SPEAK MNEMOSYNE

A Genetic Study of *Guanzhui bian*

In the Light of

Qian Zhongshu's Private Notebooks

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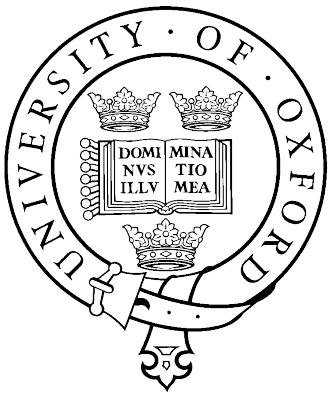

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first attempt to apply the tools of genetic criticism (*la critique génétique*) to a major work of Chinese literature, namely Qian Zhongshu's 錢鍾書 (1910–1998) *Guanzhui bian* 管錐編 (The Pipe and Awl Chapters, or Limited Views), an encyclopaedic masterpiece of literary criticism compiled during the late years of the Cultural Revolution. Each of the five chapters in the body of this thesis constitutes a different genetic approach to Qian's magnum opus. In the introduction, I situate genetic criticism in relation to the existing field of Chinese manuscript studies. In chapter one, I establish the scope of the "genetic dossier" for *Guanzhui bian*, which developed organically out of Qian's lifelong notetaking practices. This survey demonstrates how the structure of Qian's notes evolved in response to the political pressures of censorship and the practical demands of knowledge management. In chapter two, I investigate how the organisation of *Guanzhui bian* differs from that of the notebooks and reflects the cross-fertilisation of two contrasting models of encyclopaedism, which Qian employed to express the eloquence of the classical tradition at its most vulnerable moment in history. In chapter three, I conduct a distant reading of *Guanzhui bian* and the notebooks to demonstrate which of Qian's notes feature most comprehensively in his monumental work. To facilitate this statistical survey, I present an innovative methodology for chronologising Qian's notebooks. In chapter four, I adopt an exogenetic approach, tracing one thread of Qian's intellectual interests from the early notebooks, namely the dialectical obfuscations of Hegel and the *Laozi*, to its enshrinement at the heart of *Guanzhui bian*. Chapter five consists of a detailed endogenetic study of the draft for one essay from the published work. My conclusion evaluates the promise of applying genetic techniques to other works of modern Chinese literature.

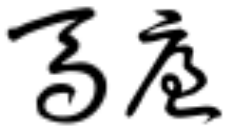
《遇鬼》：吾賃屋離錢鍾書之牛津故居不至兩百步，而隔時將近一百年，固然無三顧茅廬之緣。數月前一晚，少以杜康解憂，出門步月。經過錢家，依稀可見月下人影，抱筆記一歸，轉身向吾苦笑。吾酒未醒乎？吾書讀癡乎？抑或讀悟乎？逼前欲問，方識並非錢氏鬼魂夜訪其故居，而一名素昧平生之華僑學弟，眼鏡和髮型皆與錢氏酷似。失望之餘，歸宿戲作古絕一首，聊以寄懷。

錢君手稿飽蠹藏
萬牘壓案露雪忙

迷中悟此說憶法
評君管錐反天涯

自註:「 飽蠹樓」乃默存先生為牛津大學總圖 The Bodleian 所起之妙名音譯。反一字而含三義，蓋所謂「並行分訓之同時合訓」。讀此論可知其詳。擅註以吊胃口。掉書袋亦在所難免！復自哂也。

馬廉癸卯秋於牛津題



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ABBREVIATIONS

ZWBJ = Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, *Zhongwen biji* 中文筆記 (20 Vols.), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2010.

WWBJ = Qian Zhongshu, *Waiwen biji* 外文筆記 (48 Vols.), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2013–2018.

RAG = Qian Zhongshu, *Rong'an guan zhaji* 容安館札記 [3 Vols.], Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2003.

QJZ = Qian Zhongshu, *Qiju zhu* 起居注, Shixi youjin 視昔猶今 (Anon.) ed., *Taogeng huaigen shuwu* 桃梗槐根書屋: https://tghgsw.blogspot.com/2020/11/a.html

GZB = Qian Zhongshu, *Guanzhui bian* 管錐編, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979.[1]

CONVENTIONS

{} = Manuscript marginalia

< > = Manuscript interlineal addenda

~~Crossed out~~ = Legible manuscript erasure

~~XX~~ = Illegible manuscript erasure

[] = Editorial addition

[xxx] = Illegible manuscript text.

[1] Later editions, where relevant, will be cited in full.

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Introduction

THE FOOTSTEPS OF CRUSOE AND THE FOSSILS OF DARWIN

Establishing a Genetic Approach to *Guanzhui bian*

i.1: The Genesis of *Guanzhui bian*

In canto four of *Pale Fire*, "a poem in heroic couplets […] composed by John Francis Shade (born July 5, 1898, died July 21, 1959) during the last twenty days of his life,"[1] Vladimir Nabokov's (1899–1977) fictional poet compares two methods of composition: "A, the kind/ which goes on solely in the poet's mind" and "B, the other kind, much more decorous, when/ He's in his study writing with a pen."[2] Method A, Shade concludes, "is agony," while

> In method B the hand supports the thought,
> The abstract battle is concretely fought.
> The pen stops in mid-air, then swoops to bar
> A canceled sunset or restore a star,
> And thus it physically guides the phrase
> Towards faint daylight through the inky maze.[3]

Shade's sprightly couplets express a comfort that is familiar to us all: the reassuring materiality of our jottings and revisions, however illegible, disordered or incomplete, when we finally begin to commit our ideas to paper, or to the winking cursor on a bright screen. This ballast of

[1] Nabokov, *Pale Fire*, 11.
[2] Nabokov, *Pale Fire*, 55.
[3] Nabokov, *Pale Fire*, 55.

jettisoned words and retrieved material anchors us at a moment that is inevitably fraught with hopes and anxieties. First, we hope that by enshrining our thoughts in considered prose, or more rarely verse, we might discover them anew, gleaning fresh insights though the process of articulation; second, we hope that our images or ideas, hitherto inchoate, might now assume the necessary depth and clarity to reach and persuade a discerning reader, whether close at hand or in the abstract future. The attending anxieties only mirror our hopes; our ideas may be invalid, or our powers of expression insufficient; we may be read but misunderstood, or, perhaps most relevant to the fate of a DPhil thesis, we may never be read at all!

While these hopes and anxieties are shared by anyone who writes, or has ever written, for a prospective audience, lay or academic, they were all the more poignant for Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (z. Mocun 默存, h. Huaiju 槐聚, 1910–1998) when he came to compile his magnum opus, *Guanzhui bian* 管錐編 (The Pipe and Awl Chapters, or Limited Views[4]), during the final years of the Cultural Revolution; no less poignant, too, was the comfort that the scholar derived from Shade's choreography of mid-air pauses and pen swoops – his "method B."

The scion of a prominent literary clan from the culturally sophisticated Wu region, Qian belonged to the last generation of Chinese intellectuals to receive a rigorous education in the Chinese classics. Following an initial period of indolence, encouraged by a doting uncle, he displayed an irrepressible talent for memorisation, and an instinctive grasp of the subtle rhythms and lofty cadences of literary Chinese. Even as a teenager, Qian moonlighted as ghost-writer for his father, the renowned prose stylist and literary historian Qian Jibo 錢基博 (1887–

[4] *Limited Views* is the English title that Qian first suggested to Lu Wenhu 陸文虎, and was subsequently adopted by Ronald Egan for his selected translation (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1998).



Image i.1: Nabokov's "Method B." Photo taken in Ithaca, NY, 1958. Source: *Life* magazine.



Image i.2: Qian's "Method B." The scholar compiling notes at his home in Beijing during the 1980s. Source: *Duzhe* 讀者.

1957).[5] In tandem with this anachronistic education, the future scholar attended a modern local school, run by American Episcopalians, where he had ample opportunity to develop his precocious English. Four years in the foreign languages department at Tsinghua University, and a further three years studying abroad at Oxford and in Paris, taught Qian to write with near equal ease and elegance in both English and Chinese, while also laying the linguistic foundations for the study of other European literatures. This consummate versatility of language, style and subject pervades Qian's early scholarship and fiction. While fleeing the Japanese as a junior lecturer at makeshift academies across provincial China, and living, later, under the stifling conditions of occupied Shanghai, Qian produced an accomplished collection of cosmopolitan essays,[6] a diverse selection of fantastical stories,[7] a bitingly satirical novel of uncommon psychological depth,[8] and a forbiddingly erudite study of classical Chinese poetics, framed in the "remarks on poetry" (*shihua* 詩話) genre of traditional Chinese criticism, and informed by rich comparisons with European literatures.[9]

Qian's impressive output under the trying circumstances of the Republic boded well for a writer who, on the eve of New China, was just entering his intellectual prime. And yet for the next thirty years, his publications were limited to a paltry handful of articles,[10] and a modest, though meticulously executed, annotated edition of Song poetry.[11] The manuscript of Qian's

[5] In 1930, Qian *fils* famously wrote a preface on behalf of his father for Qian Mu's 錢穆 (1895–1990) *Guoxue gailun* 國學概論 (On Sinology).
[6] *Xie zai rensheng bian shang* 寫在人生邊上 [On the Margins of Life] (Shanghai: Mingshu dian, 1941).
[7] *Ren shou gui* 人獸鬼 [Man, Beast, Ghost] (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1946).
[8] *Wei cheng* 圍城 [Fortress Besieged] (Shanghai: Chenguang chuban gongsi, 1947). The literary critic C.T. Hsia judged *Wei cheng* "the most delightful and carefully wrought novel in modern Chinese literature […] perhaps also its greatest novel." Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*, 441.
[9] *Tan yi lu* 談藝錄 [On the Art of Poetry] (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1948).
[10] The only essays that Qian wrote to his satisfaction during these years were later collected in *Jiu wen si pian* 舊文四篇 [Four Old Pieces] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1979). For a full bibliography, see Chen Caizhi, "Qian Zhongshu xiansheng zhushu xinian, " 213–246.
[11] *Song shi xuan zhu* 宋詩選注 [Annotated Selections of Song Poetry] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1958). This work later found a broad audience, particularly in Japan, though Hu Shi's 胡適 (1891–1962) criticism was widely repeated. "He's deliberately chosen poems related to social problems. But the notes are

unfinished second novel was lost in the family move from Shanghai to Beijing,[12] where he was shunted from post to post at Peking University and Tsinghua while his institutional minders pondered how best to simultaneously muzzle and exploit his prodigious talents. The solution that they found (an appointment as the chief editor of Mao Zedong's selected works in translation) safely distracted him from independent scholarship for most of the 1950s.[13] Shortly after the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, Qian and his wife, the renowned playwright, novelist and scholar Yang Jiang 楊絳 (z. Jikang 季康, 1912-2015), were branded as "reactionary academics," and reassigned to janitorial duties while undergoing re-education in a "cow shed" (an improvised prison) at the Academy of Social Sciences. In 1969, the couple were summarily banished, together with many of their former colleagues, to a cadre school in Henan province, where Qian toiled as a rural postman and night-guard at a tool-shack.[14] It was during these troubled years that he conceived a plan for *Guanzhui bian,* an encyclopaedic investigation of premodern Chinese letters, to be presented in the unassuming *zhaji* 札記 (random notes) genre of classical criticism, and populated with the same restless observations from European literatures that had distinguished his early scholarship. With no access to

indeed written quite well. It is still worth reading." 他是故意選些有關社會問題的詩, 不過他的註確實寫得不錯。還是可以看看的。Hu Songping, *Hu Shizhi xiansheng wannian tanhua lu*, 21. In the foreword to the 1988 Hong Kong edition, Qian responded to Hu Shi's criticism, "This selection is rather unsatisfactory for several reasons. The poems that I thought I could select, I was often unable to include, and poems that I thought there was no need to select were included instead." 這部選本不很好；由於種種緣因，我以為可選的詩往往不能選進去，而我以為不必選的詩倒選進去了。Qian, *Songshi xuanzhu*, 478.

[12] The title of this novel, "Baihe xin 百合心" (The Heart of an Artichoke), is a translation of the common French expression for a sentimental romantic, "*avoir un coeur d'artichaut*." Qian later wrote, "If I had completed 'The Heart of an Artichoke' it would have been slightly better than *Fortress Besieged*. People who haven't followed through always have this kind of unwarranted faith; we not only imagine that the grapes beyond our reach are sour; we may also imagine them to be exceptionally sweet." 假如《百合心》寫得成，它會比《圍城》好一點。事情沒有做成的人老有這類根據不充分的信念；我們對採摘不到的葡萄，不但想像它酸，也很可能想像它是分外地甜。Qian, *Wei cheng*, 6.

[13] On his "membership form" for the "Chinese Writer's Association" in 1955 Qian writes, "From July 1950 until February of last year, I worked full time on the English translation of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, and so had no leisure for other activities." 自 1950 年 7 月起至去年（1954）2 月皆全部從事《毛澤東選集》英譯工作，故無暇顧及其他活動。See, Liu Jixing 劉繼興, "Qian Zhongshu ceng lingxian yingyi Mao Zedong zhuzuo 錢鍾書曾領銜英譯毛澤東著作." https://www.tsinghua.org.cn/info/1951/19457.htm, (Accessed, Sep. 24, 2024).

[14] The couple's experiences during the Cultural Revolution are chronicled in Yang Jiang, *Ganxiao liuji* 幹校六記 [Six Records from a Cadre School] (Hong Kong: Guang jiaojing chubanshe, 1981).

libraries, Qian prepared for this monumental study by reviewing his notebooks, which he had begun compiling as an undergraduate almost half a century earlier. After being recalled to Beijing in the spring of 1972, the embattled scholar suffered a near fatal asthma attack, leaving him temporarily paralysed and unable to talk. Though he made a full recovery, Qian was now hounded out of his former home, which had been requisitioned by a family of more robust revolutionary credentials; he and his wife instead sought shelter in a store cupboard at the Academy of Social Sciences. Here, fearing further persecution, and believing himself to be terminally ill, Qian channelled all his energies into completing his encyclopaedic masterpiece, "in a race with death."[15]

Qian's hope was to lend a voice to a literary tradition that was under existential threat. At the time of writing, the Confucian classics, and premodern Chinese literature in general, were widely dismissed as dangerously feudalistic and inimical to revolutionary progress. Libraries were ransacked and books were burned.[16] Beyond this immediate assault, however, lurked a more fundamental threat. In the wake of the revolutions and reforms of the twentieth century,

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[15] These are the words that Qian himself used to describe the composition of *Guanzhui bian*: "和死亡賽跑." Ma Rong, "Chu du *Guanzhui bian,*" 173. The numerous biographies and memoirs about Qian all leave much to be desired; literary biography is neither a well-honed nor respected genre of Chinese language scholarship. Qian, moreover, did his best to dissuade any inquiries into his personal life. The much-repeated vignette about how he cut short a telephone call from a foreign admirer of his novel demonstrates the ingenuity and good humour with which he kept the public, and the more intrusive press, at bay. "If you ate an egg and thought it wasn't bad, what need would there be to meet the hen that laid it?" 假如你吃了一個雞蛋覺得不錯，又何必要認識那個下蛋的母雞呢? Yang Jiang 楊絳, "Ji Qian Zhongshu yu Wei cheng," 391. Yang Jiang has expressed dissatisfaction with the only authorised biography of Qian's life, namely Tang Yan 湯晏, *Yidai caizi Qian Zhongshu* 一代才子錢鍾書 [Qian Zhongshu: The Talent of a Generation] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2005). *Faute de mieux*, this remains the most comprehensive overview of the scholar's education and career. An expanded edition, *Bei yayi de tiancai: Qian Zhongshu yu xiandai Zhongguo* 被壓抑的天才: 錢鍾書與現代中國 (Taipei: Chunshan chubanshe, 2020), vents the biographer's frustration at Qian's political fate, but includes no significant new research. For more concise accounts of Qian's life see the opening chapter in Theodore Huters, *Qian Zhongshu* (Boston: Twayne, 1982), the introduction to Egan trans., *Limited Views*, and Nathan K. Mao's afterword to *Fortress Besieged* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979). The richest source of information about Qian's private sphere is Yang Jiang, though the precise details of her late work, *Women sa* 我們仨 [The Three of Us] (Beijing: Sanlian, 2003), must be qualified as the memories of a nonagenarian writing decades after the fact.

[16] For a brief assessment of the institutional damage in the immediate wake of the Cultural Revolution, see Lee-Hsia Hsu Ting, "Chinese Libraries during and after the Cultural Revolution," *The Journal of Library History*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Spring, 1981): 417–434.

the social and educational structures necessary for students to develop a functional proficiency in literary Chinese had ceased to exist.[17] Linguistic reforms launched under the Republic were pursued with renewed vigour by the communist government, which continued to promote a standardised vernacular at the expense of the literary idiom, and introduced a creeping series of simplifications to the Chinese script. These changes drew successive generations away from a literary tradition that demanded not only the mastery of an arcane language, but also a ready familiarity with a large corpus of ancient texts. Qian was keenly aware that he was among a dwindling number of Chinese intellectuals capable of composing polished classical prose and qualified to pronounce on the full length and breadth of the premodern tradition. As such, he felt a personal responsibility to demonstrate the eloquence and enduring relevance of classical letters at the moment of their imminent eclipse. This sense of mission was allied with the recognition that he was also one of the few Chinese writers privileged with a comprehensive understanding of the major literatures of the Western canon, both classical and modern. Qian commanded, therefore, a solitary peak, with an expansive view of both his own rich tradition and the full panoply of European literatures. His prospective work aimed to mediate between these two vast panoramas; a comprehensive survey of ten major Chinese classics, beginning with the venerable *Yijing* 易經 (The Classic of Changes), and ending with the Qing dynasty compiled *Quan shang'gu sandai Qin Han sanguo liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (Complete Pre-Tang Prose), would serve as a loose structure within which to explore a kaleidoscopic array of themes, literary devices, etymological observations and quirks of history and human experience. The final manuscript would cite thousands works from across eight literatures, spanning over one thousand five hundred pages.

[17] After the May Fourth Movement, *jiaxue* 家學 (clan schools) were largely abandoned in favour of new curricula that better catered to China's perceived needs as a modern nation. For a succinct overview of this transition see, Barry C. Keenan, "Educational Reform and Politics in Early Republican China," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Feb., 1974): 225–237.

Qian's anxieties were less a result of personal insecurities than a direct consequence of the immense task that stood before him. Even as a high-school student, the future writer was notorious for the self-assurance of his critical judgements and the ostentatious pluck of his prose style. The composition of *Guanzhui bian*, however, demanded more than his habitual confidence and verbal wizardry; Qian's literary vision shared in the modernist yet timeless urge to say everything, "to write," in the words of Mark Lewis, "the world into a single text."[18] This impossible brief was further complicated by an awkward ideological position. Qian had witnessed, at close quarters, the destruction wrought by a rigid adherence to seductive yet unsustainable systems, most notably the Marxist-Leninist model of socio-economic development. This shattering experience convinced him that all systems, whether social or intellectual, are by definition limited. Any view, he tirelessly argues throughout his book, is necessarily a limited view, as it implicitly excludes the infinite possibilities inherent in other perspectives. The anxiety that haunts his masterpiece, therefore, springs from the tension between the encyclopaedic desire to articulate the whole, and knowledge of the impossibility, however rich one's experience and learning, of perceiving that whole, much less expressing it.

Qian's second anxiety is more familiar to us, namely that his book would not be read. Yang Jiang's draft translation of Don Quixote had already been confiscated by the Red Guards in the early years of the Cultural Revolution;[19] Qian naturally feared that the same fate might await his colossal manuscript. While his decision to write in literary Chinese, rather than the dominant vernacular, was motivated by the peculiar cultural aims of his work, his unique brand

[18] Lewis uses this expression to characterise the encyclopaedic scope of Warring States philosophical texts. "[…] 'cycles of leaning,' grand schemes that led the reader through an ordered, often hierarchical sequence including all essential knowledge." Lewis' insight is a competent definition of encyclopaedism, which is derived from the Greek words ἐγκύκλιος (*egkuklios,* meaning circular) and παιδεία (*paideia*, meaning education). Lewis, "Political History of the Warring States," 287.

[19] Yang Jiang later recovered possession of her manuscript, which was published in 1978.

of that idiom, characterised by prolific allusions, a deviously elastic syntax and studiously obscure vocabulary, was crafted to camouflage his project from prying eyes. Much of the social and political critique in *Guanzhui bian* is ventriloquised through abstruse debates in ancient philosophical and religious texts. Though "borrowing the past to admonish the present" (*jie gu feng jin* 借古諷今) was a hallowed convention of Chinese poets and writers, to fully apprehend Qian's intentions between the thousands of citations that populate his work is beyond all but the broadest and most industrious of scholars; indeed, Qian never condescends to his readers, trusting that the more curious among them will somehow find a way to follow him, beyond the censorious reach of an authoritarian regime, in his learned and often witty conversations with the writers of yore. Despite these precautions, when Qian completed a first draft in 1975, it was unclear whether his book would ever be published. It wasn't until 1977, after Mao Zedong's 毛澤東 (1893–1976) death, and the definitive end of the Cultural Revolution, that Qian secured a contract with the academic publishers Zhonghua Shuju.

Throughout these uncertain years, Qian drew comfort and inspiration from his personal archive of densely annotated notebooks. In selecting, reorganising and expanding these notes, he brought the "abstract battle" of his unprecedented encyclopaedic project into concrete focus. The hidden joys and frustrations of Qian's "method B" and the deliberate process by which he worked "towards faint daylight through the inky maze" will be the subject of this thesis.

i.2: Literature Review

On its publication in 1979, *Guanzhui bian* was greeted with the same chorus of terror-stricken praise that had met Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* and Nabokov's *Ada*. One of the first reviews,

penned by a junior colleague of Qian's at the Academy of Social Sciences, hailed the work as a cathartic victory over the recent iniquities of the "Gang of Four."

> 那時候，"四人幫"横行霸道，法西斯文化專制主義十分猖獗，扼殺學術，摧殘人材，不用說得到領導的支持、出版社能夠出版這本著作了，就連很普通的圖書資料都難得見 […]。
>
> While the "Gang of Four" was raging unchecked, and fascist cultural autocracy was at its fiercest, strangling scholarship and destroying talent, it would have been impossible to publish this book, much less obtain support for it from the leadership, as even normal books and materials were uncommon […].[20]

The structural complexity of *Guanzhui bian*, its tireless interest in word play, and staggering erudition openly invited not only awe, but also study. The first scholar to take up this gauntlet was Zheng Chaozong 鄭朝宗 (1910–1998), who had accompanied the doyen of letters throughout his difficult years at the cadre school in rural Henan. Zheng's *Guanzhui bian yanjiu lunwen ji* 《管錐編》研究論文集 (Collected Research on Guanzhui bian), compiled together with four of his graduate students at Xiamen University, is a comprehensive critical survey that includes an analysis of Qian's comparative technique and dialectical methodology.[21] These two topics would form central pillars of what soon became known as "*Qian xue* 錢學" (Qianology), a conspicuous neologism that, in echoing the more familiar "*Hong xue* 紅學" (Redology), placed the writer's oeuvre firmly at the centre of the literary canon while also anticipating the abiding temptation to view his fiction and scholarship through a biographical lens.[22] As the

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[20] Ma Rong, "Chu du *Guanzhui bian*."

[21] Zheng Chaozong ed., *Guanzhui bian yanjiu lunwen ji* (Xiamen: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1984). Two of Zheng's students, Chen Ziqian 陳子謙 and Lu Wenhu 陸文虎, would subsequently make more substantial contributions to the study of *Guanzhui bian*, the former with his monograph, *Qian xue lun* 錢學論 (Chengdu: Sichuan wenyi chubanshe, 1992), the latter with an array of bibliographical tools, such as *Guanzhui bian Tanyi lu suoyin* 《管錐編》《談藝錄》索引 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990).

[22] Just as Yu Ying-shih 余英時 (1930-2021) argues that self-professed works of "Redology" are more often concerned with the study of Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (1715–1763) than his famous novel (Yu Ying-shih, "The Two Worlds of Hung-lou meng," 6.) so too has Qian's life often formed the focus of literary research. A recent article, for example, reevaluates several entries in *Guanzhui bian* as opaque criticisms of four of Qian's

ranks of "Qianologists" swelled, a dedicated journal was created to accommodate their burgeoning output.[23] Qian's status as the only living Chinese writer to be the subject of a peer reviewed journal alternately bemused and frustrated the ageing scholar, who had by now retreated to the comfort of a new home in the West of Beijing, refusing nearly all visitors in favour of epistolary communication in cursive script.[24]

The glut of articles on *Guanzhui bian* from the late 1980s and 1990s, conducted by an increasingly broad spectrum of scholars from across China, can largely be divided into two camps; those that use Qian's insights as a springboard to investigate themes or authors from the classical canon,[25] and those that grapple with a peculiar aspect of Qian's critical armoury.[26] While the latter has yielded much useful scholarship, particularly on the concrete mechanisms of his comparative method, "datong 打通" (to strike a connection), one often has occasion to observe, reviewing this substantial body of work some thirty years later, that the whole is not much greater than the sum of its parts. Despite the superficial climate of collaboration fostered by dedicated journals and monograph series, scholars of *Guanzhui bian* have largely been content to plough their own furrow. This solitary dynamic is the result of several factors. First, the intimidating breadth of Qian's work inevitably encourages readers to approach it from the strength of their respective disciplines. While this phenomenon has succeeded in highlighting Qian's contributions to a dizzying array of fields, from Song poetry to preimperial Chinese

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contemporaries. See, Shen Xiyang 沈喜陽, "*Guanzhui bian* renwu suoyin 管錐編人物索隱," *Zhongguo wenhua* 中國文化, No. 54 (2021): 311–318.

[23] *Qian Zhongshu yanjiu* 錢鍾書研究 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1989–1993). See also Lu Wenhu ed., *Qian Zhongshu yanjiu caiji* 錢鍾書研究采集 (Beijing: Sanlian, 1992 & 1996), and Feng Zhixiang 馮芝祥, *Qian Zhongshu yanjiu jikan* 錢鍾書研究集刊 (Shanghai: Sanlian, 1999–2002).

[24] Lu Wenhu collected over three hundred of Qian's letters for a volume in the "Collected Works of Qian Zhongshu" (*Qian Zhongshu ji* 錢鍾書集) series released by Sanlian. Yang Jiang, however, allegedly vetoed its publication. An edition of collected correspondence is one of the key desiderata for the study of Qian's work.

[25] E.g. Lin Xiangzheng 林祥徵, "Qian Zhongshu *Chu ci* yishu yanjiu shuping 錢鍾書《楚辭》藝術研究述評," *Tai'an jiaoyu xueyuan xuebao daizong xuekan* 泰安教育學院學報岱宗學刊, No. 3 (2002): 1–6.

[26] E.g. He Kaisi 何開四, "*Guanzhui bian* xunhuan chanshi lun tanwei 管錐編循環闡釋論探微," *Qian Zhongshu yanjiu caiji*, Vol. 2 (Beijing: Sanlian, 1996): 316–332.

history and French literature, the overarching characteristics of his critical philosophy have often been ignored in favour of his concrete and often innovative insights into the relevant field. Research on *Guanzhui bian*, in other words, consists of so many silos, each interesting in their own right, but with little to recommend them as a coherent whole. Second, academic interest in Qian's work has until recently been dominated by the scholar's former friends and colleagues, or their students, each of whom have a vested interest in preserving what they interpret to be his enduring legacy. Faced with the challenge of promoting an unrelentingly complex and diverse oeuvre, such memorialists often reach for their personal knowledge of Qian's character to reconcile contradictions in his output.[27] The exclusivity of this approach precludes a more objective and collaborative basis for the understanding of the author's work. Third, if *Guanzhui bian* is the last major achievement in the classical Chinese canon, then to correctly interpret that work is, in a very real sense, to become the legitimate standard bearer of the tradition in the contested present. Even competent new studies of *Guanzhui bian*, therefore, typically meet with scathing reviews, whose vitriolic tenor is rare in the more diplomatic (though at times no less critical) fray of anglophone academe, as scholars compete for the honour of this elusive throne.[28]

If disciplinary, personal and cultural assumptions have to date hindered the progress of sinophone research on *Guanzhui bian*, there is some hope that Western sinologists, who typically operate within more permissive academic boundaries, and share neither the personal animosities nor the cultural ambitions of Chinese scholars, might offer a way forward. The first scholar to promote *Guanzhui bian* in the West was Achilles Fang 方志澎 (1910–1995), Qian's

[27] This is true even of scholars who boast a more tenuous connection with the scholar. See, for example, Fan Xulun 范旭侖, *Qian Zhongshu de xingge* 錢鍾書的性格 (Shanghai: Dongfang chuban zhongxin, 2020).
[28] For a particularly vituperative example see Lin Jizhong 林繼中, "Ping Chen Ziqian zhu *Qian xue lun* 評陳子謙著錢學論," *Wenxue pinglun* 文學評論, No. 4 (1993): 148–151.

fellow graduate of Tsinghua, who moved to Harvard in the late forties and shaped the careers of successive cohorts of distinguished sinologists. Ronald Egan's selected translation, *Limited Views: Essays on Ideas and Letters*, is dedicated to his former teacher.[29] Egan's aim was to render Qian's masterpiece accessible to a broad scholarly audience beyond the pleasant confines of traditional sinology. To this end his eminently readable translations of sixty-five essays from *Guanzhui bian* are curated thematically, across six broad sections, and accompanied by an introduction that deftly recounts Qian's life and bibliography while also furnishing a succinct analysis of the book's key critical threads. Egan's work succeeds in reproducing the wit and ambition of Qian's essays while nimbly sidestepping the structural and linguistic difficulties that bedevil the Chinese. The same year, Egan published a separate study, in which he fleshes out the critical observations outlined in his introduction.[30] Presented in a bilingual edition, this second work addresses the need for a cross-cultural, cosmopolitan approach to Qian's scholarship.

Egan's two books, which together form the most eloquent introduction to the delights and challenges of *Guanzhui bian*, arrived several years after Monika Motsch's *Mit Bambusrohr und Ahle* (With a Bamboo Pile and Awl).[31] As a personal acquaintance of the Qian family who had previously translated *Fortress Besieged* into German,[32] Motsch was well placed to write the first in depth analysis of *Guanzhui bian* for a European academic audience. Her inaugural study, however, suffers from its excessive ambition, as Motsch not only aspires to succinctly capture the themes, style and methodology of Qian's magnum opus, but also to independently apply its

[29] "To the Memory of Dr. Achilles Fang, incomparable reader and teacher who introduced me to the writings of Qian Zhongshu, his friend and former classmate at Qinghua University." Egan trans., *Limited Views*, vi.
[30] Ronald Egan, *Qian Zhongshu's reading of the Chinese Classic: Gauging the Principles of Guanzhui bian* (Hsin-chu, Taiwan: National Tsing Hua University, 1998).
[31] Monika Motsch, *Mit Bambusrohr und Ahle: Von Qian Zhongshus Guanzhuibian zu einer Neubetrachtung Du Fus*. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994)
[32] Motsch, *Umzingelte Festung* (Frankfurt am Mein: Insel Verlag, 1988).

critical innovations to the analysis of Du Fu's 杜甫 (712–770) poetry, thereby providing a new basis for treating western and traditional Chinese literature in a common context. In doing so, she necessarily simplifies both *Guanzhui bian* and Du Fu's poetry to achieve her theoretical unification.[33] Perceiving this lacuna, Yu Hong sought to complement Motsch's study with a doctoral dissertation on the "principles, critical approach, and methodology" of *Guanzhui bian*.[34] While more comprehensive than Motsch in its overview of Qian's work, Yu does not offer any substantial innovations over the Chinese language scholarship that guides his investigation. The only other monograph length study from the West to grapple with *Guanzhui bian* is Tiziana Lioi's *Qian Zhongshu: In Other's Words*.[35] Lioi's published thesis represents a worthy attempt to study Qian's inveterate passion for Italian literature, but her survey is broader than it is deep, analysing, for instance, Qian's discussions of Dante across all his work in little more than ten pages.

The contribution of Western sinology to the understanding of *Guanzhui bian* has, therefore, gone little further than furnishing accessible translations, insightful though largely foundational critical studies, and attempts to situate Qian's methodology within the broader field of comparative literature.[36] Given the importance attributed to *Guanzhui bian* by Chinese scholars and the broader reading public,[37] one may ask why more Western sinologists have not chosen to devote themselves to this rewarding topic? The discouraging answer is that, though often

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[33] For a detailed critical review of Motsch's work see Volker Klöpsch, "Review: *Mit Bambusrohr und Ahle*," *Oriens Extremus*, Vol. 38, No. 1/2 (1995): 268–273.
[34] Yu Hong, "Prinzip - Kritik - Methode. Studien zu Qian Zhongshus *Guan zhui bian*," PhD Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2002.
[35] Taipei: Yuanliu chuban gongsi, 2014. The original title of Lioi's thesis was, "In Other's Words: A Study of Italian Quotations in the Comparative Method of Qian Zhongshu," PhD Dissertation, Sapienza Università di Roma, 2012.
[36] The most elegant and informed essays in this vein are by Zhang Longxi 張隆溪. See, for example, "Qian Zhongshu as a Comparatist" in Theo D'haen, David Damrosch & Djelal Kadir ed., *The Routledge Companion to World Literature* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013): 81–88.
[37] Qian's work is often cited for the cultural capital that it confers on its ambitious readers. The teen icon, novelist and blogger, Han Han 韓寒 claims to have stayed up all night reading *Guanzhui bian* while still in the first year of high school. Han Han, "Zhengchang wenzhang yi pian."

equipped with a broad education in the Western classics, European and American scholars are less well prepared to negotiate the division between Qian's vernacular essays and fiction and his classical criticism and poetry. Specialists in modern Chinese literature may struggle to master Qian's notoriously difficult literary Chinese, while scholars of premodern literature are frequently schooled in a particular genre and period of the tradition, and hesitate to appraise a work that so riotously straddles the full gamut of the classical canon.

The past twenty years have, nevertheless, witnessed an important development in the study of Qian's work. In 2003, three volumes of Qian's private notebooks, collected under the ancient rubrik, *Rong'an guan zhaji* 容安館札記 (Notes from the Hall of Modest Needs), were published in facsimile form by Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館 (The Commercial Press). This release, which followed only five years after Qian's death, heralded the arrival of two further series of manuscripts (*Zhongwen biji* 中文筆記 [Chinese Language Notes][38] and *Waiwen biji* 外文筆記 [Foreign Language Notes][39]) that promised, in their full complement, to transform our understanding of Qian's life and work. The potential of *Rong'an guan zhaji*, in particular, to illuminate *Guanzhui bian* was highlighted by Yang Jiang in her preface to that collection of manuscripts.

> 《管錐編》里，在在都是日劄里的心得，經發揮充實而寫成的文章。例如：《管錐編.楚辭洪興祖補注》十八則，共九十五頁，而日劄里讀《楚辭》的筆記一則，只疏疏朗朗記了十六頁；《管錐編.周易正義》二十七則，共一百零九頁，而日劄里讀《周易》的筆記，只有一則，不足十二頁；《管錐編.毛詩正義》六十則，共一百九十四頁，而日劄里讀《毛詩》的筆記二則，不足十七頁。[40]

> *Guanzhui bian* is brimming with insights from the 'Daily Notes' [i.e. *Rong'an guan zhaji*], many of which have been expanded into fully-fledged essays. For instance, *Guanzhui bian*'s section on the "*Songs of Chu* with Hong Xingzu's Subcommentary"

[38] 20 vols. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2011), hereafter ZWBJ.
[39] 48 vols. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2014–18), hereafter WWBJ.
[40] RAG: 3.

> consists of eighteen entries, amounting to ninety-five pages. The corresponding section of the 'Daily Notes,' by contrast, consists of only one entry, occupying a mere sixteen pages. *Guanzhui bian*'s section on the "*Changes of Zhou* with Kong Yingda's Commentary" runs to twenty-seven entries, at a total of one hundred and nine pages. In the 'Daily Notes,' however, the only entry on the *Changes of Zhou* is barely twelve pages long. *Guanzhui bian*'s section on the "*Book of Songs* with Kong Yingda's Commentary" consists of sixty entries, across one hundred and ninety-four pages, whereas Qian's jottings on the same work in the 'Daily Notes' are spread across two entries, running short of seventeen pages.

Despite the clues furnished by this preface, the connections between Qian's notebooks and *Guanzhui bian* remain largely unexplored. Since their publication, the aforementioned three collections of manuscripts have been the subject of only seven peer reviewed articles. Five of these explore the correspondences between Qian's notes and his *Songshi xuanzhu*.[41] One further article examines a lengthy note on *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 (The Dream of the Red Chamber).[42] A more recent contribution puzzles over the lack of research progress on the notes over the past two decades.[43] The only work to touch directly upon the links between Qian's notes and *Guanzhui bian* is Viatcheslav Vetrov's *Instrument Metapher: Das Guanzhui bian im Licht der Manskriptforschung.*[44] This monograph, which has not been reviewed in any of the major sinological journals, was the fruit of a project funded by the Deutsche Forschunggemeinschaft (DFG) and based at the University of Münster's Institut für Sinologie und Ostasienkunde. Under the leadership of Prof. Reinhard Emmerich, "Chinesische Komparatistik - Bearbeitung und Bewertung von Qian Zhongshus Manuskript Fortlaufende Lesenotizen"[45] originally envisaged the compilation of a critical edition of around three hundred and sixty pages from *Rong'an guan zhaji.* The project entailed "Untersuchungen zum

[41] Pang Jingtao, "Rong'an guan zhaji zhong de 'Chengdu haoxia'"; Yang Xingjuan, "*Rong'an guan zhaji* dui bei Song zuojia Li Xin de piping"; Wang Shuizhao, "*Qian Zhongshu shougaoji – rong'an guan zhaji* yu nan Song shige fazhan guan"; Wang Shuizhao, "Du "Rong'an guan zhaji" shilingsi ze"; Hou Tijian, "Qian Zhongshu *Rong'an guan zhaji* piping songdai shiren Xu Yueqing fawei.
[42] Hu Xinyu, "Qianyi *Qian Zhongshu shougaoji.*"
[43] Jiao Yadong, "*Qian Zhongshu shougaoji – Rong'an guan zhaji* yanjiu de kunjing yu tupo."
[44] Münster: Lit Verlag, 2015.
[45] "Chinese comparatism – organising and assessing Qian Zhongshu's manuscripts of continuous reading notes."

Verhältnis zwischen Manuskript und Druckfassung," that would yield "Aufschlüsse über Qians Arbeitsmethode (*datong* 打通)," and help to determine "in welchem Maße und mit welchen Überlegungen chinesische Verlage wissenschaftliche Manuskripte beeinflussen."[46] In addition, a definitive answer was sought to the question of whether "der sehr schwer lesbaren Manuskripte Qian Zhongshus als Buch publiziert werden sollen."[47] Despite its involvement with Emmerich's enterprise, Vetrov's work broaches none of the objectives listed above, focusing instead on the intellectual currents that shaped Qian's philosophical understanding of metaphor. Where his narrative draws on the manuscripts, it does so only to highlight the Chinese scholar's acquaintance with Western theories of metaphor that are not discussed in *Guanzhui bian*. While this approach is well suited to the study of a specific aspect of Qian's oeuvre, it is less useful in illustrating the broader connections between the notebooks and *Guanzhui bian*.

Qian's newly available manuscripts nevertheless represent an embarrassment of literary riches that will, in the fullness of time, be explored to tell many revealing stories about the author's life, fiction and scholarship.[48] The story at the centre of this thesis, however, is a purely textual one. Taking Yang Jiang's cue as a departure point, I will address two specific questions. First, in which concrete ways did Qian's lifelong notetaking practices shape the unique form and structure of *Guanzhui bian*? Second, how did the beleaguered scholar navigate and mine his

[46] "Investigations about the relationship between the manuscripts and published editions," … "conclusions about Qian's working method" … "in what measure and with which considerations Chinese publishes influence scholarly manuscripts." For a more comprehensive introduction to this project see: https://www.uni-muenster.de/Sinologie/forschung/projekte/dfg_komparatistik.html. (Accessed, Oct. 16, 2024)

[47] "Qian's very illegible manuscripts should be published in book form." Ibid. Another collaborator on this project, Yu Hong, has published a German translation of several entries from *Rong'an guan zhaji* in, "Qian Zhongshu und seine Fortlaufenden Lesenotizen," collected in Woesler Martin (Hrsg.): *Chinesische Literatur in deutscher Übersetzung: China Ehrengast der Frankfurter Buchmesse 2009: Symposiumsband*. Berlin [u.a]: Univer.-Verl., 16–87.

[48] Fan Xulun's long running series "Rong'an guan pinzao lu 容安館品藻錄," published in *Wan Xiang* 萬象 and *Nanfang dushi bao* 南方都市報 (2004–2017), combs Qian's "Daily Notes" for clues about notable members of his social circle and his intellectual rivals.

myriad notes, under conditions of extreme political, physical and psychological duress, when compiling his magnum opus during the late years of the Cultural Revolution? These two questions are in fact different aspects, the first diachronic, the second synchronic, of a common conviction, namely that to fully understand a work of literature we must not only identify its humble origins, but also excavate the long and often arduous process by which it came to live and breathe.

i.3: Chinese Autograph Manuscripts

An informed investigation of Qian's compendious corpora of manuscripts, and their relation to his most complex work of scholarship, evidently requires a guiding methodology. It would be reasonable to conclude that the field of sinology, whose main object of study is a literature distinguished by the enduring importance of its underlying manuscript culture, would offer an enticing portfolio of plausible approaches. The overwhelming majority of extant manuscripts from premodern China are, however, scribal copies rather than autograph manuscripts. While such copies yield rich insights into the editorial afterlives of texts at the hands of successive scribes, they shed little light on the original writer's creative process.[49] Those autograph manuscripts that have survived are treasured, not as unique windows onto the writer's studio, but as pristine examples of celebrated calligraphy. As a result, such manuscripts are nearly always final drafts of short works that unite the intimate "poetic intent" of their inscribers with the most imperial of all assurances of authenticity, their enduring hand.[50] These manuscripts

[49] The peculiar dynamics of China's manuscript culture have been examined in detail by scholars such as Wu Shichang 吳世昌 (1908-1986) and Tian Xiaofei 田曉菲. See Wu Shih-Ch'ang, *On the Red chamber dream: a critical study of two annotated manuscripts of the XVIIIth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) and Tian Xiaofei, *Tao Yuanming and Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).

[50] The importance that spontaneity plays in Chinese literary values doubtless led many poets and writers to conceal the smell of the lamp from their manuscripts. Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037–1101) description of his own creative process allows little room for industrious craft: "My prose is like [the pressure] of ten thousand buckets welling up from a spring and landing wherever it should leap. On the level plains, it gushes and babbles along, easily

are the chief province of *tiexue* 帖學, the traditional discipline of calligraphic analysis. There are of course exceptions. China's earliest known rough draft is from the renowned calligrapher Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–785).[51] Such historical curiosities, however, are still primarily consulted for their aesthetic properties rather than their erasures and emendations.[52] More substantial drafts are few and far between. The only extant autograph manuscript for a major work of the classical canon is a late draft of Pu Songling's 蒲松齡 (1640–1715) *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異 (Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio). Even this priceless document, however, has largely been studied from the perspectives of *jiaokan xue* 校勘學 (traditional textual criticism) and *banben xue* 版本學 (the study of variant editions), and is therefore appraised, despite its provisional qualities, as one final text in a field of many competing editions.[53] Any clues to Pu Songling's system of restructuring and revisions have yet to be explored in depth. The recent discovery of a draft of Wang Guowei's 王國維 (1877–1926) *Renjian cihua* 人間詞話 (Poetic Remarks from the Human World) has stimulated a number of articles on the renowned scholar's creative process and methodology.[54] While these articles afford significant insights into the

covering one thousand *li* in a single day. Among craggy mountains, it adapts its form to negotiate all obstacles, though no-one knows how. What is known is that it goes where it should go, and stops where it must stop. That is all. Even I can know no more than that." 吾文如萬斛泉源，不擇地皆可出，在平地滔滔汩汩，雖一日千里無難。及其與山石曲折，隨物賦形，而不可知也。所可知者，常行於所當行，常止於不可不止，如是而已矣。其他雖吾 亦不能知也。Su Shi, *Su Shi wenji*, 2069. Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), by contrast, readily confessed to rewriting his own poetry in an effort to make it clearer. An anecdote circulating during the Northern Song records that "Every time Bai Juyi wrote a poem, he would ask an old lady if she understood it. If she understood, he would keep it; if she didn't, he would revise it." 白樂天每作詩令一老嫗解之問曰解否嫗曰解則録之不解則又復易之。Peng Sheng, *Moke hui xi*, 15.

[51] "Ji zhi wengao 祭侄文稿"(Draft of a Eulogy for my Nephew). The National Palace Museum has digitised the manuscript: https://digitalarchive.npm.gov.tw/Painting/Content?pid=3&Dept=P (Accessed Sep. 3, 2024)

[52] E.g. Liu Xiaofei 劉曉斐, "'Ji zhi wengao' xingshi tezheng yu yishu jiazhe tanjiu《祭侄文稿》形式特征與藝術價值探究," *Yishu jia* 藝術家, No. 8 (2023): 131–133.

[53] See, Allan Barr, "Pu Songling and *Liaozhai zhiyi*: a study of textual transmission, biographical background, and literary antecedents," DPhil Dissertation, University of Oxford, March 1983.

[54] See Wang Guowei, *Renjian cihua shougao quanben* 人間詞話手稿全本 (Beijing: Zhongguo yanshi chubanshe, 2014), and Peng Yuping 彭玉平, "Wang Guowei dui *Renjian cihua* shougao de xiuding lüeshuo 王國維對《人間詞話》手稿的修訂略說" Wenxue yu wenhua 文學與文化, No. 4 (2010): 114–119

inner world of one of the most compelling intellectual figures of the late Qing and early Republic, they make no attempt to situate Wang's draft in a broader field of manuscript studies.

The material heritage of premodern Chinese manuscripts, with its abundance of fair copies and penury of drafts, may offer little inspiration for a relevant methodology; but the field of modern Chinese literature, whose departed luminaries have invariably left large corpora of notebooks, drafts and private correspondence for posterity, should offer more fertile ground for inquiry. When the director of the National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature (*Zhongguo xiandai wenxue guan* 中國現代文學館), Shu Yi 舒乙 (1935–2021), paid a visit to the Bibliothèque National de France in 2002, he was astonished to happen upon a throng of specialists absorbed in the study of modern European manuscripts. Reflecting on the lack of academic interest in his own institution's voluminous manuscript collection, he attributed this unflattering contrast to the fact that "[China] has yet to develop its own field of 'manuscriptology' (*shougao xue* 手稿學)."[55] This capacious neologism, directly imported from the English, represents an attempt to distinguish modern critical approaches to manuscripts from the traditional disciplines of *tiexue*, *jiaokan xue* and *banben xue* mentioned above. In more recent decades modern autograph manuscripts have largely been the unenvied precinct of *shiliao yanjiu* 史料研究 (archival research). This marginal trade, which suffers from much the same occupational reputation that Dr. Johnson awarded himself in his idiosyncratic dictionary,[56] furnishes the biographical and editorial bounty that more mainstream scholars plunder for their *kaozheng* 考證 (evidential) literary studies. Modern manuscripts rarely form the central focus of literary

[55] Wang Xirong 王錫榮, "Shougao xue zai Zhongguo 手稿學在中國," *Wenxin chuanmei* 文新傳媒, Oct. 4, 2015.

[56] "Lexico'grapher. n.s. [λεξικὸν and γράφω; lexicographe, French.] A writer of dictionaries; a harmless drudge, that busies himself in tracing the original, and detailing the signification of words." Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, Vol. 2, 4.

research. Swimming bravely against this tide, a Centre for the Research of Modern Documents and Manuscripts (*xiandai wenxian shougao yanjiu zhongxin* 現代文獻手稿研究中心) established at Shanghai Jiaotong University in 2012, has hosted two international conferences on modern Chinese manuscripts. The exotic fruits of these fora, however, have yet to find their way into print.[57] Twenty years may have passed since Shu Yi called for the advent of Chinese "manuscriptology," yet scholars have by all accounts made few theoretical advances. And conceptual issues aside, those who persist in furrowing this deeply unfashionable vein of research are invariably plagued by the perennial problem of Chinese bibliography: access to books. The aforementioned National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature, with its fund of over 220,000 hand-written documents, presents an Elysian prospect to any enterprising bibliophile, but its treasures are jealously guarded, with access denied at times even to major benefactors.[58] Extortionate photocopying and photographing fees prevent even the most vetted of scholars from conducting exhaustive studies.[59] A growing number of facsimile editions has gone some way to compensating for this lack of institutional support. These collections, however, are restricted to the most sonorous names in the marble acoustic of the modern pantheon, thereby precluding more unorthodox investigations. Editorially, moreover, they often suffer from poor image quality, as is the case with Lu Xun's 魯迅 (1881–1936) manuscripts,[60] or unsatisfactory organisation, as we will have ample leisure to obverse with Qian Zhongshu's notebooks. Considering these challenges, it is no wonder that both Western and Chinese scholars have chosen to tailor their research to more amenable fields of study.

[57] The first of these conferences, which took place in 2020, was attended by manuscript specialists from the UK, Belgium and France. A conference held the following year focused on the manuscripts of Lu Xun.
[58] Findeisen, "Modern Chinese Writers' Manuscripts," 280.
[59] Findeisen, "Modern Chinese Writers' Manuscripts," 280.
[60] See the sixty volumes of Lu Xun's manuscripts published between 1978 and 1986 by *Wenwu chuban she* 文物出版社 (Cultural Relics Publishing House).

i.4: Genetic Criticism

In order to find a suitable framework within which to examine the connections between Qian's manuscripts and *Guanzhui bian*, we must turn, like Shu Yi, to the specialists of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Fittingly, for a work of criticism that takes such pleasure in identifying the unexpected synchronicities between the independent gardens of Western and Chinese literature, we too may take pleasure in observing that just as Qian was drawing on his vast archive of notebooks to compose his *magnum opus*, a small group of French scholars were developing the early foundations of a literary theory that now facilitates our exegesis of that work. The first call to arms for the school that would later become known as *la critique génétique* (genetic criticism) appeared in the pages of *Le Monde* in 1967, shortly after the Bibliothèque Nationale acquired a substantial collection of Heinrich Heine's (1797–1856) manuscripts. This act of cultural diplomacy, personally backed by President Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970) was not wholly disinterested. In securing the material heritage of a German poet of Jewish descent, who composed his most significant work in Paris while fleeing the censorship of the Prussian state, the French government no doubt sought, through the offices of its central organ of textual memory, to counter the living memory of collaboration that ignominiously endured from the Second World War. Louis Hay, a fledgling researcher trained in the then dominant field of structuralism, identified this instance of institutional largesse as an opportunity to expand the scope of literary studies and transform an idle cultural monument into an active sphere of literary inquiry. In his article, "Après l'acquisition du fonds Heinrich Heine : Des manuscrits, pour quoi faire?" he argues that the structuralist approach, which is beholden to the final text as an autonomous and hermetic entity (*la clôture du texte*), can be enriched by considering a work's "genetic structure." Manuscripts, he advocates, offer material and textual clues that can illuminate the creative process in all its complexity. By shifting the focus of literary studies

from the definitive product of writing to its unfolding process, scholars could succeed in "*faire les manuscrits parler*"[61] (making manuscripts speak).

It is indicative of the political idealism assimilated by early practitioners of genetic criticism that the first major work to respond to Hay's manifesto was Jean Bellemin-Noël's *Le Texte et l'avant-texte: Les Brouillons d'un poème de Milosz.*[62] Czesław Miłosz (1911–2004), like Heine, was an émigré poet who initially sought refuge in France from the oppression of communist Poland. While the student protests of the late 1960s struggled to free society from the archaic hierarchies of the nation state, young critics were engaged in reading politically charged writers and liberating texts from their status as stable systems of meaning, as irrevocable in their expression as they were profound in their linguistic mechanics. Noël's most significant innovation was the elucidation of his book's eponymous neologism: *l'avant-texte*. This term describes the result of a critical reconstruction, entailing the retrieval of those manuscript fragments that can be shown to exist in direct relation with the received text; the faithful transcription of these passages then renders them accessible for causal analysis. Further methodological refinements followed with the establishment of the Centre d'Histoire et d'Analyse des Manuscrits Modernes (CAM), in 1974, and its more generously funded successor, the Institut des Textes et Manuscrits Modernes (ITEM), in 1982. Pierre-Marc de Biasi has perhaps done most to formalise the discipline, proposing, among other conceptual distinctions, five essential operations of any genetic study,[63] and a standardised code capable of accurately capturing the transcription of marginalia and interlineal addenda.[64]

[61] Hay, *La Littérature des Écrivains,* 33–35.
[62] Paris: Larousse, 1972.
[63] See, De Biasi, Pierre-Marc "Towards a Science of Literature: Manuscript Analysis," in Deppman, *Genetic Criticism*, 43.
[64] See, ibid., 57.

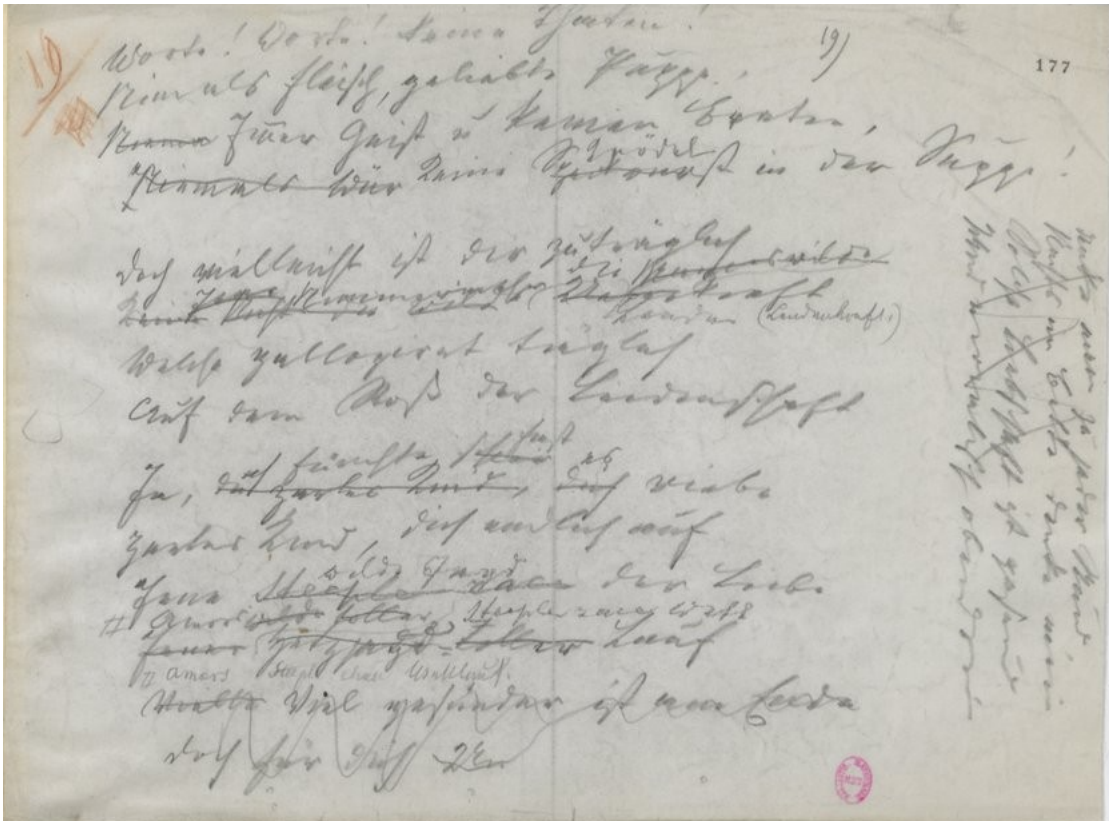

Image i.3: A draft of Heine's poem "Für die Mouche," composed only days before his death. Source: BNF.



Image i.4: The cover of Noël's *Le Texte et L'Avant-texte*. Source : BNF.

As the community of geneticists flourished, new studies of Proust, Zola, Flaubert, Joyce and Aragon were met by an increasingly large and attentive academic audience. These works, however, were not limited to reconstructions; they sought, rather, "to seize and describe a movement, a process of writing that can only be approximately inferred from the existing documents."[65] By extrapolating from previously unexamined bodies of evidence, geneticists not only trace the creative arc of a work from its inconspicuous beginnings to its polished completion, but also throw light on its many virtual avatars; the abandoned plot line, the redrawn character, and the erased infelicity are all restored to their respective positions in the successive stages of composition. This restoration embraces the spectral possibilities inherent in each of the author's creative decisions, suggesting the shifting dreamscape of a work's inception. The penumbral slumber of Proust's narrator is shown, counter-intuitively, to have been evoked by the elimination of linguistic time markers,[66] and the ambiguity of Félicité's beatific vision, in the closing lines of "Un Coeur Simple," is revealed as the result of lengthy experiments with more conventional mystical models.[67]

It has long been the prerogative of writers to invoke an imaginary afterlife for their work in the minds of future readers. Nabokov's *Dar* (The Gift), a novel that simultaneously chronicles its own composition together with the formation of its fictional author, ends in an ecstatic transport of the hope that this future inspires. Leaping into rhyme, Nabokov declaims,

> Goodbye my book! Like mortal eyes, imagined ones must close some day. Onegin from his knees will rise – but his creator strolls away. And yet […] no obstruction for the sage exists where I have put The End: the shadows of my world extend beyond the skyline of the page, blue as tomorrow's morning haze – nor does this terminate the phrase.[68]

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[65] Deppman, *Genetic Criticism,* 11.
[66] Grésillon, Almuth, "Still Lost Time: Already the Text of the Recherche" in Deppmann, *Genetic Criticism*, 152–171.
[67] Debray Genette, Raymonde, "Flaubert's 'A Simple Heart,' or How to Make an Ending: A Study of the Manuscripts" in Deppman, *Genetic Criticism*, 69–96.
[68] Nabokov, *The Gift*, 346.

It has been, by contrast, the retrospective privilege of genetic critics to reflect this hope back onto the creative process itself, leading readers "Down the passage which we did not take/Towards the door we never opened/Into the rose-garden."[69] While the procedural steps behind genetic studies, though at times obscured by the unwieldy vocabulary of structuralism, are relatively straightforward, the tension that lies at their core is always complex and paradoxical; if the central contribution of *la critique génétique* has been, as De Biasi writes, to enrich "le texte d'une dimension qui lui faisait cruellement défaut: la quatrième dimension, celle du temps humain, ou le sens reprend possession de son propre histoire,"[70] then such a conceit has also formed its greatest obstacle. For time is not only a dimension, but also a metaphysical conundrum. Though geneticists may strive to restore the truncated possibilities of a work in their attempts to evoke the creative process in all its majesty, they invariably run up against the key tenet of their methodology: causality. What could have been has, necessarily, never been, or in Eliot's more eloquent words, "all time is unredeemable."[71] The sense of pathos, therefore, so apparent in all works of genetic criticism lies in the fact that while all fossils, whether literary or geological, suggest the "grandeur in this view of life,"[72] they also imply its many deaths and mass extinctions.

Unsurprisingly, for a discipline that takes a professional interest in literary origins, genetic criticism is also studiously concerned with its own origins.[73] Nearly every monograph on the subject, the present one included, begins with a breathless résumé of the theoretical, historical

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[69] Eliot, *Four Quartets*, 3.
[70] "the text with a dimension of which it had been cruelly deprived: the fourth dimension, that of human time, where meaning takes repossession of its own history." De Biasi, *Génétique des Textes*, 184.
[71] Eliot, *Four Quartets*, 3.
[72] Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, 526.
[73] Dirk van Hulle's study of the textual origins of Darwin's *The Origins of Species* is the logical extension of this interest. See Hulle, *Darwin's Kladjes* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2010).

and institutional encounters that facilitated this new approach to manuscripts. There are practical reasons for this. As a relatively new field that has yet to gain full traction in anglophone communities of research (and beyond), the story of genetic criticism's origins is one that must be retold, not only for the benefit of newcomers to the conceptual hearth, but also to rally, once again, those who were already huddled together when the warmth of community and succour of institutional support were still weak. This tale is one that changes in the accounts of each of its narrators, for while the overarching aim of geneticists has always been to unravel the elusive process of writing, the techniques that it employs are so ideologically transparent as to accommodate a range of auxiliary theoretical approaches.[74] The annals of genetic criticism, therefore, are populated with studies by Freudian psychoanalysts, structural linguists, biographers and, more recently, proponents of the digital humanities. Each of these scholars stress different aspects of genetic criticism's history, and its underlying manuscript culture, to serve their peculiar academic bent. The self-reflective nature of genetic studies, however, is rooted in more than the varying demands of its diverse practitioners. It is commonly observed that the initial impetus for geneticism did not stem from critics at all, but from creative writers who called overt attention to the origins of their works. This tradition predates modernist authors such as Joyce, Woolf, or Proust. As early as the 18th century, Novalis (Georg Phillipp Friedrich Freiherr von Hardenberg, 1772–1801) wrote in his *Schriften* that "to penetrate the secret of [a poem's] elaboration is to give the means to write the total history of poetry."[75] Several years later Goethe (Johann Wolfgang von, 1749–1832) would assert that "one does not come to know works of nature and art once they have been completed; one has to catch

[74] De Biasi writes, "L'avant-texte de l'oeuvre se distingue de 'l'étude de genèse' qu'il rend possible: l'avant-texte est le dossier génétique devenu interprétable […] On ne classe pas et on ne déchiffre pas les documents en fonction de présupposés interprétatifs, mais au contraire en restant aussi neutre et aussi logique que possible. [The 'avant-texte' of the work is different from the 'genetic study' that it facilitates. The 'avant-texte' is the genetic dossier that has become amenable to interpretation (…) We do not categorise or decode documents in an interpretative way, but rather remain as neutral and logical as possible.]" See De Biasi, *Génétique des Textes,* 70.
[75] "Wer die Weise seiner Entstehung errät, hat die Möglichkeit einer vollkommenen Geschichte der Poesie gegeben." Novalis, *Schriften* 2, 537.

them as they come into being in order to grasp them in some measure."[76] Even a cursory review of the full gamut of genetic research betrays that scholars are primarily interested in those works that either explicitly or implicitly refer to their own creative origins. Geneticists, therefore, not only use their analytical tools to offer fresh insights into canonical works of literature; they also judiciously single out books that are best suited to advancing the cause of genetic criticism.[77] This curious collusion of the aims of the writer, on the one hand, and the programme of the critic, on the other, leads at times to an intriguing confusion, reminiscent of Robinson Crusoe puzzling over whether the footsteps in the sand of his island belong to himself or to a mysterious other.

Guanzhui bian is suited to genetic analysis in several respects. On a purely methodological level, Qian's vast archive of published notebooks forms an ideal sporting ground for geneticists to comb and caper through in their wistful search for "avant-textes." Qian's work, however, is also in sympathy with the genetic project in more subtle ways. In its rebellion against all systems, *Guanzhui bian* mirrors the struggle of early geneticists to free published texts from the straitjacket of structuralism, evoking the essential freedom and movement of literary creation. Indeed, this collusion between Qian's aims and the goals of the geneticist extends beyond political and literary ideals. By presenting his magnum opus as a humble collection of reading notes, Qian openly draws attention to its origins. Readers of *Guanzhui bian* are constantly invited to look beyond the surface of Qian's erudition to the deeper life of learning that his notebooks represent. Most significantly, the pathos that pervades all genetic studies is also one of the defining characteristics of *Guanzhui bian*. As the final chapter in the canon of

[76] "Natur- und Kunstwerke lernt man nicht kennen wenn sie fertig sind; man muß sie im Entstehen aufhaschen, um sie einigermaßen zu begreifen." Goethe's letter to Karl Friedrich Zelter, August 4, 1803. Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke, Briefe, Tagebücher, und Gespräche*, Sect. 2, vol. 5, 368.

[77] The most flagrant admission of this goal may be found in a recorded conversation between Michel Contat and Jacques Derrida, when the former bravely asserts that "le destin des brouillons, c'est le généticien" [the destiny of drafts is the genetic scholar]. See, Contat, *Pourquoi la critique génétique*, 189.



Image i.5: The critic and the author meet. Thomas Stothard's engraving, "Robinson Crusoe discovers the print of a man's foot," from the 1782 edition of *Robinson Crusoe*. Source: Victorian Web.

classical Chinese literature, Qian's work invokes the majestic evolution and myriad achievements of the premodern tradition, suggesting "the grandeur in this view of life." It is also, however, the site of a mass extinction. The Chinese writers that *Guanzhui bian* examines have long since entered the fossil record, where Qian has now joined them. His final work is therefore both an invitation "into the rose garden" of Chinese literature, and a painful admission that "all time is unredeemable."

i.5: A Map of the Maze

All genetic studies consist of two distinct stages: the editorial hunt for and organisation of potential "avant-textes," and the subsequent critical interpretation of the resulting genetic dossier. If the aim of genetic criticism is, as De Biasi writes, to enrich published texts with a fourth dimension, that of "human time," then a reliable chronology of the manuscripts is the essential condition of the first stage. Each of my chapters is supported by a new and comprehensively documented chronology of all 317 of Qian's extant notebooks.[78] This data, the fruit of four years of literary detective work guided by a bespoke methodology,[79] will be of bibliographical use to scholars interested in all aspects of Qian's life, fiction and scholarship. I hope, however, that the critical observations facilitated by this chronology will demonstrate how archival research of autograph manuscripts, and the theoretical perspectives of genetic criticism, can offer solutions to research questions that have long eluded persuasive analysis.

Each of the five chapters of this thesis represents a different critical approach to Qian's magnum opus. As the culmination of an entire lifetime of reading and note taking, *Guanzhui bian* must be considered in the context of the whole corpus of Qian's notebooks. In chapter one, therefore,

[78] See Appendix A.
[79] The concrete steps of my chronological methodology will be discussed at length in chapter three.

I conduct a survey of this corpus to determine how the form and structure of Qian's notes changed over time in response to external and internal pressures. In chapter two, I examine the structure of *Guanzhui bian* in the light of the notebooks. While Qian's work clearly inherits the defining traits of his notetaking practices, I will show how its overarching form is also influenced by two encyclopaedic models, one Chinese and one Western. Qian's unique blend of these models will be explored as an attempt to repurpose his notes under the peculiar circumstances of the Cultural Revolution. In chapter three, I take a step back from the notebooks and *Guanzhui bian* to ask how Qian made the leap from the former to the latter. Borrowing statistical methods from the digital humanities, I demonstrate which of Qian's notes were most crucial in the compilation of his magnum opus. In chapter four, I adopt an exogenetic approach, tracing one thread of Qian's intellectual interest from the early notebooks, namely the dialectical obfuscations of Hegel and the *Laozi*, to its enshrinement at the heart of *Guanzhui bian*. This study shows how not only the form, but also the content of Qian's work is the result of a long period of intellectual evolution. In the fifth and final chapter, I trespass on the intimacy of Qian's studio, a store cupboard in the Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, to furnish an endogenetic study of the draft for one essay from the published work. This study illustrates, blow by blow, how Qian drew on his notebooks on a micro-level during the composition of his masterpiece.

In the absence of an authoritative genetic edition,[80] the editorial and critical stages of a genetic study must be juggled within one and the same work. This inevitably entails a precarious balancing act. If the editorial urge prevails, the story of the manuscripts may remain unexplored; if the critical voice obtrudes, the intimacy and adventure of the genetic enterprise may be lost

[80] See, for example, the genetic editions prepared by Dirk Van Hulle et al. at the Centre for Manuscript Genetics, University of Antwerp: https://www.beckettarchive.org/geneticeditions. (Accessed, Sep. 17, 2024)

under a blanket of theoretical patter. This tension is discernible in each of the chapters that follow. When faced with a choice, however, I have always sided with my duties as an editor, allowing Qian to speak in his own words.

I have named this thesis "Speak Mnemosyne" in a three-fold sense. The first refers to the title that Nabokov originally devised for his autobiography, *Speak Memory*,[81] which describes, using different tools, the irrevocable loss of a vibrant and highly sophisticated culture.[82] The second alludes to a commonplace of genetic criticism, which conceives of autograph manuscripts as the "living memory" of literary texts.[83] The third responds to Hay's now distant battle cry, and finally attempts, with the help of Qian's notebooks, "to make Chinese manuscripts speak."[84]

[81] Vladimir Nabokov, *Speak Memory* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1951).
[82] The title was rejected by his publishers on the grounds that it was too difficult to pronounce.
[83] Manscripts, De Biasi writes, "ont enseigné que le texte est l'effet d'un travail, qu'il ne vit que par la mémoire vive de sa propre écriture […]" Pierre-Marc De Biasi, "Les désarrois de l'hérméneute," *Le Monde*, Feb. 14, 1997.
[84] Genetic criticism is not entirely unheard of in sinophone, or sinological scholarship. De Biasi's *La Génétique des Textes* was translated into Chinese as *Wenben fasheng xue* 文本發生學 by Wang Xiuhua 汪秀華 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2005) although R.D. Findeisen (1958–2017) reports that the terminology has been poorly rendered. In Taiwan, Yi Peng 易鵬 edited a number of the *Zhongshan renwen xuebao* 中山人文學報 devoted to the subject (No. 37, 2015). With only one exception, however, these articles all focus on Western manuscripts. His collected essays, *Wenben yu xiandai shougao yanjiu* 文本與現代手稿研究 (Taipei: Shulin chuban gongsi, 2019), feature brief genetic surveys of Wang Wen-hsing's 王文興 (1939–2023) novels *Bei hai de ren* 背海的人 (Backed against the Sea) and *Jia bian* 家變 (Family Catastrophe). Ha Kim-lan's 何金蘭 *Faguo wenxue lilun yu shijian* 法國文學理論與實踐 [French Literary Theory and Practice] (Taipei: Weixiu chuban, 2011) is the only monograph length study of genetic theory in Chinese; Ha's field, however, is French rather than Chinese literature. Wang Xirong 王錫榮, the director of the Centre for the Research of Modern Documents and Manuscripts in Shanghai is most active among mainland Chinese scholars, though as mentioned above, his institution has yet to fulfil its true potential. Findeisen's early efforts to introduce Western sinologists to the rewards of genetic criticism ended with his untimely death in 2015. This thesis, therefore, is the first substantial genetic study of a major work of Chinese literature.

Chapter One

"THE BROOM OF THE SYSTEM"

The Evolving Organisation of Qian's Notebooks

1.1: The Genesis of Qian's Notebooks

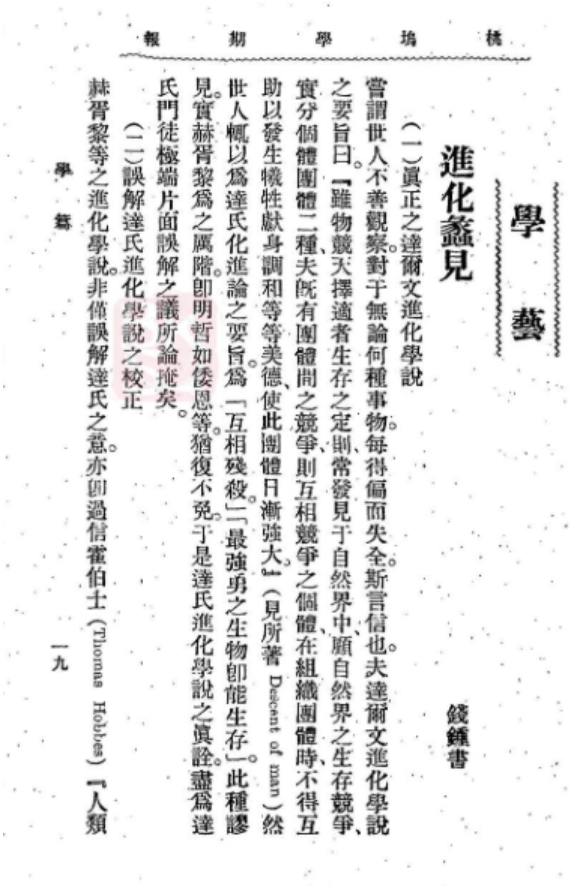
Our first glimpse of Qian's notes is found in an article written for the Taowu Middle School Semester Bulletin (*Taowu zhongxue xueqi bao* 桃塢中學學期報)[1] dating from 1926. Taowu Middle School, where the future scholar studied between 1923 and 1927, was run by a Suzhou branch of American Episcopalians, whose polished curriculum, administered partly in English, was famed nationwide for cultivating an international outlook and received pronunciation.[2] Between 1926 and 1927, when Qian served first as the bulletin's Chinese then briefly as English editor, he penned a total of five articles and one translation in both literary Chinese and the increasingly dominant vernacular, in addition to one precariously worded column in English.[3] Weighted with allusions, these early pieces reveal the self-conscious attempts of a precocious reader to assemble a plausible style from the truffles of his favourite writers. In "Limited Views on Evolution" (*jinhua lijian* 進化蠡見), however, Qian insists upon the impromptu nature of his contribution. Having persuasively advocated for a more nuanced translation of Darwin's "survival of the fittest," the editor-turned-columnist ends his argument with a subtle boast, cloaked in assurances of modesty, that rings true to the timbre of his later career in print:

[1] Rendered somewhat ponderously into English by its fledgling compilers as "Soochow Academy Students' Semi-Annual."
[2] For the most complete account of this period, see Liu Guiqiu 劉桂秋, *Wuxi shiqi de Qian Jibo yu Qian Zhongshu* 無錫時期的錢基博與錢鍾 (Shanghai: Shanghai shehuikexue yuan chubanshe, 2004).
[3] See Liu Guiqiu, "Qian Zhongshu Taowu zhongxue dushu zuowen shiji buyi 錢鍾書桃塢中學讀書作文史跡補遺," *Shuwu* 書屋, No. 3 (2015): 76–78.

> 年來頗涉獵生物學，於進化論尤為注意。凡有所見，輒擇要筆之。文既蕪蔓，說復鄙膚，至無當也。弟頗自愛惜，不忍毀棄，亦猶魏文帝所謂『家有敝帚享之千金』之意耳。日者季報記者索稿甚急，倉卒無以應，不得已遂擇記中最有系統之一篇，加以今名而歸之。[4]
>
> Over the past year I've been fairly interested in biology, paying particular attention to the theory of evolution. When I'm struck by a thought, I generally jot it down in rough. In terms of style [these notes] are shabby; in argument they are shallow, and as such fit for very little. Inspired by some degree of self-indulgence, I couldn't bring myself to throw them away. This is perhaps what Emperor Wen of Wei (Cao Pi 曹丕, 187–266) meant by "treasuring one's own humble broom as if it were worth a thousand gold coins." Recently, a reporter for the semester bulletin pressed me urgently for an article. At such short notice I had nothing to offer, and was forced to simply pick the most coherent passage from my notes, assign it the present title, and hand it in.

The professed spontaneity of Qian's article has three implications: in the first instance, it serves as a guarantee of authenticity. The original privacy of the notes brings us directly into Qian's inner world, where any intellectual poses, lacking a prospective audience, would be superfluous. Secondly, it magnifies the author's erudition and literary prowess. Qian not only invites us to admire the breadth of his reading, but also the clarity of his understanding. Even those observations and criticisms that he produces off the cuff are eloquent enough to form a respectable article. Thirdly, it serves as a shield against potential criticism; for who would censure the unconsidered jottings of a young boy on an obscure subject? If the notes, however, are the mirror in which we are invited to admire the writer at work, then an isolated entry from those notes is equivalent to only a shard of that mirror. What else, we are led to wonder, do Qian's notes contain? How are they organised? What do they reveal about their compiler? And what do they hide? In this chapter, I will attempt to reconstruct the mirror of Qian's notes by piecing together the puzzle of their many shards. In doing so, I hope to demonstrate how the scholar imposed order and coherence onto his expanding body of knowledge, but also how it was necessary for him to disrupt that order – to shatter his mirror – and arrange it anew. To review a corpus of notes collated in seventy-one volumes, each nearly a thousand pages long, in a single

[4] Qian Zhongshu, "Jinhua lijian," 23.



學藝

進化蠡見

錢鍾書

（一）眞正之達爾文進化學說

嘗謂世人不善觀察。對于無論何種事物。每得偏而失全。斯言信也。夫達爾文進化學說之要旨曰。『雖物競天擇適者生存之定則。常發見于自然界中。顧自然界之生存競爭。實分個體團體二種。夫既有團體間之競爭。則互相競爭之個體。在組織團體時。不得互助以發生犧牲獻身調和等等美德。使此團體日漸強大。』（見所著 Descent of man）然世人概以爲達氏化進論之要旨。爲「互相殘殺。」「最強勇之生物卽能生存。」此種謬見。實赫胥黎爲之厲階。卽明哲如倭恩等。猶復不免。于是達氏進化學說之眞詮。盡爲達氏門徒極端片面誤解之議所論掩矣。

（二）誤解達氏進化學說之校正

赫胥黎等之進化學說。非僅誤解達氏之意。亦卽過信霍伯士（Thomas Hobbes）『人類

學藝 一九

Image 1.1: Qian's article "Limited Views on Evolution" in the *Soochow Academy Students' Semi-Annual.* Source: *Taowu xueqi qibao*.



Image 1.2: The editorial board of *Taowu*. (Qian is on the top right). Source: *Taowu xueqi qibao*.

chapter is of course a quixotic endeavour. My interest, therefore, is limited to certain inflection points – to breaks in form and structure that point, like the shape of any shard, to an absent whole.

1.2: Qian's Missing Diaries

Despite the "self-indulgence" that allegedly prevented Qian from throwing away his notes, the earliest fragment that has survived dates from late 1933, a full seven years after his essay in the Taowu Semester Bulletin.

> 十月二十五日： 英文散文。閱 Van Dyne: The Canary Murder Case 畢。赴上海看電影。得季書，即復。食蟹。[5]
>
> October 25th: [In class we went through an] English essay. Finished reading Van Dyne's *The Canary Murder Case.* Went to Shanghai to see a film. Received and replied to a letter from Ji.[6] Ate crab.

In isolation, this diary entry is hardly evidence of an omnivorous intellectual diet. Only recently appointed as lecturer in English and Chinese literature at Kwanghua University in Shanghai, Qian's diaries from this period are fraught with the separation pangs from his fiancé, Yang Jiang, who was marooned in Beijing for her last year at Tsinghua. In addition to writing to her daily, Qian often consoled himself with a detective novel, a trip to the cinema, and a plate of crabmeat, a routine whose decadence and regularity gave him not infrequent occasion for remorse.[7] In this first entry, therefore, we stumble across a young scholar playing truant from his duties, occupied with the more crucial matters of the heart and the stomach. The notebook that it inaugurates is labelled "Court Diary 14" (*Qijuzhu shisi* 起居注[十四]), and dates from October 25th, 1933, to February 28th, 1934. Qian has appropriated the term, *qiju zhu*, which traditionally indicates the recorded speech and actions of the

[5] Shixi youjin 視昔猶今 (Anon.) ed., "Qiju zhu (shisi) 起居注(十四)a," *Taogeng huaigen shuwu* 桃梗槐根書屋: https://tghgsw.blogspot.com/2020/11/a.html. Hereafter QJZ 14.
[6] Qian's future wife, Yang Jiang 楊絳 (z. Jikang 季康, 1912–2016).
[7] On December 13th, Qian writes, "I'm a glutton. Nearly every day I spend a fortune on food. If I keep this up, how will I be able to become truly independent? As a result, I've made a pact with [my roommate] Tingsheng: From tomorrow onwards, I will devote myself to thrift. I wonder if I can keep it up? I scoff [at my own expense]." 余貪口腹，幾乎日食萬錢，長此以往，措大安能自了？故與挺生立約：自明日起，力事節省。不知能持久否？一笑。QZJ 14: e.

