these questions of narrative organisation, to the development of prolepses, analepses, the effects of anticipation, flashbacks, and other procedures, often described with sophisticated terminology (cf. Jin's technical devices, or *fa* 法), which come in part from their culture of *baguwen*.[69]

Cases of Textual Displacements are ubiquitous throughout the *huaben* literature when a text is the result of a rewriting. It is rare to find a TT in which this does not occur. It is not possible at this stage of my research to put forward an average proportion of the presence of Textual Displacements in the whole literature. In the twenty or so texts considered to date, the proportion of TT resulting from ST displacement is around 5%, whereas the proportion of ST that has been displaced in TT is around 15% (TT being always longer than ST). There are substantial differences, however. Chap. 23, main story, in Feng Menglong's *Xingshi hengyan*, referred to above, is a patchwork of multiple STs, which have been rearranged to form a single whole, and textual displacements occur everywhere, in much higher proportions than those given above (over 50%). But this is a somewhat unusual case.[70]

Lastly, let us note from a methodological point of view that Textual Displacement is the only textual transformation micro-strategy that can be concomitant with any of the other defined micro-strategies (Omission and Additions excepted, since in these cases there is no ST/TT correspondence). For example, if a TT segment is identified as Translation/Replacement by (Quasi-)Synonym of a corresponding ST segment, it can only come under this micro-strategy to the exclusion of all others. However, it can *also*, at the same time, constitute a Textual Displacement with respect to the positions of the corresponding segments in, respectively, ST and TT.

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[69] See above, p. 226, n. 36.

[70] See above, p. 238, n. 58.

Towards a new methodology of textual comparison: II. Implementation, results, perspectives

In the previous section we have defined the different descriptive and dynamic characteristics involved in the processes of rewriting and intralingual translation between a literary source text and a vernacular target text, especially (though not exclusively) in the context of the *huaben* narrative genre, according to the textual analyses we have carried out so far. These characteristics, it may be recalled, involve: I.a Linguistic Characteristics, I.b Narrative Point of View (with I, Indexical Level, corresponding to Language and Enunciation Characteristics), and II, Textual Transformation Micro-strategies (situated at a Denotational Level, or Utterance). In this section, we will describe the concrete methodology we use to establish a textual comparison and its technical implications.

The basic methodology for comparing an ST with a TT, using spreadsheets, consists in the segmentation of both ST and TT into as many textual units as necessary, combined with a tagging of the units. After identifying which chunk of ST is associated with which corresponding chunk of TT, the ST segment is tagged with one and only one item from the I.a list, and one and only one item from the I.b list; the TT segment is tagged with one and only one item from the I.a list, and one and only one item from the I.b list; and the transformation between the ST and TT segments is tagged with one and only one item from the II list. When either II.3.b or II.3.c (Addition or Diverging Addition) occurs, a blank is left in ST at the corresponding place with the added element in TT; reciprocally, when an Omission occurs, a blank is left in TT at the corresponding place with the element from ST that has been omitted. Additionally, as said above, Textual Displacement is the only exception to the rule that just one micro-strategy is involved in a given segment: therefore, a specific tagging, which does not rule out the other micro-strategy associated with a given chunk, indicates the respective places of both the ST and TT segments between which a displacement occurs.

Ex. 1 - Basic case:[71]

ST Linguistic Characteristics	ST Narrative Point of View	SOURCE TEXT	TARGET TEXT	TT Linguistic Characteristics	TT Narrative Point of View	Micro-strategy
Literary Chinese	3rd Person Narration	宣徽意其必流落死矣，而人物整然。	[宣徽]想道：「我幾時不見了他，道是流落死亡了，如何得衣服濟楚，容色充盛如此？」	Vernacular Chinese: Standard Guanhua	Inner Monologue	Amplified Translation

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[71] ST: Li Zhen, *Jiandeng yuhua*, chap. 4, "Qiuqianhui ji", *op. cit.*; TT: Ling Mengchu, Pai'an jingqi, chap. 9, "Xuanhuiyuan shinü qiuqian hui Qing'ansi fufu xiao tiyuan", main story, *op. cit.*

Ex. 2 – Case with Addition/Amplification or Diverging Addition:[72]

ST Linguistic Characteristics	ST Narrative Point of View	SOURCE TEXT	TARGET TEXT	TT Linguistic Characteristics	TT Narrative Point of View	Micro-strategy
			遐叔想道：	Vernacular Chinese: Standard Guanhua	3rd Person Narration	Addition/ Amplification
			"我曉得了，	Vernacular Chinese: Standard Guanhua	Inner Monologue	Addition/ Amplification
Literary Chinese	3rd Person Narration	時近	今日	Bivalent	Inner Monologue	Divergence
Literary Chinese	3rd Person Narration	清明，	清明佳節，	Bivalent	Inner Monologue	Translation/ Replacement by (Quasi-) Synonym
			一定是貴家子弟出郭遊春。因見	Vernacular Chinese: Standard Guanhua	Inner Monologue	Addition/ Amplification
Literary Chinese	3rd Person Narration	月色如畫。	月色如畫，[…]	Literary Chinese	Inner Monologue	Verbatim Quotation

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[72] ST: *Taiping guangji*, chap. 281, "Dugu Xiashu" by Xue Yusi, *op. cit.*; TT: "Dugu sheng Dugusheng guitu naomeng" in Feng Menglong, *Xingshi hengyan*, chap. 25, main story, *op. cit.*.

Ex. 3 – Case with Omission:[73]

ST Linguistic Characteristics	ST Narrative Point of View	SOURCE TEXT	TARGET TEXT	TT Linguistic Characteristics	TT Narrative Point of View	Micro-strategy
Literary Chinese	Dialogue	「甚愧謝爾，奈相從不久何？」	「妾往楊川家討債去。」	Vernacular Chinese: Standard Guanhua	Dialogue	Divergence
Literary Chinese	3rd Person Narration	張泣下，				Omission
Literary Chinese	3rd Person Narration	莫曉所云。	張乙方欲問之，[…]	Literary Chinese	3rd Person Narration	Explanatory Translation/ Reformulating

Ex. 4 – Case with Textual Displacement:[74]

ST Linguistic Characteristics	ST Narrative Point of View	Displace-ment	SOURCE TEXT	TARGET TEXT	TT Linguistic Characteristics	TT Narrative Point of View	Micro-strategy
		Displ. A		端慧多能，工容兼妙。	Bivalent	3rd Person Narration	Verbatim Quotation
		Displ. B		父母愛惜他真個如珠似玉。	Mixed Language	3rd Person Narration	Amplified Translation
Literary Chinese	3rd Person Narration		時年十九，父母已六十餘矣，	倏忽已是十九歲，父母俱是六十以上了，[...]	Vernacular Chinese: Standard Guanhua	3rd Person Narration	Translation/ Replacement by (Quasi-) Synonym
Literary Chinese	3rd Person Narration	Displ. A	端慧多能，工容兼妙，				
Literary Chinese	3rd Person Narration	Displ. B	夫妻望之甚重，[...]				

[73] ST: Hong Mai, *Yijian (ding) zhi*, j. 15, "Zhang ke qi yu", *op. cit.* TT: Feng Menglong, *Jingshi tongyan*, chap. 34, "Wang Jiaoluan bainian changhen", introductory story, *op. cit.*

[74] ST: Zhou Shaolian, *Yuanzhu zhiyu Xuechuang tanyi*, chap. 2, #14, "Dashi zhuxie ji", *op. cit.*; TT: Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 24, "Yanguanyi laomo meise Huihaishan dashi zhuxie", main story, *op. cit.*

The complete analysis of the rewriting of a source text (ST) into a story (TT) is the result of the succession of all the segments analysed in this way. There is no *a priori* definition, in terms of length, of what constitutes a textual unit, or segment. Reading both texts side by side, a single change in the application of any of the options of I.a and I.b relevant to a particular point in ST or TT, or in the application of the options of II for the relevant micro-strategy at a particular point of the transformative continuum, is sufficient to define a new segment, as no two characteristics, no two strategies can be concomitant (except, as said, when a textual displacement occurs). Therefore, a segment may well be as large as one or even several sentences, or as small as a single word or even a single sinogram.

For the efficacy of the whole textual comparison, it is paramount to define the segments and their tagging as accurately as possible, as the tracking of a single change may have consequences from an analytical point of view. For example, in ST, a heterodiegetic narrative segment in the third person and in literary language can result, when translated into TT, in an amplified translation written intradiegetically as inner monologue or reported speech, first expressed in vernacular language, but suddenly turning into mixed or literary language: however small, this change has to be taken into account, in order to be properly tagged. This means, of course, that a full comparison between an ST and a TT can result in a total of several hundred segments.

For the sake of simplicity, in most of the descriptions above we have considered the relationship between a single ST and a TT, but naturally we must remember that in many cases a vernacular narrative has several sources. The method developed here is consequently applicable to as many source texts as necessary in relation to a given target text. At the present stage, an experimental one in which the task is carried out by means of simple spreadsheets, it appears simpler to make as many individual ST/TT comparisons as there are STs. The hoped-for development of the method using more elaborate tools in digital humanities should make it possible to carry out concomitant comparisons of multiple source texts against a given target text. Such a tool would also allow part of the comparison tasks to be automated, by identifying *verbatim* or *quasi-verbatim* text reuses, as is being developed for early Chinese literature in the framework of the Chinese Text Project. (Sturgeon 2018) Ideally it should also allow the matching, on a lexico-grammatical basis, of literary language segments with the corresponding vernacular language segments.

We can already show the method's benefits from a statistical point of view by allowing an analysis of all the different factors involved in a textual transformation. This methodology enables the production of quantifiable results, of tables and charts highlighting the techniques employed by authors/editors to produce a story from its sources. Although statistical methods do not need to be fetishised, I believe, together with an increasing number of researchers, that they can be helpful in the humanities where judgements sometimes rely too much on intuitions without concrete evidence, leading at times to idiosyncratic conclusions. I am of the opinion that by relying on facts more than on impressions they can help to expand "how we in the humanities understand the nature of meaning" and to solve some "epistemological impasses", as Michael Fuller puts it. (Fuller 2020, 259, 275) I do believe such is the case in our approach to the formation of *huaben* stories as well as the products of other genres, where the statistical results obtained from textual comparisons can be exploited in many different ways, establishing statistical databases for single stories as well as entire collections.

The graphical representations that can be drawn from a full text comparison are as varied as desired, and we will limit ourselves here to giving some basic examples of statistical output. The statistical data are obtained by tallying the number of characters in each of the defined categories. Punctuation marks are never included in the counting.

If we take one of the previously mentioned examples of textual comparisons, that of *Pai'an jingqi* 24, main story,[75] the first chart we can draw is of course its ST to TT amplification ratio—in this case +287%:
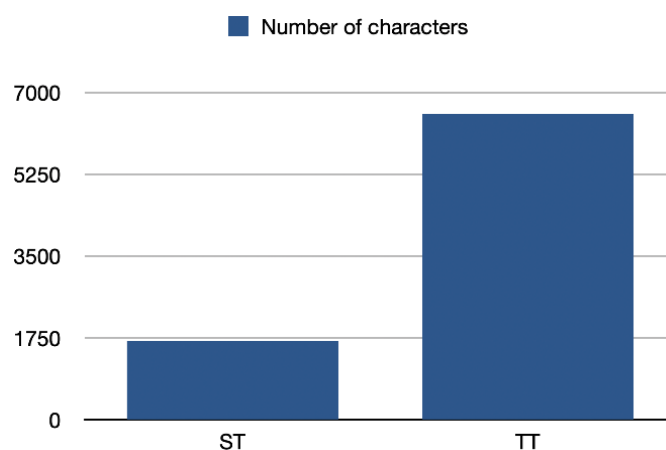
Then the linguistic characteristics involved in TT (ST being 100% literary Chinese):
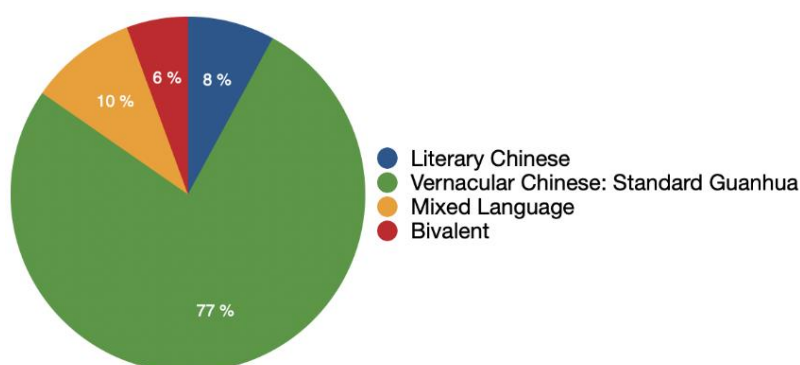
Then the distribution of narrative points of view in ST:

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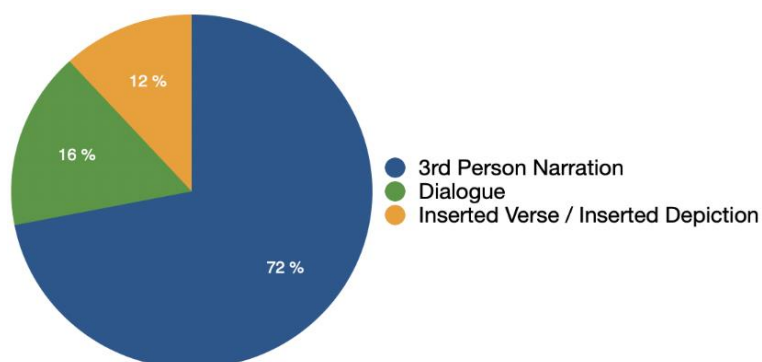
[75] ST: Zhou Shaolian, *Yuanzhu zhiyu Xuechuang tanyi*, chap. 2, #14, "Dashi zhuxie ji", *op. cit.*; TT: Ling Mengchu, *Pai'an jingqi*, chap. 24, "Yanguanyi laomo meise Huihaishan dashi zhuxie", main story, *op. cit.*

The distribution of narrative points of view in TT:
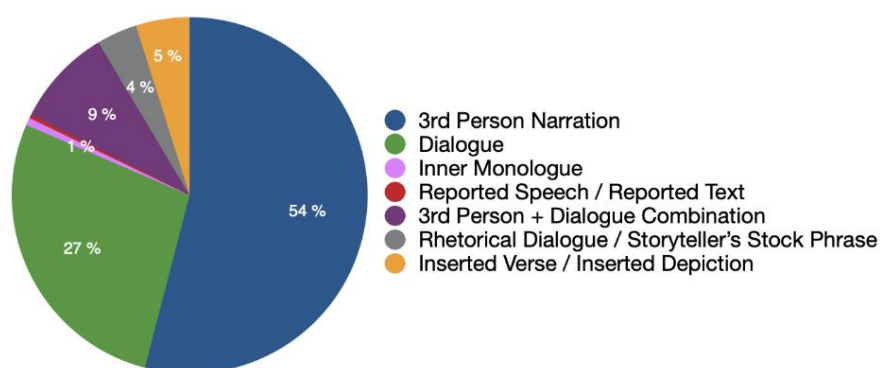
Then the evolution of the narrative points of view between ST and TT:
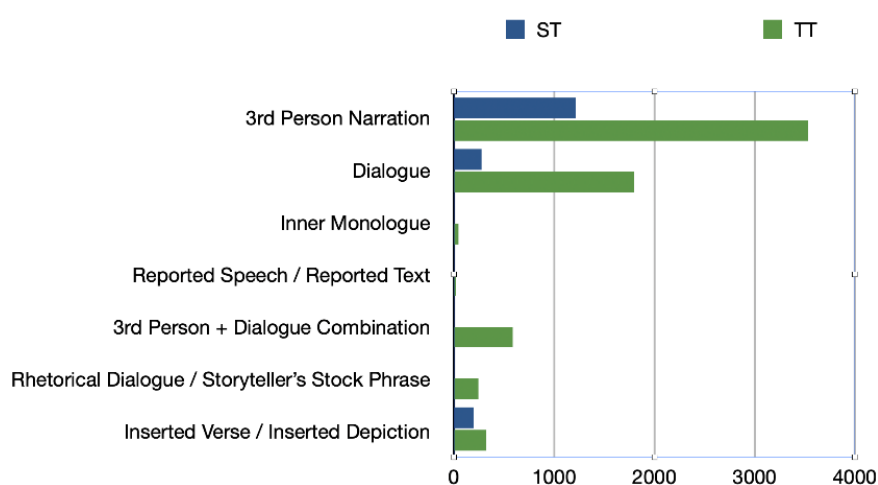
And finally, of course, the distribution of the textual transformation micro-strategies involved in the ST to TT rewriting (without including the textual displacements, which, in this case, amount to 14% of ST, corresponding to 4% of TT). The transformation is considered from two different perspectives: either what is the distribution of the micro-strategies applied to ST, or what distribution of micro-strategies is TT resulting from:
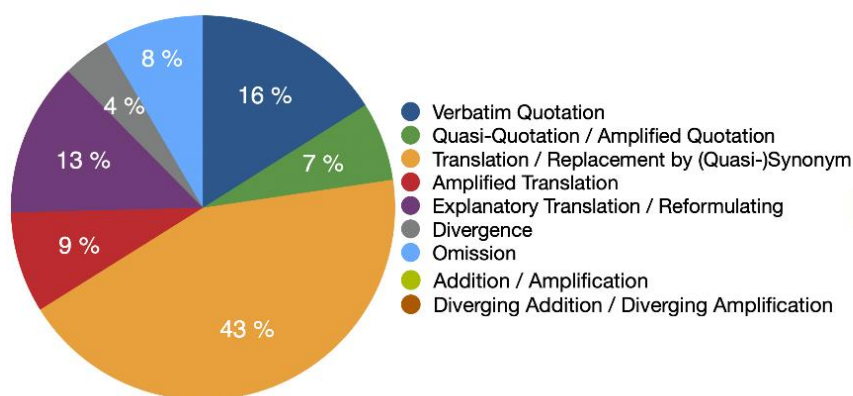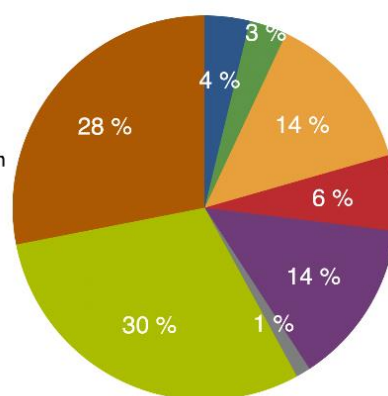
It is also possible to compare the application of the different micro-strategies between ST and TT:

Transformation Micro-Strategy: ST to TT Comparison
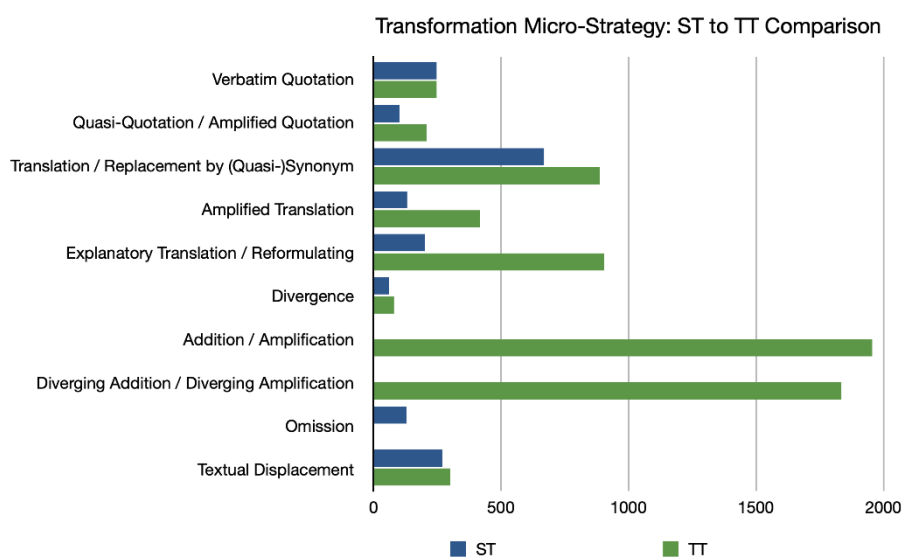
In this example, we can see that the three kinds of translation amount to 14+6+14 = 34% of the total of the formation of TT, and that 43+9+13 = 65% of ST has been subject to one form or another of translation. We can see, too, that, while the source has been quite faithfully reproduced (translated/rewritten) in the *huaben* version, with relatively few textual displacements, the important quantitative difference between ST and TT (total increase +287%) is explained in good part by the fact that the author has added a fair amount of plot of his own design: 29% of Addition/Amplification, and 28% of Diverging Addition/Diverging Amplification.

It may then be useful to display other kinds of results, such as the distribution of a particular feature in relation to the whole text. For example, here is the position of Additions/Amplifications, Divergences, and Diverging Additions/Diverging Amplifications along the TT narrative continuum, expressed as a sequencing chart:
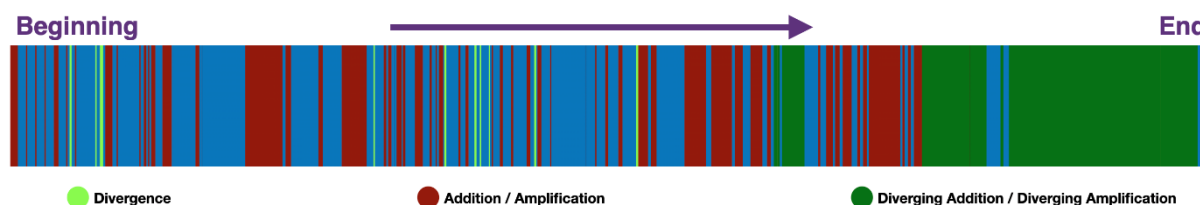
In this case we can see that the Additions/Amplifications are everywhere, while the Diverging Additions/Diverging Amplifications are concentrated in the latter part of the story. This allows Ling Mengchu to do two things while taking advantage of the original plot: first he fleshes out its contents, adding many telling details that make the plot more absorbing, then he considerably modifies not only the denouement, but also the whole final moral. As we have already mentioned, in his *ni huaben* 擬話本 ("imitative *huaben*") the girl of great intelligence and strength of character returns miraculously preserved from the lair of a perverse Taoist rapist, and not only is the latter punished, but her saviour becomes her

ideal husband. Moreover, the girl is a living advertisement for the excellent education given to her by her parents and for their piety. Although these latter elements are not present in the original story, Ling has still exploited all its threads in a very economical and effective way.

The above example is just one of many possible ways to extract data on specified criteria. As we can see, the methodology is very versatile, since it allows us to isolate and visualise any element or relevant category resulting from the comparative analysis. Whether it is Linguistic Characteristics, Narrative Point of View, or Textual Transformation Micro-strategies, specific or mixed information can be extracted *ad libitum* from the data established by the textual comparisons. A particular example of the application of this methodology will be discussed later. It is difficult to foresee what the repercussions of such an approach could be, but we can already imagine what might be achieved by a generalisation of the method, especially if it could be applied to a large number of texts, as is our objective, by taking advantage of the possibilities offered by the Digital Humanities. The method could be implemented on entire collections and could, for example, show the different working methods of different authors/editors, based not just on subjective impressions but on a proven foundation. What is, for instance, the proportion of intralingual translation in a particular collection or for a given author? What about their use of language levels? In which cases do they use the literary language or the vernacular? What are their strategies for shifting points of view or perspectives? For emphasising a subjective reading of a text? What about their greater or lesser fidelity to a source text? The possibilities are endless, and could perhaps—although it is too early to tell—help build more substantiated hypotheses on the authors/editors of individual stories or entire collections, in the case of problematic identifications, from the accumulation of data on their handling of sources.

The theoretical approach to intralingual translation, developed within the field of translation studies, is important for analysing these phenomena, for the practices of authors/editors as they developed in Ming China are in fact very comparable to those described in the theoretical literature for quite different periods and cultural environments. But since we have seen that Ming-Qing authors/editors were acutely aware of language levels, and often showed an impressive mastery, and even more so a remarkable fluency, in the handling of vernacular writing codes, with practices always embedded in their initial environment with the literary language, we would first like to take stock of the notion of diglossia, which lies at the heart of their practice.

(End of Part 1)

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Xinjiang Police Files: Re-Education Camp Security and Political Paranoia in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

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From 2017, the Chinese state detained Uyghurs and other ethnic groups in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) in so-called Vocational Skills Education and Training Centres (VSETCs). Previously, witnesses and leaked state documents outlined the securitised nature of these re-education facilities. Now, the "Xinjiang Police Files," a major cache of classified files obtained by a third party from internal XUAR police networks, provides an unprecedented inside view. Detailed re-education camp security instructions describe special police units carrying military assault weapons and show guards handcuffing detainees. The files include thousands of images of detained Uyghurs and show that in 2017/18, over 12 percent of Uyghur adults were detained. Candid internal speeches show leading officials' impassioned demands to treat persons from ethnic groups like dangerous criminals, and to readily open fire to stop escapees and to safeguard the camps. This article authenticates and contextualises the Xinjiang Police Files within the growing field of published internal XUAR government documents. Scholars have argued that political paranoia is a common feature of atrocity crimes. Here, it is suggested that the pre-emptive internment of large numbers of ordinary citizens can be explained as a devolution into political paranoia that promotes exaggerated threat perceptions.

從 2017 年起，中國政府將新疆的維吾爾等少數民族居民關押在自治區所謂的職業技能教育培訓中心（VSETCs）。之前的證人證詞和流出的政府文件已勾畫出政治再教育營中警力管理的輪廓。本文選用最新的"新疆公安文件"，即一大批由第三方從新疆公安內部網絡截獲的機密文件，將之與不斷流出的新疆政府內部文件相互印證、比對結合，從前所未有的內部視角展示 2017/18 年度超過 12%的維吾爾成年人在關押期間的實際境遇：被視為危險罪犯，戴上手銬，若試圖逃跑手持軍用攻擊型武器的特警會隨時開火。有學者認為，政治偏執妄想症是暴行暴政的共同特徵。本文旨在探討大範圍先發制人式關押普通公民的心理側寫和社會效應，闡述施政者向政治偏執妄想症的退變以及對維吾爾等少數民族威脅性的誇大。

Introduction and Methodology

From 2017, the Chinese state embarked on a campaign of mass internment in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) in the northwest of the People's Republic of China that has swept up perhaps over a million members of ethnic groups into re-education camps (Zenz 2018b, 2019b). Researchers have referred to this campaign as a "high-tech penal colony" (Byler 2021, 23) and as "the country's most intense campaign of coercive social re-engineering since the Cultural Revolution" (Zenz 2018a, 125).

The securitised nature of Xinjiang's so-called Vocational Skills Education and Training Centres (VSETC; *zhiye jineng jiaoyu peixun zhongxin* 職業技能教育培訓中心) has early on been the subject of intense scrutiny amidst Beijing's assertions that these are merely "boarding schools" whose "students" are free to take leave (Sudworth 2019; Wang 2019). From 2018, witness accounts and analyses of government documents and satellite images have documented the prison-like nature of what are effectively re-education camps. The state itself has stated that VSETCs are designed to "wash brains", "cleanse hearts", and "remove evil" (Zenz 2019b, Section 2).