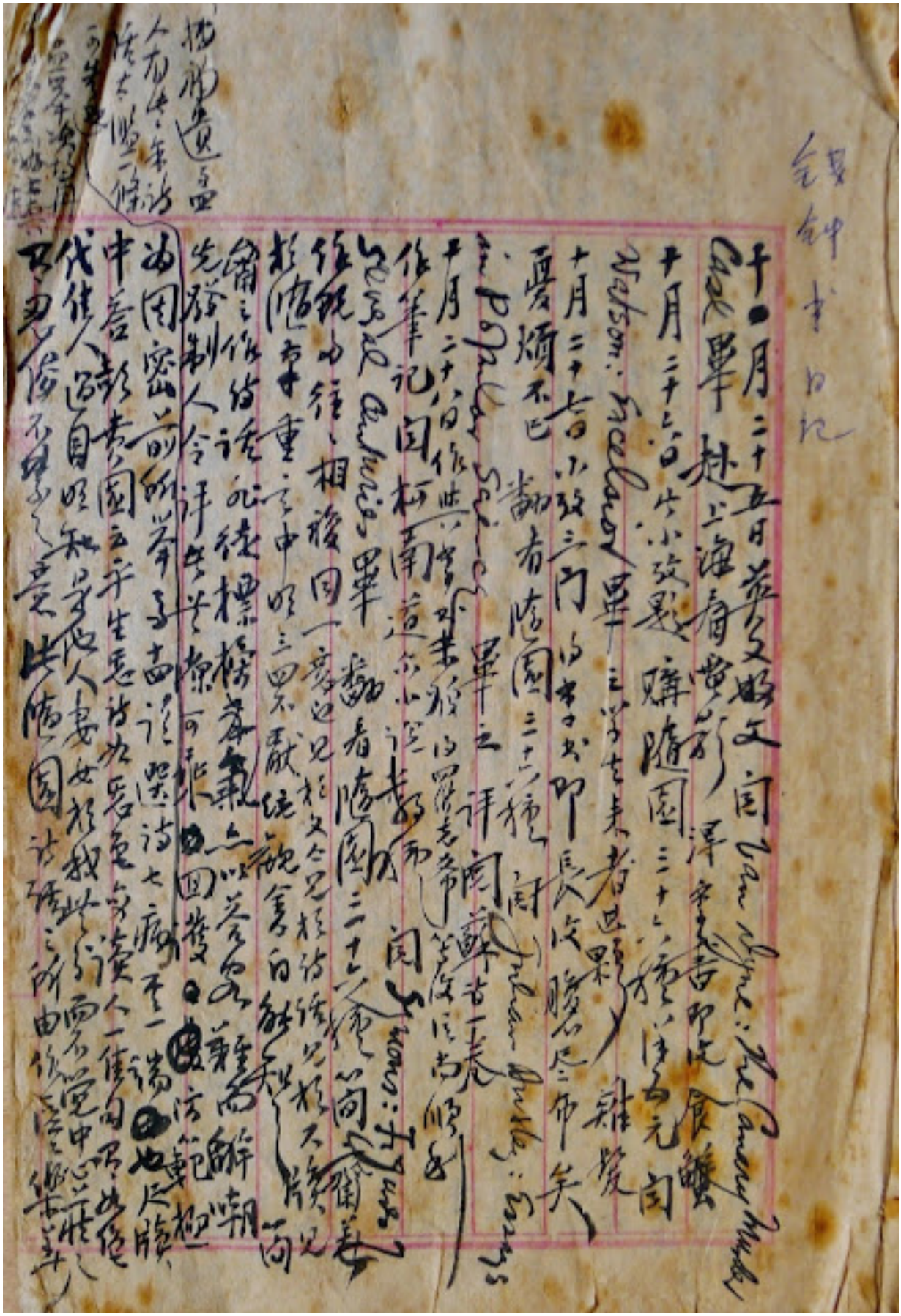


Image 1.3: The opening leaf of "Court Diary Fourteen." Source: QJZ 14: a.

emperor, for comic effect. Seventeen volumes of *Qiju zhu* were discovered in Wuxi in 1981. These, however, were allegedly retrieved by their author on the pretext of compiling the "Complete Works of Qian Zhongshu," and have since been entombed in a restricted archive, presumably at Tsinghua.[8] Only volume fourteen has since, thanks to the enterprising subterfuge of an anonymous scholar, seen the light of day.[9] Working from the hypothesis that other diaries in this series were of a similar length, we can estimate that Qian began them in 1929, during his first year as an undergraduate at Tsinghua. When, exactly, they end is more difficult to gauge. We know for certain that the series was still active while Qian was studying at Oxford, between 1935 and 1937. The opening leaf of notebook number 3 in the *Waiwen biji* 外文筆記 (Foreign Language Notebooks) series tells us that "this notebook contains the key points of French and English books. For Chinese works, see [my] "Court Diary."[10] A stray entry from his sojourn abroad, dating from January 1st, 1937, has been pasted into the final two pages of a later notebook.[11] On his return to China, Qian continued to keep a diary under a host of different names, although these entries were generally nestled among passages of dedicated reading notes. While teaching at National Southwest Association University in 1938 he compiled a "Diary of my Travels in Yunnan" (*Lü dian risheng* 旅滇日記).[12] A subsequent job at the National Teachers College in Lantian 藍田 resulted in a "Journal from Hunan" (*Xiang risheng* 湘日乘), dating from late 1939 to early 1940.[13] The next notebook that we find bearing the title of a diary is "A Journal from a Makeshift Dwelling" (*Qiezhu lou risheng* 且住樓日乘), dating from 1948 and 1949.[14] This is followed by "A Journal from a Remote Hovel" (*Pianyuan lu risheng* 偏遠盧日乘), dating from July

[8] Fan Xulun 范旭侖, "Qian Zhongshu de 'Qijuzhu' 錢鍾書的起居注," *Nanfang dushubao* 南方都市報, Oct. 14th, 2021.
[9] The identity of Shixi youjin 視昔猶今 is unknown. His blog, *Taogeng huaigen shuwu* 桃梗槐根書屋, compiled from the relative safety of the United States, includes a full transcription of "Court Diary 14," with accompanying photographs from the original notebook. The authenticity of this material is evident from both a graphological and biographical point of view.
[10] 英法文書提要鉤玄，多在此冊。若中土之典籍，則有《起居注》在。WWBJ 1: 397.
[11] ZWBJ 1: 662.
[12] ZWBJ 1: 226–316.
[13] ZWBJ 2: 77–146.
[14] ZWBJ 1: 332–371

to December 1949,[15] "Diary from a Swallow's Nest" (*Yanchao riji* 燕巢日記), dating from 1950,[16] and finally, "A Journal of Squalor" (*Hui sheng* 穢乘), dating from January 1951 to February 1952.[17] In her preface to the *Foreign Language* series, Yang Jiang informs us,

> 一九五二年知識份子第一次受"思想改造"時，他風聞學生可檢查"老先生"的日記。日記屬私人私事，不宜和學術性的筆記混在一起。他用小剪子把日記部分剪掉毀了.[18]
>
> When intellectuals were first subjected to "thought reform" in 1952, [Qian] heard rumours that students might inspect the diaries of "old scholars." [He concluded] that diaries, which generally contain private matters about private people, shouldn't be muddled up with scholarly notes. Using a small pair of scissors, he cut out the diary sections, which were then destroyed.

Except for a solitary week from Qian's time in Hunan,[19] all the diary entries from the notebooks listed above have been either excised or deleted with black ink (for an example of an excision see Image 1.4.). We can infer, moreover, that the survival of some diaries, such as the seventeen volumes of *Qiju zhu*, may be accounted for by the fact that Qian, either by accident or design, no longer had access to them. Most notebooks dating from the 1940s contain occasional references to the *Qiju zhu* series. In his notes for "An Anthology of Poetry from Across the [Ming] Dynasty" (*Liechao shiji* 列朝詩集), which features in a notebook dating from 1948, Qian writes, "I have omitted anything that has been included in the entry of May 15th from "Court Diary" volume five."[20] Similarly, in his jottings from Zhou Shouchang's 周壽昌 (1818-1884) "Daily Notes from the Hall of Improving Thoughts" (*Siyi tang rizha* 思益堂日札), Qian writes, "I have not recorded anything from this volume that is already found in "Court Diary" volume twelve."[21] After 1952, however, the *Qiju zhu* cease to

[15] ZWBJ 1: 445–470.
[16] ZWBJ 1: 371–423.
[17] ZWBJ 1: 61–218. For a full account of the chronological evidence for the early diaries, see Appendix A.2.
[18] WWBJ 1: ii.
[19] ZWBJ 2: 92–102.
[20] 凡《起居注》卷六五月十五日已摘錄者俱從略 ZWBJ 4: 3.
[21] 此卷中已見《起居注》卷十二者不錄。ZWBJ 3: 279.

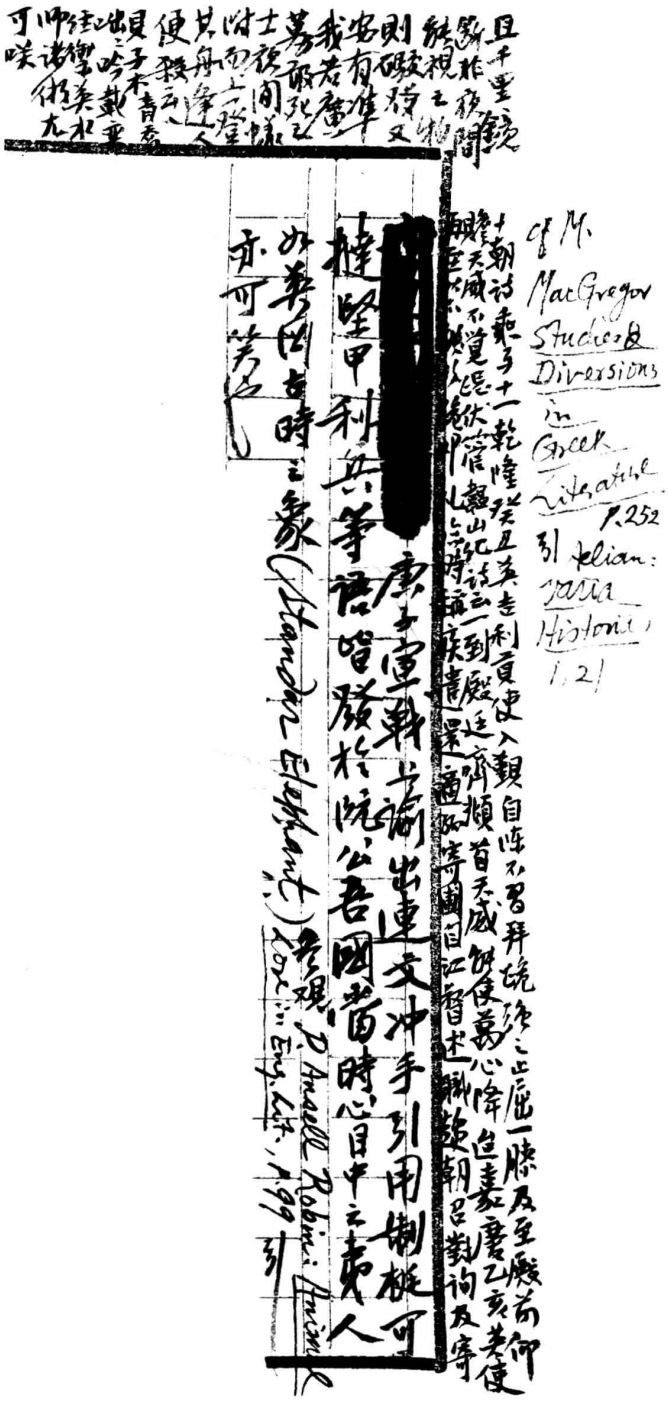


Image 1.4: An excised diary entry from “A Journal from a Makeshift Dwelling.” Source: ZWBJ 1: 362.

be mentioned entirely.[22] Political concerns not only forced Qian to stop compiling diaries; they also prevented him from reviewing and integrating them into his growing corpus of notes. In this light, "Court Diary 14" appears all the more invaluable, as it offers us our only window onto a mode of notetaking and revision that Qian continued over the course of more than two decades, and whose rupture marks a defining milestone in the evolution of the notebooks. In the following section, therefore, I will examine the contents and structure of this diary to determine what implications the loss of the journals had for the form and organisation of Qian's later notebooks. This discussion will soon plunge us into a complex textual ecology of diaries, notes, extracts, marginalia, daily notes, and reference frameworks. For the present, I will limit myself to tracing the overarching evolution of the notebooks; the finer distinctions and interactions between these competing textual systems will come into sharper focus over the course of this thesis.

1.3: Court Diary Fourteen

"Court Diary 14" contains a total of ninety-five entries, arranged chronologically over the course of four months. These entries range in length from one line, such as the example given above, to over ten pages. The longer entries are padded with discussions and quotations from the books that Qian was reading on the day in question. In total, Qian mentions having read 117 works, 40 of which are in Chinese, and 77 in English. The discrepancy between these two figures is misleading. The tally of English language works is inflated by Qian's voracious appetite for detective novels and thrillers, such as Rafael Sabatini's *Scaramouche*, and H.B. Marriott Watson's *The Excelsior*. Moreover, the diaries contain no comprehensive notes on English works, the great majority of which are mentioned merely in passing. All extended discussions of literature are restricted to Chinese books, in particular classical poetry and "remarks on poetry" (*shihua* 詩話).[23] While English works lead in number,

[22] The *Rong'an guan* 容安館 series, dating from late 1952 to 1973, contains not a single mention of the diaries.
[23] Qian had evidently already formed the habit of separating his Chinese and foreign language notes. This practice will be further discussed below.

therefore, Chinese works dominate in substance. Each entry begins with a laconic account of the day's activities. Qian, however, adheres to no strict form or structure, and weaves freely between life and literature, often passing unannounced from one to the other. The entry of November 23rd, 1933, may serve to illustrate his meandering train of thought:

> 得李高潔書，即復。作書致璧恒書店。得季書，即復。式圭以《瓶水齋詩集》見贈，有詩話者，大喜。改文。閱 Waley: 170 Chinese Poems，其引言中有一節，與余舊作〈論舊詩〉文立論頗不謀而合。一則以喜，一則以怒。然余文較剴透也。閱 Sullivan: Aspects of Science 畢。讀法文、德文。王世勛妹來。學生來。作筆記。圈蘇詩一卷。閱 France: Life & Letters, St. Adcock: The Glory that was Grub Street。思一字不得，怏怏久之，須待其自來耳。作書上母親。答張其昀。清三大詩人之後皆不昌：宋荔裳幼女祝髮中山為尼，名道啟；王漁洋孫為新城縣皂隸，南昌尚鎔賦詩哀之，有云：「名盛久如明七子，孫微今似魯三桓」；翁覃谿曾孫女溷迹市中，貧無以度，葉潤臣引為己女，擇名門子嫁之。【覃谿孫不肖事，亦詳見《緣督廬日記鈔·五》五十九頁以下，又《安般簃詩》辛集〈蕭寺又一首傷黃再同〉自注。《復初齋文·書查初白中山尼詩後》力駁其誣。不知有人能昭雪覃谿身後一大憾否？】豈高明鬼瞰，盛極則難為繼耶？然隨園窮奢極慾，而有通有遲，一以詞，一以畫，幹父之蠱，補其闕如。更有翔甫為之孫，紫卿為之孫女（見《聽秋聲館詞話》），絕無西華葛帔之恨。天道誠難知哉！《三風十愆記》中記飲食，可仿《隨園食單》[15]。《方氏五種》詳言纏足之美，人知者尠。學書。[24]

[24] QJZ 14: b.

Received and replied to a letter from Li Gaojie.[25] Wrote to Biheng publishers.[26] Received and replied to a letter from Ji.[27] Shigui[28] gave me *Collected Poetry From the Studio of Vases and*

[25] The Chinese name of Cyril Drummond Le Gros Clark (1894-1945). A graduate of King's College London, Le Gros Clark cut his teeth in the Desert Mounted Corps during the First World War, participating in the capture of Jerusalem. Inspired by intellectual curiosity and a spirit of adventure, he then joined the Sarawak Civil Service, in preparation for which he spent two years learning Chinese in Amoy. In 1931, Le Gros Clark published *Selections from the Works of Su Tung-p'o,* accompanied by a series of engravings made by his wife. Qian reviewed the work in the *Tsinghua Weekly* (*Qinghua zhoukan* 清華週刊 vol. 36, no. 11). It was perhaps this review that inspired Gustav Ecke, then a lecturer in philosophy at Tsinghua, to introduce Le Gros Clark to the young prodigy. "Court Diary 14," records letters flying between the two on an almost weekly basis, as the maverick sinologist presses Qian for corrections to his translations and a preface for his anticipated *Prose-Poetry* of *Su Tung-p'o.* On February 27th, 1934, Qian writes, "I've been correcting Li Gaojie's translations of Su Shi's prose. The errors are so egregious as to be painful to behold. [I had] to rewrite almost the entire thing." 為李高潔校訂所譯蘇文，謬誤不堪入目，幾為通體改作. QJZ 14: j. This assessment is at odds with the glowing words that bring his preface to a close: "Throughout the whole translation he shows the scruples of a true scholar and the imaginative sympathy possible only to a genuine lover of Su. […] If the English reader still cannot exchange smiles and salutes with Su across the great gulf of time so familiarly as the Chinese does, it is perhaps due to a difficulty inherent in the very nature of translation. It is certainly no fault of Su's accomplished translator." Le Gros Clark, *The Prose-Poetry of Su Tung-P'o*, xxii. Le Gros Clark and Qian would meet in person in Oxford, where they dined sumptuously at the St. George Hotel. Their correspondence survived Qian's decampment to Paris, then dried up. During the war, Qian revisited his preface to find the kernel for the opening essay of his masterly *Tanyi lu* (On the Art of Poetry): "Mr Li Gaojie (C.D. Le Gros Clark) has translated Su Dongpo's prose-poetry into English. I wrote a preface, in which I argued that the division of poetry into Tang and Song is of a piece with Schiller's division of poetry into ancient and modern." 李高潔君英譯東坡賦成書，余為弁言，即謂詩區唐宋，與席勒之詩分古今，此物此志。 Qian, *Tanyi lu*, 5. As late as 1993, Qian was still unaware that Le Gros Clark had been executed by the Japanese in the jungle of Borneo, only two weeks before the end of the Second World War. In Gustav Ecke's obituary, we learn that shortly before his death, the embattled sinologist carved the following message onto a tree: "'Now, every day, Allied bombers are coming, and I feel that landings will soon take place. But my life is soon to be taken, and, when Victory comes, only my words written here will remain.'" For a full account of the collaboration between Qian and Le Gros Clark, see William Blythe, "Only My Words Written Here Will Remain," *CLEAR*, Vol. 46 (Dec. 2024): 127–148.

[26] A publishing house better known as "Max Nössler & Co," based at 38 Nanjing Road, Shanghai, and run by the German expatriate E. Obenaus. In his "Translator's Preface" to *The Prose-poetry of Su Tung-p'o*, Le Gros Clark thanks Obenaus for his "assistance in obtaining editions of the poet's works and Chinese books of reference." Clark, *Su Tung-P'o*, xii. If not writing in connection with Le Gros Clark's project, Qian was presumably inquiring about German language materials, for which the publisher was most frequently patronised. Only shortly before, on November 11th, he writes "[Today] I started to learn German." 始學德文。QJZ 14: b.

[27] i.e. Yang Jikang.

[28] The courtesy name of the poet and pedagogue Chen Xianxia 陳獻夏 (1909–1967). A graduate of Kwanghua University, Chen was one of Qian's closest companions in Shanghai. In the colophon to his first collection of poetry, *Zhongshu jun shi chukan* 中書君詩初刊 (First Issue of Master Zhongshu's Poems [1934]), Qian writes, "Master Chen Shigui and Master Zhang Tingsheng abetted me to publish my humble poems, such that I was unable to contain myself." 陳君式圭、張君挺生慫恿刊拙詩，忍俊不禁。Qian, *Zhongshu jun shi chukan*, 14. Zhang Jie 張傑 (z. Tingsheng 挺生, 1911–1974), a teacher at the high school affiliated with Kwang Hua University, was Qian's roommate, and together with Chen, a disciple of Qian's father, the classical prose stylist Qian Jibo 錢基博 (1887–1957). On December 21st, 1933, Zhang was arrested under suspicion of being a communist in an incident that Qian's diary records with bold immediacy. "At midnight Tingsheng was arrested by the municipal government under the false charge of being a communist. [They] don't verify the facts, but immediately put people under lock and key. Today's events: All men are guilty until they are proven innocent. Everyone is afraid. Even the most outspoken can only swallow their words and hold back their emotions. Fourteen others from my university were arrested at the same time, including one woman. More than sixty from other universities. I've been unable to sleep for the entire night." 夜半挺生被市政府捕去，有人誣為共黨也。不察情實，遽加縲紲。今日之事：All men are guilty until they are proven innocent。人人自危，而前頭鸚鵡，祇可吞聲飲恨而已。同時被捕者，本校十四人，女生一人，他校共六十餘人。徹宵未睡。QJZ 14: e. Qian's father recalls the same event in his "Self-Criticism" (Ziwo jiantao shu 自我檢討書) of 1952, "At midnight, the lights were out, and I was already in bed. I heard the sound of approaching footsteps, and a sudden knock at my door. I opened up to find my son, Zhongshu, draped in a coat and in bare feet. He whispered, "Zhang Jie has been arrested!" […] [Qian] told me that just as they were falling asleep, they heard the door lock rattle. Suspecting a burglar, they shouted and called out. The door opened [to reveal] one man holding a gun, and another holding a torch and a notebook. "Who are you?" [they barked]. On hearing the name 'Qian Zhongshu' they turned and hectored at Zhang Jie

Water.[29] I'm delighted that it includes "remarks on poetry." Marking. Read Waley's *170 Chinese poems*. There's a section in the foreword that advances an argument that I, coincidentally, made in an old essay of mine: "On Old Poetry."[30] I was both delighted and incensed. My piece, however, is sharper and more penetrating. Finished reading Sullivan's *Aspects of Science*.[31] Studied French and German. Wang Shixun's younger sister visited.[32] Students visited. I made notes. Annotated a volume of Su Shi's poetry. Read France's *Life and Letters* and St. Adhock's *The Glory that was Grub Street*.[33] I couldn't write a word [of my own], which left me flustered for some while. One must wait for [the words] to come by themselves.[34] I wrote to mother. Replied to Zhang Qiyun.[35] The descendants of three great Qing poets were all destitute: Song Lichang's (h. of Song Wan 宋琬, 1614–1674) young daughter took the tonsure at Zhongshan and became a nun; her Dharma name was Daoqi. Wang Yuyang's (h. of 王士禛, 1634–1711) grandson was a lowly scribe in Xincheng county. In Nanchang there's even a poem to lament this state of affairs, which reads, "[His] fame is as lasting as the Seven Masters of the Ming / but his grandson is now reduced to the [obscurity] of the Three Huan of

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to get up. He was handcuffed and taken out. I asked Zhongshu to accompany me to see the headmaster of the secondary school, Liao Shicheng (1892–1970). When we got to the ground floor, a man with a gun shouted at us to freeze. At dawn we learned that many people from universities in Shanghai had been arrested." 民國二十二年十二月，上海各大學被捕二百多人；那時，我在光華大學。一天，是冬至的隔夜，夜間十二時，電燈熄，我已上床，聽得足聲歷落；旋有人叩吾房門；開視，乃吾兒子鍾書，披衣赤足，低聲說：『張傑被捕！』（。。。）據稱：正將入眠，聽得房門鎖響；疑為竊喊，叱問。乃門開；見一人持手槍，一人持手電筒，揭帳問『你是什麼人？』一聽是『錢鍾書』就轉身喝張傑起，背綁而出。我叫鍾書相陪去看附中主任廖世承，去到樓底頭，有一人持手槍喝禁，不許動。到天明，乃知上海各大學一夜捉人不少。 Qian Jibo, "Ziwo jiantao shu," 65. Over the following weeks, Qian's diaries are occupied with the difficulties of extracting his roommate from prison. In the meantime, he talks with Chen Shigui deep into the night, admitting in his journal that "I'm afraid of being home alone." 怯空房也。(Dec. 24th) QJZ 14: f. Both Chen and Zhang would die during the Cultural Revolution.

[29] An anthology by the Qing poet and dramatist Shu Wei 舒位 (1765–1816). Chen, Zhang, and Qian were constantly buying each other books. Only two weeks before Qian had given Chen *Yuan Mei's Collected Poems and Prose.* Their friendship, however, was characterised by competition as well as generosity. "Tingsheng is very studious, but he's no writer. His stammering style fails to carry the point across. Every time he writes a letter to his parents, he suffers terribly; the abandoned drafts form a pile, and it takes an age before he's done. [The result] is awkward and abstruse. He loves to construct sweeping cadences, such as "verily" and "par contre" and sprinkles the page with classical "*nuns.*" Shigui writes more fluently, but his style is brittle and stark, like the idol of [Cen Ji's 岑霁 (fl. 17th c.) poem] "Temple of Exposed Sinews" [where the poet pays homage to the legend of a chaste female soul], or like the bones in a museum. They should really make amends, so that no-one can say of my father that his disciples are unaccomplished." 挺生極好學，而不善文詞，蹇吃勿達意。每作書致尊親，慘淡經營，廢紙成堆，良久脫稿，佶屈鉤棘，好為翻騰跌盪，且夫然而，之乎者也，狼藉滿紙，莫辨命意所在。式圭較通順，而生硬槎枒，如露筋祠中偶象，如博物院中骸骨，亟宜精進，毋使人笑大人門下有未達之弟子也。(Dec. 10th) QJZ 14: d.

[30] "On 'Old' Chinese Poetry" was published the following month in *The China Critic,* Vol. 6, No. 50 (Dec. 14th, 1933): 1206–1208. The agreement between Waley and Qian concerns a literary commonplace: the absence of love poetry in classical Chinese literature. "Amatory verses and songs on conjugal love we have, and in plenty. But for the poems that describe without any reserve that dynamic vital force which draws a man and a woman close together and that impact of hot feeling upon hot feeling, search where we will, we shall search in vain." Qian, *English Essays*, 13. The uncharacteristic effusion of Qian's essay becomes more understandable when read in the light of his frustrated epistles to his distant intended in Peking.

[31] Qian's notes for *Aspects of Science* have survived in the earliest attributable *Foreign Languages* notebook that we possess. Qian embarked on this notebook, whose cover bears the emblem of Kwang Hua University, in late 1933. It lay fallow for several years, before he returned to it after studying abroad. This particular entry is composed exclusively of direct quotations. It demonstrates, however, that Qian was already able to read competently in French; a quotation from Poincaré appears without annotation. WWBJ 19: 13.

[32] Identity unknown.

[33] No notes exist for either of these titles.

[34] On November 11th, Qian plotted, "I'm thinking of writing one essay on the endearing nature of ugliness, and another one on distance and beauty." 思作一文論醜惡之可愛，又一文論距離與美。QJZ 14: d. Neither of these essays came to immediate fruition, though the former topic would eventually make its way into *Guanzhui bian*. See GZB: 216–219.

[35] Zhang Qiyun (1901–1985). Then editor-in-chief of the newly established *Guofeng* 國風 magazine, where Qian had recently published "Zhongguo wenxue xiaoshi xulun 中國文學小史序論," Vol. 3, No. 8 (Oct. 16th, 1933): 5–14.

> Lu." Weng Tanxi's (h. of Weng Fanggang 翁方綱, 1733–1818) great-granddaughter sank into vagrancy in the city and was unable to make ends meet; Ye Runchen (dates unknown) adopted her and married her off to the scion of a prominent family. {MARGINALIA: For the unfilial behaviour of Tanxi's grandson see page 59 onwards in *juan* five of *A Copy of the Diary from the Hovel of Abiding Moderation*. See also the self-annotation to "Another Poem Lamenting Huang Zaitong at a Buddhist Temple" collected in *An Banyi's Poetry*. [Weng Fanggang's] essay "After Copying Zha Chubai's poem 'The Nun of Zhongshan,'" collated in *Fu Chuzhai's Collected Prose*, vehemently rebuts [Zha Chubai's (h. of Zha Shenxing 查慎行, 1650–1727)] accusations. Is there anyone who can clear the name of Tanxi's descendant in association with this regrettable incident?"}[36] How is this a case of "the ghosts setting their sights upon the noble and resplendent," or it being "hard to live in the shadow of illustrious forbears?" Suiyuan (h. of Yuan Mei 袁枚, 1716–1798) wallowed in luxury and gave free rein to his passions. But his two sons, [Yuan] Tong (1775–1829) and [Yuan] Chi (1779–1928) (the former practising poetry, the latter painting) took up their father's ambition, and compensated for his failings. Moreover, his grandson, Xiangfu [z. of Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志 (1827–1898)], and his granddaughter, Ziqing [z. of Yuan Shou 袁綬 (1795–1867)] (see "Remarks on Lyrics from the Hall for Appreciating Autumnal Sounds"), can hardly be reproached for having betrayed his reputation. The ways of heaven are truly mysterious! The descriptions of food and drink in *A Record of All Vices and Depravities* are modelled on *Suiyuan's Recipes*. *The Five Categories of Master Fang* expounds, at great length, on the beauty of bound feet. Few have picked up on this. I practised calligraphy.

Ideally, footnotes to diaries should observe the art historian Anne Olivier Bell's (1916–2018) four sage watchwords: accuracy, relevance, concision, interest.[37] I have, however, gladly sacrificed concision for the sake of the remaining three. My grounds for doing so are that a single diary entry, as opposed to a coherent corpus of diaries, requires an auxiliary understanding of the subject's biography and social milieu. Who were Qian's contacts? What had he recently written? What was he planning to write? When equipped with this knowledge, even the blandest of statements, such as "I received and replied to a letter from Li Gaojie," becomes a far richer story that spans two continents and several decades. More explicit entries, such as that which records the arrest of his roommate Zhang Jie, demonstrate why it was necessary for Qian to later destroy his diaries, for if he continued to write about political oppression under the Communists with anything like as much candour as he had during the Republic, he had good reason to fear prying eyes.

[36] Qian read Ye Changchi's 葉昌熾 (1849–1917) *A Copy of the Diary from the Hovel of Abiding Moderation* on Jan 8th, 1934. See QJZ 14: g.
[37] Davenport-Hines ed., *Letters from Oxford,* x.

The entry of November 23rd, however, is interesting not only for the nuggets that it furnishes for a literary biography, but also for the attitude that it reveals towards learning and literature. The fruits of Qian's erudition are presented in a manner that, while at first glance disjointed, is in fact wholly organic; the young scholar's literary insight is shown to be the result of a process firmly rooted in time and place. On October 26th, for example, Qian tells us that he "Bought *Thirty-sixty Categories of Suiyuan's Writing* for five silver yuan."[38] Though he records dipping into Yuan Mei's anthology the next day, it wasn't until the 28th that he began to compile notes in earnest. Here, he reminds himself that "I have copies of seven of the thirty-six categories at home, namely 'collected prose,' 'collected poetry,' 'uncollected prose,' 'remarks on poetry,' 'random notes,' 'letters,' and 'a record of conversations about Yingzhou.'"[39] The entry includes observations on thematic repetitions across Yuan Mei's oeuvre, the poet's notorious lechery, and Yuan Xiangfu's *Anecdotes about Suiyuan* (*Suiyuan suoji* 隨園瑣記). On October 29th, Qian plunges further into the anthology, declaring "*Suiyuan's Recipes* are sublime, though some [of the recipes] are also somewhat baffling."[40] By November 4th, he has moved on to reading Yuan Mei's most prominent contemporaries. We are by now eminently familiar with the brief preamble:

> 下午看電影，晚又食蟹。繙看《甌北詩集》，於隨園不能無妬心也。《復堂日記補錄》亦謂蔣心餘《評四六法》頗隱刺簡齋。文人相忌，自古而然。隨園之於二子詩，亦屢致不足，儼然以先進自居也。[41]

> In the afternoon I watched a film. In the evening I ate crab again. I browsed through *The Collected Poetry of Oubei* (z. of Zhao Yi 趙翼, 1727–1814). [Oubei] couldn't help but be jealous of Suiyuan. *Addenda to the Diary from the Hall of Restoration* also mentions that Jiang Xinyu's (z. of Jiang Shiquan 蔣士銓, 1725–1785) *Commentary and Selections from the Anthology of Parallel Prose* contains a good number of hidden jibes at Jianzhai (h. of Yuan Mei). Writers have derided each other since antiquity. Suiyuan often brings up the shortcomings of both men's poems, and clearly viewed himself as more than their equal.

[38] 購《隨園三十六種》，洋五元。QZJ 14: a.
[39] 《三十六種》中，余家有重本者，《文集》、《詩集》、《外集》、《詩話》、《隨筆》、《尺牘》、《談瀛錄》凡七種。QZJ 14: a.
[40] 翻看《隨園三十六種》。《食單》大妙，惟亦有強作解事者。QZJ 14: a.
[41] QZJ 14: a.

Yuan, Jiang and Zhao are often mentioned in the same breath as the three great poets of the "native sensibility school" (*xingling pai* 性靈派). It is therefore unsurprising that on November 28th Qian compares Yuan Mei to another literary trinity of the Qing, namely Song, Wang and Weng, though this time the source of interest is not their writing, but their descendants. Qian's musings on this day, perhaps prompted by his earlier review of Yuan Xiangfu's *Anecdotes about Suiyuan,* are more than academic. As the eldest son of a famous classical prose stylist, the young scholar naturally wondered what the future held for himself. With only a slender collection of poetry and several articles to his name, he had yet to launch anything that resembled a literary career. Would he honour his father's example, or fall into obscurity and destitution? The diary is saturated with uncertainties: the precarious distance of Yang Jikang, the constant threat of arrest, prosaic worries about money, and niggling doubts about his ability to write. In this context, literature offered more than a respite; it provided a world apart in which to live and grow.

Qian's visceral experience of books extends beyond their materiality, price and provenance; his sensitivity to language betrays shades of what Nabokov promiscuously describes as "fondling the details."[42] On October 28th, for instance, Qian quotes approvingly from one of Yuan Mei's letters, "I've always loved poetry like I love feminine beauty. Every time I read a fine line by someone else, it's as if the stunner of a lifetime had sauntered by. Though I know her to be someone else's wife, and have no claim to her, I unconsciously sequester [an image of] her away in my mind, as if unable to contain myself. This is the origin of my *Remarks on Poetry*."[43] Similarly, Qian's early notes on literature share the qualities of an amorous encounter. We learn of the time and place of the initial meeting, the reader's first impressions, followed by his more considered reflections. As a lived experience that sits side by side with the concrete particulars of his daily life, these notes do not lend themselves to strict organisation. They share their only guiding principle with that of experience itself,

[42] "In reading, one should notice and fondle details." Nabokov, *Lectures in Literature*, 1.
[43] 平生愛詩如愛色，每讀人一佳句，有如絕代佳人過目，明知是他人妻女，於我無分，而不覺中心藏之，有忍俊不禁之意，此《隨園詩話》之所由作. QJZ 14: a.

namely time. Even the rare instances of marginalia, which highlight relevant passages from other works, all date from roughly the same period, and constitute spontaneous associations between texts that he had recently read, rather than a conscious and systematic attempt to identify common themes across a broad programme of reading. The fragmented nature of Qian's notes on Yuan Mei means that an editor would struggle to piece them together into a coherent article, as Qian claims earlier to have done with his notes on Darwin. And yet the multitude of references to the diaries in later notebooks prove that Qian continued to find consulting them useful. He mined them for buried summaries and long forgotten *aperçus*. But he would also have taken pleasure, as we do, in recollecting his earlier self. "Court Diary 14" not only provides us with our most intimate portrait of Qian's inner life; it presents that portrait in real time, like an image moving in a mirror. The excision of the diaries, and the abandonment of time as a mode of knowledge organisation, entailed the shattering of that mirror. To understand what Qian would do with the resulting shards we must turn to another series of notebooks, the earliest of which can be dated to the same period as "Court Diary 14."

1.4: Cycles of Reading

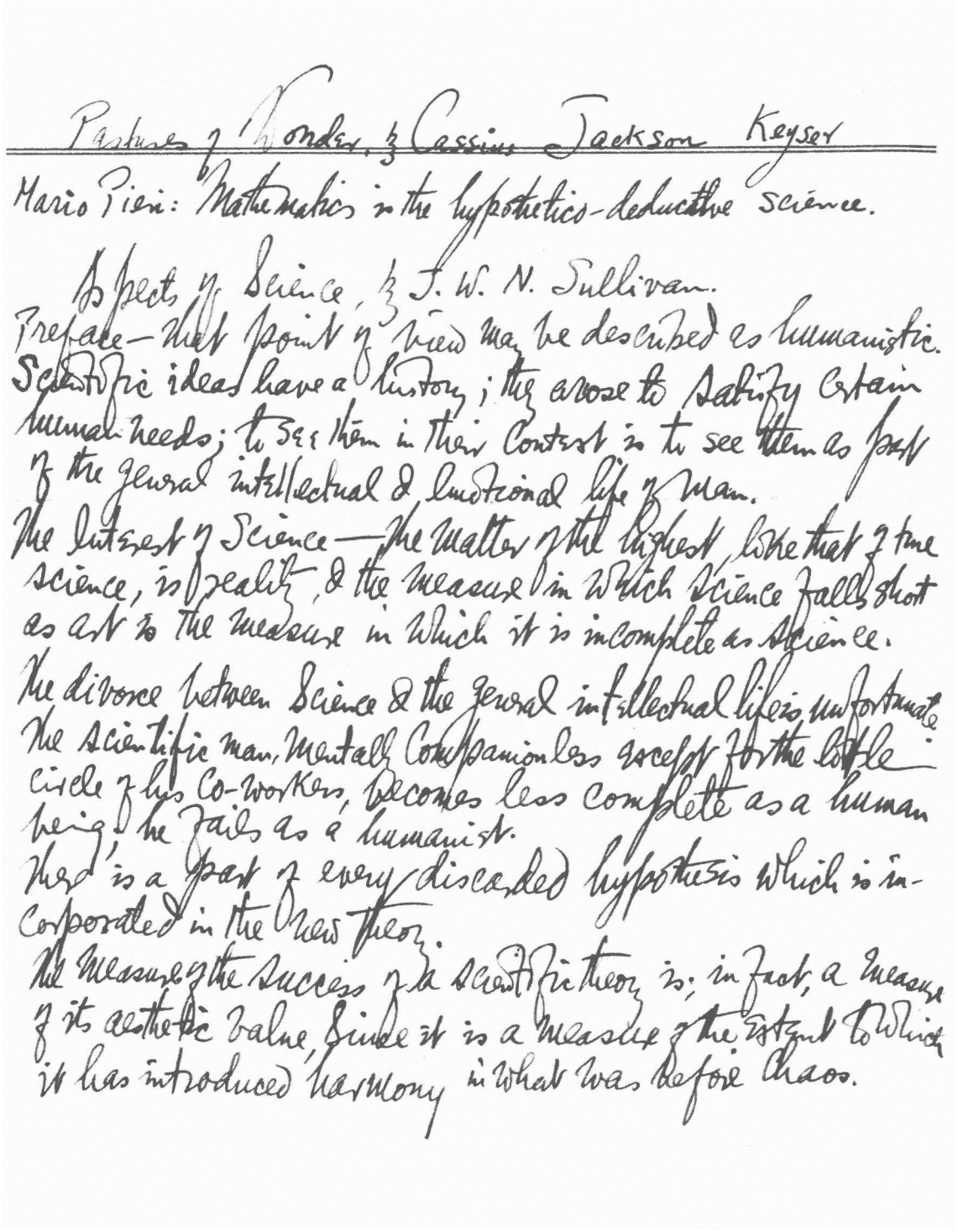
Internal evidence from "Court Diary 14" demonstrates that, as early as 1933, Qian's notetaking apparatus consisted of at least two separate and largely independent systems. Indeed, most diary entries refer in passing to a latent, second system. On October 31st, Qian writes, "Overcast with rain. Received a letter from Ji. Replied. English composition. Compiled notes. […]"[44] This short entry, however, contains no literary observations, indicating that the notes in question belong to a different notebook altogether. The almost daily reoccurrence of this pattern suggests that Qian was already in the habit of dividing his "notes" from his "diaries," although the latter also contained jottings from Chinese books.

[44] 陰雨。得季書，即復。英作文。作筆記。QJZ 14: a.

In the previous section, I identified a notebook that, in part at least, is contemporaneous with "Court Diary 14." The early entries from notebook 109 from the *Waiwen biji* are written in a fast, fluid, but eminently legible hand that differs from the denser script of later entries (Noel Langley's *So Unlike the English*, from the same notebook, was first published in 1937).[45] In contrast to the notes found in "Court Diary 14," each of these early entries focuses exclusively on one work and consists of little more than direct quotations. Qian's notes on Sullivan's *Aspects of Science*, for instance, begin with an extract from the preface, and end with a quotation from the penultimate chapter, "Mathematics and Music" (see Image 1.5).[46] The young scholar has clearly worked through the volume from beginning to end, taking notes methodically as he went. No bibliographic information has been provided, and in lieu of page numbers we only find chapter headings. Also absent is the date of compilation, though cross referencing with "Court Diary 14" allows us to securely chronologise the entry to late November 1933.

These notes are most remarkable for their spartan anonymity. Qian is not interested in recording his initial encounter with the work, nor even his own assessment of its merits and shortcomings. Instead of composing summaries, he culls each chapter for extracts that are most representative of its arguments, allowing these passages to speak for themselves. While to the outside observer this results in a jumble of quotations that fails to satisfactorily capture either the contents of the work, or the compiler's own opinions of it, for Qian this method of notetaking clearly had two major advantages. In the first instance, the act of transcribing passages verbatim helped to consciously internalise the arguments at hand. The notes, therefore, were less of an aid to memory than a direct embodiment of memory itself. They functioned as both a process and an end. Second, when writing for public consumption, this growing fund of transcriptions allowed Qian to reliably quote from his notes without returning to the original text, thereby drastically reducing the amount of bibliographic spade

[45] WWBJ 19: 3–88.
[46] WWBJ 19: 12–16.


Pastures of Wonder, by Cassius Jackson Keyser

Mario Pieri: Mathematics is the hypothetics-deductive science.

Aspects of Science, by J. W. N. Sullivan.

Preface—that point of view may be described as humanistic.

Scientific ideas have a history; they arose to satisfy certain human needs; to see them in their context is to see them as part of the general intellectual & emotional life of man.

The interest of Science—the matter of the highest, like that of true science, is reality, & the measure in which science falls short as art is the measure in which it is incomplete as science.

The divorce between Science & the general intellectual life is unfortunate. The scientific man, mentally companionless except for the little circle of his co-workers, becomes less complete as a human being; he fails as a humanist.

There is a part of every discarded hypothesis which is incorporated in the new theory.

The measure of the success of a scientific theory is, in fact, a measure of its aesthetic value, since it is a measure of the extent to which it has introduced harmony in what was before chaos.

Image 1.5: Qian's notes on Sullivan's *Aspects of Science*. Source: WWBJ 19: 12

work associated with any scholarly production. The notes served, in other words, as a portable library that was immediately available for consultation in a moment of need. While the compilation of these transcriptions evidently consumed a great deal of Qian's leisure hours, it also saved many later hours of academic labour.[47]

The notetaking practices first glimpsed in notebook 109 are representative of the overwhelming majority of Qian's manuscripts, which, from their modest beginnings in 1933, to their final pages in the early 1990s, principally serve as a comprehensive record of the scholar's private reading. The auxiliary nature of the notes suggests, at first glance, comparisons with the western practice of commonplace books. Qian's notebooks, however, share nothing of the thematic organisation that is the defining characteristic of this genre.[48] Indeed, other than a broad division between foreign language works and Chinese works, we are hard pressed to identify any organisational principle other than that furnished by the title of the work under examination. The notes for each work are presented sequentially, reproducing all the idiosyncrasies and inconsistences of his reading career. In this respect, they superficially inherit the chronological scheme of the diaries. But while in theory we should be able to trace the linear progression of Qian's erudition over the course of more than half a century, the scholar, frustratingly, rarely dated his notebooks. As we have already seen, he not infrequently abandoned a set of notes, only to return to them later, without commenting on the cause or duration of the interruption. We can often, therefore, only determine a loose chronological range for a given notebook, while chronologising specific entries presents even greater difficulties.[49]

While Qian was clearly uninterested in grouping his notes thematically or chronologically, we can identify an altogether more elastic scheme by which he endeavoured to lend them coherence. This

[47] In her preface to the *Waiwen biji*, Yang Jiang writes, "Zhongshu needed around twice as much time to compile notes on a book as to read it." 鍾書做一遍筆記的時間，約莫是讀這本書的一倍。WWBJ 1: i.
[48] "Commonplace" is derived from the Latin term *locus communis* (Greek, τόπος κοινός) meaning "a general or common topic."
[49] My methodology for chronologising Qian's notebooks will be discussed at length in chapter three.

scheme may broadly be described as "cycles of reading." The first of these cycles dates from Qian's time at Oxford, where he studied for a B.Litt. in English literature from the autumn of 1935 to the summer of 1937. In a notebook embellished with the bilingual title "Hours in the Bodleian *i* – *Baodulou dushuji ji* 飽蠹廔讀書記一 (Reading notes from the Pavilion of Sated Bookworms *i*)"[50] and signed, "Chung-shu Ch'ien, Exeter College. 4. ii. 1936,"[51] (see Image 1.6) Qian gives a brief account of the notes that follow:

> 廿五年二月起，與絳約間日赴大學圖書館讀書，各攜筆箚，露鈔雪纂、聊補三篋之無，鐵畫銀鉤，虛說千毫之禿，是為引。[52]
>
> Starting from February of the 25th [year of the Republic] (1936), Jiang (Yang Jiang) and I agreed to visit the university library every other day to read. Armed with pencil and paper, we "copy in the morning dew and in snow flurries,"[53] to make some amends for our lack of "three chests."[54] Although we write with iron strokes and silver lines, we are far from being able to boast of "wearing thousands of brushes bald."[55] This is my preface.[56]

This inscription is as remarkable for its immaculate calligraphy and authoritative seals as it is for the ostentation of its allusions. Its artifice, however, extends beyond sophistication of language and presentation. Qian and Yang had arrived in England a full four months earlier and were already frequent patrons of the Bodleian. Indeed, we can identify two preceding notebooks from Qian's time at the university.[57] Similarly to the "Hours in the Bodleian" cycle, these two notebooks chronicle Qian's early readings in French literature and his extracurricular survey of contemporary English literary criticism.[58] The innovation of "Hours in the Bodleian i" lies, therefore, not in its content, but

[50] WWBJ 1: 5
[51] WWBJ 1: 5
[52] WWBJ 1: 5
[53] An allusion to Huang Jin's 黃溍 (1277–1357) "Inscribing Master Li's White Stone Grotto" (*Ti Li shi baishi shanfang* 題李氏白石山房).
[54] A synonym for a valuable collection of books, alluding to the biography of Zhang Anshi 張安世 (?–62BC) in the *Han shu* 漢書 (The Book of Han).
[55] An allusion to Li Bai's 李白 (701–762) "Poem gifted to Wang Liyang after getting drunk" (Zui hou zeng Wang Liyang 醉後贈王歷陽).
[56] Motsch's translation. WWBJ 1: xix.
[57] Namely, *Waiwen biji* notebooks nos. 5 (WWBJ 2: 191–260) and 6 (WWBJ 2: 261–432).
[58] None of the notebooks from Oxford touch on the substantial research that Qian performed for his B.Litt. thesis, "China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." They form, therefore, only a partial record of his reading from this period.

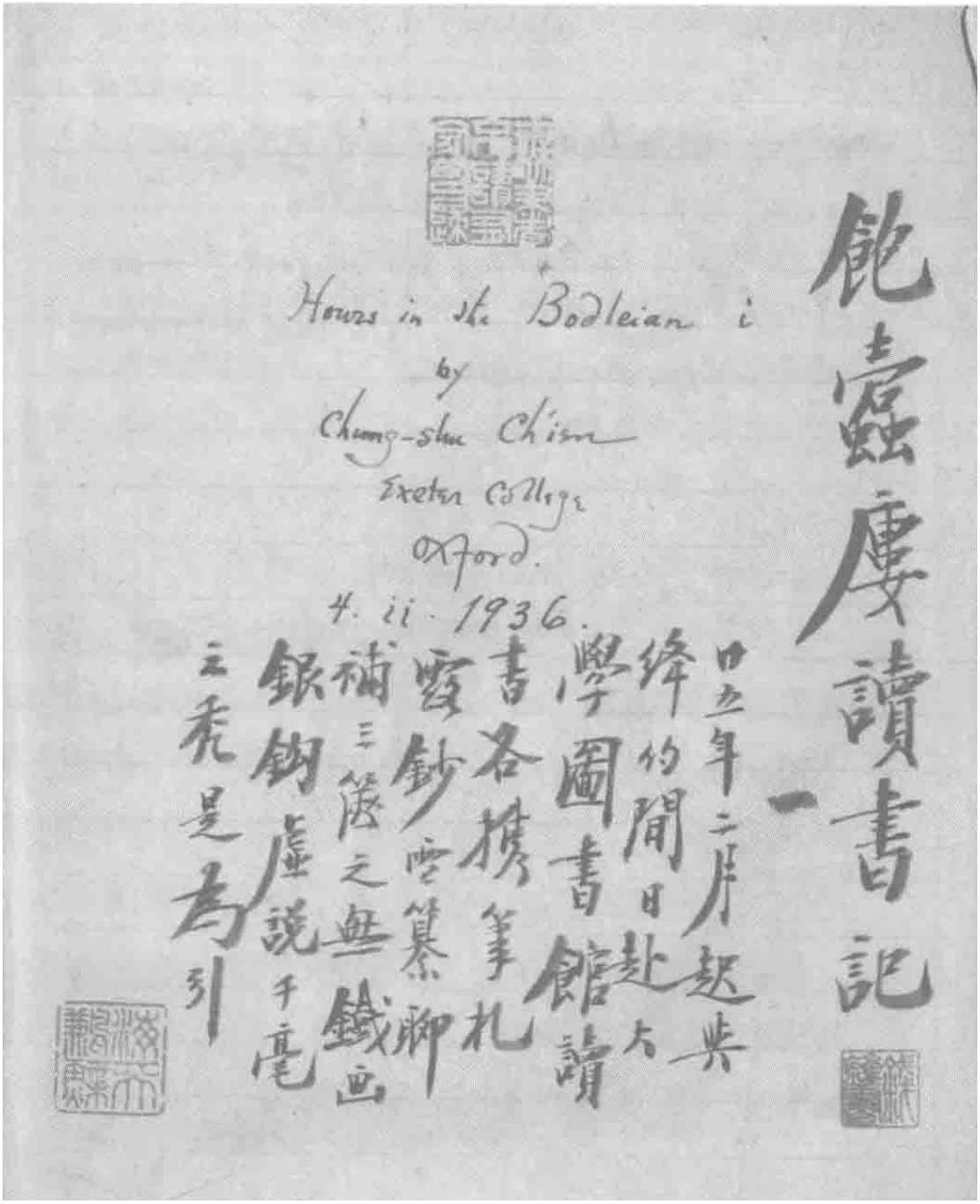


Image 1.6: The cover of the first volume in the “Hours in the Bodleian” cycle. Source: WWBJ 1: 5

in its conscious association of a period of reading with a specific place. Qian was keenly aware that his access to the Bodleian's treasures was limited; he would leave for Paris in the summer of 1937, never to return. It was all the more important, therefore, that he should ferret as much away from the library as was feasibly possible. In a poem adorning the opening leaf of "Hours in the Bodleian ii" Qian writes, "Building a refined collection of gilded books/ is no match for housing them [instead] within a capacious mind/ In compiling the highlights of, and fishing for the marvellous in books, I leave my own footprints [in the mud]/ If one discards the fishing rod, one will in fact later be left without fish."[59] Though equally allusive as the preface to the preceding notebook, this poem is more revealing. It admits that, contrary to appearances, the process of creating extracts is highly personal, reflecting the mind and interests of the compiler. Moreover, it emphasises the urgency of this endeavour. With a twist on a weary proverb, Qian argues that the tools of knowledge are inseparable from their result; if he fails to make notes in the Bodleian, he is in danger of losing the fruits of his hours there.

Strictly speaking, the "Hours in the Bodleian" cycle only contains two notebooks, with a total of eighty-nine entries.[60] Neither volume contains a table of contents. While mainly compiled of extracts, Qian frequently records his brief and often devastating assessment of the work at the end of the entry.[61] Marginalia is reserved for more spontaneous responses and relevant scholarship. Although small in the context of Qian's entire corpus of manuscripts, these two volumes nevertheless form a significant touchstone for other notebooks from the same period. The first page from notebook 3 features the following introductory statement, part of which we have already encountered above:

[59] 心同椰子納群書，金匱青箱總不如。提要鉤玄留指爪，忘筌他日并無魚。WWBJ 1: 205.
[60] In her table of contents for these two notebooks Monika Motsch has missed twenty-six entries. WWBJ 1: lxvii–iii. See Appendix B.
[61] Summing up T.S. Eliot's *The Sacred Wood*, Qian writes, with characteristic acidity, "Would be stimulating as well as soothing if offered as a string of platitudes and reversed platitudes, as exercises in hard hitting and debunking. But no logic, no analysis, in spite of Mr. E's desperate desire to appear analytical. Some shrewd *aperçus*." WWBJ 1: 29.

偕婦小住巴黎，游觀之餘，未廢誦讀。英法文書提要鉤玄，多在此冊。若中土之典籍，則有《起居注》在。輒取案頭書中語題譚，爲《飽蠹樓讀書記》之支與流裔云爾。書皆盛君澄華所有，行篋所攜皆不錄。[62]

My wife and I spent a short stay in Paris. When not busy sight-seeing, [I] kept up [my] reading. This notebook contains extracts and abstracts from French and English works. As for Chinese books, they are recorded in [my] "court diary." When the spirit grabbed me, I would open a book on my desk and jot down phrases as an extension to and development of my *Hours in the Bodleian*. The books in question all belonged to Sheng Chenghua esq.[63] I did not make notes on any of the books that I carried with me in my suitcase.

Qian first visited Paris with Yang in early August 1936, when *en route* to a conference in Vienna. This notebook, therefore, follows chronologically from "Hours in the Bodleian i and ii," but has nevertheless been catalogued as subsidiary to the more formative period that he spent in Oxford. The importance of time, in other words, has been supplanted by significance of place.

The most substantial cycle in Qian's early notebooks dates from the early to late 1940s. Qian returned from his post at the National Teachers College in Lantian to Japanese occupied Shanghai in September 1941 to care for his ailing father-in-law. The whole family moved into a cramped dwelling on Rue Lafayette, in the French Concession, where they stayed until August 1949. This was one of the most productive periods of Qian's career, spanning the composition of his only completed novel, *Weicheng*, an accomplished collection of short stories, *Ren shou gui*, and his first major work of scholarship, *Tanyi lu*. Notebook 11 in the *Foreign Language* series is inscribed, like the "Hours in the Bodleian" cycle, with a bilingual title: "Noctes Atticae, i.e. Notes in an Attic, *Tingzi jian dushu biji* 停子間讀書筆記." *Noctes Atticae* (Attic Nights) refers to a Latin work by Aulus Gellius (c. 125–180AD) comprising a series of unorganised notes on grammar, philosophy, and history, among other subjects.[64] Qian has borrowed this title to reflect the desultory form of his own notes. With a characteristic pun, however, he also captures the spirit of the garret in which he toiled late into each

[62] WWBJ 1: 397.
[63] A student of French literature at the Sorbonne, Sheng Chenghua (1912–1970) later went on to become dean of the Faculty of Foreign languages at Tsinghua.
[64] Qian's extracts on the first three volumes of *Noctes Atticae* can be found in notebook no. 121, dating from 1956.

night. The eponymous *tingzi jian* stands for a small mezzanine, typically wedged between the first and second floors of old lane houses in Shanghai. With the kitchen directly below, and a flat terrace above, these modest rooms were besieged at all hours by the noise of cooking, rain, and the stale odour of burnt oil. In the early twentieth century, when impecunious writers first started to move in droves to Shanghai, they often rented these cheap mezzanines, earning a reputation as *tingzi jian zuojia* 停子間作家 (mezzanine writers).[65]

Just as Qian earlier took pleasure in evoking, with careful calligraphy and allusive poetry, the leisure of his lucubrations in the Bodleian, so too he slips comfortably into the role of the neglected writer, whose obscurity acts as a romantic adornment to his erudition. In his diaries as a younger man, Qian had fretted about the relationship between literary talent and fortune. But when reduced, by war and banal circumstance, to real poverty, he found himself reassured by the vigour of his intellectual and literary powers. The "Noctes Atticae" cycle, consisting of fourteen notebooks, betrays the exuberance and confidence of its compiler, whose extended survey of nineteenth and early twentieth century French and English literature is accompanied by a burgeoning interest in German prose and the Italian classics, the latter albeit in translation. Like the "Hours in the Bodleian" cycle, these notes are formed almost exclusively of extracts, though Qian is here more ambitious in his transcriptions, which at times run to pages at a stretch.[66] There are signs of attempts to develop a more reliable referencing system, as some extracts are accompanied by pagination. This practice, however, is rarely allied with information on the relevant edition. An abortive effort has been made, in notebook 15 from 1948, to compile a table of contents, though this only extends to three titles.[67]

[65] Ba Jin 巴金 (1904–2005) famously lived in a *tingzi jian* on Rue Conty, in the French Concession, in 1926.
[66] See, for example, the extracts from Henri Massis' *Jugements*. WWBJ 4: 21–26.
[67] WWBJ 4: 227.

Qian inaugurated other cycles in the 1940s. Among the *Zhongwen biji*, we find "A Record of Fish Eyes and Mouse Whiskers" (*Yujing shuxu* 魚睛鼠鬚)[68] and "Golden Nuggets" (*Suijin* 碎金).[69] The *Waiwen biji*, by contrast, contains "Reading Notes from the Hall of Four Boons" (*Siyu shi zhaji* 四餘室札記)[70] and "Viscera Libri"[71] (Entrails of Books), though the former is earmarked as subsidiary to the "Noctes Atticae" cycle. Some notebooks from this period profess no affiliation with any named cycle, such as "cahier 24" (*daben* 大本 24) which embraces Qian's first comprehensive survey of the Buddhist canon.[72] Whether named or not, however, these volumes all share similar organisational and aesthetic characteristics: the Chinese notes are invariably written vertically in brush, alternating between running and cursive script, with only titles and chapter headings clearly made out in regular script. Western languages are generally written with a fountain pen. Ample space is always left for marginalia and interlineal addenda, where Qian briefly records his critical responses, annotates new vocabulary, and notes other relevant books. There are no tables of contents.

This format would change definitively with the advent of a cycle that Qian christened twice: the deprecating title "CHOP-SUEY being THE COMMONPLACE BOOK of C.S. CH'IEN"[73] (see Image 1.7) crowns the corrected draft of an opening page; in the following fair copy, however, we find, as if enshrined in marble, the more noble appellation: "TABLETS OF MEMORY being EXTRACTS & ABSTRACTS OF BOOKS. by C.S. CH'IEN" (see Image 1.8).[74] The scale of this cycle does much to earn the grandeur of its reconsidered epithet. Consisting of 1254 pages of notes on 363 titles, "Tablets of Memory" is longer than any notebook in the preceding "Noctes Atticae" series. What distinguishes it, however, is not principally the length, but the form of its orchestration, which consists of loose pages, mostly typed, that have been arranged and paginated according to a

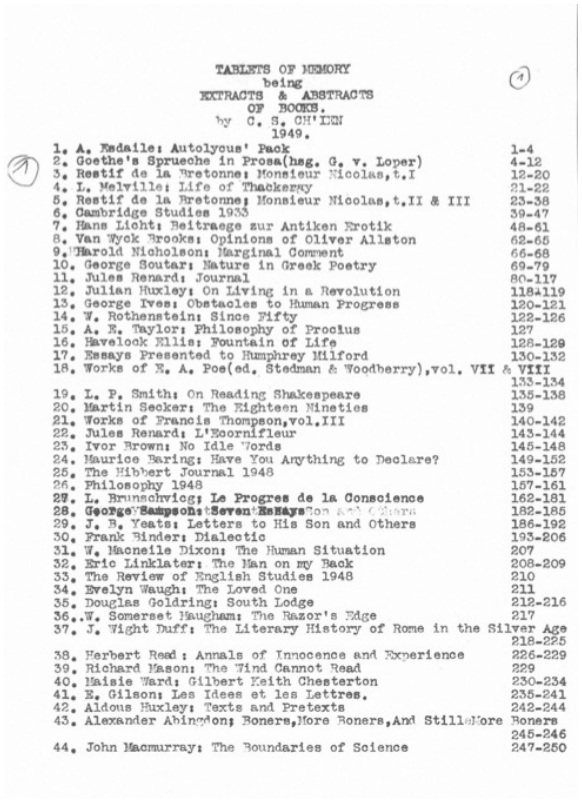
[68] ZWBJ 2: 417–466.
[69] ZWBJ 2: 5–70.
[70] WWBJ 4: 441–518.
[71] WWBJ 5: 403–468.
[72] ZWBJ 4: 395–484.
[73] WWBJ 33: 3.
[74] WWBJ 33: 4.



CHOP-SUEY
being
THE COMMONPLACE BOOK
of
C. S. CH'IEN
1949.

1.A. Esdaile: Autolycus' Pack and Other Light Wares. 1-4.
2.Goethe's Sprueche in Prosa(hsg. G.v.Loper). 4-12.
3.Restif de la Bretonne: Monsieur Nicolas, tome I. 12-20.
4.Lewis Melville: Life of W. M. Thackeray. 21-22.
5.Monsieur Nicolas, tome II & III. 23-38.
6.Cambridge University Studies(1933). 39-47.
7.Hans Licht: Beitraege zur Antken Erotik. 48-61.
8.Van Wyck Brooks: Opinions of Oliver Allston. 62-65.
9.Harold Nicolson: Marginal Comment. 66-68.
10.George Soutar: Nature in Greek Poetry. 69-79.
11.Jules Renard: Journal. 80-117.
12.Julian Huxley: On Living in a Revolution. 118-119.
13.George Ives: Obstacles to Human Progress. 120-121.
14.W. Rothenstein: Since Fifty. 122-126..
15.A. E. Taylor: The Philosophy of Proclus. 127.
16.Havelock Ellis: Fountain of Life. 128-129.
17.Essays Presented to Humphrey Milford. 130-132.
18.The Works of E. A. Poe,vol. VII & VIII. 133-134.
19.L. P. Smith: On Reading Shakespeare. 135-138.
20.Martin Secker: The Eighteen-Nineties. 139.
21.The Works of Francis Thompson,vol. III. 140-142.
22.Jules Renard: L'Ecornifleur. 143-144.
23.Ivor Brown: No Idle Words. 145-148.
24.Maurice Baring: Have You Anything to Declare? 149-152.
25.The Hibbert Journal 1948. 153-157.
26.Philosophy 1948. 157-161.
27.L.Brunschwieg: Le Progres de la Conscience. 162-181.
28.George Sampson: Seven Essays. 182-185.
29.J. B. Yeats: Letters to his Son and Others. 186-192.
30.Frank Binder: Dialectic. 193 - 206
31.W. Macneile Dixon: The Human Situation 207
32.E Linklater: The Man on My Back 208-9
33. The Review of Eng Studies 1948 210
34. Evelyn Waugh: The Loved One 211
38 Douglas Goldring: South Lodge 212-6
39. W. S. Maugham: The Razor's Edge 217
40. J. Wight Duff: The Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age 218-225
41. Herbert Read: Annals of Innocence 226-9
42. Richard Mason: The Wind Cannot Read 229
43. Maisie Ward: G. K. C. 230-4

Image 1.7: Qian's draft table of contents. WWBJ 33: 3.



TABLETS OF MEMORY
being
EXTRACTS & ABSTRACTS
OF BOOKS.
by C. S. CH'IEN
1949.

1. A. Esdaile: Autolycus' Pack 1-4
2. Goethe's Sprueche in Prosa(hsg. G. v. Loper) 4-12
3. Restif de la Bretonne: Monsieur Nicolas,t.I 12-20
4. L. Melville: Life of Thackeray 21-22
5. Restif de la Bretonne: Monsieur Nicolas,t.II & III 23-38
6. Cambridge Studies 1933 39-47
7. Hans Licht: Beitraege zur Antiken Erotik 48-61
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12. Julian Huxley: On Living in a Revolution 1184119
13. George Ives: Obstacles to Human Progress 120-121
14. W. Rothenstein: Since Fifty 122-126
15. A. E. Taylor: Philosophy of Proclus 127
16. Havelock Ellis: Fountain of Life 128-129
17. Essays Presented to Humphrey Milford 130-132
18. Works of E. A. Poe(ed. Stedman & Woodberry),vol. VII & VIII 133-134
19. L. P. Smith: On Reading Shakespeare 135-138
20. Martin Secker: The Eighteen Nineties 139
21. Works of Francis Thompson,vol.III 140-142
22. Jules Renard: L'Ecornifleur 143-144
23. Ivor Brown: No Idle Words 145-148
24. Maurice Baring: Have You Anything to Declare? 149-152
25. The Hibbert Journal 1948 153-157
26. Philosophy 1948 157-161
27. L. Brunschwieg: Le Progres de la Conscience 162-181
28. George Sampson: Seven Essays 182-185
29. J. B. Yeats: Letters to His Son and Others 186-192
30. Frank Binder: Dialectic 193-206
31. W. Macneile Dixon: The Human Situation 207
32. Eric Linklater: The Man on my Back 208-209
33. The Review of English Studies 1948 210
34. Evelyn Waugh: The Loved One 211
35. Douglas Goldring: South Lodge 212-216
36. W. Somerset Maugham: The Razor's Edge 217
37. J. Wight Duff: The Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age 218-225
38. Herbert Read : Annals of Innocence and Experience 226-229
39. Richard Mason: The Wind Cannot Read 229
40. Maisie Ward: Gilbert Keith Chesterton 230-234
41. E. Gilson: Les Idees et les Lettres. 235-241
42. Aldous Huxley: Texts and Pretexts 242-244
43. Alexander Abington: Boners,More Boners,And Still More Boners 245-246
44. John Macmurray: The Boundaries of Science 247-250

Image 1.8: The revised table of contents. WWBJ 33: 4.

comprehensive table of contents. This is not our first evidence of loose notes compiled on a typewriter. The earliest notebook from Qian's time at Oxford features typed pages from Renard's *Life of Jesus* on Exeter College headed letter paper.[75] "Tablets of Memory," however, is the earliest indication of an attempt to shepherd a vast corpus of disparate notes into a more coherent and navigable form.

As we have observed above, the majority of Qian's notes had previously been anchored, by association with a particular diary or notebook, either in time or place. In collating an unconnected sea of loose notes under one roof, however, Qian disrupted this scheme, wrenching his notes from their native context to stand independently of each other. Excluding dates of publication, we have few clues regarding when Qian read each of these titles."[76] The table of contents, by contrast, carries one of the very few explicit dates in Qian's entire corpus of notes: 1949. In adorning the cycle with a clear chronology, Qian is giving more than a nod to his own biography; he is elevating the process of compilation (*bian* 編) over that of reading and transcription. "Tablets of Memory" attests to the moment when Qian first stepped back from the process of knowledge acquisition to prioritise knowledge management. This reshuffling of priorities is also evident in other aspects of the cycle. Although the predominance of typed notes robs entries of their aesthetic colour, it also adds to their practical value. The confusion between extracts (which are here typed) and marginalia (which continue to be handwritten) no longer plagues the reader as it had in earlier notebooks. Most crucially, when Qian returned to taking notes in conventional notebooks, he absorbed the lessons that he had learned from "Tablets of Memory." From the 1950s onwards, each notebook reliably contains a complete table of contents. The artistic flourish of the calligraphic brush yields to the more prosaic strokes of the ballpoint pen. And tellingly, Qian no longer assigns names to his cycles of reading.

[75] WWBJ 2: 209–212.
[76] Cross-referencing with the entire corpus of Qian's notes, however, reveals that none of the entries in "Tablets of Memory" have been typed up from existing notebooks.

Each entry stands alone, divorced of all sense of time and place, within an identical crowd of competing books. "Cycles of reading," have given way to "cycles of compilation."

1.5: Cycles of Compilation

Having taken stock of Qian's second system of notes, we may now return to 1952, when the souring political situation led him to destroy his diaries. Only recently employed as a "National First-Class Professor" (*guojia yiji jiaoshou* 國家一級教授) at Tsinghua, Qian found little comfort in his new throne, which was little more than a gilded cage. Much of his time was consumed by an affiliated role on the translation committee for Mao Zedong's 毛澤東 (1893–1976) selected works in English. In his leisure hours he could no longer find solace in creative writing, as the mode of satire that had been his stylistic strength was unpalatable to communist censors. His second novel, *Baihe xin* 百合心 (The Heart of an Artichoke), was abandoned after its first chapters went missing during the move up to Beijing in the summer of 1949.[77] Most dishearteningly, the loss of his diaries also entailed the eclipse of the notes that had populated his only substantial work of scholarship, *Tanyi lu*. Fortunately, the impersonal (and therefore innocuous) nature of his second system meant that it was largely uncompromised. But as we have seen, even this had changed – not, as with the diaries, due to the exigencies of self-censorship and silence, but quite to the contrary, due to the problems engendered by having too much to say. While external pressures had precipitated the eviction of the self from the diaries, internal pressures of knowledge management had conspired to the same effect within the notebooks. When whole, both systems – both mirrors – had reflected the seamless interplay between life and learning that had characterised his scholarship and fiction to date. But in shards, they depicted only a jumble of mouths, speaking at length, but vainly, as if within a void. If Qian was to continue to flourish as a scholar, he would have to find a way to reassemble these shards, not in reference to their original form, now irrevocably lost, but to give a voice to the void that he had created.

[77] For more details on the origins of this work, see Qian's "Foreword to the Reissue" (*chongyin qianji* 重印前記) of *Weicheng*. Qian, *Weicheng*, 5.

The solution to this problem lay close at hand, for the same "cycles of compilation" that had resulted in "Tablets of Memory" were also at work, in smaller ways, in the margins of each page of his notes. Qian had long been in the habit of retrospectively annotating his notes with references to other relevant works of literature and scholarship. In the diaries, the scale of this practice is modest. By the mid to late 1940s, however, passages of marginalia often rival, and in some cases dwarf, the content of the main text. Qian's entry on *Beiträge zur Antiken Erotik*, dating from the late 1940s, may serve as a colourful example (see Image 1.9). In its first fragment of marginalia Qian speculates that the author, Hans Licht, is "obviously a homosexual or rather 'philopygist.' The pseudonym of Paul Brandt of Leipzig university."[78] On rare occasions, Qian's notes betray a disapproving attitude towards homosexuality. Tellingly, however, where he disapproves, he does so at great length and with an abundance of intriguing detail. When Licht quotes Goethe's famous distich from *Tagebuch von der Schlesichen Reise* (Diary from a Journey through Silesia), "Knaben liebt' ich wohl auch, doch lieber sind mir die Maedchen, Hab' ich als Maedchen sie satt, dient sie als Knabe mir noch,"[79] Qian strikes upon such a febrile vein of literary associations that he migrates his comments from the prudish confines of the margins to the more permissive expanse of the reverse leaf.

> {MARGINALIA: Cf. Martial XI: 43: "Parce tuis igitur dare mascula nomina rebus/ teque puta cunnos uxor, habere duos!"[80] (Loeb II, p. 270); XII: 96 "Scire suo fines matrona et femina debet: cede suam pueris; utere parte tua"[81] (II, p. 384). That is, Martial was of the same opinion as a certain French lord mentioned by Mirabeau; a propos of the incident of Lot's two daughters in *Genesis*, Mirabeau comments: "Les sodomistes pensaient apparemment comme un grand seigneur modern. Un valet-de-chambre lui observoit que du côté qu'il préférait, ses maîtresses étaient conformées comme ses ganymèdes. 'Des femmes !' S'ecria le maître; eh, c'est comme si tu me servais un gigot sans manches'"[82] ('Erotika Biblion' in *L'Oeuvre du Comte Mirabeau,* éd. Les Maîtres de l'Amour," p. 128). But Martial in IX. 67 (p. 122) ~~follows the~~ has the same

[78] WWBJ 33: 64.
[79] I love boys, but I prefer girls. When I've have had my fill of them as girls, they can still stand in as boys for me. WWBJ 33: 68.
[80] So kindly don't give masculine names to your belongings, wife, and think of yourself as having two *cunnos*.
[81] A married lady and a woman ought to know her limitations. Leave their part to the boys and use yours.
[82] The sodomists apparently thought like modern aristocrats. A valet-de-chambre observed [to his master] that on the side that he preferred, his mistresses were equipped just like his Ganymedes. "Women" cried the master, "well, it's as if you served me lamb chops without the bone."



Image 1.9: Marginalia on the reverse side of typed notes on Licht's *Beiträge zur Antiken Erotik*. Source: WWBJ 33: 69.

practice ~~of~~ as Goethe: "Lascivam tota possedi nocte puellam,/ cujus nequitas vincere venus potest./fessus mille modis illad proposci:/ante preces tortas, primaque verba debit."[83]}

We read these extracts, just as Martial confesses himself in writing the last of them, "ridensque rubensque."[84] The compiler, however, shows no such compunction, and gleefully continues to reel off quotation after quotation: an extract from Brantome's *Vies des Dames Galantes* is joined by passages from *The Thousand & One Nights*, Miller's *The Tropic of Capricorn*, Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, *Jin ping mei* 金瓶梅 (Gold, Plum, Vase) and *Rou putuan* 肉蒲團 (The Carnal Prayer Mat).[85] The result is a long and breathless literary review of an esoteric discipline of the *ars amatoria*. Our interest, however, is less in the content of Qian's marginalia than in the structure. We can conclude that many of these extracts were compiled at different times. This is not only apparent from the handwriting; Qian has repeated the quotation from the ninth book of Martial's epigrams at the top of the page, adding "exact parallel to Goethe's distich."[86] A review of the *Waiwen biji* reveals that Qian compiled notes on the *Epigrams* for the first and only time in 1949. It is likely, therefore that the early marginalia from this entry dates from that year. However, where Qian repeats himself, he has evidently returned to his notes on Martial after a significant interval. Identifying a connection between the epigram and Licht's work, he has added the former to the latter's bouquet of marginalia, forgetting that it is already there. Qian's marginalia, therefore, represent the fruit of repeated cycles of review and compilation, whereby he gradually unites related passages from disparate works and orchestrates them within the columns of a relevant entry.

We can also observe this practice of revision and compilation operating in the margins of the *Zhongwen biji.* In his notes from Xie Zhaozhi's 謝肇淛 (1567–1624) commonplace book *Wu zazu*

[83] All night I had a mischievous girl, whose wickedness no man can exhaust. Worn out by a million positions, I asked for that boy position: before my request and before the first word, she gave me everything. WWBJ 33: 69.
[84] Laughing and blushing. Martial, *Epigrams*, 287.
[85] WWBJ 33: 69.
[86] WWBJ 33: 69.

五雜組 (Five Miscellaneous Groups), Qian complements Xie's quip about jealous wives with a cluster of other citations (see Image 1.10).

> 「人有為妬婦解嘲者，曰：『士君子情欲無節，得一嚴婦約束之，亦動心忍性之一端也。故諺曰：「到老方知妬婦功。」』余笑曰：『君知人之愛六畜者乎？豈真愛其命哉？欲充己口腹耳。妬婦得無似之乎？』」【《北江詩話》卷三：「前人詩云：『老健方知妬婦賢。』《北史·隋·獨孤后傳》：『后性尤妬，崩後，陳夫人、蔡夫人有寵，帝惑之，發疾危竺，謂侍者曰：「使皇后在，吾不及此。」』」】【張萱《疑耀》卷二：「諸葛武侯以醜婦為養心之資，余謂妬婦亦然。南唐樞密杜業妻張氏甚妬，烈祖命元皇后召張誡之，張曰：『業本狂生，駑馬未竭耳，而又早衰多病，若縱之，反貽其禍。』烈祖聞之，大加獎歎。」】【《墨子·經說上》：「仁，愛民者，非為用民也，不若愛馬者。」】【Cf. Webster, The Duchess of Malfi, III. v: Duchess: "With such a pity men preserve alive / Pheasants and quails, when they are not fat enough / To be eaten."】[87]

> Someone deflecting the jibe of having a jealous wife said [to me], "When gentlemen with unbridled amorous appetites are muzzled by a strict wife, they [become] driven in mind and tenacious in character.[88] So, the proverb tells us, "One first appreciates the merits of a jealous wife at an advanced age." I laughed and said, "Have you heard of people cherishing the six domestic animals? Is it really because they cherish their lives? Or because they want to fill their mouths and stomachs? Isn't the jealous wife similar?"<INTERLINEAL: *Remarks on Poetry by Master Beijang*, *juan* three, "An old poem says, 'Only when old [yet still] healthy does one appreciate the wisdom of a jealous wife.' "The Biography of Empress Du Gu" in the "Sui Dynasty" section of the *History of the Northern Dynasties* reads: "The empress was by nature extremely jealous. After she died, Miss Chen and Miss Cai were in favour, and the Emperor was captivated by them, developing a near fatal illness. He said to an attendant, 'If the Empress were here, it wouldn't have come to this.'"> <INTERLINEAL: Zhang Xuan's *Doubting Splendour*, *juan* two: "Zhuge Liang thought ugly wives were a means to cultivate the mind; I think the same holds true for jealous wives. The state secretary of the Southern Tang, Du Ye had a wife, Lady Zhang, who was extremely jealous. The First Emperor (Li Bian 李昪, r. 937–943) ordered Empress Yuan to summon Lady Zhang and admonish her.> {MARGINALIA: Lady Zhang replied, "Ye is by nature a wild creature, a nag that hasn't reached the end of the road. Moreover, he's aged prematurely, and is often ill. If I indulged his desires, it would only lead to disaster." When the Emperor heard this, he lavished her with praise."}<INTERLINEAL: *Mozi*, "Explaining the Classics: A": "Benevolence means loving people, not exploiting people. It is not akin to loving horses."> <INTERLINEAL: Cf. Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, III. v: Duchess: "With such a pity men preserve alive / Pheasants and quails, when they are not fat enough / To be eaten.">

Qian compiled the body of this entry in 1945. Image 1.10 shows that the most prominent fragment of marginalia, located directly next to Xie's commentary, is from Hong Liangji's 洪亮吉 (1746–1809)

[87] ZWBJ 4: 253.
[88] The implication being that their energy is channeled into other pursuits in the same manner as Freud's theory of "sublimation."

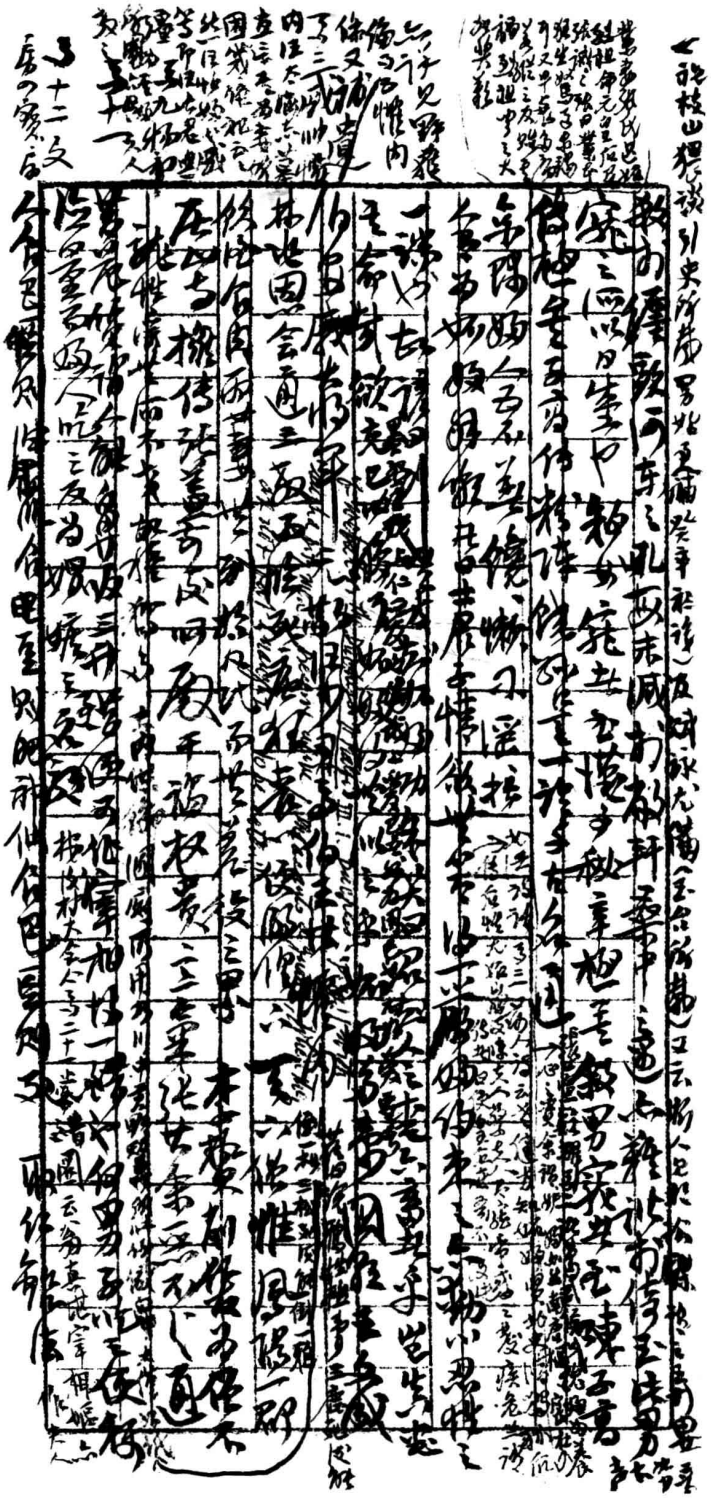

Image 1.10: Marginalia and interlineal addenda to notes on Xie Zhaozhi's *Wu zazu*. ZWBJ 4: 253.

Beijiang shihua. Qian compiled notes from this work in 1941.[89] His only notes on Zhang Xuan's *Doubting Splendour* were compiled directly before the passage transcribed and translated above.[90] It is safe to assume, therefore, that this citation, and the quotation from the contiguous *Beijiang shihua,* date from 1945. The interlineal addenda from John Webster's (1578–1632) *The Duchess of Mafi* and the "classics" section of the *Mozi* have both, by contrast, been migrated from notes that date from the mid 1960s.[91] Their late addition is reflected in their cramped position in the centre of the page, rendering them barely legible.

These fragments, weighing the merits of shrewish wives against the humiliation of being henpecked, span over twenty years of reading history. Though superficially bereaved of the presence of their compiler, the notes now clearly reveal his "footprints in the mud." More importantly, by populating the blank void of the margins, these extracts contrive to lend that void a coherent voice.

1.6: The Daily Notes

Qian's marginalia, characterised by interlocking cycles of compilation, culminated in a new form of notetaking that answered both to Qian's need for self-expression, and to the challenges of knowledge management. *Rong'an guan zhaji* 容安館札記 (Reading Notes from the Hall of Modest Needs),[92] begins, in late 1952, with a comedic observation gleaned from Cao Tingdong's (1700–1785) 曹庭棟 *Song baijia shicun* 宋百家詩存[93] and ends, some twenty years and eight hundred entries later, with

[89] ZWBJ 4: 347–348. Additional notes on this title date from the late 1950s. See ZWBJ 5: 26–29.
[90] ZWBJ 4: 243–245.
[91] For Qian's notes on *The Duchess of Mafi* see WWBJ 17: 424–429; for his notes on *Mozi* see "Entry 757" of the "Daily Notes," RAG: 2193–2204.
[92] This title is a contraction of the famous line by Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427) in "Guiqu laici 歸去來辭" (Lyrics on Homecoming), "Shen rongxi zhi yian 審容膝之易安" (I realise that it's easy to make do [in a house] with just enough room for one's knees). Throughout the manuscripts, this banner appears in slightly different guises: *Rong'an guan rizha* 容安館日札 (Daily Notes from the Hall of Modest Needs)，*Rong'an shi rizha* 容安室日札 (Daily Notes from the Room of Modest Needs)，*Rong'an zhai rizha* 容安齋日札 (Daily Notes from the Studio of Modest Needs). Yang Jiang informs us that all of these titles refer to their bungalow on the Zhongguan 中關 campus of Peking University, where the family lived in 1953. WWBJ Index: xx.
[93] RAG: 1.

an anecdote on Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105) receiving news of Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037–1101) death.[94] As its title suggests, the "Daily Notes" are the result of a compromise between Qian's roles as a diarist and notetaker. Though no longer at liberty to write in detail about his own life, he was able to salvage the practice of recording his latest literary encounters. These, however, now benefit from the experience and reflection of decades of reading, and are, as a result, strikingly compilatory in nature.

> 77. 納蘭容若《飲水詩集》二卷. 十年前讀此，頗賞其吐屬高華。今復披尋，乃知徒矜亮節，實尠切響，不耐吟諷。七絕較工，亦不過二、三首耳。[95]
>
> Nara Singde (Nalan Xingde 納蘭性德 [1655–1685] [z. Rongruo 容若]) *Collected Poetry from the Abreuvoir*, 2 vols. When I read this work a decade ago, I admired its lofty diction. Now that I've leafed through it again, I appreciate that its insistence on stylistic brilliance is all in vain. In fact, [the poems] rarely hit the mark and don't stand up to recitation. The heptasyllabic verses are better, but even among those, only two or three pass muster.

> 488. 唐沙門實叉難陀譯《大方廣佛華嚴經》八十卷。余十年前閱《大藏》至此《經》，厭其鋪張排比，堆牀疊架，未終卷即棄去。今勉為卒業，終有所得不償勞之歎。[96]
>
> The Tang Dynasty monk Śikṣānanda's (652–710) translation of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, 80 vols. Ten years ago, when I was reading the Chinese Buddhist Canon and reached this sutra, I grew tired of its parallelistic prose, which is constructed like piled pancakes. I gave up before finishing. Now, I have begrudgingly completed the task. Finally, I can sigh that the game was not worth the candle.

At times, Qian furnishes more vivid context surrounding an old literary encounter.

> 192. 余一九三六年夏始遊巴黎，行篋未携英文小說，偶於舊書肆見 Diary of Nobody，憶在 Hugh Kingsmill, Frank Harris 中覩其名，始購歸閱之，歎為奇作，絳亦有同好。一九四○年，此書收入 "Everyman's Library," 而 V.S. Pritchett 復作文張之 (見 In My Good Books, pp. 87 ff.)，John Betjeman 謂 T.S. Eliot 亦喜此書 (T.S. Eliot: A Symposium, compiled by R. March & Tambimuttu, p. 92)，知者稍多矣。近日圓女方取讀，因復披尋，益驚設想之巧。世間真實情事，胥不能出其範圍.[97]

[94] RAG: 2570.
[95] RAG: 127.
[96] RAG: 780.
[97] RAG: 269–270.

> In the summer of 1936, when I first travelled to Paris, I didn't pack any English novels in my luggage. By chance, I stumbled across a copy of [*The*] *Diary of* [*a*] *Nobody*, which I remembered having seen mentioned in Hugh Kingsmill's *Frank Harris*. I bought it, read it and marvelled at what a masterpiece it was. Jiang held a similar opinion. In 1940, this book was collected in "Everyman's Library," and V.S. Pritchett wrote an article singing its praises (cf. *In My Good Books*, pp. 86 ff.). John Betjeman claimed that T.S. Eliot was also fond of this book (*T.S. Eliot: A Symposium*, compiled by R. March & Tambimuttu, p.92), so those familiar with the work have grown somewhat in number. Recently, my daughter Yuan got her hands on it, so I leafed through its pages again. I was even more astonished at the skill of its conception. No situation in the real world is beyond its scope.

With the exception of *T.S. Eliot: A Symposium*, the references in this short entry can all be traced back to the *Waiwen biji*. Qian read both *The Diary of a Nobody* and *Frank Harris* while studying at Oxford in 1936.[98] He compiled notes on Pritchett's *In my Good Books* in 1949. The entry itself was made in the mid 1950s. Its history of notetaking, therefore, stretches as far back as twenty years.

On rare occasions, the old habits of the diarist reassert themselves, leading Qian to break from the character of compiler to address his experience directly (see Image 1.11).

> Since the age of forty — which, alas! has had the reverse of a fortifying effect on me — as moments of great joy have become fewer & farther between in my life, or rather as my heart weighs heavier with its burdens of years and leaps up less easily, I have been constantly & acutely conscious of the precariousness of living, of skating on thin ice, or walking on a tight rope.[99]

Qian turned forty only shortly after 1949, when the communists came to power. Though his life under the Republic had by no means been easy, it was only in middle age that his travails began in earnest. This entry, which otherwise tackles *The Oxford Book of German Verse*, was compiled in the mid 1960s, and is permeated with a sense of foreboding that seems to intuit the approach of the Cultural Revolution. To appreciate the full extent of Qian's frustrations, however, we must look beyond these sporadic *cris de coeur* to consider passages where the aging scholar marshals his learning to

[98] The original notes for these titles can be found in WWBJ 3: 346–351 and 343–346.
[99] RAG: 1602. N.B. This passage is written in English. It was not uncommon for Qian to compile notes in English when reviewing a Western work. The language, however, evidently also offered the scholar a sense of security when discussing sensitive topics. The "Daily Notes" differ from Qian's previous notebooks in their unification of both Chinese and Western language notes.

Image 1.11: Qian breaks character in “Entry 701” of the “Daily Notes.” Source: RAG: 1602.

simultaneously establish both an epistemological and a political truth. In an entry dating from a decade earlier, in the mid 1950s, Qian rallies a collection of extracts that argue against the value of systems (see Image 1.12).

> Wackenroder: "Wer ein System glaubt, hat die allgemeine Liebe aus seinem Herzen verdrängt! Erträglicher noch ist Intoleranz des Gefühls als Intoleranz des Verstandes — Aberglaube besser als Systemglaube."[100] (*Werke und Briefe*, hrsg. H, Höhn, 1938, S. 55; quoted in Rudolf Haym, *Die Romantische Schule,* 4te Aufl., S. 121). Cf. Shaftesbury: "The most ingenious way of becoming foolish is by a system" (quoted in L.P. Smith, *A Treasury Of English Aphorisms*, p. 152); Emerson: "A system-grinder hates the truth" (Ibid., p. 71); Kierkegaard: "Most systematizers in relation to their systems are like a man who builds an enormous castle & lives in a shack close by" (Kierkegaard: *An Anthology*, selected by W.H. Auden, p. 20); Leonard Nelson: "No important philosopher doubts the results for which his feeling for truth vouches simply because they may contradict the principles of his system. Confronted with the choice either of denying his feeling for truth in order to preserve the logical consistency of his system or of adjusting his system through some inconsistency to those results, he would allow himself any inconsistency rather than sacrifice such a result. It is the pupils who first go about providing the master's doctrine with such consistency that nothing remains in the system that cannot be traced back logically to the principles of the system, because they lack the master's creative gift & consequently depend only on the dead skeleton of the system" (*Socratic Method & Critical Philosophy*, tr. Thomas K. Brown, III, p. 91). I have also said that system-building is like the drawing of a charmed circle & arguing by a system is really arguing in a circle. Rupert Crawshay-Williams warns people against "a unifying formula" which would lead them to "distort all the facts that don't quite fit & ignore all those that don't fit at all. They have merely found Comfort & believe that they have found Truth" (*The Comforts of Unreason*, p. 90). The following remark also applies to system-making or mending: "A common method is to stretch the unifying Pattern: whatever shape the Pattern takes it is still called the same & therefore is assumed to be the same" (p. 91).[101]

Qian compiled the main body of "Entry 489," subtitled "jottings," in 1956. The meat of this passage is composed of citations from five books: Haym's *Die Romantische Schule*, Smith's *Treasury of English Aphorisms*, Auden's edition of Kierkegaard, Nelson's *Socratic Method*, and Crawshay-Williams' *The Comforts of Unreason*. Qian compiled notes on both *The Comforts of Unreason*[102] and *Die Romantische Schule*[103] during the late 1940s. His reading of *A Treasury of English Aphorisms* was more recent; the relevant notes date from 1954.[104] We have no cast iron chronology for Qian's

[100] Whoever believes in a system has driven all common love from his heart! Intolerance of feeling is more bearable than intolerance of intelligence – belief in superstition is better than belief in a system."
[101] RAG: 787–788.
[102] WWBJ 33: 345–349.
[103] WWBJ 34: 135–137.
[104] WWBJ 7: 233–237.

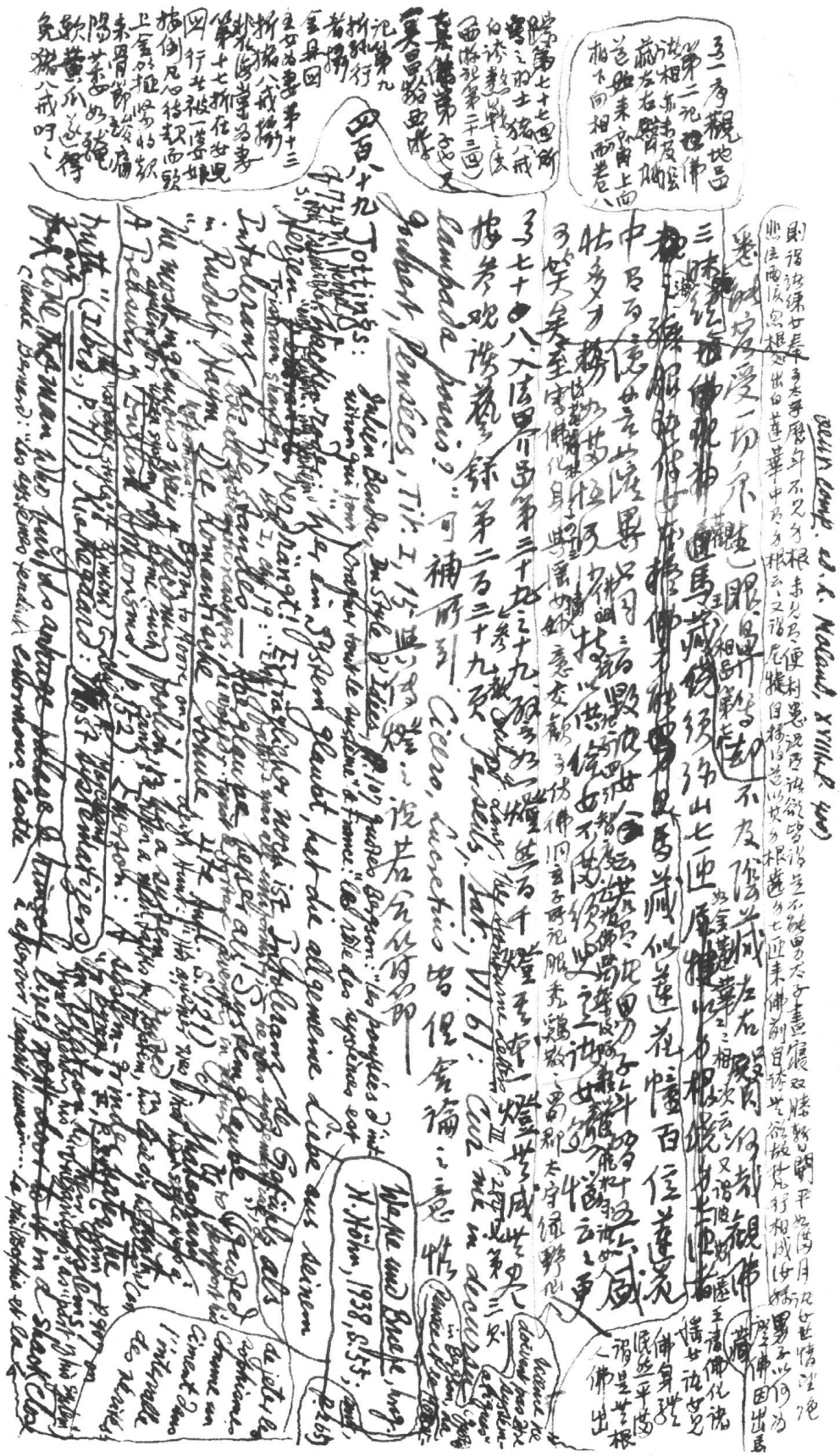

Image 1.12: Qian's "jottings" on systems in "Entry 489" of the "Daily Notes." Source: RAG: 787.

notes on Kiekegaard and Nelson, as both are collected in bundles of loose sheaves, the collective history of which spans decades.[105] The inclusion of citations from both authors in the body of the entry indicates, however, that Qian read them in 1956 or earlier. In the "cycle of compilation" that resulted in this passage, therefore, Qian has marshalled observations from nearly a decade of reading to make a forceful point. Knowing, so the extracts collectively argue, is a creative enterprise that entails breaking free from the scaffolds of logic. It is feeling, or intuition, that can provide a springboard out of a given system and into the unknown, where we paradoxically discover knowledge for the first time. All systems, however majestic, exclude knowledge and means to knowledge from their purview. To operate in strict reference to a system is therefore to blind oneself to the possibilities of knowledge. Rigorously speaking, moreover, this is impossible, as even the most zealous theoreticians cannot live by their theories for long, as illustrated by Kierkegaard's analogy of the castle and the shack. Systems are at best convenient and sometimes useful fictions; though we may take comfort in them, we can only live in a reality that refuses to prostrate itself before words and concepts.

The political subtext of this entry, however, is also hard to ignore. Qian spent three formative years of his youth observing, from an uncomfortably close distance, the ascendency of a rigid and violent political system in Nazi Germany. On his return to China, he endured a further four years of hardship in Shanghai, as the Japanese attempted to institute their own system of the "Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere." The arrival of peace, in 1949, ushered in the construction of a new system on the Marxist-Leninist model. By the time that Qian compiled this entry, some five years later, the disastrous consequences of that model were becoming abundantly clear: famine, persecution, and censorship. Privately, however, Qian had found a way to escape the system, and talk obliquely but faithfully about himself and current events. By carefully curating his extracts, Qian exhausts the scope

[105] For Qian's notes on Auden's edition of Kiekegaard, see WWBJ 39: 528–531; for related notes on Nelson's *Socratic Method,* see WWBJ 21: 611–613.

of what can safely be said, while pointing decisively towards that which cannot. His notes, in their many shards, may no longer reflect his moving image, but their mosaic still presents a faithful portrait of his likeness.

There is no shortage of irony in the fact that an entry that argues against systems is itself the product of a system. The same processes that we have observed at work in Qian's marginalia are also present here. Whereas in "Tablets of Memory," the cascades of quotations are nominally appended to the main text of a single title, in the "Daily Notes" the marginalia become the main text. In an initial cycle of review and compilation, Qian has migrated extracts that share a common theme into a new entry. In subsequent cycles, however, he has also added to that entry with further marginalia. The passage quoted above, therefore, is joined by additional extracts, made at a later date, from Baudelaire, Nietzsche, Yeats, Byron and Bergson, to name just a few. The result is decidedly cyclical in its construction. Qian may be convinced that "arguing in a system is really arguing in a circle," but his own system of notes has resulted in precisely such a circle, entangling itself within an ever-expanding spiral of review and compilation. In evading a political system, in other words, Qian has paradoxically fallen prey to an epistemological one of his own devising.

1.7: The Network

Thus far, we have observed how the structure and apparatus of Qian's notes evolved in response to growing political and epistemological pressures. While this development was in part the result of incremental experimentation, several major inflection points, such as the methodological innovations of the "Tablets of Memory" series, and self-censorship in the wake of the anti-rightist campaign of 1952, led to definitive ruptures whose structural consequences are discernable across all later notebooks. Techniques and lessons learned in one system of notes were often applied and amplified in other systems. Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of Qian's notebooks is their woven interdependence and manifold interconnectivity. While the scholar assiduously maintained, from the

mid 1950s to the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, three discrete systems of notes (the foreign language extracts, the Chinese language extracts, and the "Daily Notes"), these systems were in fact intimately related, not only through the mutual migration of marginalia, but also by an overarching reference network.

The first function of this network was to identify the location of other notes from the same, or closely related works. For example, when Qian compiled extracts from Gong Zizhen's 龔自珍 (z. Dingkan 定龕, 1792–1841) *Gong Dingkan jiwai weike shi* 龔定龕集外未刻詩 (The Uncollected Poems of Gong Dingkan) in "leather cahier 10" (*yingpi ben shi* 硬皮本十) in 1962, he annotated the cahier's table of contents with the observation that separate notes on Gong Zizhen's work are found in "*Jilu huibian ce* 紀錄彙編冊 83 [(In entry) 83 of the notebook (containing Shen Jiefu's 沈節甫 [1533–1601] *Records of Compilation*]"[106] Qian then went back to this notebook ("leather cahier 2"), originally compiled during the late 1950s, and annotated its table of contents, stating that additional notes on Gong Zizhen are found in "*Lidai tihua shilei ce* 歷代題畫詩類冊 45 [(In entry) 45 of the notebook (containing] *Categories of Poems written on Paintings from Successive Dynasties*)."[107] The interest here is not only in the rigour with which Qian has returned to annotate an earlier notebook, ensuring that both sets of notes reference each other, but also in his method of identifying the relevant notebooks. The original title of "leather cahier two" was "*Shaojian lu er* 少見錄二 (Records of the Unusual: Two)." Qian now refers to this volume, however, as "*Jilu huibian* ce," based on its first entry. This new appellation provided a clear reference framework for notebooks that did not belong to a coherent "cycle of reading." But Qian sometimes also chose to ignore the original cycle and simply state the first entry in the relevant notebook.[108]

[106] ZWBJ 8: 287. "*Jilu huibian ce*" refers to "*yingpi ben er*," ZWBJ 5: 191–383.
[107] ZWBJ 5: 189. "*Lidai tihua shilei ce*" refers to "hardback leather cahier ten", ZWBJ 8: 287–477.
[108] Qian only refers to "leather cahier 2" as "*Shaojian lu er*" on one occasion. ZWBJ 9: 3. Everywhere else it is identified as "*Jilu huibian ce.*"

Similar reference techniques are also used, though with less rigour, in the *Waiwen biji*. In his notes from Apuleius' (c.124–c.170) *Asinus Aureus* (The Golden Ass) in notebook no. 32, Qian remarks at the head of the entry, "Also in Noctes atticae, 1."[109] The corresponding notes on the last leaf of Foreign Language Notebook 11,[110] however, do not point to their successor. Qian is far more systematic when highlighting the continuation of one set of notes in a different notebook. For example, he begins his notes on Andre Vial's *Guy de Maupassant et l'Art du Roman* in Foreign Language Notebook 63,[111] and concludes them in notebook 80.[112] The former entry ends with the promise, "to be continued,"[113] while the latter entry begins, "concluded."[114]

The primary function of Qian's reference network, however, was not to identify parallel sets of notes, but to highlight thematic connections. When migrating citations from the body of one entry to the margins of another proved too tedious or impractical, Qian was often content to simply flag the location of other relevant extracts. This practice is most readily observable in the "Daily Notes." The passage on systems in entry 489, examined above, contains additional references to entries 488, 627, and 734. In the last of these (see Image 1.13), Qian writes,

> Hebbel: "Das grösste Hindernis": "Was den Menschen am meisten in Kunst und Leben zurück hält? / Dass er auf Brücken sich gern ewige Wohnungen baut" (Ib., S. 176). Cf.《莊子·天運》on "蘧廬";《妙法蓮華經·化城喻品第七》;《中阿含》五十四《阿梨吒經》"筏喻";《上蔡語錄》卷中："學者纔少有所得便住", "佛家有小歇塲大歇塲"; Kant, Krit. d. rein. Vernunft, "Vorrede zur ersten Ausgabe": "... die Skeptiker, eine Art Nomaden, die allen beständigen Anbau des Bodens verabscheuen..." (hrsg. Benno Erdmann, 6ste rev. Aufl., S. 6); supra 第四九則 on Jean Paul, Vorschule der Ästhetik, II. §9; 四八九則 Wackenroder […][115]
>
> Hebbel: "The Greatest Obstacle": What holds man back in art and life? / His fondness for building eternal houses on rubble." (Ib., p. 176). Cf. *Zhuangzi*, "Heaven's Revolutions," on "grass huts;" *Lotus Sutra*, "Chapter Seven: The Metaphor of the Illusory City;" the "raft metaphor" in chapter fifty-four of the *Alagaddūpama sutta* (Discourse on the Simile of the Snake) collected in the *Madhyama Āgama.* The second *juan* of *Table Talk from [the Master]*

[109] WWBJ 6: 55.
[110] WWBJ 4: 107.
[111] WWBJ 12: 773–784.
[112] WWBJ 15: 268–282.
[113] WWBJ 12: 784
[114] WWBJ 15: 268
[115] RAG: 1966.

Image 1.13. Further notes on “systems” in the late “Daily Notes.” Source: RAG: 1966.

> *of Shangcai*: "Scholars rarely stop after they have accomplished a little," "In Buddhism there is a distinction between places of small rest and places of great rest." Kant, *A Critique of Pure Reason*, "Preface to the First Edition:" "…sceptics are like nomads who shun lasting ground structures. (pub. Benno Erdmann, 6th ed., p. 6); supra entry 49 on Jeal Paul, Introduction to Aesthetics, II. §9; entry 489 Wackenroder […]

In this entry, compiled roughly eight years after his previous "jottings" on systems, Qian again emphasises the provisional nature of philosophical thought, which must be understood as an expedient means rather than an eternal end. The bulk of citations here, however, are culled from Chinese, rather than Western sources. Noting a thematic correspondence with the substance of entries 49 and 489, Qian has hastily erected two signposts, without tarrying to transcribe the relevant citations.

Thematic references also abound across systems. When compiling notes on *The Letters of Lord Chesterfield* in entry 450 of the "Daily Notes" Qian indulges in a whimsical aside about the true causes of historical events. "Chesterfield's Pyrrhonism is merely of the kind of Cleopatra's nose. […] Although Cleopatra would have been no less irresistible even if her nose had been shorter, since that change would have been more in harmony with her pert spirit (cf. Sidney Hook, *The Hero in History*, p. 177), ~~such contingents~~ ~~the function~~ the rôle of such contingents would not be denied by anyone who understands the multidimensionality of history (cf. Morris R. Cohen, *The Meaning of Human History*, p. 228). Cf. marginalia to Pascal, *Pensée* [sic]."[116] Here, Qian laconically signals a path out of his "Daily Notes" to marginalia from extracts on Pascal in his foreign language system.[117] The *Waiwen biji* are similarly littered with references to the "Daily Notes." In his jottings from Georgio Pullini's *Il Romanzo Italiano del Dopoguerra* (The Postwar Italian Novel), Qian highlights a truism of adultery that informs the plotline of Mario Soldati's (1906-1999) *The Capri Letters*. "[…] Harry, quando, dopo la morte della moglie [Jane], sposa Dorothea e vede svanire la sua attrazione per lei ora

[116] RAG: 1041.
[117] WWBJ 36: 264–267.

che l'affinità fisica non trova piú alimento nel piacere di tradire Jane e di tradire se stesso."[118] The marginalia to this extract reads, "Talleyrand's famous complaint after marrying his mistress & Dumas père's explanation of his making a [sic] honest woman of his (Hugo, Littérature et Philosophie, ed. Albin Michel, p. 243; H. Clouard, A. Dumas, p. 190) 第七五八則 [Entry 758]. "[119] The citations on this theme in "Entry 758" of the "Daily Notes," however, are far more comprehensive, jumping from Su Shi's poetry, to Stendhal, Ovid and a multitude of other authors, both classical and modern, Chinese and European, over the course of three densely annotated pages.[120]

There is rarely an entry in any of Qian's systems that fails to gesture beyond itself, either to more comprehensive notes on the same title, or to thematic connections that sprawl across the full range of the notebooks. The "cycles of compilation" explored above were therefore further enforced by an extensive reference network, whose scope and power of association increased with each cycle of review. The auxiliary nature of these references, which typically form part of marginalia and interlineal addenda, renders the development of Qian's network difficult to trace. We can detect its modest beginnings in references to the diaries from the 1940s,[121] and discern its riotous apogee in the late "Daily Notes," when, deprived of access to books at the height of the Cultural Revolution, Qian reviewed his notes in preparation for his magnum opus.[122] To focus on the chronology of the network, however, would be to ignore its defining quality. Qian's references are studiously achronological, uniting disparate strands of his notes that are often separated by decades. While this network had enormous practical value, allowing the scholar to quickly identify relevant passages in preparation for new articles and projects, it also had epistemological and aesthetic implications. The teeming

[118] When Harry, after the death of his wife, wedded Dorothea, [he] witnessed his attraction for her vanish now that physical affinity was no longer fed by the pleasure of betraying Jane and betraying himself. WWBJ 9: 135.
[119] WWBJ 9: 135.
[120] RAG: 2208–2210. In compiling this entry, Qian was perhaps reminding himself of his own good fortune in matrimony. On a proof copy of his short story collection *Humans, Beasts, and Ghosts*, the scholar wrote: "To C. K. Y., An almost impossible combination of three incompatible things: wife, mistress, & friend." Wu Xuezhao, *Ting Yang Jiang tan wangshi*, 219.
[121] For numerous examples of these early references, see Appendix A.2.1–9.
[122] Qian's notetaking practices during the Cultural Revolution will be discussed at length in chapter three.

number of cf.s, *yujian* 餘見 (for further [examples] see), *canguan* 參觀 (consult), *biejian* 別見 (see also), *lingjian* 另見 (see seperately) and *bujian* 補見 (for addenda see) that populate Qian's notebooks suggest the unrelentingly interconnectedness of all literature, language and thought. No work or writer, in the context of this network, can be understood in isolation; to cite one passage is to implicitly invoke a multitude of others – the elusive whole that lurks behind any salient part.

1.8: The Broom of the System

The title that I have given this chapter is, in the first instance, a reference to the "humble broom" that Qian employed to characterise his notes as early as 1926. It also, however, alludes to a playful investigation of problems in epistemology. David Foster Wallace's (1962–2008) debut novel, *The Broom of the System,* narrates the adventures of a twenty-four old telephone switchboard operator, Lenore Beadsman, in search of his great-grandmother, who has broken out of her nursing home. This plot is only a pretext in which to nestle a series of experimental stories, composed in a dizzying array of forms and styles. The novel's disorientating shifts in diction and structure not only furnish a platform for the versatility of Wallace's prose, but also serve to illustrate a broader point about the uncertainty of the world and our place in it. When asked by his grandmother "which part of a broom [is] more fundamental, the bristles or the handle?" Lenore's father answers "The bristles."[123]

> Aha, that's because you want to sweep with the broom. If what we wanted a broom for was to break windows, then the handle [would] clearly [be] the fundamental essence of the broom.[124]

Meaning, in other words, is determined by function. But as the comically verbose and pontificating manager of the nursing home, Mr. Bloemaker, points out, our function is rarely clear.

[123] Wallace, *Broom of the System*, 149.
[124] Wallace, *Broom of the System*, 150. This analogy has been lifted from Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations* 1: 60.

> How to begin to come to some understanding of one's place in a system, when one is a part of an area that exists in such a troubling relation to the rest of the world, a world that is itself stripped of any static, understandable character by the fact that it changes, radically, all the time?[125]

The great-grandmother is "the broom of the system" in that each of the novel's characters perceive her differently and assign her different functions; reality can only be known in part, while the relation of the part to the whole is always contested. Qian's notes also pose questions about the relationship between the fragmentary and the whole. What is the connection between an extract and its base text? How do individual texts interact within a broader system of learning? How is the scholar influenced by the society in which he lives? How does the past impinge upon the present? The organisation of Qian's notebooks affords clues about the nature of these relationships. We have seen how, in their early stages, the notes straddled two independent and highly personal systems, one predicated on time, the other on place. Both systems, though for different reasons, chronicle the effacement of the self and the elevation of extracts as the only viable record of knowledge. In the "Daily Notes," however, the self resurfaces in the mask of the compiler, with a system that seeks to simultaneously navigate the labyrinth of knowledge and outwit the censorship that forms the thickest walls of that labyrinth. Even this system, however, is plagued by the paradox of its own construction. At the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution, Qian was again faced with the problem of how to escape from the tyrannies of an external political system demanding silence, and an internal system of knowledge that urged him, through the power and scope of its associative web, to say everything at once. The answer to this conundrum was *Guanzhui bian*. It is, therefore, to the structure of that work that we will turn in the next chapter.

[125] Wallace, *Broom of the System*, 143.

Chapter Two

"THE SYMBOLIC LABYRINTH"

The Encyclopaedic Organisation of *Guanzhui bian*

2.1: The Preface to *Guanzhui bian*

In the preface to *Guanzhui bian,* Qian informs us that his voluminous work is little more than a digest of his own reading notes.

> 瞥觀疏記，識小積多。學焉未能，老之已至！遂料簡其較易理董者，錐指管窺，先成一輯。[…] 敝帚之享，野芹之獻，其資於用也，能如豕苓桔梗乎哉？或庶幾比木屑竹頭爾。[1]
>
> Glancing over my scattered notes, my small observations seem to have gathered into a substantial pile. I haven't learnt much, but old age has already caught up with me! Consequently, I've organised the more readily understandable of these notes, much as one might use an awl to measure the ground or a pipe to measure the sky, to form this volume. […] The pleasure that one takes in a humble broom, or the gift of wild celery, is in their active use. Can [these notes] serve as bellflowers or umbrella mushrooms? They are perhaps more comparable to wood chippings or bamboo heads.

This short preface is striking, in the first instance, for the density of its allusions. While most readers are familiar with the *Zhuangzi*'s 莊子 analogy of the pipe and the awl, which is used to imply a limited grasp of a vast subject, and Cao Pi's 曹丕 (187–266) simile of the humble broom, which its owner cherishes far beyond its true value, the allusion from the *Liezi* 列子 (where a peasant makes an offering of rude celery, believing it to be a sweet delicacy)[2] and the

[1] GZB: 1. The clues that the full preface offers to the genesis of *Guanzhui bian* will be explored in chapter five.
[2] "Once there was a man who had a taste for broad beans, nettle-hemp seeds, celery and southernwood shoots, and recommended them to some important people of the district. When they tried the dish, it stung their mouths

medicines listed in the "Xu Wugui 徐無鬼" (Ghostless Xu) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*[3] are more obscure. The comparison to wood chippings and bamboo heads refers to a story from the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (A New Account of the Tales of the World) about Tao Kan 陶侃 (259–334), who puts the detritus left over from the construction of a boat to innovative uses.[4]

Though uncommonly erudite, the rhetorical impulse behind these allusions is nevertheless familiar to us. Fifty years earlier, as a precocious student at Taowu Middle School, Qian introduced his notes on Darwin's *Origin of Species* in very similar terms, even employing Cao Pi's analogy of the humble broom.[5] In both cases, the scholar emphasises the desultory state of his notes, from which he has selected the most presentable entries to share with a discerning public. Here, however, Qian makes an additional point, arguing that such notes are useful precisely because they are small and disordered. The bellflower and umbrella polypore may be insignificant flora, but they can save lives. Wood chippings and bamboo heads are indeed valueless by-products of boat building, but the former can be used to remedy slippery steps, and the latter can be repurposed as nails. Meaning, in other words, is determined by function.

As we observed in the preceding chapter, the ideas behind this unassuming manifesto reappear throughout Qian's notes. The outward organisation of *Guanzhui bian*, however, is manifestly

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and pained their stomachs. They all smiled coldly and put the blame on him, and he was very embarrassed. […]" Graham trans., The *Book of Lieh-tzu*, 155.

[3] "For instance, drugs. They are characteristically poisonous. Such are Chieh-Kêng, Chi-Yung, and Shih-Ling. Circumstances, however, make of each a sovereign remedy. [Note: Chieh-Kêng is the Platycodon grandiflorum. It is used by Chinese doctors as a tonic, stringent, and vermifuge.]" Giles trans., *Chuang Tzu*, 331–332.

[4] "T'ao K'an was by nature frugal and strict and conscientious in his work. While he was governor of Ching Province he ordered the ship-building officers to save all the sawdust regardless of whether there was much or little. At the time nobody understood the purpose of this. Later at a New Year's assembly, it happened that the skies had just cleared after a heavy snowfall. On the front steps of the audience hall it was still wet after the snow had been removed, so they used all the sawdust to cover them, and no inconvenience of any kind was felt. Whenever the shipbuilding officers used bamboo, he always ordered them to save the butt ends, piling them up like mountains. Later, when Huan Wen led an expedition against Shu and was outfitting the ships, they used them all to make nails." Liu I-ch'ing, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*, 92.

[5] See chapter 1.1.

different from any of the systems that we have examined so far. Scholars to date have been quick to situate *Guanzhui bian* in the *zhaji* 札記 (random notes) tradition of Qing dynasty scholarship.[6] Like Gu Yanwu's 顧炎武 (1613–1682) *Ri zhi lu* 日知錄, Qian Daxin's 錢大昕 (1728–1804) *Shijia zhai yang xin lu* 十駕齋養新錄, and Wang Niansun's 王念孫 (1744–1832) *Dushu zazhi* 讀書雜志, Qian's work is composed of miscellaneous jottings from a rich life in reading. It shares, moreover, the assurances of intimacy and fragmented organisation that characterise this genre. But as we will presently observe, Qian's jottings have been privileged to an additional process of creative expansion and restructuring that is wholly lacking in the works of his late dynastic forbears.[7] In this chapter, I will explore the structure of *Guanzhui bian* as an expression of the cross-fertilisation of two encyclopaedic models, the first Chinese, the second European. The adaptation and synthesis of these models allowed Qian to repurpose his notes in the service of an ambitious critical programme under the peculiar circumstances of the Cultural Revolution.

2.2: Model One: The *Siku quanshu*

The macro-structure of *Guanzhui bian* is formed of ten works that Qian examines in the following order:

[6] Yu Hong, "Prinzip, Kritik, Methode," 88-92. Egan, *Qian Zhongshu's Reading of the Chinese Classic*, 4-5.
[7] None of the most prominent examples of this genre mentioned by Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929), in *Qingdai xueshu gailun* 清代學術概論 share a similar structure to *Guanzhui bian*, whose entries are generally longer and more persuasively interlinked. See Liang Ch'i-chao, *Intellectual Trends*, 71. Ronald Egan provides the most convincing argument for situating Qian's work within the *zhaji* tradition, pointing out the author is often in dialogue with leading proponents of the Qing evidentialist movement. Qian usually cites these scholars, however, to criticise them. Egan, *Qian Zhongshu's Reading of the Chinese Classic*, 69.

Vol. I:

[Classics (*Jing* 經)]

1. *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義 (The Correct Meanings of the Book of Changes): 27 entries.
2. *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (The Correct Meanings of the Book of Songs): 60 entries.
3. *Zuozhuan zhengyi* 左傳正義 (The Correct Meanings of the Zuo Commentary): 67 entries.

[Histories (*Shi* 史)]

4. *Shiji huizhu kaozheng* 史記會注考證 (A Study of the Collected Commentaries to Records of the Grand Historian): 58 entries.

Vol. II

[Masters (*Zi* 子)]

5. *Laozi Wang Bi zhu* 老子王弼注 (Laozi with Wang Bi's Commentary): 19 entries.
6. *Liezi Zhang Zhan zhu* 列子張湛注 (Liezi with Zhang Zhan's Commentary): 9 entries.
7. *Jiaoshi yilin* 焦氏易林 (Master Jiao's Forest of Changes): 31 entries.

[Anthologies (*Ji* 集)]

8. *Chuci Hong Xingzu buzhu* 楚辭洪興祖補註 (The Songs of the South with Hong Xingzu's sub commentary): 18 entries.
9. *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping Period): 215 entries.

Vols. III-IV

10. *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢六朝文 (The Complete Pre-Tang Prose): 277 entries.

This scheme is eminently navigable to all readers familiar with premodern Chinese bibliography; the ten titles are arranged in the venerable four-part order (*si bu* 四部): classics, histories, masters and anthologies. The thematic progression of *Guanzhui bian*, therefore, flows seamlessly from an influential taxonomical precedent that had dominated Chinese bibliography since the early Tang.[8]

The choice of this scheme, however, was by no means a forgone conclusion. Indeed, the majority of late imperial *zhaji* favour the tripartite structure of *leishu* 類書 (classical encyclopaedias): *tian* 天 (heaven), *di* 地 (earth), *ren* 人 (man).[9] The Song dynasty compiled *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 marshals these overarching divisions to bracket fifty-five subsidiary branches (*bu* 部) and a total of 5,363 sub-categories (*lei* 類). Gu Yanwu pays more than a nod to the *Taiping yulan*'s balance of unity and multiplicity when he writes that his *Rizhi lu* contributes to the understanding of three broad fields, "*jingshu* 經術 (classical exegesis), *zhidao* 治道 (governance), and *bowen* 博聞 (wider learning)."[10] The 1019 entries of his work are then divided into a further thirty-two subcategories.[11] While the critical aims of *Guanzhui*

[8] The first extant catalogue to employ the four-fold order was the *Suizhi* 隋志, which was presented to the throne in 656. Later imperial catalogues adopted the *Suizhi*'s overarching structure.
[9] Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, 956. For a succinct introduction to the organisation of premodern *leishu*, see Wolfgang Bauer, "The Encyclopaedia in China," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, Vol.9, No. 1. (Jan 1, 1965): 665–691. For a discussion of the intersection between *leishu* and medieval epitomes (*chao shu* 抄書), which in many ways foreshadow late imperial *zhaji*, see Xiaofei Tian, "Literary Learning: Encyclopedias and Epitomes," in Wiebke Denecke et al ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature*, Oxford: OUP, 2020, 132–146. For a broader study of contrasting models of knowledge management, see Jack W. Chen et al. ed., *Literary Information in China: A History* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2021).
[10] Gu Yanwu, *Tinglin shiwen ji*, 25.
[11] Gu Yanwu, *Record of Daily Knowledge*, 13–14.

bian are more avowedly literary than *Rizhi lu*, its subject matter is certainly diverse enough to satisfy the taxonomical criteria of traditional *leishu*. Alternatively, Qian could have simply organised his work phonetically, following the example of the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (Great Compendium of the Yongle Era), whose entries are arranged according to the rhymes found in the *Hongwu Zhengyun* 洪武正韻 (The Correct Rhymes of the Hongwu Period).

There were, however, very practical reasons why Qian decided to adopt the four-fold order. We know that the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Annotated Bibliography of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries) was one of only three works that Qian took with him into exile at the cadre school in Henan, where he began preparing his magnum opus.[12] His choice of this macro structure was doubtless in part influenced by the long hours he spent pouring over the *Siku quanshu zongmu*'s iteration of the four-part order for lack of other reading fodder. The degree to which Qian was influenced by the structure of the *Siku quanshu zongmu* is apparent at a more granular level. Qian's three selected *jing* studiously follow the sequence of the Qing compendium's subcategories, which run "*yi lei* 易類 (Changes), *shu lei* 書類 (Documents), *shi lei* 類 (Poetry), *li lei* 禮類 (Rites), *chunqiu lei* 春秋類 (Spring and Autumn Annals)." Where two books share a subcategory, Qian also follows the *Siku quanshu*'s example of arranging the works in the chronological order of their relevant commentary. The *Laozi* and the *Liezi* both belong to the "*daojia lei* 道家類" (Daoist subcategory), but as Wang Bi was writing in the third century, and Zhang Zhan in the fourth, the *Laozi* is examined first.

There is only one instance where Qian's macro-structure departs from the epistemological hierarchies of the *Siku quanshu*. In the Qing collectanea, *Jiaoshi yilin* is listed in the *shushu lei*

[12] The other two books were the *Cihai* 辭海 and an unspecified Oxford Dictionary. Motsch, *Mit Bambusrohr*, 25.

術數類 (divination subcategory), which precedes the "Daoist subcategory." In *Guanzhui bian,* by contrast, the *Jiaoshi yilin* follows the *Laozi* and the *Liezi*. This exception, though seemingly insignificant, is indicative of an attempt to negotiate a broader tension within the *Siku quanshu*'s deployment of the four-part order. While the collectanea's categories and subcategories are necessarily thematic, all works within a given subcategory are listed by dynasty. To browse through the *Siku quanshu* is to be confronted at every turn by the conflicting demands of abstract knowledge management and concrete literary history. At first glance, the macro-structure of *Guanzhui bian* seems to favour the former over the latter; but there is also a discernible chronological thread that winds from its first section to its very last. The *Book of Changes* is China's earliest classic, while the *Complete Pre-Tang Prose*, compiled by Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762–1843) in the nineteenth century, is arguably its most recent. In between these two sections, whether by virtue of the date of the base texts, that of their accompanying commentaries, or their editorial genesis, *Guanzhui bian* always finds a way to move forward through literary history without disturbing the overarching thematic structure at its foundation. In this light, the decision to place the *Jiaoshi yilin* after the *Laozi* and the *Liezi* becomes more understandable. Both the *Laozi* and the *Liezi* are preimperial texts, while the *Jiaoshi yilin* is commonly attributed to the Western Han.

The skeletal framework of *Guanzhui bian* not only betrays a strong thematic and chronological structure, inherited from the *Siku quanshu*; it also boasts a spatial coherence. Each of the entries subordinate to these ten books begins with a passage that Qian highlights for examination. This simple trope allows Qian to present his notes in the same sequence as the relevant work. The first section on the *Book of Changes*, therefore, begins with a remark on the polysemy of the word *yi* 易 in Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 (574–648) preface. Subsequent entries address themes and issues in the classic's hexagrams, judgements, and commentaries in precisely the same

order as Kong Yingda's study. As a result, we are never at a loss as to where the theme of each entry is relevant to the classic in question and can even speedily locate the passage in question within our own copies. This approach is particularly anchoring when Qian embarks on his analysis of the compendious *Extensive Records* and *Complete Pre-Tang Prose*, which he methodically treats *juan* after *juan*.

If thematic, chronological, and spatial structures help readers to orientate themselves over the course of *Guanzhui bian*'s 781 entries, a key question remains: why these ten classics and not others? Neither the prefatory material to *Guanzhui bian*, nor Qian's introductory essays to each classic furnish explicit reasons for his editorial choices. There are, however, three plausible grounds for the structural scope of *Guanzhui bian*: First, Qian's selections bridge all categories of the four-part order and range across the full gamut of premodern literary history; as such, they are representative of the normative breadth of Chinese literature. By beginning his work, for example, with the three most influential Confucian classics, Qian explores a giddy array of themes and literary techniques that informed Chinese writers, poets and thinkers throughout history. Second, while *Guanzhui bian* comprehensively addresses some of the most important texts in the classical tradition, it also challenges our notions of what that tradition is. Over half of *Guanzhui bian* is devoted to the *Extensive Records of the Taiping Period* and *The Complete Pre-Tang Prose*, which anthologise many writings that are, whether formally or thematically, a far cry from the concerns of elite literature. Indeed, Qian is often attracted to works that have fallen between the gaps of literary history and which he examines for the first time, proving them to be equally demonstrative of important trends in literature and thought. In a short note on "The Woodcutter of Wangwu Mountain," for example, Qian shows how even the lofty moral standards of China's most polished writers are more persuasively expounded in obscure, demotic works.

《王屋薪者》（出《瀟湘錄》鐵錚化老僧，龜殼化道士，爭佛道優劣，負薪者攘袂呵斥二氏無父無君，“不耕而食，不蠶而衣，” 焚茅菴而揮斧欲殺，按幾如韓愈《原道》之寓言矣。[13]

In “The Woodcutter of Wangwu Mountain" (anthologised in *A Record of Hunan*) an old Buddhist monk, transformed from a metal cymbal, and a Daoist adept, transformed from a tortoise shell, argue over the superiority of Buddhism and Daoism. A man carrying firewood animatedly berates them for neglecting both parents and ruler and for “eating without ploughing and wearing clothes without cultivating silkworms.” He burns [the Buddhist monk’s] shack and wields an axe to kill them. This is almost the same allegory that Han Yu uses in his essay “Originating in the Way.”

Han Yu famously defines “the Way” of Confucius from that of Buddhism and Daoism by emphasising the importance of fulfilling social roles.[14] His sententious moralising, however, is not nearly as effective, or entertaining, as the short shrift of a belligerent peasant, who drives home his point with a gamely swing of an axe. Third, while the selection of the capacious *Extensive Records* and *Complete Pre-Tang prose* allows Qian to explore minor works that would not typically fall within the purview of a global literary study, the underlying structure of *Guanzhui bian* offers an even more radical degree of freedom. The passages that begin each entry are usually no more than a pretext to launch into a discussion that spans the full length and breadth of Chinese and Western literature. In an entry from the *Zuozhuan* section, for example, Qian latches onto a proverb for which he identifies a torrent of literary associations, whisking readers away from the classic in question to explore how a counterintuitive point of psychology is enshrined in literature.

魏子曰：“吾聞諸伯叔，諺曰：‘惟食忘憂。’”按此諺殊洞達情理。有待之身，口腹尤累，詩人名句“切身經濟是加餐”（張問陶《乙巳八月出都感事》之四），所

[13] GZB: 795.
[14] “What was the teaching of the ancient kings? […] the positions of ruler and servant, father and son, teacher and friend, guest and host, older brother and younger brother, husband and wife. 夫所謂先王之教者，何也？[…] 其位，君臣、父子、師友、賓主、昆弟、夫婦.” Han Yu, *Han Yu wenji huijiao jianzhu,* vol. 1, 2.

以傳誦。憂心如焚不敵饑火如焚；“食不甘味”、“茶飯無心”則誠有之，然豈能以愁腸而盡廢食腸哉？李漁《凰求鳳》第二二齣吕哉生云：“長吁短歎、不言不語都做得來，那不茶不飯四個字卻有些難”，正謂是也。嵇康《養生論》稱述“曾子銜哀，七日不饑”；欲成己説，不惜過信古書，亦通人之蔽耳。儒者如葉適即疑其事之不實，《習學記言序目》卷八《禮記》：“曾子執親之喪，水漿不入於口者七日；自言之乎？”，又：“曾子既以七日不入水漿自言，而樂正子春又以五日不食爲悔；師弟子之學，矯情而求名若此，……其不然也必矣！”荷馬史詩中奥德修斯曰：“吾雖憂傷，然思晚食。吾心悲戚，而吾腹命吾飲食，亦可稍忘苦痛”（Even as I bear sorrow in my heart，but my belly ever bids me eat and drink，and brings forgetfulness of all that I have suffered）。與魏子引諺契會。一古希臘小詩云：“居喪諒闇，而亦飲食；荷馬有言，哀悼以心不以腹”（Eat and drink and keep silence in mourning；for we should not，as Homer said，mourn the dead with our bel1y）。維果不解荷馬載筆之家常親切、質而不綺，乃責怪其寫奥德修斯等憂傷時唯酗酒以消塊壘（sono afflitissimi d’animo，porre tutto il lor conforto in ubbriacarsi），未爲知言。許來格稱荷馬敍述大事，而於飲食卧起等人生瑣屑（die weniger bedeutenden，aber zum stetigen Fortgang notwendigen z. B. das Aufstehen，Zu-Bettgehen，Essen，Trinken usw.），未嘗拋置。後世小説家有悟於斯，故塞萬提斯寫吉訶德病危將死，其姪女餐飯如常，其管家婦不停酒杯（pero，con todo，comía la Sobrina，brindaba el Ama）；伏爾泰寫一人失其所歡，又殺其所歡之弟，與僕逃，中途，僕請進食，其人慨然曰：“吾腸斷心疚，汝何爲欲吾食火腿乎！”（Comment veux-tu que je mange du jambon？），且談且啖（En parlant ainsi，il ne laissa pas de manger）；斐爾丁亦寫悲深憂極而終須飲食（yet the sublimest grief，not with standing what some people may say to the contrary，will eat at last）。《紅樓夢》“凡歇落處每用吃飯”，護花主人於卷首《讀法》中説之以爲“大道存焉”，著語迂腐，實則其意祇謂此雖日常小節，乃生命所須，飲食之欲更大於男女之欲耳。嘗見英國一大史家日記有云：“好友病革。心甚悲痛。然吾晚餐如恒”（Poor Henry Hallam is dying. Much distressed. I dined，however）；蓋自認不能憂而忘食也。費爾巴哈云，心中有情，首中有思，必先腹中有物（Die erste Bedingung，daβ du etwas in dein Herz und deinen Kopf bringst，ist：daβ du etwas in deinen Magen bringst）。然則“唯食忘憂”祇道着一半；唯有食庶得以憂，無食則不暇他憂而唯食是憂矣。古希臘又一小詩云：“患相思病者之對治無過饑餓，歲月亦爲靈藥”（Hunger puts an end to love，or if not hunger，time）；但丁名句：“饑餓之力勝於悲痛”（Poscia，più che’l dolor，poté’l digiuno）；皆道此也。[15]

Wei Shu[16] (d. 509 BC) said: “I have heard a proverb from my elders: ‘Only while eating does one forget one’s worries.’” This proverb contains an unusual degree of psychological insightful. Of our bodily wants, the mouth and stomach are particularly demanding. This is why the famous lines “to save your own skin, have a second helping” (from the fourth poem in Zhang Wentao’s (1764–1814) “Musings on Leaving the Capital in the Eighth month of 1785” series) have survived through frequent recitation. Burning anxieties are no match for a burning appetite. While there is indeed such a thing as “taking no pleasure in one’s food” or “having no thought for tea or rice,” how can a bellyful of woes replace a bellyful of food? In the second act of Li Yu’s (1611–1680) *Phoenix*

[15] GZB: 239–241.
[16] 魏舒 (z. Xianzi 獻子, ?–509 BC).

Lovers, Lü Zaisheng quips, "it is possible to heave 'long moans and short sighs', to utter 'neither a word nor a syllable,' but to consume 'neither tea nor rice' is a four-word injunction that is rather hard to emulate." This is most certainly the case. Ji Kang's (223–263) treatise "On Nourishment" supports its argument by claiming that "Zengzi did not feel hunger for seven days while mourning." Even universally learned men [such as Ji Kang] are guilty of believing everything they come across in ancient books. Scholars like Ye Shi (1150–1223) are more suspicious of such stories. In the "Book of Rites" section from *juan* eight of his "Catalogue of Study Notes" he writes, "When Zengzi was holding the funeral rites for a relative, he didn't eat a morsel or drink a drop for seven days: did he honestly claim this?" Ye continues, "If we grant that Zengzi claimed to have forsaken food and drink for seven days, [we cannot ignore that his disciple] Lezheng Zichun regretted not having eaten for five days; the fact that a master and his disciple should bend the truth for the sake of their reputations to such an extent […] shows that it was not the case!" Homer's epic *The Odyssey* reads, "Even as I bear sorrow in my heart, but my belly ever bids me eat and drink, and brings forgetfulness of all that I have suffered."[17] This chimes with the proverb quoted by Wei Shu. An ancient Greek poem enjoins us to "eat and drink and keep silence in mourning; for we should not, as Homer said, mourn the dead with our belly."[18] Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) doesn't grasp the familiar truth behind Homer's words, which are candid and unadorned, and reproaches him for only evoking the woes of Odysseus and co. by describing their abuse of alcohol ("when they are afflicted in spirit, they find all their comfort in intoxicating themselves."[19]) This is not a fair criticism. A.W. Schlegel (1767–1845) writes that Homer narrates great events, but also does not neglect "the less significant ones, which are nevertheless necessary for the steady progression [of life], for example, getting up, going to bed, eating, drinking and so on."[20] Later novelists cottoned onto this technique; and so Cervantes, when depicting Don Quixote at death's door, writes "but through all of this, his niece ate and his maid tippled."[21] One of Voltaire's characters loses a lover, kills his lover's younger brother, and flees with a servant. On the road, the servant invites him to eat. He woefully replies, "'How can you expect me to eat ham?' And while saying this he did not cease to eat."[22] Fielding also writes that "yet the sublimest grief, notwithstanding what some people may say to the contrary, will eat at last."[23] *The Dream of the Red Chamber* describes how "whenever there was repose, there was food." In his "Reading Approach" at the beginning of the relevant *juan,* Wang Xilian[24] (1805–1877) pompously and erroneously claims that this sentence "contains the Great Way." Its true meaning is merely that while such daily matters are insignificant, they are essential to life. The desire for food and drink is greater than the desire for sex. I once read the following line in the diary of the great English historian, G.O. Trevelyan (1838–1928): "Poor Henry Hallam is dying. Much distressed. I dined, however."[25] Trevelyan confesses that he cannot neglect his appetite despite his worry. Feuerbach writes that "the first condition that you must fulfil to bring something into your heart and head is that you bring something into

[17] Qian's footnote: *Odyssey*, XII. 215 ff..
[18] Qian's footnote: *Greek Anthology*, X. 47, *Palladas*, "Loeb", IV, 27.
[19] Qian's footnote: *Scienza Nuova*, § 784, op. cit., 731
[20] Qian's footnote: A. W. Schlegel: "Goethes 'Hermann und Dorothea,'" *Kritische Schriften und Briefe*, W. Kohlhammer, I, 47; cf. A. Huxley, *Music at Night*, 7 (Tragedy and the Whole Truth).
[21] Qian's footnote: *Don Quijote*, pt. II, cap. 74, "Clássicos Castellanos," VIII, 330.
[22] Qian's footnote: Candide, ch. 16, *Romans et Contes*, Bib. de la Pléiade, 179.
[23] Qian's footnote: *Tom Jones*, Bk. XVI, ch. 3, "Everyman's Lib.," II，290.
[24] 王希廉 (h. Huhua zhuren 護花主人 [The Guardian Host])
[25] Qian's footnote: G. O. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, Longmans, 546.

> your stomach."[26] However, "while eating one forgets worries" is only half the truth. One may have worries even with food, but without food there's scant time for other worries; one only worries about food. A small ancient Greek poem tells us that "hunger puts an end to love, or if not hunger, time."[27] Dante has the famous line, "the power of hunger is greater than that of pain."[28] Both refer to this same fact.

This short essay is representative of the broader structure of *Guanzhui bian* in several respects. Its theme, advertised by a subtitle as "while eating one forgets one's worries," (*wei shi wang you* 唯食忘憂) is in fact only tangentially relevant to the original passage, which relates how two members of Wei Shu's staff employ a clever analogy to deter the Jin 晉 general from accepting a bribe. Qian wastes no time, however, in fleshing out the original context, trusting that his learned readers will either know it already, or be curious enough to dig it out for themselves. Instead, he pounces on a small aspect of the text as a springboard to investigate diverse iterations of a minor topic throughout vast swathes of literature and critical lore. The resulting web of quotations is already familiar to us from Qian's practice of marginalia and the accumulative composition of his "Daily Notes." In curating these notes for publication, however, Qian employs two further principles of organisation. The first of these may be described as the mobilisation of opposites. Qian is not interested in analysing his sources in chronological order, nor in examining the refractions of his chosen theme through different literary forms; he is primarily concerned with identifying contrasting passages that, through their stark juxtaposition of critical colour, bring each other into sharper focus. Qian begins, therefore, with works that conform with Wei Shu's proverb, but soon identifies a counterexample in Ji Kang. Dissatisfied with Ji Kang's observation, he wheels in Ye Shi to furnish a criticism of Ji in his stead. The essay progresses in this manner, not by force of argument, but through a dialectical dance of examples and counterexamples. To close the piece,

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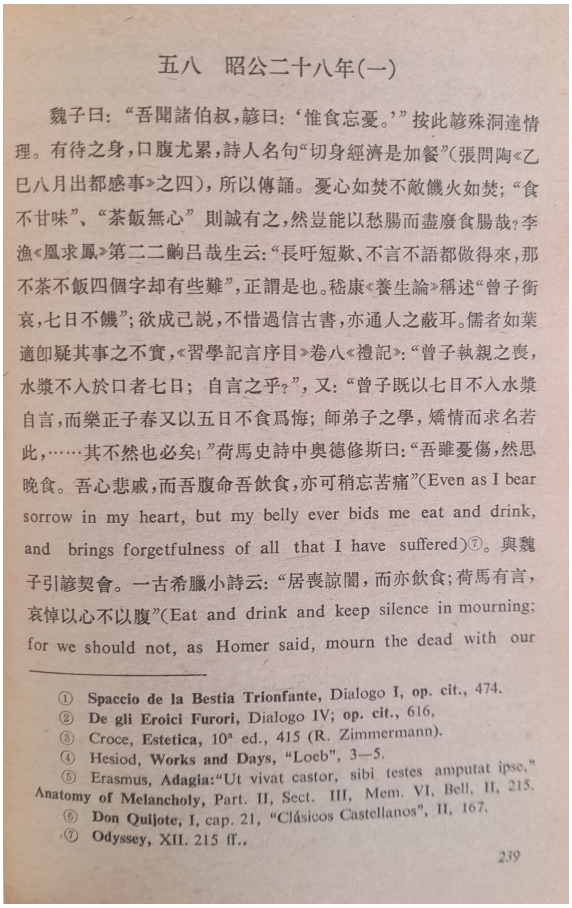
[26] Qian's footnote: Feuerbach, "Die Naturwissenschaft und die Revolution," *Sämtl. Werke*, hrsg. W. Bolin und F. Jodl, X, 14.
[27] Qian's footnote: *Greek Anthology*, IX, 497, Crates, op. cit., III.
[28] Qian's footnote: *Inferno*, XXXIII, 75.

Qian identifies an implicit opposite within the proverb itself, for which he supplies two further morsels of evidence. Now content that he has examined the issue from every possible angle, he abruptly breaks of the discussion with no further commentary. While on first reading a mere hodgepodge of quotations, the essay is on closer examination composed of carefully arranged symmetries. The most striking symmetry of all is the balance between Chinese and Western works. Here, as elsewhere, Qian first examines the relevant Chinese sources before shifting his focus to European literatures, which are examined in the light of the former. While Chinese and Western sources are rarely as evenly balanced as in the essay above, the entries in *Guanzhui bian* are overwhelmingly characterised by a sharp thematic turn away from the base text, an examination of contrasting Chinese sources, followed by similar perusal of relevant Western works.

Qian's polished essays differ from his notes in another important respect. In the complex textual ecology of the notebooks, with their flourishes of calligraphy and fronds of marginalia, each of Qian's extracts assumes a unique colour and individual immediacy. In the printed edition, however, these same extracts are reduced to a uniform font, which reveals nothing of their riotous history of compilation. The symmetries with which Qian marshals his erudition are therefore reinforced by an aesthetic homogeneity that serves to unite the disparate strands of the scholar's encyclopaedic reading.[29]

The global organisation of *Guanzhui bian* cannot be adequately described by the wedding of Qian's note taking practices to the conceptual framework of the four-part order in one final regard. While the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* was devised to provide a bird's eye view of the collectanea and enable its readers to locate works quickly, *Guanzhui bian* was conceived not

[29] Compare the notes behind this entry (see Image 2.1) and the printed edition (see Image 2.2)



五八　昭公二十八年(一)

魏子曰："吾聞諸伯叔，諺曰：'惟食忘憂。'"按此諺殊洞達情理。有待之身，口腹尤累，詩人名句"切身經濟是加餐"(張問陶《乙巳八月出都感事》之四)，所以傳誦。憂心如焚不敵饑火如焚；"食不甘味"、"茶飯無心"則誠有之，然豈能以愁腸而盡廢食腸哉？李漁《風求鳳》第二二齣吕哉生云："長吁短歎、不言不語都做得來，那不茶不飯四個字却有些難"，正謂是也。嵇康《養生論》稱述"曾子銜哀，七日不饑"；欲成己説，不惜過信古書，亦通人之蔽耳。儒者如葉適即疑其事之不實，《習學記言序目》卷八《禮記》："曾子執親之喪，水漿不入於口者七日；自言之乎？"，又："曾子既以七日不入水漿自言，而樂正子春又以五日不食爲悔；師弟子之學，矯情而求名若此，……其不然也必矣！"荷馬史詩中奥德修斯曰："吾雖憂傷，然思晚食。吾心悲戚，而吾腹命吾飲食，亦可稍忘苦痛"(Even as I bear sorrow in my heart, but my belly ever bids me eat and drink, and brings forgetfulness of all that I have suffered)⑦。與魏子引諺契會。一古希臘小詩云："居喪諒闇，而亦飲食；荷馬有言，哀悼以心不以腹"(Eat and drink and keep silence in mourning; for we should not, as Homer said, mourn the dead with our

① **Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante,** Dialogo I, op. cit., 474.
② **De gli Eroici Furori,** Dialogo IV; **op. cit.,** 616.
③ Croce, **Estetica,** 10ª ed., 415 (R. Zimmermann).
④ Hesiod, **Works and Days,** "Loeb", 3—5.
⑤ Erasmus, **Adagia:**"Ut vivat castor, sibi testes amputat ipse," **Anatomy of Melancholy,** Part. II, Sect. III, Mem. VI, Bell, II, 215.
⑥ **Don Quijote,** I, cap. 21, "Clásicos Castellanos", II, 167.
⑦ **Odyssey,** XII. 215 ff..

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Image 2.1. Qian's essay from the Zuozhuan section of Guanzhui bian. Source: GZB: 239.



Image 2.2. Qian's notes on the "Wei shi wang you" section of the *Zuozhuan*. Source: RAG: 246

to be consulted, but rather to be read in full, and in the unique order established by its author. Although each entry is awarded at least one, if not several, thematic subtitles, these only playfully hint at the true subject of a given essay or note.[30] A perusal of the table of contents to *Guanzhui bian* is therefore singularly unedifying; nor has Qian furnished any form of index, whether thematic or by work and author, allowing readers to gut the book piecemeal according to their peculiar interests.[31] If Qian intended his audience to zealously follow the thread of his book, and judge it as a whole, rather than by its constituent parts, we must ask what precisely is to be gained by a consecutive reading?

Indeed, such a reading reveals an additional, latent structure, working against the grain of the four-part order. Qian's thematic studies are not limited to self-contained entries, but sprawl intrepidly across the full scope of the work. Themes or literary devices often re-emerge multiple times in later entries, now to be examined from a new angle and in a novel context. These essays assume a prior knowledge of their thematic precursors, and highlight both the diversity and unity of perception, thought, and literary art across time and language. To illustrate this cyclical gestation, which in many ways overrides other organising principles of *Guanzhui bian*, I will focus on Qian's treatment of mirrors. This case study is revealing not only for the dizzying

[30] A given entry is often composed of several essays, or notes, each of which forms a coherent segment. *Guanzhui bian*'s editor, Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫 (1912-2000) awarded each segment an independent subtitle in the table of contents; these subtitles do not feature in the body of the text. For example, entry twenty-five of the *Maoshi* section consists of two segments: "Narrative twists [敘述曲折]" and "Falling in love: the difference between ladies and gentlemen.[士與女鍾情之異]." Entry four from the *Shiji* section consists of as many as thirteen segments. The corresponding subtitles, however, are no more than brief excerpts from the text. A segment entitled, "Xie fang 寫放," for example, transpires to be a etymological discussion of the character "*xie*." These subtitles, therefore, are more useful to those refreshing their acquaintance with the work than those approaching it for the first time.

[31] The shortcomings of Lu Wenhu's 陸文虎 index to *Guanzhui bian* will be discussed in chapter three. The organisation of *Guanzhui bian* has long been viewed as the greatest hurdle for readers of the work. The six volume *Qian Zhongshu lunxue wenxuan* 錢鍾書論學文選 (Shu Zhan 舒展 ed., Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 1990), rearranges *Guanzhui bian*'s entries thematically. Ronald Egan's selected translation also abandons Qian's original structure in favour of a thematic arrangement.

array of perspectives that Qian furnishes onto a discrete subject, but also because the mirror offers a poignant metaphor for the critical philosophy that lies at the heart of *Guanzhui bian.*

2.3: A Structural Case Study: The Hall of Mirrors

The subject of mirrors first appears in *Guanzhui bian* in connection with an innovative apparatus for the analysis of metaphors. Entry sixteen of the *Zhouyi* section begins with a discussion of two metaphors, a hobbling cripple, and a one-eyed man, that Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) interprets as expressions of *faute de mieux*: "Although [marrying a widow to her brother-in-law] is not the proper match, it is still in keeping with the constant way. This is akin to the legs of a cripple. While they are not straight, they can still walk. […] Or a man blind in one eye. Although he cannot see properly, he can still see."[32] In the commentary to the "Lü 履" (Treading) hexagram, however, the very same metaphors are used in a contrary sense: "a man with one eye is incapable of seeing well; an upright cripple is incapable of keeping up."[33] What, Qian asks, is the reason behind this reversal?

> 同此事物，援爲比喻，或以褒，或以貶，或示喜，或示惡，詞氣迥異；修詞之學，亟宜拈示。斯多噶派哲人嘗曰："萬物各有二柄"（Everything has two handles），人手當擇所執。刺取其意，合采慎到、韓非"二柄"之稱，聊明吾旨，命之"比喻之兩柄"可也。
>
> 水中映月之喻常見釋書，示不可捉搦也。然而喻至道於水月，乃歎其玄妙，喻浮世於水月，則斥其虛妄，譽與毀區以別焉（參觀《大智度論·解了諸法釋論》第一二説"如水中月"。不勞廣徵，即取晉釋慧遠《鳩摩羅什法師大乘大義》卷上爲例。其稱"法身同化"，無四大五根，"如鏡中像、水中月，見如有色，而無觸等，則非色也"，水月之喻，蓋以揚之；其言"幻化夢響"，如"鏡像、水月，但誑心眼"，水月之喻，又以抑之。詞章沿用亦然。[…]比喻有兩柄而復具多邊。蓋事

[32] 雖非正配，不失常道，譬猶跛人之足然，雖不正，不廢能履，[…] 猶如眇目之人，視雖不正，不廢能視。 GZB: 36.
[33] 眇能視，不足以有明也；跛能履，不足以與行也。GZB: 36.

物一而已，然非止一性一能，遂不限於一功一效。取譬者用心或別，着眼因殊，指（denotatum）同而旨（significatum）則異；故一事物之象可以孑立應多，守常處變。[…] 喻有柄有邊，後將隨見隨說，先發凡於此。[34]

The same object, when employed as a metaphor, can be judged positively or negatively, at times indicating delight, at others aversion, and thus varying radically in tone; this is a key point in the study of rhetoric. A Stoic philosopher once said, "Everything has two handles."[35] We should choose by which handle to hold a matter. I have playfully adopted his analogy, blending it with the "two handles" of Shen Dao (395–315 BC) and Han Fei (281–233 BC), to illustrate my point. We will call this "the two handles of a metaphor."

The imagery of the moon reflected on water is common to Buddhist works and is used to evoke the intangible. However, if moonlit water is used as a metaphor for the highest Way, it expresses wonder at the sublime; if used as a metaphor for the fleeting world, it expresses distain for delusion. Praise and blame are clearly delineated (see point twelve: "Like the Moon on Water" in the "Exposition on Realising All Dharmas" chapter of *The Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom*). Rather than burden myself with wide ranging examples, I will focus on the first *juan* of *The Great Wheel and Meaning of Master Kumārajīva* by the Jin Buddhist Hui Yuan (334–416). Here it is written that "the dharma body is synonymous with change" and is devoid of the four impressions and five senses,[36] "like images in a mirror, or the moon on water; it is perceived as material, but cannot be touched, and is thus immaterial." The metaphor of the moon on water is used here in a positive sense. Hui [also] talks of "changing illusions and sonorous dreams" as being akin to "an image in a mirror, or the moon on water; they only fool mind and eye." Here the metaphor of the moon in water is used pejoratively. In literary works this practice also applies.[37] […] Metaphors have two handles, but they also have multiple sides. For an object does not only possess a single nature or a sole use. Accordingly, it is not limited to a single function or a sole purpose. Depending on one's aims, one will focus on different aspects of an object when employing it as a metaphor. The "denotatum" may be the same, but the "significatum" can differ. As a result, a single image can have different applications, remaining constant while accommodating change. […] Now that we have discussed how metaphors have "handles" and "sides," I will continue to point out further examples as we proceed.

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[34] GZB: 37–41. For Ronald Egan's translation of this essay, see Qian Zhongshu, *Limited Views*, 121–125.
[35] Qian's footnote: Epictetus, *Encheiridion*, § 45, "Loeb," II, 527.
[36] The four impressions are: solidity, wetness, warmth, and movement; the five root senses are: sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch.
[37] The contrasting examples that Qian supplies from Western literature are slightly more colourful: "Both Italian and English have the metaphor 'to stop a clock,' though their connotations of praise and mockery differ. In an Italian novel, this takes the form of, 'This dame could stop the clocks,' expressing wonder at her beautiful appearance. […] An English play, however, contains the quip, "But then there's one or two faces 'ere that'ud stop a clock," expressing disgust at the characters' ugliness." [如意語、英語均有"使鐘錶停止"之喻，而美刺之旨各別。意人一小説云："此婦能使鐘錶停止不行"（Que pezzo di donna che fa fermare gli orologi）[V. Brancati, *Don Giovanni in Sicilia*, quoted in D. Provenzal, *Dizionario delle Immagini*, 93, "Beltà".], 歎容貌之美；[…] 而英人一劇本云："然此間有一二婦人，其面貌足止鐘不行"（But then there's one or two faces'ere that'ud stop a clock）[J. B. Priestley, *When We are Married*, Act III, *The Plays of J. B. Priestley*, Heinemann, II, 214.]

Epictetus uses the analogy of "two handles" in a different sense from Qian. "If your brother wrongs you, do not lay hold of the matter by the handle of the wrong that he is doing […] but rather by the other handle — that he is you brother […] and then you will be laying hold of the matter by the handle by which it ought to be carried."[38] The "two handles" of Epictetus are morally prescriptive. Han Fei and Shen Hai, on the other hand, are frankly proscriptive. The "*liang bing*" of the legalists simply refers to reward and punishment. Qian's "two handles of a metaphor," by contrast, is descriptive. The scholar is not interested in which interpretation of the mirror metaphor is correct, but rather in highlighting the ambivalence of our subjective judgement. This ambivalence is compounded by an objective plurality, namely the many "sides" or perspectives from which any matter can be viewed. The "two handles" and "many sides" are the coordinates by which Qian examines metaphors throughout *Guanzhui bian*. It is not until forty pages later, in entry fourteen of the *Maoshi* section, which focuses on the "Cypress Boat" (*Bozhou* 柏舟) ode, that Qian explores the "sides" of the mirror metaphor in greater detail.

> 釋典鏡喻有兩柄，已詳《易》卷。我國古籍鏡喻亦有兩邊。一者洞察：物無遁形，善辨美惡，如《淮南子·原道訓》："夫鏡水之與形接也，不設智故，而方圓曲直勿能逃也"，又《説林訓》："若以鏡視形，曲得其情。"二者涵容：物來斯受，不擇美惡；[…] 前者重其明，後者重其虛，各執一邊。《莊子·應帝王》所謂："至人之用心若鏡，不將不迎，應而不藏"（《文子·精誠》："是故聖人若鏡，不將不迎，應而不藏"）；古希臘詩人賦鏡所謂"中無所有而亦中無不有"（nothing inside and everything inside）；皆云鏡之虛則受而受仍虛也。《世説·言語》袁羊曰："何嘗見明鏡疲於屢照，清流憚於惠風"；不將迎，不藏有，故不"疲"矣。[39]
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> In the [preceding] section on the *Changes* we already established how in the Buddhist canon the metaphor of the mirror has two handles. In old Chinese works, this metaphor also has two sides. The first side is the mirror's penetrating insight, from which no object can hide, and which skilfully discerns good and evil. For instance, the "Originating in the Way" chapter of the *Huainanzi* reads: "When a water mirror comes in contact with

[38] Oldfather, *Epictetus II*, 527.
[39] GZB: 77–78.

> shapes, it is not because of wisdom and precedent that it is able to flawlessly reflect the square, round, crooked and straight." The "Discourse on Forests" chapter further reads, ""[When a sage matches things up], it is as if he holds up a mirror to their form; from the crooked [reflection] he can get to the nature [of things]." The second side is the mirror's visual receptivity; all objects are accommodated, regardless of whether they are good or bad. […] The first side emphasises perspicacity, the second side emphasises emptiness. This is what the "Responses for Emperors and Kings" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* means by "the realised man employs his mind like a mirror, not greeting that which comes, but accommodating all without concealment." The "Pure Sincerity" chapter of the *Wenzi* reads, "for this reason the Sage is like a mirror, not greeting that which comes, but accommodating all without concealment." An ancient Greek poet describes mirrors as having "nothing inside and everything inside."[40] This is all to say that it is the emptiness of mirrors that allows them to receive images, but having received such images, they continue to be empty. In the "Language" chapter of the *New Account of the Tales of the World,* Yuan Yang says, "When did a mirror ever tire of frequent reflections, or when did a clear stream ever fear a gentle wind?" The mirror does not "tire" because it does not greet what comes, nor does it conceal that which is already there.

The two "sides" of the mirror point towards two metaphorical functions, the first illustrating moral acuity, and the second connoting universal acceptance. At first glance, this analysis is entirely new. When we read more carefully, however, we discover that the mirror's handles and sides seem to have elided. The first side of the mirror, namely the ability to judge between good and evil, encapsulates both handles, which consist of two opposing value judgements. The second side, namely emptiness, is synonymous with Qian's entire concept of sides, which he previously explains is the ability of metaphors to "remain constant while accommodating change." While analysing the imagery of the mirror in the abstract, therefore, Qian is unable to avoid the mutual interference of his terms, which overlap like reflections in two opposing mirrors. Behind the multiplicity of handles and sides, we find an implicit unity that is embodied in the defining characteristic of the mirror: its symmetry. We now can begin to understand why Qian, for whom symmetries were the true engine of criticism, was so interested in mirrors as a literary device. Thirty pages later, in entry thirty-seven of the *Maoshi* section, which nominally

[40] Qian's footnote: *The Greek Anthology*, Bk. XIV, 108; "Loeb," V, 81.

discusses the “Zhigu 陟岵” (Climbing a Wooded Hill) ode, Qian proceeds to explore the concrete mechanism by which mirrors bridge multiplicity and unity.

> 分身以自省，推己以忖他；寫心行則我思人乃想人必思我，[…]，寫景狀則我視人乃見人適視我，例亦不乏。[…] ；《閱微草堂筆記》卷二四卓奇圖絶句：“酒樓人倚孤樽坐，看我騎驢過板橋”；羅聘《香葉草堂詩存·三詔洞前取徑往雲然菴》：“何人背倚蓬窗立，看我扶笻上翠微”；張問陶《船山詩草》卷一四《夢中》：“已近樓前還負手，看君看我看君來”[…] 釋典中言道場中陳設，有“八圓鏡各安其方”，“又取八鏡，覆懸虚空，與壇場所安之鏡，方面相對，使其形影，重重相涉”（《楞嚴經》卷七）；唐之釋子借此布置，以爲方便，喻示法界事理相融，懸二乃至十鏡，交光互影，彼此攝入（《華嚴經疏鈔懸解》卷二七、《宗鏡録》卷九又卷一三、《高僧傳三集》卷五《法藏傳》）。己思人思己，己見人見己，亦猶甲鏡攝乙鏡，而乙鏡復攝甲鏡之攝乙鏡，交互以爲層累也。[41]
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> Poets may split themselves in two as a form of introspection, projecting the self to better contemplate themselves as another; with this roaming spirit, just as I think of others, so others must think of me.[42] […] In terms of concrete imagery, this translates to “as I see others, so others see me.” Examples of this abound. *Juan* twenty-four of *Notes of the Thatched Abode of Close Observations* features a couplet by Zhuo Qitu (fl. 18th century): “A solitary man leaning over a jug of wine at the tavern watches me riding a donkey over the plank bridge.” Luo Pin’s (1733–1799) poem “Passing by Three Edict Cave on my Way to Cloud Hut” in *Extant Poems from the Hall of Fragrant Grasses* reads, “Who is it that leans against the makeshift window, watching me climb the winding path with my stick?” Zhang Wentao’s (1764–1814) poem “In a Dream” from *Poetic Sketches from Boat Mountain* reads: “[As you’re] approaching the building, I stand with my hands still behind my back, watching you watch me watching you arrive.” […] The Buddhist canon mentions that among the furnishings of Dharma halls, there are “eight round mirrors, each placed in a different corner.” “Eight further mirrors are taken and hung in the air facing the installed mirrors, so that their reflections are endlessly replicated. (*Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, *juan* seven): Tang Buddhists exploited this arrangement as an expedient means to demonstrate that the events of different dharma realms are interpenetrating. By hanging two or even ten mirrors, whose images overlap, they interfere with each other (*juan* twenty-seven of *Appended Explanations to Transcribed Commentaries on the Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, *juan* nine and thirteen in *Mirror Catalogue of Buddhist Sects*, and *juan* five in *Memoirs of Eminent Song Dynasty Monks*). When I think of others thinking of me, or I watch others watching me, it is like mirror A reflecting mirror B, and mirror B reflecting mirror A reflecting Mirror B, overlapping to form countless levels.

[41] GZB: 114–115.
[42] Qian’s footnote: Cf. J.-P. Sartre, *L’Être et le Néant,* 315 ff. (le regard regardant et le regard regardé [the observing look and the look observed]).