The current literature evaluating security-related aspects of Beijing's crackdown in the region has so far predominantly focused on police recruitment (Zenz and Leibold 2019); the technologies, operations and social aspects of state surveillance (Leibold 2019b, Kam and Clarke 2021); the experiences of re-education camp detainees (Byler 2021; Khatchadourian 2021); and the wider framing of Uyghurs as inherently "dangerous" or "untrustworthy" persons (Roberts 2020; Tobin 2020; Zenz 2020a, 2021b). Several studies have examined the conceptual framing, security features, funding, or police staffing of the region's various internment facilities (Rajagopalan, Killing and Buschek 2020; Ruser 2020; Zenz 2018b, 2018c, 2019b). Additionally, research has investigated the role of China's leadership in masterminding and implementing the internment campaign (Leibold 2019a; Zenz 2020a, 2021d; Zenz and Leibold 2017).

Unexpectedly, the author received what he refers to as the "Xinjiang Police Files": a cache of internal police documents and images that conclusively demonstrate the securitised and coercive nature of VSETCs as prison-like re-education facilities. This article focuses on the review and authentication of speeches by Xinjiang's former Party Secretary Chen Quanguo related to re-education camp security, directives related to the police operations of these facilities, as well as the authentication of images, many of which depict detainees. The resulting findings fill an important gap in our understanding of several aspects of Beijing's re-education campaign, notably the role of leading XUAR officials in demanding total securitisation, and detailed evidence of how re-education facilities are to be guarded by heavily armed special police forces.

The Xinjiang Police Files were obtained by a third party from the outside through hacking into computer systems operated by the Public Security Bureau (PSB) of the counties of Konasheher (*shufu xian* 疏附縣), located in Kashgar Prefecture, and Tekes (*tekesi xian* 特克斯縣) in Ili Prefecture, both regions traditionally dominated by non-Han ethnic groups. The person who unexpectedly reached out to the author to provide the files acted on a solely individual basis, attached no conditions to their provision or publication, and wishes to remain anonymous due to personal safety concerns. While some of the material had

been stored in encrypted form, the individual was able to decrypt part of the files through mechanisms that were communicated to the author. The author himself was not involved in any part of the process required to obtain or decrypt the files.

The Xinjiang Police Files span tens of thousands of files dating from the 2000s to the end of 2018. They include a wide range of documents, several of them explicitly marked as "confidential" (*jimi* 機密) or "internal" (*neibu* 內部). These include transcripts of internal speeches by local and regional XUAR officials, including statements made by former XUAR Party Secretary Chen Quanguo (2016 to 2021). The files also contain detailed internal operations directives for the police stationed at the Konasheher New Vocational Skills Education and Training Centre (VSETC) (*shufu xian xin zhiye jineng jiaoyu peixun zhongxin* 疏附縣新職業技能教育培訓中心). Internal spreadsheets from Konasheher show the personal information of approx. 286,000 individuals – basically the entire county population in 2018.[1] They indicate that approx. 12.3 to 12.7 percent of the county's ethnic adults were in some form of internment in re-education, detention, or prison facilities, providing new evidence for the vast scale of the mass internments (see Zenz 2022 for a detailed discussion). This means that Konasheher's combined per capita internment/imprisonment rate was over 64 times higher than China's national imprisonment rate (von Kameke 2021).[2] The files also indicate that all of these facilities, including formal prisons, effectively act as sites of arbitrary internment.

The Xinjiang Police Files also contain the personal information and exact status of nearly all detainees of the Konasheher New VSETC and the Konasheher Industrial Park VSETC (around 8,000 detainees), including their camp building number and (often) floor level. The file cache also encompasses over 5,000 images of persons in Konasheher who were taken in by police to be photographed, either at a police station or a re-education camp. Of these 2,884 can be confirmed to have been detained. Other documents include internal police PowerPoint presentations, some for training police and security staff – for example in the use of handcuffs, in close combat, or in the search and arrest of suspects. Original images and descriptions of the 2,884 detained persons, dozens of internal police PowerPoints, files outlining local security drills, and images and scans of multiple government documents can be accessed on the website www.xinjiangpolicefiles.org set up by the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation. All originals and several translations of documents from the cache that are cited in this paper can be accessed at the open access storage of the University of Vienna (links are included in the list of references).

First, this article reviews internal speeches by high-ranking officials and policy documents to assess whether lower-level police directives are consistent with the statements and demands made by the region's leadership. This material is then compared to previously-published internal state documents.

Second, this article examines the nature and authenticity of the over 5,000 images of persons taken at police stations or detention centres. Based on image-linked ID numbers, images were examined by age group, gender, and the location and sequence in which they were taken. The IDs were then compared to

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[1] According to government statistics, the Konasheher county adult population in 2018 was approx. 284,000 (Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook 2019, table 3-9).

[2] China's national figure excludes an unknown number of persons who may potentially still be detained in the formally abolished Re-education Through Labor (RETL) camps, or those held in detention centres.

sets of other IDs contained in the files, as well as to external sources. Where available, image metadata such as date and camera serial number were analysed, permitting assessments of whether images were taken using identical or different cameras. Internment facility locations were corroborated using satellite imagery, construction bids, and geolocation analysis that matched internal documents and images of facilities with corresponding satellite images.[3]

The method of authenticating the material through a) assessing its internal consistency and b) comparing it with other available material contains certain limitations. A malicious actor seeking to discredit research on this topic may leak falsified evidence on purpose. This may be based on existing and publicly available evidence. However, the material contained in the Xinjiang Police Files is extremely extensive. In particular, the visual material (contained in both photographs and PowerPoint presentations) shows large numbers of what are obviously real-life scenes from Xinjiang, including very sensitive settings such as police stations, police trainings, the inside of the Konasheher police command centre (Figure 1), hundreds of portraits of police officers, and the insides of internment facilities. It also contains numerous images of original government documents, including a full and unredacted copy of one of the documents from the Xinjiang Papers (General Office 2017a; see Figure 2). All of this constitutes non-public or classified material. Arguably, the only entity that could have produced a data set of this type and magnitude is the Chinese government itself.

Figure 1: The inside of the Konasheher County Police Command Centre.[4] Original filename: 20181018181440.jpg (click on filename to download the original image).

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[3] Additionally, investigative research teams from a consortium of 13 major media outlets (including the BBC, Der Spiegel, Le Monde, El Pais, etc.) conducted their own independent Open-Source Intelligence (OSINT) work on the Xinjiang Police Files, including geolocation assessments.

[4] Image creation date: November 2, 2018 (no camera metadata available). Source: Shufu County PSB. This only shows the top image of two concatenated images.
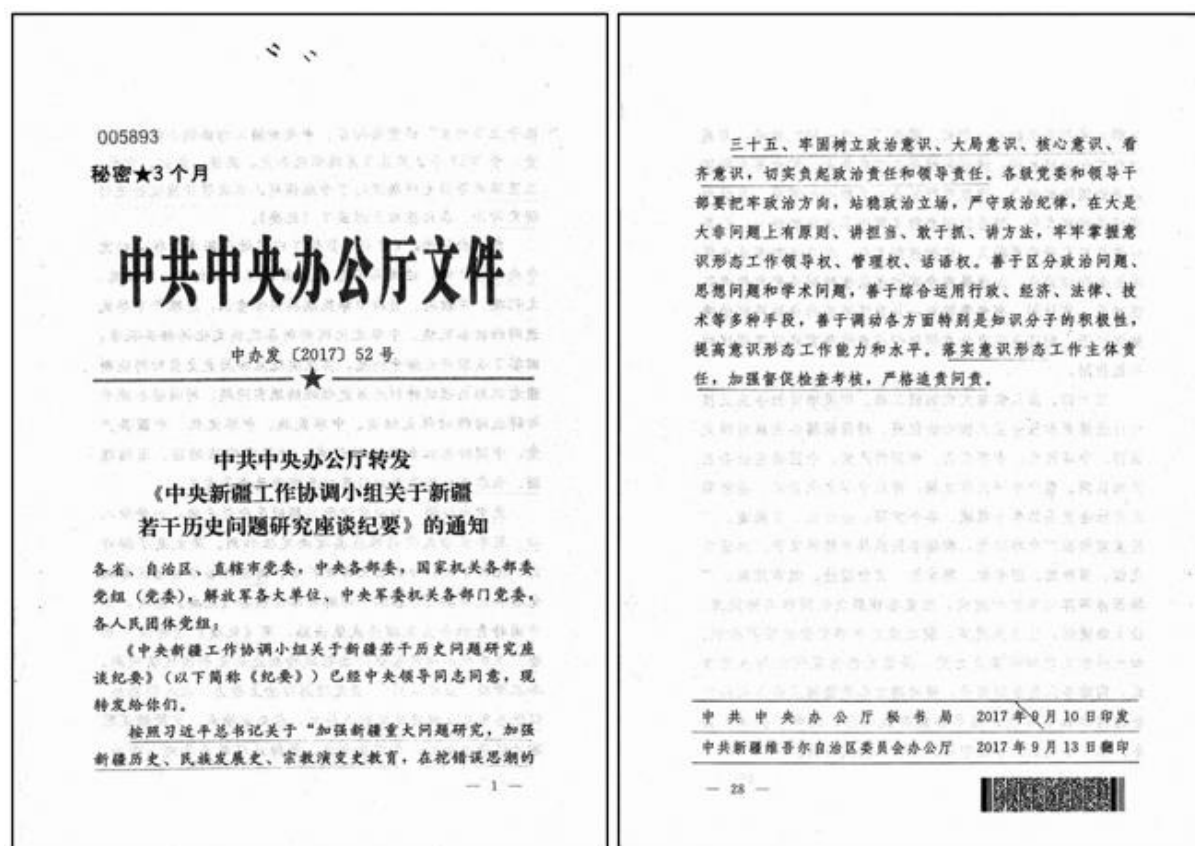
Figure 2: Unredacted copies (first and last pages) of a classified central government document that was previously published as part of the Xinjiang Papers (compare General Office 2017a).[5] Original file-names: 1.jpg and 28.jpg (click on filenames to download the original images).

Internal Government Documents from Xinjiang: An Overview and Conceptual Analysis

Between 2019 and 2021, several internal documents from Xinjiang were obtained and published by researchers and media outlets. Table 1 shows related publications in chronological order (this table includes only publishing initiatives that specifically pertained to internal government or other semi-public documents containing at least some information that is considered internal to the state).

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[5] Source: XUAR internal police networks.

Date of first publication	Title	Contents	Source of data	Published by
November 2019	Xinjiang Papers (partial disclosure)	Over 11 classified and top-secret speeches and documents from the central government and the XUAR. The Times published only a brief summary of some of the documents.	Anonymous source in Xinjiang via anonymous intermediaries.	New York Times (Ramzy and Buckley 2019)
November 2019	China Cables	Classified policy document regarding the operations and security of VSETCs in Xinjiang, as well as four shorter bulletins.	Anonymous source in Xinjiang, via exiled Uyghur Asiye Abdulaheb.	ICIJ (2019) / Adrian Zenz (2019b)
November 2019	Xinjiang QQ Files	A set of ca. 25,000 internal files from local government work groups in several counties in Xinjiang, including spreadsheets of persons with their internment status.	Obtained by Adrian Zenz via local social networks in Xinjiang (w/o hacking)	Zenz (2019a, 2019b); many victims were entered into the Xinjiang Victims Database
February 2020	Karakax List	Internal spreadsheet from Karakax County detailing the internment of 311 persons (with reasons for their internment and the incremental reasoning behind their release).	Anonymous source in Xinjiang, via exiled Uyghur Asiye Abdulaheb.	Zenz (2020a) / multiple media outlets
January 2021	Urumqi Police Database	Internal database of the Urumqi City PSB and the XUAR PSB (ca. 250 million data entries).	Obtained by anonymous source from within Xinjiang police networks in 2019 (unclear if leaked or hacked)	The Intercept (Grauer 2021)
March 2021	Nankai Report	Public research report by a group of academics from Nankai University on labour transfers of Uyghurs to other parts of China, with a discussion of related security measures.	Nankai University publication, first identified by Asiye Abdulaheb, archived by Adrian Zenz	Zenz (2021a) / BBC (Sudworth 2021)
November 2021	Xinjiang Papers (full disclosure of 11 files)	11 classified and top-secret speeches and policy documents from central government and XUAR related to Beijing's policies in the region.	Anonymous source in Xinjiang via intermediaries, provided to the Uyghur Tribunal.	Zenz (2021c, 2021d) via Uyghur Tribunal (publication of the full transcripts)
April 2022	Xinjiang Police Files	Thousands of internal files from internal PSB networks in Konasheher and Tekes Counties, including speeches by officials, instructions for re-education camp police, and images of detained persons.	Obtained by anonymous individual through hacking.	Zenz (this publication)

Table 1: Chronology of the publication of internal XUAR state documents.

Each of the previous leaks provided a limited but highly targeted amount of new information that shed important new light on the nature of this atrocity. Moreover, they did so at different administrative levels, with the Xinjiang Papers representing the highest level (central government), and the Urumqi Police Database and the Xinjiang QQ Files the lowest. Conceptually speaking, one can classify the material into four administrative levels:[6]

1. Central government level
2. XUAR regional autonomous (provincial) level
3. Prefectural or county-level policy directives
4. Local policy implementation (in townships, villages, work units) as evident from specific work reports or spreadsheets

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[6] This categorisation reflects a simplified version of Chinese administrative levels, which include the central government, provinces and autonomous regions, prefectures and prefecture-level cities, counties / county-level cities / urban districts, townships / towns / urban subdistricts, and villages / urban neighborhoods (compare Heilmann 2017, 73, 86, 100). This simplification was performed by the author based on the nature of the available internal government material and related bureaucratic processes.

At the highest administrative level, the Xinjiang Papers were unique in that they gave insights into the thinking of General Secretary Xi Jinping on the situation in Xinjiang, as well as featuring the order of XUAR leaders to "round up all who should be rounded up" *ying shou jin shou* 應收盡收 (Zenz 2021c, table 6 on page 23). When published in full in December 2021, the Papers provided the academic community with an insider view of the top-level policy design dynamics *dingceng sheji* 頂層設計[7] of XUAR policymaking: nearly all major policy initiatives that evolved in the region since 2016 were either directly mandated or at least clearly encouraged by the central leadership (Zenz 2021c). As noted by Tobin, the Papers complement an understanding of the oppressions in the XUAR that had until then been predominantly framed through the lens of regional-level policy implementation. Here, the Papers provided specific insights into the discourses that explicate the genesis and evolution of these policies (Tobin 2021).

At a lower but still XUAR-wide conceptual level, the China Cables, especially their main document (a classified state telegram), furnished the first strong proof that, internally, the Chinese state viewed the re-education "centres" as highly securitised facilities that had to be run like prisons (Zenz 2019b; Autonomous Region Party Political and Legal Affairs Commission 2017b). Previously, information about the security features of these "centres" had been obtained from government websites, procurement bid documents, or satellite images. Reading about camp security procedures from an official and stamped internal document signed by Xinjiang's second most powerful official at the time, the former Deputy Party Secretary and former Secretary of the Political and Legal Affairs Commission Zhu Hailun, gave that leak a special quality and unique authority. Also, the fact that this was a XUAR-wide directive that mandated an improved "establishment of Vocational Skills Education and Training Service Bureaus at the prefecture and county levels" furnished important support for estimating the scale and scope of the re-education campaign (Autonomous Region Party Political and Legal Affairs Commission 2017b, 8; Zenz 2019b, Section 6).

At the time, this was complemented by evidence derived from a large leak of internal documents that the author obtained in the second half of 2019 through social media networks used by local government units that were operated through Tencent's QQ app (Zenz 2019b). This cache, now for the first time dubbed by the author the "Xinjiang QQ Files", consists of over a dozen sets of internal local (township) government files. In October 2019, months after the author first used these files in a research paper on parent-child separation (Zenz 2019a), XUAR authorities mandated a thorough clean-up of local data, including the shifting of file sets to secured databases and offline IT systems, with a special focus on removing evidence listing people's "detention status" (Associated Press 2019). Among the Xinjiang QQ Files were internal government spreadsheets predominantly from Yarkand County (Kashgar Prefecture) that contained lists of detained persons by household. From this material, the author was able to calculate internment shares for entire populations, assessing that most of those sent to internment facilities were heads of households, their sons, or other male figures (Zenz 2019b, Section 9.2.2). The average ages of those in re-education were much higher than those claimed by the Chinese state, with the oldest person being 77 years old. This is corroborated by the Xinjiang Police Files. By February 2022, internment data from the

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[7] Top-level design constitutes a more centralised and streamlined policymaking approach, introduced by Xi in 2013 (Alpermann and Schubert 2019, 200).

Xinjiang QQ Files made up nearly half (7,972 of 17,237) of all victims listed in the Xinjiang Victims Database who were interned under Chen Quanguo (Xinjiang Victims Database 2022).[8]

In terms of policy evidence, the China Cables were quite narrow in scope. Focused on specific aspects of VSETC management, they did not explain who exactly was to be detained and for what presumed reason, nor answer many other questions surrounding the campaign. Some of these knowledge gaps were filled by the Karakax List, which represented an entirely different type of document. Rather than coming with official formatting, dates, authorship, or stamps, it is an unmarked, undated, and unsigned spreadsheet saved as a simple PDF document (Zenz 2020a). However, the lack of formatting was compensated by the List's detailed contents. Outlining the fate of 311 detained persons, the unique feature of the Karakax List was the conceptual associations embedded in it: each data row shows a person with the reasons for their internment, an appraisal of their family situation, and the reasoning behind whether they could be released or not. Notably, it showed that many Uyghurs had merely been detained because they were classified as "untrustworthy persons" 不放心人員, and that the primary reason for their detention was violations of birth control policies.

The Urumqi Police Database files provided an insider view into real-time police surveillance operations through data recorded at police checkpoints and from records created at police meetings (Grauer 2021; Byler et al. 2020-21, 7). It helped us to understand how the authorities flag "suspicious" persons and utilise extensive digital monitoring to create links between diverse pieces of gathered data, including financial transactions, physical movement, biometric data, phone call records, and social media behaviour. This dynamic data flow is then fed into regular local police reports. Both this database and the Xinjiang QQ Files provide detailed insights into local records that are created in the process of implementing security-related policies. The Urumqi Police Database focused substantially on data that is dynamically created in the process of surveillance, which may generate so-called push notifications in the Integrated Joint Operations Platform (IJOP) 一體化推送 that require authorities to investigate or detain persons (Human Rights Watch 2019). The Xinjiang QQ Files contain predominantly static data that at times show the outcome of this surveillance, such as internment status and prison sentences.

Not all pivotal documentary evidence has been internal or classified. While the Nankai Report was originally in the public domain (although it has since been removed and effectively become an internal document), it carried a unique authority by virtue of having been published by a well-known academic institution. It provided timely new insight into securitised labour transfers, notably transfers of Uyghurs to other provinces. The Nankai Report also contained unique admissions by these academics, one of them a dean and former deputy Secretary-General of the Tianjin municipal government, on the nature of the internment campaign: that the "education and training centres" (VSETCs) were a "drastic short-term measure" that was "absolutely necessary and effective" (Zenz 2021a, 14).

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[8] After exporting the dataset with the filter option "exclude pre-Chen Quanguo victims", each data row that contained the keyword 'Zenz' in the column 'About the testifier' was counted as a match.

The Xinjiang Police Files span a wide range of internal documents across different administrative levels. They include statements by XUAR leaders such as Chen Quanguo and other officials that are exceptionally unrestrained in nature. This is likely because they are oral speech transcripts and not formally-published speeches or policy documents. Even when confidential and internal, the more formal types of documents simply do not feature the unfiltered, raw bouts of personal opinion and emotive overtones that are contained in these transcripts. The Xinjiang Papers, while containing several fairly direct statements by Xi Jinping and XUAR officials, have not revealed some of the "smoking gun" admissions that would conclusively and authoritatively answer some of our remaining questions regarding Beijing's unprecedented re-education drive in the region. This is where the Xinjiang Police Files fill an important gap. The speech transcripts are titled "transcription from recording" 根據錄音整理 (compare for example Liu 2015). While they lack official formatting – they are just plain Word documents with a simple header – their content is unprecedented in terms of the insight given into these leaders' actual personal thinking. To date, documents of this type from Xinjiang have never been published in the public domain.

Besides XUAR-level documents such as leaders' speeches, the Xinjiang Police Files include mostly security-related documents at all lower administrative levels. These include announcements *tongzhi* 通知, often transmitted in the form of state telegrams or cables, *fadian* 發電; work demands *gongzuo yaoqiu* 工作要求 related to a specific work aspect; work plans *gongzuo fang'an* 工作方案; implementation plans *shishi fang'an* 實施方案; briefings *qingkuang tongbao* 情況通報; and specific products of policy implementation such as work reports *gongzuo baogao* 工作報告 and spreadsheets. Altogether, they span the entire policy cycle, covering measures that are to be implemented, are being implemented, or have been implemented and are being reported or evaluated. Chen's two speech transcripts in particular are unique in that they provide us not only with unusually frank policy implementation directives, but also with some of the thought processes and attitudes behind these policies.

XUAR Regional-Level Speeches and Directives Regarding the "Absolute Security" of Re-Education Internment Facilities

Document no.8 from the Xinjiang Papers contains key points of a February 2018 speech by Chen Quanguo that highlight the so-called "4+2 work requirement" *gongzuo yaoqiu* 工作要求: namely the need to ensure the "absolute security of Vocational Skills Education and Training Centres and Internment Facilities" (Chen Quanguo Autonomous Region Party Committee 2018; see table 6 in Zenz 2021c, 23). Essentially the same phrase is found in the opening sections of the main telegram of the China Cables that mandated a series of related security measures, notably the "Five Prevents" *wufang* 五防, which include escape prevention (Autonomous Region Party Political and Legal Affairs Commission 2017b, 2-3; compare Zenz 2019b, Section 4).

Chinese state speeches, policy texts, and related directives or implementation reports form series of intertextual chains, whereby official texts draw on other texts (Zhou and Qin 2020, 3). This process is facilitated

by mantra-like recurrences of what Heilmann aptly described as "[p]olitically binding standard phrases" (*tifa* 提法) that steer political discourse and streamline policy implementation (Heilmann 2017, 313).

The Xinjiang Police Files reflect the overarching significance of *tifa* such as "4+2" (or at times: "4+1"), which are dominant in related county- and local-level documents. For example, all of the longer and more comprehensive documents detailing the security procedures at the two Konasheher VSETCs contain this *tifa*, along with the explicit statement that this is a "thing" *jian shi* 件事 (i.e. requirement) of Chen Quanguo. These frequent attendant references or appeals to the personal authority of Chen (and of Xi Jinping) point towards the personalisation inherent in what Heilmann refers to as a "crisis mode" of policymaking and governance more prevalent under Xi (Heilmann 2017, 161). This is especially pertinent in politically sensitive regions such as Xinjiang, where the features of a "crisis mode" highlighted by Heilmann – notably increased centralisation, personalisation, militant mobilisation rhetoric, increased influence of disciplinary and security organs, and a greater role of ideology in decision-making – are abundantly evident (ibid.).

The newly obtained material contains a transcript of an internal June 18, 2018, speech by Chen Quanguo in the context of the visit of Zhao Kezhi 趙克志, PRC State Councillor and head of the national PSB (Chen Quanguo 2018). The veracity of this important document can be assessed in several ways. First, Zhao did visit Xinjiang as stated in the speech transcript. Second, Chen makes multiple assertions about what Zhao said and thought, all of which can be assessed as accurate because Zhao's (classified) speech is also part of the Xinjiang Police Files as a "secret document" *miji wenjian* 密級文件 (Figure 3; Zhao Kezhi 2018). This speech constitutes perhaps the most important document of the Xinjiang Police Files because it very directly implicates the central government – and Xi Jinping himself – in the campaign of mass internment (see the author's separate publication analysing its contents and significance in Zenz 2022).
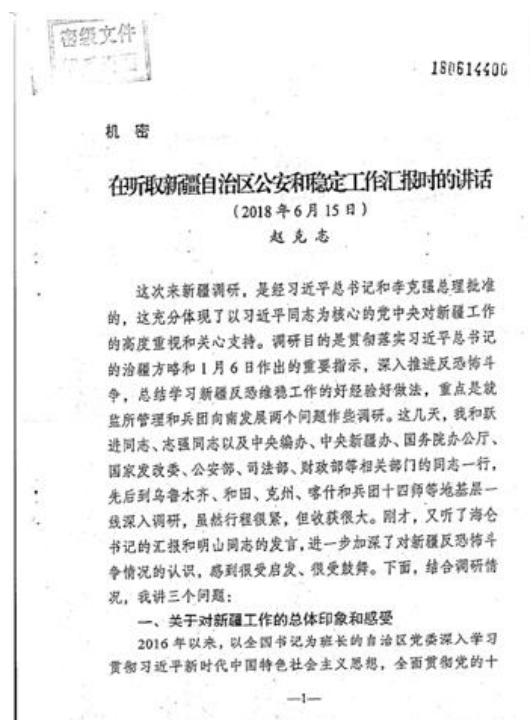

Figure 3: Screenshot of the first page of Zhao Kezhi's June 15, 2018, speech, given in Urumqi. Source: Konasheher County PSB.

The title and context of Zhao's speech can in turn be corroborated from official reports on the related event that took place in Urumqi on June 15, 2018 (Beihai shi 2018). In addition, the timing and title of Chen's speech, which the internal document states as having been given at the "Autonomous Region Cadres' Plenary Meeting" 自治區幹部大會上的講話, are confirmed in a related state report (XUAR local chronicle 2018).

As in his previous internal speeches, Chen notes the supreme importance of the "4+2 work requirement" – the "absolute security of prisons, detention centres and training [VSETC] facilities" 監所培訓中心絕對安全 (Chen Quanguo 2018, 13). Noting that officials must do a good job with the "Five Prevents," he then argues that:

> No one should ever plan to attack internment facilities, [they have] multiple lines of defence, as soon as there is someone who moves [against them], fire must resolutely be opened [on them]. 誰也不能打監所的主意，多重防線、銅牆鐵壁，只要有動的，果斷開槍。(Chen Quanguo 2018, 5)

Further below, Chen goes on to say that the authorities should have opened fire during the 2009 Urumqi Riots, and that if anyone were now to challenge the authorities as was done during that incident, security forces must "decisively attack", that is to say "first kill and then report" 先擊斃再報告 (Chen Quanguo 2018, 13). He notes that the PRC is "not the Soviet Union," because "we have the wise leadership of General Secretary Xi Jinping and the backing of 1.3 billion of the people and millions of troops" (Chen Quanguo 2018, 8).[9] If anyone were to attempt to split even an inch from Chinese soil, they would be "courting death" 找死 (Chen Quanguo 2018, 12).