There are two components to Qian's analysis here. In the first, he notes how poets borrow the reflexive properties or mirrors as a device to facilitate self-contemplation. All that this trope requires are two mutually observing perspectives, "le regard regardant, et le regard regardé." Zhuo's couplet and Luo's short poem both furnish tidy examples of Sartre's circular analogy, achieving their respective reflections via projected agents. Zhang, however, takes the trope a step further by calling attention to its artificiality. The emphasis is no longer on the image of the poet in the eyes of another, but on the process of mutual reflection itself. Qian likens this to the endless succession of images produced in a hall of mirrors. While one mirror, with its two handles and two sides, is already a potent symbol for the paradox of multiplicity and unity, two correctly positioned mirrors create an optical illusion of infinite regress. Tang Buddhists used this trick to evoke a sense of the unlimited, but also to stress that events in the numerous realms of their expansive metaphysics had a direct bearing on the mundane world. It is this idea of the mirror as a window onto realities just beyond our reach that continues to fascinate Qian, over six hundred pages later, in his sixty-ninth entry on the *Extensive Records*.

> 《王度》（出《異聞集》）。按章回小説所寫"照妖鏡"也。[…] "照妖鏡"之名似始見李商隱《李肱所遺畫松》詩："我聞照妖鏡，及與神劍鋒"；馮浩《玉谿生詩箋註》卷一引《西京雜記》謂漢宣帝臂上"帶身毒寶鏡，舊傳此鏡照見妖魅"，似病拘攣。晉唐俗説，凡鏡皆可照妖，李句亦泛言耳。《抱朴子》内篇《登涉》："不知入山法者，多遭禍害。……萬物之老者，其精悉能假託人形，惟不能鏡中易其真形耳。是以古之入山道士，皆以明鏡徑九寸以上懸於背後，則老魅不敢近人"；[…]《全後漢文》卷九七《鏡銘》拓本之四："洞照心膽，屏除妖孽"，與沈濤《交翠軒筆記》卷一自記得唐鑄海心鏡銘全同；唐乎、後漢乎，言新鑄鏡即能除妖，則無待於鏡古而後奏效。[…] 自唐迄明，均以爲常鏡已可祛魅卻鬼。[…] 薛逢《靈臺家兄古鏡歌》："人言此是千年物，百鬼聞之形暗慄"；章孝標《覽楊校書文卷》："誰有軒轅古銅鏡，爲持相並照妖看"；則皆如王度之"古鏡"。當是其新孔嘉，其舊彌甚，鏡愈古乃愈通靈耳。
>
> 西方相傳俗信，謂操隱身術者，遇鏡與水，形狀呈映，不能遁匿，[…] 西方又有俗信，謂鬼魅臨鏡，不落影像，蓋彼土亦以爲鬼無影。《晉書·五行志》上、《甘卓傳》、《殷仲文傳》皆記"卓照鏡不見其頭，遂夷滅"，仲文"照鏡不見其頭，尋亦誅剪" […] 豈將爲無頭鬼，故頭臨鏡無影耶？道家古説仙人或無影，如《列仙傳》及左思《魏都賦》所稱"玄俗無影"；佛典如隋譯《起世經》列舉"諸

天有十別法”，其六曰：“諸天之身，有形無影”；[…] 歐西之“仙”乃山水草木之精，非凡人修煉所成，脱西人而日中無影，則已自鬻於魔鬼矣。[43]

“Wang Du”[44] was originally anthologised in the *Collection of Strange Tales*. This story is about “demon reflecting mirrors,” [a familiar trope from later] vernacular novels. […] The *locus classicus* for the “demon reflecting mirror” seems to be Li Shangyin’s (813-858) poem “The Painted Pine Left by Li Gong:” “I heard that a demon reflecting mirror is as mighty as the cutting edge of a divine sword.” In the first *juan* of *Commentaries to Yu Xisheng’s Poetry*, Feng Hao (1719–1801) cites *Miscellaneous Records from the Western Capital* to argue that Emperor Xuan of Han (r. 74–48 BC) wore an “Indian treasure mirror” on his arm; “it was fabled that this mirror could reflect demons.” Feng’s argument seems to suffer from excessive rigidity. In the folklore of the Jin and the Tang, all mirrors were capable of reflecting demons. The line from Li’s poem merely states a commonplace. The “Climbing Mountains and Crossing Rivers” chapter from the inner section of the *Baopuzi* recounts that “many members of the clergy who unwittingly entered the mountains met with disaster. […] The sprites of the Patriarch of the Myriad Things can all assume a human shape; only in mirrors do their true forms remain unchanged. This is why in ancient times, Daoist adepts entering the mountains would all hang a clear mirror, nine inches in diameter, across their back. Thus [apparelled], the wily spirits didn’t dare approach.” […] The fourth rubbing from the “Mirror Inscriptions” chapter in *juan* ninety-seven of The *Complete Prose of the Later Han* reads, “this penetrating reflection of your heart and gall will eradicate demons and ghosts.” An identical notion is expressed in Shen Tao’s (1792-1861) *Notes from the Touching Eaves of Jade*, the first *juan* of which records the smelting and inscribing of “ocean mind mirrors” in the Tang dynasty: both texts, whether from the Tang or the Later Han, purport that newly smelted mirrors can eradicate demons. In this case, there’s no need for a mirror to age before it is effective. […] From the Tang down to the Ming, it was assumed that a normal mirror could drive off ghosts and eliminate demons. […] [However,] Xue Feng’s “Song about my Brother’s Old Mirror at Spirit Plateau” reads, “People say that this [mirror] is a thousand years old; when the hundred ghosts hear of it, their disguised forms shiver.” Zhang Xiaobiao’s (791–873) *On Reading Yang Jiaoshu’s Prose* reads, “Who has Emperor Xuanyuan’s old bronze mirror, to hold up and shine on the demons?” These are all like Wang Du’s “old mirror.” It must be that a newly minted mirror works well, but only improves with time. The older the mirror the more effective it becomes.

In Western folklore, those who enjoy the power of invisibility are nevertheless unable to hide their reflections in mirrors or water.[45] […] There is another common belief in the West, namely that ghosts leave no image in a mirror.[46] This is because it also believed in that part of the world that ghosts have no shadow.[47] The “Biography of Gan Zhuo” and

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[43] GZB: 728–730.

[44] In the Southern Song compendium *Lei shuo* 類說 (Classified Tales) this story is entitled, “Gu jing ji 古鏡記” (Record of an Ancient Mirror).

[45] Qian’s footnote: Brüder Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, Nr. 85, “Das Vogelnest,” Op. cit.，I，115：“um sie nun zu finden, muss man sie zufällig in einem Spiegel oder Wasser erblicken. [To find them, you must happen upon their reflection in a mirror or on the water]”

[46] Qian’s footnote: Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ch. 1, Doubleday，25–6: “I had hung my shaving glass by the window and was just beginning to shave. Suddenly I felt a hand on my shoulder and heard the Count’s voice saying to me, ‘Good morning!’ ... But there was no reflection of him in the mirror.”

[47] Qian’s footnote: Cf. Dante, *Purgatorio*, V. 8–9 (il lume ch’era rotto [the light that was broken]), 25–7；XXVI. 7–12，16–24 (fai di te parete al sol [thy makest thyself a wall unto the sun]).

> the "Biography of Yin Zhongwen" in the first half of the "Records of the Five Conducts" section of the *Book of Jin* respectively record that "Zhuo looked in the mirror and couldn't see his own head; he was then wiped out;" Zhongwen "looked in a mirror and couldn't see his own head; he was soon violently executed." […] Are these examples of people who are soon to be headless ghosts, so their heads are not reflected in the mirror? An ancient Daoist saying has it that some transcendants have no shadow. See, for instance, the *Biographies of Transcendents*, and Zuo Si's "Rhapsody on the Wei Capital," which claims that "Xuansu has no shadow." The *Aggañña Sutra*, translated in the Sui dynasty, lists "the ten distinguishing factors of the various heavens." The sixth factor reads, "all celestial persons have a form but no shadow." […] The "transcendents" of Europe are sprites of the mountain and the field, whose powers are beyond the reach of mere mortals.[48] If you're a Westerner and you've no shadow in the sun, then you've probably sold yourself to the devil.[49]

The chief interest of this essay, beyond its raucous parade of ghosts, transcendents and demons, lies in the playfulness with which Qian dismantles a superstition about a superstition. In the original story, Wang Du inherits a mirror that once belonged to the mythical Yellow Emperor, a provenance that has endowed it with magical powers. Qian demonstrates, however, that all mirrors were believed to share these powers, regardless of their antiquity. He embarks on an extensive chronological review of beliefs surrounding the exorcistic effects of reflections. Here, the spatial depth previously evoked by mutually interfering mirrors is replaced by a temporal depth. Qian concludes that the belief in the relative potency of older mirrors is not due to any quality of the mirror, but to the antiquity of the belief. Just as the mirror of metaphor has two sides, so the mirror of folklore has two functions. The second half of the essay addresses a coexisting superstition; namely that mirrors reflect the invisible. Here we find a further ambivalence; in Western literature, ghosts leave no reflection in the mirror, while in Chinese myth it is deities and transcendents who cast no shadow. Qian ironically shows that deification and damnation resort to the same simple device. The two functions are both, however, facilitated by the mirror's role as a faithful reflection of truth. When Qian returns to this theme,

[48] Qian's footnote: Cf. C. S. Lewis, *The Divided Image*, 122–3, (longaevi, faeiries).
[49] Qian's footnote: E. g. A. Chamisso, *Peter Schlemiehl*, Kap. 2, Nelson, 9: "... der arme Mensch hat keinen Schatten! [The poor man has no shadow!]"

twenty pages later, in entry one hundred and seventeen from the *Extensive Records* section, he steps back to consider our psychological instincts when confronted with the mirror's truth. These instincts, it transpires, are no less surprising and entertaining than the world of ghosts and demons that we have left behind.

> 《不識鏡》（出《笑林》）夫持鏡歸，妻引自照，驚告母曰："某郎又索一婦歸也！"母亦照曰："又領親家母來也！" […] 竊疑濫觴於《雜譬喻經》卷下之二九，有長者命婦取蒲桃酒來共飲，婦往開甕，"自見身影在甕中，謂更有女人"，大恚，夫自往視，"見己身影，逆恚其婦，謂藏男子"，互諍相毆。[…] 蓋均認我爲人也。
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> 釋典另有喻認人爲我者，相反相成。《大莊嚴論經》卷一五之八一略謂一長者婦爲姑所嗔，走入林中，上樹自隱，樹下有池，婦影現水；時有婢使擔甕取水，覩水中影，以"爲是己有"，作如是言："我今面貌端正如此！何故爲他持甕取水？"即打甕破；西方童話言黑婢（una schiava nera）取水，水邊樹上有美女影落水中，婢覩影大詫，自歎曰："蘿茜何太薄命乎！美貌如此而爲主婦行汲乎！而安之若素乎？"（Quale vedere，Lucia sfortunata，ti cosìbella stare，e patruna mandare acqua a pigliare；e mi sta cosa tollerare，o Lucia sfortunata！），因打桶破。誤認人爲己，誤認己爲人，其苦不自知一也。[…]
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> […] 古希臘傳説美少年映水覩容，不省即己，愛慕勿釋，赴水求歡，乃至溺死，化爲水仙花；自愛成痼，如患心疾者，世即以此名其症（narcissism）。水仙花亦由無自知之明，然愛悦而不猜嫌，於《雜譬喻經》、《笑林》所嘲外，又闢一境。張華《博物志》卷二言山雞"自愛其毛，終日映水，目眩則溺水"；[…] 脱山雞顧影而不知爲己，單情欲雙，故鳴舞以媚誘之，則事與希臘傳説相類[855]，"水仙花症"不妨改稱"山雞症"。[…]《虞初新志·小青傳》載焚餘詩："瘦影自臨秋水照，卿須憐我我憐卿"，則正因自知進而自醉，我執我慢，不知有人，實復苦不自知也。
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> 釋典另一鏡喻見《楞嚴經》卷四："室羅達城演若達多忽於晨朝以鏡照面，愛鏡中頭，眉目可見，嗔責己頭，不見面目，以爲魑魅，無狀狂走"；愛己之影乃至憎己之形，分兩截而進一解，仍苦於不自知而已。余所見漢、唐鏡皆銅鑄，《廣記》卷一六六《楊素》記破鏡爲兩半，非有削金鐵如泥之利器不辦，已大非易事，《啓顔録》言壁上鏡墮地分二片，更難想象；舊藏古鏡十數枚，嘗戲一一擲諸地，了無損裂。疑冰莫涣，當見博古或博物者而叩之。[50]
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> In the story "Not Recognising the Mirror" (anthologised in *The Forest of Laughter*), a husband takes a mirror home. His wife sees herself in it and warns her mother, "My husband has dragged back yet another mistress!" The mother also looks and says, "He's also brought back a new mother-in-law!" […] In my opinion, this trope sprang from the *Sutra of Miscellaneous Metaphors*, where, in section twenty-nine of the second *juan*, an

[50] GZB: 751–753. For Ronald Egan's translation of this essay, see Qian Zhongshu, *Limited Views*, 180–185.

old man orders his wife to fetch some rose-apple wine to enjoy together. The wife goes to open the jug, and "on seeing her own reflection in the jug, concludes that [her husband] is keeping another woman." She throws a fit, and when the husband goes to look, "he sees his own reflection, and gets mad at his wife, claiming that she is hiding a man." And so they quarrel and come to blows. […] Such examples demonstrate how the self is mistaken for another.

In the Buddhist canon we find another metaphor, where others are mistaken for the self, which is both contrary and complementary [to the preceding examples]. In *précis* eighty-one of *juan* fifteen of the *Sūtrâlaṃkāra-śāstra,* the wife of an old man stirs the ire of her mother-in-law. She heads into the woods and hides up in a tree, beneath which lies a pond carrying her reflection. A maid fetching water with a jug happens to pass and spots the reflection in the water, "mistaking it to be her own," she exclaims, "with such stately looks, why am I fetching water for others?" At which she smashes the jug. In a Western fairy-tale, a swarthy maid fetches water. A beautiful woman sitting in an adjoining tree casts a reflection in the water. The maid is shocked at the reflection, and sighs to herself, "Look how unfortunate you are Lucia. With such beautiful looks, the lady of the house sends you to fetch water, and you still put up with it, oh poor Lucia!"[51] She then breaks the bucket. Those who mistake others for themselves or mistake themselves for others both suffer from the same lack of self-knowledge. […]

In ancient Greek myth, a handsome young man sees his reflection in the water and, not recognising himself, falls tenaciously in love. Seeking to embrace [his paramour], he enters the water and drowns, turning into a narcissus flower. The word, "narcissism," meaning those who love themselves pathologically, as if suffering from a madness, is derived from this myth.[52] Narcissus also suffered from a lack of self-knowledge, but he loved indiscriminately, thus adding a further layer to the raillery of the *Sutra of Miscellaneous Metaphors* and the *Forest of Laughter*. The second *juan* of Zhang Hua's (232–300) *Records of Diverse Things* says that a pheasant, "fell in love with its plumage, and dallied all day long by its reflection in the water; when its eyes were dazzled it drowned." […] This may be because the pheasant doesn't recognise its reflection as its own and wishes a solitary yearning to be a mutual affection, and therefore clucks and dances to seduce it. This reading would be akin to the Greek myth,[53] and might prompt us to change "narcissism" to "pheasantism." […] The "Biography of Feng Xiaoqing" in *New Records from Yu Chu*, which features a poem of Feng's (z. Fenyu), reads, "I inspect my willowy reflection in the autumnal waters: you cherish me, so I cherish you." Here, it is precisely because [the woman] is self-conscious that she revels in herself, clinging to her notion of self with pride, with no regard for others; this is in fact another example of suffering from a lack of self-knowledge.

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[51] Qian's footnote: *Il Pentamerone*, V. 9, op. cit., 528–9.

[52] Qian's footnote: Cf. Hebbel: "Das Kind am Brunnen [The Child at the Well]": "Das Kindlein winkt, der Schatten geschwind/Winkt aus der Tiefe ihm wieder. /Herauf! Herauf! so meint's das Kind;/ Der Schatten: Hernieder! Hernieder! [The little child waves, and the shadow quickly/waves back at him out of the depths. / Come up, come up! Or so the child means;/ the shadow replies: Come down! Come down!]" (*Werke*, hrsg. T. Poppe, I, 51).

[53] Qian's footnote: Cf. Marino, *L'Adone*, V. 26: "Egli amante, egli amato, or gela, or bolle,/ fatto è strale e bersaglio, arco ed arciero [He is a lover, and he is loved, now he freezes, now he boils,/ and is made the arrow and the target, the archer and the bow]"; A. Muscettola: "Narciso": "me con me stesso impiago, e'l desir mio/me di me stesso innamorato or rende. / ... / io che l'offeso son, so chi m'offende [I'm occupied with myself, and my own desire/to render love to myself / […]/ I who am offended, know who offends me.]" (*Marino e i Marinisti*, *Ricciardi*, 76, 1001).

> We find another mirror metaphor in *juan* four of the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*: "One morning Yajñadatta of Srāvastī looked into a mirror and delighted in seeing his head, with its eyebrows and eyes; he reproached himself for not being able to see his face, and thinking himself bedevilled, ran around in a state of unseemly madness." Yajñadatta loves his reflection to the extent of hating his own form. The metaphor splits in two, proceeding to a deeper level, but still depicts the folly resulting from a lack of self-knowledge. All the mirrors that I have read about from the Han and Tang are made of bronze. The story of "Yang Su" in *juan* one hundred and sixty-six of the *Extensive Records* records how a mirror was broken in two, which is no easy matter unless one has a tool that can cut through metal like mud. *Records of a Cheerful Countenance* tells of a wall mirror that fell and broke in two. This is even harder to imagine. I used to keep around ten old mirrors, and once tried breaking each of them by throwing them on the floor. They didn't suffer a scratch. This doubt of mine is no closer to being solved. I should call upon someone who is well versed in antiquities as well as arcane knowledge.

As often in *Guanzhui bian*, this essay pivots on a figure-ground reversal. The wives, who mistake themselves for others, form part of the same schemata as the maids, who mistake others for themselves; both groups suffer from a lack of self-knowledge. While credulousness and naivety can be dangerous, the ignorance of vanity can be fatal, as Qian shows in the case of Narcissus and the pheasant. Qian is most intrigued by the vignette about Yajñadatta, who manages to blend the ignorance of Narcissus with the credulousness of the wives and maids, taking the trope of misrecognition "to a deeper level." It is surely no coincidence that Qian decides to furnish one of the few self-portraits in *Guanzhui bian* in an essay about perceptions of the self. The resulting sketch succeeds in being lightly comedic and self-deprecating. We applaud the scientific nature of Qian's exercise, but are left wondering why a bookish scholar would need ten old mirrors if not to cater for some aspect of his own vanity. When Qian returns to the theme of the mirror, thirty pages later, in entry one hundred and forty-six of the *Extensive Records* section, he is still occupied with its materiality:

> 《韋栗》（出《廣異記》）行上揚州，女囑栗，"欲市一漆背金花鏡"。按揚州銅鏡，唐世侈稱，《舊唐書·韋堅傳》："若廣陵郡船，即堆積廣陵所出錦鏡銅器，……先是人間戲唱歌詞曰：'……潭裏舟船鬧，揚州銅器多'"；[…]《游仙窟》中臨別"取揚州青銅鏡留與十娘"；[…] 至吴承恩《射陽先生存稿》卷四《踏

> 莎行》之一：“揚州鏡子有何緣，時時長與他相面！”，則正用此等故事，未可遽以爲直道當時器物也。[54]
>
> In the story “Wei Su” (originally anthologised in *Records of Extensive Oddities*), Wei Su travels to Yangzhou. His wife instructs him “to buy a lacquer backed golden flower mirror.” The bronze mirrors of Yangzhou were a byword for luxury during the Tang. In the “Biography of Wei Jian” in the *Old Book of Tang*: “A boat in Guangling prefecture was piled high with brocade, mirrors and other bronze products […] This was the impetus for a popular song, “The lake is swarming with boats, most of them carrying bronze products from Yangzhou.” […] In “Visiting a Deity’s Grotto,” the protagonist leaves with “a dark bronze mirror from Yangzhou to give to his ten wives.” […] The first lyrics set to the tune of “Walking on Sedges” in *juan* four of *Extant Manuscripts by Master Sheyang* reads, “what karma do I have with mirrors from Yangzhou, that I so often dally with them face to face!” Such sources, however, are insufficient for an appreciation of products from that time.

The last sentence of this brief note chimes with the closing words of Qian’s previous essay. The testimony of books, while often informative, is far from infallible. For a more reliable overview of the material cultural of a given period, literary knowledge must be allied with archaeological facts, or at the very least the expertise of an experienced antiquary. This is a cautionary point that Qian makes tirelessly throughout *Guanzhui bian*, reminding us that “it’s better not to have any books at all than to believe everything that you read in books.”[55]

Up until now, each of Qian’s studies on mirrors has broken new ground. In the last two essays on this theme, the former of which begins only forty pages lager, Qian revisits old tropes, considering how they fare in new contexts.

> 《雜説》（出《酉陽雜俎》）“犀之通天者，必惡影，常飲濁水。” […] 蓋犀自慚形穢，水濁則不可鑑形也，與山雞對鏡（見前論卷二六二《不識鏡》），相映成趣。顧影自憐，可以山雞象之；自觀猶厭，不妨取象於通天犀。[…]李益作《罷鏡》詩：“手中青銅鏡，照我少年時；衰颯一如此，清光難復持。……縱使逢人見，猶勝自見悲”；[…] 通天犀之同志也。[…] 雖然，二者跡異心同，兩端一本，均緣我相太甚。憎影自鄙，正因自視甚高、自愛太過，遂恨形貌之不稱，[…] 見疵而怒鏡之明，故不照，則亦以不見疵而喜鏡之昏，故頻照，令公喜怒，我相實

[54] GZB: 786.
[55] 盡信書，固不如無書。GZB: 96.

爲之。是以後之自觀猶厭者即昔之顧影自憐者也，憐與厭爲因果而成比例。厭也者，未能忘情於憐爾，觀李益詩可知；[…] 古希臘小詩嘲醜人云："尊範如此，奉勸莫臨清可鑑人之水。水仙花前身爲美男子，池中覩己影，慕戀至喪厥軀；君若自見陋容，必憎恨飲氣而死。（Having such a mug，Olympycus，go not to a fountain nor look into any transparent water，for you，like Narcissus，seeing your face clearly，will die，hating yourself to death）；[…] 然復有貌實惡，鏡非昏，而蔽於我見，仍自鑑自賞者，如鄭谷《閑題》："舉世何人肯自知，須逢精鑑定妍媸。若教嫫母臨明鏡，也道不勞紅粉施"；[…] 又如 […] 意大利名篇中怪物求歡，爲少女所拒，乃赴海濱自照，曰："吾映波自視，風貌亦殊不陋"（Non son io da disprezzar，se ben me stesso vidi/ ne'l liquido de'l mar），蓋脱胎於古希臘、羅馬詩人句。《醒世恒言》卷七寫顔大官人"取鏡子自照，側頭側腦的看了一回，良心不昧，自己也看不過了"；則賢於妖怪遠矣，倘妖怪無"良心"而人有之耶？博物學者言，鳥對鏡則怒啄己影（stizzirsi colla propria immagine），猴覩鏡中己影則擲鏡於地而踐踏之（lo gitta in terra e lo stritola co'piedi），蓋不知影之即己而誤以爲忽遇同類也；詩人聞而大悟萬物之良能初非同類相愛（amor grande dato ci dalla natura verso i nostri similii！！），乃是同類相仇[922]。怒影仇鏡之喻，又增一邊，借以象示黑格爾所謂自我離異（die eigne Entäusserung und Entwesung，eine Entzweiung），不亦可乎？[56]

"Miscellaneous Sayings" (originally anthologised in *Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang*) informs us that, "the sky communing rhino[57] is inevitably disgusted with its own reflection, and always drinks from murky water." […] The rhino is ashamed of its base appearance. When the water is murky, it is spared the prospect of its own reflection. This vignette forms a mirror negative of the pheasant (see the earlier discussion in "Not recognising the Mirror" from *juan* two-hundred and sixty-two); the two animals mutually illuminate each other. If the pheasant can be used as a metaphor for those fond of their own reflections, we might as well use the sky communing rhino as a metaphor for those who view themselves with reluctance. […] Li Yi's (746–829) poem "Renouncing the Mirror" reads, "The dark bronze mirror in my hand [once] reflected my youth; now that my looks have faded, it's difficult to keep on holding it in frank light. Even if someone were to see me [in this embarrassing state], it would still be better than the sorrow of seeing myself." […] Such examples are akin to the sky communing rhino. […] However, while the mould of the pheasant and the rhino differ outwardly, they are expressions of the same inner psychology, and two branches of a common root; both suffer from excessive vanity. He who hates his reflection and takes offense at it in fact has a high opinion of himself. He resents that his appearance is no match for his self-love and is ashamed of his own countenance. […] Some get angry at the clarity of the mirror for revealing their blemishes and shun it; others rejoice that the cloudy mirror conceals their blemishes and consult it often. The true source of their joy and anger is the self. Those who shy from their own image today are the same as those who dallied by their reflection in the past. Here, love and hate form a causal relationship of even proportions. From Li Yi's poem we can see that the reason for hate is nothing more than an inability to forget one's love. […] There's an ancient Greek poem that pokes fun at an ugly person: "Having

[56] GZB: 817–819. For Monika Motsch's commentary on this essay see Motsch, *Mit Bambusrohr und Ahle*, 153–156.

[57] *The tongtian xi* is a mythical animal mentioned in the "Climbing Mountains and Crossing Waters" chapter of the *Baopuzi*. The rhino blows air through an aperture in its long, sharp horn, hence its name.

> such a mug, Olympycus, go not to a fountain nor look into any transparent water, for you, like Narcissus, seeing your face clearly, will die, hating yourself to death."[58] […] There are also those who are truly ugly and when faced with an honest mirror, seek shelter in their own egotism, and still admire their own reflection. Zheng Gu's "Leisurely Topic" reads: "Who in the wide world is capable of self-knowledge? Whoever meets with a clear mirror inevitably declares himself beautiful. Even if Momu[59] were to face a sharp reflection, she would say that there's no need to apply any makeup." […] This is akin to the famous Italian play, […] in which a young lady rejects a monster's advances. The monster heads to the sea, where it inspects its reflection in the water: "I am not to be despised, if well I saw myself reflected in the liquid mirror of the sea." This is modelled on lines from ancient Greek and Latin poetry.[60] In *juan* seven of *Stories to Awaken the World*, an official with a large face "inspected his reflection in the mirror. After glancing at his face from several angles, he honestly concluded that he was unbearably ugly." This is far wiser than the monster. If a monster has no "honesty," can a man have it? A polymath once said that birds "peck at their own reflections," while monkeys "throw the mirror on the ground and trample upon it."[61] This is because they fail to recognise their own reflection, mistaking it for another animal. On hearing this, a poet realises that "the great love that nature has given [all creatures] for their kind" is akin to a great hate. This adds another "side" to the metaphor of getting angry at our reflection or begrudging the mirror. Can it not be used to demonstrate Hegel's idea of "the alienation of the self, its degradation and decoupling?"[62]

This essay retraces two tropes examined in earlier essays. In the first, the vanity of Narcissus and the pheasant find their equivalent in the rhino and Li Yi. Any quibbles about one's appearance result from a discrepancy between the projected image of the self and the unflattering reality of the mirror. Psychological reactions to this discrepancy range from stubborn denial to melancholy acceptance. The trope of misrecognition reappears in the guise of belligerent beasts. When Leopardi's monkeys throw their mirrors on the ground, we involuntarily think of Qian performing the same act in the name of scientific criticism, lending the passage an additional comedic gloss.

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[58] Qian's footnote: *The Greek Anthology*, XI. 76, Lucilius，"Loeb," IV, 109.
[59] The mythical concubine of the Yellow Emperor, bruited to be one of the five ugliest women of ancient China.
[60] Qian's footnote: *Aminta*, II. I (Satiro), op. cit., 636. Cf. Theocritus, XI, *The Greek Bucolic Poets*, "Loeb," 143; Virgil, *Eclogues*, II, 25–6, "Loeb", I, 10; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 839–41, "Loeb", II, 286.
[61] Qian's footnote: Leopardi："Pensieri," *Opere*, Ricciardi, I, 723；Zibaldone, *Mondadori*, II, 1114, 1317.
[62] Qian's footnote: *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 347; *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Leipzig: Felix Meiner, I, 110.

But why, we might ask, does Qian choose to examine these tropes again in a separate essay when, given the plasticity of his expositional structure, he could have integrated them into its precursor? Repetition in *Guanzhui bian* is never redundant. When Qian revisits concrete techniques and devices, it is always to demonstrate a fundamental unity of thought and expression across time, language, and literary forms. That unity, however, is expressed in different ways according to different contexts. The specific unity highlighted in this essay is the experience of the self; Qian shows that entertaining any value judgement about the self, whether positive or negative, inevitably leads to the same sense of alienation and disintegration. *Guanzhui bian* reveals these mercurial unities not only through variations upon many themes, but also through variations upon those variations, thereby evoking a strong circular movement. This sense of circularity is most pronounced in Qian's final note on mirrors, three hundred pages later, in entry one hundred and thirty-nine on the *Complete Pre-Tang Prose.*

> 陸機《演連珠》。按立譬多匠心切事，拈而不執，喻一邊殊，可悟活法。如既曰："物勝權而衡殆，形過鏡則照窮"，而復曰："鑑之積也無厚，而照有重淵之深，目之察也有畔，而眡周天壤之際"[…] 皆言非一端之例也。參觀《周易》卷論《歸妹》[…]"臣聞絃有常音，故曲終則改，鏡無畜影，故觸形則照。"按《文選》李善註："《文子》曰：'事猶琴瑟，終必改調'；《淮南子》曰：'鏡不設形，故能形也。'"《淮南》語實亦本《文子·上德》篇，善註失引。參觀《毛詩》卷論《柏舟》。先秦諸子如《莊子·應帝王》、《韓非子·飾邪》等早有鏡形之喻，然不若釋氏著作之發揮盡致。《楞嚴經》卷一○："如鏡鑑明，來無所粘，過無踪跡"，或僧肇《寶藏論·離微體靜品》第二："譬如明鏡，光映萬象，然彼明鏡，不與影合，亦不與體離"；尚皆不過似莊之言"不將不迎，應而不藏"，韓之言"執清而無事"。《宗鏡録》卷一○引《〈起信論〉疏釋》之鏡喻四解，則推闡無賸義矣。有云："登樓持鏡，則黄河一帶盡入鏡中，瀑布千丈，見於逕尺；王右丞詩云：'隔窗雲霧生衣上，卷幔山泉入鏡中'，明是所現矣"；可爲機之"形過鏡則照窮"下轉語，又可爲機之"目之察也有畔"作譬喻。[63]

> In "Exposition on a String of Pearls" Lu Ji (261–303) coins many metaphors that are both skillyful crafted and to the point. His imagery is precise without being narrow, producing metaphors with many sides that stand as fine examples of artistic vitality. For example, "When objects exceed the balance, the scales topple; when shapes go past the mirror, their reflection perishes." Furthermore, "The accumulations of mirrors have no depth, but they can reflect the depths of an endless abyss; there are limits to the eye's line of

[63] GZB: 1209–1210.

sight, and yet it can see heaven and earth in the round." […] These are all expressions of multiplicity. (See the essay on "Marrying the Sister-in-law" in the *Changes of Zhou* section.) […]

"I've heard that strings have a fixed pitch, so when the tune is finished, they must be changed. Mirrors have no enduring image, so when a form appears it is reflected." Li Shan's (630–689) commentary to *Selections of Refined Literature* reads, "The *Wenzi* says that 'events are like string instruments, inevitably they change their tune.' The *Huainanzi* says that 'mirrors have no form, and so they can assume forms.'" This analogy from the *Huainanzi* is in fact also from the "Superior Virtue" chapter of the *Wenzi*. Li Shan's commentary misattributes it. See my essay on the "Cypress Boat" ode in the "Mao Poems" section. Preimperial texts, such as the "Response to Emperors and Kings" chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, and the "Disguising Evil" chapter of the *Hanfeizi,* already contain metaphors for forms in the mirror, but none are as elegant as those found in Buddhist texts. *Juan* ten of the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* reads, "Like a clear mirror; its images do not stick, neither do they leave a trace after they are gone," or in the second section of the "Leaving the Subtle and Manifesting the Pure" chapter in Seng Zhao's (384-414) *Discourse on Hidden Treasure*, "Like a clear mirror that reflects the myriad things, but does not coalesce with its images, nor does it part with form." However, these metaphors are still in the vein of "not greeting that which comes, but accommodating all without concealment" from the *Zhuangzi* and "maintaining clarity while doing nothing" from the *Hanfeizi*. *Juan* ten of *A Mirror Catalogue of Buddhist Sects* quotes the *Expounded Commentary to the Discourse on the Origin of Faith*, which suggests four interpretations for the metaphor of the mirror, for which it provides an exhaustive exegesis: "If you climb a tall building with a mirror, then the Yellow River will be reflected like a ribbon within it. A waterfall one thousand *zhang* high will be visible within the space of a foot; this is demonstrated by a line of Wang Wei's (z. Youcheng, 692–761), 'The mist on the other side of the window clings to my garments; rolling up the blinds, the mountains and springs are reflected in the mirror.'" This is a twist on Lu Ji's "when shapes go past a mirror, their reflection perishes," and can be used as a metaphor for his "there are limits to the eye's line of sight."

This brief essay, which is embedded within a broader discussion of Lu Ji's use of metaphor, revisits the handles and sides that inaugurated Qian's study of mirrors over a thousand pages earlier. The emphasis, however, is primarily on the mirror's second side, namely its emptiness, which Qian now heralds as its defining quality. Indeed, Qian's abiding interest in the mirror derives from its tireless versatility. While it always tells the truth, the mirror is never limited by any one truth. Within a limited space, it can represent the unlimited, and draw us into other realms, connected to our own, yet tantalisingly beyond our reach. The broad spectrum of psychological reactions to the mirror in literature and criticism reflect our struggles to reconcile ourselves to truths that are at once irrefutable and mercurial, both singular and plural. The

mirror is above all a symbol of paradox: it often breaks but cannot be broken; it is honest but frequently provokes dishonesty; it is empty but can contain everything.

My aim in undertaking this sequential survey has been to show that Qian's thematic essays and notes are logically connected and must be read in their proper order to be fully understood. What this survey cannot recreate is the experience of encountering these studies while reading *Guanzhui bian* in full. There are no less than four hundred pages between Qian's discussion of "Climbing a Wooded Hill" in the *Maoshi* section, and his study of "Wang Du" in the *Extensive Records* section. The essay on Lu Ji's metaphors arrives over three hundred pages after its thematic precursor, which treats "Miscellaneous Sayings." When we encounter these studies in their natural habitat, nestled in between other notes and essays on subjects as diverse as mortality, doubletalk, clouds, madness, deafness and laughter, microscopes, the nature of time, and countless etymological observations, our first reaction is one of relief. In the relentless shift of subjects and perspectives, which often challenge our erudition and powers of understanding, we again find ourselves on familiar ground. As we progress through *Guanzhui bian* and become more acquainted with Qian's *modus operandi*, this sense of mastery increases; themes return for the third or fourth time, lending an overarching cohesion to the work that extends beyond the macro-structures of the four-part order, chronology, and spatial coherence. It is, paradoxically, the scattered distribution of Qian's studies that lends the work its binding framework and organic cohesion.

The circular construction of *Guanzhui bian*, however, serves another important purpose. Though indisputably learned, none of Qian's thematic studies is truly exhaustive. We can all furnish examples from our own more modest reading experience to supplement Qian's riotous

bouquet of citations.[64] Qian's essays are curated, however, to achieve a sense of comprehensiveness that compensates for any of their lacunae. This is accomplished through the same self-referential device that we have examined in the poetry of Zhuo Qitu, Luo Pin and Zhang Wentao. When Qian alerts readers to an earlier essay in his work, he establishes mutually regarding perspectives that overlap and interfere like the images in two opposing mirrors. The encyclopaedism of *Guanzhui bian* rests, in part, on the unprecedented erudition of an implacable reader and omnivorous scholar. But it also emerges from a self-referential, virtual structure that, despite drawing attention to its artificiality, remains tenaciously convincing. It is the role of virtuality, and Qian's motivations for choosing this unique form of knowledge organisation, that we will now turn to explore in greater depth.

2.4: Model Two: *L'Encyclopédie*

While, as discussed in section 2.2, the outer structure of *Guanzhui bian* is clearly informed by the epistemological hierarchies of the *Siku quanshu,* its inner logic is shaped by another, no less celebrated, encyclopaedic precedent. When the comparative scholar Zhang Longxi 張隆溪 asked Qian to summarise his critical philosophy in 1980, he replied simply that he was an "eclectic." In a subsequent letter to Zhang, Qian explains the deeper meaning behind this self-deprecating title.

> Eclectic is my word that sounds "modest" but in fact shows my proud nonconformity; so I spoke of the definition given in the French Encyclopedia, actually given by Voltaire and Diderot, that is, a bold, independent spirit that "refuses to be bound by any theoretical system, but dares to think by itself (*ose penser par* [sic] *lui-même*)" in assimilating the best of all the different schools of thought.[65]

[64] The role of reflections in the myth of Perseus and Medusa, to cite but one example, is not mentioned.
[65] Zhang Longxi, "Qian Zhongshu (1910–1998) and World Literature," 180.

That Qian was a boldly independent thinker, no reader of his would deny. Nor is it at all surprising that he readily identified with two writers who also grappled with the formal and epistemological problems of a private encyclopaedic project. This statement of affiliation, however, becomes more intriguing when considered in tandem with Qian's reading history. The scholar first came across Voltaire's definition of "eclectic" not in the *Encyclopédie*, but in the second volume of Paul Hazard's (1878–1944) *La Pensée Européenne au 18eme Siècle*, from which he compiled notes during the late 1940s:

> Les philosophes eux-mêmes se sont vantés d'être des éclectiques. Voltaire [sic] : "Mon ami, j'ai toujours été éclectique ; j'ai pris dans toutes les sectes ce qui m'a paru le plus vraisemblable." L'Encyclopédie : "Éclectisme. –L'éclectique est un philosophe qui, foulant aux pieds le préjugé, la tradition, l'ancienneté, l'autorité,.. ose penser de lui-même."[66]

The *Encyclopédie* was most present in Qian's mind, however, during the late 1960s. In entry 768 of the *Daily Notes*, Qian revisits the theme of artificial systems that he had explored a decade earlier.[67] This time, the impetus for his discussion is not W. H. Wackenroder's (1773–1798) polemic, "believing in a superstition is better than believing in a system," but Anatole France's (1844–1924) admission in *La Vie Littéraire* that "Quels que soient nos doutes philosophiques, nous sommes bien obligés d'agir dans la vie comme si nous ne doutions pas."[68] Qian follows this observation with Kierkagard's dictum, by now familiar to us, that "most

[66] Philosophers have boasted themselves that they are eclectics. Voltaire: "My friend, I've always been eclectic; I've taken what seemed to me to be most plausible from all the sects." The Encyclopédie: "Eclecticism. – The eclectic is a philosopher who rides roughshod over prejudice, tradition, antiquity, authority…and dares to think for himself." WWBJ 35: 273. This passage has been highlighted in the margin with a hairpin. Qian revisits this quotation in his notes on Goethe's *Asthetik*, from 1962, in connection with the German poet's assertion "Eine eklektische Philosophie kann es nicht geben, wohl aber eklektische Philosophen." [An eclectic philosophy is difficult to conceive, but there are indeed eclectic philosophers.] RAG: 1921.

[67] See chapter 1.6.

[68] "Whatever our philosophical doubts may be, in life we are obliged to act as if we did not doubt ourselves." RAG: 2340.

systematisers in relation to their systems are like a man who builds an enormous castle & lives in a shack close by,"[69] to which he adds in the margin,

> This is precisely the criticism Diderot made of the philosophy of Berkeley & Hume in his article "Philosophie Pyrrhonienne" in the *Encyclopédie* : "L'homme un et vrai n'aura point deux philosophies, l'une de cabinet, et l'autre de société; il n'établira point dans la spéculation des principes qu'il sera forcé d'oublier dans la pratique... Occupons-nous de quelque chose de plus important ; ou si nous n'avons que de ces frivolités présentes, dormons & digérons" (Oeuv. Comp., éd. J. Assézat, XVI, pp. 491-2).[70]

For Diderot, the project that took precedence over spuriously universal theories was his *Encyclopédie*, conceived to weaken the church's hold over the dissemination of knowledge. Published between 1751 and 1766, the *Encyclopédie* not only broke new thematic ground (including the first description of mechanical sciences to feature in a general European encyclopedia), but also adopted a controversial structure that was predicated on human reason rather than divine revelation. Previously, the most influential framework for Western encylcopaedias had been the theological divisions of "nature, doctrine and history;"[71] the *Encyclopédie* suggested three alternative branches of knowledge: memory, reason and imagination. Diderot and his collaborators, however, also encouraged readers to look beyond this tree-like structure and embrace the landscape of human learning as an interconnected whole. In the "Discours Préliminaire à l'Encyclopédie," D'Alembert writes:

> The general system of the sciences and the arts is a sort of labyrinth, a tortuous road which the intellect enters without quite knowing what direction to take. […] However philosophic this disorder may be on the part of the soul, an encyclopaedic tree which attempted to portray it would be disfigured, indeed utterly destroyed. […] the system of our knowledge is composed of different branches, several of which have a common point

[69] RAG: 2340.
[70] The true and coherent man does not have two philosophies: one in private, the other for public society; he does not indulge in the speculation of principles that he is forced to forget in practice…Let us engage with something more important; or if we have only these frivolities before us, let us sleep and digest our dinner." RAG: 2340.
[71] This scheme, which was established by the medieval encyclopaedia, *Speculum Maius*, was subsequently adopted and further refined by Francis Bacon (1561–1626).

> of union. Since it is not possible, starting out from this point, to begin following all the routes simultaneously, it is the nature of the different minds that determines which route is chosen. […] It is not the same with the encyclopaedic arrangement of our knowledge. This consists of collecting knowledge into the smallest area possible and of placing the philosopher at a vantage point, so to speak, high above this vast labyrinth, whence he can perceive the principal sciences and arts simultaneously. From there he can see at a glance the objects of their speculations and the operations which can be made on these objects; he can discern the general branches of human knowledge, the points that separate or unite them and sometimes he can even glimpse the secret passages that relate them to one another. It is a kind of world map which is to show the principal countries, their position and their mutual dependence, the road that leads directly from one to the other.[72]

D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* is a work without a centre; its use is determined solely by the agency of "entendement" (intellect), which raises the reader above the jostling ranks of disciplines to enjoy a serene perspective of the whole. The "labyrinth" of human knowledge has no sooner here been suggested than it is conquered by an eminently navigable world map. Umberto Eco (1932–2016) argues that the structure of D'Alembert's proposed encyclopedia, however, implicitly defeats all ambitions of readers to see "at a glance the objects of their speculations." The labyrinth that it evokes, he writes, is neither the linear model of Crete, nor the forking paths of Renaissance mazes, but a rhizomatic or net-like labyrinth, characterized by total interconnectivity. "No one can provide a global descriptions of the whole rhizome: not only because the rhizome is multidimensionally complicated, but also because its structure changes through time."[73] In an encyclopedia where every conceptual node is joined to every other node by "secret passages,"

> […] no one can have the global vision of all its possibilities but only the local vision of the closest ones: every local description of the net is a *hypothesis*, subject to falsification, about its further course; in a rhizome blindness is the only way of seeing (locally) and thinking means *to grope one's way*.[74]

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[72] D'Alembert, *Preliminary Discourse*, 46–47.
[73] Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language*, 82.
[74] Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language,* 84.

In highlighting the paradox of encyclopaedism, namely that the more comprehensive a work becomes, the less it can be known as a whole, Eco might equally be describing the philosophy of *Guanzhui bian*. Indeed, if there is one theoretical stance that pervades Qian's work, it is that all points of view, no matter how sophisticated or expansive, are by definition limited. Entry 768, in which Qian broaches the topic of systems and the *Encyclopédie*, is the last *Daily Notes* entry that Qian would make for a full four years. It was during this enforced hiatus from note taking, at the height of the Cultural Revolution, that Qian conceived and began preparatory work on *Guanzhui bian*.[75] To appreciate how Qian developed Diderot and D'Alembert's encylopaedic vision over the course of this difficult period, we must turn again to the text of his magnum opus.

2.5: Einsicht, Umsicht und Durchsicht

The specious distinction between the part and the whole is one of *Guanzhui bian's* most significant and recurring themes. Qian is fascinated by the distortions of microscopes and telescopes, philosophical arguments about the relativity of space (such as angels dancing on the head of a pin), and the circular nature of learning and fine prose. The plight of the critic, whose job it is to draw distinctions, is most clearly articulated in an essay that begins with an excerpt from Cao Pi's "On Writing" (*lunwen* 論文).

> "夫人善於自見，而文非一體，鮮能備善，是以各以所長，相輕所短。里語曰：'家有敝帚，享之千金'，斯不自見之患也。…又患闇於自見，謂己爲賢。"[76]
>
> There are those who excel at self-perception; but since there are many forms of writing, it is rare to be universally competent. For this reason, each capitalizes on their own strengths to criticise the shortcomings of others. The proverb runs, "my house has a humble broom, which I treasure as if it were worth a thousand taels." This is the plight

[75] This aspect of the genesis of *Guanzhui bian* will be explored in depth in chapter three.
[76] GZB: 1050–1051.

of lacking self-perception. It is also the plight of falling victim to one's self-perception and believing oneself to be superior.

Here again, we come across Qian's favourite analogy of the humble broom. While the bulk of Qian's essay examines the judgement of writers rather than critics, Cao Pi's argument is equally applicable to the discipline of literary criticism itself. Qian writes,

數行之內，語若刺背，理實圓成。“善於自見”適即“闇於自見”或“不自見之患”，“善自見”而矜“所長”與“闇自見”而誇“己賢”，事不矛盾，所從言之異路耳。[77]

Cao Pi's language in these lines may be awkward, but his reasoning is in fact well thought out. "To excel at self-perception" is precisely "to fall victim to one's self-perception," or suffer the "plight of lacking self-perception." To "excel at self-perception," taking pride in one's "own strengths," is not therefore incompatible with "falling victim to one's self-perception" and praising one's "own superiority." These are merely two ways of expressing the same [psychology].

Qian supports this point with a review of its treatment in philosophical works.

《荀子· 天論》篇論“萬物爲道一偏，一物爲萬物一偏”，因言：“老子有見於詘，無見於信；墨子有見於齊，無見於畸”等；《解蔽》篇論“墨子蔽於用而不知文，莊子蔽於天而不知人”等，因曰：“故由用謂之，道盡利矣；由天謂之，道盡因矣。此數具者，皆道之一隅也”；蓋有“見”於“齊”與“用”，遂“蔽”於“齊”與“用”而“無見”、“不知”“畸”與“文”，無見於彼正緣有見於此，“見”乃所以生“蔽”。張九成《橫浦心傳録》卷中：“或問：‘學者每病無所見，反病於所見，何也？’先生曰：‘以所見而執所見，必以所見而病所見矣’”；楊萬里《誠齋集》卷八六《子思論》下：“學者病乎無見，亦病乎有見。……蓋世有病於能俯而不能仰者，終身不知有天也；一日而其病愈，……而喜焉，喜而不足，則終日觀天而不復見地焉，……不知逢荆棘、蹈溪壑也，躓而傷焉。”張語可以解荀，楊論可以喻荀也。《論語· 里仁》“觀過斯知仁矣”，皇侃《義疏》引殷仲堪説：“直者以改邪爲義，失在於寡恕；仁者以惻隱爲誠，過在於容非，是以與仁同過，其仁可知”；西方習語所謂“長處之短處”(le défaut de la qualité)。《圓覺經》答彌勒菩薩問：“云何二障？一者理障，礙諸正見；二者事障，續諸生死。……若諸衆生永捨貪欲，先除事障，未斷理障，但能悟入聲聞緣覺，未能顯住菩薩境界”；蓋執著於“悟”，亦可成迷，膠牽於“理”，轉復作障，《中論· 觀行品》第一三所謂：“大聖説‘空’爲離諸見故，若復見有

[77] GZB: 1050.

‘空’，諸佛所不化。”“善於自見”己之長，因而“闇於自見”己之短，猶悟與障、見與蔽，相反相成；《荀》曰“周道”，《經》曰“圓覺”，與《典論》之標“備善”，比物此志，皆以戒拘守一隅、一偏、一邊、一體之弊。歌德稱談藝者之“見”曰：“能入，能徧，能透”(die Einsicht，Umsicht und Durchsicht)；徧則不偏，透則無障，入而能出，庶幾免乎見之爲蔽矣。[78]

The “Discourse on Heaven” chapter of *Xunzi* argues that “the myriad things are but a sliver of the Way, and a single thing is but a sliver of the myriad things.” It continues, “*Laozi* yields insight into contradiction, but none into trust; *Mozi* yields insight into homogeneity, but none into heterogeneity.” The “Resolving Blindness” chapter argues, “*Mozi* is blinded by utility and ignores refinement. *Zhuangzi* is blinded by heaven and ignores people.” It continues, “and so if we approach matters from the perspective of utility, the Way is entirely about profit. If we approach them from the perspective of heaven, the Way is entirely about causality. But these perspectives are all just one aspect of the Way.” In other words, insight into “equality” and “utility” means being “blinded” by “equality” and “utility,” [leading to a] lack of insight. The lack of insight represented by “ignoring” “heterogeneity” and “refinement” is rooted in other insights, as “blindness” arises from “insight.” The second *juan* of Zhang Jiucheng’s (1092–1159) *Direct Transmissions from the Master of Huangpu* records, “someone asked: “scholars always complain of a lack of insight, but they actually fall prey to their own insight. What is the reason for this?” The master replied, “clinging to insight on account of their insight, they must necessarily fall prey to insight on account of their insight.” The second section in the “Discourse on Zisi” in the eighty-sixth *juan* of Yang Wanli’s (1127–1206) *Collected Writings of Chengzhai* reads, “Some scholars suffer from a lack of insight, while others suffer from their insight. […] There was a disabled man who was able to look down but unable to look up, and therefore never learned of the sky above; one day, his disability was cured […] and he revelled in his [new powers]. Revelling, however, was not enough, as he looked up at the sky all day long, and never looked back down at the ground. […] unwittingly, he wandered through brambles into a ravine, stumbling and injuring himself.” Zhang’s words may serve as a direct commentary of *Xunzi*, while Yang’s discussion furnishes a pertinent metaphor. The “Inhabiting Benevolence” chapter of the *Analects* reads, “One can understand a man’s benevolence by observing his errors.” Huang Kan’s (488–545) *Commentary on the Meaning of the Analects* cites Yin Zhongkan’s (?–399) explanation: “The honest man takes reforming ills to be his duty; his fault lies in rarely forgiving. The benevolent man takes empathising with others to be his ; his error lies in tolerating wrong. Therefore, you can understand how benevolent a man is by asking if his errors accord with those of benevolence.” This is what is commonly known in Europe as “le défaut de la qualité.” In the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*, Maitreya answers the question, “what are the two impediments? The first is the impediment of reason, where one is obstructed by “right views;” the second is the impediment of circumstance, where one continues the cycle of birth and death. […] If sentient beings forever renounce greed and desire, removing the impediment of circumstance, but do not free themselves from the impediment of reason, they will only be able to achieve lesser enlightenment, and will not steadfastly manifest the world of the Bodhisattvas.” Clinging to “enlightenment” can also lead to delusion, just as clutching to “reason” can become an impediment. The thirteenth section of the “Analysis of Action” chapter of [Nagarjuna’s (c.150–250)] *Root Verses on the Middle Way* says, “The great Sage explains that “voidness” is the result of abandoning all views. If one then forms a view of “voidness,” then all the Buddhas will

[78] GZB: 1051–1052. For Ronald Egan’s translation of this passage, see Qian, *Limited Views*, 61–63.

> not appear." "Excelling at the self-perception" of one's own strengths, and consequently "being misled by the self-perception" of one's own weaknesses is analogous to the relationship between enlightenment and impediment, insight and blindness. They are all both contradictory and complementary. *Xunzi*'s "comprehensive Way," the "perfect enlightenment" of the Buddhist sutras, and Cao Pi's "universal competence" all expound the same logic, warning against the danger of clinging to one aspect, one end, one side, or one form. Goethe argues that the "insights" of literary criticism should be able to "see in, around and through" (*die Einsicht, Umsicht, und Durchsicht*).[79] Taking things in the round wards against prejudice, seeing through things overcomes impediments, and seeing both in and out can, [when taken together] perhaps help us to avoid insight from becoming blindness.

Qian's reference to Goethe's critical strategy is no mere idle observation. It has direct implications for the structure of *Guanzhui bian*. Qian's own brand of "*Einsicht, Umsicht und Durchsicht*" takes the form of a cascade of perspectives that transcends the "blindness" inherent in any one of them. *Guanzhui bian* is an illustration of the critical mind in flight, in both senses of that word. Qian moves restlessly between topics, authors, time periods and literary traditions as if fleeing from his own footprints in the sand. This rapid change of focus also raises the critic above his subject, revealing a vast landscape of ideas, much in the same way that D'Alembert imagined his *Encyclopédie* shrinking the walls of a labyrinth into the contours of a world map. Through the principle of unlimited movement, Qian liberates himself and his readers from the prison of limited views.

No sooner has one paradox been resolved, however, than another arises. In the course of its meanderings, *Guanzhui bian* strikes thousands of connections that resemble "the secret passages" envisioned by the *Encyclopédie*. When viewed *in situ*, this new network of knowledge still transcends the parochial by virtue of its shifting horizon. When considered conceptually, however, the network falls into stasis; it becomes, in other words, no more than another limited view. All classification schemes, be it the four-part order of the *Siku quanshu*,

[79] Qian's footnote: Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, 2 April 1829, Aufbau, 467.

or the tripartite structure of "entendement" in the *Encyclopédie*, ossify knowledge by casting it into a concrete form. Qian's innovative adaptation of these schemes within the looser and more malleable genre of *zhaji* is a deliberate attempt to disguise his network of knowledge and plunge the reader back into the freedom of the labyrinth. The obstacles that *Guanzhui bian*'s structure present to the reader are therefore an integral expression of the book's underlying philosophy. While specific characteristics of that structure can be traced back to the textual milieu (whether Chinese collectaneas, Western encyclopedias, or traditional *zhaji* scholarship) among which Qian moved, its defining quality is that of movement itself.

The rhizomatic structure of *Guanzhui bian*, however, serves an additional, and no less important purpose. Qian composed his work in the knowledge that he was the last scholar capable of articulating the full breadth and eloquence of classical Chinese letters, and the first to be able to draw wide ranging comparisons with the full spectrum of European literature. As a result, he was compelled not only to express the totality of his learning, but also to gesture beyond that totality to the inherent possibilities of a tradition that would no longer be explored from within. Earlier in this chapter, we examined how the mirrored perspectives of *Guanzhui bian* establish a reflexive multiplicity designed to conjure up a sense of the whole from fragmented parts. But a hall of mirrors, while suggestive of infinite space, is also limited, as the refraction of light inevitably bends the optical illusion beyond the mirror's frame. The inner logic of *Guanzhui bian*, however, knows no such limitations – for movement, by its very definition, continually summons into being a landscape beyond itself. The virtuality of *Guanzhui bian*, therefore, is not only internal and self-referential, but also external and transcendent. With its majestic structures of internal and external virtuality, Qian's work forms an open textual system, theoretically capable of integrating all conceivable knowledge within its interlocking and potentially endless cycles of compilation.

Indeed, during the 1980s, Qian furnished five series of addenda that seamlessly expanded the book by a further eight hundred pages.[80] It is the virtuality of *Guanzhui bian* that succeeds in lending a retrospective hope to the classical tradition, which it necessarily examines in a rear-view mirror, inviting readers to bid farewell to the grandeur of the retreating landscape, while quietly urging them time and again "down the passage which we did not take/towards the door we never opened/into the rose-garden."[81]

2.6: The Symbolic Labyrinth

In Jorge Luis Borges' (1899–1986) story, "The Garden of Forking Paths," the Chinese spy Yu Tsun assassinates an English sinologist named Stephen Albert in a desperate attempt to communicate a military secret to his controller in wartime Berlin. While at first glance an exercise in the time-honoured tropes of pulp espionage, this narrative soon develops into an examination of the relationship between literature and metaphysics, for Yu Tsun is none other than "the great-grandson of Ts'ui Pên, the Governor of Yunnan, who gave up temporal power to write a novel with more characters than there are in the *Hung Lou Mêng*, and to create a maze in which all men would lose themselves."[82]

"The Garden of Forking Paths" was published in 1941 at a time when Borges was proactively engaging with premodern Chinese literature.[83] Cut off from Europe by the outbreak of World War Two, the Argentinian writer increasingly turned to East Asian literatures not only as an escape from the cultural parochialism of Buenos Aires, but also as a vehicle in which to test

[80] For reasons of space, the complex editorial history of *Guanzhui bian*'s epigenesis will not be explored in this thesis.
[81] Eliot, *Four Quartets*, 13.
[82] Borges, *Ficciones*, 93.
[83] From 1937 to 1941, Borges published eight reviews of translated Chinese works in Argentinian newspapers and journals. For a discussion of these reviews and their relation to Borges's broader oeuvre, see: Hubert, "Borges's Reviews of Chinese Literature (1937–1942)," 81–101.

his latest theories for metafiction and world literature. Like Kafka (Franz, 1883–1924) before him, and Calvino (Italo, 1923–1985) after, Borges chose to depict China through the lens of paradox.[84] Ts'ui Pên's novel is described as a "symbolic labyrinth" whose innumerable contradictions represent a "a web of time – the strands of which approach one another, bifurcate, intersect or ignore each other through the centuries – embracing *every* possibility."[85] According to the logic of his ancestor's masterpiece, Yu's resolve to murder Albert is an expression of both free will and determinism, a crime suspended in an infinite grid of simultaneous realities.

Guanzhui bian contains no mention of "The Garden of Forking Paths," nor any other work of Borges', though Qian was familiar with the Argentinian's oeuvre.[86] The Chinese scholar would be the first, however, to assert the privilege of texts to speak to each other across languages and cultures, against the arrow of time, to "strike a connection" that lights up not only the works in question, but also the web of associations in which they are embedded. Borges's conceit of the "symbolic labyrinth" offers a compelling and versatile model with which to analyse *Guanzhui bian*. Just as Ts'ui Pên's novel can only be understood as a finite representation of infinite narratives, so Qian's masterpiece must be interpreted as a limited representation of unlimited intellectual freedom.

The trope of the labyrinth, moreover, yields insights that go far beyond the outward structure of *Guanzhui bian*. It can also be employed as a *leitmotiv* to reconcile the book's philosophical and thematic contradictions. Why does Qian so often use demotic and even vulgar examples to

[84] See: Kafka's short story "Beim Bau der Chinesischen Mauer" (*Der Morgen* [Vol. 6, No. 3, August 1930]) and Calvino's novella *Le Città Invisibili* (Turin: Einaudi, 1972).
[85] Borges, *Ficciones*, 100.
[86] Qian's only notes on Borges' work date from the 1980s. See the marginalia to "Entry 749" of the *Daily Notes.* RAG: 2141.

illuminate principles from high literature and philosophy? What is the purpose of the bestiary of strange and grotesque animals that populate its pages? Why is Qian so fascinated by mirrors and other optical illusions? To what end does *Guanzhui bian* ceaselessly conspire to disorientate its readers on the turntables of metaphors, puns and lexical puzzles? In the labyrinth's world of shifting walls, trick questions and fatal traps, these oddities find their natural home. *Guanzhui bian* is not only a substantial work of scholarship, but also an invitation to the intrepid adventure of learning, with all the dangers and unexpected rewards that that entails. Finally, like Ts'ui Pên's novel, it is the scene of a crime. The murder of an English sinologist in Borges's work is mirrored by the terror of the Cultural Revolution in Qian's. Despite its endless diversions, dead ends and false doors, all readers of *Guanzhui bian* are fated to converge on the forking path where literature and lived experience meet. The closing sentiment of Borges's story could equally belong to *Guanzhui bian*. Yu Tsun has successfully communicated the military secret to his controller in Berlin, but he is burdened by a greater secret still:

> He does not know, for no-one can, of my infinite penitence and sickness of heart.[87]

Over the next three chapters, we will explore how exactly *Guanzhui bian* emerged from the "infinite penitence and sickness of heart" that Qian experienced at the height of the Cultural Revolution.

[87] Borges, *Ficciones*, 101.

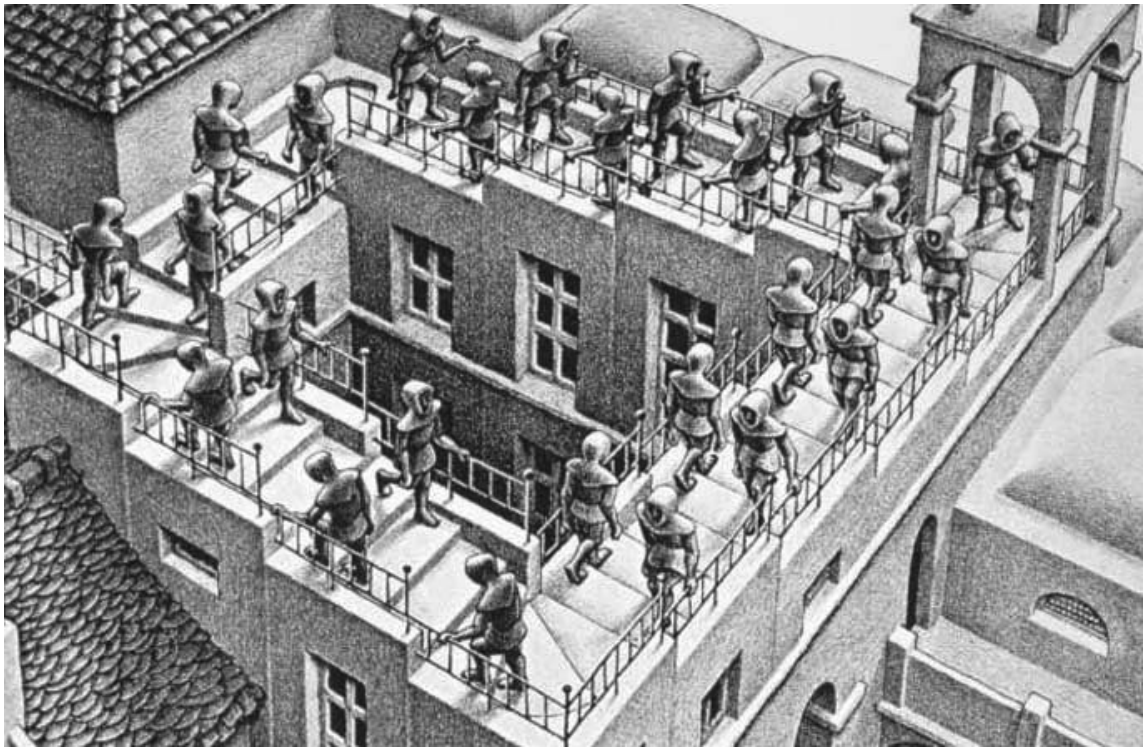

Image 2.3. M. C. Escher's (1898–1972) "Ascending and Descending": A limited representation of unlimited movement. Source: Escher in het Paleis.

Chapter Three

"A PALE VIEW OF HILLS"

Towards a Distant Reading of *Guanzhui bian* and Qian's Notebooks

3.1: Establishing a Distant Reading of *Guanzhui bian*

Having explored, in chapters one and two, the evolving structure of the notebooks and the final form of *Guanzhui bian* as answers to new political and epistemological pressures at key junctures in Qian's career, we have by now furnished a tolerably clear, if necessarily cursory, picture of "what" *Guanzhui bian* is and "why" it should be so. The operative word of any genetic study, however, is neither "what," nor "why," but "how?" To illuminate the origins of *Guanzhui bian* we must demonstrate the concrete method by which Qian bridged the formal chasm between his notes, with their several interlocking systems, and *Guanzhui bian* – an earnest and embattled attempt to escape all systems, whether ideological or epistemological. The remaining three chapters of this thesis, therefore, will focus on precisely this leap, which was not only one of intellectual faith but also of literary technique.

Before plunging, however, into the intricacies of how Qian mined his notes to address peculiar themes and to sculpt individual essays within his magnum opus, it is first necessary to pose several overarching questions. When compiling *Guanzhui bian*, did Qian review of his corpus of notes as a coherent whole, or did he draw more heavily from some notebooks than others? What role did *The Daily Notes* [*Rizha* 日札] play relative to the extracts that form the bulk of

his Chinese and foreign language notes? And what does the chronology of the notebooks tell us about the composition of *Guanzhui bian*? The answers to these questions will no doubt be revealing in their own right, but will also guide our subsequent discussion, in chapters four and five, which will marshal the genetic dossier more in the manner of a microscope than a telescope. As one of Qian's favourite literary critics, E. R. Curtius (1886–1956), writes, "Die paritätische Verbindung von Mikroskopie und Makroskopie bildet das Ideal der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit."[1]

Alas, the obstacles to a macroscopic view of the genesis of *Guanzhui bian* are substantial. Just as a mountain peak may promise the broadest panorama while eclipsing that same horizon from those at its foot, so too does the sheer volume of Qian's notes, which hold the answers to many puzzles in the author's scholarship and fiction, form as much an impediment as an aid to fruitful inquiry. The mixture of hope and impatience that this colossal corpus inspires is not unlike the ambivalence evoked by Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) in his early poem, "Gazing upon a Mountain Peak" (*Wang yue* 望嶽). Though still some distance short of Mount Tai's final ascent, the young poet abortively concludes, "soon I'll scale the unrivalled peak, and command a view of the many shrunken hills."[2] In scholarship, of course, we cannot supply with our mind's eye what intrepid study denies us. The intimidating dimensions of Qian's notes not only make extravagant demands on our patience and erudition; they also pose a latent threat, encapsulated by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) in his "Inscription on a wall in the Western Forest" (*Ti Xilin bi* 題西林壁), "When viewed athwart [the mountain] forms a ridge; in profile it forms a peak/ Whether [seen] from far, near, high or low, it's different each time./ The reason I cannot

[1] "The ideal of scientific work consists in the equal marriage of the microscopic and the macroscopic." GZB: 1448. This quotation is from E. R. Curtius, *Europaische Literatur und lateinishces Mittelalter*, 8.
[2] 會當凌絕頂，一覽衆山小。Fu Donghua ed., *Du Fu Shi*, 1.

recognise the true face of Lu Mountain is simply because I am myself upon it."[3] Namely, in combing through the rich minutiae of Qian's notes, we are often at risk of forgetting the wood for the trees, highlighting tangible links to *Guanzhui bian* at the expense of less pronounced, though more pervasive patterns. The need to view our subject matter as a continuous whole implies a certain distance, and that distance implies, in turn, a form of "distant reading."

At first glance, the statistical toolbox that facilitates exercises in distant reading may seem inimical to a genetic study, which by its very definition grapples with the most intimate and organic materials of a writer's private studio. The creative arc, unlike its kinetic equivalent, cannot after all be measured with the aid of mere calculus. There are, however, several reasons why this approach may not only prove empirically useful to this study, but also true to its fundamental spirit.

So broadly is distant reading now practised across the humanities that the paradox and playful irony of Franco Moretti's original manifesto have been largely forgotten. In "Conjectures on World Literature," Moretti proposes distant reading as an alternative to an ubiquitous dilemma in the field of world literature: the inexhaustible quantity of unread books and the all too fleeting span of a scholarly career. This, Moretti argues, is a false dilemma, as advances in literary thought have rarely developed from reading more, but rather from reading less. Distant reading allows us,

> to focus on units that are much smaller or much larger than the text: devices, themes, tropes — or genres and systems. […] If we want to understand the system in its entirety, we must accept losing something. We always pay a price for theoretical knowledge: reality is infinitely rich; concepts are abstract, are poor. But it's precisely this 'poverty'

[3] 橫看成嶺側成峰，遠近高低各不同。不識廬山真面目，只緣身在此山中。Qian Zhongshu ed., *Songshi xuanzhu*, 82.

> that makes it possible to handle them, and therefore to know. This is why less is actually more.[4]

The irony here lies in the considerable erudition of Moretti's article, which, despite its injunction for us to lay down our books, betrays a ready familiarity with a handful of national literatures, not least the Russian, the Chinese and the Japanese. That irony was lost on Moretti's early critics, who interpreted his manifesto as an echo of Colin Martindale's boast in *Clockwork Muse*: "In principle, one could study the history of a literary tradition without reading any of the literature. […] the main virtue of the computerized content analysis methods I use is that they save one from actually having to read the literature."[5] This intimation of an ominous future in which scholars, bravely equipped with little more than a knowledge of coding and data sets abstracted from the digital ether, expound upon the evolution of literature, has happily proven false. It is the humility, if not the playfulness, of Moretti's call to arms that has won the day, for distant reading is above all a confession of our limitations, and the insights that it offers are also frankly circumscribed. Any view, however distant, is still a limited view, hence the useful 'poverty' that Moretti pleads. Today, even the most active proponents of distant reading often advocate for its use in conjunction with "close reading."[6]

In this context, it may come as no surprise that Qian, whose scholarship is informed by a global scope in keeping with the field of world literature, and who plays so creatively with problems of epistemology, should have anticipated Moretti by over a decade. In 1984, Qian was instrumental in establishing the computational division at the Classical Literature department of the Academy of Social Sciences, and later made use of its facilities to perform research for

[4] Moretti, *Distant Reading*, 48–49.
[5] Martindale, *Clockwork Muse*, 14.
[6] Hoyt Long and Richard Jean So offer a convincing model of how this synthesis can be achieved in "Literary Pattern Recognition: Modernism between Close Reading and Machine Learning," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Winter, 2016): 235–267.

his unfinished *Selections from Tang Poetry*.[7] Despite his preference for traditional forms of scholarly exposition, computational methods were by no means incompatible with Qian's vision of literary scholarship; indeed, the construction and navigation of comprehensive databases were central interests of his twilight years.[8] Our recourse to distant reading is therefore not only consonant with the spirit of Moretti's wager, but also with the evolution of Qian's own scholastic methodology.

3.2: Chronological Methodology

Central to any statistical overview of Qian's notebooks and their connection to *Guanzhui bian* is a reliable chronology. At the very least, we need to know which notebooks predate the genesis of *Guanzhui bian*, and were therefore available to the scholar during its composition, and which notebooks are too late to be relevant to our study. A good chronology will also reveal those periods in Qian's reading career that had the greatest impact on his magnum opus, thereby highlighting important milestones in his intellectual development. Finally, such information will facilitate the integration of insights from across Qian's biography and published oeuvre.

Unfortunately, all three published collections of Qian's notebooks lack a clear, well documented chronology, though in each case they purport to present their material in sequential order. The organisation of both *Rong'an guan zhaji* and *Zhongwen biji* was orchestrated by Yang Jiang. The preface shared by both collections explains only that all self-censored

[7] An unannotated edition of Qian's selections was recently published: Qian Zhongshu, *Qian Zhongshu Xuan Tang Shi* 錢鍾書選唐詩 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2020).
[8] For a comprehensive account of Qian's rare administrative role in this enterprise see, Zheng Yongxiao 鄭永曉, "Qian Zhongshu yu Zhongguo shekeyuan gudai dianji shuzihua gongcheng 錢鍾書與中國社科院古代典籍數字化工程," *Shandong shehui kexue* 山東社會科學, No. 6 (2019): 30–39.

notebooks predate the "Thought Reform Movement" of 1951–52.[9] The *Waiwen biji* were edited by the German scholar, translator and close confident of the Qian family, Monika Motsch, who outlines four chronological groups: "Qian Zhongshu in Europe (10 notebooks, 1935–1938)," "Young Writer and Scholar (29 notebooks, 1938–1949)," "Life in the People's Republic of China (82 notebooks, 1949–1972)," and "International Fame (35 notebooks, 1972–1998)." Though we are greatly indebted to Motsch for facilitating the publication of this rich material, she was not accorded sufficient time or resources to compile a watertight index or chronology. I have identified as many as sixty-two missing entries from the index of the first group alone, and despite the broad-brush strokes of her periodisation, there are numerous instances where notebooks rightly belonging to one group are found instead in another.[10]

Only two scholars have attempted to construct a more reliable chronology for the notebooks. Fan Xulun 范旭侖 has published five articles enumerating the editorial errors in all three collections.[11] He is often content, however, to furnish corrections without elaborating on how

[9] ZWBJ 1: 2–3. The role that self-censorship played in changing the face of the notebooks is discussed in chapter one of this thesis.

[10] To cite but one example, Motsch concludes that in "notebook no. 6 the family has arrived in Paris – Qian notes their home address and the address of a Parisian library." (WWBJ Index: xli). The "library," however, that Qian jots down at the end of notebook six is the "Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée." (WWBJ 2: 429). "Bibliothèque" here refers to a series of publications rather than a physical library. The address listed on the same page, "5 & 7, Quai Malaquais, Paris," is not Qian's apartment in the French capital (which we know to have been at 28, Avenue Laplace, Arcueil), but the publisher of the *Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée,* namely the Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. A better indication of the date of this notebook is the address listed on the front cover, which reads, "46 Bradford St., Bolton, England." (WWBJ 2: 261). This was the lodging of Qian's younger brother, Zhongwei 鍾緯 (1912-1985), a student of engineering in the north of England. Notebook 6, therefore, can be more accurately dated to Qian's sojourn in England than in France.

[11] See: Fan Xulun, "'Qian Zhongshu Shougao Ji: Rong'an Guan Zhaji' de cuojian 錢鍾書手稿集: 容安館札記的錯簡," *Zhonghua Dushu Bao* 中華讀書報, February 11th, 2004; Fan, "'Qian Zhongshu Shougao Ji: Zhongwen Biji' canye bufen de cuojian 錢鍾書手稿集中文筆記殘頁部分的錯簡," *Shanghai Shuping* 上海書評, April 21st, 2012; Fan, "'Qian Zhongshu shougao ji, Zhongwen biji' de cuojian 錢鍾書手稿集中文筆記的錯簡," *Shanghai Shuping*, November 18th, 2012. Fan, "'Qian Zhongshu Shougao Ji: Waiwen Biji' de cuojian 錢鍾書手稿集外文筆的錯簡," *Shanghai Shuping*, July 31st, 2016; Fan, "'Qian Zhongshu Shougao Ji: Waiwen biji' de cuojian 錢鍾書手稿集外文筆記的錯簡," *Shanghai Shuping*, June 5th, 2018. Fan also wrote an article with further chronological notes on his personal blog, "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi 錢鍾書著作考異." Access to this article, however, has long since been revoked. The scholar is reportedly now working on "A Comprehensive Chronicle of Qian Mocun's Life [Qian Mocun xiansheng nianpu changbian 錢默存年譜長編]," which will no doubt prove indispensable. See Qian Zhijun 錢之俊, "1949 nian hou Qian Zhongshu

he reached his conclusions. Zhang Zhi 張治, by contrast, has outlined a chronological methodology, but neglects, beyond a handful of examples, to put it to the test.[12] Clearly, a scientific approach to the notebooks demands both a feasible chronological framework, and a transparent account of its fruits. Given the number and complexity of Qian's notebooks, the task of improving their organisation will ultimately be a collaborative effort, to which successive scholars, each equipped with expertise in a specific aspect of Qian's oeuvre, will make accumulative contributions. While the following methodology was conceived to meet the peculiar criteria of my own study, it also serves as the proverbial "brick" with which to attract the "jade" of future scholarship.[13]

There are two provisos to any reliable chronology of Qian's notes. Ample evidence suggests that the scholar often worked on several notebooks at a time.[14] He was also apt to abandon one set of notes and return to them at a later date.[15] The notebooks, therefore, often overlap chronologically, and cannot always be coherently attributed to a single period. More importantly, we must remember that, voluminous though they are, the notebooks do not represent the totality of Qian's reading.[16] Bearing these limitations in mind, there are nonetheless a wealth of clues that will help us to establish a better chronology.

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xiansheng nianpu jianbian (shang) 1949 年後錢鍾書先生年譜(上)," *Xin wenxue shiliao* 新文學史料, No.2 (2019): 153.

[12] Zhang Zhi, ""Qian Zhongshu shougao zhong de niandai xinxi 錢鍾書手稿中的年代信息," *Shanghai Shuping*, November 11th, 2012.

[13] The "Équipe Proust," currently twenty scholars strong, at the Institut de Textes et Manuscrits Moderns (ITEM), gives an idea of the scale of collaboration required to thoroughly investigate a commensurable corpus of manuscripts.

[14] Qian not only juggled notebooks from the Chinese, Foreign, and Daily Notes systems, but also switched between notebooks within a given system. In the early *Foreign Language Notebooks* from Oxford, which I have appraised most thoroughly, Qian worked on as many as three separate notebooks at a time. See, Appendix A.

[15] For example, *Court Diary Fourteen* reveals that Qian began work on notebook 134 in 1934, when he read Sullivan's *Aspects of Science*. The notebook lay fallow for several years while Qian was studying in Europe, but he revived it in 1938 with notes on Gilbert Murray's recently published *Liberty and Civilisation*.

[16] A clear example to support this view is the complete absence of notes connected to Qian's B.Litt. thesis, *China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, the reading for which must have occupied the greater part of Qian's time during the second year of his degree at Oxford (i.e. Sep. 1936 to June 1937). Such lucanae, however, are not restricted to his early career. Qian's favourite Chinese novel, *Journey to*

1. Explicit Dates: Qian very rarely dated his notebooks. The exceptions are mostly found in the *Foreign Language Notebooks*. For example, notebooks one and two from the "Hours in the Bodleian" cycle are dated "February 4th, 1936" and "March 30th, 1936" respectively. Volume three in the "Reading Notes from the Hall of Four Boons" [*Siyu shi zhaji* 四餘室札記] cycle, is dated "1948," while volume one in the "Texts without Contexts" cycle is dated "1953." We can extrapolate from these dates to chronologise other notebooks from the same cycle. For instance, the first and second volumes in the "Hall of Four Boons" cycle must date to 1948 or earlier. Similarly, the remaining four volumes in "Texts without Contexts" must all date to 1953 or later. We can also use notebooks with concrete dates to determine Qian's speed of reading at a given period in his career. From February 4th to March 30th, 1936, for example, Qian compiled two hundred pages of notes from twenty-seven titles. We know that Qian arrived in Oxford in October 1936, a full four months before the first volume of "Hours in the Bodleian." Given Qian's pace of reading at the time, we can deduce that this notebook should be preceded by two others from Oxford.[17]

2. Publication Dates: This is the most abundant source of chronological data. Unless there is clear evidence that a notebook spans several years, it can be securely dated no earlier than the year of its latest title. "Foreign Language Notebook 34," for example, affords few chronological clues, but includes notes on J.B. Morton's *Here and Now*, which was first published in 1947. This allows us to date the notebook to the late 1940s. Qian read far fewer of his Chinese contemporaries. We find only 141 titles from the Republican

the West, which he read countless times, and cites from tirelessly in *Guanzhui bian*, does not feature among the *Chinese Language Notes*.

[17] Namely, notebooks 5 and 6. See Appendix A.

period, and 30 titles from New China among the 3414 entries that make up his Chinese notes. Contemporary works of literature and scholarship, therefore, account for under one percent of his reading in his native language. The scattered distribution of these entries, however, still affords many useful clues. "Leather Cahier 5" [*Yingpi ben wu* 硬皮本五], for example, contains notes on Liu Cheng'ou's 劉成禺 (1876–1953) *Shizai tang zayi* 世載堂雜憶, which was first published in 1960. In the extracts that form the bulk of the *Zhongwen biji* and *Waiwen biji*, Qian rarely provides the exact editorial information of the book under review. The "Daily Notes," by contrast, often list the relevant edition. "Entry 46," for instance, includes a reference to the second edition of Mario Praz's *Romantic Agony*, translated by Angus Davidson, which was released in 1951.[18]

3. Biographical Information: There are four types of useful biographical data. i) Diary entries: As discussed in chapter one, the great majority of Qian's diaries were excised from the notebooks in 1951, but a small number have survived. "Cahier 1" [*danben yi* 大本一] ends with an entry dated to January 1st, 1937.[19] A week from Qian's diary in Hunan, dating from December 20th to 27th, 1939, is recorded in "Cahier 3" [*daben san*].[20] "Entry 761" in the "Daily Notes" begins with a rare diary entry dated to February 5th, 1966.[21] ii) Poems: Qian often wrote drafts and made copies of his own poems in his notebooks. This practice is most prevalent in the "Daily Notes," which contain no less than thirty-four original poems. Many of these are also found and dated in Qian's *Huaiju Shicun* 槐聚詩存 (Extant Poems of Master Huaiju). We can tally the

[18] RAG: 73.
[19] ZWBJ 1: 662–663.
[20] ZWBJ 2: 97–102.
[21] RAG: 2235.

chronology of that collection against relevant entries in the "Daily Notes." For example, *Huaiju shicun* dates "Events of a Spring Evening at the Hall of Modest Needs," which features in "Entry 336," to 1954.[22] iii) Place names: Early in his career, Qian often christened his notebooks after the location in which they were compiled. The "Noctes Atticae" series, for instance, refers to Qian's bolthole on Route Lafayette, Shanghai, where the family lived from 1941–1948. The "*Qiezhu lou* 且住樓" series refers to a provisional dwelling on Rue Bourgeat, shortly before his move up to Beijing in 1949. "The Hall of Modest Needs" initially designates the family bungalow on the Zhongguan 中關 campus of Peking University, where the family moved in 1953, but later serves as an epithet for all subsequent dwellings.[23] iv) Anecdotal clues: After 1951, Qian rarely mentions events from his private life. The "Daily Notes," however, occasionally offer glimpses of a world beyond the pages of the book under review. In "Entry 185," for example, Qian quotes from Charles Speroni's *Wit and Wisdom of the Italian Renaissance*: "Giovanni Visconti criticized his secretary's draft of letters, but would approve the identical letter when recopied and submitted to him. Antonio Lusco to his friend: 'You have taken me for Giovanni Visconti.'"[24] Qian then continues, "Six years ago Jiang translated a volume for the British Council. She showed the draft to Fu Nu'an (1908-1966), who thought it too restrained. Jiang told me, and I confided this trick to her. She followed my instructions and Nu'an fell for it hook line and sinker. He was even so smug as to claim that he had 'a sharp critical eye.'"[25] Yang Jiang translated

[22] "Rong'an guan chunmu jishi 容安館春暮即事." RAG: 551. It must be noted that the chronology in *Huaiju shicun*'s contains mistakes and should therefore be consulted with caution. See Zhao Yushan 趙玉山, "Huaiju shicun kanwu 槐聚詩存堪誤," *Qian Zhongshu pinglun* 錢鍾書評論, Vol. 1, (Beijing: Shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996).

[23] For a useful overview of Qian's successive addresses, see, Qian Zhijun 錢之俊, "Qian Zhongshu de zhufang bianqian yu wenren jiyun 錢鍾書的住房變遷與文人際運,"*Shuwu* 書屋, No. 11 (2013): 9–15.

[24] RAG: 263.

[25] 六年前絳為英國文化委員會譯小冊，以稿示傅怒菴，怒菴謂過於拘謹。絳告予，予以此訣授之，絳如言。怒菴果墮計中，尚沾沾自負為「觀書月眼」也。RAG: 263.

John Hayward's essay "Prose Literature since 1939" for the British Council's anthology, *British Life and Thought,* in 1948.[26] We can therefore date this entry to 1954.

4. Cross-referencing: There are three ways to cross-reference Qian's notebooks to obtain chronological data. i) Qian's published works: When an entry cites Qian's published work, it must postdate the first edition of that work. For instance, "Loose Leaves B," [*Canye* 殘頁 B] in the first volume of the *Zhongwen biji* contains numerous references to *Tanyi lu* 談藝錄 [On the Art of Poetry], and can therefore be dated to 1948 or later.[27] Similarly, the first mention of *Songshi xuanzhu* 宋詩選註 (An Annotated Selection of Song Poetry [1958]), appears in "Entry 640" of "The Daily Notes."[28] All subsequent entries, therefore, must postdate 1958. ii) References between systems: In the "Daily Notes," Qian often discloses his last encounter with the book under review. This allows us to chronologise the corresponding notebook. For example, in "Entry 488," which focuses on the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, Qian writes, "Ten years ago, I read through the Chinese Buddhist Canon. When I reached this sutra, I grew tired of its parallelistic prose […] and gave up before finishing."[29] We know that "Entry 488" was compiled in 1955. Qian's most comprehensive notes on the Buddhist canon are found in "Large Cahiers" [*Daben* 大本] 15, 16 and 24, allowing us to date them to the mid 1940s. Conversely, the *Zhongwen biji* also contain references to the "Daily Notes." Qian's extracts from Zhang Nie's 張嵲 (1096-1148) *Ziwei ji* 紫微集 in "Leather Cahier 4" are marked as "addenda" [*bu* 補] to "Entry 505" in the "Daily Notes." "Entry 505" was compiled in

[26] Yang Jiang tr., "1939 yilai Yingguo xiaoshuo 一九三九以來英國小說," in Henry Reed ed., *Yingguo wenhua congshu* 英國文化叢書, Vol.1 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1949).
[27] ZWBJ 1: 101.
[28] RAG: 1264. In a footnote to his poem "Fu e daozhong 赴鄂道中"in "Entry 634," Qian writes, "I've just finished my annotated selection of Song poetry." [余選注宋人詩甫卒業] (RAG: 1231)
[29] 余十年前閱《大藏》至此《經》，厭其鋪張排比，堆牀疊架，未終卷即棄去。RAG: 780.

1956, so "Leather Cahier 4" can be chronologised to that date or later. iii) References within a system: Qian often began compiling notes on a book, only to get distracted and embark on other work. When he returned to the book in question, he would frequently label his notes as a continuation, or conclusion of the previous entry. For example, Qian's notes on Fernando de Rojas' *La Celestina* begin in "Notebook 57," but are concluded in "Notebook 45." The former notebook, therefore, must precede the latter. Similarly, "Hardback Cahiers 1, 3 and 4" carry notes on Wu Qian's (1733–1813) 吳騫 *Baijing lou shihua* 拜經樓詩話. Addenda to these notes are found in "Leather Cahier 4." These three notebooks, therefore, must precede "Leather Cahier 4."

5. Foreign languages: We know that Qian arrived in Oxford with some mastery of French.[30] His knowledge of German and to a certain extent Italian was acquired in Paris.[31] His exertions in Latin date from late 1939.[32] When citing works in unfamiliar European languages, Qian would accompany his extracts with either full English translations, or vocab notes. When he was comfortable with a language he would transcribe freely without lexical paraphernalia. The chronology of the notebooks should therefore reflect Qian's growing competency first in French, then in German and Italian, and finally in Latin. For example, Fan Xulun dates Foreign Language "Notebook 9" to

[30] The rudimentary standard of Qian's French prior to arriving in Oxford may be deduced from a passage in *We Three*. On the boat to England, Yang took her husband to task for his dubious pronunciation of the word "bon." Yang Jiang, *Women sa*, 98.
[31] A letter addressed to Qian's fellow student and close friend Donald Stuart, dated March 12, 1938, reads, "I have tried to read French literature systematically downwards, beginning with Villon, and already got as far as the mid-nineteenth century. I have also laboriously tackled the German romantics. I am reading Taine's novel *Graindorge* and Novalis's *Fragmente*. […] My wife wants me to tell you that the baby is really 'father's daughter.' She loves nothing so much as books – to tear and nibble at, certainly not to read. She has already destroyed a German primer […]" Qian Zhongshu, *A Collection of Qian Zhongshu's English Essays,* 411.
[32] On December 23rd, 1939, he records "Mugged up on Latin. Taught class. Read *Die Deutschen Lyriker*, *Authors Today*, and *Contes du Moulin*. Made Notes." [溫拉丁文。上課。閱，*Die Deutschen Lyriker*, *Authors Today*, *Contes du Moulin,* 作筆記] ZZBJ 2: 99.

1938–39, (i.e. post-Europe).[33] This notebook, however, features extracts from Richard Garnett's *Essays of an Ex-Librarian*. Even the simplest German words (such as "wie" and "kann") are glossed, indicating that Qian has not yet begun to learn German. The notebook, therefore, can safely be chronologized to Qian's time at Oxford.

6. Materiality: There are three forms of material clues. i) The type of notebook: Notebooks sold by the same stationer can generally be attributed to a coherent period. For instance, the latest title reviewed in "Foreign Language Notebook 27," was published in 1941. The design of this notebook is also identical to that of "Foreign Language Notebooks 13 and 14," which Qian used at the beginning of his "Noctes Atticae," in the early 1940s. Similarly, Chinese "Leather Cahier 21," for which we otherwise have no chronological clues, was issued by the same stationer as "Foreign Notebooks 47, 48, and 49," which date from the early 1960s. ii) The structure of the notes: As discussed in chapter one, Qian developed the scholarly apparatus and organisation of his notes over several decades. Accurate pagination and comprehensive tables of contents generally indicate a genesis after 1949. iii) Graphology: In both the foreign language and Chinese notebooks, Qian paid increasingly scant attention to the aesthetics of his notes as his career progressed. Apart from the "Daily Notes," which continue to be compiled with traditional brush and ink, the Chinese notes from the 1950s onwards are generally written horizontally in pen, while humorous sketches, which previously punctuated the margins of the foreign language notes, become increasingly rare. There is one instance where the incongruous state of Qian's handwriting allows us to attribute a more exact date to a notebook. On the cover of "Leather Cahier 33b," Yang Jiang writes, "This

[33] See, Fan Xulun, "'Landuo cufu' de *Qian Zhongshu shougaoji waiwenbiji* zhengli zhe" 懶惰粗浮的錢鍾書手稿集外文筆記整理著. *Dongfang ribao* 東方日報, April 5 2015.

volume must be from 1974–75. Judging from the handwriting after [the entry on] *An Anthology of Liu Hedong's Writings*, we can tell that it was compiled during our period in "exile," when [Zhongshu] suffered cortical damage following an asthma attack that had landed him in hospital. He was unable to govern his hand properly. (Later, his handwriting gradually recovered)."[34] The period of exile here refers to the Qian's makeshift dwelling in an office at the Academy of Social Sciences, shortly following their return from the Cadre School in Henan.[35]

7. Statistical Analysis: Where other clues are lacking, we can adopt a coarser approach by tallying the entries of the notebooks against the "Daily Notes," for which we have a satisfactory chronology, and *Guanzhui bian*, where we have a clear *terminus ad quem*.[36] For example, if a high concentration of entries from a given notebook are found within a particular section of the "Daily Notes," then we can conjecture that the notebook was compiled during the same period as the corresponding section. If none of a notebook's titles are found in the "Daily Notes," then it was most likely compiled post 1974. If no entries in a notebook appear in the first edition of *Guanzhui bian*, but do appear in subsequent addenda, we can date that notebook to the period before the relevant edition.[37]

3.3: Chronological Case Study: The Cultural Revolution

[34] 此冊當是 1974–75 年筆記。觀《柳河東集》以後筆跡，可知是"流亡"期間，哮喘，急救後，大腦皮層受損，手不應心 (後漸復原)。ZWBJ 17: 3.
[35] This move was precipitated by an altercation with the family with whom they shared a cramped bungalow in Beijing. Yang Jiang recounts this episode in her article, "Cong 'Chan shazi' dao 'liuwang 從'摻沙子'到'流亡,'" *Nanfang Zhoumo* 南方週末, November 19th, 2000.
[36] Due to their sequential organisation, the "Daily Notes" are easier to chronologise than Qian's two other systems. They begin in 1951 and end some eight hundred entries later in 1973.
[37] Qian released five series of addenda in consecutive editions of *Guanzhui bian,* dating from 1981 to 1993.

The full results of my chronological survey of all 317 notebooks are presented in Appendix A. There is a small subset of notebooks, however, whose chronological range is crucial to the genesis of *Guanzhui bian*, namely those compiled during the Cultural Revolution. Before proceeding with our global analysis of the notebooks, therefore, it will be instructive to apply my chronological methodology to a more limited and concrete question: what traces did the Cultural Revolution leave in Qian's notebooks and how did the notes compiled during these years anticipate the final form of *Guanzhui bian*?

On August 9th, 1966, Qian was denounced in a "large character poster" for allegedly insulting the work of a superior at the Academy of Social Sciences.[38] A few days later Yang Jiang was also singled out for investigation. Both husband and wife were soon subjected to a tortuous programme of "struggle sessions," in which they were paraded through the streets in conical hats, clutching placards that branded them as "reactionary academics." After their heads had been shaved into humiliating coiffures, and their salaries suspended, they were reassigned to menial duties; Qian found himself responsible for sweeping the yard; Yang was entrusted with cleaning the ladies' toilets. Worst of all, revolutionary representatives, in search of incriminating evidence, came to confiscate their personal manuscripts. While Yang writes at length on the temporary loss of her translation of *Don Quixote*, she only records surrendering two of her notebooks, choosing to commit others to flames.[39]

The fate of Qian's own notebooks is less clear. Yang's silence on this account would seem to suggest that they escaped immolation. Given the vast quantity that have survived, they appear to have been successfully hidden before the raid on the couple's apartment in the late summer

[38] Qian's colleagues later averred that, had he really been responsible for this piece of slander, he would have phrased it far more wittily. Yang, *Ganxiao liuji*, 60.
[39] Yang Jiang, "Bingwu dingwei nian jishi," 200.

of 1966.[40] Indeed, after returning to Beijing from the cadre school in Henan, where the couple were confined from November 1969 to March 1972, Yang records returning to their former residence to lay claim to her husband's notebooks:

> 默存的筆記本還鎖在原先的家裏，塵土堆積很厚。有人陪我回去，費了兩天功夫，整理出五大麻袋，兩天沒好生吃飯，卻飽餐塵土。[41]
>
> Mocun's notebooks were still locked in our old home and had gathered a thick layer of dust. Someone accompanied me back there, and we spent two days organising them into five large hemp sacks. Although we didn't eat anything substantial for two days, we certainly imbibed a bellyful of dust!

The soiled state of the notebooks suggests that Qian did not have the opportunity to consult or move them between the summer of 1966, when his apartment was first searched, and the spring of 1972, when he returned from exile. There is substantial evidence to suggest, however, that Qian did not keep all his notebooks under lock and key. In Yang's famous account of their experiences at the cadre school in Henan, *Ganxiao liuji,* she twice alludes to the presence of her husband's notebooks. Though billeted in separate camps, Qian's duties as a postman gave him the opportunity to intermittently visit his wife in the vegetable garden where she worked. With no end to their exile in sight, they discussed reconciling themselves to their new circumstances:

> 默存過菜園，我指著窩棚說：「給咱們這樣一個棚，咱們就住下，行嗎？」默存認真想了一下說：「沒有書。」真的，什麼物質享受，全都罷得；沒有書卻不好過日子。他箱子裏只有字典，筆記本，碑帖等等。[42]

[40] Zheng Chaozong 鄭朝宗 highlights the serendipity of this close escape. "In 1979, I went to visit [Qian] in Beijing. On the floor behind the desk in his living room, there was a large pile of notebooks. He pointed at them and told me that they were his reading notes. During the Cultural Revolution, many private book collections across the whole country were ransacked and burnt, but his reading notes, which he had painstakingly accumulated over many years, were gloriously intact. This can be considered a great fortune within misfortune." [1979 年我到北京去看他，在會客室書桌後面的地板上有一大堆簿子，他指著對我說那就是他的讀書筆記。文革期間，全國各地許多私家藏書慘遭劫火，二他多年辛苦累積下來的讀書筆記巋然獨存，真可算得不幸中之大幸了。] Zheng Chaozong, "Huaijiu," 112.
[41] Yang, "Bingwu dingwei nian jishi," 215.
[42] Yang, *Ganxiao liuji*, 62.

> Mocun dropped by the vegetable garden. I pointed to the small shack and said, "If they gave us a shack like this, would we be able to live in it?" Mocun gave this a moment's serious thought, then answered, "There are no books." It was true; you can do away with all material comforts, but without books life is near impossible. In his trunk, he only had dictionaries, notebooks, calligraphic rubbings, and the like.[43]

After members of the cadre school moved to Minggang 明港, in the spring of 1971, Qian and Yang enjoyed a greater degree of personal freedom.

> 居處寬敞，箱子裏帶的工具書和筆記本可以拿出來閱讀。阿圓在京，不僅源源郵寄食物，還寄來各種外文報刊。同夥暗中流通的書，都值得再讀。[44]
>
> The digs were spacious, and we could take out and read our notebooks or reference works from our trunks. [Our daughter] Ayuan was in the capital; she not only supplied us with a steady stream of food, but also sent us all sorts of foreign language journals. The books that everybody secretly shared were also worth rereading.

Based on these passages, Qian clearly had access to some of his notebooks while in Henan; the question is, which ones? Were these newly compiled volumes, or old friends? I have identified only two new notebooks from the *Zhongwen biji* and *Waiwen biji* that were begun between the summer of 1967, when Qian and Yang were released from incarceration at the Academy of

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[43] Drawing on a personal interview with Qian's pupil Ma Rong 馬蓉, Monika Motsch writes, "Auf der Kaderschule besaß Qian lediglich drei Bücher, die er zum Zeitvertreib mit Randnotizen und Verbesserungen versah: den klassischen Bücherkatalog *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, das Lexicon *Ci Hai* 辭海 und das *Oxford Dictionary*. Abgesehen davon war nur die Lektüre von Marx und Mao erlaubt, was ihm, wie er später erklärte, zu interessanten Aufschlüssen über das Sexualleben von Marx verhalf. In Wirkichkeit war das Leben in der Kaderschule alles andere als heiter. Qian's wichtigster Besitz waren seine über Jahrzehnte geführten Hefte mit Lesenotizen, die er immer mit sich führte." [At the cadre school Qian was in possession of only three books, which he embellished with corrections and marginalia to kill time: the classical book catalogue *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, the lexicon *Cihai*, and the *Oxford Dictionary*. Other than these volumes, he was only allowed to read Marx and Mao, which, as he later explained, helped him to draw interesting conclusions about Marx's sexual life. In reality, life in the cadre school was anything but jolly. Qian's most important possessions were his notebooks, which he had compiled over decades, and took with him wherever he went.] Motsch, *Mit Bambusrohr und Ahle*, 25.

[44] Yang, *Ganxiao liuji*, 62. Xue Hongshi 薛鴻時 also recalls that no matter whether Qian was "weaving reed ropes, boiling water, or working as a postman, the moment he had the opportunity, he would take out a notebook, and start leafing through it." [搓草繩、燒開水、當信差，但只要有機會，他就會拿出一本筆記來翻閱] Jiang Shengxin, "Qian Zhongshu waiwen biji: jiaqi wanly changqiao."

Social Sciences,[45] and the spring of 1972, when they returned from the cadre school. Both foreign language notebooks nos. 99 and 125 were evidently compiled in Minggang, as they primarily contain extracts from the foreign language journals sent by their daughter: *Révolution Africaine*, *Clarté*, the *Guardian*, and *Roter Morgen*.[46] It is of course possible that other notebooks from this period have not survived. One significant clue, however, would seem to suggest otherwise. The majority of foreign language notebook no. 97, which contains notes on novels by Anthony Powell, Nabokov, and Iris Murdoch, as well a number of Elizabethan plays, was compiled in early 1966. Its final pages, however, include extracts from *The Marxist* and *Challenge* dating from April and July 1969.[47] The interval between these dates suggests that in the early years of the Cultural Revolution, Qian had neither the leisure, nor the access to books, to continue compiling notes at his former pace. His jottings from *The Marxist* signal a brief and rare resumption in notetaking before he was "sent down" in the November of that year.

If Qian compiled few new notebooks during this period, which of his old volumes did he take with him into exile? One clue lies within marginalia from foreign language notebook no. 125, which we know to have been compiled in Minggang in 1971. Qian's extracts from Karl Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value* end with a passage on the social uses of evil (see Image 3.1).

> In his *Fables of the Bees* (1705) Mandeville had given expression to the line of this whole argument: "That which we call Evil in this World, Moral as well as Natural, is the grand Principle that makes us Social Creatures, the solid basis, the Life & Support of all Trades & Employments without exception…There we must look for the true origin of all Arts

[45] For roughly a year, the couple were imprisoned in the so called "cow shack" on the third floor of the Academy of Social Sciences. Yang, "Bingwu dingwei nian jishi," 200.
[46] In a late interview, Yang recalls, "Our daughter would send us all sorts of foreign newspapers every month. Whenever there was something of note about literature or scholarship, he [Qian] would read it. After reading, he would compile notes. So even during that period he didn't stop." [女兒每個月都給他寄各種外國報紙。其中凡有好的，有關於文學的、學術性的，他都看。看完了就做筆記。所以即使那一段也沒有中斷過。] Guo Hong, "Dushu Qian Zhongshu de richang shengguo." Both notebooks also contain extracts from Marx, namely *Theories of Surplus Value* and *The Civil War in France*. No. 99 features a string of cryptic marginalia that is seemingly unrelated to the books and articles under review and appears to allude to conditions during the Cultural Revolution. E.g.: "I cancelled all the leaves" (WWBJ 18: 71), "A sub-standard house with no plumbing or heat" (WWBJ 18: 72), "Talks alot of revolutionary gobbledegook" (WWBJ 18: 77).
[47] WWBJ 17: 552–554.

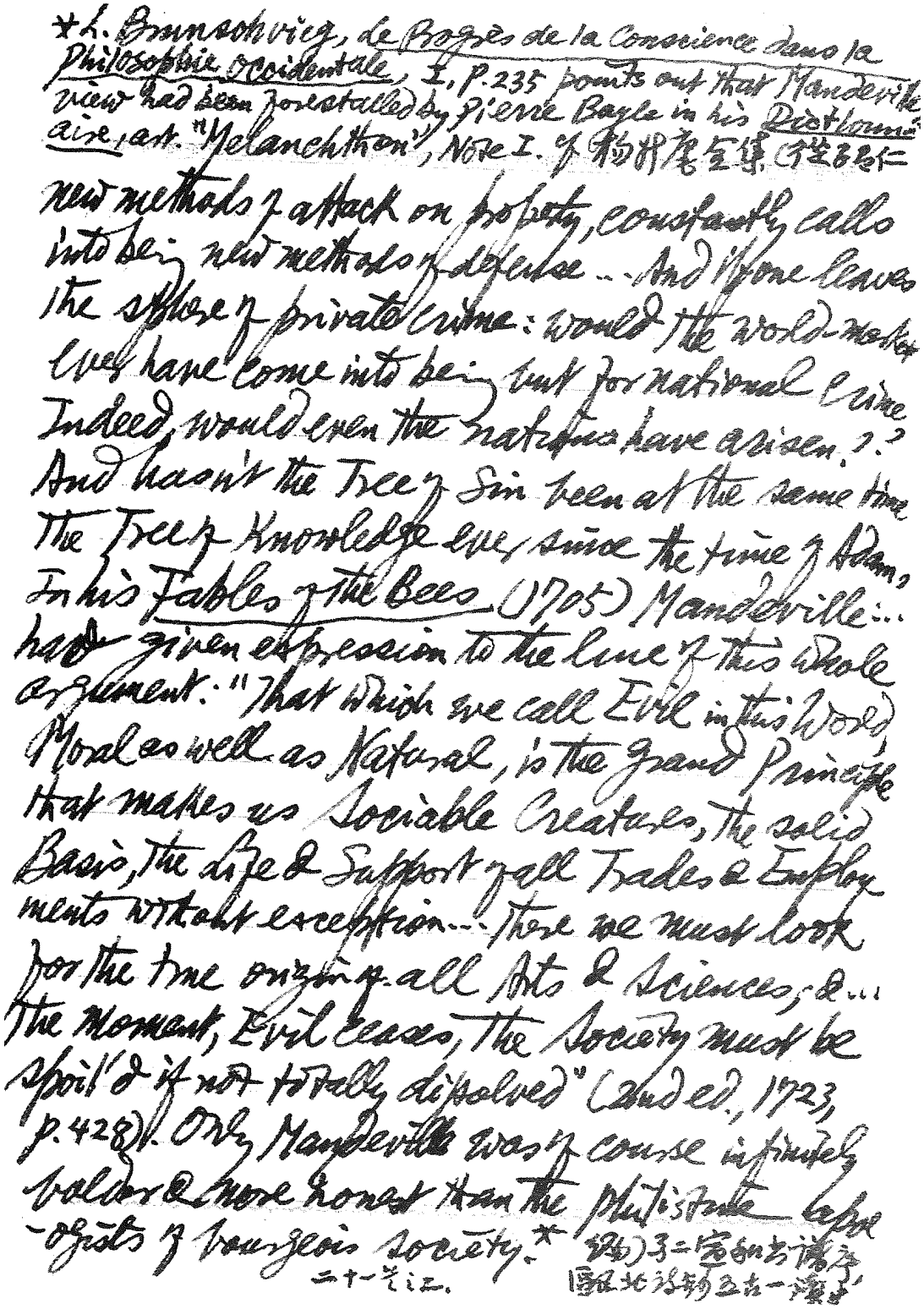

Image 3.1. Qian's extracts from Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value* from 1971. Source: WWBJ 22: 459.

& Sciences, &…the moment Evil ceases, the Society must be spoil'd if not totally dissolved." (2nd ed., 1723, p. 428). Only Mandeville was of course infinitely bolder & more honest that the philistine apologists of bourgeois society.[48]

Qian follows this extract with a star leading to a fragment of marginalia that begins at the top of the page and ends at the bottom. The pen and hand in which this fragment has been written suggest that it was compiled around the same time as the main body of the entry.[49]

L. Brunnschwieg, *Le Progres de la Consicence dans la Philosophie Occidentale*, I. p. 235 points out that Mandeville's view had been forestalled by Pierre Bayle in his Dictionnaire, art. "Melanchthon," Note 1. Cf. 楊升庵全集（從子有仁編）卷二宣和書譜序，甌北詩鈔五古一讀史 [Cf. *The Complete Works of Yang Shengan* (1488–1559), *The Loyal Son is Benevolent*, *juan* two, "Preface to Calligraphic Compendia from the Xuanhe Reign Period," *Poetic Transcription from Oubei* (z. of Zhao Yi 趙翼)][50]

This fragment of marginalia is clearly based on "Entry 717" in the "Daily Notes," the main body of which was compiled in 1961:

《楊升菴全集》從子有仁編卷二〈宣和書譜序〉云：「玩物溺心，固蠹政之炯戒。而考古資識，又游藝之不廢也。蚩尤之兵也，夏桀之瓦也，祖龍之長城也，煬帝之運河也，當日之梗階，後代之利用矣。」按已逗 Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, or, *Private Vices, Publick Benefits*: "Such were the Blessings of that State; / Their Crimes conspired to make them Great. / ... / Thus Vice nursed Ingenuity, / Which join'd with Time; & Industry / Had carry'd Life's Conveniences" (ed. F.B. Kaye, I, pp. 24 & 26){MARGINALIA: L. Brunschwieg, *Le progrès de la conscience dans la philosophie occidentale*, I, p. 235: "... le thème sur lequel Mandeville brodera... "}[…] {MARGINALIA: Pierre Bayle, Dictionnaire, art. "Melanchthon", note I: "Admirons ici un caractère particulier de la destinée de l'homme: ses vertus sont sujettes à des suites un peu vicieuses; elles ont leurs inconvénients. Ses mauvaises qualités au contraire produisent de bons effets en plusieurs rencontres."}[51]

The Complete Works of Yang Shengan (1488–1559), *The Loyal Son is Benevolent*, *juan* two, "Preface to Calligraphic Compendia from the Xuanhe Reign Period," reads, "[Not to] lose oneself in material pursuits has always been the shining lesson of wasteful governments, while examining the past to inform one's knowledge is also [the way] to preserve the itinerant arts [of study]. Chiyou's army, Jie of Xia's construction, Zulong's Great Wall, and Emperor Yang's canal, and the terrace fields of today all serve posterity. Note: This anticipates Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, or, *Private Vices,*

[48] WWBJ 22: 459.
[49] See Image 3.1.
[50] WWBJ 22: 459. See Image 3.1.
[51] RAG: 1726. Qian compiled addenda to these notes in "Entry 776" dating from 1973.

> *Publick Benefits*: "Such were the Blessings of that State; / Their Crimes conspired to make them Great. / ... / Thus Vice nursed Ingenuity, / Which join'd with Time; & Industry / Had carry'd Life's Conveniences" (ed. F.B. Kaye, I, pp. 24 & 26) {MARGINALIA: L. Brunschwieg, The Progress of Conscience in Occidental Philosophy, I, p. 235: "…the theme that Mandeville would embroider…"} […] {MARGINALIA: Pierre Bayle, Dictionnaire, art. "Melanchthon", note I: "Let us here admire a particular character of man's destiny : his virtues are subject to rather vicious consequences ; they have their inconveniences. His bad qualities, on the other hand, can sometimes produce some good effects."}

This passage contains all but one of the references that Qian includes in the marginalia to his notes on *Theories of Surplus Value*.[52] When compiling *Waiwen biji* no. 125 in 1971, therefore, Qian evidently had access to "Entry 717," and by extension his "Daily Notes" system, which he took with him into exile.

What trace of this period is found in the *Daily Notes*? The Cultural Revolution is only explicitly mentioned once. This takes the form, however, of interlineal addenda that was most likely added from the relative safety of the 1980s.[53] We find no mention of the cadre school, or Henan. If Qian largely ceased, however, to compile new extracts in his Chinese and foreign language notes between 1966 and 1972, it is reasonable to posit that a similar hiatus might exist in the *Daily Notes*. Where, precisely, might this hiatus be found? Only two late entries can be securely dated based on Qian's biography alone. "Entry 761" is dated to February 5th, 1966, five months before his arrest; "Entry 801," meanwhile, is a draft of the preface that Qian wrote for Zhang Zunliu's 張遵騮 (1916-1992) 1973 edition of *Geshan yiji* 個山遺集 [*A Posthumous Collection*

[52] The only missing reference is *Poetic Transcriptions from Oubei*, which Qian compiled notes on in "Large Cahier 5" (1940) and "Leather Cahier 14," (Early 1970s).

[53] The relevant passage in "Entry 703" reads: "In Giusti's *Prose e Poesie Scelte*, ed. Ulrico Hoepli, there is a note (p. 136): "I commentatori notano che la China è il Paese classico dei supplizi feroci. [The commentators note that China is the country *par excellence* of ferocious torture]" Anatole France, too, wrote: "Il me restait de ces nouvelles... l'idée d'un peuple abominablement féroce et plein de politesse [From these stories I gleaned…the idea of an abominably ferocious people, full of politeness]" (*La vie littéraire*, III, pp. 77 ff., "Contes chinois", the quotation is on p. 80). This view of China, which contains some truth & which is confirmed afresh by the newly-discovered technique of "brain-washing" <INTERLINEAL: 文化大革命 [The Great Cultural Revolution]>, is the point of departure of Octave Mirbeau's fantastic *Le Jardin des supplices*." RAG: 1649.

of Geshan's Writings] by Liu Shu 劉淑 (1620–1661). The intermediate forty entries were therefore compiled between February 1966 and 1973. This period covers Qian's incarceration, exile, and the beginnings of *Guanzhui bian*. To determine where these momentous events fall within the *Daily Notes*, we must attribute reliable dates to each of the relevant entries.

Unfortunately, the principal crutch of my chronological methodology, publication dates, proves futile here; in every instance where a work published between 1967 and 1972 is mentioned, it features in the margins, and was therefore possibly added at a later date.[54] An alternative approach is to tally the titles from Qian's Chinese and foreign language systems from 1966 against the final two cahiers of the *Daily Notes*. My chronology includes four notebooks that can be securely dated to 1966.[55] I have identified six titles from these notebooks that feature in the last forty entries of the *Daily Notes*.[56] Four of these titles are marginalia and therefore chronologically unreliable. Two works, however, are integrated into the body of their respective entries: Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, from Foreign Language Notebook 98, appears in "Entry 764;"[57] Mme de Staël's *Mémoires: Dix Années d'Exil*, from foreign language notebook no. 79, features in "Entry 768."[58] On this basis, we can tentatively date entries 762 to 768 to the first half of 1966, before Qian lost access to his library privileges and the great majority of his notebooks.

While cross-referencing between systems may offer us a solid *terminus a quo*, it does not provide a watertight *terminus ad quem*. What prevents us from dating these entries to 1972, or even later? To fully address this question, we must examine a key shift in the structure and

[54] "Entry 763," to cite but one example, includes marginalia from the *TLS* dating to June 11th, 1976. RAG: 2293.
[55] Foreign language notebooks nos. 79, 97, 98, and 196.
[56] *La Fin de Satan* (Entry 767), *Anatol* (Entries 784 and 788), *L'Homme Revolté* (Entry 771), *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Entry 764), *Les Maîtres d'Amour* (Entry 765), and *Mémoires: Dix Années d'Exil* (Entry 768).
[57] RAG: 2311–2312.
[58] RAG: 2338–2339.

content of the *Daily Notes*. Entries 762 to 768 largely contain jottings from "*za shu* 雜書" (miscellaneous books), including Raymond Queneau's *Le Chiendent*, Alberto Moravia's *Racconti Romani*, Jean de Rotrou's *La Soeur*, and Fernando de Rojas' *La Celestina*, among other titles. The notes from "Entry 769" onwards, by contrast, are far more focused, and treat *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義, *Maoshi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義, *Zuozhuan Zhengyi* 左傳正義 and *Shiji* 史記. This sequence of titles exactly matches the overarching structure of the first volume of *Guanzhui bian*. The readiness with which Qian's prospective work moved from the drawing board of his notes to the polished pages of *Guanzhui bian* suggests that the design for his *magnum opus* had long been in gestation. All that remained was for Qian to refresh his acquaintance with the classics in question and single out those passages most deserving of further exegesis. In many cases, indeed, Qian's cursory notes map almost exactly onto the opening lines of the final essays. The first observations in "Entry 769" on *Zhouyi zhengyi* (See Image 3.2) reads:

> 第一、〈論易之三名〉：「《易緯乾鑿度》云：『易一名而含三義，所謂易也，變易也，不易也。』鄭玄依此義作〈易贊〉及〈易論〉云：『易一名而含三義：易簡一也，變易二也，不易三也。』」按此與〈詩譜序〉、《正義》論詩「一名而三訓」、皇侃《論語義疏·自序》謂「論」有四義，皆為虛涵多義之古例，詳見第七二八則。[59]
>
> [In the prefatory essay to his subcommentary on *The Book of Changes*] "On the three names of *yi* 易 (the changes)", [Kong Yingda (574–648)] observes, "As it says in *Subtle Depths of 'The Book of Changes' and Its Hexagrams*, 'The name given to this classic (*yi*) contains three separate meanings: simplicity, change, and constancy.' Zheng Xuan (127–200) had earlier made the same point in his 'In Praise of *The Book of Changes*' and '*On The Book of Changes*.'" Note that this is analogous to a passage in Kong Yingda's subcommentary to Zheng Xuan's preface to the songs: "songs/poetry has three senses," and Huang Kan's [488–545] argument, in the preface to his commentary on the *Lunyu*, that "*lun*" has four meanings. These are all ancient examples of polysemy. For further notes, see entry 728.

[59] RAG: 2341. See Image 3.2.



3.2. Qian’s first entry after returning from the cadre school in 1972. Source: RAG: 2341.

The first essay in *Guanzhui bian*'s section on *Zhouyi zhengyi*, meanwhile, begins:

> 第一、《論易之三名》："《易緯幹鑿度》云'易一名而含三義，所謂易也，變易也，不易也。'鄭玄依此義作《易讚》及《易論》云：'易一名而含三義：易簡一也，變易二也，不易三也'"。按《毛詩正義·詩譜序》："詩之道放於此乎"；《正義》："然則詩有三訓；承也，志也，持也。作者承君政之善惡，述己志而作詩，所以持人之行，使不失墜，故一名而三訓也。"皇侃《論語義疏》自序："舍字制音，呼之為'倫'。……一云：'倫'者次也，言此書事義相生，首末相次也；二云：'倫'者理也，言此書之中蘊含萬理也；三云：'倫'者綸也，言此書經綸今古也；四云：'倫'者輪也，言此書義旨周備，圓轉無窮，如車之輪也。[60]
>
> In the prefatory essay to his subcommentary on *The Book of Changes*, Kong Yingda observes, "As it says in *Subtle Depths of 'The Book of Changes' and Its Hexagrams*, 'The name given to this classic (*yi* 易 "changes") contains three separate meanings: simplicity, change, and constancy.' Zheng Xuan had earlier made the same point in his 'In Praise of *The Book of Changes*' and '*On The Book of Changes*.'" Analogous cases occur in the titles of other classics as well. Kong Yingda's *Correct Meaning* of "The Book of Songs," expanding upon Zheng Xuan's comment on the origins of that classic, says, "Actually, 'songs/poetry' (*shi* 詩) has three senses: to receive, intent, and to uphold. The authors received the good and bad points of their sovereign's rule and composed poems that expressed their own intent. With these poems, the authors upheld proper conduct among mankind, so that it would not falter. Thus, in the one name there are three meanings." Huang Kan's preface to his commentary on *The Analects* says:
>
> > Those who explain the title of the work (*Lunyu* 論語) by substituting a homophonous character take it to be *lun* 倫. The first interpretation of this *lun* is that it means "to arrange in sequence," referring to the orderly sequence, from the start to finish of the work, of entries concerning related events and ideas. The second meaning is "principle," which refers to the inclusion of a myriad principles within the book. The third meaning is *lun* 綸 "to reel thread, to arrange" and means that this book penetrates through ancient and modern times, giving order to them. The fourth meaning is *lun* 輪 "wheel," suggesting that the meaning of this book is complete and fully formed, and that it revolves without ever coming to an end, just like a wheel.[61]

Qian has meticulously followed the thread of his original note, supplying the quotations that were originally excluded for the sake of brevity. When allied with the testimony of friends and colleagues, informing us that *Guanzhui bian* emerged from the scholar's revision of his notes

[60] GZB: 1.
[61] Qian, *Guanzhui bian*, 202–203.

at the cadre school in Henan,[62] we can safely conclude that entries 769 onwards, which constitute a clear conceptual blueprint of *Guanzhui bian*, were composed after this period of gestation, in the spring of 1972. There is, in other words, an unannounced interruption in the *Daily Notes* between "Entry 768" and "Entry 769" that lasted from August 1966 to March 1972. Just as in 1953, when Qian's hiatus from notetaking during the anti-rightist campaign led to the innovation of his *Daily Notes*, so too did the scholar's longer moratorium from notetaking during the Cultural Revolution lead to the birth of *Guanzhui bian.* During this period, Qian revised his "Daily Notes" in preparation for his monumental new work. To demonstrate how crucial this period of revision was to the final form of *Guanzhui bian* we must resort to statistical methods.

3.4: Chronological Summary

We know that Qian completed an initial draft of *Guanzhui bian* in 1975, when he asked his old friend Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫 (1911–2000) to review the work for the first time.[63] A fair copy manuscript was sent to the publishers in 1977.[64] The first step to determining which

[62] Luan Guiming 欒貴明 (1940–2022), who would later act as Qian's research assistant, recalls that "[Qian] conceived *Guanzhui bian* over a long period. For example, at the cadre school, although he didn't mention the words "Guanzhui bian" we knew that he was planning a large work of this description, as the topic came up in conversation." 關於《管錐編》這部書，他是長期醞釀的。比如在幹校，雖然他沒有說《管錐編》這個名字，但是從他的談論來說，就是要搞這樣一部大的著作. Chen Jian, "Luan Guiming tan Qian Zhongshu." Another colleague from the Academy of Social Sciences, Zhu Zhai 朱寨 (1923–2012) recollects that "a large part of his scholarly opus *Guanzhui bian* was pieced together under a small mosquito net in the collective dormitory at the cadre school." 他那學術巨著《管錐編》，不少是在幹校大集體宿舍的個人蚊帳裏銖積寸累的。Zhu Zhai, "Yu Ping lao de shusheng qi," 34–35. Zhu is not referring here to the manuscript of *Guanzhui bian*, but rather to Qian's preparatory revision of his notes. We can be certain of this because Yang Jiang authoritatively informs us that "*Guanzhui bian* was written after Qian returned from the cadre school." 管錐編》是幹校回來後動筆的。Yang Jiang, *Women sa,* 154. Luan Guiming corroborates this fact, clarifying that "Mr. Qian returned to Beijing on March 12th, 1972. The first word of *Guanzhui bian* was written on the 14th." 錢先生 1972 年 3 月 12 日回到北京，《管錐編》的第一個字是從 14 日開始寫的。Wang Mian, "Ta xiang zuo de, shi kaituo wangu zhi xinxiong."

[63] Qian Ning 錢寧, "Zhou Zhenfu tan Qian Zhongshu *Guanzhui bian* 周振甫談錢鍾書管錐編" *Renmin ribao*, Jan 12th, 1987.

[64] Zhou Zhenfu, "*Guanzhui bian* xuanti jianyi ji shendu baogao 《管錐編》選題建議議及審讀報告," Qian Zhongshu yanjiu jikan 錢鍾書研究集刊, vol. 3 (Shanghai: Sanlian, 2003), 1–6.

notebooks were most crucial to the composition of Guanzhui bian lies in eliminating all volumes compiled from the late 1970s onwards.

The results of my chronological survey of the 317 notebooks published by Shanghai Commercial Press are as follows[65]:

Period	***Foreign Language Notebooks* Total**	***Chinese Language Notebooks* Total**	***Daily Notes* Cahiers Total**	**Overall Total**
1930s	13	4	0	17
Early 1940s	6	10	0	16
Mid 1940s	12	8	0	20
Late 1940s	13	10	0	23
Early 1950s	3	2	3	8
Mid 1950s	12	0	8	20
Late 1950s	17	7	4	28
Early 1960s	46	8	4	58
Mid 1960s	18	3	2	23
Late 1960s	3	0	0	3
Early 1970s	14	9	1	24
Mid 1970s	8	8	0	16

[65] "Early" indicates the first four years of a decade, "Late" the last three, and "Mid" the intervening three. Where a notebook straddles two periods, I have assigned it to the earlier one, to avoid repeating entries. For the concrete dates of individual notebooks, see Appendix A.1.

Late 1970s	7	2	0	9
Early 1980s	7	3	0	10
Mid 1980s	4	5	0	9
Late 1980s	22	2	0	24
1990s	3	1	0	4
Unchronologised	3	1	0	4

Table 3.1. The Chronological Distribution of Qian's Notebooks

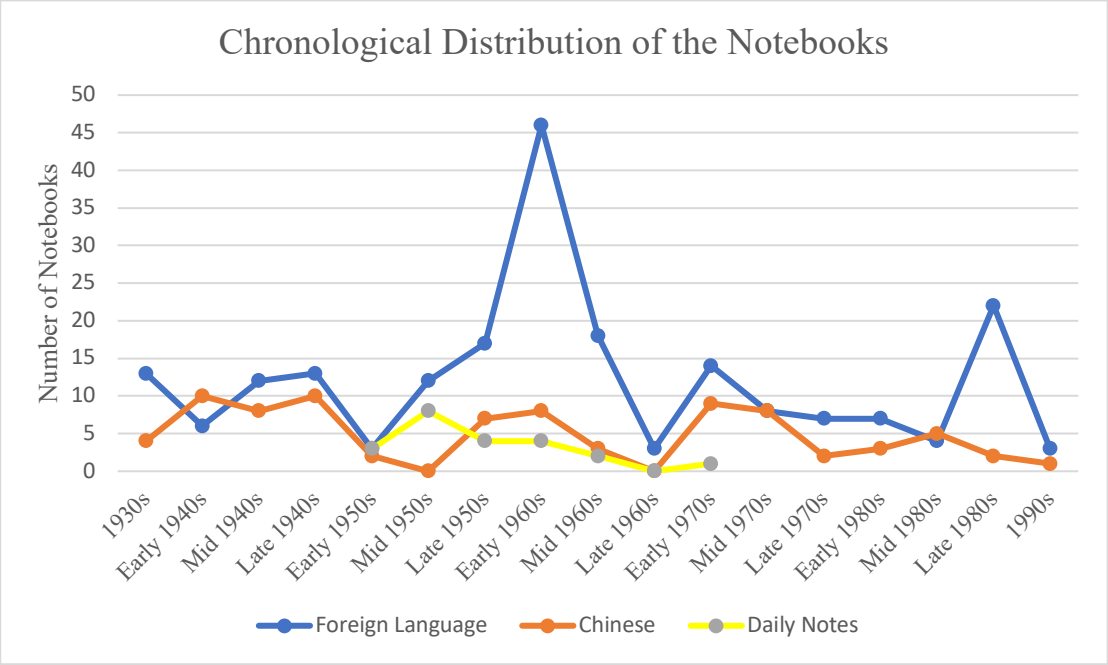

Figure 3.1. The Chronological Distribution of the Notebooks.[66]

[66] The most glaring anomaly of this graph is the explosion in Qian's foreign language notes from the early 1960s. Here we may profit from consulting Qian's biography. The scholar had by now completed the two projects that occupied him for much of the 1950s: *Songshi xuanzhu*, and Mao Zedong's *Selected Works* in English translation. It wasn't until 1964 that he reluctantly began work on a new anthology of Tang poetry, while assisting with the translation of Mao's poems. (In "Entry 729" of the *Daily Notes*, Qian writes, "My colleagues are compiling an annotated selection of Tang poetry, and have strongarmed me into joining them. I've been allocated Wang Ji, among sixteen other poets. I'm renewing my acquaintance with the *Complete Tang Prose*, and comparing my thoughts with my notes from ten years ago. […]" 諸君選注唐詩，強余與役，分得王績等十七人，因復取《全唐文》溫讀一過，合之十年前評釋。RAG: 1886) This sudden deluge in foreign language reading may reflect Qian's newfound freedom; with no concrete brief, he was finally at liberty to indulge his own multilingual interests. There could also, however, be a more technical explanation. Where other clues are lacking, my chronology has relied on publication dates to furnish the *terminus post quem* for a given notebook. It is entirely plausible that a significant proportion of the notes that I have attributed to the early 1960s were in fact compiled several years later. It wasn't until August 1966, when Qian and Yang were

Based on the results listed above, the total number of notebooks relevant to our study is 257: i.e., all 22 extant cahiers of *Daily Notes*, 165 *Foreign Language Notebooks*, and 70 *Chinese Language Notebooks*.

3.5: Statistical Methodology and Limitations

The second step in our analysis of the genetic dossier is to establish which of these 257 notebooks Qian cites in *Guanzhui bian*. To accomplish this, I created a database of the 8875 entries that make up the *Zhongwen biji* and the *Waiwen biji*, which I cross-referenced against a searchable plain text file of the first edition of *Guanzhui bian*. My database was constructed from an OCR of the *Zhongwen biji* and *Waiwen biji* indices, which I proofread for accuracy. The plain text file of *Guanzhui bian* is based on the four-volume edition released by Sanlian in 2007.[67] I then deleted all the addenda to reconstruct the original form and content of the first edition.

There are four limitations to this approach. Firstly, the indices to both the *Zhongwen biji* and the *Waiwen biji* contain errors and lacunae. In the former case, one notebook has been left out entirely, while in the latter case, individual entries are often missing.[68] The indices, moreover, only note the main title examined in each entry, and provide no insight into marginalia, which at times is more substantial than the main body of the entry. These indices can only provide,

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denounced in a "Large Character Poster," that his political travails began in earnest. In this light, the exuberance of Qian's foreign language reading appears less as the boon of indolence, earned after years of grinding work, and more as the attempt of a cosmopolitan thinker to escape the pressures of contemporary politics. Where better, after all, to find solace from the encroaching chaos than by reading Dante in the original?

[67] I located this in a plain text library of Qian's complete works on Github.com. https://github.com/mahavivo/qianzhongshu/blob/master/%E7%AE%A1%E9%94%A5%E7%BC%96.txt (Accessed, Oct. 25th, 2023)

[68] Notebook 84 is missing from the *Zhongwen biji* index. For a full list of missed entries in the first three volumes of the *Waiwen biji*, see Appendix B. I have remedied these mistakes wherever possible. The size of the corpus, however, precludes comprehensive proof-reading by a single scholar.

therefore, a rough scaffold of the notebooks, and do not encapsulate their full content. Secondly, I have not, for obvious reasons of time management, proofread the plain text file of *Guanzhui bian* against a physical edition. Though this text appears to be faithful, orthographical mistakes may have adversely affected the results of my study.[69] Thirdly, there is currently no index for the *Rong'an guan zhaji*. I have, instead, cross-referenced my database of the *Zhongwen biji* and *Waiwen biji* indices against a searchable plain text file of the *Rong'an guan zhaji*, created from Shixi youjin's 視昔猶今 transcription.[70] While this has allowed me to search for works that feature across both systems, it does not reveal those titles that are unique to *Rong'an guan*. Finally, while my study accurately demonstrates which works are common to both the notebooks and *Guanzhui bian*, it can only prove which notebooks Qian *might* have consulted, and not which notebooks he *actually* consulted. The *Zhongwen biji,* for example, contain four discrete sets of notes on the *Huainan zi* 淮南子, which is mentioned no less than 117 times in the first edition of *Guanzhui bian*.[71] While an in-depth case study would doubtless reveal which of these four sets of notes was most instrumental, a statistical overview can only alert us to *Guanzhui bian'*s connection to all four. My study is, in other words, evidentially probabilistic; it is through the overall structure of probabilities, however, that the reality of Qian's scholastic methodology will emerge.

3.6: Statistical Summary

The results of my statistical survey of the *Zhongwen biji* are as follows:

[69] I have chosen not to use Lu Wenhu's 陸文虎 published index, *Guanzhui bian tanyi lu suoyin* 管錐編談藝錄索引 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), for structural reasons, as it includes the addenda of the 1982 edition.
[70] Shixi youjin (anon.) ed., *Rong'an guan zhaji* (*Taogeng huaigen shuwu* 桃梗槐根書屋: 2015–18) https://tghgsw.blogspot.com/2015/ (Accessed, 25th Oct. 2023).
[71] The relevant notebooks are 2, 8, 16, and 29; compiled in 1950–51, 1949, 1941, and 1943 respectively.

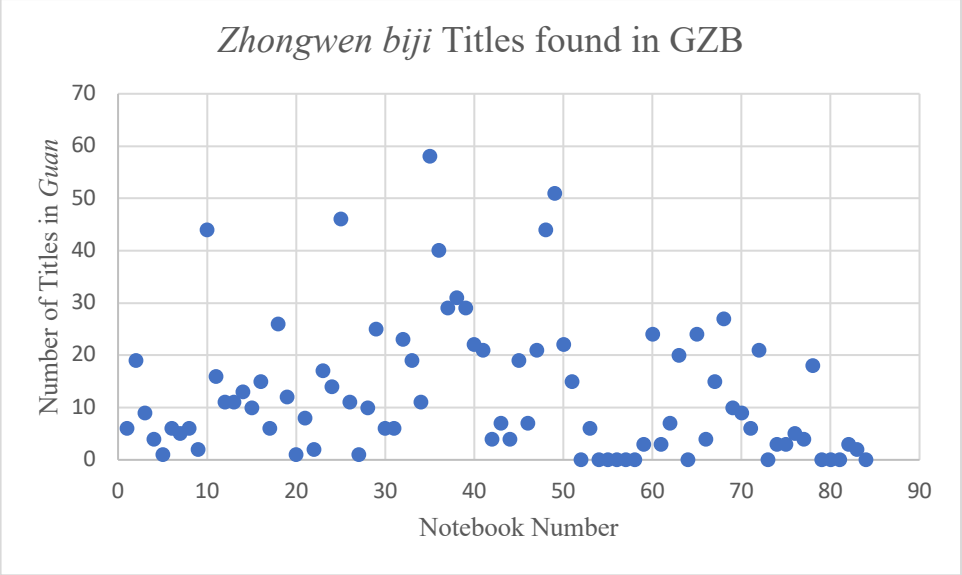


Figure 3.2. Distribution of Entries found in both *Guanzhui bian* and the *Zhongwen biji.*

This graph shows the number of titles from each of the Chinese language notebooks that feature in *Guanzhui bian*. For example, Chinese language notebook 21[72] contains notes on a total of twenty-two titles. Only eight of these titles, however, are mentioned in *Guanzhui bian*.[73] Although we can distinguish six notebooks that were particularly central to the content of *Guanzhui bian*, the most striking observation that can be drawn from this graph is its scattered distribution.[74] When compiling his masterpiece, Qian, it would at first glance appear, drew from across the full range of his Chinese notebooks. This impression is corroborated by the results of my survey of the foreign language notebooks:

[72] i.e. "Large Cahier 12" (*daben shiyi* 大本十二), ZWBJ 3: 41–78.
[73] Namely: Wang Shizhen's 王世貞 *Hezhou sibu gao* 弇州四部稿, Yi Xi's 尹喜 *Guan yizi* 關尹子, Huang Bosi's 黃伯思 *Dongguan yulun* 東觀餘論, Xu Angfa's 徐昂發 *Weilei biji* 畏壘筆記, Wu Wenpu's 吳文溥 *Nan yetang biji* 南野堂筆記, Xu Ke's 徐珂 *Kangju biji huihan* 康居筆記彙函, Xu Ke's 徐珂 *Shen yu fangyan* 呻餘放言,Tan Qian 談遷 *Zaolin Zazu* 棗林雜俎.
[74] The six relevant notebooks are, 10, 25, 35,36, 48, and 49.

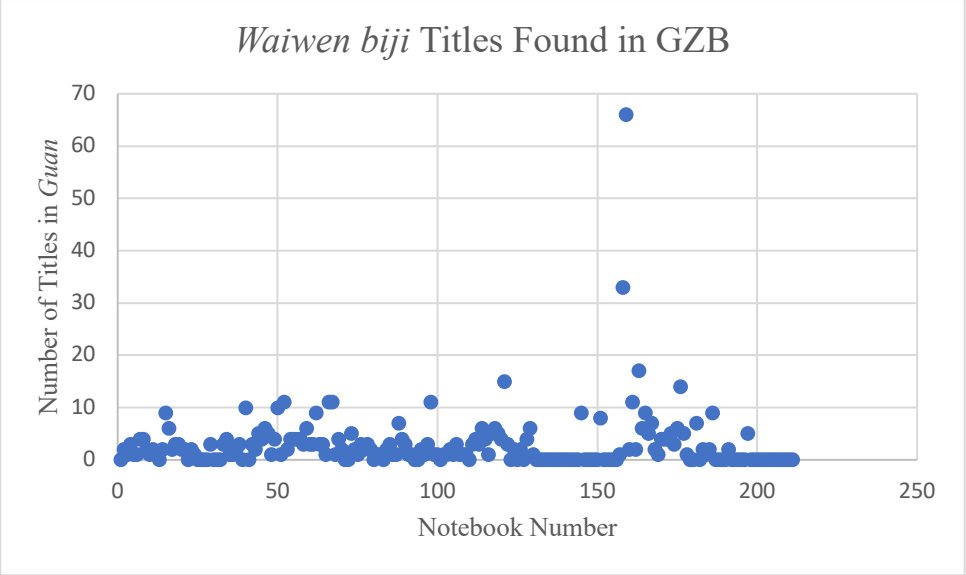


Figure 3.3. Distribution of Entries found in both *Guanzhui bian* and the *Waiwen biji.*

This graph shows the number of titles from each of the foreign language notebooks that feature in *Guanzhui bian*. Foreign language notebook 15[75], for instance, contains a total of 68 entries. Only four of these titles, however, are mentioned in *Guanzhui bian*.[76] Similarly to Figure. 3.2, Figure 3.3. shows that, except for a very small number of intensively referenced notebooks, Qian equally consulted works from across the full breadth of his foreign language system.[77] Based on this data alone, we cannot draw any firm conclusions about the way in which Qian approached his notes.

[75] WWBJ 4: 277–440.
[76] Namely, *Le Journal des Goncourts*, Richard Aldington's *Life for Life's Sake*, Saint Beuve's *Mes Poisons*, Francesco De Sanctis's *Religious Conversion*.
[77] The two most frequently cited notebooks are 158 and 159. Given that these notebooks (in both cases sheaves of loose notes), are three times as long as average, it is to be expected that they yield a higher tally. Due to its length, Motsch has divided notebook 159 into A (WWBJ 33: 3–653) and B (WWBJ 34: 3–635).

Both of the figures above, however, are spatial, rather than chronological representations of Qian's notes and their connection to *Guanzhui bian*. We may benefit from considering the same data, when presented chronologically:

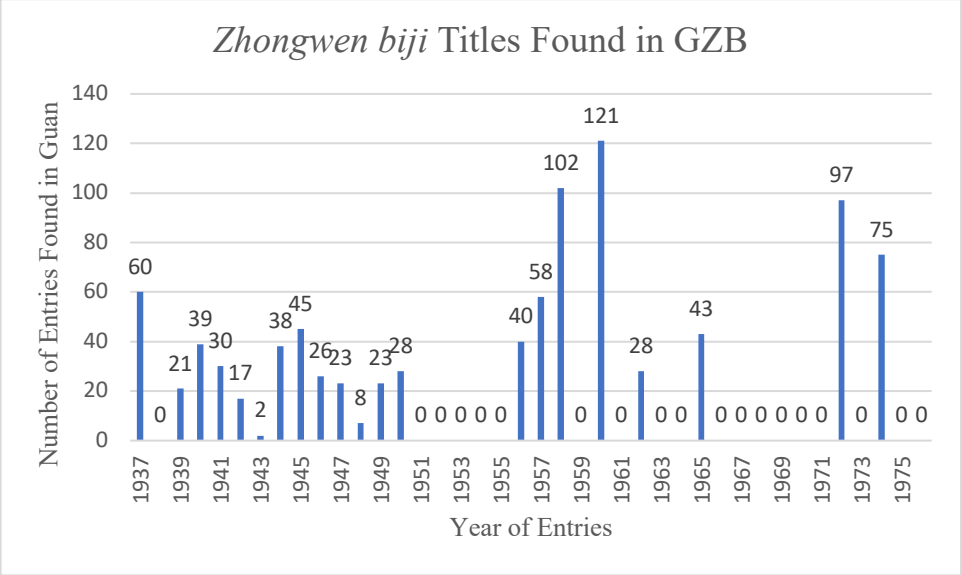


Figure 3.4. Chronological Distribution of Entries found in both *Guanzhui bian* and the *Zhongwen biji*.

This bar chart shows how many Chinese titles for which Qian compiled notes on in each year made their way into *Guanzhui bian.* For example, my chronology indicates that in 1948 Qian made notes on a total of 54 Chinese titles.[78] Only eight of these titles, however, are mentioned in *Guanzhui bian*.[79] Here, we can observe that *Guanzhui bian* was most informed by Qian's notes from the late 1950s, early 1960s and early 1970s. The two major dips are from the early

[78] I.e. Chinese notebooks 5 (*canye* 殘頁 E [ZWBJ 1: 353–370]) and 6 (*canye* 殘頁 F [ZWBJ 1: 371–422]).
[79] Zhang Zuyi 張祖翼 *Qingdai yeji* 清代野記, Zhou Guangye 周廣業 *Penglu wenchao* 蓬廬文鈔, Ai Na jushi 艾衲居士 Doupeng xianhua 豆棚閒話, Hong Yan 洪炎 *Laopu ji* 老圃集, Jiang Yong 江庸 *Qu ting suibi* 趨庭隨筆, Hong Mai 洪邁 *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志, Shang Rong 尚鎔 *Sanjia shihua* 三家詩話, 丁丙 Ding Bing ed., *Xiling wu buyi yizhu* 西泠五布衣遺著.

to mid 1950s, and the late 1960s.[80] This distribution is reflected in our chronological summary of the notebooks in Table 1.; during the mid 1950s, Qian largely focused on his *Daily Notes* system; at the height of the Cultural Revolution, the rate of Qian's notetaking decreased drastically. The relative insignificance of these two periods, therefore, is to be expected. Again, the most striking observation that can be drawn from this chronological distribution is that Qian drew on the full wealth of his notes, irrespective of their dates. This view is also confirmed by the chronological distribution of the Foreign Language Notes:

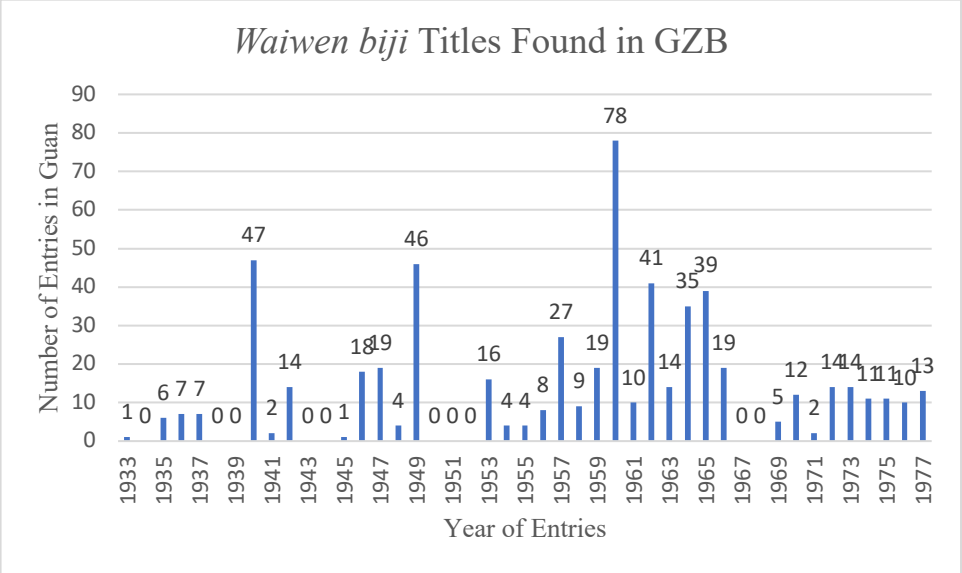


Figure 3.5. Chronological Distribution of Entries found in both *Guanzhui bian* and the *Waiwen biji*.

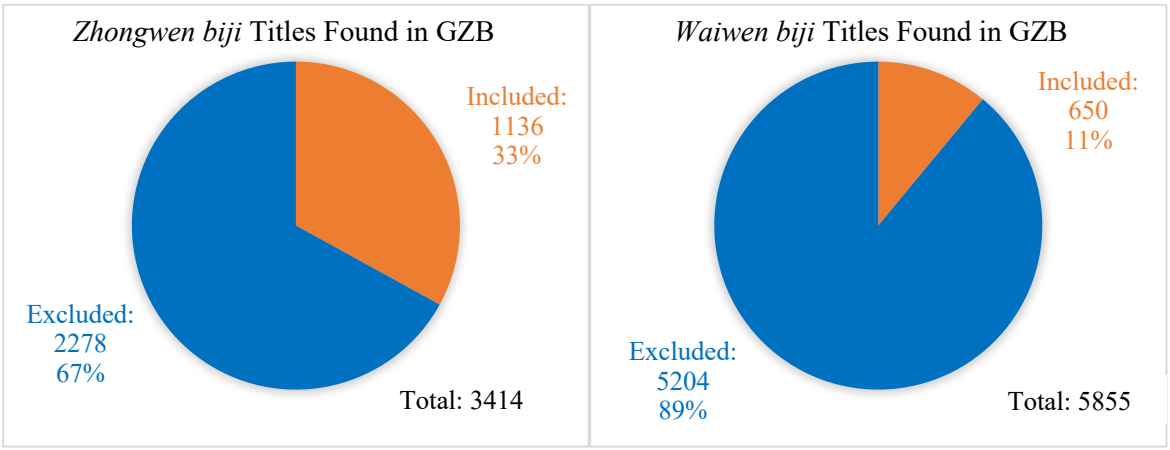
This bar chart shows how many foreign language titles for which Qian compiled notes on in each respective year made their way into *Guanzhui bian.* My chronology, for instance,

[80] The gaps in 1959, 1961, and 1973 reflect the uncertainty of my chronology rather than real breaks in Qian's notes. Where I have only been able to chronologise a notebook to a rough period (i.e. the late 1950s), I have, for ease of presentation, allocated it to the earliest year within that span. This has caused some clumping in the data.

indicates that in 1958 Qian compiled notes on a total of 53 foreign language titles.[81] Only nine of these titles, however, feature in *Guanzhui bian*. Figure 3.5. also reflects our chronological summary of the notebooks, with two notable dips in the early 1950s and 1960s. It does not reveal anything definitive about how Qian referred to his notes in the process of composition.

All that we can conclusively say, based on the data examined so far, is that Qian did not draw preferentially on notes that he had recently compiled; entries that were fresh in his memory played no greater role than earlier entries. Qian was able to draw on all relevant information, wherever it was situated, spatially or chronologically, within the whole range of his notebooks. The question that emerges from this statistical summary, therefore, is the following: how did Qian know which entries were relevant to the essay in question, and where to find those entries within the vast maze of his notebooks? To answer this question, we must consider the role that the *Daily Notes* played relative to the *Zhongwen biji* and *Waiwen biji*.

As the following two pie charts show, the percentage of the *Zhongwen biji* and *Waiwen biji* titles that feature in *Guanzhui bian* are only minor proportions of both corpora:



[81] i.e. Foreign language notebooks 44 (WWBJ 8: 3–196), 75 (WWBJ 15: 533–614) and 111 (WWBJ 19: 123–319).

Figure 3.6. Relative Proportions of the Chinese and Foreign Language titles found in *Guanzhui bian.*

Only 1136 (33%) of the 3414 titles in the Chinese language notes are mentioned in the first edition of *Guanzhui bian*, while only 650 (11%) of the 5855 titles in the foreign language notes are discussed.[82] Of those entries that are found in *Guanzhui bian*, however, the overwhelming majority also feature in the *Daily Notes*.

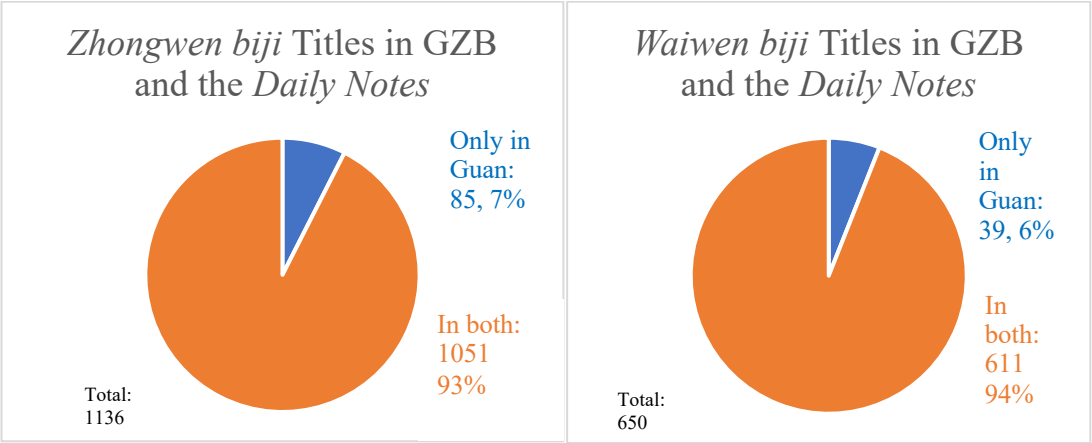


Figure 3.7. Relative Proportions of Entries found in both *Guanzhui bian* and the *Daily Notes*.

As shown above, over 90% of the entries from both the *Zhongwen biji* and the *Waiwen biji* that are mentioned in *Guanzhui bian* are also treated in the *Daily Notes*. This tells us that while the exogenetic scope of *Guanzhui bian* is more modest than that of Qian's Chinese and foreign language systems, it aligns very closely with that of the *Daily Notes*. A correlation of such

[82] Accounts of the number of works that *Guanzhui bian* cites vary wildly, depending on the edition (and its corresponding number of addenda) consulted and on the definition of "work." Lu Wenhu's index, for example, includes separate entries for every poem, chapter, and book title, thereby vastly inflating the number of sources. My tally, by contrast, notes only the book, or collection, from which Qian compiled his notes. An accurate picture of the true breadth of *Guanzhui bian* awaits the compilation of a better index.

significance cannot be a mere coincidence. Clearly, Qian first turned to the *Daily Notes* when deciding which material to include in his *magnum opus*.

But while the *Daily Notes* were evidently key to the preparatory stage of Qian's encyclopaedic project, it remains to be seen how the scholar used this system in concert with his other notebooks, which he recovered on his return to Beijing in the spring of 1972, and had access to during the actual composition of his masterpiece. This interaction will be best be demonstrated by a statistical review of one essay.

3.7: Statistical Case Study: *Zhouyi Zhengyi* 1.[83]

The very first essay in *Guanzhui bian*, which discusses the polysemy of the word *yi* 易, cites no less than 57 works, 37 of which are Chinese and 20 of which are European.[84] Qian's notes on these works are spread across 36 notebooks in the *Zhongwen biji* and *Waiwen biji* systems. Nine of the titles mentioned in the essay have no corresponding entry in either system. When viewed from the perspective of the *Zhongwen biji* (ZWBJ) and *Waiwen biji* (WWBJ), the exogenetic distribution of the essay is as follows:

[83] GZB: 1–8. Ronald Egan's translation of this essay is entitled, "Characters with Multiple Meanings Used Simultaneously." Qian, *Limited Views*, 202–208.
[84] The European works include texts in French, German, Latin, and English.

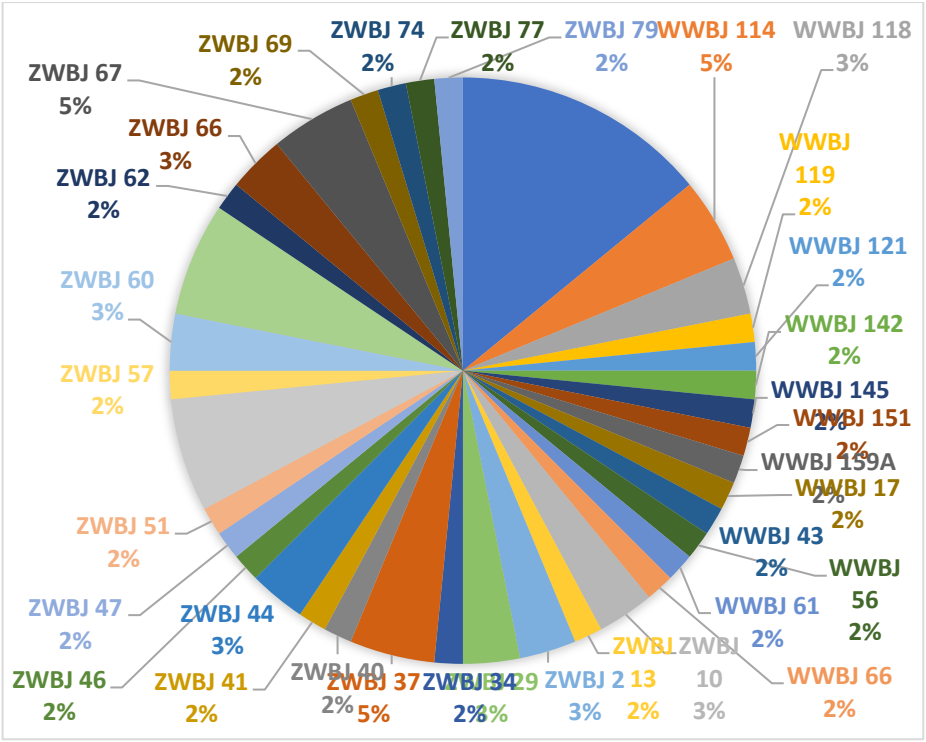


Figure 3.8. Distribution of Works Cited from the *Zhongwen biji* and *Waiwen biji* in "Zhouyi Zhengyi 1."[85]

Here the largest slice (roughly 16%), denotes the nine titles with no clear connection to either the *Zhongwen biji* or the *Waiwen biji.* The remaining 84% of titles are scattered relatively equally across 36 notebooks from both systems. The complexity of this figure, however, is drastically reduced by considering the same data when viewed from the perspective of the *Daily Notes*:

[85] In this chart, the notebook number is followed by the percentage of citations from "Zhouyi Zhengyi 1" that are found in that notebook.

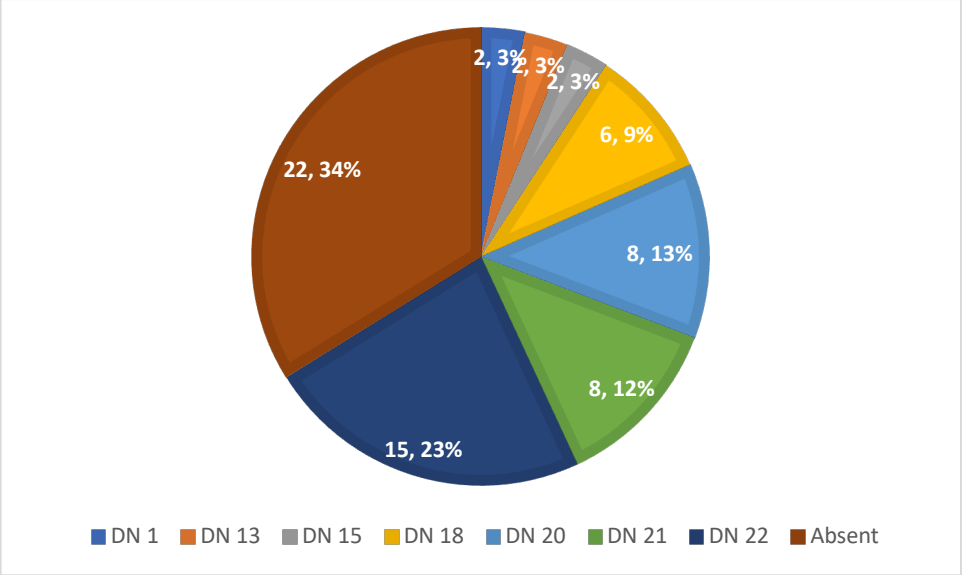


Figure 3.9. Distribution of Works Cited from the *Daily Notes* in "Zhouyi Zhengyi 1."[86]

In this analysis, the 36 notebooks of Figure 7. have been reduced to no more than seven notebooks from the *Daily Notes*. Three of those notebooks, moreover, cover nearly 80% of all accountable citations. When we examine these three notebooks in greater detail, we find that only four concrete entries (751, 755, 769, and 793) were instrumental in the composition of the entire essay. Qian only had to review these entries, the earliest of which was compiled in 1962, and the latest in 1972, in order to lay the foundations for his essay. We can even, however, narrow down the genesis of this essay to one specific entry. "Entry 769" contains Qian's most comprehensive notes on the *Zhouyi zhengyi.*[87] These notes are also littered, however, with references to other relevant entries. Following a comment on the "Ge 革" hexagram, which leads into a discussion on Hegel's concept of "aufhebung," Qian adds,

[86] Here the colour of each slice denotes the notebook number, as clarified in the key. The number of citations from each notebook, and the percentage of the total citations are displayed on the relevant slice.
[87] RAG: 2341–64. Yu Hong has transcribed and translated this entry, among several others, into German. See Yu Hong, "Qian Zhongshu und seine Fortlaufenden Lesenotizen," In Woesler, Martin (Hrsg.), *Chinesische Literatur in deutscher Übersetzung : China Ehrengast der Frankfurter Buchmesse 2009* ; Symposiumsband (S. 16–87). Berlin [u.a.]: Selbstverlag.

可與七五一則論《老子》四十章「反者，道之動」，「反」兼正反、往返兩意參觀。[88]

[…] This should be considered in concert with "Entry 751," which discusses the fortieth chapter of the *Laozi*, "*Fan*, is the movement of the *Dao*," where "*fan*" is simultaneously used to mean "reverse" (as in the reverse side), and "reverse," (as in to move in reverse).

In his discussion of the "Fu 復" hexagram, he writes,

即「不易」與「簡易」也。亦足見三義之驂而非背馳矣。參觀七五五則論《老子》六章：「用之不勤。」[89]

[…] This is [an example of *yi*] meaning simultaneously "not easy" and "easy." It furnishes ample evidence for the argument that these three meanings are complementary, and not contradictory. See my discussion of the sixth chapter of the Laozi, "In using, one does not labour" in "Entry 755."

Finally, under the "Qian 乾" hexagram he concludes:

章學誠［…］知其同為 symbol，然而未能窮底蘊，不知 sign 之別于 icon 也，詳見第七九三則論《詩·狡童》。[90]

Zhang Xuecheng […] is aware that a [hexagram] is also a symbol, but he doesn't push this to its logical conclusion, and neglects that a "sign" is different from an "icon." For more details, see my discussion of the "Jiao Tong" poem from the *Shijing* in "Entry 793."

On reading "Entry 769," which is the logical place to start revising for an essay on the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, Qian would have encountered a trail of clues leading him to other relevant entries, namely, 751, 755 and 793. "Entry 769" functions, in this sense, like a key that opens the map of the broader *Daily Notes*, which in turn traces a path through the labyrinth of the *Zhongwen bji* and *Waiwen biji*.

The existence of both key and map, however, did not preclude the need to enter the labyrinth. Figure 8. also shows that twenty-two of the citations in "*Zhouyi Zhengyi* 1." are not found in

[88] RAG: 2348.
[89] RAG: 2342.
[90] RAG: 2342.

the *Daily Notes*. Nineteen of these twenty-two missing titles, however, are found in Qian's two other systems. The *Daily Notes,* therefore, do not represent the entire exogenetic structure of *Guanzhui bian*, but only its starting point. By reviewing a small number of *Daily Notes* entries related to the theme under discussion, Qian was alerted to the relevance of works scattered across the full spectrum of his notebooks. While consulting these, he drew on marginalia and other surrounding entries to complement the body of evidence that he had already gleaned from the *Daily Notes*.

For example, "Zhouyi Zhengyi 1." glancingly cites an excerpt from the Warring States treatise, *Gongsun Longzi* 公孫龍子.

> 《管子・七法》以"則"與"化"並舉，又《内業》稱"與時變而不化，從物而不移"，《公孫龍子・通變論》有"不變謂變"之辯，姑皆置勿道。[91]
>
> The "Seven Standards" chapter of the *Guanzi* cites "*ze*" (pattern) in the same breath as "*hua*" (transform). The "Inner Workings" chapter also reads, "to change with the times and not transform, to follow outer [circumstances] and not move." The "Universalities and Changes" chapter of the *Gongsun longzi* has an argument about how "not changing is to change." We will not, however, pursue these works in any further depth.

The quotation "not changing is to change" (不變謂變) does not feature in the *Daily Notes*. When reviewing "Entry 793," however, Qian would have been directed to "Chinese Notebook 22," which contains relevant extracts from the *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義 and *Baihu tong* 白虎通. Here, he would have stumbled across contiguous notes on *Gongsun longzi*, where he culled this quotation from the "*Tong bian*" chapter.[92] From this example, we can conclude that while the path that Qian took through his notes was determined by the "map" of the *Daily Notes*, it was not without aleatory diversions and serendipitous encounters. The full majesty of the

[91] GZB: 7.
[92] ZWBJ 15: 314–5.

exogenetic structure of *Guanzhui bian* consists of four separate steps that may be represented by the following figure:

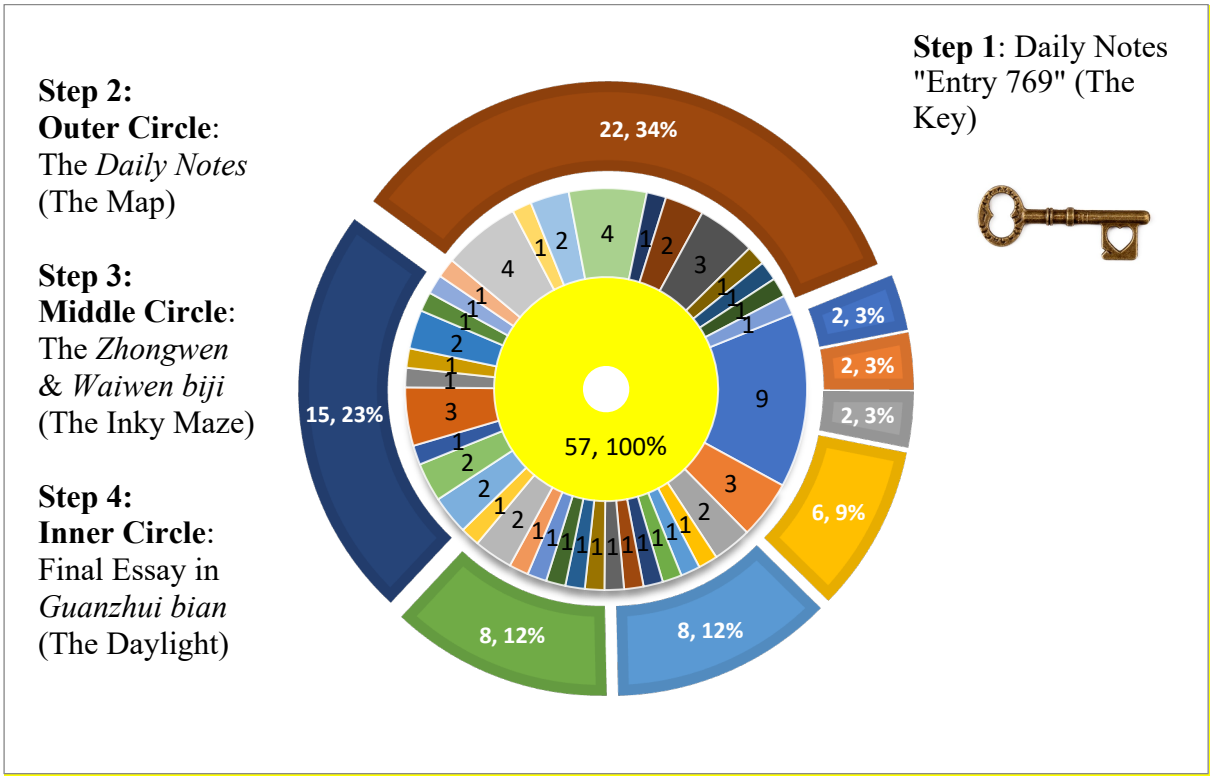


Figure 3.10. The Four-fold Exogenetic Structure of "Zhouyi Zhengyi 1."