Chen's preoccupation with the security of the internment facilities and the stringent measures surrounding the arrest of those who "should be rounded up" goes to considerable extremes. In a transcript of an internal speech from May 28, 2017, he lambasts the PSB of Kizilsu Prefecture, an ethnic minority region in southern Xinjiang, for an overly soft approach when detaining re-education targets (Chen Quanguo 2017, 10).[10] Chen argues that when police make arrests, especially of those returning from other countries, they should "arrest them as soon as they see them" and "deal with them as with serious criminal offenders," handcuff them, blindfold them, and "use ankle shackles if needed" (Chen Quanguo 2017, 10).[11]

An August 31, 2017, implementation plan *shishi fang'an* 實施方案 issued by the Ili Prefecture PSB and included in the Xinjiang Police Files confirms the application of these directives, adding that the escort of detainees requires detailed advanced planning to ensure that sufficient numbers of special police *tejing* 特警 and armed police *wujing* 武警 forces are deployed (Ili Prefecture PSB 2017, 41-42). The plan emphasises that the shackling and hooding of detainees must not be lax, strictly forbidding negligent practices such as placing hoods on detainees in ways that do not fully cover their faces. This prefecture-level document was issued one day after Chen Quanguo's video speech from August 30, 2017 (contained in the

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[9] Original text: 十三億人民，幾百萬人民軍隊部隊做後盾

[10] While this speech does not contain a year of publication, it was held on May 28th, and the contents states that that day was the third day of Ramadan, which corresponds to the start of Ramadan on the evening of May 26th, 2017 (https://archive.ph/0eVKX).

[11] Original text: 見一個，抓一個，按照重犯對待處理 and 必要的話腳鐐要給他帶上

Xinjiang Papers), in which he reiterated the need to ensure the "Five Prevents" and the "absolute security" of "prisons, detention centres and training facilities" (Chen Quanguo shuji 2017 nian, 5).

Testimonies of Uyghur returnees to China such as that of 'Iman' (pseudonym) confirm that this was applied in practice – he was arrested like a criminal simply because he had been a student in the U.S. (Special correspondent 2018). Iman was hooded and handcuffed during transport, and his escorting officers told him they were being "lenient" since he was "supposed to be shackled, too." The same was reported by Omir Bekali, who was arrested by five officers in two police cars immediately upon his return from Kazakhstan to Xinjiang for a family visit. Bekali testified that:

> I was handcuffed and a black hood was placed on my head. They said this was the rule and they did this to everyone. ... [T]hey took me to a detention centre. I had to change into a prison uniform, and I was then placed in a cell with thirteen young men. They were all Uyghurs and in shackles. I was kept there, also in shackles... (Bekali 2021)

Figure 4: Screenshots of a police training PowerPoint for the use of handcuffs. Source: Konasheher PSB (Memetursun Emet, n.d.).

In his May 2017 speech, Chen boasts that 100,000 police officers and People's Armed Police forces were "engaged in the pursuit and capture" *jinxing zhuibu* 進行追捕 of suspects (Chen Quanguo 2017, 11). Wang Leizhan (pseudonym), a retired Han police officer who was sent to Xinjiang in 2018 along with thousands of other police officers from other provinces, testified that they were "immediately sent out to arrest" suspects (Wang 2021, 2). Wang stated that "[t]here was a national Chinese policy to arrest Uyghurs because they are automatically considered enemies/terrorists by this national policy" (Wang 2021, 2). This indiscriminate framing of an entire ethnic group is directly commensurate with the attitudes towards Uyghurs reflected in Chen's internal speeches.

Chen then tells police forces to "shoot dead" *jibi* 擊斃 anyone who even attempts to escape by running a few steps (Chen Quanguo 2017, 11). Similarly, if there is a security incident, police must "shoot all terrorists dead" 把爆恐分子全擊斃 so that not one police officer or member of the public will be injured or killed (ibid., 8). He employs the words from Xi Jinping's speech given while touring Xinjiang in April 2014, to "strike devastating [or: annihilating] blows" 給予毀滅性打擊 and, similarly to Xi's exhortation to show "absolutely no mercy" 毫不留情 when attacking the state's enemies, Chen argues that these "annihilating

blows" must be struck "without any mercy" 毫不手軟 (Central Office Bulletin 2014a, 7-8; Chen Quanguo 2017, 3-4).

Overall, Chen's ruthless approach to tackling those whom the state perceives as potential or actual enemies is arguably derived from or at least influenced by the words and attitudes of China's head of state. Compared to Xi, however, Chen's words reflect a devolution into a heightened and arguably highly exaggerated threat perception. Whereas Xi noted that Xinjiang's largely unarmed rural police had sustained heavy casualties when attacked by well-prepared opponents with large knives (Central Office Bulletin 2014a, 8), Chen speaks of a need to brutally subdue what are effectively unarmed, isolated, and unsuspecting individuals with droves of heavily equipped police forces. Predictably, the system ensures that these attitudes continue to filter down, strongly shaping local implementation and police tactics. For example, the self-reflections of the head of a local Konasheher County convenience police station contain similarly ruthless language, notably with two mentions of Xi Jinping's "strike annihilating blows" and four mentions of the term "enemy" *di* 敵 in the course of a 6 ½ page document (Reshit Nizamudin, n.d.).

Chen's demand to open fire immediately when a detainee attempts to escape contrasts sharply with nationwide guidance. For example, Su and He describe a "high-profile national policy clarification" issued by Meng Jianzhu, then Minister of Public Security, who in the late 2000s "admonished the police to limit, or refrain from, using weapons or policing devices" (2010, 157-184). They further quote from a document issued by the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP's) Disciplinary Investigation Committee stipulating that "indiscriminate use of police force" can lead to a "double dismissal" of responsible local officials from both post and party membership.

Some of the measures demanded by Chen are used by the authorities elsewhere in China only for the most dangerous criminals. A 2004 directive from the High People's Court in Henan Province outlines security measures for escorting criminal suspects to court (Gao and Zhao 2004). The strongest security measures are mandated for "underworld" gangsters and gang criminals, members of the Falun Gong, murderers, violent criminals, and persons who may "seriously endanger society." The document mandates at least two police guards per suspect, and that the escorting police must wear combat uniforms with stab-proof vests, helmets, handguns, handcuffs, and other police equipment. However, the directive does not state that suspects must be cuffed, shackled, and hooded – a practice described in internment-related XUAR police documents as mandatory for the transfer of VSETC detainees, and referred to as the "Three Wears" *sandai* 三戴 or *sandai* 三帶 (Ili Prefecture PSB 2017; Security Department 2018). The author could not find any reference to the Three Wears or related practices on the websites of other Chinese provinces. VSETC detainees are therefore subjected to more stringent security measures than gang criminals in other parts of the country.

In another section of his May 28, 2017, speech, Chen refers to Xinjiang's mass internment as "humane" *renxinghua* 人性化, because detainees can enjoy air-conditioning and daily meat rations (Chen Quanguo 2017, 4-5). This claim clashes markedly with witness testimonies, and lower-level documents also shed doubt on it. The August 31, 2017, Ili Prefecture implementation plan tells internment facilities to implement measures to prevent heat strokes during the hot summer months (Ili Prefecture PSB 2017). Making no mention of air-conditioning, the plan instead tells the facilities to install mechanical ventilation and give

detainees boiled water and mung bean soup as preventative methods. Further on, Chen again highlights the "humane" nature of re-education, claiming that detainees can receive visitors and that those on good behaviour can have visitors stay for two days in guest rooms (Chen Quanguo 2017, 7).

However, he then immediately notes that there is a "bottom line" that cannot be crossed: detainees cannot be released, because "once they are let out, problems will [immediately] appear, that is the reality in Xinjiang" (Chen Quanguo 2017, 7).[12] Chen argues that they "must not be let out," because "some may not necessarily have been transformed [re-educated] well even after 3 or 5 years."[13] He notes that "many of those who now cause issues had already been in [re-education] classes" and that some who were involved in the 2009 Urumqi Riots were detained for several years, but then "were let out and still killed people" (Chen Quanguo 2017,11).[14]

In this unusually forthright account, Chen is clearly conflicted, effectively admitting that brainwashing people may not actually turn them into docile citizens. This may be why after 2018/2019 the region ended up sentencing large numbers of re-education detainees to long prison terms (Bunin 2021a; Human Rights Watch 2021).

Maintaining "Absolute Security": The Internal Security Procedures of Re-Education and Internment Facilities in Konasheher and Tekes Counties

Internment Facility Security Procedures

The security measures surrounding Xinjiang's re-education camps are rarely discussed in publicly available material. Previously, the author had analysed government procurement and construction bids related to "transformation through education" *jiaoyu zhuanhua* 教育轉化 and VSETC facilities that called for security features such as walls, fencing, watchtowers, surveillance systems, or armed police stations on facility compounds (Zenz 2018a). These features are visible on satellite imagery (Rajagopalan, Killing, and Buschek 2020). The author's subsequent November 2019 research report cited government documents mandating escape prevention measures *fang tuotao* 防脫逃 as part of the "Five Prevents" and the purchase of "police equipment" for re-education facilities (Zenz 2019b). The report also found evidence of a heavy police presence: Qira (Cele) County's 2018 budget stated that 810, or 31 percent, of the county's auxiliary police officers *xie jing* 協警 were assigned to the county's VSETCs. Wang, the retired Han police officer, testified that Xinjiang's "re-education centres" were run just like criminal detention centres (Wang 2021, 2).

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[12] Original text: 但是有一條底限，就是不能出去，一放就出問題，這就是新疆的實際

[13] Original text: 有的可能 3 年有的 5 年還不一定能轉化好

[14] Original text: 現在出事的好多都是已經進了班的，包括"7·5"關了幾年了，出來還殺人，怎麼辦

The main telegram of the China Cables mandated comprehensive escape prevention measures, including the installation of police stations at front gates, a 24-hour security guard system, and double-locked dormitory, corridor, and floor doors in student buildings. Doors must be locked immediately after they are opened or closed, and strict measures must be in place to "prevent escapes during class, eating periods, toilet breaks, bath time, medical treatment, family visits, etc." (Autonomous Region Party Political and Legal Affairs Commission 2017a, 1). The internal instructions for the Konasheher New VSETC police forces cover every one of these scenarios, directly implementing the security mandates outlined in the China Cables.[15]

While details about lower-level police officers, including those stationed in the camps, are difficult to verify through public sources, the identity of Konasheher's second-highest police officer at the time (2018), Memetsalijan Seley 買買提沙力江·賽來義 (Figure 5), can be confirmed through the Payzawat County government website (Jiashi xian 2021). It confirms his date of birth, date when he entered the CCP, his degree and university, and his position in Konasheher's police force. The Xinjiang Police Files show that in October 2018 he became head of the Konasheher County Public Security Bureau Education and Training Security Work Supervision Leading Group 疏附縣公安局教培安保工作督導領導小組, which is generally responsible for overseeing camp security (Shufuxian gonganju 2018). In an impassioned speech to his leaders that is contained in the files, Memetsalijan Seley refers to fellow Uyghurs who believe in the independence of East Turkestan as "scumbags" and traitors (Memetsalijan Seley n.d.). He confesses that he himself used to be "bewitched," but stresses that he currently does not believe in any religion and does not care whether food is halal or not.

More specifically, VSETC police forces are grouped under the County PSB Education and Training Police Brigade 縣公安局教培警務大隊, which is the county-level entity charged with implementing VSETC security, including the "Five Prevents" (Shufuxian gonganju jiaopei n.d.). In 2018 in Konasheher, this brigade was headed by Deputy Chief Gu Wei (Figure 6). In terms of Xinjiang's ethnic division of labour, it is notable that in a county with a Uyghur population share of over 90 percent, this important position was assigned to a Han.

One of the first re-education facilities discussed in the Xinjiang Police Files is the Konasheher New VSETC. Government construction bids indicate that a Legal System Transformation Through Education School 法制教育轉化學校 was to be built behind the new detention centre and near Yishi Laimuqi road, facts that are confirmed by satellite imagery (Figures 7 to 9; Zhaobiao pindao 2017; Zhaobiao danwei 2017). Internal spreadsheets that are part of the file cache show that the terms Transformation Through Education School 教育轉化學校 and VSETC are used interchangeably by the authorities. It appears that re-education facility terminology was standardised between 2017 and the publication of the

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[15] The China Cables' main telegram was dated November 2017, and those files among the Konasheher VSETC police instructions that contain dates are from early 2018.

official white paper on Education and Training in October 2018, which equated "re-education facilities" 教育轉化結構 with VSETCs (Xinjiang People's Congress 2018).

Figures 5 and 6: Description in footnote.[16]

Satellite images confirm that camp construction had started by May 2017, and the dates of the internal police computer files range from late 2017 to September 2018 (stated inside the files or reflected in file creation timestamps). This may be the reason why it is referred to as the "New" camp, given that the other structures (the Industrial Park VSETC and the Party School) were pre-existing in 2017. The Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) classifies this camp as a tier 2 facility, with fewer visible security features than a prison (ASPI 2020b).

The camp features four large buildings and a high surrounding wall with three exterior watchtowers, besides a watchtower in the centre of the compound. Each of the four larger buildings is surrounded by high fencing that provides securitised areas for outdoor activities, a feature found in many of these facilities (Zenz, 2019b). Along with many other lower security re-education facilities, this camp was desecuritised and possibly decommissioned by May 2019 (Zenz 2020a, Section 2.2; Ruser 2020).

The file outlining the "anti-escape plan for outdoor activities" 室外活動防逃跑處置預案 notes that the camp has four "study areas" *xuequ* 學區 designated as A to D, and that each of them has a security perimeter *jingjie xian* 警戒線 (Shiwai huodong, n.d.). On satellite imagery, this directly corresponds to the four large buildings with their fenced-off outdoor areas (Figure 7). A spreadsheet showing all formally employed police staff (excluding auxiliary police or guards) indicates that each of the four study buildings has police assigned to each of the four floors, labelled for example A1 to A4 for building A (Shufuxian

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[16] Left-hand: Memetsalijan Seley 買買提沙力江·賽來義, in 2018 head of the Konasheher County Public Security Bureau Education and Training Security Work Supervision Leading Group (image file created on May 6, 2018). He has a BA in law from the Northwest University of Political Science and Law. Right-hand: Gu Wei 古偉, in 2018 Deputy Chief of the Konasheher PSB and Deputy Chief of the Education and Training Centre Police Brigade (image file created on January 25, 2018). A Han from Shandong province, he has a degree in criminology. Source for both officers' personal information: Zaizhi minjing (n.d.).

xin zhiye jineng 2018). Satellite images show that these buildings do in fact have four floors (Figure 8). Files related to the Konasheher Industrial Park VSETC show that each building is additionally guarded by between 16 and 45 auxiliary police (Shufuxian gongyecheng 2018).

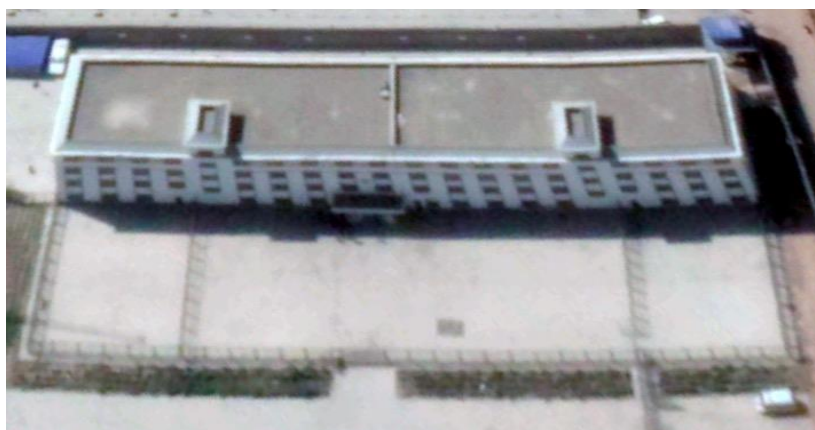Figure 7: Source: Google Earth (39.35909344, 75.86358263), image from August 2018.

Figure 8: Source: Google Earth (39.35909344, 75.86358263), image from August 2018.

Figure 9: Source: Google Earth (39.35909344, 75.86358263), image from August 2018.

The camp is guarded by 54 formally-employed police (three of whom were subsequently seconded to other places), with 25 of them belonging to the special police *tejing* 特警 and two to the secret police *guobao* 國保 (Shufuxian xin zhiye jineng 2018). These are assisted by 280 auxiliary policemen (Fujing kaoqin n.d.). By comparison, in September 2018, the Konasheher Industrial Park VSETC had 46 formally employed police and 284 auxiliary police (Shufuxian gongyecheng 2018). According to an internal spreadsheet prepared for the Political and Legal Committee from August 2018, the camp had 3,722 detainees, indicating a police:detainee ratio of 1:11 (Zhengfawei 2018). The Konasheher New VSETC police staffing spreadsheet shows that in September 2018, 30 of the 54 formally employed police, 18 of 25 special police or duty officers, and all six officers in leading positions were Han, confirming a strong ethnic preference for the more sensitive re-education security functions (Shufuxian xin zhiye jineng 2018). The camp's two secret police officers are Uyghur and Han, likely for linguistic reasons, with the Han holding the superior position. In contrast, 258 of the 280 auxiliary guards (92 percent) are Uyghurs (Fujing kaoqin n.d.). A quarter (13 of 54) of the formally employed police officers had been drafted from other provinces, as described by Wang Leizhan (Shufuxian xin zhiye jineng 2018; Wang 2021).

The camp has six convenience police stations, one for each study area (A to D), a central station for the facility, and one for the main gate, which is clearly visible on satellite images, along with numerous white police cars (Figure 9; Jiaopei jingwu dadui n.d.). Most of the special police are assigned to the Strike Group *daji zu* 打擊組 that must comprise 27 members in total (Jiaopei jingwu dadui n.d.). The camp's strike group's responsibilities are to:

a) Perform regular drills for the "Five Prevents";
b) Perform armed patrols to "intimidate" *zhenshe* 震懾 detainees;
c) Guard detainees when they need to be escorted, including for medical care;
d) Guard detainees during class hours, carrying shields, batons, and handcuffs, together with the officer responsible for each teaching building floor;
e) Suppress riots.

The psychological tactic of "intimidating" or "deterring" detainees through armed patrols is also used in the Konasheher detention centre 疏附縣看守所, which in January 2017 reported that security staff were patrolling the facility every half hour "fully armed" 全副武裝 in order to deter detainees from hatching escape plans (Shufuxian kanshousuo 2017).

Images taken inside the Tekes County Detention Centre 特克斯縣看守所 – an internment facility that is shown on the images as being used for re-education purposes – corroborate the security procedures outlined for Konasheher. Both male and female detainees are guarded by police as they stand in line, apparently to sing or recite (Figure 10). Detainees are made to watch what appears to be a televised speech given by Nurlan Abdumalin 努爾蘭·阿不都滿金 (then governor of Ili Prefecture) as police stand guard, one of them with a large club in his hand (Figure 11).

Figure 10: Original file names: IMG_3337.JPG and IMG_3352.JPG (click on filenames to download the original images).[17]

Figure 11: Original file name: IMG_4150.JPG (click on filename to download the original image).[18]

Figure 12: Elderly detainee receives an injection at the Tekes County detention centre, wearing handcuffs. Original file name: IMG_0196.JPG (click on filename to download the original image).[19]

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[17] Source: Tekes County Detention Centre. Images taken on September 3, 2017, at 10:44am and 10:52am with a Canon EOS60 DSLR and an EF-S18-55mm zoom lens (camera serial number: 0421500837). The author edited the right-hand image, improving its contrast.

[18] Source: Tekes County Detention Centre. Image taken on September 28, 2017, at 19:36pm with a Canon EOS60 DSLR and an EF-S18-55mm zoom lens (camera serial number: 0421500837). The image has been slightly cropped by the author.

[19] Source: Tekes County Detention Centre. Images taken on August 25, 2018, at 11:26am with a Canon EOS60 DSLR and an EF-S18-55mm zoom lens (camera serial number: 0421500837). The original image was cropped and edited by the author (a section of the image was enlarged and inserted into the bottom right side of the frame).

The Konasheher New VSETC security guidelines further state that detainees who need medical care can only be sent to a hospital based on a stringently securitised procedure, which might explain why former detainees have reported that even urgent medical care needs are often neglected (Jiuyi zhidu n.d.; Amnesty International 2021, 91). After obtaining formal permission from the camp leadership, the detainee must be escorted by at least four persons: two police, an official, and a medical staff-member. Physical restraints (cuffs, shackles) must be applied, and escorts without police forces are strictly prohibited. Images from the Tekes County detention centre show an elderly detainee receiving an injection (Figure 12). For this procedure, he is handcuffed, and two police officers, one holding a large wooden club, are standing at the ready. Multiple camp survivors testified that they received injections without their consent (Amnesty International 2021, 90-91).

If detainees seek to escape or create trouble during outdoor activities, video calls with family members, or times when they can shower or receive haircuts, elaborate security procedures are enacted, which here can only be briefly summarised. The incident must be reported to the county leadership and the entire camp must be sealed off. When the armed strike group arrives, they surround and then enter the affected building. If detainees fail to obey spoken commands, police "can" first fire a warning shot before shooting at detainees. Perhaps following the words of Chen Quanguo, none of the instructions tell police to stop detainees in non-lethal ways, such as attempting to shoot at their legs. Rather, they mandate that if the verbal warning is not obeyed, the troublemakers are to be "shot dead" (*jibi* 擊斃; see Dianhua shipin huijian n.d.; Songyi taopao n.d.; Shangke qijian n.d.; Lifa xizao n.d.). These procedures are not just limited to the New VSETC. At least two of the security directives mention re-education camp security policies that apply to all Konasheher VSETCs, one of them bearing the title "Shufu County VSETC preparation plan for dealing with student escapes" 疏附縣職業技能教育培訓中心處置學員逃跑預案 (Lifa xizao n.d.). During outdoor activities, detainees are to be guarded by seven security guards, including two armed police officers.

Figures 13 and 14: Original file names: IMG_7742.JPG and IMG_7743.JPG (click on filenames to download the originals).[20]

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[20] Source: Tekes County Detention Centre. Images taken on February 14, 2018 at 12:30pm with a Canon EOS60 DSLR and an EF-S18-55mm zoom lens (camera serial number: 0421500837). The images have been slightly cropped by the author.

Images of an armed SWAT team engaged in an apparent anti-riot or anti-escape drill in an internment facility in Tekes County visualise this process. The first two images (Figures 13 and 14) from February 2018 show a heavy presence of armed police in green combat gear behind the SWAT team which enters the scene with large wooden clubs and full riot gear.

The second set of images from September 2018 (Figures 15 to 18) shows the full process from police arriving on the scene, through the arrest of detainees using hoods, cuffs, and shackles, to the interrogation of an arrested detainee in a so-called tiger chair, with a SWAT officer standing at the ready. The timestamps encoded in the image metadata indicate that the process from entering the room to interrogating detainees in a tiger chair took only about four minutes.

Figures 15 to 18: Original file names: IMG_0398.JPG, IMG_0405.JPG, IMG_0408.JPG and IMG_0410.JPG (click on filenames to download the original images).[21]

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[21] Source: Tekes County Detention Centre. Images taken on September 25, 2018 at 16:28, 16:30, 16:31 and 16:32 with a Canon EOS60 DSLR and an EF-S18-55mm zoom lens (camera serial number: 0421500837). The images have been cropped by the author.

The Konasheher New VSETC security directives state that when escape attempts take place during out-door activities, the convenience police station by the camp entrance, staffed with 19 guards, must block the adjacent public road (Shiwai huodong n.d.). The incident is then suppressed through both the Central Security Strike Team 中心安保打擊組 with 18 staff and the on-site Armed Police Strike Team 駐點武警打擊組 composed of 11 staff.

The Xinjiang Police Files also contain several documents detailing security response procedures for incidents at the Tekes County VSETC, which appear to be fully commensurate with the security drills for the Tekes Detention Centre depicted in the image material. The "anti-disturbance plan" 防鬧事處置預案 provides a detailed overview of how camp police are deployed to suppress incidents, riots, or escape attempts (Tekes County VSETC Patrol and Prevention Brigade n.d.). Figure 19 shows the diverse composition of the Tekes County Detention Centre strike team, composed of armed police in full combat gear and officers with wooden clubs and shields. All are depicted wearing stab-proof vests, which is also a requirement stated in the Konasheher New VSETC documents. According to the Tekes VSETC police instructions, armed internment camp police forces use the QBZ-95 assault rifle, which is the standard assault rifle of the People's Liberation Army and the People's Armed Police. The Xinjiang Police Files contain a police training PowerPoint, marked as "confidential" 機密, that depicts the QBZ-95 with a bayonet (Jianshe Industry 2013). Vera Zhou, formerly detained in a camp in Tacheng Prefecture, stated that she was escorted out of her camp by police pointing bayoneted automatic rifles at her back (Byler 2021, 33).

Besides the QBZ-95 assault rifle, internment camp police forces are described as using Type 92 handguns and Type 97 anti-riot guns that can fire non-lethal bullets, while the head of the camp police station operates a QBB-95 machine gun. The document mandates that when responding to incidents, the forces are to "decisively carry out armed strikes" 果斷實施武力打擊, language that does not indicate a measured approach to emergency situations. It does, however, reflect Chen Quanguo's demand that not even one single person must escape alive from a detention facility.

Of particular interest is the ethnic division of labour in these scenarios. The Tekes document names each police officer with their weapons: all officers with ethnic minority names are to use batons, shields, or U-shaped forks, while only officers with Han Chinese names are described as carrying guns.

Figures 12 to 19 show internment camp guards holding very large wooden clubs instead of the much smaller police batons described in the security procedures. This is consistent with a witness testimony. Erbaqyt Otarbai, a Kazakh who was interned in a re-education camp in Tacheng Prefecture, described guards beating detainees with wooden clubs "around 1.5 meters long" (Byler 2021, 105). Detainees were beaten on their buttocks until they were barely able to sit.

New detainees are subjected to a strict physical inspection and health check (Ruxiao zhidu n.d.). They must be questioned or interrogated *xunwen* 訊問, and the camp rules and their legal rights and obligations are to be read to them. The interrogation and detention rooms are the only places in the camp where staff

are to check during regular security inspections whether doors, windows, or walls are "damaged" *sunhuai* 損壞.
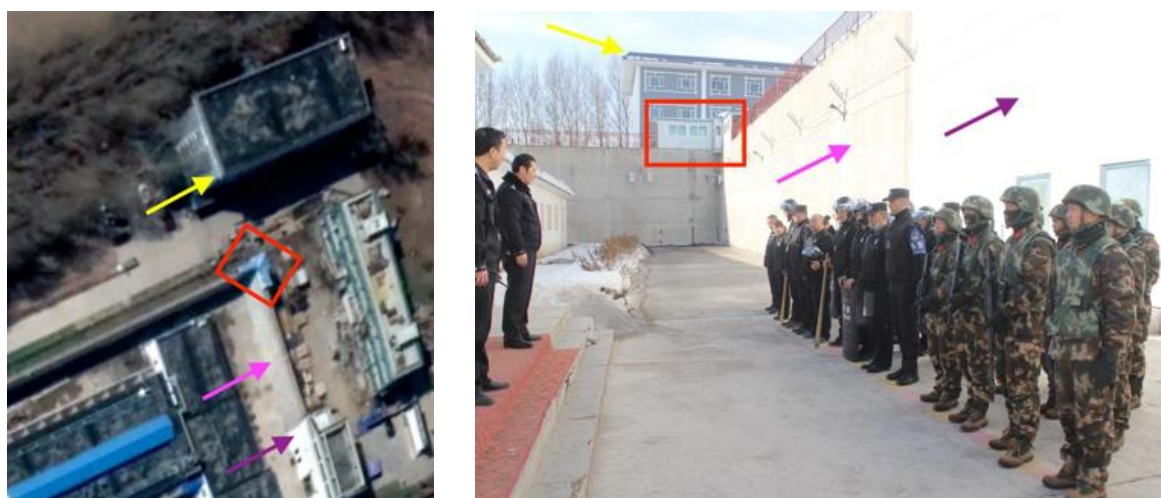

Figure 19: [22] Original file name: IMG_7750.JPG (click on filename to download the original image).