It is only fitting that this structure should be represented by a series of interlocking circles. Just as, in chapter one, we explored the evolving organisation of Qian's notes as the transition from cycles of reading to cycles compilation, so too does the composition of *Guanzhui bian* reveal the very same cycles, only this time engineered in reverse. Beginning with the thematic concision of the *Daily Notes*, Qian traces his way back into the complexity of his Chinese and Foreign language systems to achieve the final synthesis represented by his polished essay. This circular movement is, however, hidden from the reader, who stands at the centre of Figure 3.10's inner most circle and sees only the broad sweep of Qian's unified erudition.

3.8: A Pale View of Hills

There is still much work to be done before we can execute a fully informed distant reading of *Guanzhui bian*. Most pressingly, we need a full account of the marginalia across all twenty volumes of the *Zhongwen biji* and forty-eight volumes of the *Waiwen biji*. Due to the difficulties associated with Qian's cursive script, such a project would be best suited to a collaborative effort, carried out by a team of Chinese and Western scholars. Another desideratum is an index to the *Rong'an guan zhaji*, which, for purely humanitarian reasons, is a bibliographical burden that should be shared by a sizeable cohort of willing enthusiasts. Finally, the aid of a digital humanities specialist, with a peculiar competency in fuzzy search algorithms, would be required to fruitfully process and interpret this new surfeit of data.

My findings in this chapter, like the chronology presented in Appendix A, are therefore only a tentative beginning, demonstrating one global approach to *Guanzhui bian* and the notebooks that might be pursued at greater length in a future study. I have entitled this chapter "A Pale View of Hills," to emphasise the weaknesses inherent to all exercises in distant reading; for the more distant the hills, the paler our view of them inevitably becomes. Paler still are those "blue remembered hills,"[93] of our mind's eye. In this vein, my title is also a reference to Kazuo Ishiguro's eponymous novel, which explores the inconsistencies of a Japanese émigré's memory of the Second World War. The experience of trauma can only distort and eclipse memory. The paradox of *Guanzhui bian* lies in the fact that it attempts to salvage both literary and personal memory from the predations of trauma, while also functioning as a direct

[93] A. E. Housman (1859–1936), "A Shropshire Lad XL," "Into my heart an air that kills / From yon far country blows: / What are those blue remembered hills / What spires, what farms are those? / That is the land of lost content, / I see it shining plain, / The happy highways where I went / And cannot come again." Houseman, *Collected Poems*, 58.

expression of that trauma itself. The long formation of this paradox will be focus of the following chapter.



Diuiſio ſphæræ ſecundum ſubſtantiam.

Sphera aũt dupliciter diuidit: ſecũdũ ſubſtãtiã & ſecũdũ accidẽs. Secũdũ ſubſtãtiã. A. in ſphæras decẽ Sphærã decimã. quæ primus motus ſiue primũ mobile dicitur: & in ſphærã nonã quæ ſecũdum mobile nominatur: cõtraria tamẽ his uerba docent auctoris iſta: in ſphæras nouẽ ſcilicet ſphæram nonã quæ primus motus: ſiue primum mobile dicitur. & in ſphærã ſtellaꝛ fixaꝛ q̃ firmamẽtũ nuncupat: & in ſeptẽ ſphæras ſeptẽ planetaꝛ. Quarũ quædam ſunt maiores quædam minores ſecundum q̃ plus uel minus accedunt uel recedunt a firmaméto. Vnde inter illas ſphæra Saturni maxima eſt. Sphæra uero lunæ minima ꝓ ut in ſequenti figuratione continetur.

Diuiſio ſecundum accidens ſphæræ.

Secundum accidens autem diuiditur in ſphæram rectam & obliquam. Illi enim dicũtur habere ſphæram rectam: qui manent ſub æquinoctiali: ſi aliquis ibi manere poſſit. Et dicitur recta quoniam neuter polorum magis altero illis eleuatur. Vel quoniam illorum horizon interſecat æquinoctialem & interſecatur ab eodem ad angulos rectos ſphærales.

Image 3.3. A Diagram of Dante's *Inferno*, which Qian read while compiling the first draft of *Guanzhui bian*. (Source: Brown University Library).[94]

[94] Qian's notes on the *Inferno* contain his most direct expression of despair about the Cultural Revolution. In marginalia to entry 753 of the "Daily Notes" the scholar writes: *Inferno*, III. 9: "Lasciate ogne speranza, voi ch'intrate [Abandon all hope, ye who enter here]" (p. 30). For variations on this famous line, see supra 七二三則 [Entry 723]. In the "Kerker" scene of *Faust*, Iter Theil [Part one], when Faust urged her to flee from the gaol, saying: "Die Tür steht offen [The door stands open]" Margaret answered: "Ich darf nicht fort; für mich ist nichts zu hoffen [I can go no further; there's nothing more for me to hope for]" (4544; *Faust*, hrsg. E. Trunz, S. 143). Cf. 劉須溪〈文姬歸漢圖〉： "天南地北有歸路，四海九州無故人。[Liu Xuxi (1232-1297) "A Painting of Cai Wenji (177–249) Returning to China": "There is a road leading home from the ends of the earth, but in China and all the four seas, I have not one friend.]" Thus, even for one who comes out, there is no hope either! These two heart-rending lines complement each other & combine to point the moral of my life in this *univers concentrationnaire* [concentration camp of a world] (cf. Edward Schaper on "die Gefangenschaft zur Existenzform von vörsein geworden ist [imprisonment has become the primary mode of being]" & Barlach on his "Zuchthäusler tun [Acting the inmate]" (W. Muschg, *Die Zerstörung der deutschen Literatur* [The Destruction of German Literature], 3te Auf. S. 33 & 93). RAG: 2177.

Chapter Four

"THE MIRROR'S BLACK BACKING"

An Exogenetic Study of *Guanzhui bian* and the *Laozi*

4.1: Exogenetic Scope

In this chapter I will trace a thread of Qian's intellectual interests from their inception in the early notebooks, through their development over a long and prolific career in reading and notetaking, to their final enshrinement at the heart of *Guanzhui bian.* While largely exogenetic in methodology, this discussion will also be informed by biographical clues hidden within the notebooks, for the answer to what Qian read, and when, leads naturally to the question of why? Though famously unclubbable, Qian had a novelist's eye for people, place and circumstance. His reading of the classics was coloured by a life that, despite its consummate bookishness, was rich in incident and anecdote. As a result, my analysis will be characterised by a peculiar blend of bibliography and biography. My aim is not, as in the first and second chapters, to identify systems of knowledge management, nor, as in the third chapter, to establish the extent to which Qian drew on one system to construct another, but rather, to examine a concrete component of Qian's many systems over time, demonstrating how *Guanzhui bian* is the fruit, not only of methodical revision and recension, but also of a long and varied process of intellectual evolution. My concern is namely the lived experience of literature that underpins any scholarly masterpiece: "the black backing," in the aphorism of an English novelist, "that makes the mirror shine."[1]

[1] Aubyn, *Lost for Words*, 47.

One of the most challenging aspects of such a case study is deciding precisely which thread of Qian's global interests to follow. For in a work distinguished by its rambunctious encyclopaedism, where the lapidary inscriptions of the classical pantheon are united with more ephemeral graffiti from demotic texts, and the independent gardens of Chinese and European letters are routinely grafted, bamboo athwart rose, via judiciously pruned quotations, to single out a solitary theme or motif does no more justice to the whole than the execution of an entire Mahler symphony on one mournful oboe. While aesthetically inadequate, such subtractions do, however, have their uses. Most Chinese studies on *Guanzhui bian* address Qian's handling of a particular writer or work. Exploiting Lu Wenhu's trusty index, they typically flesh out clues scattered by the idiosyncratic scholar, supplying arguments where he has contented himself with only quotations. In taking *pars pro toto,* however, these studies also open a window onto the work as a whole.[2] A contrasting approach has been to examine a broader theme. In *Instrument Metapher,* Viatcheslav Vetrov grapples with Qian's understanding of figurative language, drawing on the notebooks to complement discussions furnished in *Guanzhui bian*.[3]

My approach will attempt to straddle both methodologies, uniting a thematic study with a qualifying focus on a small group of texts and authors. The theme in question is Qian's treatment of double negation. While at first glance a mere grammatical manoeuvre, Qian demonstrates the power of double negation to define and articulate, but also to mislead and obfuscate. His

[2] See, for example, the catalogue of articles on *Guanzhui bian* in Feng Zhixiang 馮芝祥 ed., *Qian Zhongshu yanjiu jikan* 錢鍾書研究集刊 (Shanghai: Sanlian,1999–2002).
[3] Viatcheslav Vetrov. *Instrument Metapher: Das Guanzhuibian im Licht der Manuskriptforschung* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2015).

discussions, which range widely over both Chinese and European fields of philosophy, literature, theology and linguistics, culminate in the analysis of the *Laozi* in *Guanzhui bian.* Here, the hallowed device of double negation is shown to have grave political repercussions that evoke, if but opaquely, the injustice of the Cultural Revolution. We will trace, therefore, Qian's early and innocent interest in a minor branch of philosophy, to its pride of place as an existential issue at the centre of his magnum opus. To facilitate this narrative, which will span, in a necessarily precarious fashion, a full forty years of the notebooks, I will focus on how Qian's treatment of this topic developed out of his reading of Hegel. My emphasis will not be on the accuracy of Qian's understanding of the German philosopher, a topic that awaits both a longer chapter and a bolder scholar, but on the changes in his understanding within their respective social and intellectual contexts. I hope, in closing, to demonstrate how the paradox in Qian's exegesis of double negation in the *Laozi* mirrors a paradox that is central to the structure of *Guanzhui bian*, and its underlying system of knowledge management, which has been our guiding concern over the preceding three chapters.

4.2: Second-hand Hegel in the Bodleian

When, exactly, Qian first read Hegel is unclear. Only privileged access to the early "Court Diaries," which document his omnivorous programme of reading as an undergraduate, can furnish an accurate date.[4] It is likely, however, that Qian's interest in German philosophy began at Tsinghua. One of the few friends from this period that he later publicly avowed was Achilles Fang (Fang Zhitong 方志彤, 1910–1990). Both young men matriculated in 1929, Qian playing truant in

[4] These diaries, as discussed in chapter one, are now jealously guarded in a restricted archive at Tsinghua.

the foreign languages department, Fang holding forth at debates in the philosophy department, which adorned him with a bachelor's degree in 1932 for a dissertation on Leibniz's monadism. Given Qian's notorious precocity, it seems probable that he would have been reluctant to fall behind Fang in his philosophical lucubrations, if only out of boyish competitiveness, when not genuine curiosity.[5] What is clear, however, is that Qian was already familiar with Hegel's work by the time he reached Oxford in the autumn of 1935. The first mention of the philosopher in the notebooks is found in an entry dating from early 1936, after Qian had begun his "Hours in the Bodleian" cycle. Qian's leading comment to R.G. Collingwood's (1889–1943) *An Essay on Philosophical Method* states, "Hegel in readable English. Nothing new. Though the trail is carefully covered up so that Hegel is almost unmentioned."[6] This disparaging observation did little to prevent Qian from making twenty-three pages of detailed notes from the book. Evidently, though already qualified to identify the éminence grise of Hegelian dialectics in Collingwood's arguments, the young scholar still felt he had a lot to learn from the Waynflete Professor of

[5] After eking out a living as an assistant editor for *Monumenta Serica* and part time German instructor, Fang accepted an invitation to work on the Harvard-Yenching dictionary project in Cambridge. Though his talent for languages and cunning for identifying citations uniquely qualified him for the job, his temperament rebelled; he soon resorted to smuggling quotations from *Finnegan's Wake* into definitions to relieve the tedium. The project was discontinued in 1957, following which Fang stayed on at the university to teach courses in Classical Chinese, Chinese literary theory, and art criticism. When Qian visited Harvard in 1979, he was surprised to discover his old "crony" from Tsinghua, who had since acquired a heroic sobriquet, a shock of white hair, and a cane. In a letter the following week, Qian enlisted Fang's help to deal with a delicate issue: "I have just received a letter from the director of the Indiana University Press about the publication of the translation of my novel. It enclosed for correction a sort of curriculum vitae jazzed up with a number of apocryphal anecdotes - where on earth did the writer get them? For instance: 'When a student at Tsing Hua, he was an arrogant young man, publicly scorning such eminent professors as Feng Yu-lan,' etc. This, as you well know, is arrant & harmful nonsense. I set [the] record straight as follows: '...an arrogant young man who cut lectures & kept very much to himself. Among his few intimate friends was Achilles Fang, the 'word wizard,' as Marianne Moore called him, who was then a student in the department of philosophy.' I wish to give a public testimonial to our friendship." (See, Gao, "Two English Letters"). Fang, for his part, continued to think highly of Qian. In a letter to his student Elizabeth Hoff, he writes, "In fact, I don't think anything of anybody writing on Ch. Lit (in Ch. Jap. English German or French) except Qian Zhongshu (my crony of Tsinghua)." (See, Gao, "Two English Letters.") Fang was the first to promote the study of *Guanzhui bian* at Harvard. The dedication in Ronald Egan's masterly selected translation, (Cambridge Mass.: 1998), reads, "To the Memory of Dr. Achilles Fang (1910–1995); incomparable reader and teacher who introduced me to the writings of Qian Zhongshu, his friend and former classmate at Qinghua University."

[6] WWBJ 3: 113.

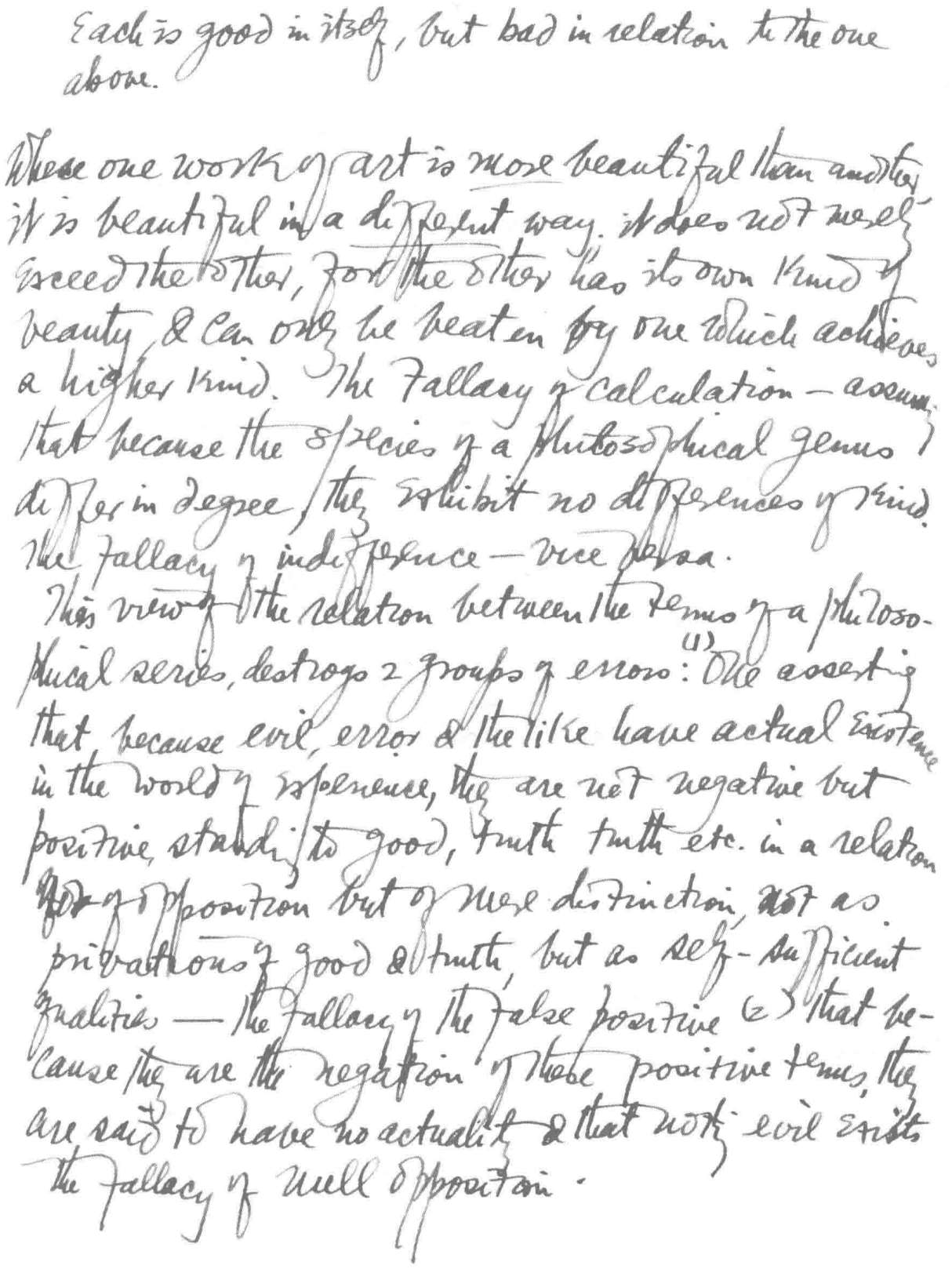


Image 4.1. Qian's notes from Collingwood's *An Essay on Philosophical Method*. Source: WWBJ 3: 127.

Metaphysical Philosophy. Even in these early extracts, Qian is sensitive to how fallacious reasoning can undermine moral common sense.

> In philosophy, distinction and opposition, which in non-philosophical thought are two mutually exclusive kinds of relation, coalesce into one, so that what seems a mere opposition - i.e. the relation between a term and its own absence - turns out to be also a distinction between two terms and vice versa. […] This view of the relation between the terms of a philosophical series destroys two groups of errors: 1) One asserting that, because evil, error and the like have actual existence in the world of experience, they are not negative but positive, standing to good, truth etc. in a relation not of opposition but of mere distinction, not as privations of good and truth, but as self-sufficient qualities – the fallacy of the false positive. 2) that because they are the negation of these positive terms, they are said to have no actuality and that nothing evil exists – the fallacy of null opposition.[7]

Here, the ability of philosophy to both distinguish between opposites and unite them is shown to have ethical applications, foiling two moral fallacies. While in isolation this may seem to anticipate Qian's later treatment of the *Laozi*, his notes are in fact as wide ranging as Collingwood's book, proceeding from definitions of philosophy (in particular its distinction from mathematics) to the tools of philosophy (which, Collingwood argues, must learn from those of literature). This entry is too early, therefore, to identify an enduring staple in Qian's philosophical interests.

Only weeks later, the young scholar turned to W.T. Stace's (1886–1967) *The Philosophy of Hegel,* a commentary that situates the enlightenment thinker in relation to his philosophical antecedents. Qian's extracts here are less comprehensive than for Collingwood, running to only seven pages. It is thanks to his earlier reading of the Oxford professor, moreover, that he latches onto Hegel's analysis of opposites.

[7] WWBJ 3: 127. See Image 4.1

> Hegel found that a concept may contain its own opposite hidden away within itself & that this opposite may be extricated or deduced from it & made to do the work of the differentia, thus converting genus into species. The identity of opposites does not exclude the opposition of those opposites. A & not A are identical. But they are also opposite. It is not only an identity of opposites; it is also an identity of opposites. The synthesis of a triad both abolishes & preserves the differences of the thesis & antithesis. This two-fold activity is expressed by Hegel by the word "aufheben" (to sublate).[8] The dialectical method stands in contrast to what Hegel calls raisonnment & [the] mathematical method of Descartes & Spinoza because they "have presuppositions" and "proceed under the canon of formal identity."[9]

Qian follows this passage with a star, and a note in the margin, "cf. Collingwood, *Philosophical Method*."[10] The connection to his earlier notes is twofold. First, Collingwood argues against the ability of formal logic, as championed by the prevailing school of analytic philosophy, to marshal the elusive subject of philosophical classes – for while in the empirical sciences, a line is either categorically straight or curved, in philosophy, one class of concepts does not necessarily exclude another. "Mind, for the scientist, is the name of one limited class of things outside which lie things of other kinds; for the spiritualistic philosopher it is a name for all reality."[11] Collingwood proceeds to show how this form of overlapping also holds true for opposite classes. In the passage quoted above, Stace identifies this synthetic process as none other than Hegel's "aufheben," a term that Qian highlights here for the first time. Hegel's use of the word "aufheben," both as an example of the unparalleled eloquence of the German language, and as a philosophical process, would later serve as one of the keystones to *Guanzhui bian*. Qian's notes at this stage, however, reveal no connection between this neologism and any aspect of the Chinese tradition.

[8] "Aufheben" is the infinitive, "aufhebung" the substantive, and "aufhebungen" the plural.
[9] WWBJ 3: 187.
[10] WWBJ 3: 187.
[11] WWBJ 3: 121.

The third and final work related to Hegel that Qian read while at Oxford was Sidney Hook's (1902–1989) *From Hegel to Marx*. In his extracts here, Qian is considerably more interested in the former thinker than the latter. A full six of the thirteen pages of notes that he awards the volume focus on Hook's exposition of Hegelian dialectics, while Marx's reception of this philosophical method is reduced to the following terse summary: "Hegel alleges this process [i.e. "aufheben"] to be purely logical, Marx, primarily historical and social."[12] Building on his reading of Collingwood and Stace, Qian has evidently decided to treat Hook's work as a primer to consolidate his understanding of Hegel, rather than as a springboard to investigate Marx.[13] In closing, his notes repeat an idea that he has already highlighted in Stace, "All determination is negation; any something has character because it is not its other. A meadow that had no bounds, a sea that had no shore, would be neither meadow nor sea."[14] Repetition within Qian's notes is indicative of attempts to grapple with and assimilate key concepts. The link between the capacity of negation to define, and the ability of "aufheben" to transcend definitions would continue to occupy him in the years to come.

To appreciate Qian's early gleanings from Hegel we must place them in the broader context of his reading at Oxford. For two years, Qian studied for a B.Litt. in English literature at Exeter College under the supervision of H.F.B. Brett-Smith (1884–1951), an expert in Restoration period drama. This was not a happy collaboration. Brett-Smith allegedly rejected Qian's initial thesis proposal, "The Influence of China on English Literature," on chauvinistic grounds, suggesting that he focus

[12] WWBJ 3: 256.
[13] Although, given the political context of Qian's career, it is tempting to identify this entry as evidence of Qian's early interest in Marx, this view is not only belied by the substance of the entry, but also by the full corpus of Qian's reading notes. In the mid 1940s, Qian made two pages of sparse notes on Hook's *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx* (WWBJ 5: 144–146), but he did not systematically read Marx until the late 1970s, well after composing *Guanzhui bian*. Qian's persistent reluctance to grapple with Marx seems willful, much like his near invincible indifference to Russian literature. (We find, astonishingly, no record of his having read Pushkin or Tolstoy). Ever the individualist, Qian intuitively spurned literary and intellectual topics that were embraced by the herd.
[14] WWBJ 3: 256.

instead on the depiction of China in the English literature of the 17th and 18th centuries.[15] The resulting thesis, though an elegant work of scholarship that continues to inform discussions of early Anglo-Chinese relations, gives the curious impression of serving two masters.[16] Qian has not strayed far from the thronging thoroughfares of seventeenth and eighteenth century English literature to furnish his examples. Reading between the lines, he has embraced his thesis as an occasion to harvest, for his own private adornment, the key writers and developments of early modern English literature, plucking meanwhile a few wildflowers with which to brighten Brett-Smith's desk.

In his leisure reading, Qian shunned the works of Brett-Smith, and his closest ally, C.S. Lewis (1898–1963) entirely. Indeed, his notes reveal an active disdain for their faction of the English department, which prized the honest toil of philology over the innovations of modern literary criticism. His extracts from *Ephemera Critica*, or *Plain Truths about Current Literature*, by John Churton Collins, record that,

[15] This, at least, is the interpretation of Yang Jiang. Tang, *Yidai caizi*, 140. Qian was evidently on better terms with his college tutor, Eric Arthur Barber (1888–1965), who penned a revealing administrative note following their first meeting. "Chi'en Chung-shu. 20.x.1910 […] Charming. Pronounces his name, 'Tiens,' to avoid being a dog. Falls from a bus, breaks teeth [xx] it as 'first embrace of Oxford soil' etc." Qian's effusiveness is apparent from the crucial "etc." See, Zhang Lifen 張力奮, "Niujin biji: Qian Zhongshu yu aikesai texueyuan 牛津筆記：錢鍾書與艾克塞特學院," *Caixin wang* 財新網, 23rd Sept. 2020.

[16] This work can be found in four places: The original thesis is housed in the Bodleian (shelf mark: MS. M.Litt. d.288). The first published edition was divided into three chapters, which appeared disparately in *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography,* I (1940): 351–384, and II (1941): 7–48; 113–152. It was this edition that made its way into Adrian Hsia ed., *The Vision of China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1998. Most recently, all three chapters have been reunited to form a substantial part of Zhou Yixing & Luo Laiou eds., *A Collection of Qian Zhongshu's English Essays*. Beijing: waiyu jiaoxue yu yanjiu chubanshe, 2005. Qian's wistful preface to the published edition reveals his misgivings about the project, "I now value it [the thesis] chiefly as a reminder of those years of peace (peace precarious, 'tis true) when the undertaking of such work was still possible. […] I only regret now with a wisdom after the event that I had done but niggardly justice to those years in not spending them to some better purpose." Qian, *English Essays*, 82-83.

> Owing to a disastrous confusion between philology and *belles lettres*, both Oxford and Cambridge have assisted in the degradation of studies. As the result of what the late Prof. Huxley denounced as "a fraud upon letters," a chair founded in the interests of lit. was at Oxford appropriated by the philologists.[17]

In the margins of this extract, Qian remarks, "Quite true."[18] His summary of the book concludes,

> A detailed examination of the subjects for examination in the final Honour School of English at Oxford. As far as I can see, it is "absolutely unrevised" and remains what it was as drawn up by Earle[19] who thought English lit. had nothing to do with classical lit. but everything to do with Anglo-Saxon and Gothic. Full of shrewd digs at philologists and the neglect of classical lit.[20]

It was not, however, the curricula of the Honours School that frustrated Qian the most, but a pervasive narrowness of mind among dons who, long since entombed in the solitudes of their respective disciplines, shuddered at the mere mention of modern prose. A passage from Alfred de Vigny's *Journal d'un Poète* elicits peculiar sympathy:

> Il y a des vieillards qui feignent de ne pas entendre la voix de toute une génération. Quand on est sourd, il serait juste d'être sourd et muet, car on n'a pas droit de juger ce qu'on n'a pas entendu.[21]

Engineering against this antiquarianism, Qian's notebooks from Oxford focus almost entirely on *le dernier cri* in literary criticism, psychology, and philosophy. Collingwood, Stace, and Hook were all living and active philosophers, whose works Qian snapped up, if not hot off the press,

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[17] WWBJ 1: 143
[18] WWBJ 1: 143
[19] John Earle (1824–1903). Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford from 1840–1854 and 1876–1903.
[20] WWBJ 1: 143
[21] There are old people who pretend not to hear the voice of an entire generation. When deaf, it would be just as well to be deaf and mute, because no one has the right to judge what they haven't heard. WWBJ 3: 409.

then at least warm from the hands of like-minded students.[22] While a commoner at Exeter, he consumed a total of thirty-four works of philosophy, twenty-one of which were published in the 1930s. Household names such as Santayana, Lovejoy, and Taylor are joined by Ewing, Jury and De Burgh. We find only two works of philosophy from the 19th century (G.H. Lewis' *Problems of Life and Mind*, and John Burnett's *Greek Philosophy*); the rest are all Edwardian or later. Qian's early encounters with Hegel, therefore, were incidental to a relentless appetite for new forms of thought. During this period, he read none of the canonical philosophers, preferring instead to absorb their ideas second-hand, in the more accessible prose of his contemporaries.[23]

This insatiable appetite for intellectual fresh air, however, was not only piqued by the conservative tastes of his teachers; it was also driven by the short tenure of his sojourn abroad. Qian was aware that he would soon return to a country threatened by war, where access to the latest foreign books would be severely limited. During the final months of his degree, that war finally broke out. From the relative safety of Paris, where Qian and Yang Jiang strolled the left bank discussing Flaubert,[24] he fielded a steady stream of bad news from family back home.

[22] Qian's closest confidante at Exeter was a certain Donald D. Stuart (1911–?). Having flunked his finals, Stuart spent the duration of his career in positions of increasing academic obscurity, starting in South Africa, proceeding to Uganda, and ending on a desolate promontory of Newfoundland. Later described, with not entirely flattering connotations, as "a free spirit of sorts," (Williams, *A History of University College of Fort Hare,*143) he was a frequent guest at 16 Norham Gardens, where Qian and Yang had taken rooms. Writing to console Stuart following his viva, Qian quips, "As your favourite Walter Raleigh used to say, Oxford final schools and the Last Judgement are two examinations, not one." Qian, *English Essays*, 409.

[23] Qian's German, in any case, was at this point too weak to read Hegel in the original. The few German extracts that he did make are riddled with glosses for even the simplest words, such as "mitteln" and "hervor." See, for instance, his notes to J. Snodgrass ed. *Wit, Wisdom and Pathos from the Prose of Heine.* WWBJ 2: 585.

[24] A short note from this period gives an idea of the consummately literary nature of the couple's perambulations. "During the walk, talking of the distinction between 'subjective' and 'objective' novels – the Flaubertian 'impersonnalité' or Forsterian 'anonymity' vs. France's egotism or Gide's veiled autobiography, I made the following observations which won her [i.e. Yang Jiang's] approval: […]" ZWBJ 1: 661.

得信知外姑於去年十一月十七日逝世，痛哉！外舅已避至上海，居中流襟兄家.[25]

Received a letter informing me that my mother-in-law died on the 17th of November last year.[26] Alas! My father-in-law has already evacuated to Shanghai, where he's staying with Zhongliu, the husband of his sister-in-law.

得信知余家中損失不大，而慈母以下均在鄉間，衣履欠闕，情志頹喪，惻然作惡。叔父嬸母却在城中，咄咄怪事！[27]

Received a letter informing me that the family home is largely unscathed, but my mother et al. are all in the countryside, plagued by a lack of clothing and despondent spirits. Their pitiful circumstances make me quite ill. Alarmingly, my uncle and his wife are still in town!

Qian's native city of Wuxi was first bombed in October 1937. Japanese troops stormed the town the next month, having made an amphibious landing in nearby Changshu. In a letter to Stuart from March 1938, Qian is surprisingly philosophical about the prospect of returning to such chaos:

My scholarship expires this August, and we shall sail home in September. Not that we have homes to return to! Our houses, spared by the shellfire, have been looted and gutted of their valuable contents. Our respective families have taken refuge in mountains honeycombed with bandits. My wife lost her mother, and I have no prospect whatsoever of getting decent jobs in China. Still, one's lot is with one's people; I don't mind roughing it a bit.[28]

Neither for the first, nor the last time, Qian's future was thrown into doubt by circumstances beyond his control. Ever the master of *pis-aller*, however, he was determined to make the most of his freedom while it lasted. The extracts from Collingwood, Stace and Hook are testament to the happy hours that he spent in the Bodleian, pending the approaching gloom, in which he devoured the latest innovations in philosophy. His early grasp of Hegel was a by-product of that youthful spree.

[25] ZWBJ 1: 660.
[26] Yang Jiang's mother, Tang Xuying 唐須嬰 (1878–1937) died of malaria in Suzhou.
[27] ZWBJ 1: 660.
[28] Qian, *English Essays*, 409.



Image 4.2. Qian and Yang in Oxford University Parks in 1936. Source: Yang Jiang, *Women Sa*.

4.3: Hegel and Mysticism in *On the Art of Poetry*

The first indication that Qian's reading of Hegel is moving in the direction of the *Laozi* is found, not in the notebooks, but in his first major work of literary criticism, *Tanyi lu* 談藝錄 (On the Art of Poetry). Initially published in 1948, this wide-ranging discussion of classical Chinese poetics, which creatively draws on Western literatures and criticism, is often viewed as a forerunner to *Guanzhui bian*. Though penned in similarly elegant literary Chinese, *Tanyi lu* is, by contrast, narrower in scope and tighter in presentation. Each of the collection's ninety-one essays focuses

on one issue in Chinese poetry (e.g., the generic division between Tang and Song poetry, annotations to Wang Anshi's 王安石 [1021–1086] verses, or Yuan Mei's 袁枚 [1716–1797] criticism of Yan Yu 嚴羽 [d. 1245]) and can be read profitably in isolation. Qian's prose, moreover, is rarely as elliptical here as in his later work. Though the author exhibits a characteristic zest for direct quotation, this is often tempered by sustained passages of cogent analysis. In style, argument, and structure, therefore, *Tanyi lu* is less restless and cyclical than *Guanzhui bian*, and seems, despite its unusual comparative framework, to sit more comfortably within the Chinese tradition of literary criticism, in general, and within the genre of "*shihua* 詩話" (remarks on poetry) in particular.[29] In one of the collection's longest and most complex essays, however, Qian wanders from his stated brief to explore the implications of his chosen topic for other fields of life and literature.

Essay eighty-eight begins with a discussion of Henri Brémond's manifesto "La Poésie pure," which argues that the highest attainments of poetry can only be described with the rarefied terminology of mysticism. Qian then tests the validity of this terminology against that of other critics, such as Shelley, Pater, Arnold and Yan Yu, demonstrating, in the latter case, that Chinese criticism anticipated Brémond by seven centuries. In the second part of the essay, Qian explores how mysticism not only yields terms for the critical appreciation of poetry, but in fact plays a central role in the creative process, as ideals such the sublimation of the self, and the intimation of the ineffable, are essential to both art and awakening. Now satisfied that Brémond's manifesto goes more than skin deep, Qian finally asks whether the categories of mystical experience do not in fact hold true for any discipline.

[29] For a critical overview of *Tanyi lu*, see: Theodore Huters, *Qian Zhongshu* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982).

按詹姆士書 p. 389, p. 417 又 E. Spranger: *Lebensformen*, S. 252-3 皆謂黑格爾辯證法，即以神秘經驗納之於論理方式。參觀 J. B. Bury: *Later Roman Empire*. I, p. 13 稱 Proclus 為"新柏拉圖主義中之黑格爾"。又 W. Wallace: Logic of Hegel p. 386-7; T. Whittaker: The Neo-Platonists, 2nd ed. p. 253. 諸凡心注情屬，凝神忘我，渙然澈然, 願償志畢，皆此境也。參觀 *Philosophy of Plotinus*, vol. II, p. 154: "The mystical experience is not necessarily associated with meditation on the being and attributes of God. Any concentrated mental activity may produce it." 【補遺】Kierkegaard早言黑格爾欲於論理方式中納置跳越經驗 (statuierte den Sprung in der Logik), 宜其失敗。*Der Begriff der Angst*, uebersezt von C. Schrempf, S. 24.[30]

[William] James' book [*Varieties of Religious Experience*] (p. 389, p. 417) and E. Spranger's *Lebensformen*, both claim that Hegel's dialectical method is an attempt to integrate mystical experience with logic. Cf. J. B. Bury: *Later Roman Empire*. 1, p. 13, which asserts that Proclus was "the Hegel of the Neo-Platonists." Also, W. Wallace: *Logic of Hegel*, p. 389-7; T. Whittaker: *The Neo-Platonists*, 2nd ed. p. 253. Whenever we focus our minds and channel our emotions, concentrate our spirits and deny the self, and in so doing vanish into the clear deeps, forsaking desires and ending ambitions, we reach this state. Cf. *Philosophy of Plotinus*, vol. II, p. 154: "The mystical experience is not necessarily associated with meditation on the being and attributes of God. Any concentrated mental activity may produce it." Addendum: Kierkegaard said, long ago, that Hegel wanted to integrate the [mystical] leap with logic (*statuierte den Sprung in der Logik*), and that his failure to do so was well merited. *Der Begriff der Angst*, translated by C. Schrempf, p. 24.

As earlier at Oxford, Qian's interest here in Hegel is incidental to his primary task. If that was formerly to absorb the latest trends in anglophone philosophy, it is now to pick apart an aesthetic commonplace of both Chinese and European letters, demonstrating its validity to go far beyond the scope normally allowed by polite critics.[31] For our purposes, however, this passage is more than just a scholarly aside; it represents a significant shift in Qian's approach to the German philosopher. To better appreciate that shift, we must trace its references back to the notebooks.

[30] Qian, *Tanyi lu*, 287.

[31] With his characteristic instinct for bringing lofty arguments back down to earth, Qian points out that in Chan Buddhism even the most banal of activities assumes a mystical hue when executed wholeheartedly: "In daily life, there's no matter in which one cannot channel the spirit and forget the self. This is what Layman Pang (d. 808) meant by "carrying water and hauling firewood are [examples of] pervasive spirit and miraculous action." 且日常人生中，固無事不可凝神忘我。龐居士所謂：神通并妙用，運水及搬柴. Qian, *Tanyi lu*, 289.

In his extracts from *Varieties of Religious Experience*, in foreign language notebook 109, Qian paraphrases James: "Hegelian dialectic (the reconciliation of opposites <INTERLINEAL: the opposites melt into unity>) is really a [xx] mystic feeling made articulate by intellect (p. 389)."[32] Qian has marked this comment with a star, leading to the head of the page, where he has transcribed James' description of mystical experience à la Hegel. "In them [i.e. mystical states] the unlimited absorbs the limited and peacefully closes the account. Their very denial of every adjective you may propose as applicable to the ultimate truth – He, the Self, the Atman, is to be described by 'No! No!' only, say the Upanishads (Müller's tr. pt. II. p.180) – is a denial made on behalf of a deeper yes."[33] It is this fragment of marginalia, suggesting the circular process of mystical experience, which provides the link to Qian's gleanings from Wallace's *Logic of Hegel* in notebook 18 (1942-1947):

> §17. Hegel on Philosophy as exhibiting the appearance of a circle which closes with itself. The triplicity in unity of thought – its forth going ("procession," cf. §223 on "Cognition") & its return, which is yet an abiding in itself (bei-sich-sein) was 1st explicitly schematised by the neo-platonist Proclus in his institutio theologica, he lays it down that the essential character of all spiritual reality (ασωματον) is to be προς εαυτο επιστρεπτικον - return upon itself, or to be a unity in and with difference. Its movement is thus circular. [INTERLINEAL: (…) Hegel's ordering of the three stages – assertion, contradiction, reaffirmation with modification – seem to indicate a more conservative temperament than that of his Greek precursor (i.e. Proclus) (Thomas Whittaker: The Neo-Platonists, 2nd ed, p. 253).][34]

These extracts mark a distinct progression from Qian's earlier interest in Hegel in three ways. Firstly, whereas the younger scholar examined Hegel through the lens of modern philosophy, he now does so through that of ancient philosophy and psychology. The transcendent aspect of Hegel's work is well known, but the excerpts above are the first indication in the notebooks of this

[32] WWBJ 19: 49.
[33] WWBJ 19: 49.
[34] WWBJ 5: 85. See Image 4.3.

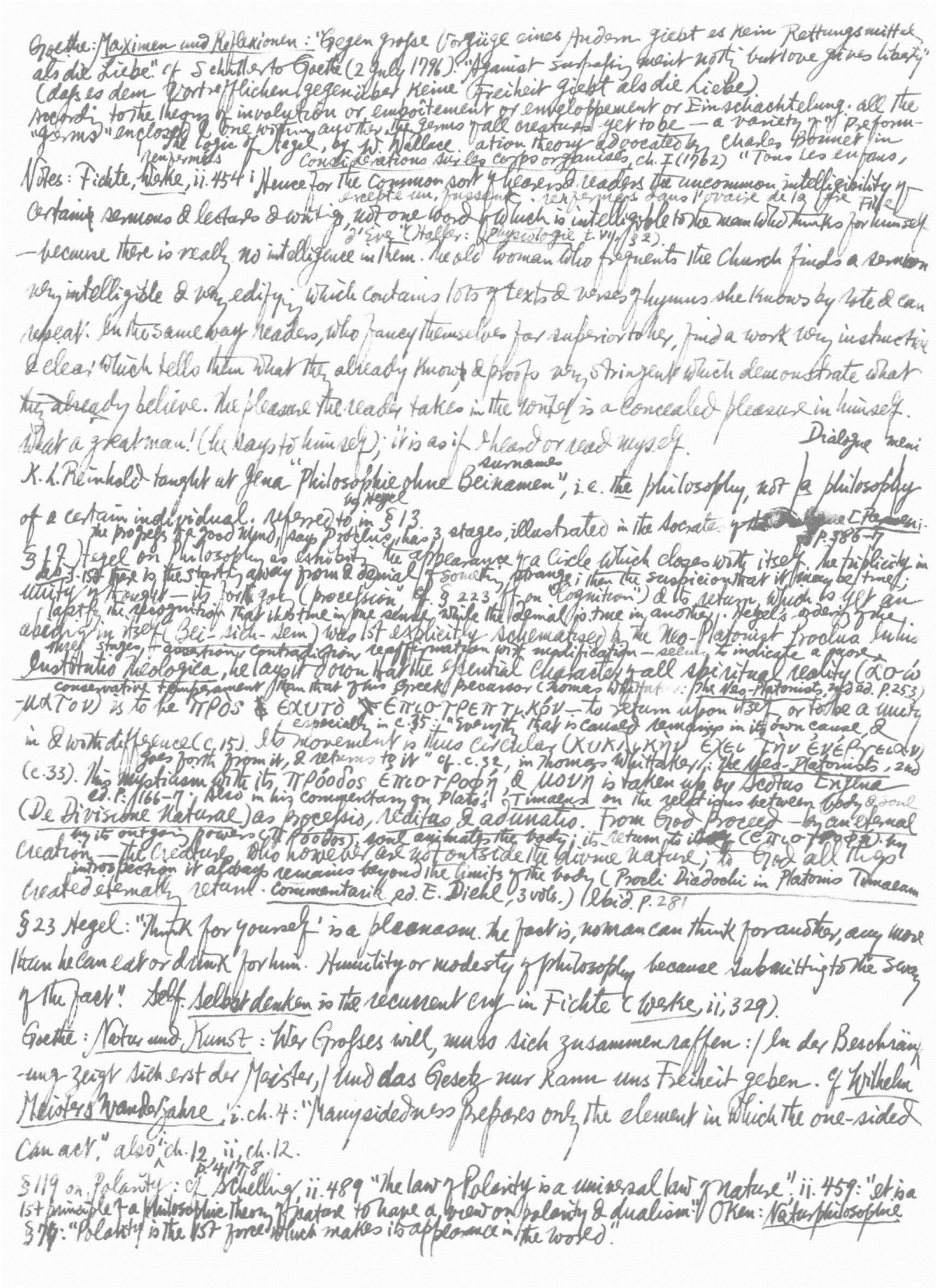

Image 4.3. Qian's gleanings from Wallace's *Logic of Hegel*. Source: WWBJ 5: 85.

specific emphasis. *Tanyi lu'*s essay on Brémond discusses several Chinese mystical texts, including an example of double negation in the *Zhuangzi*.[35] Though Qian does not yet analyse these works in the direct light of Hegel, a tenuous connection has been made. From this point, it would only be a short leap before he turned to consider the *Laozi* and Hegel side by side. Secondly, Qian highlights the analogy of "aufhebung" as a circle, opening a door onto a more accessible angle from which to employ Hegel's paradoxical dialectic. It is this vivid analogy, with its three distinct stages, that Qian later applies to the analysis of double negation in the *Laozi*.

Perhaps the most significant advance, however, is not in the content of the notes, but in their presentation. While at Oxford, Qian's notes to Collingwood, Stace and Hook each formed separate entries, consisting of direct extracts from the work under review. By the mid to late 1940s, however, the structure of his notes had changed. The passage from Wallace is not only interwoven with observations from Whittaker's *The Neo-Platonist,* but also with quotations from Goethe, Fichte, and Schelling. By this stage in his reading career, Qian had begun the practice of reviewing and annotating his notes that he would maintain for the next half century. The multi-layered structure of the notes readily alerts the reader to associations with other texts. *Tanyi lu's* parenthetical observation about Hegel, composed of a string of references, reflects this deeper shift in the structure of the notebooks.

[35] "Empty transcendence will necessarily lead to us to regard any insight as enlightenment, the unobtainable as the obtained, and inchoate chaos as penetrating clarity. This, for example, is what Guangyao, in the *Zhuangzi*'s 'Knowledge Wandered North' chapter, means by 'There is nothing, but there is not-nothing.'" 空洞超脫，必至以無所見為悟，以不可有為得，以冥漠混沌為其清淨洞澈。如《莊子·知北遊》光曜所謂'有無無無.' Qian, *Tanyi lu*, 285.

The composite nature of Qian's gleanings from Hegel in *Tanyi lu*, however, was not only a result of his evolving systems of knowledge management; it was also the consequence of his personal experience during the Sino-Japanese war. The stages of that experience, ranging from initial hope, through lasting despair, to a sober reckoning with all that had passed, are documented in three separate prefatory remarks to the book. Though there is a certain amount of overlap in the content of these remarks, each differs boldly in tone and emphasis. In the preamble to the volume's first essay, Qian writes:

> 二十八年夏，自滇歸滬瀆小住。友人冒景璠，吾黨言詩有癖者也，督余撰詩話。曰：咳唾隨風拋擲可惜也。余頗技癢。因思年來論詩文專篇，既多刊布，將匯成一集。即以詩話為外篇，與之表裡經緯也可。[36]
>
> In the summer of 1939, I returned from Yunnan to Shanghai for a short while.[37] My friend Mao Jingfan,[38] who from my social circle is most fond of discussing poetry, urged me to compose some "remarks on poetry." He said, "it would be a shame if your [literary observations] were squandered, like phlegm upon a passing wind." I was mildly itching to show off and hit on the idea of gathering some articles on poetry and prose from recent years, the majority of which had already been published, into a collection. My "remarks on poetry" would serve as an outer chapter, and all that remained to do was to put them in proper order.

Here, the primary emphasis is on the collegiate origins of the book; we learn that *Tanyi lu* was compiled to satisfy a social impulse, showcasing Qian's literary talent and understanding to a receptive audience of jocular peers. By contrast, *Tanyi lu*'s preface, which was written in the summer of 1942, evokes an altogether different mood to chronicle the composition, rather than the origin, of the work.

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[36] Qian, *Tanyi lu*, 1.
[37] Qian had formerly been teaching at National Southwestern Associated University in Kunming.
[38] Better known as Mao Xiaolu 效魯 (1909–1988). Mao was a slavonist and former diplomat who met Qian and his wife while sailing on "La Marseille" back to China in 1938. The two men began a largely epistolary friendship that lasted for several decades.

> Although *On the Art of Poetry* is a work of literary appreciation, actually it is a book borne of sadness and worry. I began work on the manuscript in western Hunan and had only finished half of it when I was forced to return to Shanghai to recover from illness, bringing my papers with me. In the thicket of human affairs, I scarcely had time to add to the work or improve it. Then the waters of the seas were dashed into the sky, so that fishes rotted on the banks of the Song River. I was filled with apprehensions for my family as we clung to life in the gaps between weapons. We were like swallows nesting in precarious eaves, or ants burrowed in a dead locust tree. Fearing that the sky was about to fall, there was nowhere to avoid calamity. I wished to "go westward out the door and laugh,"[39] but I did not dare. To dispel my sadness and ease my anger, I began to write about the past and reflect upon the future. I relied upon my useless words to while away my limited days. Using Kuang Ding's comments on poetry to bring smiles to people's faces,[40] I made it my aim to bring order to my distraught mind, as Zhao Qi had done.[41]

In highly allusive language that both elevates and underlines his wartimes struggles, Qian situates his book within a long rhetorical tradition, stretching back as far as the *Analects*, in which learning and literary production are an instinctive and legitimate reaction to personal hardship and political turmoil.[42] Much like his contemporary Qian Mu's 錢穆 (1895–1990) *A General History of China* (*Guoshi dagang* 國史大綱), *Tanyi lu* defiantly takes up classical letters, as opposed to arms, in the face of the Japanese threat to civilisation.[43] Surviving fragments from Qian Zhongshu's diaries show, however, that the grandiloquence of this preface is more than mere rhetoric; it reflects the

[39] An ancient proverb quoted in Huan Tan's 桓覃 (40BC–28AD) *Xinlun* 新論 (New Discourses): "When people hear of the pleasures of Chang'an, they go outside and laugh towards the west; when they learn of delicious meat, they lick their chops in front of the butcher's."
[40] Kuang Ding 匡鼎 (fl. 2nd cent. BC) allegedly wrote a commentary to the *Book of Songs*.
[41] Zhao Qi 趙岐 (108–201) was a classicist of the Eastern Han. In his "Introductory words to the Mengzi" (*Mengzi tici* 孟子題辭), he writes that his commentary has served as much to marshal his own emotions as to elucidate the *Mengzi*. For a full explanation of the allusions in *Tanyi lu*'s preface, see, Chen Ziqian 陳子謙, "Tanyi lu xu jianshi," 談藝錄序箋釋 in *Lun Qian Zhongshu* 論錢鍾書 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2005). For the sake of brevity, I have adopted Ronald Egan's translation, supplying the three sentences that he has paraphrased, viz: 始屬稿湘西，甫就其半。養疴返滬，行篋以隨。人事叢脞，未遑附益。Egan, "Guanzhui bian, Western Citations and the Cultural Revolution," 127.
[42] The locus classicus for this sentiment is *Lunyu* 9.5., where Confucius is trapped in Kuang and reassures himself that, as the standard bearer of true culture, he is fated to survive. 天之未喪斯文也 (Heaven has not forsaken this culture).
[43] The patriotic fervour of *Guoshi dagang* is clear from the four famous injunctions to the reader in its preface. See, Qian Mu, *Guoshi dagang*, i.

painful realities of lived experience. From remote Hunan, where he had taken a position at Lantian 藍田 academy to better care for his ailing father, Qian writes, "As soon as I got up this morning, I heard the air raid siren and ran out into the fields to take cover. Talking with ~~X~~, we agreed that this is no place to live."[44] The squalid conditions of China's rural interior, enforced separation from his wife and child, and constant air raids were even harder to endure when Qian remembered the peaceful days of early matrimony that he had enjoyed not so long before in Oxford. On Christmas Eve, he writes, "when I remember huddling around the hearth with Ji in Oxford, listening to carols being sung outside the window, my heart is moved with sorrow."[45] The greater part of *Tanyi lu* was composed under these conditions of fear, tedium, and nostalgia. It is this experience that lends weight to the high-minded ideals and hyperbole of the preface.

In a subsequent note, the author informs his readers of a third and final stage of composition.

> 右序之作，去今六載，不復追改，以志一時世事身事耳。初稿既就，余時時筆削之。友好知聞，頗多借閱，且慫恿問世。 […] 余校閱時，見援據未備者數處。而排字已就，未宜逐處補闕。因附益於卷尾。民國三十七年四月十五日又記。[46]
>
> The preceding preface was written six years ago, and I will let it stand unchanged as a record of my personal circumstances in the broader plight of that time. When I'd completed the first draft, I would emend it every now and again. On hearing about the work, a good number of friends borrowed and read it, egging me on to share it with the world. […] When proofreading, I discovered several places where I had not cited enough evidence. But the type setting had already been completed, and it was not reasonable to insert these addenda in their proper places. I have appended them at the end of the volume. This additional note was made on April 15th, 1948.

[44] 晨起，即聞空襲警報，避田野中。與 [~~xxx~~] 談，殊不樂居此 。ZWBJ 2: 104.
[45] 念在牛津與季圍火爐，聽窗外唱讚美詩，怦然心動。ZWBJ 2: 100. For the most informed discussion of Qian's time in Hunan, see, Wu Yongqian 吳勇前, *Qian Zhongshu zai Lantian* 錢鍾書在藍田 (Beijing: Zhishichanquan chubanshe, 2018).
[46] Qian, *Tanyi lu*, ii.

The tone and vocabulary of this prefatory remark are far plainer than its predecessor. Qian has renounced high emotion and rhetoric in favour of a humble account of the book's long and arduous journey to the press. Here we learn that after Qian returned to Shanghai in the summer of 1941, he spent a further six years emending the text. Even when the script had been finalised for the publishers, in early 1948, he continued to rush out corrections and addenda. The revisions that Qian made in this third stage were substantial, extending to a series of *fushuo* 附說 (appendices), in which the theme of a given essay is often developed in a new direction. The appendix to his discussion of Brémond is as long and rich as the original piece itself and considers, as we have seen, how the critical vocabulary of mysticism, though seemingly esoteric, can be applied throughout the creative and intellectual disciplines, including to philosophy. It was during this final stage of composition, therefore, that Qian integrated his latest reading of Hegel. The notes, themselves a composite of numerous layers of reading and writing, now joined the larger composite of *Tanyi lu*, whose separate parts were the direct result of the interruptions and depredations of war. If the "sadness and worry" of *On the Art of Poetry* is reflected in its own broken structure, then Qian's remarks on Hegel are an illustration of one its many fractures.[47]

[47] In the 1980s, Qian penned a final series of addenda that expanded the work to twice its original length. Describing the difference between the new edition and its more modest predecessor, Qian cites an anecdote from Seng Zhao's 僧肇 (384–414) essay, "Things do not shift" (*wu buqian lun* 物不遷論): "Fan Zhi returned to his hometown when his hair had already turned grey, and told his neighbours, 'I may resemble my former self, but I am no longer that man.' This book may resemble its former self, but it is no longer that book. Conversely, even though this book is no longer its former self, it does indeed resemble it!" 梵志白首歸象，語其鄰曰：吾猶昔人，非昔人也。玆猶昔書，非昔書也，倘復非昔書，猶昔書乎! Qian, *Tanyi lu*, i.



Image 4.4. Qian and family in 1946. Source: Yang Jiang, *Women sa.*

4.4: The *Laozi* and Hegel in the early *Daily Notes*

Qian's first reference to the *Laozi* arrives surprisingly late, in 1953, in a dense assortment of extracts from Novalis' *Fragmente*. The entry begins:

> 二十年前閱 Saintsbury, History of Criticism , III, p. 390 甚推此書，以為談藝之傑構，足與 Joubert, Pensées 並駕齊驅。居歐洲日，得而讀之，玄思窈渺是其勝場，直湊單微則不如 Joubert ，故時墮五里霧中。品題古今作者，尤尠中肯語。[48]
>
> Twenty years ago, I read [a passage] in Saintsbury's, *History of Criticism*, III, p. 390, that lauded this book, hailing it as a masterpiece of criticism on a par with Joubert's *Pensées*. When I was in Europe, I got hold of a copy and read it. [Novalis] succeeds through the dark marvels of his thought, which is supple and willowy, but not as direct or pointed as Joubert's – at times the reader blunders into a thick fog. Very few of his comments on authors, both ancient and modern, hit the mark.

[48] RAG: 29.

Qian's opening reminiscence is based on an extract in foreign language notebook 106 that reads, "Novalis is the greatest German critic. How just the observation that 'Lessing saw too clearly: and so missed the feeling of the undefined whole!" (Quoted p.390) For critical magic – for the critical open sesame – go to Novalis and Joubert."[49] Although the bulk of Qian's reading from Saintsbury did indeed take place during the early to mid 1930s, there is no record of his having read *History of Criticism* until the mid to late 1940s.[50] Neither do the notebooks from Europe contain any reference to Novalis; the first notes that we have on the *Fragmente* also date from the late 1940s. In this entry, Qian seems to be confusing his recollections of reading Novalis with those of Joubert. It is of the latter author that he writes effusively from Europe, "I love reading Joubert's *Pensées* more than anything. Every time I open the book, I always emerge the better for it."[51] This minor lapse of memory is indicative of a more significant change in the notebooks. It was in 1952, during the first "thought-reform campaign," that Qian destroyed his diaries, which painstakingly document the exact chronology of his private reading. Fearing political repercussions, he discarded the entire "court diaries" series, and cut out stray entries from his reading notes with a small pair of scissors.[52] Qian was no longer in possession, therefore, of the precise date on which he had read a given book, and now relied on his prodigious though by no means infallible memory.

While at times unreliable, memory does confer certain freedoms, the foremost being the freedom to juxtapose. The spurious recollection that begins Qian's entry on Novalis' *Fragmente* illustrates, in miniature, the possibilities of a new form of note taking that the maturing scholar adopted in his

[49] WWBJ 18: 659.
[50] While at Oxford, Qian read a total of seven works by Sainsbury: *The Later Nineteenth Century* (WWBJ 1: 15–19), *Essays in French Literature* (WWBJ 2: 6–14), *A History of the French Novel* (WWBJ 3: 161–164), *A Second Scrap Book* (WWBJ 3: 358–359), *A Last Scrapbook* (WWBJ 3: 377–380), *Miscellaneous Essays* (WWBJ 3: 411–427) and *The Peace of the Augustans* (WWBJ 3: 527–538).
[51] 余最愛讀 Joubert, *Pensées*, 每開卷必有所得. ZWBJ 1: 424.
[52] I discuss the structural implications of the loss of the diaries for Qian's corpus of notes in chapter one.

Rong'an guan zhaji 容安館札記 (Reading Notes from the Hall of Modest Needs) cycle; here Qian awards himself more radical licence to mix literary reminiscences with extracts from both Chinese and Western works. Whereas previously, Chinese and Western notes were kept rigorously apart, with comparative observations relegated to the margins, the scholar now ducks and dives between languages and themes in the body of each entry. It is in the context of this newly acquired ease of association that Qian brings in a comparative analogy from the *Laozi*.

> 1845. "Die Sprache ist für die Philosophie, was sie für Musik und Malerei ist, nicht das rechte Medium der Darstellung. (p. 589) 按此即 Plato, 7th Epistle 所謂 "Inadequacy of Language... Names are in no case stable" (Thirteen Epistles of Plato , E. T. by L.A. Post, pp. 96, 97) 。《老子》所謂 "道可道，非常道;名可 名，非常名"，《莊子》之"忘筌蹄"，釋氏之"除言說"皆此意。近日 Bergson (*Essai sur les Données Immédiates* , vii, 99-100, 126; *L'Évolution créatrice* , 4 […] 反復言之。[53]
>
> [Fragment] 1845: "Language is to philosophy what music is to painting, namely the wrong medium of exposition." (p. 589). Note: This is what Plato, in his seventh epistle, refers to as the "inadequacy of language…names are in no case stable" (*Thirteen Epistles of Plato*, E.T. by L.A. Post, pp. 96, 97). This point is made in the *Laozi,* "the way that can be called [the way] is not the constant way; the name that can be named is not the constant name," the *Zhuangzi,* "forget the fishing rod and the rabbit net," as well as the Buddhist "argument for the abolition of language." More recently, Bergson (in *An Essay on the Immediate Data of Consciousness*, vii, 99-100, and *Creative Evolution*, 4 […]) makes this point repeatedly.

This extract, which states a truism of Chinese and Western philosophy, is of no great interest in isolation. It is more intriguing, however, in its relation to surrounding entries. The preceding log, compiled perhaps only days before, addresses G.R.G. Mure's *An Introduction to Hegel*. Qian's initial judgement of this work casts back to his hours reading in the Bodleian nearly twenty years previously, "[Mure] resembles Collingwood in his resoluteness, but his arguments lack clarity."[54] For the remainder of the entry, Qian triumphantly traces a reference that Mure humbly admits has

[53] RAG: 31.
[54] 矜憤處大似 Collingwood, 而說理不晰。RAG: 28.

escaped him, consigning the bulk of his extracts instead to notebook 121. Here, he takes the opportunity to revise his understanding of Hegelian negation, a subject that he has not broached for some eight years.

> (p. 119) Negation is for Hegel the general name for determinateness as such: although anything must be in order to be determinate, yet nothing could have any character at all without being significantly other. […] (p. 140) Despite Hegel's occasionally misleading language, the antithesis is not just the negation of the thesis: it is the negated thesis.[55]

True enough, there is little in Mure's discussion of negation that is not covered in Collingwood. *An Introduction to Hegel*, however, serves to jog Qian's memory. A matter of weeks later, when compiling notes on Bergson's *La Pensée et le Mouvant*, he brings the full weight of twenty years of reading on the topic to bear in his notes.[56]

> P. 79: "'Désordre' et 'néant' désignent donc réellement une présence — la présence d'une chose ou d'un ordre qui ne nous intéresse pas, qui désappointe notre effort ou notre attention; c'est notre déception qui s'exprime quand nous appelons absence cette présence." […] 余舊嘗作論云 Heidegger 論"無之為有"，以別之於"有之為有"，則曰: "Das Nichts nichtet" (Was ist Metaphysik? S. 20)。其弟子 Sartre 師厥意，亦謂: "Le Néant n'est, il se néantise" (L'Être et le Néant , p. 53)，談者笑其造作名詞，矛盾牴牾。竊謂二人支離橫决，然此義(nichten, néantiser)却未可非。"無有"(nicht, néant) 乃就事理說，譬之琵琶無聲，"melodies unheard" 是也。"有無"(nichten, se néantir)乃就情感說， 所謂此時無聲勝有聲， Those unheard are sweeter 是也。無此事物，則吾心覺其無，感所無(feels the nothingness)，而非漠然不覺，冥然無感 (feels nothing) […] Sartre、 Heidegger 輩即隱襲 Hegel 、 Bergson，而鑿之愈深，攪之轉濁耳。非"有"不能成"無"，云"無"適見其"有"，《老子》所謂"當其無有，有有之用"。使"無"不依"有"，則"并無而無"，不落思維言說矣。[…] Spinoza 與 Jarig Jelles 書云: "The limitation therefore, does not belong to the thing in its virtue of its being, but, on the contrary, it is its not-being... Limitation is negation (*determinatio est negatio*) (Correspondence of Spinoza , tr. by A Wolf, Leter L, p. 270) 後來 Hegel 遂以此為第一義諦。(此實神秘宗常言 […])[57]

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[55] WWBJ 21: 705.
[56] Qian's interest in Bergson dates to his time at Tsinghua. According to Yang Jiang, Qian recommended that she read the French philosopher at their first meeting. (*Sohigian*, "The Phantom of the Clock," 25). Qian's earliest notes on *La Pensée et le Mouvant* date from the late 1940s. See, WWBJ 33: 338-341.
[57] RAG: 73–74. See Image 4.5.

> P. 79: "'Disorder' and 'nothingness' point towards a real presence – the presence of a thing or an order that does not interest us, that disappoints our effort or our attention; we express our disappointment when we call this presence an absence." […] I once made the point that Heidegger illustrates "being as nothingness," as opposed to "being as being," by saying: "Nothingness negates" (*Was ist Metaphysik*? S. 20). His disciple, Sartre, adopted this view, and also claimed, "Nothing is not [anything], it negates itself." (*L'Être et le Néant*, p. 53) Critics have scoffed that these spurious neologisms contradict themselves. I think that while both men were desultory and fragmented [in their thought], this concept (nichten, néantiser) stands up to reason. "Not being" (nicht, néant) is a matter of fact, as illustrated by the analogy of a silent lute, i.e. "melodies unheard." "Being not" (nichten, se néantir) is a matter of emotion, as illustrated by "those unheard [melodies] are sweeter."[58] When something is absent, my mind senses its absence and feels the nothingness, rather than sensing nothing, or feeling nothing. […] Sartre and Heidegger have surreptitiously copied Hegel and Bergson, but they drive further and muddy the waters. Without "something" there can be no "nothing;" by saying "nothing" we perceive it as "something." This is what the *Laozi* refers to as "when there is nothing, then something can be something." If "nothing" did not rely on "something," then there would be "simultaneously nothing and nothing," which is neither thinkable nor grammatical. […] In Spinoza's letter to Jarig Jelles, he writes, "The limitation therefore, does not belong to the thing in its virtue of its being, but, on the contrary, it is its not-being... Limitation is negation (*determinatio est negatio*)" (*Correspondence of Spinoza*, tr. by A Wolf, Leter L, p. 270). Hegel later took this to be the highest conceptual truth. (This is in fact a common conceit of mystical thinkers […])

These notes represent only roughly a quarter of Qian's exploration of negation within this entry. In addition to Hegel, Heidegger, and Sartre, he also quotes liberally from Coleridge, Lichtenberg, W.M. Urban and Leonardo da Vinci, among others. This is not to mention the numerous authors cited in the sprawling marginalia with which Qian later annotated his notes. I have singled out the passage above, however, as it demonstrates the way Qian brought together the various strands of his reading to date, only to weave them anew. The most familiar of the extracts is from Spinoza, whose dictum "*determinatio est negatio*" can be identified in Qian's notes from Hook, nearly twenty years earlier.[59] We have already observed, moreover, how *Tanyi lu* marries Hegel's

[58] Qian's analogy is taken from Keats' "Ode to a Grecian Urn:" "Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard/Are sweeter; therefore, ye soft pipes, play on; Not to the sensual ear, but, more endear'd,/Pipe to the spirit ditties of no tone […]" Keats, *Selected Poems*, 168.
[59] WWBJ 3: 256.

Image 4.5. Qian's notes on Bergson's *La Pensée et Le Mouvement*. Source: RAG: 74.

understanding of negation, within the context of "aufhebung," to the circular logic of mystical thinkers. The most striking development in this entry, therefore, concerns Qian's analysis of double negation. Both Heidegger and Sartre, in Qian's summary, argue that negation is not relational, as Spinoza maintains, but absolute; it can only be described reflexively, in its own terms, which cancel themselves out. Qian disagrees with this argument, accusing Heidegger and Sartre of "muddying the waters," but seeks nevertheless to salvage their terminology. In his own opinion, the neologistic use of *nicht* or *néant* as verbs is better suited to describing a difference of quality rather than fact. *Nicht* and *néant*, in other words, point towards an objective reality, while *nichten* and *se néantiser* denote a subjective judgement.[60] Crucially, Hegel and the *Laozi* are interpreted in a positive light and wheeled out to furnish evidence against the validity of double negation. In its focus and argument, this entry appears to anticipate *Guanzhui bian* by almost two decades. As we shall presently observe, however, while Qian's views on the philosophical value of double negation would not undergo significant change, his reading of Hegel and the *Laozi* would.

What relation do these notes on negation have to Qian's broader reading during the early 1950s? The most direct answer to this question can be found in the foreign language series. Notebooks 40, 41, 42 and 43, all of which can be securely dated to this period, show that Qian now had sufficiently sound German to read literary and philosophical works in the original. Extracts from Heine's *Werke und Briefe* are joined by notes from a three-volume anthology of Lessing's work, and

[60] Qian's argument here closely resembles his ideas on beauty, which he first articulates at Oxford. In his concluding comments to T. Sturge Moore's *Armour for Aphrodite*, Qian writes, "My own opinion on Beauty is like Taylor's on Good (see *Philosophical Studies*), which I have arrived at independently out of much thinking and studying of the actual judgements of authors: i.e. the qualities which we call beautiful are objective, but beauty is not. Moore confuses perception of beautiful things with judgement of beauty. On the other hand, to say that aesthetic judgment is entirely subjective is nonsense; it is controlled by the object. The fact that everyone has his own dislikes and likes shows that one cannot change the things we dislike into what we like, i.e. objective in spite of ourself. The subjectivity is in the judgment." WWBJ 2: 510.

jottings from George Büchmann's *Geflügelte Worte*. More relevant, of course, are his copious notes from Hegel's *Ästhetik* and *Wissenschaft der Logik,* which slightly post-date the entry discussed above.[61] When Qian struck upon a relevant point, however, he returned to his discussion of negation to annotate the margins with newly won aperçus. From the foreword to *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Qian quotes, both elliptically and agrammatically:

> […] das Negative ebensosehr positiv ist […] das sich Widersprechende sich nicht in Null, in das abstrakte Nichts auflöst, sondern wesentlich nur in die Negation seines besonderen Inhalts, oder […] eine solche Negation nicht alle Negation, sondern die Negation *der bestimmten Sache*, die sich auflöst, somit bestimmte Negation ist […] hat sie einen Inhalt.[62]

Following this extract, he parenthetically notes, "this is the basis of Bergson's and Sartre's arguments."[63]

Qian's Chinese notes from this period reveal, by contrast, no clear programme of reading. In 1953, he had yet to embark upon the research for his *Songshi xuanzhu* 宋詩選注 (Selected and Annotated Poems from the Song Dynasty) in earnest.[64] In the predominately Chinese *Rong'an guan zhaji* cycle, links can be identified between certain early entries, such as the cascade of reading that led Qian from Mure to Bergson, to Hegel and the *Laozi,* but most notes from this period are remarkable for their desultory erudition. With a roaming brief, the scholar meanders from Dickens (*The Old Curiosity Shop*) and Pope (*The Dunciad*) to Wang Jisi 王季思 (*Jiping jiaozhu xixiangji* 集評校

[61] Qian read both these works the following year, in 1954, see: WWBJ 7: 606–07, WWBJ 21: 641.
[62] […] the negative is just as much positive […] that which is self-contradictory does not resolve itself into a nullity, into abstract nothingness, but essentially only into the negation of its *particular content*, in other words, that such a negation is not all and every negation but the negation of a specific subject matter which resolves itself, and consequently is a specific negation […] it has *content*. RAG: 73.
[63] 即 Bergson, Sartre 輩所祖。RAG: 73.
[64] In 1956, the bulk of his reading would focus on Song poets. See, for instance, the catalogue of entries for "large cahier" (*daben* 大本) two. ZWBJ 2: 2–3.

注西廂記) and Catullus. The leisurely spirit of this reading is perhaps best captured by an annotated poem of Qian's that lends the cycle its crowning epithet.

> 曲屏掩映亂書堆，家具無多位置纔。容膝且同元亮適，不須作賦羨歸來。新寓頗隘，東坡嘗欲築小軒，榜曰“容安”，淵明語也，其意則某竊取之矣。[65]
>
> A concertinaed screen hides a chaotic pile of books; [despite] the lack of furniture there's hardly any room. With just enough space for one's knees, [this dwelling] is fit for Yuanliang,[66] so there's no need for me to write a prose-poem in envy of his return. [Annotation]: Our new residence is rather cramped. [Su] Dongpo once wanted to build a small cottage, with a plaque reading, "accommodating peace." This is an allusion to [Tao] Yuanming. I have borrowed the sentiment.

The inscription planned by Su Dongpo (1037–1101) is a contraction of the famous line by Tao Yuanming in "Guiqu laici 歸去來辭" (Lyrics on Homecoming), "Shen rongxi zhi yian 審容膝之易安" (I realise that it's easy to make do [in a house] with just enough room for one's knees). Su famously wrote "matching rhymes" (*heshi* 和詩) to each of Tao Yuanming's poems, including "Lyrics on Homecoming." As a beleaguered official, he not only coveted Tao's literary accomplishments, but also his independence from court politics and his unhampered connection with nature. In his own poem, Qian implies that he, unlike Su, has no need to emulate the pastoral bard, as he is already in possession of the modest means with which to secure his independence and peace of mind. He borrows, however, Su's conceit to christen his small bungalow on the Zhongguan 中關 campus of Peking University, where the family lived in 1953.[67] Even after Qian moved out of this home, he continued to evoke its presence with titles that play upon the same

[65] RAGZJ 1: 178.
[66] The courtesy name of Tao Qian 陶潛 (365–427).
[67] WWBJ Index: xx. See also, Qian Zhijun 錢之俊, "Qian Zhonghsu de zhufang bianqian yu wenren jiyun 錢鍾書的住房變遷與文人際運," in *Qian Zhongshu shengping shierjiang* 錢鍾書生平十二講, Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 2013, 93–117.

theme: *Rong'an guan rizha* 容安館日札 (Daily Notes from the Hall of Modest Needs), *Rong'an shi rizha* 容安室日札 (Daily Notes from the Room of Modest Needs), *Rong'an zhai rizha* 容安齋日札 (Daily Notes from the Studio of Modest Needs). The sentiment of the carefree scholar, far removed from all political worries, was evidently important to Qian. It was, however, a fantasy that he indulged in private moments snatched from his public duties. As a first-grade professor at the Academy of Social Sciences, and chief-editor of Mao Zedong's works in English translation, Qian was by any account a state official of some stature. Despite his refined protests to the contrary, he had every reason to envy Tao. Like Su, the naming of his bungalow, and by extension his notes, evokes an independence to which he could not possibly aspire. It also points, however, towards an inner sanctuary, untouched by the political uncertainty of the time. The "Daily Notes," by virtue of their untrammeled form and freedom of literary association, testify to the rare liberties of this private demesne. The leap in Qian's understanding of negation, facilitated by this new form of notetaking, also records a turn inwards, away from the ever-encroaching sphere of politics.



Image 4.6. Qian and family on the Tsinghua campus circa 1950. Source: Yang, *Women sa*.

4.5: The *Laozi* and Hegel in the late *Daily Notes*

By 1965, the connection between Hegel and the *Laozi* was firmly established in Qian's mind. Entry 755 in the *Rong'an guan* cycle begins:

> 閱黑格爾著作選，因溫《道德經》一過。適見坊間有朱謙之《老子校釋》，遂偶披尋，真陋人強作解事也。[68]

[68] RAG: 2184.

> I've been reading a selection of Hegel's works, and therefore renewed my acquaintance with the *Daode jing*. I happened to see that a certain Zhu Qianzhi (1899–1972) has published a revised and annotated edition of the *Laozi*. Leafing through it at random, [I discovered that the author] is really an ignoramus posing unconvincingly as a scholar.

Qian's main complaint is that most of Zhu's annotations merely highlight variant characters, providing no further exegesis.[69] The indignant reviewer then proceeds to furnish his own commentary in Zhu's stead. His notes on the *Laozi*, which are clearly coloured by his recent reading of Hegel, now identify an example of double negation.

> 七十八章:"正言若反。"朱引高延第《老子證義》謂:"凡所謂'曲則全，枉則直，窪則盈， 敝則新'(按二十二章)、'柔勝剛，弱勝強'(按三十六章又七十八章)、'不益生則久生'等等，言相反而理相成，皆正言也。"按高說是矣而欠抉剔。"正言若反"即 Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, IIItes Buch 所謂 "Das zweite negative, das Negative des Negativen, ... ist jenes Aufheben des Widerspruches" (*Ausgewählte Texte*, von R.O. Gropp, "Philosophisches Erbe", Bd. III, S. 194) (*Wissenschaft der Logik*, Reclams "Universal-Bibliothek", Bd. III, S. 395). 反正為反，反反復為正。"正言若反"之"正"，乃反反復為正 (Duplex negatio affirmat) 之正。第七章:"不自生，故能長久"，"無私，故能成其私。""自生"正也，"不自生"反也，"長久"者"不自生"以得長"自生"，反之反也。"私"正也，"無私"反也，"成其私"者"無私"而能成"自私"，反之反也。皆"反而成正" (Aufheben) 也。[70]
>
> Chapter 78: "Right words are like contradictions." Zhu cites Gao Yandi's *Expounded Meanings of the Laozi*, which asserts: "this is what is meant by 'that which is bent will endure, that which is cowered will be upheld, that which is hollow will be filled, that which is used will be new' (Chapter 22), 'the soft defeats the hard, the weak defeats the strong' (Chapters 36 and 78), 'by not adding to life, life lasts,' etc: while these words all contradict each other, in principle they complement each other; they are all 'right words.'" Note: Gao's argument is correct, but he does not pick the bone clean. "Right words are like contradictions," is what Hegel's *Wissenschaft der Logik*, (Vol. 3) refers to as, "The second negative, the negated negative, […] is the sublation of the contradiction." (*Ausgewählte Texte*, von R.O. Gropp, "Philosophisches Erbe", Bd. III, S. 194) (*Wissenschaft der Logik*, Reclams "Universal-Bibliothek", Bd. III, S. 395). To contradict an affirmation yields a contradiction. To contradict the contradiction recovers the affirmation. The "right" of "right words are like contradictions," is a recovered affirmation that is the result of a contradicted contradiction

[69] Qian pokes fun at Zhu's insistence that the *Laozi* is really a rhymed poem with the morbid, and untranslatable, pun, "雖不成屍，壓孕而已" (Although it can't be considered a corpse, it is a squashed foetus/ Although it can't be considered a poem, it does rhyme). RAG: 2184. Further notes on Zhu's edition can be found in ZWBJ 10: 530–552.
[70] RAG: 2189. See Image 4.7.



Image 4.7. Qian's notes on Zhu's edition of *Laozi* from 1965. Source: RAG: 2187.

(*Duplex negatio affirmat*). [This is also illustrated] in chapter seven, "it does not give life to itself, and so it can last long, "it has no private agenda, and so it can accomplish its private agenda." "Giving itself life" is the affirmation, "not giving itself life" is the contradiction, "Last long" is the contradiction of the contradiction that results from "not giving itself life" in order to "give itself long life." "Private agenda" is the affirmation, "no private agenda" is the contradiction. "Accomplishing its private agenda," is the contradiction of the contradiction that results from "not having a private agenda" to accomplish its "own private agenda." These are all "contradictions that become affirmations" (*aufheben*).

Qian's legerdemain here is clear. In order to harvest a Hegelian double negative, he inserts an affirmation that is not found in the original text. Qian conjures up the implicit statements, "giving itself life" and "private agenda" to evoke the circular movement of an "aufhebung." But the authorial strategy of the *Laozi* in this passage is, in fact, much simpler than any double negation. It is not the contradiction of a contradiction, as Qian would have it, but the contradiction of the *law* of contradiction, which states that two contradictory propositions cannot both be true (formally expressed as $\neg(P \wedge \neg P)$).[71] In the *Laozi*, where *zheng* is exchangeable with *fan*, and *si* 私 with *wusi* 無私, all truth claims break down in the wake of a series of enchanted impossibilities. While in isolation, Qian's spurious reasoning appears puzzling, he is in fact attempting to integrate an aperçu that he had gleaned a few weeks earlier, before he encountered Zhu's disappointing edition, but after he had digested Hegel's *Selected Works*. In entry 751, we find the following passage:

《老子》四十章云:"反者，道之動。""反"字虛涵兩意。 一者正反 之"反"，《漢書·藝文志》所謂"相反相成"是也，亦即 […] 二十五章云:"大曰逝， 逝曰遠，遠曰反。" 由"反"而得"返"，辯證之義，盡此五字，正 Hegel 論 "Bewegung des Seienden" 所謂 "In jener Bewegung ist die Negativität das Unterscheiden und das Setzen des Daseins ; in diesem Zurückgehen in sich ist sie das Werden der bestimmten Einfachheit " (Phänomenologie des Geistes, "Vorrede", Ausgewählte Texte , von R.O. Gropp, "Philosophisches Erbe", Bd. III, p. 86), 又論辯證法所謂 "Vermöge der aufgezeigten Natur der Methode stellt sich die Wissenschaft als einen in sich geschlungener Kreis, in dessen Anfang, den einfachen Grund, die Vermittlung das Ende zurückschlingt" usw. (*Wissenschaft*

[71] Sequent notation, where $\vdash$ represents derivability. For a concise explanation of the law of double negation elimination, see: Tomassi, *Logic*, 79.

der Logik, Book III, op. cit., S. 199) . 而 “反”字亦正如 “aufheben” 之虛涵兩意 (“Aufheben hat in der Sprache den gedoppelten Sinn, dass es soviel als aufbewahren, erhalten bedeutet und zugleich soviel als aufhören lassen, ein Ende machen ”, *Wissenschaft der Logik* , Buch I, op. cit , S. 129).[72]

Chapter forty of the Laozi reads: “Tergiversations (*fan*) are the movement of the Way.” “Tergiversation” encompasses two meanings. The first is “back” (*tergum/verso*) as relative to “front” (*facies/recto*), meaning [by extension] “to contradict.”. This is what the ‘Arts and Writing Chapter’ of the *Book of Han* refers to as, “mutually contradicting [elements] complement each other.” […] It also [carries another meaning], as in chapter twenty-five, “‘[when things] are righteous, they are said to recede; having receded, they are said to be distant. When distant, they are said to return (*fan*).” From “back” we obtain the sense of “there and back” (*fan* 返). The meaning of [Hegel’s] dialectic is fully captured in these five characters. This is what Hegel’s treatise, “The movement of being,” refers to as, “Negativity, in its movement, distinguishes and establishes Being; in this return upon itself, it brings about the determined simplicity.” (*Phänomenologie des Geistes*, “Vorrede”, *Ausgewählte Texte*, von R.O. Gropp, “Philosophisches Erbe”, Bd. III, p. 86). In his discussions of the dialectical method, Hegel writes, “due to the demonstrative nature of the method, the science [of logic] assumes the aspect of a self-perpetuating circle, through the mediation of which the end is looped back to the beginning, i.e. the simple foundation.” (*Wissenschaft des Logik*, Book III, op. cit., S. 199). Like “aufheben,” *fan* encompasses two meanings. (“*Aufhebung* has, linguistically, a double meaning; it means as much to preserve and keep as to stop or bring to an end,” *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Buch I, op. cit. S. 129).