The document that outlines watchtower guard duties specifies that watchtower guards are to be armed with QBU-88 sniper rifles and tripod-mounted military-grade machine guns 持班用機槍 (referring to the QBB-95) to provide "suppressive fire" against potential intruders (Zhigaodian gongzuo n.d.).

Detainees can talk to family members via video call for 10 minutes every 10 days (Dianhua guanli zhidu n.d.). The related room is secured with metal security doors and two security guards. One guard records each conversation. The day before each call, the camp informs the detainee's family's village committee of matters related to the detainee that "need to be understood." If the content of the conversation or the mood of the detainee is deemed to be "abnormal," staff members are to "take corresponding measures." Detainees under "strict management" *yanguan* 嚴管, which constitutes a more severe form of internment than the "regular management" *puguan* 普管, and those with greater "ideological and emotional fluctuations" are to be brought into the call area handcuffed and guarded by three guards carrying police equipment. Adilbek, a Kazak farmer, was subjected to similar procedures when visited in the camp by family members (Byler 2021, 100). He was escorted to the visiting area hooded and hands cuffed behind his back. During the visit, hood and cuffs were removed and guards put down their clubs so that family members could not see them. He was instructed not to cry and only to speak well of the camp.

Interestingly and perhaps in keeping with statements in Chen's speech, one document states that detainees are to be able to "eat enough according to the standard" 吃夠標準, that there is to be sufficient medical

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[22] Source for right-hand image: Tekes County Detention Centre. Image taken on February 14, 2018 at 12:35pm with a Canon EOS60 DSLR and an EF-S18-55mm zoom lens (camera serial number: 0421500837). Camera metadata and the sequential numbering of image file names indicate that this image was taken in the context of the anti-escape drill depicted in figures 13 to 18 above. The open-source intelligence team of the German magazine Der Spiegel geolocated the Tekes Detention Centre based on the right-hand image (left-hand image is from Google Earth). This is indicated in the images above by the colored arrows and the red box (location is 43°11'52.53"N 81°49'29.12"E). One can even see the two grey doors next to the purple arrow in both images. In addition, the author found that this facility constitutes a relocation of the previous detention facility in 2011/12, which corresponds to historical satellite imagery (Zhaoshang wangluo n.d.). The location of the detention centre is described 闊步街五環外: "五環外" means outside the 5th ring road and 闊步街 refers to Kuobu street. Both of these align with Google and Baidu maps locations.

attention, and that the customs and habits of ethnic minorities are to be respected (Huoshi guanli zhidu 2017). In contrast, former detainees recalled starvation food rations and virtually inedible meals (Khatchadourian 2021).

The Xinjiang Police Files' documentation of the Konasheher Industrial Park VSETC is comparatively brief. The ASPI appraised this as a tier 1 facility and a residential compound that was converted into an internment facility (ASPI 2020a). A government bid from June 2017 mandated the construction of a Legal System Transformation Through Education School 法制教育轉化學校 at the Industrial Park Public Rental Housing District 工業園區公租房小區 (Zhaobiao danwei 2017).

Internal documents on the weekly status of the camp's security note that in September 2018, the facility had 331 police staff and 4,528 detainees, resulting in a police:detainee ratio of around 1:14 (Shufuxian gongyecheng 2018). About 23 percent (1,038) of detainees were female. 1,954 detainees were kept under "strict management" *yanguan* 嚴管. According to other camp records, six detainees were being kept in solitary confinement *dandu guanya* 單獨關押 (Shufuxian gongyecheng zhiye 2018). According to an internal spreadsheet that may not have included some of the more specialised types of detainees, the camp had 4,290 detainees on August 8, 2018 (Zhengfawei 2018). The documents further indicate that the camp had recruited 446 detainees as informants and was using a plainclothes police agent to spy on detainees (Shufuxian gongyecheng 2018).

The Secure Transfer of Detainees

The document titled "Student Transfer Security Plan" '10.8 移送學員安保方案.doc' discusses the extremely stringent security measures surrounding the transfer of 505 detainees on October 8, 2018, from the Industrial Park VSETC to the county Party School *xian dangxiao* 縣黨校 (Security Department 2018). The aforementioned construction bid for the new camps also spoke of a "party school training centre" 校點訓中心, indicating another re-education facility (Xinjiang weiwu'er zizhiqu jianshe 2017).

Both male and female detainees were to be transferred shackled and hooded, with hands cuffed behind their backs. At least two security guards or one guard and one cadre were to guard each detainee. The bus convoy was accompanied by armed police in vehicles and the transfer involved close cooperation with traffic police and all police stations along the route.

The Konasheher transfer plan is consistent with eyewitness testimonies. Former detainee Amazhan Seiit recounted that during transfers between internment facilities they were handcuffed and shackled together in pairs, hooded, and put into large police buses. There, they were guarded by "police with machine guns." To quote:

I mean, we were all innocent. This was just for "study," right? But we were being treated like real criminals, with leg shackles, handcuffs, and black hoods over our heads. Then they loaded us onto the bus with the hoods over our heads, so we couldn't see anything, couldn't see where they were taking us (Xinjiang Victims Database Entry 4981).

Figure 20: Omir Bekali demonstrates the conditions of his internment. Source: Varela 2021.

Similarly, Omir Bekali testified that he was cuffed, shackled, and hooded when being transferred between camps, and he was frequently cuffed and shackled while in detention (Figure 20; Varela 2021).

Disciplinary Challenges with Camp Police

A document issued by the Konasheher PSB discipline inspection committee on July 16, 2018, details the punishment of Wang Ruilei, a then 23-year-old Han special police officer from Shaanxi province, who began guard duties at the Konasheher New VSETC in April 2018 (Disciplinary Inspection Committee 2018). About three months later, while stationed at the camp watchtower, he was asleep during mealtime and also "did not like to eat the food served at the vocational training centre's cafeteria." He therefore ordered a traditional Uyghur chicken dish. Fearing that the camp surveillance system would record the food delivery, Wang disabled the system when the meal arrived. This however triggered an alert at the Kashgar Prefecture Stability Maintenance Command, which controls each surveillance camera in the prefecture's re-education camp network. Wang received a demerit and was placed in confinement for three days.

This incident is arguably not just a lesson about Xinjiang's internment camp surveillance system or the drudgery of being a camp guard, but also of the potential pitfalls in recruiting large numbers of young Han

from other provinces for the region's intense securitisation drive. Wang Leizhan, the retired Han police officer, testified that "as many as 150,000 police recruits were sent to Xinjiang [from other provinces] in the period when [he] was there" (Wang 2021, 1). In any security operation of such a scale, the occurrence of various types of incidents is unavoidable.

Images of Persons Registered and Detained in Konasheher County Internment Facilities

Assessing the Identities of the Depicted Persons

The research team led by the author coded a computer script that extracted personal information, including ID numbers and detention status (where available), from 454 spreadsheets contained in the Xinjiang Police Files, nearly all of them dated between 2017 and 2018. This yielded a dataset for approx. 301,000 unique individuals. Of them, 282,492 persons (184,803 adults) were non-Han ethnic citizens with an ID number indicating residence in Konasheher. The script evaluated likely internment status, which results in approximate figures that contain a relatively limited number of false positives and false negatives. Among the adults, approx. 23,447 or 12.7 percent had at least one data point indicating that they were in some form of internment or imprisonment (such as date of detention, reason for detention, name or location of internment facility, type and length of prison sentence or type of internment). Similarly, approx. 22,762 or 12.3 percent had at least two such data points, permitting us to state that over 12 percent of all ethnic Konasheher adults were in some form of internment or imprisonment. Among the approx. 23,447 interned ethnic adults, just over 10,000 had been "recommended" for detention or closer examination by the IJOP. A cursory examination of the nature of prison sentences handed these persons indicates that already at that time, the county used mass imprisonments as a form of arbitrary internment.

The file cache contains 5,074 photos of persons taken in police stations or detention centres.[23] The timestamps indicate that the images were taken between January 6 and July 25, 2018. Of these, the identities of 4,989 persons (4,565 adults and 424 minors) could be verified through the collated internal spreadsheet data. The author was also able to match 209 IDs of depicted persons with external data sources for additional verification.[24] A total of 2,884 depicted persons (among them 15 minors) had at least two data

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[23] Persons who had turned 18 years by the end of 2017, right before the date by which most pictures were taken, were counted as adults. In addition, the author reviewed a spreadsheet showing the detainees of the two re-education camps in Konasheher and calculated whether they were detained prior to their 18th birthday. The 76 individuals for whom this was the case were counted as minors.

At least some of the image files were stored on the Konasheher police computer in the form of a compressed and encrypted archive with the file name "persons in re-education (6131) images and information" (jiaoyu zhuanhua renyuan 6131 tupian yi ji xinxi 教育轉化人員(6131)圖片一級信息). The person who provided the files to the author was able to decrypt and retrieve most but not all of them. Several images contain visual errors, such as incorrect colors, mismatched alignments, or image files that show only the top section. The person told the author that these issues resulted from base64 encoding / decoding operations that occurred in the process of retrieving and decrypting the files. The images do not contain camera metadata, either because of post-processing or because they may have been taken with a camera device directly connected to a police computer.

The image filenames follow the format: ID number + underscore + timestamp (date and time when image was taken)

[24] Previously, the author had extracted 1.4 million ID numbers from citizens in Xinjiang from the approximately 25,000 internal files contained in the Xinjiang QQ Files. The author could match 195 of them with IDs from the image set (Zenz 2020a). The author had also previously

points indicating some form of internment or imprisonment in 2017/2018, among them 15 minors (at the time). In 2018, the youngest of these detainees was 15 years old, and the oldest 73 years.

The photos came together with three spreadsheets from police stations and a detention centre linked to Tokzak Township 托克紥克鎮 showing the identities (names and addresses) of 3,242 of the depicted persons and where and when images were taken (in police stations or detention centres; Jiaoyu zhuanhua renyuan n.d.).[25] According to the Xinjiang Papers, Xi Jinping himself visited a village in Tokzak Township in April 2014 during his Xinjiang inspection tour, and praised it in his top-secret speech for its effective implementation of grassroots securitisation (Central Office Bulletin 2014a, 23).

Material from the Xinjiang Police Files indicates that at least some of those photographed were detained before their images were taken. It also appears that the timing of the pictures is related to a government campaign to obtain biometric data from much of the population – internally referred to as the "two items of work" *liangxiang gongzuo* 兩項工作 (Shufu Public Security Management Brigade 2018). By May 24, 2018, this work was reported to have been mostly completed.

Visual Inspection of the Image Material

The author then changed image filenames to begin with timestamps rather than IDs and copied the resulting files into folders according to the three above mentioned spreadsheets. This caused images to be sorted by the sequence and the location in which they were taken. Rapid playback in that order clearly corroborates that images that had been taken on the same day or at a similar time were taken in the same location – as evident from characteristic marks in the background wall, or visible artefacts such as posters, doors, iron bars, or other detainees in the background (see e.g. figure 21).

This visual inspection shows that photographed individuals were watched by minders: women by female staff in civilian dress, and men by police in SWAT gear carrying batons. Several of the men are shown with arms behind their backs, possibly indicating that they were handcuffed. A series of 100 pictures of men between April 10 and 14, 2018 were taken in the same location in the Konasheher detention centre, showing on the right side a metal door that opens to another room that is separated from other locations with thick metal bars.[26] Police officers wearing helmets and stab-proof vests are visible on multiple images (Figure 22).

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extracted 577,413 Xinjiang ID numbers from Xinjiang government web pages. Nine of them could be matched with IDs from the image set. In addition, the author compared the image IDs to a list derived from an unsecured online database of SenseNets, a Shenzhen facial recognition company that processes surveillance data (Wang and Kang 2019). It contains the ID numbers and names of 725,499 persons from Xinjiang (most from Hotan Prefecture). Three of them could be matched with IDs from the image set. The image IDs were also compared with IDs from 4,359 entries in the Xinjiang Victims Database, resulting in two matches. If the new evidence had been maliciously fabricated, the persons doing so would more likely have used a large amount of ID numbers that are already somewhere in the public domain.

[25] The author compared the timestamps in these spreadsheets with the timestamps coded in the image filenames and, after accounting for the fact that some persons had their image taken more than once, found only a very small number of instances with significant time discrepancies.

[26] Images with timestamps 20180410180105012 to 20180414110127789
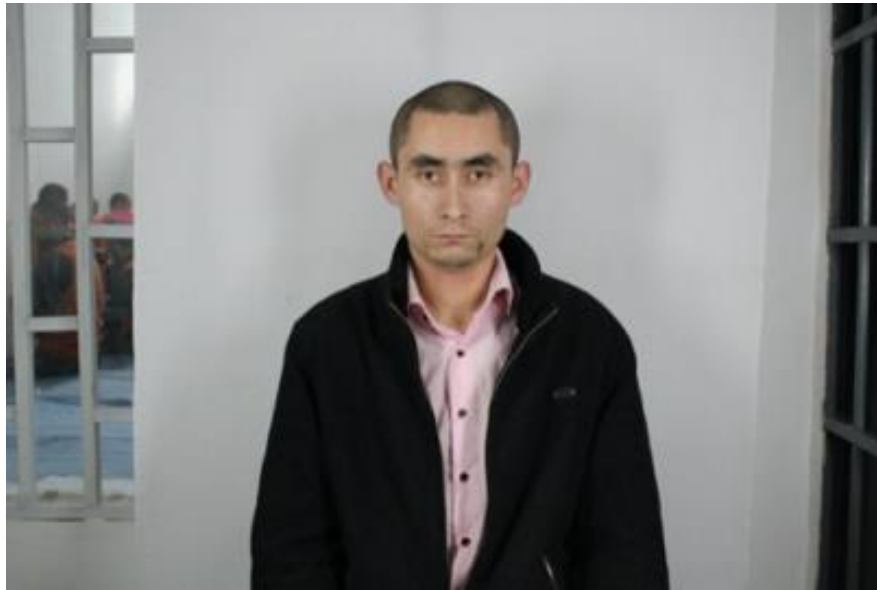
Figure 21: Image 653121199010151550_20180117133939935.jpg (click on filename to download the original image).[27]

Figure 22: Image 653121199106120839_20180410190118604.jpg (click on filename to download the original image).28

Similarly, a series of 40 images of women shows the same woman minder with the same clothes and a name tag stating "Konasheher County Vocational Skills Education and Training Centre" 疏附縣職業技能教育培訓中心 (see e.g. figure 23).[29] This is a generic term that does not explicitly state the name of a

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[27] Source: Konasheher PSB. Image taken on January 17, 2018, at the Konasheher County Detention Centre (Jiaoyu zhuanhua renyuan (6131) n.d.). This man was interned at the Konasheher Industrial Park VSETC.

[28] Source: Konasheher PSB. Image taken on April 10, 2018, at the Konasheher County Detention Centre (Jiaoyu zhuanhua renyuan (6131) n.d.). This man was interned at the Konasheher Industrial Park VSETC.

[29] Images taken on May 25, 2018, at the 托克紮克鎮 township, village no. 5 convenience police station, with timestamps 20180525113818488 to

particular VSETC. According to internal PSB spreadsheets from the cache, all but one of these women were detained at the Konasheher Industrial Park VSETC (Zhengfawei 2018).
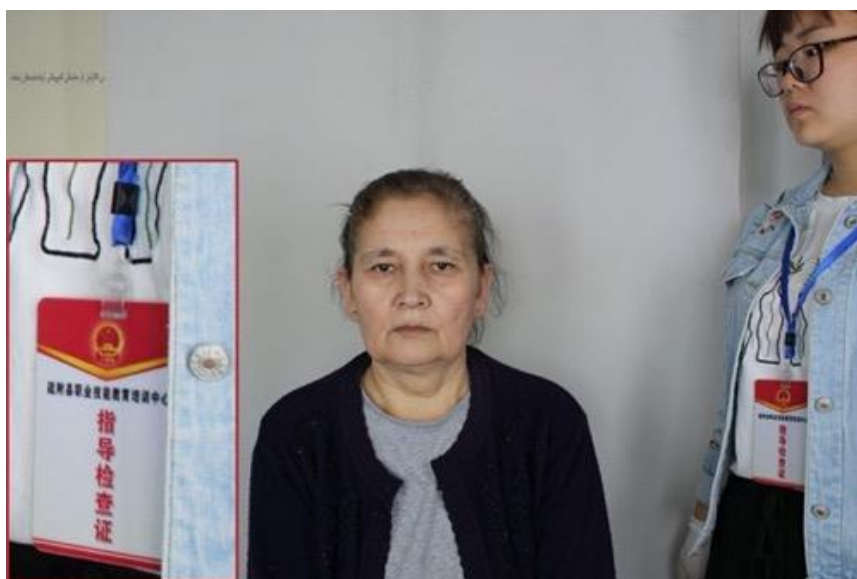

Figure 23: Image 653121196611031526_20180525183449723.jpg (click on filename to download the original image).[30]

The 4,989 images where identities were additionally established through the internal spreadsheets also depict 424 minors. These were photographed in exactly the same locations as the adults.[31] The photographed persons display a range of facial expressions, and settings indicates that they may not have been at liberty to express genuine emotions. Some of the photos of minors, for example, show them with a strained smirk, such as when a child in a subdued mood is exhorted to smile by an adult. Numerous persons, especially children, are wearing the same type of jacket or suit jacket, potentially to cover up dirty or worn clothing, or perhaps to render their appearance more uniform.

The research team verified the basic veracity of image-ID number associations by coding a script sorting detainees by age groups (under 30 years / 30 to 60 years / over 60 years) and gender (male / female), and copying the files into six corresponding folders.[32] A visual inspection yielded a small number of obvious errors, such as image-ID pairs where persons are clearly of the opposite gender, or young children with the ID number of an older adult. Based on the author's experience with examining internal Chinese documents, it is common for government records from Xinjiang to contain certain – at times not unsubstantial

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20180525185932332.

[30] Source: Konasheher PSB. Image taken on May 25, 2018 at the Tokzak Township village no.5 police sub-station 托克紮克鎮 5 村警務室 (Jiaoyu zhuanhua renyuan (503) n.d.). The left-hand side shows a magnified section of the female minder's name tag.

[31] Images appear to have been mostly taken by gender, with men / boys and women / girls being photographed in separate groups.

[32] Chinese ID numbers contain 18 digits, with digits 7 to 13 showing the date of birth, and the 17th digit indicating the gender (even numbers are females).

– numbers of errors. The presence of a small number of incorrect image – ID associations is well within or below the expected range.

The Xinjiang Police Files also contain a spreadsheet titled "persons subjected to strike hard because of religion" 宗教被打擊人員, which lists 330 persons who were sentenced because of illegal religious activities such as studying the Quran, along with their cropped headshots (Figures 24-27 left-hand images; Zongjiao daji renyuan n.d.). Several of them were then also photographed at the Konasheher detention centre (the two persons depicted in Figures 24-27 were photographed on January 6, 2018, at the same location within 57 minutes of each other). The older man, Tursun Kadir 吐爾遜·卡迪爾, was detained on April 2, 2017 and sentenced to 13 years in prison.[33] The file describing his case states that "from August 2014 to April 2017, the suspect Tursun Kadir grew a beard under the influence of religious extremism."[34] After detention, his beard was evidently shaved.

Figures 24 to 27: Original names of the right-hand images:

653121196403060939_20180106193710347.jpg and 653121197111081214_20180106203411919.jpg

(click on filenames to download the original images).[35]

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[33] Filename '疏附縣涉案打擊處理人員（服刑人員）.xlsx', file creation timestamp: October 27, 2018. For privacy reasons, this file is not made publicly available, but can be obtained from the author for research purposes upon request.

[34] Original text: 4.2014 年 8 月至 2017 年 4 月，嫌疑人吐爾遜·卡迪爾受宗教極端思想影響留鬍子. Filename '講經.doc', file creation timestamp: August 26, 2017. For privacy reasons, this file, which contains highly personal information, is not made publicly available, but can be obtained from the author for research purposes upon request.

[35] Source: Konasheher PSB. The right-hand images were edited by the author using the Adobe Photoshop "auto contrast" feature in order to

A Closer Analysis of Select Photographed Persons

This section analyses several photographed persons to further authenticate the material through comparison with external sources and to corroborate its internal consistency. Images were also selected to show the diversity of detainees: a young teenager, a family, and an individual adult. Besides associating images with specific identities, this section explicates the process behind their detention and the reasons given for their internment.

Figure 28: Image 653121200304252424_20180320121324727.jpg (click on filename to download the original image).[36]

The youngest photographed person is a Uyghur girl named Rahile Omer 熱伊萊·吾馬爾 who was first detained when she was only 14 years old (on September 28, 2017). Her image was taken by the authorities on March 20, 2018, and she was shown to be in "re-education" in the Industrial Park VSETC. Her detention had been "recommended" by an IJOP push notification.[37] The IJOP flagged her as a "Type 12 person" 第十二類人員, a largely self-referential category denoting persons with "danger clues" because they are in some way connected to an existing police case.[38] In Rahile's case, this is basically guilt by association: according to other documents included in the file cache, she is the youngest daughter of a government official who was detained as part of Xinjiang's "strike hard" campaign.[39]

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make them more comparable to the left-hand images whose contrast had been optimised on police computers. The two left-hand images can be found in Zongjiao daji renyuan n.d.

[36] Source: Konasheher PSB. Image taken on March 20, 2018 at the Tokzak Township village no.5 police sub-station 托克紮克鎮 5 村警務室 (Jiaoyu zhuanhua renyuan (503) n.d.).

[37] Filename '附件 22 嚴打收押 21 類人員.xlsx', file creation timestamp: October 27, 2018. For privacy reasons, this file is not made publicly available, but can be obtained from the author for research purposes upon request.

[38] Original text: yiti hua lianhe zuozhan pingtai tuisong wei an xiansuo, jing hecha she'an de guanlian ren 一體化聯合作戰平臺推送危安線索，經核查涉案的關聯人.

[39] File '2017 打擊幹部.xls'. For privacy reasons, this file is not made publicly available, but can be obtained from the author for research purposes

The documentation indicates that she was initially not detained because she was "14 years old, a non-adult student."[40] Her parents were both detained on July 3, 2017. Her father was sent for re-education in the "strict management" section of the Industrial Park VSETC, the same camp as her. While Rahile is shown to be in "re-education" *jiaoyu zhuanhua* 教育轉化, her father has been "provisionally sentenced" *yu pan* 預判, a designation that is also found in the Urumqi Police Database (see Bunin 2021b). Spreadsheets show that his picture was taken on February 20, 2018, at the Konasheher detention centre (Jiaoyu zhuan-hua renyuan (6131) n.d.). The reason given for her father's internment are the same as hers: he is a "Type 12 person," again guilt by association. Her mother was sentenced to six years in prison for allegedly having "disturbed the social order" 聚眾擾亂社會秩序罪, a generic charge handed nationwide to persons targeted by the state.[41] In the documents, she is marked as a "Type 4 person," which defines those who allegedly "possess Wahhabist ideology and currently engage in extremist religious speech and practice." This inconsistency is indicative of the arbitrary nature by which Uyghurs are treated as enemies of the state.

Figures 29 to 32: Images 653121201009070649_20180210210944567.jpg, 65312120111017061X_20180210205941454.jpg, 653121197708050656.jpg and 653121198202100665_20180210205140633.jpg, locations unknown (click on filenames to download the original images).[42]

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upon request.

[40] See previous note.

[41] Filename '附件 22 嚴打收押 21 類人員.xlsx', file creation timestamp: October 27, 2018. Filename '2017 年投監獄人員名單.xlsx'. For privacy reasons, these files are not made publicly available, but can be obtained from the author for research purposes upon request.

[42] Images (except for the fathers') were cropped by the author to reduce background. The location where the images were taken is unknown.

The second case is that of a family. The image set contains photos of two of their children: Abduweli Ibrahim 阿卜杜外力·吾拉伊木 and Ayshe Ibrahim 阿伊謝·吾拉伊木, aged 7 and 8 years at the time when their photo was taken. They were photographed together with their mother Patigul Rozi on February 10, 2018, between 8.51 and 9.09pm. Separate records show that they are from a family of six from Tash-milik Township, Konasheher County.[43] The two older siblings' photos are not included in the Konasheher file cache because they were studying at middle schools in Urumqi. On August 18, 2017, their father Ghulam Tursun 吾拉伊木·圖爾蓀 was imprisoned for 10 years and 11 months for "disturbing the social order." Interestingly, the real reason for his sentence is shown in the same data row: Ghulam engaged in "illegal study of the scriptures" and had one extra child.[44] He was imprisoned in the Huaqiao prison oper-ated by the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps.[45]

The third case is Tunsagul Nurmemet (**ID** 653121199603151724), who has an independently verifiable entry in the Xinjiang Victims Database (Xinjiang Victims Database Entry 948).[46] The documents show that her father Nurmemet Bekir 努爾麥麥提·拜克爾 was sentenced to prison.[47] Tunsagul was flagged by the IJOP on June 25, 2017. Initially, she was not detained because she was a nursing mother.[48] She was then detained on August 18, 2017, and sentenced to 16 years on December 24, 2017 on the generic charges of "gathering a crowd to disrupt the social order" and "picking quarrels and provoking trouble," both unlikely crimes to be committed by a then 21-year-old nursing mother.[49] In the spring of 2018, she was listed as a detainee at one of the Konasheher VSETCs.[50]

One would think that young, nursing mothers would not readily be considered a threat to the state. How-ever, the Xinjiang Police Files make it clear that a failure to speedily detain them is no laughing matter. In a 2018 document outlining a "checklist of discovered problems" compiled by an external government work team, the county was told that its "daily judging" work as part of the "round up all who should be rounded up" had not been properly implemented. While nursing mothers are eligible to benefit from a one-year grace period during their lactation period, they are supposed to be sent to the re-education camp immediately afterwards. One mother's grace period had ended on September 3, 2018. However, the local township party committee only began to investigate her on September 11, and therefore eight days too late. According to the work team's reprimand, this shows that there "clearly is a problem with grasping the

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[43] Filename '阿裡木.xls', file creation timestamp: October 27, 2018. For privacy reasons, this file is not made publicly available, but can be obtained from the author for research purposes upon request.

[44] Filename '疏附縣涉案打擊處理人員（服刑人員）.xlsx', file creation timestamp: October 27, 2018. For privacy reasons, this file is not made publicly available, but can be obtained from the author for research purposes upon request.

[45] Filename '2017 危安(10407)decrypted.xlsx'. For privacy reasons, this file is not made publicly available, but can be obtained from the author for research purposes upon request.

[46] The second match with the Xinjiang Victims Database is Osmanjan Roz (ID no. 653121198802030955).

[47] Filename '附件 27 疏附縣涉案打擊處理（判刑）人員親屬登記台賬已過.xlsx', file creation timestamp: October 27, 2018. For privacy reasons, this file is not made publicly available, but can be obtained from the author for research purposes upon request.

[48] Filename '地區一體化推送人員台賬匯總（總）.xlsx', file creation timestamp: August 18, 2017. For privacy reasons, this file is not made publicly available, but can be obtained from the author for research purposes upon request.

[49] Original text: 聚眾擾亂社會程序罪，尋釁滋事罪

[50] Filename '數據導出.xls', file creation timestamp: November 4, 2018. For privacy reasons, this file is not made publicly available, but can be obtained from the author for research purposes upon request.

real-time tracking of rounding up those who have not [yet] been rounded up" (Beibu pianqu weiwen zhihuibu 2018, 11).

Konasheher PSB files	**Xinjiang Victims Database (entry 948)**

Name: 吐尼沙姑力·努爾麥麥提

Detained August 18, 2017, but not kept in detention due to being a nursing mother.

Status: sentenced (判刑) to 16 years on December 24, 2017.

Home address: *xinjiang shufu xian wu ku sa ke zhen xie ha er ba ge cun 6 zu 103 hao* 新疆疏附縣吾庫薩克鎮謝哈爾巴格村 6 組 103 號

Occupation: homemaker (家庭婦女)

Image taken on January 16, 2018, at the Konasheher detention centre.

Sources: see footnote[51]

Name: Tunsagul Nurmemet 吐尼沙姑力·努爾麥麥提

Detained August 2017

Last reported status: re-education camp

Home address: 103, Group No. 6, Musuma Village, Oqusaq Municipality, Konasheher County, Kashgar Prefecture, Xinjiang (*xinjiang shufu xian wu ku sa ke zhen mo su ma cun 6 zu 103 hao* 新疆疏附縣吾庫薩克鎮莫蘇馬村 6 組 103 號)

Occupation: homemaker

Assumed location: Kashgar

The victim was allegedly raped at the camp.

Figure 33: The right-hand image was edited by the author by improving contrast. Image file name: 653121199603151724_20180116202709963.jpg (click on filename to download the original image).

In sum, the evidence derived from these images and the related data is commensurate with existing research, including for example the Karakax List or the Urumqi Police Database. It demonstrates the arbitrary nature with which Uyghurs are labelled as dangerous or "extremist," and thereby made into a target for detention, internment, and possibly imprisonment. The main difference from previously leaked internal documents is that the Xinjiang Police Files provide us with attendant image material that not only features cropped headshots but, in most cases, wide-angled portraits. These provide an ideal basis for authenticating the material and for providing further authoritative evidence for the securitised nature of Beijing's re-education campaign.

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[51] Filenames '8 村三類人員親屬台賬.xls' (file creation timestamp: November 4, 2018), '疏附縣涉案打擊處理人員（服刑人員）' (file creation timestamp: October 27, 2018) and '地區一體化推送人員台賬匯總（總）.xlsx' (file creation timestamp: August 18, 2017). For privacy reasons, these files are not made publicly available, but can be obtained from the author for research purposes upon request.

Conclusions

The Xinjiang Police Files greatly complement our understanding of the highly securitised nature of Beijing's re-education campaign, mostly notably at the implementation stage, for which conclusive evidence so far had been limited. The material points to an extreme example of Heilmann's (2017) "crisis mode" of policymaking and implementation in a situation which the state not only portrays as an emergency, but also as a paramount national security challenge. Central government figures have argued in classified speeches that "[i]f the Xinjiang situation is not handled properly," it will threaten the realisation of China's "Two Centennial Goals," the state's most important political goals in the 21ˢᵗ century (Central Office Bulletin 2014b, 64). This intimate link between Xinjiang policy and major national political goals, also extensively highlighted by Xi Jinping in his internal speeches from 2014, explains the highly personalised, ideologised, militarised, and mobilisational nature of the region's policy dynamics. Xi himself in his May 28, 2014, speech at the Second Central Xinjiang Work Forum had declared a "People's War on Terror," and, pointing directly to the nation's militaristic and mobilisational policymaking and implementation capacity, exclaimed that "we Communists should be naturals at fighting a people's war, we are the best at organising for a task" (Central Office Bulletin 2014b, 10).

Xinjiang's policies after 2016 show even stronger signs of a "crisis mode" of policymaking. Personalisation became supreme. In his June 2018 speech, Chen Quanguo directly describes the personal mission to which no other than Xi himself assigned him: "the General Secretary sent me to Xinjiang in order to make a stable Xinjiang arise" (Chen Quanguo 2018, 9). In another speech, Chen highlights his personal motivation and dedication to this cause when noting that he had personally offered to Xi to work in Xinjiang for 10 years (Ma Xuejun n.d., 4). Similarly notable are the death threats Chen utters in his speeches against those who would resist the state. His June 2018 speech, given close to the peak of the internment campaign, employs the term "death" (*si* 死) a dozen times, and is replete with stern warnings, references to a "life-or-death battle," and exhortations against the ongoing imminent threat posed by a "pervasive" enemy.

The wider aims of Xinjiang's campaign of mass internment have been framed in several ways, such as sociocultural assimilation, a coercive reengineering of ethnic societies, and the promotion of extremely intrusive state control for the achievement of "stability maintenance" *weiwen* 維穩 (Kam and Clarke 2021; Leibold 2019b; Zenz 2018a, 2020a). Xi's words in 2014 foreshadowed the re-education campaign in several ways (Zenz 2021c, 3-4; 2021d, 6-15). Even so, important questions remain as to how Xinjiang's security crackdown degenerated into treating such large numbers of ordinary ethnic citizens like dangerous villains. Existing scholarly approaches conceptualise the evolution of societal securitisation and surveillance, but they struggle to provide straightforward explanations of the expansion of highly coercive re-education techniques from much more limited target groups – such as those detained for acts of violent resistance – to wide swaths of the population. Moreover, while such an expansion can be explained with wider aims such as the coercive altering and assimilation of the entire Uyghur population, such explanatory frameworks still do not account for the extent to which Xinjiang's leadership became immersed in their own threat perceptions.

Xinjiang scholars (including this author) have so far tended to frame state discourses of counterterrorism as a propagandistic façade concealing ulterior motives. However, after careful review of the material, the author is now inclined to think that the XUAR leadership appears to have quite thoroughly internalised official state discourses on terrorism, extremism, and related framings of the alleged threat that they pose to the state. Arguments that the state is simply using counterterrorism as a cover for achieving other political goals such as ethnocultural assimilation are at least partially valid. In light of the new evidence, they are, however, incomplete. Researchers into China's domestic security previously argued that Beijing's policy shift in Xinjiang cannot be solely explained through the lens of ethnic policy goals or leadership change (to Chen Quanguo), but that this shift also needs to be examined in light of the state's changing perception of the international and domestic terrorism threat (Greitens, Lee and Yazici 2020). The author used to be critical of this view, given that the objective terrorism threat is entirely incommensurate with the extreme countermeasures adopted by the state. However, the author now suggests that the escalation of Xinjiang's de-extremification measures should at least partially be explained by suggesting that the state did sincerely adopt such a terror threat perception, but that this perception came to be greatly exaggerated.

Here, it is argued that the scale of Xinjiang's re-education campaign, the framing of entire ethnic groups as threats, and the attendant extreme preoccupations with security in the campaign's execution reflect a devolution into paranoia. In his review of the genocide literature, Moses argues that pre-emptive strikes against a perceived threat group indicate a political paranoia that scholars have defined as an "interpretative disorder constituted by hysterical threat assessments" (Moses 2011, 576; compare Robins and Post 1997, 7-14). Paranoia is not purely delusional but rooted in a reality (such as a few Uyghurs perpetrating violent acts of resistance) that becomes greatly exaggerated through interpretation. Genocide scholarship on the Holocaust suggests that Hitler and the Nazis were not just or even primarily driven by racism, but also by a political paranoia which led to a radicalisation of anti-Jewish measures. Moreover, these measures were escalated after Germany itself came to be faced with an external threat (war), triggering a more acutely crisis-oriented mode of policymaking and governance (Moses 2011). The paranoid-schizoid position uses projective identification and splitting to project the hated parts of the self out and onto the "Other," while simultaneously idealizing the good within oneself (Robins and Post 1997, 77). This psychological defence mechanism can explain how Xi Jinping, Chen Quanguo, and other leaders came to frame Uyghurs as a pathological threat, while simultaneously portraying themselves as their kind benefactors. As a result, persons like Chen can come to view re-education camps as institutions that reflect the kindness of the state and where living conditions are comparatively decent, filtering out any information to the contrary that they may have received from their subordinates.

Tobin noted how the state has exacerbated tensions between ethnic groups through exaggerated threat portrayals and securitising strategies (2020, 58, 225). Roberts (2020) suggested that Beijing's stance towards the Uyghurs frames them almost as a type of "biological threat" to society that must be contained. The author had previously analysed discourses of "optimising" the ethnic population structure in southern Xinjiang, and the strategy of embedding "problem" population segments such as Uyghurs with "positive" Han populations in order to mitigate what Chinese academics and officials perceive to be the region's "human problem" (Zenz 2021b). If the policy cycle is already imbued with phobia from the initial framing

of the threat, its dynamics can become self-reinforcing. Paranoid threat perceptions justify paranoid responses, which in turn beget more paranoia through what Moses describes as the "self-fulfilling prophecy" effect of political paranoia:

> Fatally, if the victim responds to their role in the paranoid's externalization, 'what began as fantasy is transformed into reality' – the self-fulfilling prophecy mentioned above. That is the fatal, productive power of paranoia. (Moses 2011, 576)

This, arguably, has been a driving factor behind Beijing's re-education campaign in Xinjiang. Xi had initially delineated the "enemy" as those who act directly (and often violently) against the state. Ultimately, however, anyone who cannot be controlled is "untrustworthy" because they could conceivably end up resisting the state in some form. This creates a devolutionary logic by which the "enemy" is no longer just those who actually engage in violent resistance, but also persons who are potentially "untrustworthy" because the state fails to ascertain their state of mind. Moses describes this as a striving for "permanent security," defined as the "unobtainable goal" of pursuing "absolute safety" – being invulnerable to threats (2021, 1). He argues that "[t]he paranoid and hubristic quest for permanent security escalates routine state...security practices" to a point where the government becomes liable to indiscriminately target entire groups with greatly reduced regard to collateral damage (Moses 2021, 43).

The solution to the "untrustworthy persons" problem is internment. In a June 13, 2018, video speech, Gao Qi, vice governor of Ili Prefecture and head of the prefecture police, stated that the region must "resolutely follow the demand of Party Secretary [Chen] Quanguo to place the untrustworthy in a trustworthy place...to slowly transform them" (Gao Qi 2018).[52] However, a "trustworthy place" (re-education camp) full of "untrustworthy" persons is still a threat, and therefore to be guarded by heavily armed police. The paranoid focus on the potential for threat residing in non-violent but not yet "de-extremified" Uyghur citizens might explain Chen's literal obsession with the "absolute security" of already highly securitised internment facilities. No camp survivor has ever testified about successful escapes, but rather about abuse, starvation, complete hopelessness, and the suffering especially of the elderly. This vast cognitive dissonance between the state's extreme security measures vis-à-vis the helpless state of the detainees is precisely a product of the delusional threat assessment generated by the paranoid mind.

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[52] Original text: 堅決按照陳全國書記把不放心的人放到放心的地方的要求

Xinjiang Police Files – List of References with Download Links

Additional documents contained in the Xinjiang Police Files can be obtained from the website www.xinjiangpolicefiles.org.

Beibu pianqu weiwen zhihuibu. 2018. "*Beibu pianqu weiwen zhihui bu gongzuo zu jinzhu shu fu xian kaizhan wenti zhenggai huitou kan ji faxian wenti tishi qingdan* 北部片區維穩指揮部工作組進駐疏附縣開展問題整改回頭看及發現問題提示清單 (Checklist of problems [of the] Northern Area Stability Maintenance Headquarters Working Group stationed in Shufu County to carry out rectification and looking-back [work])." Source: Konasheher County PSB. Access via University of Vienna Phaidra Open Access Repository, filename 北部片區維穩指揮部 2018 年 9 月 28 日, https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/detail/o:1536150.

Chen Quanguo 陳全國. 2017. "*5 yue 28 ri Chen Quanguo shuji zai zizhiqu weiwen zhihui bu shipin tiao du hui shang de jianghua* 5 月 28 日陳全國書記在自治區維穩指揮部視頻調度會上的講話 (May 28 Secretary Chen Quanguo speech at the Autonomous Region Stability Maintenance Headquarter video conference)." May 28, 2017. Source: Tekes County PSB. Access via University of Vienna Phaidra Open Access Repository, filename 5.28 陳全國書記講話.doc, https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/detail/o:1536055. English translation: https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/detail/o:1536117.

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Dianhua guanli zhidu. N.d. "*Jiaopei zhongxin qinqing dianhua guanli zhidu (shixing)* 教培中心親情電話管理制度（試行） (Education and Training Center Management System for Calls to Relatives (Trial Version))." N.d. (file creation timestamp: May 4, 2018). Source: Konasheher County PSB. Access via University of Vienna Phaidra Open Access Repository, filename 2.25 教培中心親情電話管理制度（試行）.docx, https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/detail/o:1536053. English translation: https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/detail/o:1536124.

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Disciplinary Inspection Committee. 2018. "*Shu gong ji [2018] 27 hao "guanyu dui xin jiaopei zhongxin shiye bian tejing Wang Ruilei weiji wentide chuli jueding"* 疏公紀【2018】27 號《關於對新教培中心事業編特警王瑞雷違紀問題的處理決定》 (Shufu Public Discipline [2018] No.27 'Decision on Handling the Disciplinary Issue of Special Police Officer Wang Ruilei of the New Vocational Skills Education and Training Centre')." CCP Shufu County Public Security Bureau Disciplinary Inspection Committee, July 16, 2018. Source: Konasheher County PSB. Access via University of Vienna Phaidra Open Access Repository, filename 疏公紀【2018】27 號《關於對新教培中心事業編特警王瑞雷違紀問題的處理決定》.doc, https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/detail/o:1536077.

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Gao Qi 高琪. 2018. "*Gao Qi juzhang 6yue 13ri 12shi shipin tiaodu huishang de jianghua* 高琪局長 6 月 13 日 12 時視頻調度會上的講話 (June 13th director Gao Qi's speech at the 12 o'clock video conference)." Source: Tekes County PSB. Access via University of Vienna Phaidra Open Access Repository, filename 高琪局長 6 月 13 日 12 時視頻調度會上的講話.doc, https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/detail/o:1536088.

Huoshi guanli zhidu. N.d. "*Zhiye jineng jiaoyu peixun zhongxin huoshi guanli zhidu* 職業技能教育培訓中心伙食管理制度 (Vocational Skills Education and Training Centre meal management system)." N.d. (file creation timestamp: August 17, 2017). Source: Konasheher County PSB. Access via University of Vienna Phaidra Open Access Repository, filename 職業技能教育培訓中心伙食管理制度.doc, https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/detail/o:1536082.

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BOOK REVIEW

The Perils of Interpreting. The Extraordinary Lives of Two Translators between Qing China and the British Empire

Henrietta Harrison

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Using Chinese State archives, archives of the Catholic Church, and archives of the British East India Company, and focusing on the personalities of Li Zibiao and George Thomas Staunton, who were engaged as interpreters in the George Macartney mission to Qing China (1792–1794), Henrietta Harrison brings to life this famous historical event. She more precisely shows how the personalities of Li Zibiao, a Christian convert born in 1760 in Liangzhou (present-day Wuwei in Xinjiang), and of George Thomas Staunton, born in 1781 in Salisbury, and the texts they and others produced about this mission, played an important role in shaping the late 18th and 19th centuries' European view of China. As she states, the idea that it was Qing China's "ignorance of the outside world and in particular the difficulty of adjusting China's ancient tribute system to the new world of modern international relations" that was at the basis of the violent conflict that ensued between Britain and China, "has been deeply rooted since the nineteenth century" (p. 6). However, in Britain also, knowledge about China was "confined to particular groups or social classes, or simply forgotten. There were Chinese books in the British Library, but no one who could read them. Moreover, Macartney was learning about China from works written by the early Catholic missionaries a hundred years earlier: knowledge of China's recent court politics, which was crucial for diplomacy, was entirely absent" (p. 69).

Reading through the texts preserved in the above-mentioned archives, it becomes clear that an interconnection between deficient knowledge, mutual suspicion, and personal agendas of the interpreters was fundamental in how the Macartney mission developed. When, e.g., the Catholic priest and missionary Li Zibiao became Macartney's interpreter, this was "not because of a lack of other possible interpreters but because for Macartney finding someone he could trust outweighed concerns over particular linguistic abilities" (p. 85). Moreover, Macartney saw himself as acting on behalf of the British government and therefore wanted to avoid using an interpreter connected to the East India Company. Li Zibiao, on his part, had his own private agenda: knowing that interpreting for the British was officially limited to those Chinese employed in the trade and registered with the government, he agreed to becoming Macartney's interpreter because the latter promised that he would act like a papal diplomat and try to obtain advantages for the Catholic mission from the emperor (p. 88). As a result, Li indeed "began to think that acting as an interpreter for the embassy might be a task he was undertaking for the good of the church" (p. 63). That this did not give him a bad conscience can perhaps partly be explained by the fact that he, in turn, realised that Macartney too had a double agenda. As he wrote in a letter to his friend Giovanni Maria Borgia, son of the Duke of Vallemezzana: "The ultimate aim of the embassy to the Emperor of China [...] is to be able to obtain some port near Beijing where only the English will be allowed to trade, so that they will be exempted from the demands of the company of merchants in Canton, can do their business freely and increase their profits" (p. 67), an assessment that is closer to reality than the official discourse that Britain's ultimate aim was to establish diplomatic relations with China. Macartney was also suspicious of the Qianlong Emperor's (r. 1735–1796) choice of the Portuguese José Bernardo de Almeida as interpreter, convinced as he was that, as interpreter, Almeida would be hostile to the British and support the Portuguese interest in Macao (p. 109).

Historical accounts of the "kowtow" incident have given the encounter of Macartney's embassy with the Qianlong Emperor in Chengde everlasting fame. A comparison of different accounts of this "kowtow"

event shows how our knowledge and appreciation of Macartney's mission is importantly determined by the precise account we read. In the final version of his diary, which was intended for circulation to the East India Company and King George III, Macartney wrote, "As he (the Qianlong Emperor) passed we paid him our compliments by kneeling on one knee, whilst all the Chinese made their usual prostrations." The first version of the events George Thomas Staunton wrote in his diary differs from this. Here we read: "As he (the Qianlong Emperor) passed we went upon one knee and bowed our heads down to the ground." The words "down to the ground" have later been crossed out, however. Also the words "At last the Emperor got up from his throne and went away in his chair" are crossed out, and a sentence in which George Thomas Staunton describes his speaking Chinese to the emperor is added. Two days later he wrote, "We bent one knee," then an insertion "and bowed down to the ground" and "we repeated this ceremony nine times with the other mandarins except that they..." After this, he resorted to, "We made the ceremony as usual." In the version of the events as recorded by his father, George Leonard Staunton, the "kowtowing" event is omitted altogether, and the focus is on his son speaking Chinese (pp. 120–121).

It may be this incident for which the Macartney mission has become known in Europe; for Li Zibiao, however, not being employed in trade and not being registered with the government, meeting with the Qianlong Emperor was the occasion when he risked everything to serve China's Christians (p. 114). When he orally conveyed the six British requests to the Emperor, he added a seventh: "Christian laws are not at all harmful or contrary to the Chinese state, because men who know God become better and more obedient to control. So I ask your Imperial Majesty to let Christians who are scattered within your borders live peacefully, following their religion without unjust persecution." Li Zibiao may have been tempted to add this seventh request because, as was mentioned above, it had been on the understanding that Macartney would act as if he were also an ambassador from the pope that he had accepted becoming Macartney's interpreter in the first place. For Li, his participation in the Macartney embassy must therefore have been "part of a much greater divine work that encompassed the whole world" (p. 151). As is well known, however, the Jiaqing Emperor (r. 1796–1820) would endorse an anti-Christian pamphlet that not only made the link between Christianity and opium but also pointed to potential political threats from the Europeans (p. 124).

In 1799 George Thomas Staunton took up a post as a writer in the East India Company's warehouses in Canton. Finally acknowledging the value of his Chinese language skills, the Company formally appointed him as interpreter. This incited him to embark on the project of translating the Qing legal code (*Ta Tsing Leu Lee; Being the Fundamental Laws, and a Selection from the Supplementary Statutes, of the Penal Code of China*), and he used his knowledge of Chinese law to intervene in the negotiations between the East India Company and the Chinese authorities (p. 176). In the works he wrote after he had returned to England in 1817, he wanted to show that diplomacy with China was possible, and in his private writing to government officials, he offered to negotiate with the Chinese in the hope of averting war. The arguments he used were not military but legal. Britain, so he contended, should treat China in accordance with international law, just as it would a European country. The struggles between the European states of that moment, however, made him write to Robert Morrison, who had created a Chinese dictionary, that it was

"almost throwing away time to attempt to inform the public on the subject of China" (p. 238). In 1823 he was so discouraged that he donated all his Chinese books to the newly established Royal Asiatic Society.

The story of Li Zibiao and George Thomas Staunton has a remarkable contemporary ring to it. At present also, relations between Europe and China are increasingly tense, and the willingness to understand each other better is hindered by deficient knowledge, mutual suspicions, and oftentimes conflicting agendas. *The Perils of Interpreting* therefore is not only an important analysis of historical records, but also is an appeal to contemporary negotiators and diplomats, businessmen and policy makers: a call to the empathy that forms the basis for intercultural understanding.

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BOOK REVIEW

Distant Shores. Colonial Encounters on China's Maritime Frontier

Melissa Macauley

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Recounting the life stories of a few natives of Chaozhou, a macroregion on China's southeast coast that incorporates parts of southern Zhejiang Province, Fujian Province, and eastern Guangdong Province, "an administrative prefecture and a local culture in which people shared a common dialect and repertoire of ritual, spiritual, and social practices" (p. 3), Melissa Macauley draws a picture of how "the rise of Chaozhou across the watery domain of overseas Chinese was one of the more remarkable social developments in the interconnected history of China and Southeast Asia" (p. 3). More precisely, she gives a well-documented and utterly compelling account of how the migration of Chaozhouese as labourers and merchants to Southeast Asia from the seventeenth century onwards has been conducive to the creation of transnational Chinese capitalism, and how the development both of this capitalism and of the social divide that comes along with it have reverberated throughout the whole of Chinese and Southeast Asian (Bangkok and Cambodia on the Gulf of Siam, West Borneo, Southern Malaysia, Singapore, and the Mekong delta of Vietnam) history. These developments, so she explains, are the natural outcome of the fact that maintained family ties and the establishment of "institutions that reinforced the cultural bond within expatriate communities and with their home villages" (p. 4) made the individual histories of the migrated Chinese part of a translocal whole in which not only people, but also capital, commodities, and ideas circulated.

Melissa Macauley excellently explains how the Chaozhouese expansion into Southeast Asia may, from a nineteenth-century European standpoint, appear to have some characteristics in common with the Western project of colonisation, but how it also differs importantly from the latter. Whereas the Western colonisers held the preponderant military and governmental power in their colonial domains, the Chinese left the state-building to others. "In Siam they loyally integrated themselves into the monarchical order. Elsewhere they let the Euro-Americans bear the burden of constructing colonial states while they continued to dominate the process of resource extraction and commerce in food, lumber, rubber, tin, gold, and other commodities" (p. 10). A further difference from the Euro-American colonial enterprise is that the Chinese state was rarely involved in the overseas Chinese economic activities. The Chinese did thus not rely on the state, but on such institutions as native place associations and partnerships, brotherhood societies, business networks, temples, and philanthropic organizations (p. 11). That the networks of Chinese expatriates throve in the absence of national or international institutions helps to explain why their mercantile activities were not affected by the political mêlée of the nineteenth century. It was only the "great depression" of the 1930s that had a significant impact on the flow of financial support from the overseas domains to Chaozhou (p. 273). By that time, however, the Chaozhouese had already invested larger parts of their capital in such modern enterprises as banking, real estate, manufacturing, and the film industry (p. 158).

A not unimportant part of Chaozhouese wealth was related to the opium trade. First introduced into Western China in the seventh century, opium "circulated as a commodity in the Ming system of tributary relations with Southeast Asia" (p. 69). That is to say that long before the British were present in Southeast Asia and were active in the opium trade, the drug had been given as a tributary gift to the Chinese emperors by the rulers of Java, Siam, and Bengal. Before the Qing war on drugs from 1838 to 1858, the importation of the drug was therefore technically legal under the official tribute system. It was a sharp increase in

recreational opium use, however, that made the trade in this drug extremely lucrative. This helps to explain why opium was smuggled as contraband along the Chinese coast, and why in 1729 the Qing court was already inclined to outlaw the domestic sale of the drug. The expanding commerce with Southeast Asia and overseas travel of sailors, merchants, and labourers sabotaged this effort, however, and Chaozhou even emerged as a major site for the domestic cultivation of opium (p. 70), a skill Chaozhouese had learned on their overseas plantations (p. 73). An 1831 edict by the Daoguang emperor "commanding local officials to punish village headmen and lineage elders who participated in or turned a blind eye to its tillage in the prefecture" (p. 71) also proved ineffective, "and the cultivation of opium became a staple of the Chaozhou economy until 1949" (p. 71). Chinese merchants continued to dominate the opium trade along the eastern seaboard of China, "even as the British became more active in the opium trade of southeastern China" (p. 72).

Translocal brotherhoods that had been an important means of protection in the hostile atmosphere in which the opium traders were active also became important tools to channel anti-Qing feelings towards the end of the dynasty (p. 78), especially after Qing Commander Fang Yao's purge of the brotherhood-dominated villages of Chaozhou from 1869 to 1873 (p. 15). Chaozhou was in this sense profoundly affected by the Taiping movement, for it inspired a series of uprisings by sympathetic brotherhoods (pp. 91–92). For other Chaozhouese, anti-Qing feelings were the reason to align with Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Alliance (p. 143).

As noted, Chaozhou history is a translocal history. With Chaozhouese emerging "among the commercial titans and laboring masses of Southeast Asia in the eighteenth century" (p. 85), Chaozhou's economy began to converge with the economies of the southeast Asian lands to which they migrated and which they had known since the Song and Yuan dynasties through commercial expeditions. It was, however, the expansion of the remunerative drug trade in China and around the globe that importantly explains the rise of maritime Chaozhou, a node in an emerging international trade system (p. 23). The huge profits made through trade (including the trade in opium) enabled the Chinese in Siam, e.g., to establish their own state. It is, however, this same Chinese wealth that also explains the later anti-Chinese stance of King Wachirawat in the early twentieth century (p. 148). Similarly, the wealth of Chinese citizens in Cambodia made them a target of the Khmer Rouge in the 1970s (p. 154). This also testifies to the fact that, as Melissa Macauley states, "one cannot understand the full significance of an event that occurred in a village on the coast of China without considering its impact on a port city on the Malay Peninsula, over 2800 kilometers distant" (p. 5).