In this passage, Qian has alighted on “*fan*” as a double “aufhebung.” “*Fan*” not only sublates two entirely different meanings, “to contradict” and “to return,” but also illustrates, by virtue of the pivotal movement of its secondary meaning, how Hegel’s dialectical method functions on a conceptual level. It is this understanding of “*fan*,” as both an eloquent example of polysemy, and as a form of circular logic, that Qian transposes, if somewhat clumsily, onto the sentence, “right words are like contradictions,” in chapter seventy-eight.

Why was Qian suddenly so eager to find double negatives in the *Laozi?* A clue to this question can be found in a note, immediately following his gloss on “*fan,*” that focuses on the misuse of “aufhebung.”

[72] RAG: 2162.

> […] Marx-Engels, *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, II (Peking, 1965, S. 50, 52) 皆屢用 "aufheben," 特未推究本意如 Hegel 耳。K. Spalding & K. Brooke, A Historical Dictionary of German Figurative Usage, p. 88 謂 "aufgehoben" 作 "well kept, safely hidden, in good hands" 解，乃 "from mystical usage" ，據 O. Zirker, *Die Bereicherung des Deutschen Wortschatzes durch die spätmittelalterliche Mystik*, 1923, S. 823.[73]
>
> Marx-Engels, *Communist Party Manifesto*, (Part II, Peking, 1675, s. 50, 52) often uses "aufheben," but does not trace its definition back to Hegel. K. Spalding & K. Brooke's, *A Historical Dictionary of German Figurative Usage*, p. 88, says that "aufgehoben" should be understood as [something to be] "well kept, safely hidden, in good hands." They mean "from mystical usage," citing O. Zirker, *The Enrichment of German Vocabulary through Late Medieval Mysticism*, 1923, s.823.

There are, according to Qian, two ways in which "aufhebung" can be misused. The first is through blindly applying the dialectic without elucidating its origins, as is the case in the *Communist Party Manifesto*. The second is employing it for nefarious ends as is the case, according to Spalding and Brooke, with mystical thinkers. Qian had been aware of the shared reasoning between Hegel and both Western and Chinese mystics since, at the latest, the time he wrote *Tanyi lu*, twenty years earlier. And yet this is the first time that he singles out the mystical tradition for criticism. But it is in fact not the logic of the mystics that Qian opposes, but the hijacking of that logic by unscrupulous political operators. A piece of marginalia appended to his notes on Zhu's edition reads. "[A] Mystic is often (ruthlessly) "realistic" in practical life, The Grey Eminence, Laozi, Shen [Buhai] 申不害 (c.420–377 B.C), Han [Fei] 韓非 (c.280–233 B.C). Indifference to moral values. 'To hold a courtesan in one's eye, but not in one's heart.'"[74] The Laozi may be a mystical treatise, but is also a work of political philosophy that deeply influenced the most cold-hearted legalist thinkers. In the context of the approaching Cultural Revolution, which began in May the

[73] RAG: 2163.
[74] Mystic is often (ruthlessly) "realistic" in practical life. The Grey Eminence. 老子，申，韓。Indifference to moral values. "目中有妓, 心中無妓." RAG: 2185.

following year, Qian had good reason to ponder the misuse of language in the political sphere. In the only surviving diary entry from the *Rong'an guan* cycle, dating from February 25th, 1966, Qian's sense of unease extends beyond concerns about his health:

> 丙午正月十六日，飯後與絳意行至中山公園，歸即臥病，蓋積瘁而風寒乘之也。嗽喘不已，稍一言動，通身汗如濯，心躍然欲出腔子。[...] 昔王壬秋八十老翁終日悶睡，自云「有林黛玉意思」《湘綺樓日記》民國四年九月廿四、廿五日。余今歲五十七，亦自擬顰兒呻吟氣絕狀，皆笑枋耳。病榻兩夢圓女，渠去年八月赴山右四清，未返京度歲。二月初六日書。起牀後閱《楚辭》自遣，偶有所得，率筆之於此。[75]
>
> After eating on the 16th day of the first month of the Bingwu year [Feb 5th, 1966], I took a stroll with Jiang to Zhongshan park. On our return I was immediately struck down with illness, which must have been due to an excess of exhaustion, abetted by the wind and the cold. Spluttering and wheezing constantly, my entire body became drenched with sweat at the slightest movement or utterance. My heart pounded, as if jostling to leap out of my throat. […] As an eighty-year-old man, Wang Renqiu (1833–1916) used to spend the whole day in a restless slumber, saying of himself, "there's something of Lin Daiyu about me." [*Xiangqilou riji* (Diary from an Ornate Pavilion in Hunan), September 24th and 25th, 1915.] Now that I'm 57 years old, I also assume the groaning and breathless aspect of that "frowning child" [Lin Daiyu], which all gives good cause for laughter. While convalescing, I dreamt of my daughter Yuan twice. In August last year she went to Shanxi to participate in the Four Clean-ups Movement and didn't come home to celebrate new year.[76] I am writing this on the 6th day of the second month [Gregorian Calendar: Feb. 25th]. After I got out of bed, I read through the *Chuci* (Songs of Chu) to amuse myself. Every so often, I came across something of interest. I have made rough notes here.

After a lifetime of reading, Qian cannot help but frame worries about his health in a literary light. He also turns to literature for consolation, in the absence of his daughter, who has been spirited away by a political campaign. The resulting notes, however, are more than just an emotional support; they form a private space in which he can address, through literary means, the stifling

[75] RAG: 2235.

[76] Also known as the Socialist Education Movement (*shehui zhuyi jiaoyu yundong* 社會主義教育運動), this initiative was designed by Mao to rid the communist party of reactionary and revisionist elements. Its measures, which foreshadowed those of the Cultural Revolution, included sending intellectuals, students and civil servants into the countryside to receive "re-education" from farmers or workers.

pressures of the intellectual and political environment. Qian's notes on double negation, with their barbed criticisms of mendacious politicians, reveal traces of that struggle.

The entry of February 25th was one of Qian's last for a full six years. Early in the Cultural Revolution, he and his wife were denounced in a "large character poster" (*dazi bao* 大字報) pasted on a wall outside the Academy of Social Sciences. After an intolerable series of struggle sessions, and public self-criticisms, they were rusticated to a cadre school in Henan province, and soon joined by many of their erstwhile colleagues. When Qian returned to Beijing, in the spring of 1972, he resumed the *Rong'an guan* cycle, where he promptly began adumbrating the structure of *Guanzhui bian*. The *Laozi* would be awarded a substantial section in his magnum opus, drawing heavily on his notes from the mid-1960s. In their published form, however, the notes would undergo a final transformation, indicative of both Qian's experience during the Cultural Revolution, and the paradoxical nature of his literary response to that experience.



Image 4.8. Qian during the early to mid 1960s. Source: Baidu.

4.6: The *Laozi* and Hegel in *Guanzhui bian*

As in other sections of *Guanzhui bian*, Qian's nineteen essays on *Laozi* each alight on individual utterances that function as much as points of departure as destinations in their own right; the opening sentence, "The Way that can be spoken is not the constant Way,"[77] leads into a discussion on the mutability of reality as relative to language. Chapter seventeen's assertion, "He who knows does not speak, and he who speaks does not know,"[78] gives way to an appreciation of literary and philosophical musings on the eloquence of silence. But unlike in other sections, Qian's

[77] 道可道，非常道。Lou, *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 1. (1)
[78] 知者不言，言者不知。Lou, *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 147–148. (56).

examination of *Laozi* features sustained passages of close textual analysis that do not immediately resort to enlightening comparisons from other genres and literatures. More than in any other classic, Qian seeks to persuade by direct argument rather than borrowed analogies. His concerns, moreover, remain unified throughout; Qian is interested in the power of language to defy logic, but also to pervert morality.

The thematic coherence and reasoned exposition of these nineteen essays, however, also belie Qian's conflicted attitude towards the *Laozi*; clarity afforded by a concentration of focus is often blurred by the contradictions of the scholar's own position. This is nowhere more apparent than in his analysis of the role of double negatives, which he treats in two separate essays, each of which gives rise to a varying evaluation of the classic and its place in literature and thought.

Example One

> "反者，道之動";《註》:"高以下為基，貴以賤為本，有以無為用，此其反也。"[79] [...] 王弼註語皆膚略，未窺徼眇。《老子》用"反"字，乃背出分訓之同時合訓 [...]"反"有兩義。 一者、正反之反，違反也;二者、往反(返)之反，回反(返)也。[...]《老子》之"反"融貫 兩義，即正、反而合，觀"大曰逝[80]，逝曰遠，遠曰反"[81]可知[...] 試以通用術語詮之。"大" 為正;"逝"者、離去也，違大而自異，即"反";"遠"乃去之甚、反之極;而"反(返)"者、 遠而覆，即反之反(dénégation)，"至順"[82]即"合"於正。故"反(返)"、於反為違反，於正為 回反(返);黑格爾所謂"否定之否定" (Das *zweite* Negative, das Negative des Negativen, ist jenes Aufheben des Widerspruchs)[83]，理無二致也。"反者道之動"之"反"字兼"反"意與"返"亦即反之反意，一語中包賅反正之動為反與夫反反之動而合於正為返。[...] [84]

[79] Lou, *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 109. (40).
[80] Qian omits these three characters from his essay. I have reinserted them for clarity of argument.
[81] Lou, *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 64. (25).
[82] "*Zhi shun* 至順" is not a quote, but Qian's own analogy. The only "*shun* 順" mentioned in *Laozi* is found in chapter sixty-five. The relevant sentence is translated below.
[83] This is a misspelling, or typo. The original text reads, "Das *zweite* Negative, das Negative des Negativen, zu dem wir gekommen, ist jenes Aufheben des Widerspruches, [...]." See: Hegel, *Wissenchaft der Logik*, 804.
[84] GZB: 444–445.

> "Tergiversations are the movement of the Dao." Commentary: "The upper is based on the lower, the noble is derived from the humble, possession is facilitated by dispossession; these are its [the Dao's] tergiversations." [...] These exiguous lines of Wang Bi's (226–249) commentary fail to cover the ground in all its particulars. *Laozi* uses the word "tergiversation" (*fan* 反) to harmonise meanings while at the same time articulating discrete senses. [...] "Tergiversation" has two meanings. The first is "back" (*tergum/verso*) as relative to "front" (*facies/recto*), meaning [by extension] "to contradict." The second is the "back" of "there and back" (*wangfan* 往反/返), or "turning back" (*huifan* 回反/返). [...] By straddling both meanings, *Laozi's* "tergiversation" in fact harmonises *recto* and *verso*. Let us refer to the passage that reads, "[when things] are righteous, they are said to recede; having receded, they are said to be distant. When distant, they are said to come back/have turned their backs [on that which is righteous]." [...] I will try to explain this in common technical terms. "The righteous" is the affirmation. "Receding" is to move away, and distinguish oneself in opposition to the righteous, that is "to turn one's back" [on the righteous]; to be "distant" is to go far, and to completely turn one's back; but to "come back" is to be distant and return, to turn [in other words] one's back on turning one's back (*dénégation*); this "ultimate assimilation" means to "conform" with the affirmation. Therefore "back," relative to turning one's back, is to contradict; relative to the affirmation, it is to turn back. This is no different from Hegel's negation of a negation (The second negative, negating the negation, is the transcendence of the contradiction). The "tergiversations" in the sentence, "Tergiversations are the movement of the Dao" contains the senses of "back," as in "turning one's back," and "come back," which is also "turning one's back on turning one's back." In one word, it encapsulates the meanings of contradiction, as being the movement away from the affirmation, and rehabilitation, as being the movement away from that which is opposing, to conform with the affirmation. [...]

In its general thrust, this passage is clearly based on Qian's notes from late 1965. Whereas his argument was formerly jotted down in shorthand, he now develops it in full. On first reading, the backbone of Qian's argument seems to draw on the classical law of double negation elimination, whereby P⊢ ¬¬P and ¬¬P⊢ P.[85] If we examine his reasoning more closely, however, we find that Qian's example cannot be reduced to the abstract certainty of a logical statement. First, Qian creatively borrows the *Yijing*'s 易經 gloss on "*da*" 大 as "*zheng*" 正 to establish the foundation of

[85] Tomassi, *Logic*, 79.

his proposition.[86] Qian then seems to concede that there is such a thing as contradiction by degrees: "'Receding' is to move away, and distinguish oneself in opposition to the righteous, that is 'to turn one's back' (i.e. contradict); to be 'distant' is to go far, and to completely turn one's back (i.e. contradict completely)." In formal logic, however, just as a woman is rarely ever only a little pregnant, so one cannot contradict by degrees. Strictly speaking, the example that Qian cites contains no double negatives whatsoever.

Qian's aim, however, is not to display the peerless logic of *Laozi*, but rather to showcase the versatility of the Chinese language; to produce a word whose meanings are both contradictory and complementary. Indeed, *Guanzhui bian* was partly written to prove that literary Chinese could express all the shades of meaning available to Western languages. In the first chapter of the entire work Qian writes, "[Georg W.F.] Hegel (1770–1831) once demeaned our nation's language, claiming that it was unsuited to thought; he also boasted that German was capable of sublime modes of expression, citing the example of "*aufheben*," where two contradictory meanings are captured in the same word (*ein und dasselbe Wort für zwei entgegengesetzte Bestimmungen*.)"[87] In the essay partially translated above, Qian writes that the *Laozi'*s use of the word *fan* "is sufficient to match '*aufheben*,' and should put Hegel to shame for his error and ignorance of our Chinese language."[88] But it is not *Laozi*'s use of *fan,* but rather Qian's own that achieves this feat. The translated extract is a marvellous piece of linguistic choreography, but it is only tangentially based

[86] See the "judgement" (*tuan* 彖) to the "great accumulating" (*da xu* 大畜) hexagram: 大正也. Kong Yingda, *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 140. No other major commentator of the *Laozi*, however, has glossed *da* as *zheng*, either in the sense of "right," or as the affirmation to which fan signals a return. See: Fan, *Laozi jizhu*, 72–73.
[87] 黑格爾嘗鄙薄吾國語文，以爲不宜思辯；又自誇德語能冥契道妙，舉"奧伏赫變" (Aufheben) 爲例，以相反兩意融會於一字 (ein und dasselbe Wort für zwei entgegengesetzte Bestimmungen). GZB: 1–2. In his study of *Guanzhui bian*, Ronald Egan emphasizes Qian's tendency, following the works of Hegel and Goethe (1749–1832), to "call attention to the coexistence of distinction and unity," in many of the fields that the book covers. See Egan, *Qian Zhongshu's Reading of the Chinese Classic*, 16.
[88] 足與"奧伏赫變" (aufheben) 齊功比美，當使黑格爾自慚於吾漢語無知而失言者也。GZB: 445.

on the *Laozi*. By superimposing a double negative onto the passage, Qian wrestles his *aufheben* equivalent from an ancient text to smite an Enlightenment thinker. In doing so, he celebrates the *Laozi* as being representative of the eloquence of the Chinese literary tradition as a whole. To redeem the tradition, however, he misinterprets the text. This, of course, is an age-old strategy in the "harmonisation of meanings," for which Qian identifies *fan* as a natural example.

Example Two

> "聖人云:受國之垢，是謂社稷主;受國之不祥，是謂天下王。正言若反。"[89] 按蘇轍《老子解》云:"正言合道而反俗，俗以受垢為辱、受不祥為殃故也。"[90] 他家之說，無 以大過，皆局於本章。夫"正言若反"，乃老子立言之方，《五千言》中觸處彌望，即修 詞所謂"翻案語"(paradox)與"冤親詞"(oxymoron)，固神秘家言之句勢語式耳。
>
> 有兩言於此，世人皆以為其意相同相合，例如"音"之與"聲"或"形"之與"象";翻案語中則 同者異而合者背矣，故四一章云:"大音希聲，大象無形。"[91] 又有兩言於此，世人皆以 為其意相違相反，例如"成"之與"缺"或"直"之與"屈";翻案語中則違者諧而反者合矣，故 四五章云:"大成若缺，大直若屈。"[92] 覆有兩言於此，一正一負，世人皆以為相仇相克， 例如"上"與"下"，冤親詞乃和解而無間焉，故三八章云:"上德不德。"[93]此皆蘇轍所謂 "合道而反俗也"。然猶皮相其文詞也，若抉髓而究其理，則否定之否定爾。反正為反， 反反覆正 (Duplex negatio affirmat);"正言若反"之"正"，乃反反以成正之正，即六五章之 "與物反矣，然後乃至大順"。[94] 如七章云:"以其不自生，故能長生。.....非以其無私耶? 故能成其私。[95]"夫"自生"、正也，"不自生"、反也，"故長生"、反之反而得正也;"私"、 正也，"無私"、反也，"故成其私"、反之反而得正也。[96]
>
> "A sage would say: he who is humiliated by his country is the master of that realm; he who is persecuted by his country is the king of all under heaven. Affirmations seem like tergiversations." According to Su Che's 蘇轍 (1039–1112) *Laozi jie* 老子解 (An Exegesis of *Laozi*), "Affirmations conform with the Dao, but contradict common sense. That is because common sense would dictate that to be humiliated is an embarrassment, and to be

[89] Lou, *Wang Bi jiaoshi*, 188. (78).
[90] Su, *Laozi jie*, 4.61.
[91] Lou, *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 113. (41).
[92] Lou, *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 122. (45).
[93] Lou, *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 93. (38).
[94] Lou, *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 168. (65).
[95] Lou, Wang Bi ji jiaoshi, 19. (7).
[96] GZB: 463–464. For Egan's translation of this chapter, see: Qian, *Limited Views*, 304–307.

> persecuted is a disaster." Other exegetes do not deem [this passage] to be a great problem, and all keep to the main text. "Affirmations seem like tergiversations" is an authorial strategy of *Laozi's* that is found throughout *The Five Thousand Words* (*Wuqian yan* 五千言). In rhetorical terms, [this strategy] yields paradoxes and oxymorons, which are forever the favoured modes of expression among mystics.
>
> Entertain the notion of pairs of words that people all take to have similar and mutually conforming meanings, such as "sound" and "sonority," or "form" and "appearance." In paradoxes, [however], similarities differ, and conformities contradict. Therefore, chapter forty-one of the *Laozi* reads, "The great sound lacks sonority, the great appearance has no form." There are other pairs of words that people all take to have mutually distinct and contradictory meanings, such as "complete" as relative to "lacking," or "straight" as relative to "crooked." In paradoxes, [however], differences are cancelled, and contradictions are resolved. Therefore, chapter forty-five reads, "True completeness seems lacking, true straightness seems crooked." There are, furthermore, pairs of words, one positive, one negative, that people all take to be mutually exclusive, such as "up" and "down." An oxymoron brokers the peace, until there is no distinction between them. Therefore, chapter thirty-five reads, "The superior potential is [that of] no potential." This is what Su Che refers to as "conforming with the Dao but contradicting common sense." But his reading of the text only goes skin deep. If we are to get to the marrow of the matter, and fathom its logic, then [we must qualify] it as nothing less than a negation of a negation. To contradict an affirmation is a contradiction. To contradict the contradiction reproduces the affirmation (two negatives make a positive). The "affirmation" of "affirmations seem like tergiversations" is the affirmation resulting from the contradiction of a contradiction. This is what we find in chapter sixty-five: "contradicting things, [one] then achieves the great assimilation." For example, chapter seven reads: "[Heaven and Earth] do not give life to themselves; therefore, they can live long. [...] Is this not because they have no agenda of their own? Therefore, they can achieve their own agenda." "Give life to themselves" is the [tacit] affirmation, "not give life to themselves" is the contradiction, "therefore they can live long," is the affirmation resulting from the contradiction of a contradiction.

This passage is clearly based on Qian's notes from Zhu Qianzhi's edition of the *Laozi*. Again, the scholar appears to draw on the law of double negation elimination. In the previous section, we examined the logical faults in the example with which he brings his discussion to a close. But Qian's primary focus is not on logical operations. Here it is the intellectual bankruptcy of mystical thinkers that he seeks to expose. In an earlier essay, he writes of the dangers of decoupling language from logic, "Words that were originally without substance are applied to human conduct, making them seem discriminating yet hard to pin down. And conduct that was at first quite

ordinary is ornamented with words until it becomes a pretence that yet appears resolute. Consequently, while "not speaking" the philosopher is able to speak in weighty phrases, speak with hidden meanings, speak in unprincipled language tailored to the occasion, and speak all manner of groundless, irresponsible words. [...] Doing Nothing permits him to do everything, and not to have anything to which he will not stoop."[97] In the present essay, Qian repeats the same point. "One might try to summarize it as follows: The Way cannot be spoken. Even if it were spoken throughout the whole world, it would still remain unspoken; the constant of the Way is non-doing. [The sage] can stoop to do anything and still [claim to] have done nothing."[98] Of the contradictory statements uttered by foreign mystics, Qian writes, "they are all examples of the spiritual and strange dissolving into a foul stench."[99] That foul stench derives from the inherent vagueness of mystical propositions, which are susceptible to being appropriated as a screen for aberrant behaviour. This is a point that Qian had made in his notes eight years before. But it is now advanced with greater conviction and stringency of tone. During the Cultural Revolution, Qian saw how specious language gave free rein to the worst excesses of the Red Guards; his son-in-law and numerous colleagues were driven to suicide. Although *Guanzhui bian* contains no overt references to contemporary politics, with the benefit of the broader context of Qian's notes, it is altogether justified to see an oblique critique of the times in the book's attacks on the social implications of nebulous language:[100] "The purity and quietude of the Huang-Lao Daoists thus in

[97]言本空也，傅之於事，則言辯而遁；行亦常也，文之以言，則行僞而堅。"無言"而可以重言、寓言、卮言、荒唐之言矣[…]"無爲"而可以無不爲、無所不爲矣。GZB: 413. This is Ronald Egan's translation. Qian, *Limited Views*, 266.
[98] 嘗試論之。道不可言，言滿天下而仍無言；道常無爲，無所不爲而仍無爲。GZB: 465.
[99] 皆神奇而化臭腐矣。GZB: 413–414.
[100] In a recent essay, Egan also argues that Qian's critique of the "contradictions" in *Laozi* is a thinly veiled attack on the rhetoric of "struggle" and "contention" used in the Cultural Revolution. See: Egan, "Guanzhui bian, Western Citations, and the Cultural Revolution," 121–123.

practice became the cold-hearted attitude of the Legalist philosophy of Shen Buhai and Han Fei."[101]

This, however, is also where Qian's own contradictions are most pronounced. He wishes, in the first instance, to celebrate the ambiguities of literary Chinese as proof of its expressive power, which rivals any Western tongue. In the second instance, however, he censures, on social grounds, the very ambiguities that he previously sought to promote. While Qian's goals differ in each case, his method of analysis remains the same. But the trope of "aufhebung" is unsuited for deconstructing the ambiguities of the *Laozi*, nor is it an apt description of how language betrays logic. When read alone, these two essays reveal the irony of how, in trying express the richness of the Chinese language, Qian reduces it to a spurious grammatical manoeuvre; in seeking to denounce the muddled language of mystical thinkers, he resorts to muddled logic. Yet when read in the full context of Qian's notes, we can appreciate that the scholar's wayward interpretation resulted from the many stages of his reading, each of which was influenced by the political pressures of the day. Without the "black backing," we would be hard pressed to divine how Qian arrived at his puzzling exegesis. The genetic evidence shows, however, that at a time when the value of the Chinese tradition was widely dismissed, Qian felt compelled to demonstrate the universality, and continued relevance, of one of its central classics. But he also sought to diagnose the origin of China's contemporary plight. Qian wanted, in other words, to articulate an aspect of the tradition *sub specie aeternitatis*, as well as at a deeply fraught moment in history. Hegel's "aufhebung," which famously reconciles opposing ideas, was the imperfect tool that Qian chose to achieve this contradictory end.

[101] 黃老清靜，見之施行而爲申韓谿刻矣。GZB: 413–414.

The paradox in Qian's discussion of double negation is redolent of two broader contradictions throughout the entire work. In seeking to evoke the Chinese tradition as an organic whole, *Guanzhui bian* resorts to breaking it up into pieces, evoking the useful "rubble" salvaged from the grand structures of defeated systems. Even in its English name, "Limited Views," *Guanzhui bian* is a negation of sorts (all limitation, we remember from Hook, is negation) that nevertheless suggests, by virtue of its crucial plural, a stereoscopic perspective of the whole. The second contradiction concerns the relationship between the author and his work. Few works of criticism are as bereft of their author's presence as *Guanzhui bian*. While superficially, the professed role of Qian's notes offers readers a privileged seat in the theatre of literary creation, the stage is empty, as the scholar nearly always prefers to let his citations speak for themselves without descending from the editorial parapet to articulate his own views. Despite its stylistic brilliance and formal innovations, *Guanzhui bian* labours under the enormous weight of its own reticence. Though literature should ideally be "a raid on the inarticulate,"[102] there were matters that Qian, for understandable reasons, could not directly address, but only opaquely evoke.[103] In the final chapter of this thesis we will explore how Qian navigated this delicate balancing act between silence and encyclopaedic eloquence on a micro-level, during the fraught composition of his masterpiece.

[102] Eliot, *Four Quartets*, 19.

[103] This is no doubt why, when the scholar Wu Zuxiang 吳組湘 (1908–1994) reproached Qian that "your book contains everything – apart from yourself," the author promptly sent him another copy, with an accompanying note, "You have not understood my book." Li, "Yu Jie de shuwu."

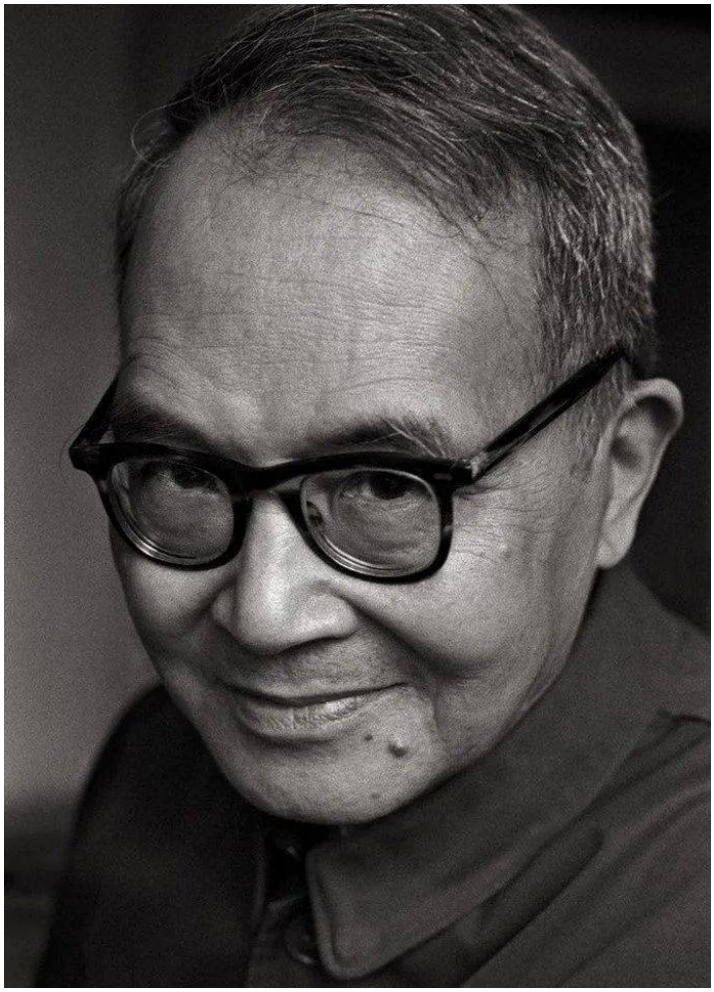

Image 4.9. A mischievous Qian poses for the camera shortly after the publication of *Guanzhui bian*. On seeing this photo, the scholar reportedly exclaimed, “That’s Qian Zhongshu! That’s me!” Source: Chai Shao, “Qian Zhongshu na dai.”

Chapter Five

"THROUGH A GLASS DARKLY"

An Endogentic Study of *Guanzhui bian* and the *Shenxian Zhuan*

5.1. Endogenetic Scope

Thus far, we have ranged intrepidly through the full length and breadth of Qian's notebooks to explore core aspects of the genesis of *Guanzhui bian*. The audacity of this scheme, which has at times hazardously privileged the general at the expense of the particular, is excusable only in light of the greater audacity of Qian's magnum opus; for as we have observed in chapter two, *Guanzhui bian* strives not only to articulate the ripe fruits of a long lifetime of reading, but also to speak eloquently on behalf of an entire literature before its imminent and irrevocable eclipse. Any effort to describe this monumental enterprise inevitably reaches for ever greater yardsticks by which to measure the breadth of Qian's vision and the bravery of his ambition. But the ideological underpinnings of *Guanzhui bian,* and the plasticity of its structure, contrive at every turn to confound a global understanding of its own genesis. How, indeed, can the critic aspire to a complete mastery of any subject? An unimpeded view of the whole, as *Guanzhui bian* persuasively shows, can at best be only glimpsed, or intuited, by moving continuously between constituent parts. The alacrity with which I have straddled the genetic dossier should not therefore be interpreted as an avowal of mastery, but rather as a modest submission to Qian's guiding principle of movement. By swinging, for example, between the successive branches in Qian's understanding of the *Laozi*, I have sought to reanimate the notes and illustrate, within one narrow thread, how *Guanzhui bian* is rooted in a longer process of intellectual evolution

than a first reading might suggest. The simian ease with which Qian himself swung through his native element is captured by his student, Wang Shuizhao 王水照, in a telling sketch that dates to shortly before the Cultural Revolution:

> 他喜歡在房間裡邊走邊高聲談話：有時為自己的善譬妙喻爽朗大笑 […] 有時取出他的讀書筆記本說上一番。他的讀書筆記本也頗與眾不同，滿頁密密麻麻，不留天地，一無空隙，但他一翻即能找到所需之處。[1]
>
> He was fond of pacing the room while talking loudly and would sometimes burst into laughter at the felicity of his own *bon mots*. […] At other times, he would take out a notebook and read out loud from it. His notebooks were rather unique; they were densely annotated, filling the top and bottom of the page, with not even a crack left free. But on leafing through them, he was immediately able to find the material that he needed.

The geneticist may well be to Qian what the endearing but tardy sloth is to the imperiously mobile monkey: a lesser beast, whose near eternal progress through each foot of territory is redeemed only by the morbid digestion of every passing leaf, flower, and insect. Though my preceding chapters, through their diversity of approaches and range of analysis, labour to conjure up the swift movement that is the defining quality of *Guanzhui bian*, they only ponderously ape its graceful form in flight. It is with some relief, therefore, that in this chapter we can finally come to a rest and consider Qian's work, not on the wing, but from the more stationary perspective of its immediate birth. Our focus will namely be the "endogenesis," of *Guanzhui bian*, or as De Biasi writes, "le processus créatif centré sur l'activité de l'écriture elle-même: le travail réflexif dans lequel l'écrivain élabore le donné avant-textuel en ne se référant qu'à ses propres moyens."[2] Trespassing on the secrecy of Qian's humble studio, a former store cupboard on the ground floor of the Academy of Social Sciences, we will observe

[1] Wang Shuizhao, *Qian Zhongshu de xueshu rensheng*, 17.
[2] "The creative process centred on the activity of writing itself: the reflexive work in which the writer elaborates upon the avant-textual material in a purely independent manner." De Biasi, "De l'intertexualité à l'exogenèse," 22.

in something approaching real time how the scholar, believing himself to be terminally ill, and threatened with further persecution, set to work on his colossal manuscript.

5.2. The Draft Manuscript of *Guanzhui bian*

While we can say with confidence that Qian embarked on *Guanzhui bian* in the early spring of 1972, we cannot date the completion of the work with a similar degree of precision. Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫 (1911–2000), who was the first to read the manuscript, recalls,

> 大概是 1975 年，錢先生住在那時文學研究所樓下的一間房間里。一天，他忽然要我去他家里吃晚飯，我不知道有什麼事情，下班後就去了。我到的時候，他已在院子里等我了。吃過飯，錢先生拿出一疊厚厚的稿子，說要借給我看，這稿子就是《管錐編》。[3]
>
> It was around 1975, when Mr. Qian was [living] in an office on the ground floor of the literary institute. One day, he suddenly invited me over to his place to have dinner. I didn't know what the issue was and went immediately after work. When I arrived, he was already waiting for me in the yard. After dinner, Qian took out a very thick manuscript, saying that he wanted me to take it away and read it. This was the manuscript of *Guanzhui bian*.[4]

Zhou was a former pupil of Qian's father and had assisted with the publication of *On the Art of Poetry* over twenty-five years earlier. In 1975, he was assigned to the academic publisher, Zhonghua Shuju, and was therefore well placed to sound out possibilities for the release of Qian's latest production. With the support of Hu Qiaomu 胡喬木 (1912–1992), a close advisor

[3] Qian Ning 錢寧, "Qu gao ziyou zhiyin: fang Zhou Zhenfu xiansheng 曲高自有知音--訪周振甫先生", in Shen Bing ed., *Bu yiyang de jiyi*, 127.

[4] In an article published shortly before his death, Luan Guiming dates the completion of *Guanzhui bian* more concretely to July 1975. The reliability of Luan's testimony is thrown into doubt by a series of bizarre assertions, including that *Guanzhui bian* was originally written in the vernacular. Even a passing acquaintance with Qian's notebooks or Zhou's editorial reports proves this to be inaccurate. See, Luan Guiming, "*Guanzhui bian* mima 《管錐編》密碼," *Jinri toutiao* 今日頭條, Sep. 15th, 2021. For Fan Xulun's 范旭侖 rebuttal, executed with characteristic acerbity, see, Fan Xulun, "*Guanzhui bian* mima shi huangtang de yiyu 《〈管錐編〉密碼》是荒唐的囈語," *Shanghai shuping* 上海書評 , Sept. 27th, 2021. In an earlier piece, Luan dates the completion of *Guanzhui bian* to "the end of 1975." See, Luan Guiming, "Ta xiang zuo de, shi kaituo wangu zhi xinxiong."

to the newly rehabilitated Deng Xiaoping 鄧小平 (1904–1997), Zhou submitted a précis to his employers on October 24th, 1977. His editorial suggestions followed on December 1st.[5] While the lion's share *of Guanzhui bian*, therefore, was undoubtedly composed between 1972 and 1975, Qian may have continued to tinker with his draft well into 1977. It wasn't, moreover, until a relatively late stage that the book earned its crowning epithet. In a letter dated to July 30th, 1973, Wu Zhongkuang 吳忠匡 (1916–2001) quotes from his recent correspondence with Qian,

> 「正集舊所讀《易》《詩》《左氏》《史記》《老》《莊》《墨》以下二十一種書筆記，為《志林》，而將以西文屬草評泊西方典籍之作為外篇別子云。」[6]
>
> "I'm currently collating my old reading notes on the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Poetry*, the *Annals of Zuo*, *Records of the Grand Historian*, the *Laozi*, the *Zhuangzi*, the *Mozi*, and another twenty-one works, to compile a "*zhi lin*" [florilegium]. This will be followed by a sequel, which I will write in English, addressing the Western classics."

This letter is of interest in two respects. First, it shows that over fifteen months after he had begun *Guanzhui bian*, Qian had yet to award his book a definitive title, referring to it under the provisional and more abstract appellation, "*zhi lin*." Second, Qian's summary reveals some minor, but intriguing inconsistencies with his two prefaces of 1972 and 1978. The preface of 1972 reads, "I have also collected small remarks on the Western classics, together with my own

[5] Zhou's 108 editorial comments were later collated for publication. See, Zhou Zhenfu, "Guanzhui bian xuanti jianyi ji shendu baogao," 1–6. Qian acknowledges Zhou's help in the preface of *Guanzhui bian*. "While writing, I asked for help several times from Zhou Zhenfu esq. He responded to each of my timid knocks with a thronging song. In "returning full [with the Way]," my "humble inquiries" were not disappointed. Having received the praise and blessings of a good friend, I make a record of this at the beginning of my book." [命筆之時，數請益於周君振甫，小叩輒發大鳴，實歸不負虛往，良朋嘉惠，並志簡端。] GZB: i. This preface is dated to August 1972, and has previously been cited to argue that the first draft of *Guanzhui bian* was completed in the summer of that year. (See, Rong Yisheng 戎一生, "Qian Zhongshu xiansheng shengping shulüe 錢鍾書先生生平述略," in Lu Wenhu 陸文虎, ed., *Qian Zhongshu yanjiu caiji* 錢鍾書研究采輯 (Beijing: Sanlian, 1992), 396. Ronald Egan argues, very reasonably, that this preface was written during the process of composition, not upon its completion. Qian, *Limited Views*, 24. We know that Zhou had no involvement with *Guanzhui bian* until 1975. We can therefore add to Egan's argument and posit that while the preface may well have been drafted in August 1972, Qian emended it in 1975, or perhaps even later.

[6] Fan Xulun, "*Guanzhui bian* mima shi huangtang de yiyu."

thoughts. Although my rope may be short, I have attempted to plumb [the well of learning] and found that such critical observations furnish useful reference points. I originally drafted them in English and am now considering writing them up as a sort of sequel to this work."[7] Monika Motsch informs us that this refers to an "unpublished manuscript" entitled "Ganjue, guannian, sixiang" 感覺・觀念・思想 (Perception, Concept, Thought) that treats ten major Western writers, including Dante, Montaigne and Shakespeare.[8] Based on the foreign language notebooks, which show that Qian made an intensive study of these three writers in the early 1960s,[9] we can speculate that the scholar began this work some years before the Cultural Revolution. By 1973, when Qian wrote to Wu, the manuscript was evidently still in its early stages. The "*yuan zhucao*" [I originally drafted] of his preface from the previous year has turned into "*jiang zhucao*" [I will draft]. Nevertheless, in 1979 the scholar still had enough confidence in his projected sequel to include it in a bibliography of his works for the *Zhongguo wenxue jia cidian* [Dictionary of Chinese Writers].[10] After that the trail goes cold.[11]

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[7] 又於西方典籍，褚小有懷，綆短試汲，頗嘗評泊考鏡，原以西文屬草，亦思寫定，聊當外篇。GZB: i.

[8] Frustratingly, Motsch does not cite her source. I suspect, however, she has consulted Qian's entry in the *Zhongguo wenxuejia cidian*, which reads, "To be published: *Guanzhui bian* part two, *Perception, Imagination, Thought* (an English work that discusses ten Western writers and their works, including Dante, Montaigne and Shakespeare.)" [待整理的有：《管錐編》續輯，《感覺，觀念，思想》（英文著作，評論但丁，蒙田，莎士比亞等十個西洋作家及其作品]. Beijing yuyan xueyuan 北京語言學院 ed., *Zhongguo wenxuejia cidian: xiandai* 中國文學家辭典. 現代 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1979), Vol. 2. p. 658. See, Motsch, *Mit Bambusrohr und Ahle*, 35. Yang Jiang is of no help in this regard. In her preface to the *Zhongwen biji*, she writes that while Qian originally planned to write a work on Western literature in English, he never brought this dream to fruition. ZWBJ 1: 2.

[9] Qian's most comprehensive notes on Shakespeare are found in foreign language notebooks nos. 50 and 52, which date to 1962. Comparable jottings from Montaigne are recorded in notebook no. 63, from the following year. A contemporaneous set of notes on *The Divine Comedy* is included notebook no. 67.

[10] Zhang Zhi 張治, having reviewed the prefatory materials to this dictionary, concludes that Qian composed the entry himself. See, Zhang Zhi, "Qian Zhongshu xuean," 70. Judging from the short biography, which awards Qian an "associate doctorate" [*fu boshi* 副博士] degree from Oxford, I think this is highly unlikely. Qian never even supplicated for his B.Litt. degree. On all official forms and correspondence, he cited only a "bachelor thesis," as proof of his studies abroad. See, Fan Xulun, "Qian Zhongshu liuxue wei de xuewei."

[11] Following Qian's death, C.T. Hsia (1921–2013) made an earnest appeal for the preservation of this bruited work. "The sequel to *Guanzhui bian* should first be found and photocopied several times to prevent its loss. This is very urgent. […] Many westerners are already interested in the translation of *Fortress Besieged*. Mr. Qian's late works in English will not fall on deaf ears." [把這部《管錐編外篇》先找到，再影印幾分，以免遺失，這是急切之務…好多洋學者早為《圍城》之譯本所吸引，錢先生晚年自撰的英文巨著是不會受到冷落的。] See, Xia Zhiqing, "Qian shi weiwan gao Baihexin yiluo hefang?" 327.

What became of this second instalment, which for years was key to Qian's overall conception of *Guanzhui bian*? Zhang Wenjiang 張文江 argues that the scope of Qian's slated sequel can be reconstructed by analysing the foreign works included in *Guanzhui bian*; much of "Ganjue, guannian, sixiang," he contends, may be hiding in plain sight.[12] My analysis of these references, however, does not reveal an overwhelming preference for the three writers that were allegedly central to the sequel.[13] Wang Shuizhao more cautiously suggests that traces of the work might be found in the notebooks, though I have yet to stumble across any explicit references to this project across Qian's three systems.[14] Pending the discovery of the original manuscript, we can be sure of only two things: first, that during the period in which Qian was compiling *Guanzhui bian*, namely 1972–1977, the manuscript of "Ganjue, guannian, sixiang" was still in its early stages; second, that this work did not inform the first edition of *Guanzhui bian*, as Qian was evidently saving his observations for a future volume, hope for which was still alive as late as 1979.

Qian's letter, as relayed by Wu, also states that his "*zhi lin*" would cover a further twenty-one classics, in addition to the eight works explicitly cited. His preface of January 1978, by contrast, explains, "I initially planned to include a study of the *Complete Tang Prose*, along with five other books, but due to frequent ill health, my powers have waned, and I have been unable to achieve this in time. I have not deleted the occasional references to these chapters, in anticipation of a future volume."[15] The additional twenty-one works of 1973 had, by 1978, dwindled to a mere six. Although Qian continued to furnish new editions of *Guanzhui bian*

[12] See, Zhang Wenjiang, *Qian Zhongshu zhuan,* 118.
[13] Dante, for example, is only cited four times in the whole of *Guanzhui bian*. See, Lu Wenhu ed., *Guanzhui bian Tanyi lu suoyin*, 642.
[14] Wang Shuizhao, "Qian Zhongshu xiansheng yu Song shi yanjiu 錢鍾書先生與宋詩研究," *Wenhui bao* 文匯報, April 6th, 2002.
[15] 初計此輯尚有論《全唐文》等書五種。而多病意倦，不能急就。已寫定各卷中偶道及"參觀"語，存而未削，聊為異日之卷。 GZB: i.

with addenda throughout the 1980s, he would never complete his advertised review of the *Complete Tang Prose*, let alone the other classics that he had mentioned in his letter to Wu Zhongkuang.[16]

While the reason behind this curtailment is clearly stated in the second preface, its gravity is underplayed. In December 1973, Qian and his wife moved to their daughter's dormitory at Beijing Normal University following a physical altercation with their neighbours.[17] The lack of adequate heating and large quantities of ambient dust triggered a near fatal asthma attack that left Qian partially paralysed and unable to speak.[18] Although by March 1974 his situation had drastically improved, Qian was certain that his days were numbered, and reapplied himself to the composition of *Guanzhui bian* with desperate abandon. Qian's illness had one silver lining. The Academy of Social Sciences was in the grips of the "Criticise Lin, Criticise Confucius" campaign. The ailing scholar, however, was exempted from all political activity, leaving him free to focus on his manuscript.

In May 1974, Qian and his wife moved into an office on the ground floor of building number seven in the Academy of Social Sciences. At only slightly over ten square meters, the office

[16] As late as 1987, Qian was still planning this continuation. In a letter to Zheng Chaozong, he writes, "If I'm given the time, I still intend to write a sequel discussing ten works, including the *Complete Tang Prose*, Du Fu, Li Shangyin, Han Yu, Yuan Mei, the *Zhuangzi*, and the *Book of Rites*." [假我年壽，尚思續論《全唐文》，少陵，玉溪，昌黎，簡齋，《莊子》，《禮記》等十種，另外一編]. Zhang Zhi, "Qian Zhongshu xuean," 70.

[17] This episode has been repeatedly examined by journalists as a telling stain on Qian's otherwise unimpeachable character. It is perhaps better understood in the context of cramped living conditions and the mutual animosity bred by a decade of denouncements and exile. Qian refused to discuss the incident. After his death, Yang wrote an article on this subject. See, Yang Jiang, "Cong 'shazi' dao 'liuwang 從沙子到流亡," *Nanfang zhoumo* 南方週末, Nov. 19th, 1999.

[18] Qian's erratic handwriting following this illness can be seen in Chinese notebook no. 74. In a letter written to Wang Minyuan 王岷源 (1912–2000) while convalescing, Qian explains, "To avoid my shrewish neighbours, I temporarily uprooted the entire household to my daughter's dormitory. […] After a month, my asthma returned, and nearly finished me off. I was taken to the emergency room at Beijing Third Hospital, and recovered only after four hours with an oxygen mask. I haven't shaken a leg since. It's affected my heart, so I can't walk […] my appalling handwriting is [xx] woe." [弟以避惡鄰，舉家赴小女宿舍暫住。。。一月杪，弟喘疾復發，幾至危殆，赴三院急救，輸氧氣四時許，得以昭蘇，殗殢床褥，迄今未起。。。且波及心臟，不能步武。。。書不成字，是？嘆.] Qian Zhijuan, *Wannian Qian Zhongshu*, 105.

had formerly served as a store cupboard, and could accommodate little more than two small desks and a set of shelves. The couple cooked their meals in the corridor and unfolded two army cots to sleep on at night.[19] Despite the cracked walls, the rats and the mosquitos, this nest had one major advantage: the building opposite housed the academy's library. A bevy of young scholars volunteered to ferry books to-and-fro, feeding Qian's rapacious bibliographic demands. Guo Hongshi 郭鴻時 recalls,

> 他其實是有讀書筆記的，借書只是為了重新核對一下。但是給錢先生借書不容易，書名和版本都要同他的筆記一致。有一本書'北圖'沒有，他想起來是在北大圖書館看到的，我就托人到北大借出來。他看見自己幾十年前看過的書，很親切。
>
> [Qian] in fact worked from his reading notes. He borrowed books only to briefly check the references again. But borrowing books for Mr. Qian was not easy. The title and edition of the work had to match exactly with that in his reading notes. There was one book that I couldn't find in the National Library. He remembered that he'd read it in the library of Peking University. I asked someone to go over to PU to borrow it. When he saw the book that he'd read decades before, it was like meeting an old friend.[20]

Though Qian did consult, therefore, many works while composing *Guanzhui bian*, he did so only to verify quotations. The procedural nature of these bibliographic inquiries is confirmed by Qian himself in an English letter written to Wang Minyuan, dated to May 1974,

> My Dear M.Y.:
>
> Three bad colds culminating in an attack of asthma completely drained my strength last winter. Our long-cherished plan of paying you a New Year call was thus hitched…You most kindly offered to borrow books for me. I wonder if you could get hold of Hegel's *Phenomenologie des Geistes* (in German)…I just want to verify a few quotations and will return [it] in about a fortnight…I'm returning you the two poetry books which I have kept for a disgracefully long time with many thanks and apologies.
>
> Love to you both and the kids from my wife and
> Ever yours, C.S. Chien.[21]

[19] Qian Zhijun, *Wannian Qian Zhongshu*, 104–105.
[20] Yang Lu, "Yang Jiang, Qian Zhongshu: yi dui zuo xuewen de fufu."
[21] Wang Minyuan, "Qinqie huainian Mocun xuezhang," 48.

It was, therefore, at the uncertain end of the Cultural Revolution, between 1974 and 1975, seated at a small desk against the eastern wall of his makeshift office, and stripped, in the summer months, of all but his undergarments, his wife working steadily on her translation of *Don Quixote* behind him, and notebooks piled high on both sides, here, chased out of hearth and home, plagued by ill health, with revolutionary chants and slogans carrying in snatches from beyond the walls of the academy, that Qian wrote his scholarly masterpiece "in a race with death."[22]

5.3. An Endogenetic Case Study: *Guanzhui bian* and the *Shenxian zhuan*

The manuscript that Qian submitted to Zhonghua Shuju in the winter of 1977 is not extant. When Yang Jiang requested its return to bequeath to the National Library, in 2006, she was informed that the death of Zhou Zhenfu, and the uncertain memory of surviving editors, had conspired to obscure the fate of the original text.[23] In 2016, an article surfaced claiming that the manuscript of *Guanzhui bian* had passed through the hands of a certain Mr. Jia 賈, at the Panjiayuan 潘家園 antiques market, in 1997.[24] Whatever the truth behind this story, we can safely assume that the draft fell victim to the perennial problem of Chinese bibliography, namely theft. Qian appears, however, to have made a photocopy of his work shortly before submitting it to the publisher.[25] The whereabouts of this copy is also unknown. In 2016, a rough

[22] Ma Rong, "Chu du *Guanzhui bian*," 173.
[23] Fan Xulun, "Guanzhui bian shougao de xialuo 《管錐編》手稿的下落," *Nanfang dushu bao* 南方都市報, June 11th 2017.
[24] Ding Qian 丁茜, "Pan Jiayuan shushi tanqi 潘家園書市探奇," *Beijing shangbao* 北京商報, June 24th, 2016.
[25] In a letter to Liu Shinan 劉世南 (1923–2021) dated to November 18th 1977, Qian writes, "I recently wrote a book, which I have already submitted to Zhonghua Shuju for publication. Before type setting, I made a photocopy of the manuscript, to have a duplicate of the text, and to save myself the services of a scribe." 近著一

draft of an essay from the *Laozi* section, the reverse side of which Qian used to write a letter to a certain Wang Junming 王俊銘 (dates unknown), went up for auction. The image released for marketing purposes, however, is too blurry to read, and the original is presumably now in private hands.[26] The Sanlian edition of *Guanzhui bian* includes one image of a corrected manuscript.[27] This, however, is a draft from Qian's fourth series of addenda, and dates from the late 1980s. One draft of Qian's original preface of 1972 has found its way online, suggesting that the original manuscript of *Guanzhui bian* has not been lost, but remains in the hands of an unscrupulous bibliophile.[28] The archives at Tsinghua may well contain a wealth of Qian's drafts, which, like the diaries, have been omitted from the otherwise compendious *Qian Zhongshu shougao ji* 錢鍾書手稿集. But pending the institutional largesse of another publication, or the fickle boon of privileged access, we can only speculate.

In the absence of such primary materials, how are we to perform an endogenetic study, which by its very definition implies the analysis of a draft manuscript? The answer to this conundrum lies in an anomalous essay that was lifted, in its near entirety, from the *Daily Notes*. By treating the sources of this essay, which glances off a quotation from the "Liu An 劉安" chapter of Ge Hong's 葛洪 (283–343) *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 (*Traditions of Divine Transcendents*), as a proxy draft, we can trace the successive steps that Qian would have made in the composition of his elusive manuscript. The underlined passages in the following transcription represent excerpts that have been copied directly from the notebooks.

編，已付中華書局。排印前，先將稿本複製，以當副墨而代鈔胥. Fan Xulun, "Guanzhui bian shougao de xialuo."

[26] This image can be found in Fan Xulun, "*Guanzhui bian* mima shi huangtang de yiyu."

[27] Qian, *Guanzhui bian*, 5.

[28] See Fenghuang wang ed., "Wei shenme Qian Zhongshu kanbuqi tianxia."

《劉安》：“仙伯主者奏安不敬，謫守都廁三年。” 按前論卷七彭祖、白石先生輩所謂“天上多尊神，新仙奉事更勞苦”，斯其顯例。宋祁《景文集》卷二《詆仙賦》謂淮南王昇仙事出於葛洪揑造，有云：“王負驕以弗虔兮，又見謫於列真，雖長年之彌億兮，屏帑偃而愈愆”，自註即引此數語。祁兄郊《元憲集》卷一四《默記淮南王事》：“室餌初嘗謁帝晨，宮中雞犬亦登真。可憐南面稱孤貴，纔作仙家守廁人！”；劉克莊《後村大全集》卷四一《雜興》之一：“昇天雖可喜，削地已堪哀。早知守廁去，何須拔宅來！”，亦借以寄意。明袁祈年《楚狂之歌·夢上天擬李長吉》之二：“偶便玉堦上，淮南送廁籌”，至取爲惡謔。《史記·天官書》：“其南有四星，曰天廁，下一星，曰天矢”，擬象之詞耳；不謂天闕竟有“都廁”，是神仙未免便溺也。《廣記》卷三八三《古元之》（出《玄怪録》）言和神國“不置溷所”；黄生《義府》卷下：“宋人《海陵三仙傳》：‘獨處一室，卧起方丈間，食酒肉如平時，而無更衣之處’，蓋言得道者雖飲食而無漏也。”僊僊乎飄逸清虚之體，應無穢濁，葛洪著書，猶有敗筆焉。釋典如《長阿含經》之六《轉輪聖王修行經》謂太古之人安隱快樂，惟有“九病”：“一寒，二熱，三飢，四渴，五大便，六小便，七欲，八饕餮，九老”；鳩摩羅什譯《彌勒下生成佛經》：“唯有三病：一者便利，二者飲食，三者衰老”，而失名譯《彌勒來時經》作：“一者意欲所得，二者飢渴，三者年老”，竊疑“意欲有所得”即指“便利”，原文當類歐語之婉言内逼曰“需要” (1)，譯者未得解而直繙耳。成佛則“三病”都祛，故如《佛祖統紀》卷一○《荆溪旁出世家》記行滿禪師“於四十年間未嘗便溺，或謂‘大士現身’，受食而實不食故也”。西方傳説天帝不可思議之神功妙用，無便利即是一端。古希臘有王（Antigonous）聞人貢諛稱爲天神，答曰：“浣滌吾廁牏之内侍卻不知此！”（The slave who attends my chamber-pot is not conscious of that），一作：“妄言哉！吾之虎子可證”（Mon lasanophore le nie）(2)。中世紀神甫斤斤辯究天堂中有無矢溺（Aquinas could gravely debate，whether there are excrements in Paradise）(3)。馬丁·路德則斷言“上帝無矢無溺”（Gott kacket und bisset nicht）(4)。伏爾泰謂上帝無腸胃，不飲食，凡人自負於上帝具體而微，乃蹲踞溷上，了不知羞（Toi，l’image de Dieu sur ta chaîse percée！）(5)。由是觀之，《神仙傳》言天上有“都廁”，直是失口；葛洪非獷野無文者，乃疏忽未之思爾。[29]

1. E.g. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VIII. vi. 59: “At requisite naturae,” “Loeb,” III, 334.
2. Plutarch, *Moralia*, “Sayings of Kings and Commanders,” § 182 and “Isis and Osiris,” § 360, “Loeb,” III, 71 and V, 59; Rabelais, Gargantua et Pantagruel, Liv. IV, ch. 60, Oeuv. Comp., éd. J. Plattard, IV, 219, 320. Cf. Montaigne, *Essais*, 1. Xiii and III. xiii, “la Pléiade,” 260, 1045.
3. Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, “Chandos Classics,” I, 64-5.
4. Quoted in F. Mauthner, Kritik der Sprache, 3. Aufl., 1, 60.
5. Voltaire, Dictionnaire philosophique, art. “Déjection,” *Oeuv.comp.*, ed. L. Moland, XVIII, 326.

[The] “Liu An” (179-122 BC) [30] [chapter of *Shenxian zhuan* (Traditions of Divine Transcendants)] reads：“The governing spirits [in heaven] submitted a memorial stating that the Prince of Huainan was behaving disrespectfully. [As a result], he was demoted to toilet duty for three years.” This serves as a notable example of what Pengzu and

[29] GZB: 992–993.

[30] Also known as the Prince of Huainan 淮南王, Liu An was uncle and advisor to Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (156 BC–87 BC). He is credited with editing the philosophical compendium *Huainanzi* 淮南子 and, apocryphally, the invention of tofu. Legend relates that Liu An fled to the heavens to escape political persecution.

Master Baishi in *juan* seven of *Shenxian zhuan* (discussed in an earlier section) characterise as "[due to] the hordes of revered deities in heaven, the novice spirits have their work cut out for them." In his "Rhapsody on Denigrated Spirits," collected in book two of *Jingwen ji* (Revering Literature Collection), Song Qi (998-1061) claims that the anecdote about Liu An ascending to heaven was fabricated by Ge Hong (283–343). He writes, "The Prince acted arrogantly out of a lack of reverence and was demoted among the ranks of the divines. Although he lived to be a hundred million years old, he was banished to the latrine, where he only further disgraced himself." The accompanying self-commentary draws on the few words [listed above]. In "Silently Remembering the Matter of the Prince of Huainan," featured in book fourteen of *Yuanxian ji* (Original Charter Collection) Qi's older brother Song Jiao (996–1066), writes, "On tasting the home-made broth, [Liu An] paid a visit to the Celestial Emperor. The chickens and dogs in his palace also ascended to heaven. Sadly, he faced south and declared himself emperor, and was as a result reduced to toilet duty in the divine household!" The first "Impromptu" (*zaxing*) in book forty-one of Liu Kezhuang's (1187–1269) *Houcun daquan* (The Complete Works of Master Houcun) also borrows this allusion to make its point: "Ascending to Heaven may be a cause for joy, [just as] descending to earth is to be lamented/ Had [Liu An] known, however, that he was off to serve toilet duty, he wouldn't have taken the trouble of arriving with his entire household in tow!"

During the Ming Dynasty, Yuan Qinian (fl. 1624), in his second "Ode to Chu Madness – Dreaming of Visiting Heaven in imitation of Li He (790–816)" employs this anecdote to make a wicked joke: "Caught short, I relieved myself on the jade steps [of the celestial palace]. The Prince of Huainan supplied me with toilet roll."[31] The "Astronomy Treatise" of the *Shiji* (Records of the Grand Historian) relates that, "to the south there are four stars, which are called the 'celestial toilet' – the star below [this constellation] is known as the celestial turd." This nomenclature simply points towards a shape; it does not really suggest that the celestial palace has a latrine, or that the divines must answer nature's call. The "Gu Yuanzhi" chapter of the *Taiping Guangji* (Extensive Records of the Taiping Era), originally collected in *Xuanguai lu* (A Record of Strange Monsters) asserts that the Kingdom of Harmonious Spirits "is not equipped with a privy." The second book of Huang Sheng's (1622–1696) *Yifu* (Repository of Meaning) notes that "*The Biography of Three Divines from Hailing* by that Song dynasty fellow [Wang Yuxi 王禹錫 (fl. 11th c.)] reads: '[He] was confined alone to a room, and led his life between four walls. He ate meat and drank wine as usual, though there was no water closet.' This is as much as to say that those who have attained the Way do not relieve themselves, even though they eat and drink." Such lofty, unfettered bodies should, by reason, be free of lowly filth. In this respect, Ge Hong has been caught in an infelicity.

Turning to the Buddhist Canon, the sixth book of the *Dīrgha Āgama*, entitled "The Practice of Chakravarti Sutra," states that in ancient times people led a settled and happy existence, suffering from only "nine afflictions:" "one - cold; two - heat; three - hunger; four - thirst; five – [going to the] "convenience" in a major way; six – [going to the] "convenience" in a minor way; seven – carnal desire; eight - gluttony; nine - senility." In his translation of the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* Kumārajīva (344–413), writes "there are only three afflictions: the first is [going to the] "convenience," the second is eating and drinking, the third is old age." An anonymous translation of the same sutra, however, states that "the first is the sense of needing something, the second is hunger and thirst,

[31] *Cechou* 廁籌 literarily means a "toilet stick," or as the Romans called it, a *tersorium*.

the third is old age." I suspect that "the sense of needing something" indicates [going to the] "convenience." The original wording probably resembles the euphemistic expression in European languages that describes such inner urges as a "major need, un besoin, or ein Bedürfnis." (1). The translator failed to grasp this nuance and translated directly. On becoming a Buddha, one is relieved of the "three afflictions." In this vein, a chapter entitled "Renunciates from Near Jingxi" in book ten of the *Fozu tongji* (Complete Chronicle of the Buddhas and Patriarchs) records that Chan Master Xingman "did not make use of the lavatory in forty years. This may be attributed to the fact that, as an "emanation of a Grand Master" he did not imbibe even though he was seen to eat."

In Western myths, abstaining from lavatorial activity is taken as one of the miraculous abilities of the Gods. When King Antigonous of ancient Greece was flattered as a heavenly spirit, he answered, "The slave who attends my chamber-pot is not conscious of that." Another text, [relating the same incident], reads, "Mon lasanophore le nie." (2) In the middle-ages, priests painstakingly tried to get to the bottom of whether there are stools in Heaven (Aquinas could gravely debate whether there are excrements in Paradise). (3) Martin Luther asserted categorically that "Gott kacket und bisset nicht." (4) Voltaire claimed that God had no entrails and did not drink or eat. Men, who have the audacity to proclaim themselves made in the image of God, present a wholly shameless spectacle when squatting on the latrine. (Toi, l'image de Dieu sur ta chaîse percée!) (5) When viewed in this light, the assertion in *Shenxian zhuan* that there are "latrines" in heaven must be viewed as a lapse of the pen; Ge Hong isn't boorish or illiterate; out of negligence, he just didn't give the matter enough thought.

1 E.g. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VIII. vi. 59: "Ad requisita naturae," "Loeb," III, 334.
2. Plutarch, *Moralia*, "Sayings of Kings and Commanders," § 182 and "Isis and Osiris," § 360, "Loeb," III, 71 and V, 59; Rabelais, Gargantua et Pantagruel, Liv. IV, ch. 60, Oeuv. Comp., éd. J. Plattard, IV, 219, 320. Cf. Montaigne, *Essais*, 1. Xiii and III. xiii, "la Pléiade," 260, 1045.
3. Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, "Chandos Classics," I, 64–5.
4. Quoted in F. Mauthner, Kritik der Sprache, 3. Aufl., 1, 60.
5. Voltaire, Dictionnaire philosophique, art. "Déjection," *Oeuv.comp*., ed. L. Moland, XVIII, 326.

The first impetus for this essay can be traced to late 1965, when Qian was making notes on the *Taiping Guangji*. This Song dynasty compiled *collectanea*, which would occupy the majority of the second volume of *Guanzhui bian*, appealed to Qian by virtue of its exuberant diversity and irreverent transgressions of social mores. By awarding *Taiping Guangji* a place beside the great histories, philosophical works, and orthodox classics of the Chinese canon, he was articulating a conviction that literature should embrace all aspects of life, even the most unsavory ones. Indeed, the meeting between high minded literary and moral principles and an earthy, realistic portrayal of the human condition is one of the defining signatures of Qian's

masterpiece. *Shenxian zhuan*, which playfully blends the religious and the profane, was the perfect vehicle for this message. Qian had already made brief notes on the book in the early 1940s.[32] These, however, focused primarily on the "Baishi xiansheng" chapter. The first reference we find to the "Liu An," chapter, therefore, is in the seventy pages of extracts that Qian compiled from the *Taiping guangji* in "leather cahier 7" (*yingpi ben qi* 硬皮本七) during the early 1960s.[33]

> ［…］ 遇諸仙伯，安少習尊貴，稀為卑下之禮，坐起不恭，語聲高亮。或誤稱寡人。於是仙伯主者奏安云： 不敬，應斥遣去。八公為之謝過，乃見赦。謫守都厠三年。後為散仙人，不得處職，但得不死而已。［…］[34]

> […] In his dealings with spirits, Liu An rarely honoured the illustrious, and hardly ever made humble overtures. His actions were uncouth, and his speech was arrogantly plangent. He once erroneously used the royal "we." As a result, the governing spirits submitted a memorial stating that An was "behaving disrespectfully, and should be dismissed. After the "eight gentlemen" intervened on his behalf he was granted a reprieve, and demoted to toilet duty for three years. Later, he became a roaming spirit; banned from office, he was now a mere immortal. […]

As we can observe from this extract, the citation with which Qian begins his essay in *Guanzhui bian* is in fact a paraphrase of the original text, which Qian has bowdlerised for the sake of brevity. In compiling the meat of his essay on Liu An's janitorial duties, however, Qian leaned on a series of observations that he had made in entry 585 (compiled in 1956–7), which treats Song Xiang's 宋庠 (z. Jiao 郊) *Yuanxian ji*.

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[32] ZWBJ 4: 194.
[33] ZWBJ 7: 201–273.
[34] ZWBJ 7: 271. More cursory notes on the "Liu An" chapter are found in entry 724 of the "Daily Notes," compiled several years later. 卷八〈劉安〉《神仙傳》：「臨去時，餘藥器置在中庭，鷄犬舐啄之，盡得升天。」按卷五十一〈宜君王老〉《續仙傳》：「居舍草樹，全家人物雞犬，一時飛去。唯貓棄而未去。 […] RAG: 1798. "*Juan* eight, "Liu An," *Shenxian zhuan*: "Upon his departure, [Liu An] left the pot with the remaining elixir in the courtyard. The dogs licked it, and the chickens pecked it, so all of them ascended to heaven." "Old Wang from Yijun," *juan* fifty-one, *Xuxian zhuan* 續仙傳 (Further Traditions of Transcendents): "The house, the plants, all the family members, and the chickens and dogs, flew away in a jiffy. Only the cat spurned it [the elixir] and did not go."

〈默記淮南王事〉：「室餌初嘗謁帝晨，宮中鷄犬亦登真。可憐南面稱孤貴，纔作仙家守廁人。」按《景文集》卷二有〈詆仙賦〉謂淮南昇仙乃葛洪誣妄，有云：「王負驕以弗虔兮，又見譎（按當作『謫』）於列真。雖長年之彌億兮，屏帑偃而愈愆。」自注：「葛《傳》云：『仙伯主者劉安不恭，乃謫守郡都廁。』」與乃兄此詩意同。《劉後村大全集》卷四十二〈雜興〉第一首云：「昇天雖可喜，削地已堪哀。早知守廁去，何須拔宅來！」更刻峭。[35]

"Silently Remembering the Matter of the Prince of Huainan:" "On tasting the home-made broth, [Liu An] paid a visit to the Celestial Emperor. The chickens and dogs in his palace also ascended to heaven. Sadly, he faced south and declared himself emperor. As a result, he was reduced to toilet duty in the divine household!" Note: "Rhapsody on Denigrated Spirits," collected in book two of *Jingwen ji* claims that the anecdote about Huainan ascending to heaven was fabricated by Ge Hong. He writes, "The Prince acted arrogantly out of a lack of reverence, and was subjected to trickery (note: this word should read 'demotion') among the ranks of the divines. Although he lived to be a hundred million years old, he was banished to the latrine, where he only further disgraced himself." Self-commentary: "Ge [Hong's] [*Shenxian*] *zhuan* relates that, "The governing spirits [in heaven] submitted a memorial stating that the Prince of Huainan was behaving disrespectfully. [As a result], he was demoted to toilet duty for three years." The thrust of this poem is similar to a work by his older brother. "Impromptu" number one, *juan* forty-two*, Liu Houcun daquanji*: "Ascending to Heaven may be a cause for joy, [just as] descending to earth is to be lamented/ Had [Liu An] known, however, that he was off to serve toilet duty, he wouldn't have taken the trouble of arriving with his entire household in tow!" This cuts closer to the bone.

In his final essay, Qian curated these quotations in a different sequence, taking the *Shenxian zhuan* as the base text. It is clear, however, that this entry served as his touchstone.

For the bulk of the remaining excerpts, we must turn to entry 225 (initially compiled in 1954), which treats Logan Pearsall-Smith's (1865–1946) *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*. During the 1930s, when Qian was studying at Oxford, Pearsall-Smith was a leading light in the capital's literary scene. As a reigning grandee, the elderly writer took a keen though often condescending interest in young Oxonians making their first appearances at High Table or in

[35] RAGZJ: 653. See Image 5.1.

the pages of academe's most polished journals. This patronage earned him the sobriquet "The Sage of Chelsea."[36] It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Qian read Pearsall-Smith's *Reprisals and Re-collections* while still a commoner at Exeter College.[37] In the 1940s, he also made copious notes from *A Treasury of English Aphorisms*. When embarking upon entry 225, Qian refers back to the latter volume:

> Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life & Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*. 甚精核。詞章家乃於校勘考訂審慎不苟如此，殊出意外。然所選 A Treasury of English Aphorism 却不及 Wotton，何耶？[38]
>
> Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life & Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*. Exquisite and accurate. That a litterateur should be so discerning and judicious in textual research and editorial work is surprising indeed. But why didn't the author's selection *A Treasury of English Aphorism* (sic) make any mention of Wotton?

An excerpt from Wotton's recorded conversations, which Pearsall-Smith dubs "Table Talk," triggers an avalanche of comparative extracts from Chinese and European works detailing the intrigues of the royal chamber pot: "The Camerieri of Contarini, at his return to Venice, being asked what he had seen in England, said […] he saw a picture in London of the Pope at the stool, dropping medals, mitres, beads, with many cardinals & priests holding up their hands."[39] The majority of quotations that find their way into *Guanzhui bian* are found on page 340, which is notable for its proliferation of marginalia and interlineal addenda. The main body of text reads:

> Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, art. "Déjection": "O homme! qui oses te dire l'image de Dieu, dis-moi si Dieu mange, et s'il a un boyau rectum. Toi l'image de Dieu! et ton coeur et ton esprit dépendent d'une selle! Toi , l'image de Dieu sur ta chaise percée!" (Oeuv. comp., éd. Moland, t. XVIII, p. 326); Goncourt, *Journal*, 5 Janvier, 1865, Éd.

[36] Hugh Trevor-Roper (1913–2003), a contemporary of Qian's at Oxford, was one of Pearsall-Smith's most devoted protégés. Qian was aware of Trevor-Roper's work. In his notes to *The Hermit of Peking*, he puzzles at how Edmund Backhouse (1873–1944), whose knowledge of Chinese literature was spurious at best, managed to fool the British establishment. See, WWBJ 29: 448.
[37] WWBJ 2: 450.
[38] RAG: 337.
[39] RAG: 338.

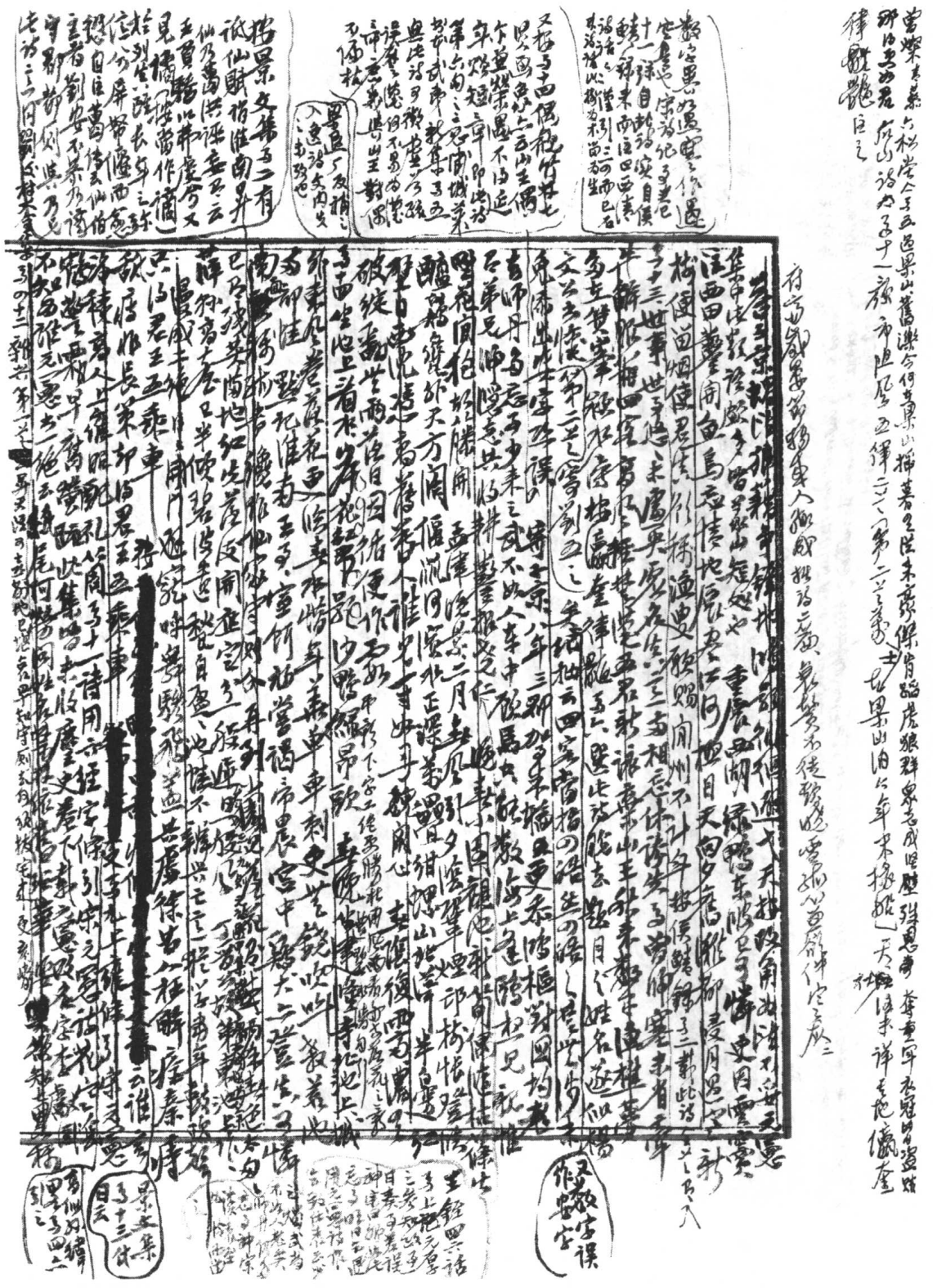

Image 5.1. Notes on Song Xiang's *Yuanxian ji* from the "Daily Notes." Source: RAG: 653

definitive, II, p. 189: “Sainte-Beuve a vu une fois le premier Empereur. C’était à Boulogne: il était en train de pisser. N’est-ce pas un peu dans cette posture-là qu’il a vu et jugé depuis tous les grands hommes?” (按 Nietzsche, *Kunst und Künstler*, §103 嘗引此而論 Sainte-Beuve 曰 :[40] “Instinktiv die Bekanntschaft mit Menschen von Unten und Hintenher suchend, nicht viel anders als es die Hunde unter einander Machen.” — *Werke*, Taschen-Ausgabe, Alfred Kröner Verlag, Bd. XI, S. 55)，胥謂人為萬物之靈，參三才之一，而雖以萬乘尊貴，不免五穀輪迴，靜言思之，殊可鄙噦。Wotton 所覩畫，正此意也。[41]

Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*, art[icle]. “Dejection:” “Oh mankind! Who would dare declare you made in the image of God? Tell me if God eats and if he has a gut and a rectum. You, the image of God! And your heart and spirit hanging from a saddle! You, the image of God on your pierced throne!” (Complete Works, Moland ed. Vol. XVIII, p. 326); Goncourt, *Journal*, Jan. 5, 1865, Definitive ed., Vol. II, p. 189: “Sainte-Beuve once saw the first Emperor. It was at Boulogne; he was pissing. Is it not in this posture that [Saint-Beuve] has since seen and judged all great men?” (Note: Nietzsche’s *Art and the Artist*, § 103, cites this passage in its discussion of Saint-Beuve: “He instinctively sought the acquaintance of men from beneath and behind, not unlike dogs are fain to do among themselves.” *Collected Works*, Taschen-Ausgabe, Alfred Kröner Verlag, Vol. XI, p. 55). Which is all to say that man is the measure of all things, and part and parcel of the cosmic trinity (heaven, earth, man). Though noble by virtue of his ten thousand chariots, he is unable to avoid “the reincarnation of the five grains” [i.e. going to the toilet]. When we pronounce this calmly, or give it some thought, [we may conclude] that man is indeed a vile thing. This is exactly what Wotton was trying to depict.

This body of text is entangled in marginalia. I have transcribed these discrete groups of marginalia starting from the top right and progressing anticlockwise. The numerals are my own.

1. [參觀 (See) Plutarch: “Life of Alexander”, 22: “He used to say that sleep & sexual][42] intercourse, more than anything else made him conscious that he was mortal.” (*Parallel Lives*, tr. by Bernadotte Perrin, “The Loeb Classical Library”, VII, p. 259).

2. 《長阿含經》之六謂太古人安樂，惟有九病：其五大便、六小便、七欲。《彌勒下生成佛經》云：「人壽八萬四千歲，安隱快樂，惟有三病：一者便利。」《彌勒來時經》：「三病：一者意欲有所得。」疑即「便利」之直譯，如西文言 Major need, besoin, habe ein Bedürfnis 也，亦見成佛成神，則無此等「病」矣。（《太平廣記·卷三八三·古元之》引《玄怪錄》：「和神國不置溷所。」）

[40] Anglicè: Note: Nietzsche, in *Kunst und Künstler*, §103 quotes this in his discussion of Saint-Beuve.
[41] RAG: 340. See Image 5.2.
[42] This sentence is truncated. The former half is found in the marginalia at the bottom of 339.

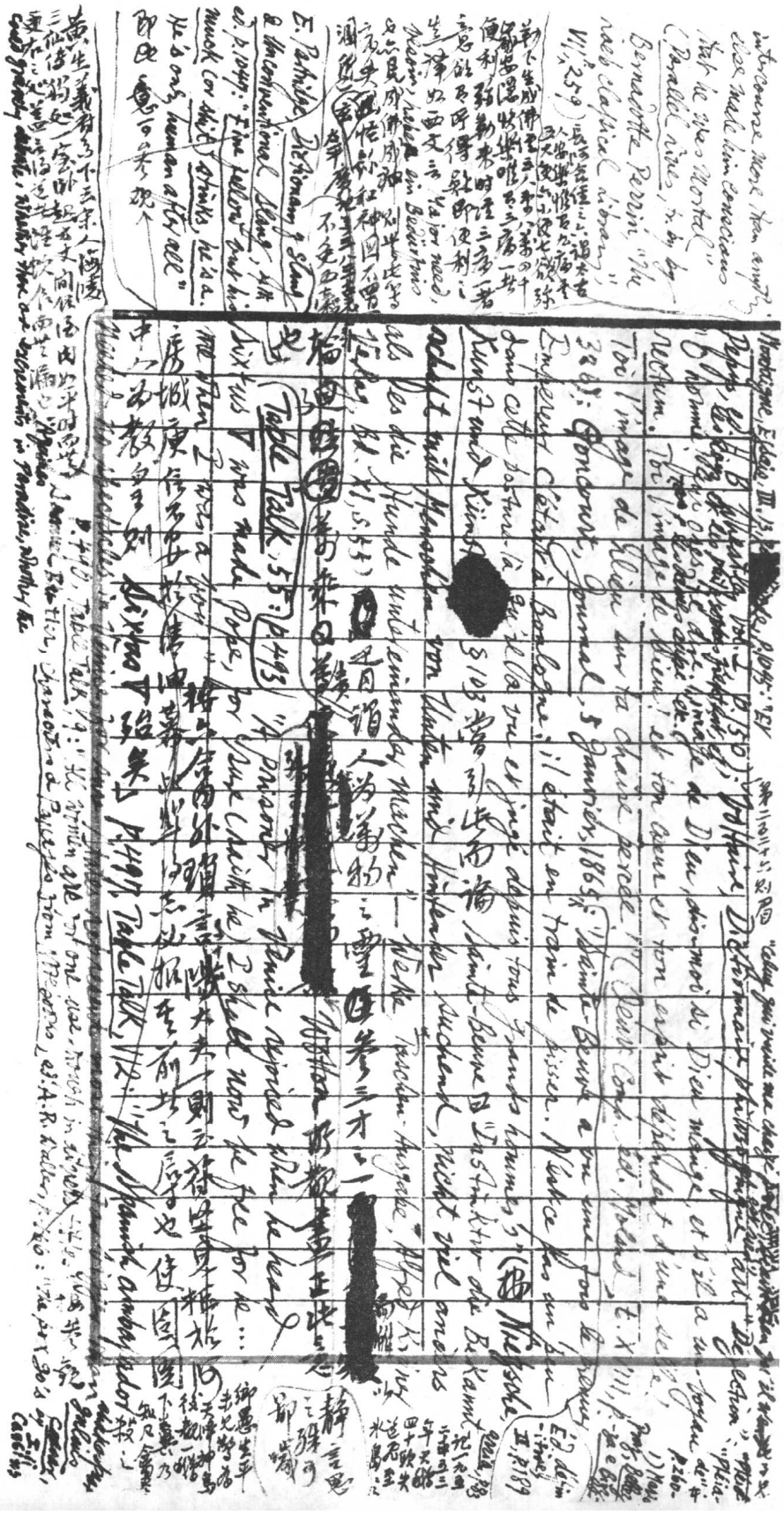

Image 5.2. Notes on Logan Pearsall Smith's *The Life & Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*. Source: RAG: 340.