It is precisely herein, i.e., in the reality that "migrants may live a global life, but they do not experience it 'globally'. They encounter it in the quotidian world of the village, port, or colonial plantation," that "multiscopic analysis enables us to discern the human experience of global change and thereby determine how disparate local arenas are shaped by similar global processes" (p. 5). This concurs with what Wolf Schäfer formulated as follows: "Localism disregards global contexts focusing exclusively on local

phenomena, while globalism fails to recognize local contexts, such as people's languages, life-worlds, and cultures".[1]

In a 2017 publication, Stephen Broadberry, Hanhui Guan, and David Daokui Li documented that Italy had already started to catch up with China before 1300, and that other European countries followed soon after. They thereby contradicted Kenneth Pomeranz's claim that European dominance over China started only in the late eighteenth century.[2] Melissa Macauley's excellent study of Chaozhou in a translocal world supplements our knowledge by documenting that European economic dominance on a global scale may have its roots in the fourteenth century, but that China's southeastern coastal areas show "not a divergence with European modernity, but a convergence in colonized sites that were critical to the industrial revolution and accelerating levels of capital accumulation" (p. 18). The region of the South China Sea was a Chinese sphere of commercial modernity, in which the Chinese applied legal and illegal tactics in their competition with Western imperialists: the British consulate in Swatow, e.g., "emerged as a transnational institution that reluctantly served the needs of Chinese who made most of their money in the colonies the Europeans built and maintained" (p. 187), and in the competition between British and Chinese groups that continued after the "Swatowmen refused to respect the stipulations of the unequal treaty system" (p. 170) the Chinese even employed British lawyers (pp. 173–174). The commercial and demographic expansion of Chaozhouese and Fujianese into Southeast Asia and Shanghai even "resembled the colonial aggrandizement of Great Britain, Spain, France, the Netherlands, the United States, and Japan" (p. 7).

In short: this compelling work not only provides a fresh look at the rationale behind the first Opium War, but also importantly deconstructs the rhetoric of the widely accepted fundamental divergence of Europe and China supposed to have developed starting in the eighteenth century. This well-investigated work rather invites us to see a convergence between Europe and maritime East and Southeast Asia starting in the Ming dynasty.

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[1] Schäfer, Wolf (2010). Reconfiguring Area Studies for the Global Age. *Globality Studies Journal. Global History, Society, Civilization* 22. http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.691.9540&rep=rep1&type=pdf (last accessed 23 April 2022).

[2] Broadberry, Stephen, Hanhui Guan, and David Daokui Li (2017). *China, Europe and the Great Divergence: A study in historical national accounting, 980-1850.* Discussion Papers in Economic and Social History 155. University of Oxford.

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BOOK REVIEW

百年降生 1900-2000 台灣文學故事

[100 Years of Taiwan Literature: 1900-2000]

Edited by 李時雍 Lee Suyon

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When martial law was lifted in 1987 the China-centric monopoly of definition that had prevailed on the island for four decades was replaced by a localist imperative for "Taiwanese identity". The transition from authoritarian state violence to liberal democracy was accompanied by fierce debates on memory and identity politics generating a new Taiwan-centric cultural hegemony. State-sponsored cultural policy played a crucial role in triggering and accelerating the process of identity formation. (Chang 2009, 47) When cultural and political sectors joined forces to construct a common sense of historical continuity and a distinctive uniqueness of Taiwanese traditional culture, educational reform became a resounding game changer. Not least the enactment of academic freedom and autonomy in higher education allowed Taiwanese literature studies to become an academic discipline allowing for "a search for subjectivity, identities, and a reconnection for Taiwanese students with their homeland." (Hsieh 2020, 331-332) Public institutions like the National Museum of Taiwan Literature (*Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan* 國立台灣文學館) or academic organizations like the Association for Taiwan Literature (*Taiwan wenxue xuehui* 台灣文學學會) are nowadays trailblazers for the promotion and institutionalisation of a literary tradition and conception of Taiwan literature in teaching and research, translation and creative writing, and inter-Asian and international collaboration.

Against this background 百年降生 1900-2000 台灣文學故事. *100 Years of Taiwan Literature: 1900-2000* is a unique testimony of the first "post-reform" generation. (Le Pessant 2011) Starting in 2015, editor Lee Suyon gathered a dozen "literary friends" (*wenyou* 文友) to contribute to his weekly column in *The Merit Times* (*Renjian fubao* 人間福報) with brief "stories" about "Taiwan literature" of the "20ᵗʰ century" (preface). Despite their various provenances and careers, academic specialisation and writing experience, they share a similar generational and educational background. All the contributors were born in the 1980s, graduated from a Taiwan literature studies programme, and are at present pursuing either an academic or a freelance career. The collection consists of 101 chronologically organised stories, addressing specific writers, literary movements, genres, events, societies, periodicals, and other literary phenomena, mapping the formation of Taiwan literature in the 20th century. In 2018 Lianjing publishing house launched the collection with illustrations by the artist Zhu Ya 朱疋.

In his preface, Lee refers to three points of reference, which frame his undertaking and suggest a certain reading. First, *My Century*, a collection of 100 vignettes of 20th century German history by Nobel laureate Günter Grass (1925-2015), who had been introduced to the Taiwanese public as a moral authority on "Vergangenheitsbewältigung" (coping with the past) through an exhibition at the National Museum of Taiwan Literature in 2012. Second, nativist writer (鄉土作家 *xiangtu zuojia*) Huang Chunming's 黃春明 (1939-) essay "Use Your Feet to Read Geography" (*yong jiao du dili* 用腳讀地理), in which he dwells on Swiss psychoanalyst C. G. Jung's (1875-1961) concept of identity formation. Third, the spectacular return of the presumed dead Taiwanese aborigine Suniuo from the Indonesian jungle in 1975, thirty years after Japan's surrender, embodying collective amnesia and historical void as well as indigenous peoples' multiple victimisation.

Blurring history and fiction, fact and fabrication, *100 Years* belongs to the genre of narrative nonfiction, whose playful crossover has become increasingly popular as it promises informative entertainment and entertaining information at the same time. The 101 individual "stories" (*gushi* 故事) – one chapter for

each year from 1900 to 2000 – are neither interconnected nor does a coherent story evolve in the course of the book. The year dates are no more than an organising principle and a stimulus to the twelve contributors' imagination. The book is a challenging read and requires a certain knowledge of Taiwan's literary field, as most stories dwell on the field's interstices and blank gaps rather than its commonplaces. Accordingly, they qualifiy as perfect points of departure to undertake historical expeditions into undiscovered, lesser known, and forgotten areas of literary life.

Despite their broad variety in style, topic, and authorial perspective, certain core assumptions and implicit statements are at the heart of the volume and persist through these texts.

First, it is generally assumed that the era of Japanese colonial rule (1985-1945) constitutes the period most consequential for the formation of Taiwan's complex identity and literary field; moreover, it was the KMT's authoritarian rule that brought literary development to a brutal halt and caused a historical disruption. Although the heritage of Japanese-language writing was largely absent on bookshelves and in literary discourse until the 1990s – not least since Taiwan's reliance on US political power placed Anglo-American literature at the top of the literary hierarchy – nevertheless, most contemporary literary movements and concepts can be traced back to the colonial period.

For instance, in chapter 1960 the untimely death of Zhong Lihe 鍾理和 (1915-1960), the author of *Songs of the Bamboo Hat Hill* (*Lishan nongchang* 笠山農場), is turned into a metaphorical narrative of the forgotten legacy of early local modernism. Just like nativism, which had been advocated in the early 1930s and resurfaced in the native soil debate of 1977-1978, modernism had its early local predecessors (chs. 1919, 1930). Back in chapter 1922 we encounter Xie Chunmu's 謝沐春 (1902-1969) Japanese-language novella "Where is she going?" (*Kanojo wa doko e* 她要往何處去), originally published in 1922 in *Taiwan Youth*. Compared to Lu Xun's "Nora", whose destiny remains unknown, Xie Chunmu's heroine is heading for Japan to study, after breaking off her unhappy engagement. Together with a few other contemporaneous vernacular writings, this story ushered in the new vernacular Taiwan literature. The "forgotten" legacy also implies realism and reportage literature, whose contemporary trend was set in motion by Gao Xinjiang's 高信彊 (1944-2009) column "The Edge of Reality" (*Xianshi de bianyuan* 現實的邊緣) in 1975, while socialist writer and peasant activist Yang Kui 楊逵 (1906-1985) had already put forward his theoretical piece "Raising Reportage Literature" (*Muji baogao wenxue* 募集報告文學) as early as 1937 (ch. 1975). But it was not only colonial literature that was buried in oblivion. Literature from mainland China was of course banned and censored also. In 1987 Shen Congwen's *Selected Works* (*Shen Congwen xuanji* 沈從文選集) was the first mainland collection to obtain approval for publication on the island (ch. 1987).

Second, it is common ground that Taiwan's complicated national, ethnic, and cultural identity as well as its literary tradition is a multi-layered texture woven by the 20th century's inter-Asian entanglements, interconnections, and encounters. Therefore, the eminent role of mixed-heritage writers, artists, painters, and sinologists in forming the literary culture of Taiwan is highlighted throughout the volume. With their multilingual competence paired with transnational and interdisciplinary collaborations across borders, the contributors to *100 Years* are perfectly equipped to explore Taiwanese and Japanese archives.

1928, for instance, marks the year when not only double heritage writer Huang Lingzhi 黃靈芝 (1928-2016) was born, but the first ever *Anthology of Taiwanese haiku* (*Taiwan paijuji* 台灣俳句集) was published. Huang, who insisted on using Japanese as his creative language even while it was banned, making publication impossible, put the transcultural genre of Taiwanese haiku back on the map of world literature as late as 2004 when he received the *Masaoka Shiki International Haiku Award* and, two years later, the *Order of the Rising Sun* (chs. 1928, 1970). Colonial Korean writer Chang Hyŏk-chu 張赫宙 (1905-1997) provides another example. He had received the second prize of the Japanese magazine *Kaizō* (改造) for his novel *The Way of Hungry Ghosts* (*Gakidō* 餓鬼道) in 1932, thereby raising hopes for a whole generation of colonial literary youths to advance into the literary centre (ch. 1912). Chapter 1905 introduces us to the *wansheng* 灣生 (Japanese born in Taiwan during colonial period) painter of Taiwanese folk culture Tateishi Tetsuomi 立石 鐵臣 (1905-1980), whose works remained unexplored until recently but became instructive in the (re)discovery of the traditional arts and customs of the island. Chapter 1924 pokes fun at translingual writers who had been deprived of their language through the lens of Lin Hengtai 林亨泰 (1924-). The poet, whose oeuvre extends over the entire history of modern vernacular poetry on the island (Balcom 1995), self-mockingly speaks of "a fortunate century of bad language", as the destruction of syntax and elimination of adverbs and punctuation formed the perfect premise for futurism and modernism (ch. 1924). Indigenous culture hardly appeared in the literary field before the 1980s. Chapter 1971 recollects the publication of *Traces of Dreams from a Foreign Land* (*Yuwai menghen* 域外夢痕), the first Chinese-language novel written by Chen Yingxiong 陳英雄 (aka Kowan Talall, 1941-), a member of the indigenous Paiwan tribe. In 1989 Syaman Rapongan 夏曼藍破案 (1957-) returned to his ancestral land on Orchid Island (*Lanyu* 蘭嶼) to reconnect with his tribal Tao culture and compose his oceanic writings (ch. 1989).

Third, the majority of the stories bring to mind that Taiwan's literary field is full of forgotten and unknown heroes, repressed memories, and well-guarded secrets that need to be remembered and made part of the collective memory.

In chapter 1915 we are reminded of the Tapani incident (*jiaobanian shijian* 噍吧哖事件) actually one of the biggest armed uprisings by Taiwanese, which according to Japanese sources saw "the execution of 800 people", but appeared in writing only as late as 1977, when author Li Qiao 李喬 (1934-), known for his historical interests, took up this atrocity in one of his historical novels (ch. 1915). Another work yet to see the light of the day again is the romantic novel *Heart Lock* (*xinsuo* 心鎖), which was banned in 1963 by the Ministry of the Interior for corrupting social morale. Its author, Guo Lianghui 郭良蕙 (1926-2013), was expelled from both the China Youths' and China Women's Associations (ch. 1963). Chapter 1985 gives a face to the general under-representation of female authors in literary histories, by presenting editor, writer, poet, and playwright Zeng Shumei 曾淑美 (1962-), who started her career in 1985 by volunteering for the investigative journal *Renjian* 人間, steered by literary icon Chen Yingzhen 陳映真 (1937-2016). In chapter 1988 we are prompted to reread politically inconvenient and incorruptible prison writer Shi Mingzheng 施明正 (1935-1988). His short story collection *Love and Death on the Island* (*daoshang ai yu si* 島上愛與死), in which he recreated his gaol trauma by using schizophrenic language and blending

politics and sexuality, was banned in 1984. In a twist of fate he died in a hungerstrike just one year after martial law was lifted (ch. 1988).

Fourth, the belief that history gains meaning only when related to the present has ardent advocates in many chapters.

The story of the publication in 1974 of Chen Ruoxi's 陳若曦 (1938-) "Mayor Yin" (*Yin xianzhang* 尹縣 長), chronicling a merciless murder by Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, is a case in point. As an epitome of the struggling soul it seamlessly transcends time and space, pointing to the people who protested against land grabbing during the indigenous Ketagalan Boulevard Protest (*Kaidagelan dadao kangyi* 凱達格蘭大道抗議) of 2017 (ch. 1974). Elsewhere, today's flourishing of sinophone Malaysian literature in Taiwan (*Mahua wenxue* 馬華文學) is placed in the context of the Cold War era's cultural diplomacy, which was of course a double-edged sword. While in the long run the American connection opened up new spaces and possibilities for the Taiwan literary field, it was only with the end of the Cold War that other Asian literatures came into the spotlight (ch. 1991).

To conclude, *100 Years* is a thorny reading pleasure. What gives it its appeal as a collection of unorganised, kaleidoscopic narratives makes at the same time its thorniness. There is no happy ending. Not in the classical sense. In 1900 modern chimneys arise from the dark ground and stretch into the bright sky of the colony (ch. 1). When, a century later, Taiwanese literature is eventually "born" (*jiangsheng* 降生) Taiwan is devastated by an earthquake, whose deadly blow also hits the literary field (ch. 1999). As the turn of the millenium draws nearer, doomsday scenarios increase (chs. 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998). A consumer-oriented and multimedia-driven world seems to imperil literature's future; the grand narratives have come to an end; Taiwan literature can no longer be framed in theory-laden concepts and compact histories (ch. 2000).

Literary histories have been organised as national histories in order to stabilise national identity; as social histories of literature including economic, social, and political backgrounds; as generic histories with a focus on genres; as canon formation, presupposing a hierarchical system of aesthetic norms; as echo-chambers of hegemonic cultural discourses; as "disciplining institutions", pigeonholing Taiwan literature as either colonial, national, cultural, or regional. *100 Years* has none of these ambitions. Rather it side-steps these stabilising discourses and celebrates the ambiguity of "Taiwan literature" as "Island literature" (*daoyu wenxue* 島嶼文學). A generational testimonial of individual literary experiences imaginatively explored and fictionally reconstructed, *100 Years* no longer serves as an "echo-chamber" of dominant political and cultural ideologies but is more of a resonant space, which allows the reader actually to relate to the historical events, figures, and texts and to encounter a real "other" that speaks in its own voice.

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BOOK REVIEW

La Dynastie des Song: Histoire générale de la Chine (960-1279)

Christian Lamouroux

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Since 1989, Christian Lamouroux has published a long series of probing, erudite articles about hydraulics, bureaucracy, spatial organisation, fiscal reforms, monetary policy, imperial sovereignty, court culture, historical writing, and commerce during the Song dynasty (960-1279). Although thoroughly versed in Chinese, Japanese, European, and North American scholarship on Chinese history, his work has always been individual, guided by an enduring interest in space, technology, and power, and informed by a critical understanding of the ways in which conventions of writing and practices of transmission have shaped the surviving sources. This solid body of historical scholarship forms the basis for *La Dynastie des Song: Histoire générale de la Chine (960-1279)*. The book appears in the series Histoire générale de la Chine, published by Les Belles Lettres and edited by Damien Chaussende. As Lamouroux writes, "institutional and political history and the history of the economy and finance occupy an important place in this book, though other aspects—especially everything that pertains to military history—have not been neglected" (p. 28). The eminent treatment of these preferred subjects has produced a coherent, elegant, original account of the history of the Song Empire.

Conforming to the format of the series, *La Dynastie des Song* opens with a political and institutional history ("A Dynastic History [960-1279]", chapters 1-5), followed by a series of thematic chapters ("A World Opened Up", chapters 5-10). A general introduction explains the methodological challenges of writing a dynastic history of the Song empire, by necessity reliant on printed sources (all archives having perished and manuscripts being few) and on multiple historiographies informed by conflicting conceptions and ideologies. "In a certain way, the 'history of the Song' that we propose is also intended to be—indeed must be—a 'history of the history of the Song'" (p. 17). The introduction offers a characterisation of these historiographies and gives a concise, informative account of the main textual sources and archaeological materials.

Although the first chapter, "Foundations and Founding (960-1005)" nominally begins in 960, its opening pages describe the disintegration of the Tang Empire (618-907) into a series of smaller polities that fought and succeeded one another during the first half of the tenth century. Changes in administrative structures during that period not only created the means by which the founder of the Song Empire, the general Zhao Kuangyin (927-976, posthumous title Taizu, r. 960-976), rose to power, but also laid the basis for the characteristic structure of the Song court and government, notably the division between the Bureau of Military Affairs and the headquarters of the imperial armies. Taizu's division of military powers, and the new balance he created between central and regional powers in the civil bureaucracy, placed the emperor in a position of absolute power. His successors, Taizong (r. 976-997) and Zhenzong (r. 997-1022), elaborated this structure, allotting increasing power and prestige to civil officials and to the examinations through which these emperors recruited their most eminent officials.

Chapter 2, "A New System of Authority (1005-1063)", explains that the armed peace with the Liao Empire (907-1125), inaugurated in 1005 by the Treaty of Shanyuan, forced Zhenzong to set imperial authority on a new foundation. He enhanced the absoluteness of imperial power by giving new prominence to the ritual and religious authority of the emperor, by securing the autonomy of the Imperial Treasury, and by restricting access to the inner court. Under Renzong (r, 1022-1063), the literati, first constrained by a "wall" of old, established families (p. 122), subsequently became divided among themselves as they debated how

to eliminate the budget deficit that had been increased by the costs of the war against the Xia Empire (1038-1227) as well as by the maintenance of the army, the government, and the imperial family. Chapter 3, "Imperial Incompleteness (1063-1127)", discusses the long history of the New Laws, a complex of radical reforms designed by Wang Anshi (1021-1086) to eliminate the budget deficit. Enacted by Shenzong, abolished during the regency of Empress Dowager Gao (1085-1093), then reinstated by Zhezong (r. 1085-1100) and Huizong (r. 1100-1126), these controversial reforms of bureaucratic, fiscal, and military structures increased the violence of factional divisions among the literati, while emperors used the reforms to arrogate power to the inner court and to pursue irredentist wars.

This combination of ministerial autocracy, violent factionalism, and irredentist warfare pursued by the inner court continued after the Song Empire lost the northern half of its territory to the Jin Empire (1115-1234) in 1127. Chapters 4 and 5, "The Birth of a New World (1127-1224)" and "The End of a Dynasty", describe the alternations between periods in which autocratic emperors pursued war and reforms—on their own or with the assistance of autocratic ministers such as Qin Gui (1090-1155), Han Tuozhou (1152-1207), Shi Miyuan (1164-1233), and Jia Sidao (1213-1275)—and periods in which emperors heeded the recommendations and remonstrations of literati who opposed the autocratic tendencies of the court. These literati increasingly identified with the Learning of the Way (*daoxue*, often called "Neo-Confucianism" in English-language scholarship). The budget deficit, the instability of the paper currency, and frequent uprisings against oppressive government extraction left the Song vulnerable to attacks by the Yuan Empire (1271-1368), which took the capital Hangzhou in 1276 and ended the Song dynasty in 1279.

The thematic chapters take up conspicuous topics and developments from this vertical chronology—e.g., imperial sovereignty, institutional reform, fiscal policy, military organisation—and unfold them horizontally, to reveal a multiplicity of contemporary perspectives and a subtlety of historical interpretation. Lamouroux's original contributions to the historiography of the Song, implicit in the political and institutional narrative, become more evident in these chapters. Chapter 6, "Borders, Imperial Territory, and the World", analyses "the multiplicity of realities on the border and the diversity of representations of the 'Other' that these realities called forth among the literati-officials" (p. 281). Lamouroux acknowledges the prominence and power of the imagination of the Song Empire as the Middle Kingdom, set above neighbouring peoples by its settled agriculture and literate culture. He explains that this imagination, grown fervid after the humiliating Treaty of Shanyuan, incited the Song government to conquer and colonise peoples on the northwestern, western, and southwestern frontiers, where it "introduced new forms of social and economic life and imposed a particular mode of ecological transformation" (p. 295). But Lamouroux identifies other imaginations of space and power as well, such as the conduct of trade with enemy states as a form of diplomacy and the recognition by some literati that borders created artificial divisions between people united by a common humanity. Inhabitants of border regions and merchants trading in overseas ports likely had their own imaginations of space and power, but these imaginations can now only be inferred from accounts of their behaviour by literati.

In chapter 7, "An Exchange Economy", Lamouroux offers a subtle but thorough criticism of the common characterisation of commercial activity during the Song as a market economy. He argues that economic development was regional and uneven, and that it was the government, rather than merchants, who

connected these regions to one another. The government created the infrastructure for production and circulation, exercised control over markets through its fiscal and monetary policies, designated sites for specialised agricultural and industrial production, extracted resources for its own maintenance and for the provision of the army, and thereby shaped new social stratifications in the countryside and in the cities: "It is evidently in the individual configuration of each macroregion, in the new connection that its countryside and cities managed to establish between themselves and in relation to the demands of the evolving bureaucratic state, that one must seek the origin of the increasing division of labour in the different sections of the craft industry and the source of the commercial dynamism that characterises the Song" (p. 358). The elaboration of this basic analysis of the Song economy produces many important new insights, such as the observation that the government during the Southern Song in effect backed its paper currency with precious metals, because it used silver and gold to buy up inflated bills.

Chapter 8, "A New Sovereignty", adds nuance to the argument, first proposed by Naitō Konan (1866-1934), that during the Song the power of the emperor became absolute because the emperor was set apart from the civil bureaucracy as he had not been set apart from the powerful established families during the Tang. By framing Song imperial sovereignty within a comparative universal history of the state, Lamouroux argues, proponents of this argument have neglected the particular character of sovereignty during the Song. The chapter therefore considers imperial sovereignty within its full dynastic context: the layout of the palace, the management of the imperial family, the power of empresses and imperial concubines, the organisation of the army, the structure of civil government, the position of the emperor himself (with an emphasis on the strategic importance of the Imperial Treasury), and the coordinating role of the Censorate and the Remonstrance Bureau. The chapter concludes that the rituals which the emperor performed as the Son of Heaven remained the source of his legitimacy—and of the legitimacy of the officials who governed and conducted rituals on his behalf—and that Song officials, although isolated from the emperor by his absolute power, nonetheless shaped imperial sovereignty by representing imperial power to itself, as they invoked ancient and recent precedents to place emperors within a long line of legitimate succession and within the encompassing space of a moral cosmos.

Chapter 9, "Re-establishing the Empire, Reconstructing the World", reminds the reader that Song emperors used the examinations to recruit officials in numbers unrivalled by other dynasties: when calculated (for comparison) as an annual average, the number of examination graduates during the Song is twenty times as high that of the Tang, four times as high as that of the Ming (1368-1644), and more than three times as high as that of the Qing (1636-1912). The examinations created divisions among the literati, but they also contributed to a shared intellectual culture that was characterised by lively debate. Song literati criticised the received texts of the ancient canon, debated the general meaning of canonical texts, discussed the moral importance of literary style, and increasingly sought universal principles within themselves. This chapter presents an original, integrated account of the development of classical thought ("Confucianism") during the Song, centred on three defining moments: "the inauguration of a 'universal peace' sanctioned by the grand sacrifices at Mount Tai in 1008; the era of reforms, from 1044 to the end of the Northern Song; and the synthesis of the twelfth century" (p. 499). The narrative recognises the continuities in the debates about learning and politics but also discerns important shifts, such as successive

engagements with different Buddhist and Daoist traditions, the conviction, starting around 1030, that the world possessed a coherence and a meaning that could be known and could be acted upon, and the gradual concentration upon the self and on a single universal principle (*li*) thought to inform all reality.

Chapter 10, "The Organisation of Society: Cults, Order, and Disorder", impresses upon the reader that, in spite of important developments in classical learning, the Song was not a "Confucian age" (p. 549). Rather, at all levels of society, "the evolution of the religious universe accompanied and modified the relations that individuals maintained with the invisible world of deities and spirits, while also contributing to the conception they had of the ties that bound them to the different circles of sociability which gave them their identity, beginning with their family and their ancestors" (p. 550). The chapter elaborates these changes in the "religious ecology" (p. 551) during the Song in a series of concise sections on Buddhism, on Daoism and popular religion, on divination, diviners, and geomancy, on families and family resources, on the village order, on the order of the law, and on crimes and punishments. From these sections emerges, as the introduction to the chapter promises, an image of a society in which every individual belonged to multiple, overlapping communities—communities that espoused partly complementary, partly contradictory understandings of the visible and invisible worlds, of space and time, of life and death. Lamouroux finds explicit evidence of such simultaneous belonging in temple inscriptions in Putian, Fujian province—in which powerful families assert their place in the history, the social hierarchy, the landscape, and the religious order of their community—and in epitaphs, which designate the place of the deceased within the descent line of their family as well as within marriage networks, scholarly genealogies, patronage systems, and charitable associations.

The conclusion to *La Dynastie des Song* reflects on the coherence of the Song dynasty as an historical period. It proposes that the loss of the northern half of the empire in 1127 forced the court and the literati to assess the legacy of their dynasty, and that a consideration of their decisions—the abandonment of reforms, the continuation of the examinations, the reorganisation of the fiscal and monetary structure— reveals more about the nature and significance of the Song than do attempts to decide its place within universal periodisations of the "early modern" and the "modern".

Christian Lamouroux's concentration on his areas of strength has yielded a coherent, compelling account of Song history, an account that is at the same time comprehensive and original, generous in its scholarly acknowledgments and individual in its interpretations. That his emphasis on institutions, politics, economics, and finance has enabled him to present such a full account of the period appears to be due less to the intrinsic importance of those subjects than to the place they occupy in the sources. In other words, the success of the volume derives in the final analysis from Lamouroux's constant attentiveness to the nature of the surviving sources. In his chapter on the exchange economy, for example, he reminds the reader that "the economic dynamism of the Song is accessible to us only through the prism of the administrative apparatus, especially when our purpose is to quantify it or to situate it geographically. What is revealed to us first and foremost is the bureaucratic assessment of those activities" (p. 374). This thorough understanding of the textual traditions of the Song as they have been transmitted to the present is evident not only in Lamouroux's treatment of institutional history and fiscal policy, but also in his discussion of topics that he has not treated at length in previous publications, such as the history of the

Learning of the Way and the religious organisation of local society.[1] Even in passages that rely substantially on the scholarship of others, one discerns in the background Lamouroux's own understanding of the conventions of the sources. This bringing together of primary sources and secondary literature will be evident to readers who consult the footnotes, as they will repeatedly discover a reference to a primary text where they had expected to find a citation of a secondary source.

To my knowledge, Christian Lamouroux is only the third scholar to have published, in a European language, a history of the Song dynasty for a general audience. Among the predecessors of *La Dynastie des Song*, Jacques Gernet's *La Vie quotidienne en Chine à la veille de l'invasion mongole, 1250-1276* (1959; published in English in 1962 as *Daily life in China: on the eve of the Mongol invasion, 1250-1276*) and Dieter Kuhn's *Age of Confucian Rule: The Song Transformation of China* (2009) are still in print; Dieter Kuhn's *Die Song Dynastie (960 bis 1279): Eine neue Gesellschaft im Spiegel ihrer Kultur* (1987) is not. Lamouroux demands more of his readers than do Gernet and Kuhn, but he repays their close attention with elegant prose, nuanced argument, and comprehensive treatment. The comprehensiveness and seriousness of *La Dynastie des Song* in fact make it more akin to the two volumes on the Song dynasty in the Cambridge History of China series (a series originally also intended for a general readership) than to the books by Gernet and Kuhn. Published as a trade book in a ten-volume series, *La Dynastie des Song* is at the same time an accessible historical account and a valuable reference work. An elegant summation of Christian Lamouroux's thorough, original scholarship, the book makes many valuable contributions to the scholarly literature on the Song dynasty.

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[1] The analysis of the sources in *La Dynastie des Song* is not entirely without error. Some episodes in Song history that Lamouroux accepts as factual Charles Hartman has recently exposed as fictions manufactured by Song literati, such as Taizu's retirement of his generals "over a few cups of wine" in 961 (p. 52; Hartman 2020, pp. 296, 303-311) and Taizu's promotion of civil government (pp. 52, 54; Hartman 2020, pp. 89-90 *et passim*). Christian Lamouroux (2022) has published a laudatory review of Hartman's book in the journal *T'oung Pao*.

Journal of the European Association for Chinese Studies

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Agøy, Erling Hagen Cao

Historical Climate Change in the Jiāngnán Region in the Late Míng and Early Qīng periods (1600-1700): Perceptions, Effects and Adaptation

University of Oslo, February 2021

Abstract:

The Jiāngnán region of Eastern China saw a turn to colder climate from about 1600 to 1720. This dissertation approaches this topic from three perspectives: how the climate change was perceived, its historical effects and the efforts to counter it.

Climate events were seen as caused by various supernatural forces. Differences existed between what were seen as the causes of climate events in general (Heaven, qì and the Five Phases) and in specific cases (mythological creatures). Mostly climate events were not explained. Moral meteorology (human actions causing the weather) was theoretically accepted, though it was rarely referred to in concrete cases. Correlative thinking (connections between events in human society and in nature) caused climate events to be presented as omens for happenings in society, but they were rarely interpreted as omens in practice; though individual differences were present. On the other hand, there existed a tradition among the farmers of reading phenological signs to predict the weather. However, there were few indications that people had an awareness of climate change, even if they had a keen sense of climate history.

Deteriorating climate conditions increased the seriousness of rebellions. The fall and recovery in population was also related to climatic conditions. Also the economy was mostly negatively affected, including agriculture and industrial production, while many saw their lives changed and sometimes threatened by the weather conditions. Anti-disaster measures involved all levels of local society, and included both bureaucratic tax exemptions and local measures to provide food. Such efforts were gradually specialised over time, and they functioned best when all levels of society worked together. But the means taken included both the practical, the faith-based and the desperate. Some of them, together with how many thought the weather could be predicted, highlight an adaptation to life during climatically unstable times.

Bonch-Osmolovskaya, Olga

Confucian Exegetics in Ancient and Early Medieval China: Towards a Historical Typology of Confucian Commentary

St. Petersburg State University, June 2021

https://disser.spbu.ru/zashchita-uchenoj-stepeni-spbgu/428-bonch-osmolovskaya-olga-andreevna.html

Abstract:

This thesis is an attempt to systematically analyze Confucian commentary heritage in the historical and cultural context of the development of Confucian exegetical thought and Chinese traditional culture. The present thesis contains a source study of the peculiarities of the genesis and historical development of the main types of Confucian commentary, as well as key trends and principles of the dynamic development of Confucian exegesis in the Early Imperial and Early Medieval China. Based on source analysis and synchronous comparison of commentarial works, the thesis developed a historical typology of the forms of Confucian commentary. In the present thesis, by diachronic analysis of the process of the historical development of Confucian exegetical thought, its conceptual and terminological apparatus as well as the historical and cultural context of its existence, a periodization of the history of Confucian exegetical thought was developed. Several commentarial works, the historical context of their creation and biographical details about the compilers are systematically introduced.

Canale, Massimiliano

Desiderio e frustrazione nella lirica dei Song settentrionali

[Desire and Frustration in the Song Lyric of the Northern Song]

University of Naples "L'Orientale", October 2021

Abstract:

This research aims to provide a rereading of the *ci* 詞 song lyric of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) as a way of complementing the traditional narrative summarized in the motto "the song lyric expresses feelings" (*ci yan qing* 詞言情). I seek to achieve this goal by shedding light on a widespread inclination shown by many lyricists to voice tensions between subjective desire and objective reality, thus emphasizing the importance of contrasts between divergent values in their poetics. These critical speculations shall be placed within the cultural context of stigma existing at that time around a genre which originated from interactions with courtesans, raising the issue of the difficult interplay of ethics and aesthetics. My work focuses on three representative authors of the period, Yan Shu 晏殊 (991–1055), his son Yan Jidao 晏幾道 (1038?–1110?), and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072). I first concentrate on the conflict between orthodox morality and individual freedom often emerging in the song lyric production by eleventh-century literati. In order to do so, I will explore some contradictions between the austere public image which was generally expected from members of the Confucian elite and the world of private pleasures where their lyrics were produced, touching on such matters as the problem of the reputation of the song lyric, the defamatory potential of erotic songs and other factors that possibly led conservatives to condemn this form as immoral. I then turn my attention to the analysis of the three authors' collections, emphasizing the central role played therein by representations of tensions between human will and social or natural necessity. On this basis, I intend to offer a reconsideration of our lyricists' work as one mostly concerned not just with desire at large but more specifically with the aspect of its frustration, as it appears from the predominance of compositions expressing dissatisfaction in its various forms—usually romantic or existential. In sum, I propose a re-evaluation of the song lyric as a means for lamenting the unavailability of pleasure and portraying the complexity of people's relationships with society, nature and, ultimately, reality.

Christ, Stefan

Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft im Mogu des Wei Yuan (1794–1857)

[History, Politics, and Society in Wei Yuan's (1794-1857) *Mogu*]

Universität Hamburg, October 2021

Abstract:

This dissertation presents the first complete and annotated translation of the *Mogu* ("Silent Notes") into a European language. The author Wei Yuan is usually presented as an important thinker of a China on the edge of modernity, who especially influenced the later 19th century reformers. Thus the 30 chapters created from reading notes between roughly 1820 and 1855 that make up the *Mogu* not only provide a better understanding of Wei's own themes, arguments, and concepts, but are also an important source for Chinese intellectual history.

My analysis of the *Mogu* is guided by a complex understanding of modernity, derived from relevant theories in conceptual history and sociology. This enables me to come to a clearer understanding of the supposedly "modern" aspects of Weis's thinking. In particular, aspects of social differentiation, the roles of temporality and history, as well as the conceptions of knowledge, society, and politics are brought into focus.

The results show Wei as a thinker who, particularly in the first part of the *Mogu*, paints the picture of a hierarchically structured, meaningful order centred around heaven and the good "nature" of humans it ensures. At the same time, however, Wei's eye for dynamic change, historic contingencies, and functional logics continually erodes this order, which is particularly evident in the second part of the *Mogu*.

In this second part, Wei not only provides arguments for the necessity of specialised empirical knowledge in contrast to the absolute knowledge of the "sage," but also develops an understanding of the realm of politics based in large parts on functional interrelations, which carry him far away from the premises of the meaningful order. Thus, the centre stage is taken by "ability" instead of "virtue," while the emperor seemingly loses his special position as a mediator between heaven and earth. A further decentration takes place in the role of morality, which is relegated to serve as a means of self-discipline for functionaries. Wei's arguments on the economy underline the important role that the logics of functional differentiation play in parts of the *Mogu* — and it is precisely these logics that relate it to modernity.

However, there is no complete break with the meaningful order, as Wei's understanding of history makes clear. Although it can be shown that he tries to locate his present in the structures of historical change, he does not understand these structures as laws of history itself but derives them from the eternal order of heaven and the constitution of human nature. He observes individual steps of progress and demands to break free from the shackles of the past, but his arguments do not condense into a modern concept of progress.

Despite his many re-evaluations of important concepts and arguments, Wei was in many regards a traditional scholar committed to the Confucian classics. The relevance of his thought as shown by the *Mogu* does not lie in any major breakthrough but in the many small departures and decentrations in which the breaking points of the old order become visible.

Crowe, Anca

Early Childhood Education in China: A comparative approach to values and citizenship education in public and private kindergartens in Shanghai

King's College London, November 2021

Abstract:

This dissertation looks at how the interplay between local and global forces has been shaping early childhood education (ECE) in China since the 2010 Education Reform, how and why the dominant discourse has become increasingly keen on promoting values and citizenship education after the 19th National Congress, and whether its strategy has been effective in disseminating the core socialist values in public and private kindergartens. My focus is on analysing the dissemination and internalisation of moral education (labelled 'values and citizenship education') and the mainstream North American narratives of Halloween and Christmas in five public and private kindergartens in Shanghai, observed during the academic year 2017-2018. The analysis looks at the relationship between culture, values, and power within a thematic spatiality framework, where I apply a Centre-Periphery lens to position Beijing at the Centre (Space1), public kindergartens on the Space-in-Between (Space2), and private kindergartens on the Periphery (Space3) of the homogenising dominant discourse promoting moral education (*deyu* 德育). Moreover, I use the concepts of sovereign power and Foucauldian disciplinary power to understand the complex power dynamics shaping five elite preschools in Shanghai and the extent to which socialist morality has been successfully inculcated.

I rely on a multitude of data sources, from direct observation of festival celebrations in preschools, interviews with ECE officials, experts, and kindergarten staff and parent questionnaires to key ECE legislation and kindergarten social media accounts and curricula. To assess the power dynamics between local forces promoting the 'cultivation of socialist builders' and global ones I tackled the kindergartens' Spring Festival and China's National Day narratives, on one hand, and Christmas and Halloween-related ones, on the other, as well as looked at the attitudes and behaviour of a multitude of actors, from local education officials to preschool principals, teachers, parents and children.

My findings indicate that, starting with the 2010 Education Reform but gaining more impetus after the 19th National Congress, Space1, working through local education bureaus and local CCP branches, has increased its efforts of nationalising kindergarten education. The Centre thus aims for ECE curricula to contain a moral education core and disseminate a discourse that would ensure the Party's survival through the nurturing of new generations of loyal citizens, sharing the same vision of 'Chineseness.' Based on the narratives promoted on their social media posts, both elite public kindergartens and private bilingual English-Mandarin ones are conforming with this directive. I also showed that Space2 is shaped by both sovereign and disciplinary power and that both staff and parents behave as 'obedient bodies' (Foucault 1991), fully aligned with the official rhetoric's push for moral education. In Space3 the parents and native English teachers are resisting and negotiating with the Centre, retaining the agency to influence educational content by disseminating American narratives of Halloween and Christmas in the classroom, but exercise self-censorship in public, for example by aligning with the patriotic dominant discourse on social media.

Dalen, Kristin

Chinese Views on Welfare – Social Policy and Political Support

University of Bergen, June 2021

https://www.uib.no/en/sampol/145558/trial-lecture-and-public-defence-kristin-dalen

Abstract:

Remarkable long-term economic performance has long been a pillar of legitimacy in China. However, although most Chinese experienced better living conditions than at any previous point in the country's history and were optimistic about their future prospects at the beginning of the 21st century, the negative side-effects of economic growth, such as widening socio-economic inequality and unequal life chances raised serious concerns among elites, academics and government officials. Perceptions of social injustice and an uneven and unfair developmental policy were considered serious threats to popular legitimacy, and the focus of development widened from unbridled economic growth to include the greater well-being of the majority of the population. Important welfare schemes were reformed and expanded to include population groups previously left without access or entitlement to basic social security, such as health insurance and pensions. Enabled by generous fiscal budgets and clear political goals, the administration of Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao (2003–13) established a new Chinese welfare system in an effort to establish social stability and popular legitimacy. This dissertation explores through analytical tools and empirical evidence how social policy outcomes can be associated with political support. It examines the salience of performance in popular support of government at central and local levels, and whether politically relevant attitudes among Chinese citizens changed in ways favourable to upholding social stability and popular legitimacy during the 'golden age' of the expansion of Chinese social policy. Empirical analysis in this study are based on three nationally representative perception surveys implemented in 2004 (N=3640), 2009 (N=2968) and 2014 (N=2507), providing new, comprehensive data, enabling in-depth study of developments and long-term trends.

The research shows that social-policy outcomes and socio-economic performance are important aspects in people's evaluations of both central and local governments in China. A preference for government provision of social services increased substantially across the population during the period of Chinese social-policy expansion. This was particularly true among population groups that previously experienced low coverage in basic welfare schemes, such as rural populations and rural-to-urban migrants. A principal finding is that traditional divides in Chinese society, such as urban-rural household registration (*hukou*), gradually lost strength as predictors of welfare attitudes over the ten-year period covered by my analysis. From being the strongest predictor of attitudes in 2004, hukou-status no longer significantly predicted such attitudes in 2014. The weakening of traditional social divides as predictors of attitudes may indicate that China is moving away from a fragmented society with traditional Chinese characteristics towards a society where attitudinal patterns are structured along social cleavages based on interests and ideas.

The findings presented in this dissertation imply that the implementation of a broader and more inclusive welfare system may contribute to popular political support and legitimacy of government though mitigating the negative side-effects of economic growth, traditionally seen as a principal component of performance legitimacy. The research contributes to literature within the emerging field of Chinese welfare attitude studies and to more established research on political support and legitimacy.

Dang, Xiayin

The Use of the Sublime, the Rise of the Self: Discursive Practice of Zhang Chengzhi's "Sublime Writing"

Abstract:

This dissertation examines the contemporary Chinese Muslim writer Zhang Chengzhi's writing cosmos of the sublime. The sublime, for Zhang, progresses concomitantly with aesthetic taste and literary style as writing practice, living style as daily practice, and individual/collective identity in practices inside and outside of text. In other words, the dissertation discusses the production of meanings and uses of the term "sublime". In order to clarify the discourse of the sublime, I examine texts by Zhang, paratexts about Zhang and context related to disputes of the sublime. Such an admixture is significant for investigating the rich and varied range of meanings of the sublime. Especially, the two-dimensional conceptualization (the static sublime and the practical sublime) provides a new approach to Zhang's textual practice. Likewise, the dissertation traces how the sublime has been interpreted (sublime, de-sublime or anti-sublime) in their discursive strategies by contemporary Chinese writers and intellectuals since the foundation of People's Republic of China. This review provides a vital way of viewing the similarities and differences between Zhang and his peers, and of exploring how Zhang's identity is constructed both by himself and within such a context. Additionally, the dissertation deals with interactions and tension between author and reader both inside and outside of text with influences of media. The coherence and divergence between the author, his readership and the media, make the meaning-production of the sublime much clearer.

The sublime counteracts the materialism and consumerism in post-Mao society as some critics note; as such, it reflects how writers and intellectuals—taking Zhang as a typical example in this dissertation—deal with an identity crisis within the context of globalization and marginalization of the ethnic minorities and Jahryyia. Therefore, the dissertation proposes four functions of the sublime: Sublime as nostalgia: a psychological response to the disillusionment of utopia in the new era of post-revolution; Sublime as quasi-propaganda: literary response to the marginalization of Jahriyya Muslims; Sublime as distinction: aesthetic, rhetorical and moral response to the condition of consumerist culture; Anti-/De-sublime as anti-essentialism: deconstructive strategic response to the essentialist perception of the sublime. The dissertation thus sheds new light on Zhang's writing of the sublime with the larger aim of showing how the sublime is used to construct a self by means of self-discovery, contradiction, alienation, and self-transcendence as response to the crisis of identity and meaning.

Gu, Shuangshuang

La traduzione del Liaozhai zhiyi di Ludovico Nicola di Giura

[Ludovico di Giura's translation of *Liaozhai zhiyi*]

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, August 2021

http://dspace.unive.it/handle/10579/20588

Abstract:

Ludovico di Giura's translation of the *Liaozhai zhiyi* in Italian, published in 1955, has been the first and the most complete translation in Western languages. Ludovico di Giura arrived in China as a military doctor and a diplomat at the Italian legation of Beijing in 1900 and remained in China for almost three decades. His first Italian translation of 99 stories from the *Liaozhai zhiyi* was published in 1926. In the following years he also published translations from the *Lunyu* and *Honglongmeng*, and of Chinese poetry.

This dissertation is the first study of Ludovico di Giura's translation of the *Liaozhai zhiyi*. Adopting the methodology of translation studies, and especially Holmes' "Product-oriented DTS" and Bassnett and Lefevere's "Cultural Translation Theory", it investigates the genesis of the integral translation of the *Liaozhai zhiyi* in Italian language and of the translation's strategies adopted by Di Giura in his work, with special reference to the notion of "functional equivalence".

Guan, Zexu

Selling beauty in Digital China: Gender, Platform, and Economy

Abstract:

The last two decades have witnessed a drastic change of how Chinese women see cosmetics in everyday life, and beauty blogs play an important role to accelerate the process of change. At the beginning of the 21ˢ century, applying makeup was often associated with moral corruption; however, wearing makeup became a taken-for-granted lifestyle for Chinese women at the end of the 2010s, especially in the digital space of beauty blogs. This dissertation focuses on the flourishment of beauty blogs and takes it as a key case to understand China's societal restructuring and women's role in the restructuring.

This research problematizes the rapid growth of beauty blogs, investigating how this process has been shaped and accelerated in the broader context of China's social transformation. It collects data from four-year online participant observation, in-depth interviews with 38 informants, three field trips to beauty expos in China, and secondary literature.

Based on the empirical data, this research offers an integral analysis frame, including dimensions of gender norms, platformitized cultural production, and the political economy of the cosmetic industry. From the perspective of gender norms, beauty blogs inherited discourses of consumerist feminism and neoliberalism, which became increasingly influential in the reform era. By emphasizing the effect of "aesthetic labor", beauty bloggers encouraged women to monitor their bodies and perform proper femininities, boosting the return of binary gender norms and deepening the aesthetic gap between diverse classes. From the perspective of platform evolution, the proliferation of beauty blogs was a crucial step of platform expansion. For social media platforms, beauty bloggers became an essential channel to keep female users and big data. In social media's campaigns, beauty bloggers were branded as self-made entrepreneurs who can harvest overnight fame and fortune through voluntary content production, mobilizing more users to produce content and data. From the perspective of political economy, the prevalence of beauty blogs is not a China-only phenomenon. The global popularity of beauty accounts on diverse social media comes from the fact that the cosmetic industry spends considerable marketing fees on beauty accounts worldwide, making a material foundation for the increase of beauty blogs. The global marketing of the cosmetic industry does not cancel local characteristics of Chinese beauty blogs. In China's specific commercial environment, where distribution networks of beauty products were poorly and unevenly developed, e-commerce platforms like Alibaba and JD rushed into the beauty race and crazily promoted the retailing of beauty products through beauty blogs. Behind Chinese beauty blogs is the explosion of the beauty market in the past two decades.

This research reveals that beauty is a social institution nurtured by diverse actors under capitalism. As an embodiment of gender norms, beauty is sold by entrepreneurial beauty bloggers; as a mechanism of cultural production, it is promoted by social media platforms; as a business model, it is advocated by cosmetic brands and e-commerce platforms. This research concentrates on small things like lipsticks and eyeshadows, but it rejects consumption of such things as personal choices or individual lifestyles. Ultimately, the rise of beauty blogging tells stories of China's economic and societal restructuring through new media and Chinese women being unlikely to stay away from beauty in the capitalism-led "beautiful" environment.

Lee, Wang-han

Le décor urbain en Chine moderne (1901-1937) : l'expérimentation des expressions plastiques et l'expérience des modernités visuelles

[The Street Furniture in Modern China (1901-1937): Experiment of Plastic Expressions and Experiences of Visual Modernities]

École des hautes études en sciences sociales, December 2021

https://www.theses.fr/2021EHES0117

Abstract:

This dissertation aims to explore a new genre of product installed in urban space from the late imperial China: the street furniture. Which means the objects located in the city that have an aesthetic meaning or function, such as the monument, the street light or the signage. These objects constitute a considerable aspect of modern life for the Chinese and change their perception about urban space, but have been ignored in Chinese history for a long time.

This research is actually based on two main approaches, one historical and the other aesthetic. The first emphasizes the significance of the modern era in Chinese history, particularly the period between 1901 and 1937. During this period, the most important mission for the Chinese was to seek modernization of the state. This trend has brought immense influence to Chinese society, including street furniture. Therefore, it is logical and necessary to take modernization and its influence on the street furniture as our first point of analysis.

Subsequently, this approach brings us to our second argument: the plastic and aesthetic expression of street furniture. Despite the fact that most street furnitures are not created for aesthetic reason, they stimulate people's sense, especially the visual perception, and provoke their sense of beauty to a certain extent. In this regard, a point of view based on research in art and aesthetics becomes significant in this dissertation.

By means of this conceptual framework and methodology appropriate for it, we will have chance to observe the less visible facets hidden in the metanarrative of history, and possibly establish a new approach leading us rethink the aesthetic ideology, the visual culture, and the urban life of modern China.

Lepadat, Carmen

Not just Postposed Topics. An integrated pragmatic account of the sentence-final slot in Spoken Mandarin Chinese

Sapienza University of Rome, September 2021

https://iris.uniroma1.it/handle/11573/1568122

Abstract:

Topics occurring in sentence-final position have fascinated linguists over the past few decades, and many proposals have been put forth to account for their frequent occurrence in spoken language. Nevertheless, no unified account of the different types of linguistic elements characterizing Mandarin right periphery has been proposed, nor has the interaction between these elements been duly explored.

The present dissertation has a three-fold objective: i) provide a corpus-driven outline of the expressions naturally occurring at the right periphery; ii) identify and describe their pragmatic functions in terms of information structure, discourse organization and interpersonal relationship management; iii) explore their intersection and interaction with other overtly marked dimensions of (inter)subjectivity.

The novelty of this thesis consists in i) the holistic approach to the Mandarin utterance right periphery; iii) the adoption of both theoretical-based and corpus-driven categories to explore the relationship between right-peripheral elements and context-dependent features; ii) the employment of exploratory data analysis and data-manipulation methods recently adopted in cognitive and usage-based linguistics studies (e.g. Tantucci & Wang, 2018) such as conditional inference trees (Tagliamonte & Baayen, 2012). Among the results of this study, the gender-based usage of (subjective) right-peripheral expressions is previously unaccounted for in the literature; others, including the strong bias of the right periphery towards the expression of interpersonal meanings, not necessarily in terms of the inherent semantics of the sentence-final expressions but rather in terms of the functions performed, as well as the illocutional complexity revolving around evaluation, confirm hypotheses from previous literature.

Li, Gang

The Hui Muslims' Identity Negotiations: A Socio-Legal Investigation into the Relations between the Sharīʿa and the Chinese Legal Systems

Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg & University of Groningen, June 2021

urn:nbn:de:bvb:29-opus4-170503 & https://doi.org/10.33612/diss.170345681

Abstract:

This dissertation is a historical investigation into the relations between the Sharīʿa and the pre-communist Chinese legal systems, and it asks how these two normative traditions contribute to the construction of the Chinese Hui Muslims' dual-identity of being Muslim and Chinese. It aims to explore what are the possible major causes of the tensions for the Hui Muslims to become Chinese without losing their Muslim identification both in the imperial and modern Chinese socio-legal contexts before 1949. In this regard, the thesis also provides three case studies on Ḥajj, education, and marriage that cover the religious, moral, and legal aspects of the Sharīʿa so as to examine how the tensions are presented, negotiated, and tackled by the Hui Muslims since Islam came to China, particularly during the Republican period. As a historical examination of the socio-political process of the construction of the Hui Muslims' dual-identity, the dissertation analyses a range of historical Chinese texts through the insights of hermeneutics, including, but not limited to, imperial Chinese legal documents, classical Chinese Confucian works, and various texts produced by the Hui Muslims themselves. This is also complemented by short-term fieldwork studies in several Muslim communities in the western and southwestern parts of China.

Luhn, Clara

Von Briefen und Kompilatoren: Zur Einbindung von Texten des Genres shu in Geschichtswerken, im Wen xuan und im Yiwen leiju

[Of letters and compilers: On the inclusion of texts of the *shu* genre in historical works, in the *Wen xuan,* and in the *Yiwen leiju*]

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, February 2021

Abstract:

Who is it that influences how a reader understands a text after its author has passed it on? And how can such influence be determined? My study provides an answer to these questions based on a compilation of 22 short prose texts written between the 1st century BC and the 6th century CE. Under the genre designation *shu* 書, these texts were selected by a group of compilers headed by Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531 AD), crown prince of the Liang dynasty, as the best and most valuable epistolary texts that Chinese literature had produced since its beginnings. Their anthology, known today as *Wen xuan* 文選 (Selections of Literature), has passed the letters, along with a variety of texts in other genres, down to the present, reaching audiences in the tens of thousands, perhaps even in the millions, over time.

My analysis is guided by ideas of reception theory, which focusses on readers and their perception of texts. Specifically, it is concerned with the vehicles by which texts are transported over time and those individuals who were responsible for those vehicles.

The three chapters examine three different genres each, in which primary sources such as letters are interpreted and processed by different compilers: Historiographical works, anthologies, and category books (*leishu* 類書). Each chapter begins by introducing the literary genre in question, paying particular attention to the motivations of the individuals who undertook the compilation of the work and the various decisions they took in compiling it. Subsequently, each chapter uses selected examples to examine how the compilers' motivations and their decisions influenced their inclusion of primary texts. The analysis begins with letters in the *Han shu* 漢書 and concludes with letters in the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚, thus covering epistolary readings from the period of the Later Han Dynasty (25-220 CE) to the early phase of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 CE).

The aim of the study is fourfold: It aims, first, to demonstrate how compilers delineated the genre of *shu* for their own purposes, and second, to show how they employed the means typical of their own genre. Third, the case studies shed light on how compilers understood selected epistolary texts. Thus, attention is first given to questions of literary history and genre theory. More broadly, however, the question is one of transmission history. For the compilers did not only record the texts in their historical and collected works as well as, partly unintentionally, their own interpretations of these texts by the way they presented them. Rather, their compilations significantly influenced the reception of the individual texts by later readers. A fourth objective of the study is therefore the question of how surviving source material is to be evaluated in the context of sinological research.

The dissertation has been published in April 2022 as a monograph in the series "Lun Wen - Studien zur Geistesgeschichte und Literatur in China" by Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden (ISBN 978-3-447-11819-4).

Martins, João

Mitos Chineses de Origem: Envolvências Filosóficas e Perspetivas Contrastivas

[Chinese Creation Myths: Philosophical Influences and Comparative Perspectives]

University of Minho, January 2021

http://repositorium.sdum.uminho.pt/handle/1822/77238?locale=en

Abstract:

This thesis proposes an investigation in the scientific area of cultural sciences, since it aims, through an analytical and critical spirit, to understand the diversity of cultural practices and discourse associated with creation myths. This paper, which is divided into five chapters, seeks to deepen the study of mythical narratives, trying to develop a more comprehensive understanding of Chinese worldview while providing a better perspective about the myth itself and its ability to connect with the human psyche. It is a contribution to the strengthening of Portuguese-Chinese relations, since it is, above all, an attempt to investigate the beginnings of civilisations as highly creative and convergent points of the human mind. Here, perhaps, lays the reason that most decisively determined the development of this work: the epistemic relevance of understanding the diversity of practices and the richness of the cultural discourse associated to myths of origin. Taking this possibility into account, it intends to carefully and critically analyse and interpret a selected set of Chinese myths of origin and identify, in their structures, through comparisons with other narratives of the genre, a series of revealing details not only of possible contacts and exchanges between peoples, as well as, and perhaps above all, of remnants of a single human thought. In other words, presenting as a final desideratum the construction of a communicational bridge between China and the West/Portugal in order to break down barriers and promote conscious dialogues between cultures with very specific characteristics, this research will also aim to identify, as a whole, the constant human need for an eternal return to origins. Bearing this in mind, it initially addresses the evolution of the humankind in three main components: culture, language and religion. It then analyses mythical thinking, offering brief reflections on the concept of myth and variation of its understanding throughout history. Acknowledging that human thought has a collective character, almost as if there was a universal grammar of human thought, the paper later presents Girard's theories of mimetic violence and Jung's archetypes as starting points for a deeper interpretation of the reported mythical episodes. Finally, and after a demarcation of the Chinese mythological system, we proceed to comment and analyse them, namely those regarding the genesis of the world, the creation of human beings, the destruction of the world by the flood, the origin of agriculture and the destruction of the world by the sun. The critique of these narratives, through Girard's and Jung's theories, allows us to lay down some points of convergence between Chinese mythical narratives and their Western counterparts. In short, this work seeks to answer the need for a better understanding of structuring aspects of Chinese culture and its influence up to the present, as the myth certainly is, without forgetting the universality that this type of phenomenon shares across the globe.

Moshchenko, Irina

Трансформация традиционных концептов в творчестве Чжан Айлин (1920-1995)

[Transformation of Traditional Concepts in the Work of Zhang Ailing (1920-1995)]

Abstract:

This research presents a study designed to analyse the fictional concepts of "love" and "home-family" in the early works of Zhang Ailing.

1) Fictional concept "love": The research reveals conceptual binary oppositions which are formed around the core of the concept of love that is: *ai* (爱), *qing* (情) and *lian* (恋). The oppositions are the following: absurdity — conciseness; frivolous/pretense — serious/sincerity; material — spiritual/sacred; isolation — openness; selfishness — generosity; cowardice — courage; overseas — traditional. This ambiguity of the concept is the key to understanding how early works of Zhang Ailing differs from the previous literature tradition, which understands love as a supreme good.

The research shows the transformation of the concept of love in the early work of Zhang Ailing. The writer confronts the tradition, she tries to destroy the romantic-sentimental attitude to love that was formed in Chinese literature in the first decades of the twentieth century. Breaking with the conventional image of "love above all" (恋爱之上), Zhang Ailing begins to build up her own world of love. She starts from the denying of romantic love and attachment, and only then tries to fit love into the social structure, to turn ordinary love into a social value equal to success in work, financial well-being, etc.

2) Fictional concept "home-family": The core of the "home-family" concept is represented by character jia (家), which has two separated meanings: "home", that is the place where one lives or a household, and "family", that is relatives, connections, clan, tribe, etc.

The Confucian idea of a patrilineal, hierarchical, patriarchal system, and the family as the basis of the world order were reassessed at the beginning of the 20th century. Participants of the May 4th movement severely criticized the old family system. In the works of "new women" writers Bing Xin and Ding Ling, the new semantic content of the concept "home-family" appears: the image of an ideal home in Bing Xin's works transforms into Ding Ling's fictional home of the childhood memories and finally becomes a terrible, hideous home of the fictional world of Zhang Ailing. The original positive characteristics of Bing Xin's "home-family" concept that is purity (干净), modernity (摩登) and correctness (好人) in Zhang Ailing's short stories become sterility, mindless copying and lack of sincerity.

Zhang Ailing's "home-family" concept presents a structure that is skewed to the one side. There is only one binary opposition ("warm" – "cold") that is represented in the texts. All other meanings of the concept are marked negatively. Even if there is a pair of words that have opposite meanings, they complement each other rather than oppose each other. Combined together, the meanings of the "home-family" concept construct a hopeless, terrifying family image, which consists of obsession, illusory, fixation, instability, disappointment, indifference, moral injury, sacrifice, burden, fatigue, crampedness, emptiness, senseless.

Moskalev, Petr

Overseas Chinese in the History of Thailand and Vietnam in the 20th – Beginning of the 21st Centuries

St. Petersburg State University, June 2021

https://disser.spbu.ru/zashchita-uchenoj-stepeni-spbgu/464-moskalev-petr-eduardovich.html

Abstract:

The dissertation is dedicated to the comparative historical analysis of the processes of development of the Chinese immigrant communities in the territories of Vietnam and Thailand 4 from the beginning of the 20th to the beginning of the 21st centuries. The problem, with which this research paper deals with is, firstly, to provide an objective and accurate comparative historical description of the specific characteristics of the position of overseas Chinese in Thailand and Vietnam during the outlined historical period. Secondly, to provide an answer to the question – which factors influenced the similarities and differences in the position of overseas Chinese in each of these countries.

Ogrizek, Marko

Osrednji filozofski pojmi v naukih Itōja Jinsaija: Primerjalna analiza konfucijanske etike

[The Central Philosophical Concepts in Itō Jinsai's Teachings: A Comparative Analysis of Confucian Ethics]

Univerza v Ljubljani, May 2021

Abstract:

In the dissertation I aim to analyze the central philosophical notions in the teachings of the Edo period Japanese Confucian scholar Itō Jinsai. This research is based upon the following research questions: How does Jinsai approach the selection and study of canonical Confucian texts, and how do his selection and methodological approach influence his interpretations? How do Jinsai's interpretations of central Confucian philosophical concepts compare to certain modern interpretations? In what way can such a comparison be productive for furthering the understanding and development of Confucian ethics?

The dissertation is made up of the following chapters: 1) Introduction; 2) Defining Methodological Frameworks; 3) Itō Jinsai and His Project; 4) Conceptual Analysis; 5) Itō Jinsai's Confucian Ethics; 6) Conclusion.

First I define the two methodological frameworks, upon which I have based my approaches to Jinsai's work. The first is the framework of East Asian Confucianisms, presented by Huang Chun-chieh, while the second is the methodological framework of comparative philosophy. I argue that, though there are certain problems that need to be considered, the two methods together form the best approach to the study of Jinsai's work.

In then observe and study Jinsai's project from different angles. I present Itō Jinsai as *Kogakuha* (The School of Ancient Learning); Jinsai's project as facilitating the dissolution of the Zhu Xi mode of thought; Jinsai's project as a philosophical lexicography; Jinsai as a Kyōto chōnin scholar; Jinsai as a radical Confucian; and Jinsai's project as centered on the practice of virtue.

I analyze the central philosophical notions of Jinsai's teachings, as they are presented in his most influential works, especially his most systematic and critical work, the *Gomō jigi*. I analyze the following notions in greater detail: the Way of Heaven, the Decree of Heaven, the Way, structural coherence, virtue, humaneness, appropriateness, ritual propriety and wisdom, the heart-mind, suchness or humanness, the heart-mind of the four sprouts, feelings, loyalty and trustworthiness, loyalty and reciprocity, sincerity, learning and the expedient.

I discuss the main characteristics of Jinsai's ethical teachings system. I show that while he might not have managed a proper return to the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, some of his solutions are specific and original. In his dedication to a vitalistic view of the universe and the everyday ethical life of the people, he at every turn emphasizes the living meaningful relationality and opposes the language and practices of quietism, which he saw in the teachings of Buddhism and Daoism.

In the conclusion I sum up the answers to my research questions. I show that Jinsai followed a radical ethical vision, presented by Confucius and Mencius, and did so in answer to the circumstances of his life and the intellectual currents of his time. In doing so he developed his relationality-based ethical teachings that can be constructively compared to modern interpretations of Confucian ethics. Such comparisons seem both productive and relevant to the present-day study of Confucian ethics.

Péronnet, Amandine

Le temple Pushou 普寿寺 et le projet « Trois-Plus-Un ». Nonnes et modes de production du bouddhisme contemporain en Chine continentale

[Pushou temple 普寿寺 and the "Three-Plus-One" project. Nuns and their production of contemporary Buddhism in mainland China]

Università degli Studi di Perugia & Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, March 2021

https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-03295955

Abstract:

Chinese Buddhism entered a "revival" era since the 1980s, an era that brings changes to religious life, distanciating itself from the past in a modernizing attempt, while maintaining a deep connection to tradition. Pushou temple (普寿寺), which opened in 1991 on mount Wutai in China, is caught in the middle of these metamorphosis processes. This model temple, the largest institution for Buddhist nuns in mainland China, also hosts an institute for Buddhist studies. It chose to specialize in areas such as monastic discipline, education, and philanthropy, and in doing so launched the "Three-Plus-One" project in 2006 in cooperation with Dacheng temple (大乘寺), the Bodhi Love Association (菩提爱心协会), and the Qingtai retirement home (清泰安养园). According to Rurui (如瑞), who designed the project and is currently the abbess of Pushou temple and head of the Institute for Buddhist studies, these three aspects are essential to monasticism, since cultivation is at the base of saṅgha education, education is an insurance on the future, and philanthropy a "skilful means". Making these features coexist can be seen as a strategy devised by Pushou temple to "produce" Buddhism according to the expectations of the monastic and lay communities, society, and the state. From an ethnographic perspective, this research examines how Buddhism is redefined within this particular temple of nuns, and aims at better understanding the movements of contemporary institutional Buddhism in the context of mainland China.

Qiao, Jiyan

Human Nature and Governance – Soulcraft and Statecraft in Eleventh Century China

Abstract:

This dissertation contributes to the reinvention of Chinese political history with a comprehensive account of Wang Anshi's 王安石 (1021-1086) political theory, touching also upon its practice, arguing that it was centered on transforming human nature with statist values against the mid-eleventh century humanist mainstream.

Intellectual historical studies of Wang Anshi over the past three decades have been focused on how he envisioned the relationship between government and society. Aiming to go beyond this, this study focuses on the "what" in Wang's learning, i.e., his writings on *daode* 道德 and *xingming* 性命 (literally, the way and its power, nature and destiny), most concentratedly found in volumes 63-70 of *Collected Writings of Mr. Linchuan* 臨川先生文集. Regarding this body of work in Wang's oeuvre, scholars like Yu Yingshi take them as being about moral self-cultivation in the Confucian tradition. Through close analysis of key concepts in context and differentiating rhetorical strategies from what was meant, I argue in chapter 2 that Wang's discussions of human nature were integral to his political thought on governance and that what he advanced as the gist of his learning was an anti-humanist soulcraft centered on using statist values to transform self-regarding humans into subjects who would unreflectively think in the interest of the state. It was cultivationist rather than self-cultivationist, as Wang designed a full procedure to firmly establish these values – otherwise foreign to humans in his view – into people's hearts through externally imposed behavioral regulations.

To see how this was so, I reconstructed the context against which Wang developed this theory in chapter 1: the humanist statecraft newly emerging in the aftermath of An Lushan rebellion (755-63) – literati self-governance that was first theorized by Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) in "Tracing the Way" (*yuan dao* 原道), and became the mainstream during the Jiayou and Zhiping periods (1056-1067), thanks mainly to Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 (1007-1072) leadership in the ancient prose movement. Troubled by the moral individualism and value pluralism inherent in the practice of writing ancient prose, Wang worked out his statecraft so as to restore the lost moral unity in the world.

After a contextualized reconstruction of Wang's political theory in the first two chapters, I turn to discussing its implementation in chapter 3. Taking the reform as mainly about the economic policies carried out during Shenzong's reign, most scholars think it had failed. The central topic of Wang's famous myriad-word letter to Renzong that later became his reform blueprint was, however, using government school education to make the kind of humans useful to the state. Given the severely declined imperial authority Shenzong inherited from the previous two reigns, to put this grand design into practice, it had to proceed step by step, including most importantly neutralizing anti-reformers, whose effective opposition lasted through the early twelfth century, even taking back control of the government between 1085 and 1093. It was only after 1104, when they had been made unable to obstruct the central government's agenda through blacklisting that this education as governance was able to be carried out across the state, as can be seen from the exponential growth in student numbers and the widespread building of schools.

In chapter 4, I seek to enrich our understanding of the discussions in the preceding chapters by presenting the discovery of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), one of Wang's foremost critics, on the nature of Wang Anshi's

statecraft that was made around the turn of the twelfth century. Using material from Su that has not been discussed in English, this is also to address anew the relationship between Wang Anshi and his main theoretical source Mencius. This relationship has been studied by many scholars, including Li Huarui, who in a recent book chapter argues that Mencius' political thought on humane governance guided the reform Wang architected. In chapter 2, I have begun proposing an alternative explanation based on Wang's own writings on human nature. Here, closely studying Su Shi's engagements with Mencius in his classical commentary project that was designed to oppose Wang Anshi's statecraft, I hope to show how Mencius, with his insight into human nature, provided the most important theoretical foundations for Wang's soulcraft.

In the Conclusion, I summarize main findings in the four chapters while situating Wang Anshi in the history of Chinese political thought, arguing that his soulcraft as statecraft went one step further than that of the so-called Legalists, who although similarly pursuing greater state power did not work on changing human nature.

Renninger, Philipp

Theoriebasierte Rechtsvergleichung – Vergleichungsbasierte Rechtstheorie. Am Beispiel des chinesischen und deutschsprachigen Öffentlichen Rechts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Sinomarxismus und Xi-Jinping-Denkens

[Theory-Based Comparative Law – Comparison-Based Legal Theory: By the Example of China and the German-Speaking World with a Special Focus on Sino-Marxism and Xi-Jinping-Thought]

University of Freiburg & University of Lucerne, August 2021

https://freidok.uni-freiburg.de/data/221328

Abstract:

My dissertation suggests a new method of comparative legal studies: "theory-based comparative law". Its innovative impetus lies in using middle-range theories as the tertium comparationis when comparing the law of different countries. These theories should expose a middle degree of abstraction and complexity (i.e., be neither too abstract nor too concrete) as well as a sufficient level of interculturality and interdisciplinarity (i.e., be applicable in various cultural-geographic and disciplinary contexts). Moreover, my dissertation develops a new methodology: "comparison-based legal theory".

My dissertation elaborates both the former concrete working technique and the latter general methods theory by the example of Mainland China in comparison to German-speaking Europe (particularly Germany and Switzerland), focusing on comparative public law. The following parts are especially relevant for China scholars:

Chapter A outlines the categorization of law and legal studies in Chinese academia. I highlight the internal division of legal studies into different subdisciplines (such as comparative law or legal theory) and fields (like public or private law) as well as its external differentiation from other disciplines (e.g., political science).

Chapter B explains the pitfalls of Sinocentrism and Self-orientalization, which some authors claim to be successful counterstrategies or necessary reactions to Eurocentrism and Orientalism.

Chapter C deep-dives into Sinomarxist legal theory and especially its newest element, "Xi Jinping Thought on the Rule of/by Law". I demonstrate that despite claiming a new era and suggesting some new concepts, Xi still follows the four basic pillar of juristic Sinomarxism: the subordination of the law under practice, actuality, politics, and the Communist Party.

Chapter D provides an overview of different notions of "theory" in Chinese legal discourse, ranging from ideology and grand theory to concrete doctrines.

Chapter E argues that among all those different types of theories, comparative lawyers should only use middle-range theories as their analytical basis. I mention numerous examples of middle-range theories develop inside of China or for the analysis of China. Theories that are of interest to comparative law might stem from ancient Chinese legal and political thought (e.g., Han Fei's legalist theory of three action modes fa, shi, and shu or the Confucianist theory of five relationships), from China-related political science (e.g., Jae Ho Chung's theory of Chinese local units' three function), or from other social sciences and humanities.

Chapter F shows that my new method of theory-based comparative law is compatible with the traditional and prevailing approaches to comparative law in China. Because Sinomarxist legal studies claim themselves to be normativist and theory-led, they cannot credibly refute my method as "idealistic", "Western", "Eurocentric", "Orientalist", "liberal", or "constitutionalist".

Rossi, Tommaso

Comparative analysis of Chinese FL didactics: an exploratory study into methodological approaches, teaching strategies and materials between Italy and France

Università Ca' Foscari & Université Grenoble-Alpes, March 2021

https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-03277778

Abstract:

Over the last few decades, Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) has become a prominent component in French and Italian educational contexts. This increasing trend is revealed by the huge number of universities, private institutions and, in recent times, secondary schools having activated CFL courses, probably in response to the growing interest in Asian studies by learners of all ages.

Despite quite extensive research has been conducted across Europe, data on CFL teaching approaches, methodologies and techniques in Italian educational circles are still far from being exhaustive. In the mainframe of this fragmentary scenery, our exploratory study intends to look through the various didactic perspectives to CFL, comparing the Italian and the French regulatory and methodological frameworks. The choice is mainly motivated by social and cultural contiguity of the two countries, the long experimentation conducted on the French side over didactic approaches and tools, and finally, by the typological proximity of learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds with regard to CFL.

Our analysis includes two different levels of education (academic education and secondary education) in the target countries and examines the various factors having impacted on the teaching and learning processes through a comparative approach. In particular the study intends to reveal the social and historical backgrounds which contributed to disciplinise and standardise CFL in France and Italy, analysing players and relationships involved in teaching-learning processes. Moreover, it aims at exploring the methodological approaches and perspectives developed for CFL teaching, highlighting divergences and analogies.

As for this last point, we first considered the major approaches overtly adopted for L2 teaching over the last century, then focused on those specifically adapted to CFL teaching and learning needs, such as character thresholds (SMIC, Bellassen), character-based model (字本位) and word-based model (词本位), speaking-writing separation/disjunction (Hoa, Allanic), communicative approach, action-oriented approach (Arslangul), unipolar method (Masini) and others.

All these methodological approaches have been analysed from two angles, a theoretical angle supported by psycholinguistic, motivational and acquisitional studies, a second more pragmatic angle which focused on the way reference textbooks (C'est du Chinois; Ni shuo ba; Le chinois…comme en Chine; Méthode d'Inititation à la Langue et à l'Ecriture Chinoises; Parliamo Cinese; Parla e scrivi in cinese; Il cinese per gli italiani, etc…) and teaching practice assimilated and integrated these approaches. A great contribution to this last section has been provided by class observation, surveys and questionnaires submitted to learners, and a case study conducted on web tools.

Sidorenko, Andrei

Chinese Socialist Realism's Value Guidances and Their Rethinking in Contemporary Chinese Fiction

St. Petersburg State University, September 2021

https://disser.spbu.ru/zashchita-uchenoj-stepeni-spbgu/447-sidorenko-andrej-yurevich.html

Abstract:

This study is intended to trace and characterize the rethinking of the value attitudes of socialist realism in the contemporary Chinese literature. Achieving the above goal implies the following tasks: 1) To characterize the theoretical foundations of the structural model of the stadial movement of the axiosphere of the Chinese literary process in the second half of the 20th century, based on the current developments of leading researchers; 2) To formulate the essence and outline the boundaries of applicability of the term "value guidance"; 3) To give the characteristic of the socialist realist characteristics of the Chinese literature of the period of seventeen years; 4) To show the place of historical and revolutionary themes in the works of Chinese socialist realism; 5) To conduct an analysis of the mechanisms of postulating value attitudes through the comprehension of historical and revolutionary themes in the works of Chinese socialist realism; 6) To describe the concept of "new historical prose" as one of the approaches to combining the works of the late 20th century, touching on historical and revolutionary themes, into a single macrotext; 7) To study the coverage of historical and revolutionary themes in significant works of the late 20th century.

Smithrosser, Elizabeth

"Good Wood on Crowdpleasers": Humour Publications in the Ming Wanli Period

University of Oxford, December 2021

https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:6e0a94a1-2481-443e-b846-78894490bb64

Abstract:

Joke and humour publications are a severely understudied area of the world of late-Ming book culture. Taking imprints from the Wanli reign period (1573–1620) as a starting point, this dissertation undertakes a preliminary investigation into late-Ming humour compilations. It looks at the publication of humour as a historical phenomenon, rather than from a literary standpoint, to see how this group of books fitted into the publishing and intellectual scene of their day. Towards this aim, the dissertation leans mostly upon the paratextual materials of humour publications, such as prefaces, titles and annotations. These were spaces in which compilers and publishers communed with their faceless, anticipated readership, and as such can be used to yield information about how these compilations were viewed on both sides. Experimenting by temporarily putting aside modern notions of the "joke" in favour of contemporaneous terms used by the publications themselves, the dissertation sketches the boundaries around a broader genre of "humour compilations", thereby reconstructing a genre of publications that were connected in the eyes of Ming publishers and readers, yet has been obscured by subsequent systems of categorisation. It spotlights the ambivalence that surrounded humour as an appropriate topic for publication and explores the measures taken by compilers and publishers to articulate their position and decision to publish such material nonetheless. Chapter 2 sheds light upon how this group of texts identified with and drew upon precedents from previous dynasties while developing its own set of traditions through an in-depth look at the Ming sequels to the Aizi 艾子 ("Master Ai") tradition of Warring States-themed humour, which originated in the Song period. It also outlines the place of these texts within the overall late imperial reception of the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Stratagems of the Warring States). A discussion on the "Dongpo vogue" in late-Ming publishing reveals the omnipresence of Song dynasty literatus Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) in Ming humour publications while simultaneously demonstrating how this group of texts reflected and interacted with the fashions and concerns of the times.

Sokolova, Anna

State, Bureaucracy, and the Formation of Regional Monastic Communities in Tang Buddhism

Ghent University, April 2021

https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/8703596

Abstract:

This dissertation explores the formation of monastic networks and the rise of monasticism in Tang Dynasty (618–907) provinces, focusing primarily on the traditions of Chan, Vinaya and Esotericism. The dissemination of these traditions is investigated in the context of the unprecedented dispersal of bureaucracy throughout the empire and the changing dynamics of interactions between the administrative and territorial center of the Tang state and the provinces in the second half of the eighth century. The long-standing system of temporary provincial and military appointments, the weakening of central government from the mid-eighth century onwards, purges and demotions due to the rapid rise and fall of rival political factions, and unceasing warfare all contributed to the unprecedented dispersal and circulation of the elite to all corners of the empire. Many of the bureaucrats who relocated to provinces following these various trajectories attempted to ingratiate themselves within their new localities by associating with local Buddhists and lending their support to local monasteries. As a result, state officials emerged as the key patrons, historiographers and biographers of regional monastics in the mid-eighth century China.

This dissertation consists of five case studies that explore the formation of provincial monastic-secular networks in the Tang Dynasty regions that correspond to the present-day provinces of Sichuan, Jiangxi, Henan, Anhui, Shaanxi, and Guangdong. This dissertation delves into a variety of sources concerning these regions such as stelae, *stūpa*, and bell inscriptions, mountain records, anecdotal collections, and local gazetteers that contain a wealth of data on individual monastics and their institutions. Based on these sources, this study demonstrates that state officials supported the formation of Buddhist "schools" and the construction of monastic lineages in these regions that were undertaken by local monks who tended to claim allegiance to certain prominent monastic figures. The increasing interaction between regional monastics and bureaucrats led to the consolidation of regional Buddhist communities, to the further expansion of their interregional and inter-monastic contacts, to the establishment of locally-based monks as new "patriarch" of the respective Buddhist traditions, and to the significant growth of monasticism in regional China.

Wan, Yunlu

Analysis of Michele Ruggieri's Contribution to the Dicionário Português-Chinês in the Ming Dynasty and the Compiling Features of the Dictionary

Ca' Foscari University, June 2021

http://dspace.unive.it/bitstream/handle/10579/20587/956396-1229838.pdf?sequence=2

Abstract:

When reviewing the history of cultural communication between Europe and China, it can be generally said that European missionaries served as cultural and linguistic ambassadors in China since the 15th century. Especially the Jesuits which have made great contribution to complete their evangelical mission and at the same time they have to master the Chinese in a short time in the face of many difficulties. First, they must solve the problem of entry permission, thus they made the acquaintance of several Chinese officials and finally received residence in China, during which they encountered so huge gaps between languages and cultures that they could not ignored. After some preliminary attempts, they decided to preach the Christianity in Chinese. Although it was a tough learning process, they succeeded in developing some effective study methods and then applied them into bi-lingual dictionaries editing (such as Portuguese-Chinese, Latin-Chinese, French-Chinese etc.).

Unconsciously their methods and practices have partially influenced the perfection of modern Chinese study in phonetics, word-building and lexical categories. The Dicionário Português-Chinês edited by Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci is the object of this research, which aims to investigate how new-word-building methods (especially Chinese loan words and compounds) were applied and how Chinese diversity (oral or written language, Mandarin or dialects, etc) represented in this dictionary. In this paper, all examples are analyzed as data in an integrated system in perspective of lexicography and linguistics, since dictionaries could be utilized as data carriers but also information transmitters. In addition to the statistical analysis, other methodologies such as comparative linguistics (feature-by-feature comparison), diagrammatic representation and dictionary criticism are used as well. Numbers of articles and papers have been published talking about the research value of this dictionary from different aspects such as linguistics, historical research, translation methods etc. However, only a few of them put emphasis on its lexicographical value. A few of them just mentioned some segmented elements of systematic dictionary research but lack in structure reconstructing. In order to study it in depth, after the introduction and the part of historical and linguistic background, the main part of the research will be organized as follows: clarifying lemma selection criteria while editing, analyzing some specific interpretation methods from Portuguese to Chinese (loan words, compounds etc.) of the Dictionary, and then criticizing and evaluating regard to main properties as a bilingual dictionary. It is expected that this dissertation can offer more textual data and inspire further research in the field of lexicography and bi-lingual dictionary research.

Xu, Guanmian

Pepper to sea cucumbers: Chinese gustatory revolution in global history, 900-1840

Leiden University, November 2021

https://scholarlypublications.universiteitleiden.nl/handle/1887/3239180

Abstract:

In this study, I aim to address a long-standing question in Southeast Asian historiography, namely: Why did two seemingly irrelevant edibles, pepper and sea cucumbers, feature so prominently in Southeast Asian exports to China in the early modern period? I approach this question through an intersection of Chinese cultural history and Asian maritime history. I argue that pepper and sea cucumbers represented two distinct Chinese food cultures, which became important in two different stages. Pepper became a popular hot spice in Chinese cuisine during the Mongol Yuan period, when the Mongol Conquest of China and Persia created a trans-Indian Ocean empire and facilitated the circulation of pepper from South India to China. Sea cucumbers became a coveted sea delicacy in Chinese high cuisine in a much later stage, roughly from the late sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, in association with the expansions of the Manchus, the Dutch, and the British in the areas around the China Seas. Between these two stages, there was a gustatory revolution energised by debates in Chinese medicine from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries. Through that revolution, a transformation from the world of pepper to the world of sea cucumbers took place.

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