The sixth [book] of the *Dīrgha Āgama* states that in ancient times people led a settled and happy existence, suffering from only "nine afflictions:" the fifth was [going to the] "convenience" in a major way, the sixth was [going to the] "convenience" in a minor way, and the seventh was desire. The *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* records that, "People lived to the age of eighty-four thousand years. They led a settled and happy existence, with only three afflictions: the first was [going to the] 'convenience.'" Another translation of the same sutra reads: "three afflictions: the first is the sense of 'needing something.'" I suspect that this is a direct translation of [going to the] "convenience," such as "major need, besoin, habe ein Bedürfnis" in Western languages. It has also been observed that on becoming a Buddha, one is relieved of these "afflictions." *Taiping Guangji*, book 384, "Gu Yuanzhi," cites *Xuanguai lu*: "The Kingdom of Harmonious Spirits is not equipped with a privy."

3. Partridge, *Dictionary of Slang & Unconventional English*, 4th ed., p. 1047: "Fine fellow but his muck stinks, he's a [sic]. He's only human after all." 可參觀。[This is worth noting].

4. 黃生《義府》卷下云：「宋人《海陵三仙傳》：『獨處一室，臥起方丈間，食酒肉如平時，而無更衣之處。』蓋言得道者雖飲食而無漏也。

   The second *juan* of Huang Sheng's *Yifu* says that "'The Biography of Three Divines from Hailing" by that Song dynasty fellow reads: '[He] was confined alone to a room and led his life between four walls. He ate meat and drank wine as usual, though there was no water closet.' This is as much as to say that those who have attained the Way do not relieve themselves, even though they eat and drink."

5. "Aquinas could gravely debate: Whether there are excrements in Paradise? Whether the pious at the resurrection will rise with their bowels" etc. (Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, "Chandos Classics", I, p.33."

6. Shakespear (sic), *Julius Caesar*, I.ii, Cassius.

7. Mario Praz, *Belleza e Bizzarria*, p. 83 記一九五二年、五三年，天鵝四十頭失道飛至氷島，氷島鄉愚生平未見，驚為天降神鳥，後覩一鵝下糞，乃知凡禽，殺之。

   Page 83 of Mario Praz's *Belleza e Bizzarria* notes that in 1952, or 53, forty swans lost their bearings and flew to Iceland. The simple locals had never seen such a sight, and marveled that these were divine birds sent from heaven. Latterly, a swan was observed defecating. The locals then concluded that the swans were mortal and killed them.

8. (Montaigne, *Essais*, I, XIII 亦引此事，見 "Pléiade" 本 p. 260–1)

   Montaigne's *Essais*, I XIII also cite this matter. See the "Pléiade" edition, p. 260-1.

As we have had ample opportunity to observe, the marginalia in Qian's notebooks is typically indicative of observations made after the date of the original entry. Mario Praz's *Belleza e Bizzarria*, for instance was first published in 1960, six years after the date of the main body of text. A review of the relevant entries in the *Zhongwen biji* and *Waiwen biji*, however, shows that Qian read many of the works cited above prior to 1954. We find lengthy notes, for example, on both the *Dīrgha Āgama* and the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* in volume four of the *Zhongwen biji*. Qian read both these sutras while working his way through the Buddhist canon during the 1940s.[43] The jottings on Montaigne's *Essais*, and Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* similarly date from the 1940s.[44] Excerpts from Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature* are found in a notebook from the late 1930s.[45] The relevant passage in Huang Sheng's *Yifu* appears in volume 5 of the *Zhongwen biji*, which was compiled during the mid to late 1940s.[46] Only the notes for Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* are relatively contemporaneous, dating from 1953.[47] From this evidence we can conclude that during Qian's periodic "cycles of compilation," when he reviewed his entire corpus of notes,[48] these passages were migrated from old notebooks to this new entry. Though entry 225 was first compiled in 1954, the cyclical nature of Qian's notetaking effaces the significance of this date.

During the composition of the manuscript for *Guanzhui bian*, however, Qian would have been most aware not of the original chronology of his notes, but rather of their spatial distribution. Accordingly, it may be more illustrative to examine his sources from a spatial rather than a chronological perspective. The following table presents the citations from Qian's essay on "Liu

[43] Qian alludes to this period of study in entry 488, transcribed above. See: ZWBJ 4: 400, ZWBJ 4: 395.
[44] WWBJ 5: 649.
[45] WWBJ 11: 391, WWBJ 10: 11.
[46] ZWBJ 5: 9–12.
[47] WWBJ 30: 645.
[48] For a case study of this technique, see chapter one.

An" in their original sequence, together with the number of the notebook(s) in which those citations are found.

Author	Title/Chapter	Citation	Notebook Number
Ge Hong	*Shenxian zhuan*/Liu An	The governing spirits [in heaven] submitted a memorial stating that the Prince of Huainan was behaving disrespectfully. [As a result], he was demoted to toilet duty for three years.	DN: No. 9 (Entry 585)[49] Base Extract: ZW: No. 41.[50]
Ge Hong	*Shenxian zhuan*/Master Baishi	[due to] the hordes of revered deities in heaven, the novice spirits have their work cut out for them	DN: No. 18 (Entry 724)[51]
Song Qi	*Jingwen ji*/ /Rhapsody on Denigrated Spirits	The Prince acted arrogantly out of a lack of reverence and was demoted among the ranks of the divines. Although he lived to be a hundred million years old, he was banished to the latrine, where he only further disgraced himself	DN: No. 9 (Entry 585)[52] Base Extract: ZW: No. 1.[53]
Song Jiao	*Yuanxian ji*/ Silently Remembering the Matter of the Prince of Huainan	On tasting the home made broth, [Liu An] paid a visit to the Celestial Emperor. The chickens and dogs in his palace also ascended to	DN: No. 9 (Entry 585).[54] Base Extract: ZW: No. 34.[55]

[49] RAG: 653.
[50] ZWBJ 7: 271.
[51] RAG: 1797.
[52] RAG: 653.
[53] ZWBJ 1: 613.
[54] RAG: 653.
[55] ZWBJ 4: 494.

		heaven. Sadly, he faced south and declared himself emperor, and was as a result reduced to toilet duty in the divine household	
Liu Kezhuang	*Houcun daquan ji*/ Impromptu	Ascending to Heaven may be a cause for joy, [just as] descending to earth is to be lamented/ Had [Liu An] known, however, that he was off to serve toilet duty, he wouldn't have taken the trouble of arriving with his entire household in tow!	DN: No. 9 (Entry 585).[56] Base Extract: ZW: 58.[57]
Yuan Qinian	*Odes to Chu Madness*/ Dreaming of Visiting Heaven in imitation of Li He	Caught short, I relieved myself on the jade steps [of the celestial palace]. The Prince of Huainan supplied me with toilet roll	ZWBJ: No. 49.[58]
Sima Qian	*Shi ji*/Astronomy Treatise	to the south there are four stars, which are called the 'celestial toilet' – the star below [this constellation] is known as the celestial turd.	ZWBJ: No. 46.[59]
Li Fang et al. ed.	*Taiping Guangji*/Gu Yuanzhi	[Heaven] is not equipped with a privy	DN: No. 4 (Entry 225).[60] Base Extract: ZW: No. 41.[61]
Huang Sheng	*Yifu*	*The Biography of Three Divines from Hailing* by that Song	DN: No. 4 (Entry 225).[62]

[56] RAG: 653.
[57] ZWBJ 12: 254–255.
[58] ZWBJ 9: 522.
[59] ZWBJ 8: 211.
[60] RAG: 340.
[61] ZWBJ 7: 220–221.
[62] RAG: 340.

		dynasty fellow reads: '[He] was confined alone to a room, and led his life between four walls. He ate meat and drank wine as usual, though there was no water closet.' This is as much as to say that those who have attained the Way do not relieve themselves, even though they eat and drink.	Base Extract: ZW: No. 35.[63]
Anon.	*Dīrgha Āgama*/ The Practice of Chakravarti Sutra	one - cold; two - heat; three - hunger; four - thirst; five – [going to the] "convenience" in a major way; six – [going to the] "convenience" in a minor way; seven - desire; eight - gluttony; nine - senility.	DN: No. 4 (Entry 225).[64] Base Extract: ZW: Daben 24.[65]
Kumārajīva trans.	*Maitreya-vyākaraṇa*	there are only three afflictions: the first is [going to the] "convenience," the second is eating and drinking, the third is old age."	DN: No. 4 (Entry 225)[66]
Anon. trans.	*Maitreya-vyākaraṇa*	the first is the sense of needing something, the second is hunger and thirst, the third is old age	DN: No. 4 (Entry 225)[67]
Quintilian	*Institutio Oratoria*	Ad requisita naturae	WWBJ: No. 147?[68]

[63] ZWBJ 5: 10.
[64] RAG: 340.
[65] ZWBJ 4: 401.
[66] RAG: 340.
[67] RAG: 340.
[68] WWBJ 29: 726.

Zhi Pan	*Fozu tongji*/ Renunciates from Near Jingxi	did not make use of the lavatory in forty years. This may be attributed to the fact that, as an "emanation of a Grand Master" he did not imbibe even though he was seen to eat.	ZWBJ: No. 48.[69]
Plutarch	*Moralia*/ Sayings of Kings and Commanders	The slave who attends my chamber-pot is not conscious of that.	DN: No. 4 (Entry 225)[70]
Rabelais	*Gargantua et Pantagruel*	Mon lasanophore le nie.	DN: No. 4 (Entry 225)[71] Base Extract: WWBJ no. 163.[72]
Montaigne	*Essais*	Reference, but no citation.	DN: No. 4 (Entry 225)[73]
Disraeli	*Curiosities of Literature*	Aquinas could gravely debate whether there are excrements in Paradise.	DN: No. 4 (Entry 225)[74] Base Extract: No. 29.[75]
Mauthner	*Kritik der Sprache*	Gott kacket und bisset nicht	WWBJ: No. 61.[76]
Voltaire	*Dictionnaire Philosophique*	Toi, l'image de Dieu sur ta chaîse percée!	DN: No. 4 (Entry 225).[77] Base Extract: WWBJ: No. 159.[78]

Table 5.1. The Spatial Distribution of Citations for the "Liu An" chapter of the *Shenxian zhuan*.

[69] ZWBJ 12: 31–32.
[70] RAG: 339.
[71] RAG: 339.
[72] WWBJ 36: 168.
[73] RAG: 340.
[74] RAG: 340.
[75] WWBJ 36: 45.

[76] WWBJ 12: 221.
[77] RAG: 340.
[78] WWBJ 37: 147.

From this table it is evident that Qian located the great majority of his sources in two notebooks, namely "Daily Notes" numbers 4 and 9. He also, however, consulted five other notebooks: Nos. 46, 48 and 49 from the *Zhongwen biji*, no. 61 from the *Waiwen biji* and no. 18 from the "Daily Notes.*"* I have found no reference to these notebooks in the two "Daily Notes" entries that served as the cornerstone for this essay. This begs the question, how did Qian know that these notebooks were relevant to the topic at hand? There are a number of plausible answers. In the case of the citation from the *Shiji* in *Zhongwen biji* number 46, Qian would already have reviewed these notes when compiling his essays on that classic for the preceding volume of *Guanzhui bian*. As for *Zhongwen biji* notebooks numbers 46 and 48, a clue lies in the contiguous entries within these volumes. Number 49 contains Qian's notes on the *Complete Pre-Tang Prose*, while number 48 contains those from the *Complete Tang Prose.* Though the latter work did not make it into the final draft, Qian would have reviewed these notebooks in preparation for the projected scope of his work. *Waiwen biji* number 61 was compiled in 1974. Its contents were therefore fresh in Qian's mind when he came to write his essay on the "Liu An" chapter. There is only citation that I haven't managed to track down: according to my chronology, Qian's comprehensive notes on *Institutio Oratoria* in Foreign Language Notebook 147 date from the late 1980s. This work, however, was an old favourite. The "Daily Notes" system cites from it no less than twenty times.

On this basis we can conclude that Qian supplemented the two "Daily Notes" entries that formed an early draft of his essay with extracts from notebooks that he had either recently compiled, or recently reviewed while preparing for other essays in his magnum opus. Qian's navigation of his notes was guided, in other words, not by the chronology of the original entries,

but by his recent history of reading and reviewing. In this sense, his essay represents yet another "cycle of compilation."

There is a significant difference, however, between the "cycles of compilation" that pervade the notes (involving the incremental migration of marginalia to form thematic entries or sub entries) and the "cycles of compilation" that resulted in the polished essays of *Guanzhui bian.* We may take the marginalia from entry 225 of the "Daily Notes" as an example.

Image 5.3. shows that the citations and critical observations that Qian culled from entry 225 to compile his essay in no way follow the spatial distribution of the original entry. The reason for this is clear. When migrating marginalia from other notebooks to entry 225, Qian's only concern was to leave enough room for future cycles of review and compilation. His annotations, therefore, are cramped and disordered, making full use of all the available space on the page. While composing his essay for *Guanzhui bian*, however, Qian restructured this material to produce the critical symmetries that are the hallmark of his masterpiece. The first paragraph of his essay, therefore, focuses on works that support Ge Hong's conjecture that there are privies in heaven. The Song brothers and Liu Kezhuang, who all lament the fate of lesser deities doomed to act the part of celestial skivvies, support this position. In the second paragraph, Qian begins to lampoon Ge Hong, first citing Li He's comical and imagined encounter with Liu An on the steps of the Celestial Palace, then reaching for relevant sections from the *Taiping Guangji* and Huang Sheng's *Yifu*, which categorically deny that deities pay calls to nature. A review of the Buddhist literature only bolsters this argument. Qian characteristically ends his essay with a breathless review of relevant Western works that corroborate the Buddhist metaphysics of scatology. Here, however, it is the incompatibility of the porcelain and celestial thrones that brings the absurdity of Ge Hong's premise into focus. Qian's essay, therefore,

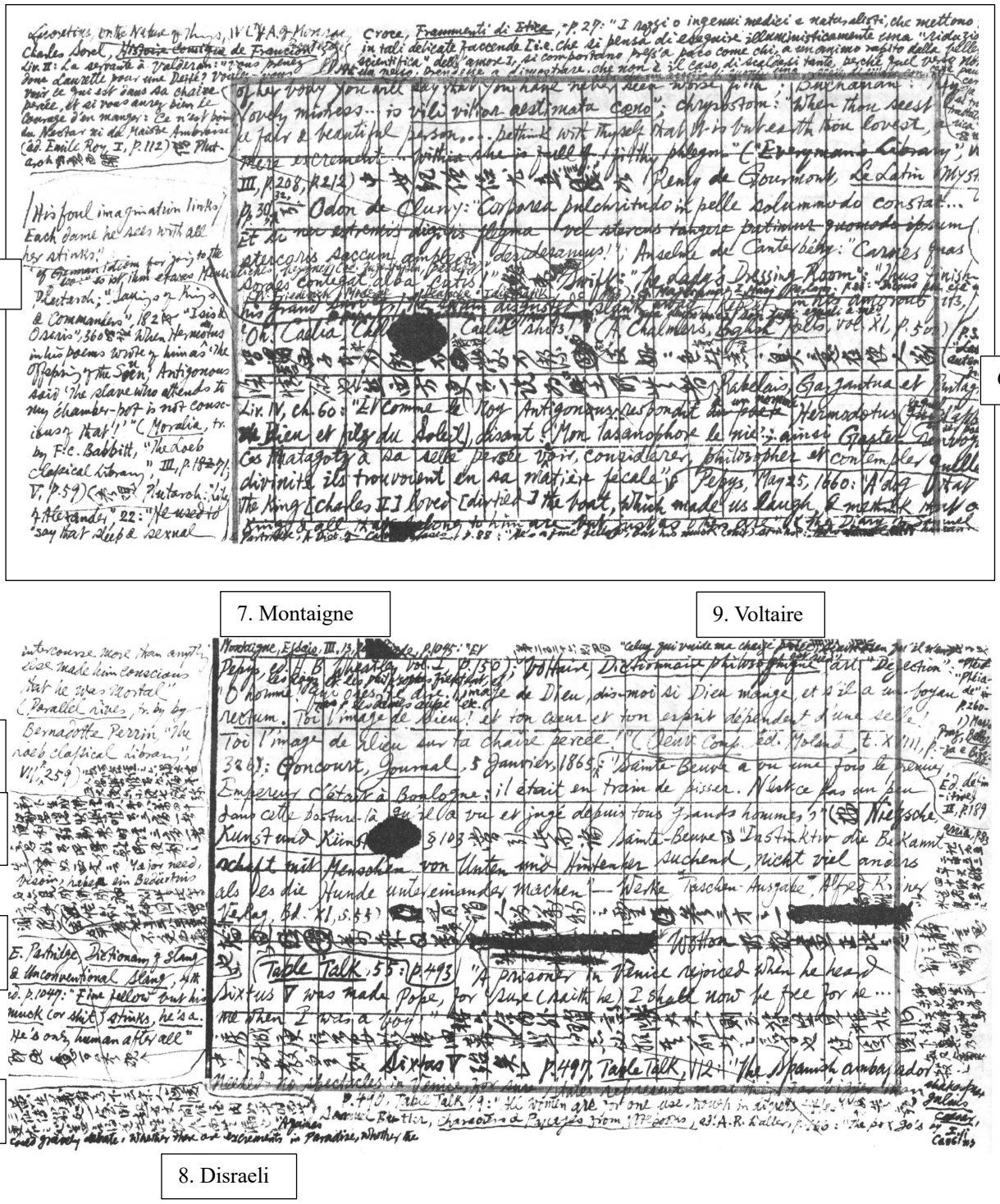

Image 5.3. Marginalia on scatology in the “Daily Notes.” Source: RAG: 339–340.

benefits from the riotous erudition of entry 225, while bringing its tangled threads of marginalia into clearer alignment. This is achieved, not through a rigorous argument, but by the dialectical dance of critical contrasts that we first examined in chapter two.

5.4. Cycles of Composition

In treating entries 585 and 225 from the "Daily Notes" as a proxy-draft of Qian's essay, we have gleaned two key insights into the endogenesis of *Guanzhui bian*. On the one hand, Qian's creative process was clearly a continuation of the many "cycles of compilation," that preceded the composition of his magnum opus. In this respect we may question, like De Biasi, the usefulness of concepts such as exogenesis and endogenesis: "faut-il en déduire […] qu'il n'y a en pratique aucune difference entre le dedans et le dehors de l'écriture?"[79] *Guanzhui bian*, which presents itself as an unadorned selection of the scholar's private notes, tests the validity of these terms, and the boundary between the interior and exterior of the writing process, to near breaking point. On the other hand, while the endogenesis of *Guanzhui bian* certainly mimics its exogenesis, Qian's reorganisation of his notes for publication also constitutes a separate stage of literary creation, entailing, most notably, the curation of critical symmetries. This final stage may be better described not merely as a "cycle of compilation" but as a "cycle of composition." The full process by which Qian's essay came to fruition can therefore be characterised by four chronologically overlapping, though methodologically discrete stages:

1. **Cycles of Reading** (Late 1930s–1974): Qian compiles extracts from the titles that would eventually inform his essay. He reads the earliest of these, Disraeli's

[79] "Must we conclude that exogenesis is essentially nothing but a phantom, that there is in practice no difference between the interior and exterior of writing?" De Biasi, "De l'intertexualité à l'exogenèse," 30.

Curiosities of Literature, in the late 1930s, and the last, Mauthner's *Kritik der Sprache,* in 1974.

2. **Cycles of Compilation** (1954–1966): Starting from 1954, Qian begins to gather scatological extracts around his notes on Logan Pearsall Smith's *The Life & Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* in entry 225 of his "Daily Notes" system. These cycles end with the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, when Qian lost access to the majority of his notebooks.
3. **Cycles of Reference and Review** (1969–1974): During exile in Henan, Qian reviews his "Daily Notes" system in preparation for his planned work, identifying all relevant material.
4. **Cycle of Composition** (1974): Qian unites and curates the relevant notes from entries 585 and 225 in the "Daily Notes," adding observations from his most recently reviewed and compiled notebooks.

While writing *Guanzhui bian*, Qian worked simultaneously on three planes. In the first respect, he exploited the temporal dimension of his notes as he worked back through the chronology of entries in search of relevant material for each essay. This dimension assumed a physical immediacy as he was successively reunited with each of the "old friends" from which he had made notes years, or even decades before. In the second respect, he navigated his notebooks spatially, whereby the ability of a literary aperçu to spark associations with other notes across decades was limited only by the amount of room available in the margins of a given notebook. On the third plane, Qian examined and reorganised his notes conceptually in reference to the broader critical and encyclopaedic aims of his masterpiece. To understand the endogenesis of *Guanzhui bian* we must keep all three of these axes in sight.

5.5: Through A Glass Darkly

To read the essay translated above, or indeed any essay *from Guanzhui bian,* is to consent to the literary equivalent of a teacup ride over the edge of a cliff. The initial dizziness is caused by the contrary motion of the cup and saucer, the notebooks' axes of time and space, but the real lurch derives from the work's critical subtext – the contemplation of the gaping abyss below. For Qian, this abyss was not only his own imminent death, but also the death of the literary culture to which he had devoted his entire life. I have entitled this chapter "through a glass darkly" for two reasons. The first is to highlight the fact that, in the absence of Qian's original manuscript, we can only form imperfect and partial conclusions about the endogenesis of *Guanzhui bian*. Even, however, if the geneticists' genie could grant us access to every scrap and morsal of Qian's manuscripts, we would still be far from a definitive narrative of the work's origins; we can only infer, not read, the mind of the author from his manuscripts. The second reason behind my title is implied by the rest of this quotation, "For now we see through a glass, darkly, but then face to face; now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known."[80] To fully grasp the significance of *Guanzhui bian*, and its relation to Qian's notebooks, we must consider what it means to read this work after the death of its author, and after the death of the literature that it so eloquently represents. Following a summary of the key findings of this thesis and their implications for future research, my concluding chapter will therefore consider the ways in which *Guanzhui bian* curates the sense of an ending, and how, through his own death, and that of his literary tradition, Qian achieved the wholeness that eluded him, and his greatest book, in life.

[80] Corinthians 1, 13:12.



Image 5.4. Qian Yuan's 錢瑗 (1937-1997) sketch of her father in one of the three eternal attitudes of literary inspiration (*san shang* 三上).[81] (Source: Yang Jiang, *Women sa*, Appendix C)

[81] "The majority of things I have written over the course of my life have come to me in three poses: in the saddle, on the pillow, or on the toilet." 余平生所作文章，多在三上，乃馬上、枕上、廁上也。Ouyang Xiu, *Guitian lu*, 20.

Conclusion

SPEAK MNEMOSYNE

The Pathos of *Guanzhui bian* and Genetic Criticism

6.1: Qian's Attitude Towards his Notebooks

Qian's trials during the Cultural Revolution have been recounted by numerous biographers, journalists, academics and writers, not least of all, his own wife. The scholar himself, however, has written about this painful subject on only one occasion. In a short preface to Yang's *Ganxiao liuji* 乾校六記 (Six Records of a Cadre School)[1] Qian first gives a general description of conditions at the cadre school in Henan, where he and Yang spent two doleful years working respectively as a postman and a gardener, then proceeds to explain not how they endured that experience, but how they continued to endure the memory of it:

> All of this belongs to the past and the scene has now changed – we can say that many things have come to light. In this political campaign, as in all that preceded it, at least three types of people emerged. If the comrades who suffered under unjust accusations, who were criticized and "struggled against" were to write an account of this campaign, they might title it "A Record of Grievances" or "A Record of Resentment." As to the masses in general, in reminiscing, they might feel constrained to call theirs "A Record of Shame." This sense of shame and remorse could have its roots in their stupid inability to spot trumped-up charges or misjudged cases, which led them blindly to follow the crowd in trampling on decent people. Or perhaps they would be like me, feeling ashamed of their own cowardice, people who lacked the courage to protest [sic] that which they believed unjust, but whose most courageous act was "passive" participation in the campaign. The third type of person persisted in serving as flag-wavers, drum-beaters, and "hit-men" in helping to "settle" case after case in the "kangaroo courts," even though they knew full well that things were always messy and tangled-up, never clear-cut. These people should logically have the greatest need to write "A Record of Shame," but quite likely they have no recollection of what they did and feel no remorse over it. They may

[1] Howard Goldblatt's translation, which I have quoted from below, renders this title more freely as *Six Chapters from My Life "Downunder*," playing on the leitmotif of the book, *xiafang* 下放 (sent down).

> have forgotten the past precisely because of a sense of shame, or because they are impervious to shame. Shame often aids forgetfulness; incidents that weigh on one's conscience or are disgraceful are never any fun to recall, so they easily slip through our minds and vanish without a trace. Shame also causes a person to recoil and hesitate, thus retarding his chances in a desperate struggle for survival. People with guilty consciences could, because of a momentary retreat from confrontation, place themselves forever in the ranks of stragglers. That is why shame is an emotion that must be eliminated not nurtured, and why it is not included among the "seven human emotions" listed in the ancient classics. As life in today's society grows increasingly tense, this state of mind is more than useless – it is harmful. So it is best forgotten in the interest of one's physical and mental well-being.
>
> *Six Chapters of a Floating Life* – a book I never did like – actually only contains four extant chapters, while *Six Chapters from My Life "Downunder"* should theoretically have been seven. In this day and age, where [sic] collectors, antiquarians, and scholars combine their talents and interests, the discovery of unwritten or unpublished manuscripts by authors great and small has rapidly developed into a new field of literary endeavor. So who can say that the day will not come when the missing chapters of these two books will surface to fill in the gaps, thereby lessening somewhat the number of defects in the world of man.[2]

This preface was composed in December 1980, little more than a year after the publication of *Guanzhui bian*. In the sardonic tone familiar to readers of both his fiction and scholarship, Qian lampoons the dishonesty of those who would rather forget their role in events, while wryly suggesting the possibility of remembering through literature, even if courtesy of the dubious graces of modern academia. Qian hints that the discovery of unpublished manuscripts may one day complete our picture of former times, and the literary works that they produced. The truth that those manuscripts represent, however, may also be distorted by a new industry of literary operators, who pounce on such bounty for profit or feeble academic renown.

Qian's ambivalent attitude towards unearthed manuscripts is indicative of a broader anxiety about the future of his own notebooks. When Yang Jiang first suggested reorganising his notebooks for publication, Qian dissuaded her, claiming that, "some of them are now useless."[3]

[2] Yang, *Six Chapters*, 2–3.
[3] 有些沒用了。 ZWBJ 1: 1.

Zheng Chaozong, recalling his early acquaintance with Qian during the Sino-Japanese war, writes, “At the time, [Qian] was busy writing *On the Art of Poetry*. I had the good fortune to read the manuscript and, on observing the significant number of citations, asked if he made cards. He replied that he only compiled notebooks that no-one else would understand, but that he consulted for relevant citations when writing.”[4] At this juncture, Qian evidently believed that only he could navigate his notebooks profitably. Later, however, he was more protective of his notes, conceding that they might not only be understood, but also reveal more than he was willing to divulge. Wang Shuizhao writes,

> 記得當年有次閒談到“八股”起源，得失，錢先生急忙一擺手：“等等，給你看我的筆記！”即從內室取來此本，翻道此頁向我講說一番。我貪婪地湊過頭去，他立即合上本子，打了句鄉談：“勿好再撥倷看哉!”直逗得我望“書”興嘆，憾失不已。[5]
>
> I remember at that time[6] we were once talking idly about the origins, merits and shortcomings of the “eight-legged essay.” Master Qian impatiently waved his hand: “wait a minute, I’ll show you my notes.” He retrieved a notebook from an inner room and flipped to the relevant page from which he proceeded to read to me. When I greedily drew my head near, he immediately snapped the notebook shut, adding in dialect, “It wouldn’t do to let you peek anymore!” His teasing left me sighing in wonder at the sight of the [note]book, and rueful of the missed opportunity.

Whatever anxieties Qian continued to nurture about the future of his notebooks, he clearly continued to find practical use and personal comfort in the compilation and revision of notes until 1993, when poor health and deteriorating eyesight prevented him from pursuing this lifelong habit any further. The rich addenda that he furnished for *Guanzhui bian* throughout the 1980s, expanding the work by a full five hundred pages, drew on the latest insights of his reading and notetaking. In May 1993, Qian penned yet another short preface for a new edition.

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[4] 那時期他正忙於撰寫《談藝錄》，我有幸得讀手稿，看見其中引文不少，問他做卡片否，他說他只做一種別人看不懂的筆記，供自己著書時連類徵引。Zheng Chaozong, “Huai jiu,” 112.

[5] Wang Shuizhao, *Qian Zhongshu de xuesheng rensheng*, 229.

[6] Wang does not clarify the precise date of this conversation, though we can be certain it took place after 1960, when the junior scholar first entered the classical literature research group at the Academy of Social Sciences.

The brevity and humility of this preamble echoes its initial predecessor, by now twenty years old. Its language, however, is plainer, and its message more frankly reconciled to the inadequacies of learning and the ephemerality of life.

> 茲書刊行後，又一披閱，修益二十處。衰朽為學，如燃見跋之燭，行逆水之舟，徒自苦耳，復自哂也。[7]
>
> After this book was [last] published, I read through it once again and made revisions in twenty places. Performing scholarship in a state of decline and decrepitude is like burning a candle whose wick has run low, or rowing a boat upstream; one tortures oneself in vain. Again, I laugh at myself.

These were not Qian's last words, but they are his last words addressed to us. While the modesty of his preface of 1972 was a rhetorical posture, the muted laughter here seems genuine. Knowledge is endless, but our days are numbered. All scholarly endeavors must therefore inspire a jocular admission of their own futility.

As this study has shown, Qian's notebooks do contribute substantially to our understanding of *Guanzhui bian*. In the following conclusion, I will briefly revisit the findings of the preceding five chapters, both as a reminder to the assiduous reader, who has dutifully followed the thread of my argument thus far, and as an encouragement to busier scholars, who have jumped directly from the introduction to the conclusion in the hope that the nutshell will faithfully encapsulate the nut; I hope that the following summary will send them foraging back into the body of the thesis in search of the corresponding fruit.

6.2: Summary of Research Findings

[7] Qian, *Guanzhui bian*, 1.

1. Genetic criticism, namely the causal analysis of autograph manuscripts and their relation to a published text, yields rich insights into the works of modern Chinese writers for whom we have substantial archives of readily accessible autograph manuscripts.
2. To facilitate genetic analysis, these archives must be reorganised chronologically. The seven-step chronological methodology that I have devised to elucidate Qian's notebooks can potentially be applied to the archives of any modern Chinese writer.[8] The concrete fruits of this methodology will also contribute to the broader study of Qian's life and work.[9]
3. The sequential analysis of Qian's notebooks and their relation to *Guanzhui bian* confirms the validity of two major hypotheses: a) at the height of the Cultural Revolution, the scholar reviewed, then selectively edited, reorganised and expanded his notes to compile his encyclopaedic masterpiece. b) The critical philosophy and scholastic methodology of *Guanzhui bian* is the fruit of a long process of evolution in Qian's note-taking practices.
4. This evolution can be traced back to the earliest extant notebooks, from 1933, which consist of two parallel systems, diaries and extracts, that catered to Qian's varying needs as a scholar and reader. These systems developed, over the course of his career, in response to the pressures of knowledge management and censorship.
5. In the late 1940s, the demands of knowledge management drove Qian to consciously prioritise "cycles of compilation" over "cycles of reading."[10] This phenomenon is observable in two respects: a) the beginnings of a unitary reference system that

[8] See section 3.2.
[9] See Appendix A.
[10] See section 1.5.

bridges notebooks and systems. b) the accumulative compilation of marginalia, whereby Qian migrated extracts across entries in successive cycles of review.

6. In the early 1950s, the imminent danger of censorship compelled Qian to devise a new system, "The Daily Notes," which married the sequential structure of his diaries, now destroyed, with the compilatory qualities of his extracts.[11] Marginalia, which had previously been an auxiliary tool of knowledge management, now became a central mechanism of critical analysis. Qian's famous comparative approach "*da tong*," can be traced back to the innovations of this system. "The Daily Notes" also boast Qian's most comprehensive reference network.[12] This system became the "map" by which Qian navigated the "labyrinth" of his other notebooks.
7. During the Cultural Revolution, Qian largely stopped compiling new notes for lack of available books. Cross-referencing between notebooks, however, shows that Qian took his "Daily Notes" system with him into exile, where he began reviewing it in preparation for the composition of *Guanzhui bian*.[13] A statistical comparison of the exogenetic scope of the "Daily Notes" system and *Guanzhui bian* reveals how crucial this period of review was to the thematic breadth of his masterpiece.[14]
8. When Qian returned to Beijing in the Spring of 1972, he regained access to his full archive of notebooks. Qian now used his "Daily Notes" system in concert with his other notebooks to compose his new work,[15] a first draft of which was completed in 1975.
9. Although the content and comparative qualities of *Guanzhui bian* were shaped by Qian's corpora of notebooks, his magnum opus differs from his notes in several

[11] See section 1.6.
[12] See section 1.7.
[13] See section 3.4.
[14] See section 3.6.
[15] See section 3.7.

important respects, reflecting the scholar's critical aims under the peculiar circumstances of the Cultural Revolution. a) as the last major work of literary Chinese, *Guanzhui bian* seeks to demonstrate the full breadth and eloquence of the premodern tradition, and its relevance to the world of modern ideas and European literature. b) *Guanzhui bian* also articulates the dangers of universal theoretical systems and global approaches to knowledge, which Qian interprets as the source of China's contemporary plight.

10. Qian reconciled these contradictory aims by marrying and creatively adapting two encyclopaedic models. a) *Siku quanshu*: the four-fold bibliographic structure of the Qing collectanea, an annotated index of which Qian took into exile, furnished the elastic macro-structure within which the scholar was able to nestle competing principles of organisation. The most significant of these is a cyclical thematic structure, which lends the work its organic cohesion and self-referential virtuality.[16] b) *L'Encylcopédie*: Evidence from the notebooks shows that on the eve of the Cultural Revolution, Qian was also engaged with the ideas the French encyclopaedists. "The secret passages" of D'Alembert's preliminary discourse closely align with Qian's own understanding of epistemological blindness. Qian's relentless cascades of quotations, which form the inner structure of *Guanzhui bian*, are both a way to transcend and embrace this blindness, shielding his readers from the political and epistemological dangers of a universal system.[17]
11. The contradictions and complexity of *Guanzhui bian* can only be understood in the full context of its genetic dossier. My study of Qian's essays on the *Laozi* shows that the conflicting manner in which Qian imposed a Hegelian "aufhebung" onto the

[16] See sections 2.2. and 2.3.
[17] See section 2.5.

double negatives of this classic is rooted in intellectual concerns that can be traced across forty years of his reading history.[18]

12. Although the draft manuscript for *Guanzhui bian* is no longer extant, a small number of entries from the notebooks can be employed as proxy drafts for endogenetic analysis. My case study of Qian's essay on the "Liu An" chapter of the *Shenxian zhuan* reveals the concrete steps that the scholar took in composing the critical symmetries that are the hallmark of his masterpiece.[19]

6.3: Implications for Future Research

The most immediate application of my genetic methodology is to the further study of *Guanzhui bian*. Just as my analysis of two essays from Qian's survey of the *Laozi* unearthed a meandering path of reading that ducks and dives between Qian's biography and bibliography, so too might the genetic analysis of other central essays in *Guanzhui bian* contribute to a more comprehensive mapping of Qian's intellectual development. The chief interest of such studies will be in observing the intersections on the honeycombed mountain of Qian's learning, evoking the "secret passages" of D'Alembert's encyclopaedic vision. This approach would, moreover, not only demonstrate the value of textual criticism for modern Chinese literary studies, where philological inquiries have long languished, but also contribute to twentieth century Chinese intellectual history.

A genetic approach may equally be applied to Qian's other works of fiction, poetry and scholarship, though the feasibility of these studies will largely be determined by the scope of the genetic dossier. *Tanyi lu*, for example, does not lend itself to genetic analysis as it was

[18] See chapter three.
[19] See section 5.3.

largely composed from notes that Qian compiled in his diaries, which have either been excised or sequestered from sight. Qian's notebooks from the 1930s and 1940s, however, may still afford insights into his early essays and fiction. In an interview with Theodore Huters, for example, Qian denied that his novel *Fortress Besieged* was influenced in either style or substance by the works of Evelyn Waugh (1903–1966) or Aldous Huxley (1894–1963), claiming never to have read either writer at Oxford, where he instead spent his leisure hours devouring Proust's *In Search of Lost Time*.[20] My chronology of the notebooks, however, proves otherwise. Not only did Qian read both Waugh and Huxley while at Oxford; his study of Proust did not begin until much later.[21] Indeed, while Qian's notebooks have long elicited the interest of journalists and curious readers, formal research is only just beginning.[22]

The extent to which genetic approaches will be fruitfully applied to the autograph manuscripts of other modern Chinese writers depends on three conditions. The first and most crucial condition is access. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, one of the main reasons why modern manuscript studies have yet to take root in China is due to institutional impediments to independent research. Given the prevailing climate of censorship and self-censorship in Chinese academia, it is to be expected that studies of distinguished writers' private papers, which may contain any number of indiscretions, whether personal or political, will continue to be discouraged. Few Chinese scholars are tenacious or foolhardy enough to stake their careers on potentially problematic corpora, while foreign scholars often lack the contacts and institutional know-how to even begin exploring protected archives. In the near

[20] Huters, "In Search of Qian Zhongshu," 701–702.
[21] For Qian's early notes on Waugh's Decline and Fall, see WWBJ 2: 535. For those on Huxley's *Chrome Yellow* and *Ends and Means*, see WWBJ 1: 493–494 and WWBJ 1: 516–519 respectively. The first notes on Proust's *In Search of Lost Time date* from 1946. See WWBJ 5: 397–399.
[22] One of the most active scholars in this regard is Zhang Zhi 張治. See, for example, "Zai bian shang de piping: Qian Zhongshu *Xie zai rensheng bian shang* yuedu shi tanyuan 在邊上的批評——錢鍾書《寫在人生邊上》閱讀史探源," *Tianjin shehui kexue* 天津社會科學, No. 5 (2022): 116–121.

term, therefore, genetic studies will be limited to the manuscripts of officially sanctioned writers, such as Lu Xun, whose jottings safely predate New China. Other manuscripts, much like Qian's notebooks, may be selectively released for study in sanitised form. The obvious solution to this conundrum, *pro tem*, is to focus on archives housed outside mainland China, in Taiwan[23] or even the United States.[24] Although the analysis of these autograph manuscripts will inevitably excavate varying literary landscapes, methodological tools refined in one region of the Sinosphere may, when circumstances permit, be readily applied to archives in the PRC.

The second condition is one of competence. The study of autograph manuscripts presents several textual and linguistic challenges that are sufficient to dissuade even the most intrepid of literary scholars. The first concerns the realities of Chinese script. In their private notes and rough drafts, few writers take the trouble to write in fully fleshed *kaiti* 楷体 (standard script), understandably preferring some form of shorthand. While both cursive (*caoshu* 草書) and running script (*xingshu* 行書) can be systematically studied, such training rarely forms part of the modern sinologist's education. The dominance of digital media and input methods, moreover, means that even younger Chinese scholars now struggle to master cursive script, which boasts as many nuances as it does refined practitioners. In terms of language, the private papers of Republican scholars often pay scant regard to the specious boundary between literary Chinese and the vernacular, although this division is now firmly entrenched in Chinese studies departments across the West. In their efforts to come to grips with the diversity and dizzying change of contemporary China, scholars of modern Chinese literature have often shied away from vestiges of the premodern tradition. Classical scholars, meanwhile, rarely condescend to

[23] The National Museum of Taiwan Literature (*Guoli Taiwan wenxue guan* 國立台灣文學館) houses over 150,000 documents.
[24] Zhang Ailing's 張愛玲 (1920–1995) manuscripts, stored at the University of Southern California, have yet to be comprehensively explored.

engage with writers that have not been copiously vetted by centuries of transmission and canonical exegesis. A fully informed investigation of any twentieth century writer's manuscripts ideally demands a competence in literary Chinese, Mandarin, and an additional sensitivity to dialectical idiosyncrasies peculiar to that writer's native region. Linguistic challenges, however, are not only limited to western sinologists. If Chinese scholars are keen to establish a legitimate field of modern manuscript studies, they will have to engage in dialogue with manuscript specialists of other literatures, aspiring to a cosmopolitanism that is still sorely lacking in Chinese academia. To succeed, such diplomacy will need to extend beyond the anglophone world, as much of the most accomplished scholarship in manuscript studies is French and German.

Finally, if Chinese geneticism is to flourish, it will have to embrace the theoretical ambitions, and to some extent, terminological language, that are the defining features of modern Chinese literary studies. While in its concrete mechanics, genetic criticism is akin to the traditional practice of textual criticism, it is eminently capable of accommodating any number of auxiliary approaches. Indeed, geneticism may help the field to find its way back to some form of authorial intimacy, not in the guise of literary biography, but by expanding the definition of the text to embrace its many provisional precursors, or in De Biasi's words, restore "the fourth dimension" to Chinese texts, "that of human time, where meaning takes repossession of its own history."[25] Crucially, however, that history still remains open to interpretation. In this sense, genetic criticism is less a theoretical approach than an invitation to examine the rich process of writing, in all its majesty and complex movement, from any number of perspectives.

[25] De Biasi, *Génétique des Textes*, 184.

6.4: Coda: Speak Mnemosyne

Like *Guanzhui bian*, genetic studies are essentially encyclopaedic in nature. The genetic critic's inveterate passion for excavating every scrap of a writer's archives is driven, in the first instance, by the hope that such fragments will yield clues to the obscure origins of the published text, but also by the hope that these same fragments will suggest the many other stories, seething beneath the deceptively smooth surface of the fair copy, that might have been, but never will be. The tension in this approach derives from the fact that, while the events of history and science may be disputed (as new historical evidence will always come to light and scientific theories are by definition provisional) the events of literature are inexorable and therefore undeniable. Julien Sorel must die precisely because Stendhal decided that his story demanded it, and nothing in our power, or our interpretation, can prevent the tragedy. In this sense, geneticism is as much an art as a science, as it is predicated upon an illusion. By imposing an uncertain present upon the irrevocable past, it narrates each successive decision of the creative process, not as a *fait accompli*, but as a momentous gamble, the fateful consequences of which it feigns to ignore. Readers of genetic studies enter a pact with the critic, much as they more routinely do with novelists, suspending disbelief in order that the story of a text may be told in full. For if it is only in literature that a story can be fully told, similarly, it is only in genetic criticism that the story of a text can be satisfactorily narrated.

And yet Julien Sorel is not dead, but lives, simply because *The Red and the Black* still has its readers. He will only truly die ("de la peur, on ne me verra point pâlir…"[26]) when Stendhal's last reader, having closed the covers of that book, then closes their eyes for good. The hopes of geneticists also lie in their future readers, courtesy of whom the story of their chosen texts,

[26] "They will not see me pale in fear." Stendhal, *Le Rouge et le Noir*, 502.

alive with the vibrant possibilities of their own creation, will continue to be told. This collusion between the aims of the artist and the genetic critic leads to the fertile confusion that we first examined in the introduction to this thesis. With the benefit of the intervening chapters, however, we can now see that Crusoe's footsteps in the sand are in fact the result of two journeys: the story of the work itself, and the story of how that work came into being. Though each of these stories follows a different itinerary, they both form part of one and the same movement. The innovation of genetic criticism lies in its capacity to pull readers into this movement, which is no less than the vital metabolism of literature. In a genetic study, we anxiously inhabit Proust's mind as he experiments with the uncertain beginnings of his masterpiece, wishing his words into being together with their author. Within this strange prism of "avant-textes," the boundary between the reader and the writer falls away; to read is to create, and to create is to read.

Qian wrote every page of his magnum opus in the knowledge that his asthma could return at any moment to kill him, or anonymous men, whose faces he did not recognise, and with whom he had no quarrel, could burst through the door to arrest him. The miracle is that, though composed under such intolerable circumstances of fear and physical danger, *Guanzhui bian* is not a cynical book; nor is it morose or sentimental. Drawing on the inner resources of a lifetime of study and the rich genius of an ancient and diverse literature, Qian animates his work with the irrepressible joys of arcane learning, earthy wit, playful quibbles and profound reflections. Few examples of world literature so robustly display those enviable qualities of the human spirit to which we all aspire, but in which we so often find ourselves lacking, despite our better luck. And yet, thanks to the genetic dossier, we too can simulate Qian's bravery and throw on the mantle of his unparalleled learning. By shadowing his every textual wheeze and flinch, we assimilate and enact his masterpiece.

Throughout this thesis, I have tirelessly emphasised, perhaps to the impatient reader's chagrin, that *Guanzhui bian* is the last major work in the classical Chinese canon. While repetitious, this refrain has been a necessary reminder of what was crucially at stake in the composition of Qian's final opus. The question that naturally follows, and which I have until now left unaddressed, as genetic studies are procedurally more concerned with beginnings and departures than endings and arrivals, is who was Qian's intended reader, in a world in which the vehicle of literary Chinese, and the classical canon that was its *raison d'être*, was no longer a defining force?

The first plausible answer to this question is that Qian was not speaking into the future, but into the past, *tout court*. Much of *Guanzhui bian* engages with scholars of the Qing, with whom Qian shares a common canonical framework and a shared mode of exposition. Yet if Gu Yanwu, or Qian Daxin were, in a hypothetical reading group of deceased and no doubt squabbling scholars, to peruse Qian's work, they would be abundantly perplexed by its structural innovations, and left wondering, more to the point, who on earth is Susan Sontag? Qian, moreover, often cites Qing scholars only to refute them. For all his uncommon learning, he was not a squeamish classicist, or a literary fuddy-duddy, but a man of flesh and blood, who delighted in the latest films and detective novels, and fretted about his excessive consumption of crabmeat. Qian was above all a cosmopolitan, a humorist, and a perceptive social critic, who, earlier in his career (when the political environment still permitted), was itching to share his biting assessment of contemporary mores in lively vernacular essays. The past may have been Qian's principal playground, but it was not the intended graveyard of his lapidary prose.

Does *Guanzhui bian*, then, speak into the present? The answer to this question is complicated by the fraught conditions of the work's genesis. *Guanzhui bian* is necessarily and profusely girded against the present, precisely due to the dangers that it represents. This defence consists of two enceintes; the first is an exhaustive rebuke of the ahistoricism of the Cultural Revolution, which sought to eradicate all vestiges of the past in the dubious name of social progress. The thousands of works that *Guanzhui bian* cites from the classical canon triumphantly affirm the intrinsic interest and continuing relevance of premodern Chinese literature. The second is the archaic language of *Guanzhui bian* itself, which disguises Qian's political and social critique from barbarous and benighted elements within the communist party. While writing, Qian was uncertain if his expanding manuscript would ever be published. Though he discussed plans for his work with friends and colleagues, both at the cadre school in Henan and on his return to Beijing, very few were equipped to appraise his project in full, lacking either the requisite knowledge of foreign literatures, or a sufficient grounding in the Chinese classics.

Indeed, Qian's prodigious erudition and rare eloquence, which represent not only the mature fruit of an industrious academic career, but also the unique meeting of since eclipsed social and intellectual milieux, conspire to impede a comprehensive appreciation of his work. Perhaps the only reader who is unambiguously qualified to appraise *Guanzhui bian* is Qian himself. In this sense, the question of his intended audience is irrelevant. "In a race with death," Qian's first instinct was to set down for posterity as much of what he knew as was politically and epistemologically possible, recalling Eliot's urgent lines, "Every phrase and every sentence is an end and a beginning, / Every poem an epitaph. And any action / Is a step to the block, to the fire, down the sea's throat."[27] It mattered less for whom Qian's knowledge, wit and wisdom were preserved, and more that they somehow survived. As readers, we encounter *Guanzhui*

[27] Eliot, *Four Quartets*, 42.

bian like the desperate message salvaged in a bottle from the sea's throat; though we may congratulate ourselves on the luck of our discovery, few would claim to be its intended recipient.

And yet, by reading *Guanzhui bian*, by rereading it, and most importantly by enjoying it, we gradually become that intended reader. While Qian composed his masterpiece in the knowledge that he was one of the last practicing advocates of literary Chinese, he was also certain that future generations would be still be able to read, if not write, his archaic idiom. Today, literary Chinese is still widely taught in Chinese schools, and a tolerable acquaintance with the classical canon is one of several ways to acquire valuable cultural capital. Though entrenched social and institutional developments have made a systematic grounding in the Confucian classics increasingly rare, the ability to parse a Tang poem, or a passage of Song prose, is relatively common among those with a humanistic education and sufficiently literary interests. In this respect, literary Chinese is alive in the same way that Julien Sorel is alive, as both have their readers, "the happy few."[28]

Guanzhui bian is primarily addressed, therefore, to a posterity in which ambitious readers of a difficult and ancient literary medium are, through no fault of they own, precluded from becoming its future practitioners. Neither will these readers become critics in the true sense of the word, as the proper practice of criticism, Qian argues, demands the ability to write creatively in the language of the relevant literature.[29] By highlighting the central role of his

[28] Stendhal famously dedicated his novels "to the happy few."

[29] In a late addendum to his essay on Cao Pi's "dian lun 典論," discussed in chapter two, Qian writes, "十八世紀德國闡解學祖師沃爾夫 (Friedrich August Wolf) 謂人必有以古希臘語，拉丁語作文之長技(die "Fertigkeit des Stils," d. h. die Fertigkeit selbst in den alten Sprachen zu schreiben. [The 18th century godfather of hermeneutics, Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824), argued that one must have the ability to write in ancient Greek and Latin. (The "skill of style," namely the skill to write the ancient languages oneself.] U. Nassen, ed., *Klassiker der Hermeneutik*, 1982, p. 85. Cf. Humboldt on "active linguistic competence": One can understand a word which one hears only because one could have spoken it oneself." K. Mueller-Vollmer, ed., The

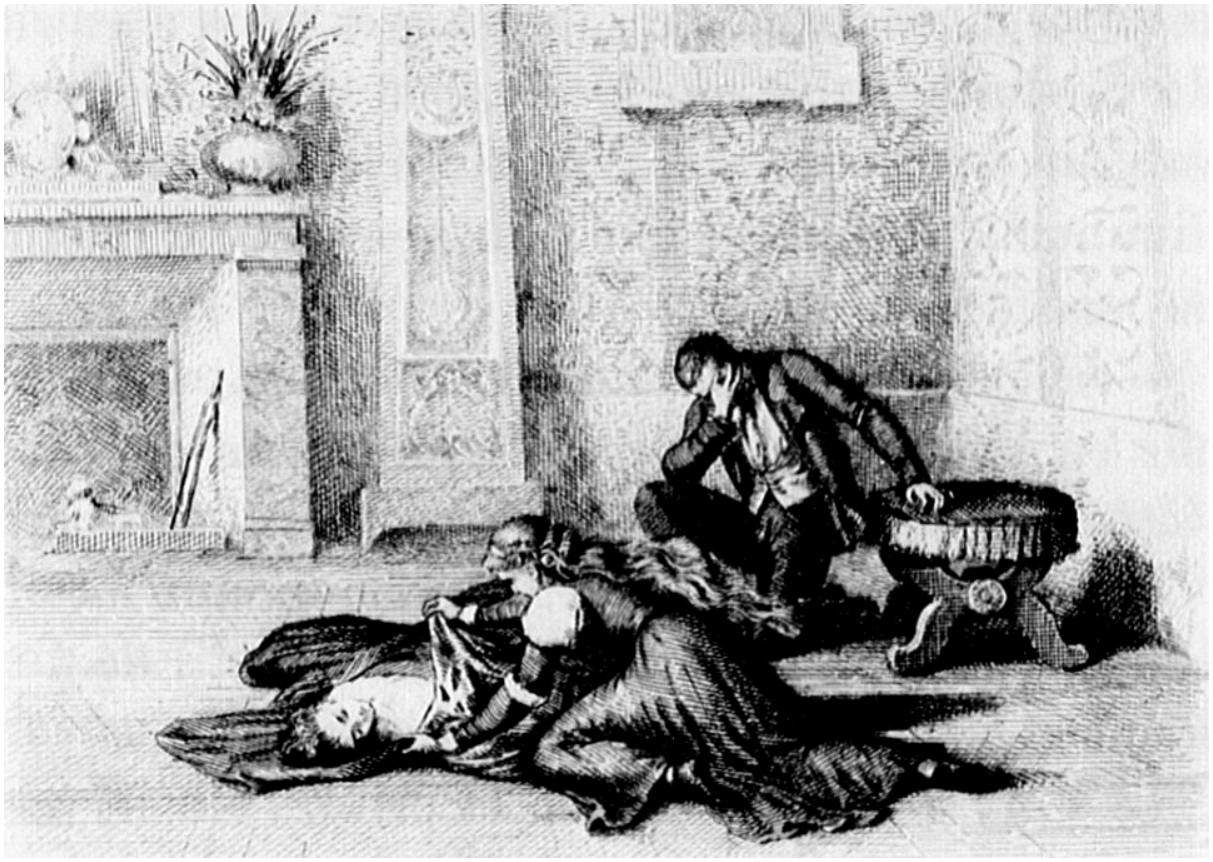

Image 6.1. Henri Dubouchet's (1833-1909) illustration to the final chapter of the 1884 edition of *Le Rouge et Le Noir*. Source: BNF.

notebooks, however, Qian charitably draws us into the creative movement of his work, and by extension, the poetic arc of the classical tradition. If "the destiny of drafts" as Michel Contat claims, "is the geneticist,"[30] then the destiny of Qian's notebooks is the reader of *Guanzhui bian*.[31] The "happy few," whom posterity has denied the chance to compose more than a few halting lines in literary Chinese, can experience, if only by exhilarating proxy, the creation of one of most accomplished works in the entire tradition. Our footsteps now storm the imperial solitude of Crusoe's island. Qian's ambivalent attitude towards his notebooks was, in many ways, an intuition of this impending invasion.

The difficulty of *Guanzhui bian* results partly from its notoriously challenging, allusive prose; but it is also due to the deeply personal, disorientating and often digressive experience of remembering. Readers will search in vain for Proustian reminiscences on the model of the madeleine, but behind each of *Guanzhui bian*'s meticulously selected excerpts lies an intimate history that is no less evocative of the past. Qian's notebooks painstakingly document this history, revealing the rich minutia of his scholastic and creative process. These are the traces of Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory and creativity. For without memory there can be no creativity, just as without evolution there can be no life. The vast dimensions of Qian's personal archive of notebooks show how keenly aware he was of this central dialectic.

Qian's notebooks not only lend an eloquent voice to modern Chinese manuscripts, a textual continent that still awaits its Columbus; they also speak on belated behalf of premodern autograph manuscripts, few illustrative examples of which survive. The intimate relationship

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Hermeneutics Reader, 1986, p. 14.) 庶能於古希臘，羅馬典籍領會親切，方許闡釋。此言却未可厚非。 [That is to say one can only interpret a text when one has an intimate understanding of the ancient Greek and Latin canon. There is much to be said for this point.]" Qian, *Guanzhui bian*, 1668–1669.

[29] Online interest in Qian's notebooks, in stark contrast to scholarship.

[30] Contat, *Pourquoi la critique génétique*, 189.

[31] Online interest in Qian's notebooks, in stark contrast to scholarship.

between the writer, the critic and the reader that was one of the defining signatures of classical Chinese literature finds in the pages of *Guanzhui bian* its final and most consummate expression. Qian always welcomed new readers of his work but dismissed academic studies, the reason being that the sententious trappings of modern scholarship betray the informality and bonhomie of this triangular literary friendship. The scholar would no doubt also have disapproved of this study. My only defence is that it has not been my intention to furnish an authoritative commentary to *Guanzhui bian*, a task for which I am ill equipped, but merely to highlight its extended relationship with readers, which ushers us back into the teeming textual ecology of the notebooks. Genetic criticism has furnished the tools and concepts to achieve this. The preceding chapters have been an attempt to reshape the genetic programme to the peculiar intimacy of classical Chinese literature, and the work that was at once its summation and its eulogy. Though we began with the hope of delivering on the promise of Louis Hay's battle cry, now half a century old, "to make [Chinese] manuscripts speak," our journey has led us beyond this manifesto. Manuscripts, after all, are only a means to an end. Our real interest lies in Qian's critical and creative mind, and the literature that was his enduring passion.

Qian died in 1998. His life and work bring the classical tradition so near, and yet it is now forever beyond our reach. To read *Guanzhui bian* is to hold the warm heart of a literature that has only just stopped beating. In the notebooks, we can observe the boisterous erudition and bravery of its author, who quietly but continually entreats, with an urgency that time has in no way diminished, "speak Mnemosyne."



Image 6.2. Qian's readers "stroll away" into "tomorrow's morning haze. Nor does this terminate the phrase." Wal Paget's (1863-1935) engraving to the 1891 edition of *Robinson Crusoe*. Source: Victorian Web.

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APPENDIX A.1 (*Foreign Language Notes*)

Notebook	Date	Chronological Notes
1. (WWBJ 1: 5–200)	February 4th, 1936 – March 30th, 1936.	a) Dates stated on the opening leaves of notebooks one and two, which both belong to the "Hours in the Bodleian" cycle. b) Entries in Guan: 0
2. (WWBJ 1: 201–396)	March 30th, 1936 – 1938.	a) Date stated on the opening leaf of notebook two. b) Mona Wilson's (1872–1954) *Jane Austen and Some Contemporaries* on pages 366-367 was first published in 1938.[1] c) *The Malady of the Ideal* on page 269 is recorded in Qian's ironically styled *Court Diary* (*Qiju zhu* 起居注): "January 5th of the 26th year of the Republic (1937): I went to the Bodleian to work on my thesis and finished reading V. W. Brooks' *The* Malady *of the Ideal.*"[2] d) Further evidence in support of Fan's chronology for this notebook may be found in an entry on Friedrich von Logau's *Die Deutsche Sprache,* entailing three pages of dense notes in German without translation or lexical aids. The standard of Qian's German has approved to such a degree upon the first notebook that this entry can only date from late 1937 at the earliest. e) The extracts from Desmond McCarthy's *Portraits* (p. 382) have been paginated, a practice that is nearly universal to Qian's notes from Shanghai but very rare in the European notebooks, indicating that this entry may have been made in late 1938, if not later. Entries in Guan: 2
3. (WWBJ 1: 397–536)	August 1936 - 1938.	a) A few lines on the cover of the notebook read, "Compiled in the summer of 1936 while in Paris. No table

[1] Fan Xulun, "'Landuo cufu' de *Qian Zhongshu shougaoji – waiwenbiji* zhengli zhe" 懶惰粗浮的錢鍾書手稿集外文筆記整理著. *Dongfang ribo* 東方日報, April 5, 2015. Fan has overlooked a review of Wilson's *Jane Austen* by Qian's close friend and contemporary at Oxford, D. M. Stuart, in *Journal of the English Association*, Vol. 2, No. 9 (Dec. 1, 1938). There is, however, no mention of the book in Qian's letter to Stuart dating from March 12, 1938.

[2] 二十六年一月五日：到飽蠹樓作論文。閱 V. W. Brooks: The Malady of the Ideal 畢。

		of contents, but there is an inscription."[3] This appears to have been written by Yang Jiang when first organising the *Foreign Language Notebooks* for publication in 1999. b) An inscription on the first leaf reads, "My wife and I spent a short stay in Paris. When not busy sight-seeing, [I] kept up [my] reading. This notebook contains extracts and abstracts from French and English works. As for Chinese books, they are recorded in [my] 'court diary.' When the spirit grabbed me, I would open a book on my desk and jot down phrases as an extension to and development of my *Hours in the Bodleian*. The books in question all belonged to Sheng Chenghua. I did not make notes on any of the books that I carried with me in my suitcase."[4] This preface refers to the holiday that Qian and Yang took in Paris in early August 1936, *en route* to a conference in Vienna. ([A poem commemorating this journey reads] "I shake the dust of two capitals from my dark garments.")[5]; The notes from Paris add up to no more than twenty pages. b) Several months later, Qian returned to this notebook. The *Court Diary* records: "January 1st of the 26th Year of the Republic (1937): I went to the Bodleian to work on my thesis and read Emile Jacob's *Remy de Gourmont* [from which I] made notes."[6] "January 6th: I finished reading Marcel Prévost's *Marie d'Angoisses* [from which I] made notes. I went to the Bodleian to work on my thesis."[7] These two entries are found on pages 427 and 428. c) Fan notes that the quote from Montaigne on his friendship with La Boétie ("Parce que c'était lui, parce que c'était moi") on page 411 found its way into Qian's essay "Tan jiaoyou 談交友," written in January 1937.[8] A1) d) From page 484 onwards, *Towards a Religious Philosophy, Ends and Means, The Inequality of Man: and Other Essays, and Humanism* and *Naturalism; A Comparative Study of E. Seillière, I. Babbitt and P. E. More* were all published in 1937. On page 530, the article

[3] 1936 年夏，寓巴黎時記，無目錄，但有題記。(WWBJ, 1: 395)

[4] 偕婦小住巴黎，遊觀之餘，未廢誦讀。英法文書提要鉤玄，多在此冊。若中土之典籍，則有《起居注》在。輒取案頭書中語題譚，為《飽蠹樓讀書記》之支與流裔雲爾。書皆盛澄華所有，行篋所攜皆不錄。WWBJ 1: 397. Sheng Chenghua was a classmate of Yang's in the French faculty at Tsinghua. See *We Three*, Chap. 3.

[5] 緇衣抖擻兩京埃。See, "Fan Niujin Naolun yuan (Norham Gardens) jiu linyu 返牛津瑙倫園舊賃寓" in Qian, *Huaiju shicun* 槐聚詩存, 14.

[6] 二十六年一月四日：到飽蠹樓作論文。閱 Emile Jacob: Remy de Gourmont，作筆記。

[7] 一月六日：閱 Marcel Prévost: Marie d'Angoisses 畢，作筆記。到飽蠹樓作論文。

[8] Fan, "Landuo Cufu." 孟太尼 (Montaigne) 解釋他跟拉白哀 (La Boètie) 地生死交情的話，頗可借用："因為他是他，因為我是我." Qian, *Xiezai rensheng bianshang* 寫在人生邊上, 80.

		"A.E. Taylor on L.A. Reid's Creative Morality" was published in *Mind,* Vol. 47, No. 185 (June, 1938). On page 527, Otto F. Kraushaar's article "What James's Philosophical Orientation Owed to Lotze" was published in The Philosophical Review, Vol. 47, No. 5 (Sep., 1938). e) One of the strongest arguments for dating the majority of the entries in this notebook to Qian's time at Oxford is the impressive number of detective novels in evidence. As a relief from his coursework, Qian allegedly consumed "one detective novel a day." [9] This notebook alone contains extracts from thirty-four detective and adventure novels. Entries in Guan: 1
4. (WWBJ, 2: 3-187.)	September 1937 – 1940.	a) Fan reports that on the cover of the notebook, Qian has spelt his name after the French fashion, "C. S. Tch'ien," and listed his Parisian address, "28, Avenue Laplace Arcueil."[10] The facsimile of the cover of this notebook is not clear enough to make out this name and address. We must assume that Fan had access to the actual notebooks in the Tsinghua archives. b) Even without the address, however, the publication dates of many of the entries indicate that this notebook was compiled after Qian moved to Paris. Fan notes the following titles: R.H.S. Crossman's *Plato Today* on page 90 was published in May 1937. On the same page, Listowel's review, "*Art and Society*, by Herbert Read" was published in *Philosophy*, Vol. 12, No. 48, (Oct. 1937). On page 91, A. E. Taylor's review "The Realm of Truth. Book Third of 'Realm's of Being' by George Santayana" was published in *Philosophy*, Vol. 13, No. 50 (April, 1938). On the same page, W. M. Urban's article, "Value Propositions and Verifiability," was published in *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 34, No. 22 (Oct. 1937). On page 118, Dorothy Walsh's "The Poetic Use of Language" was published in *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Feb. 1938). On the same page, T. M. Greene's article "Beauty and the Cognitive Significance of Art" was published in *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol 35, No. 14 (July 1938). W. M. Urban's article "Elements of Unintelligibility in Whitehead's Metaphysics" was published in *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 35, No. 23 (Nov, 1938). At this point, Qian was no longer in Europe. "Intelligible Communication" was published in The

[9] Tang, *Yidai caizi*, 140.
[10] Fan, "Landuo cufu."

		Philosophical Review, Vol. 47, No. 6 (Nov. 1938). *La Littérature Comparée* on page 149 is mentioned in Qian's *Chronicle of Xiangri* (湘日乘 *Xiangri sheng*): "December 25th 1939: I made notes and finished reading Paul van Tieghem's *La Littérature Comparée*."[11] c) Extracts from Lessing's *Mima von Barnhelm oder Das Soldatenglück* demonstrate that Qian's German has advanced leaps and bounds from his laboriously annotated passages made at Oxford. Entries in Guan: 3
5. (WWBJ, 2: 191–260)	November 1935 – 1937	a) The headed letter paper used throughout this improvised notebook is a good indication that it was compiled at Oxford. However, Fan has provided no evidence as to why these notes were taken in the first year of his B.Litt. rather than in the second, or across both years. b) Fan points out that *The Quarterly Review*, No. 326 on page 254 is also mentioned in entry 270 and 287 of *Rong'an guan zhaji.* The latter entry is accompanied by a note: "[…] I dug up the Quarterly Review No. 326 in the Bodleian [...]."[12] c) In a letter of encouragement to D. M. Stuart, who had just flunked his viva, Qian quotes Walter Raleigh, "The Oxford final schools and the day of judgement are two examinations, not one."[13] (March 12th 1938). Qian first encountered this *bon mot* in E. E. Kellett's *As I Remember*, extracts from which are found on page 200. d) Renan's *Vie de Jésus* is mentioned in Qian's *Court Diary*: Jan 1st, 1937: "If someone were to write a *biographie romancée* [of Confucius] in the style of Renan's portrait of Jesus, then Zi Lu would fit the part of Saint Peter."[14] This confirms that Renan's entry on pages 209–212 was made before this date. e) Qian's comments on Renan's *Vie de Jésus* are composed in French, displaying a degree of linguistic confidence that is not present in notebook one. This entry, therefore, is likely to have been made towards the end of

[11] 作筆記。閱 Paul van Tieghem: La Littérature comparée 畢。ZWBJ 1: 100.
[12] RAG: 482.
[13] Qian Zhongshu, *A Collection of Qian Zhongshu's English Essays*, 411.
[14] ZZBJ, 1: 662.

		1936. Subsequent entries in the notebook may therefore with reason be attributed to 1937. Entries in Guan: 1
6. (WWBJ 2: 261–432)	October 1935 – February 1936	Max Beerbohm's *Christmas Garland* is mentioned in Qian's notes to Edmund Gosse's *Critical Kit-Kats* in notebook one, giving us grounds to conclude that this notebook was compiled before February 1936. Entries in Guan: 1
7. (WWBJ 2: 433–616)	1937	a) *Value and Ethical Objectivity* was published in 1937. On page 556, *Coming, Sir! The Autobiography of a Waiter* was published in Sep. 1937. Logan Pearsall Smith's *Reprisals and Reflections,* was published in 1937. Other examples abound. D. G. James' *Scepticism and Poetry*, for instance, was also published in 1937. b) Fan notes that the extracts on pages 613–616 were made in preparation for "A Defining Characteristic of China's Literary Criticism." 中國固有的文學批評的一個特點. Published in *Wenxue zazhi* 文學雜誌 (Vol. 1, No. 4, August 1937).[15] c) Fan notes that entry 43 of *Rong'an guan zhaji* states that Qian has consulted the 1937 eleventh edition of Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations,* extracts of which are found on pages 542–550.[16] d) The rudimentary standard of Qian's German in his extracts from J. Snodgrass ed. *Wit, Wisdom and Pathos from the Prose of Heine* lends credence to our speculation above that those entries featuring more extended and unannotated passages of German date from after his time in Oxford. In the brief lines copied here, Qian has glossed even the simplest words, such as "mitteln" (means) and "hervor" (forth).[17] Entries in Guan: 4
8. (WWBJ, 3: 3–364)	Early 1936[18]	a) *Poetic Diction* is quoted in "A Defining Characteristic China's Literary Criticism."

[15] Fan, "Landuo cufu."
[16] Fan, "Landuo cufu."
[17] WWBJ 2: 585.
[18] Fan dates this notebook to late 1936 – early 1937, citing an entry on Hugh Kingsmill's *Frank Harris*, which is mentioned in entry 192 of *Rong'an guan zhaji*. "I first visited Paris in the summer of 1936. I didn't pack any English novels in my suitcase, but happened upon *Diary of Nobody* in an old book stall. I remembered having seen its name in Hugh Kingsmill's, *Frank Harris*, so I bought it to take back [with me]." 余一九三六年夏始遊巴黎，行篋未攜英文小說，偶於舊書肆見 Diary of Nobody，憶在 Hugh Kingsmill, Frank Harris 中睹其名

		b) Qian's notes on *Armour for Aphrodite* in notebook seven contain a reference to Taylor's *Philosophical Studies* found here on pages 52–60, suggesting that notebook no. 8 should come chronologically before notebook no. 7. Qian's notes on Virginia Woolf's *Common Reader* (pages 93–103) have also been alluded to in notebook seven. c) The complete absence of German or Italian entries signals that we can securely date this notebook to Qian's time at Oxford. d) Only one entry in this notebook was published in 1936: Sidney Hook's *From Hegel to Marx*. This same work, however, was also published in *Modern Quarterly*, No. 6 (1932). Unfortunately, Qian's entry does not contain more detailed bibliographic information. At Oxford, the young scholar kept himself well abreast of developments in philosophy, literature and psychology, reading and making notes on the very latest publications in each of these fields. The absence of a single title from 1937 indicates that this notebook can be attributed to 1936 at the latest. f) Osbert Sitwell's *Triple Fugue* (146–148) contains Pliny's epigram "Nulla dies sine lineâ." Judging from his translation into English, Qian has encountered this line here for the first time. The same epigram adorns the opening leaf of notebook one, suggesting that notebook eight was compiled in the first two months of 1936, before notebook one. Entries in Guan: 4
9. (WWBJ, 3: 365–721)	Late 1935.[19]	a) In his notes to G. Saintsbury's *A History of the French Novel* in notebook eight, Qian writes: "I have read all S.'s books – inclusive of posthumous "essays and prefaces" ed. by Oliver Elton with a good essay on Donne."[20] Notebook nine, however, contains no less than three books by Saintsbury, giving us strong grounds to believe that notebook no. 9 was compiled before notebook no. 8.

，姑購歸。RAG: 269. However, the extracts from *Frank Harris* were in fact taken from a biography by A.I Tobin and Elmer Gertz. Fan's erroneous reasoning is based on an editorial error committed by Motsch.

[19] Fan dates this notebook to 1938-1939, citing *Journal d'un poète*, which found its way into Qian's essay "On Happiness" [Lun kuaile 論快樂]. Although "Lun kuaile" was written in late 1938 to early 1939, there is no reason why Qian could not have drawn on material that he discovered several years earlier. Fan also notes that *Introducing Shakespeare* was published in 1939. This title, however, appears in the margins and could therefore have been added at a later date.

[20] WWBJ 3: 164

		b) The latest publication in this volume is Arthur Quiller-Couch's *The Poet as Citizen* (1934). It is entirely plausible, therefore, that this notebook dates from Qian's first months in Oxford during the autumn and early winter of 1935. c) Richard Garnett's *Essays of an Ex-Librarian* (pages 593–600) contains strong proof that this notebook was compiled early on in Qian's Oxford career. Even the most simple German words (such as "wie" and "kann") are glossed. Qian has evidently not yet begun to learn German. Entries in Guan: 2
10. (WWBJ 3: 725–758)	1935 (?) – 1938 (?)[21]	a) The lack of pagination and precise biographical information would seem to group these entries together with Qian's early foreign language notebooks. Entries in Guan: 1
11. (WWBJ 4: 4–112)	1941	a) This notebook inaugurates the "Noctes Atticae i.e., Notes in an Attic; 亭子間讀書筆記卷一," cycle. This epithet refers to the cramped mezzanine in Shanghai's French concession (辣斐德路 [Rue Lafayette]), where Qian lived from Sep. 1941 - August 1949. b) The latest title in the notebook is Freda Utley's *The Dream We Lost: Soviet Russia Then and Now*, published in 1940, which corroborates a genesis from the early 1940s. c) Typed notes of George du Maurier's *Trilby* are also found in no. 165. Entries in Guan: 2
12. (WWBJ 4: 117–207)	1948	Entitled "Small Hours in an Attic or Noctes Atticae. By C.S. Ch'ien 1948. Subtitle: "Reading notes from the Hall of Four Boons 3, An Apish Codger" 四餘室札記 三蝯叟. Entries in Guan: 1
13. (WWBJ 4: 207–237)	Early 1940s	Marked as "volume iii" in the "Noctes Atticae" cycle, this notebook must postdate no. 11. Entries in Guan: 0

[21] Fan dates this notebook to post Sep. 1938 (i.e., not in Europe) on the basis that the handwriting seems to differ from previous entries. Qian's handwriting, however, varies wildly within a given notebook. Graphology, therefore, provides only tenuous grounds on which to establish an accurate chronology.

14. (WWBJ 4: 243–276)	Early 1940s	a) Marked as "volume iv" in the "Noctes Atticae" cycle, this notebook must postdate nos. 11 & 14. b) We can use this notebook to chronologise a swathe of Qian's typed notes collected in no. 163. His extracts from Samuel Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets* are labelled as a "continuation" of the typed notes (WWBJ 36: 140-142). Entries in Guan: 2
15. (WWBJ 4: 277–440)	1947	a) Labelled "volume i" in the *Siyu shi zhaji* 四餘室札記 series, this notebook must precede no. 12. b) Eric Linklater's *The Sealskin Trousers* was published in 1947. Entries in Guan: 9
16. (WWBJ 4: 441–519)	1953 or after	a) The title, "Reading Notes from the House of Accommodating Ease" (Rong'an guan zhaji 容安館札記) refers to Qian's bungalow on the Zhongguan campus of Peking University, where the family lived from 1953–1959. b) The size and design of the notebook differs from all other notebooks from the 1940s. c) John Dickson Carr's *The Life of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* was published in 1949, supporting the conjecture that this notebook dates from the early 1950s. Entries in Guan: 6
17. (WWBJ 5: 3–52)	1942–1947.	This notebook was issued by "The Lester School and Henry Lester Institute of Technical Education, 505 East Seward Road, Shanghai," the high school of one of Qian's private students, Fang Zimin 方資敏.Fang took classes with Qian in English, and later Chinese, between 1942 and 1944.[22] He would often run book errands for his teacher, and evidently also fed him a steady supply of pristine notebooks. The two kept in touch until 1947, when Fang emigrated to the US to study at MIT. It was Qian who equipped him with a glowing reference. Entries in Guan: 2
18. (WWBJ 5: 53–102)	1942–1947.	Notebook issued by "The Lester School." Entries in Guan: 3

[22] See, Qian Zhijun 錢之俊, "Jiating jiaoshi Qian Zhongshu 家庭教師錢鍾書," *Shuwu* 書屋, No. 5 (2013): https://www.aisixiang.com/data/64995.html (Accessed Aug. 23, 2024).

19. (WWBJ 5: 103–152)	1942–1947	a) Notebook issued by "The Lester School." b) The first entry on R. Müller-Freienfels' *Psychologie der Kunst* follows on from no. 18. This notebook, therefore, must date from the same period. Entries in Guan: 3
20. (WWBJ 5: 153–202)	1942–1947	Notebook issued by "The Lester School." Entries in Guan: 2
21. (WWBJ 5: 203–252)	1942–1947	Notebook issued by "The Lester School." Entries in Guan: 2
22. (WWBJ 5: 253–299)	1942–1947	Notebook issued by "The Lester School." Entries in Guan: 0
23. (WWBJ 5: 303–352)	1945–1947	Notebook issued by "The Lester School." Elizabeth Bowen's essay, "Notes on Writing a Novel," was first published in 1945. Entries in Guan: 2
24. (WWBJ 5: 353–402)	1946–1947	a) Notebook issued by "The Lester School." b) Dorothy Sayer's *Unpopular Opinions* was published in 1946. Entries in Guan: 1
25. (WWBJ 5: 403–268)	1947 or after	a) *Inside USA*, by John Gunther, was published in 1947. b) The notebook is titled "Viscera Libri." [Entrails of Books]. No. 66 carries an anglicised version of the same title. Entries in Guan: 0
26. (WWBJ 5: 469–534)	1941–1949	a) Issued by the same stationer as no. 32. b) Qian's entries here largely consist of detective novels. As his student Fang Zimin informs us, such thrillers continued to be Qian's main source of recreation during the Sino-Japanese war and shortly thereafter.[23] The publication dates of the titles, however, offer no further chronological clues. Entries in Guan: 0

[23] Qian, "Qian Zhongshu de jiating jiaoshi shengya."

27. (WWBJ 5: 535–568)	Early 1940s	a) The design of this notebook is identical to nos. 13 and 14; it may therefore be dated to early in the "Noctes Atticae" series. b) Irvin S. Cobb's Exit Laughing was published in 1941. Entries in Guan: 0
28. (WWBJ 5: 569–646)	Early to Mid 1940s	While Qian appears to be reading relatively freely in German, he still marks his transcriptions with glosses suggesting that he is not altogether at home in the language. In a quote from *Mozarts Briefe in Auswahl*, edited by Karl Storck, he finds it necessary to remind himself that "hernach" means "after this." (WWBJ 5: 599). By the standard of his German, we can approximately date this notebook to the early to mid 1940s. Entries in Guan: 0
29. (WWBJ 5: 647–676)	1947 or later	a) *Living Writers*, edited by G.H. Phelps, was published in 1947. b) The design of this notebook is identical to no. 31. Entries in Guan: 3
30. (WWBJ 5: 677–739)	Late 1933 – Early 1934	a) Qian mentions reading both Hugh Walker's *The Literature of the Victorian Era*, and G. Santayana's *Scepticism and Animal Faith* in "Court Diary 14," in December 1933. b) The format and handwriting are similar to no. 109, the only other foreign language notebook dating from this early period. Entries in Guan: 0
31. (WWBJ 6: 3–32)	1947 or later.	a) Issued by the same stationer as no. 29. b) Contains two titles published in 1947: J.B. Morton's *Here and Now*, W. Somerset Maugham's *Creatures of Circumstance*. Entries in Guan: 0
32. (WWBJ 6: 33–98)	1941 or later.	a) Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* was published in 1940. b) At the head of his entry on Asinus Aureus, Qian has written, "also in Noctes Atticae, 1." This notebook postdates at least the first volume of the "Noctes Atticae," cycle, which began in 1941. Issued by the same stationer as no. 26.

		Entries in Guan: 0
33. (WWBJ 6: 99–178)	1948	a) A.K. Thomson's *The Classical Background of English Literature* was published in 1948. b) Entry 86 from "The Daily Notes" records that "I read [Martial's *Epigrams*] five years ago." This entry dates from 1953. Notebook no. 33 contains Qian's first notes on the *Epigrams* and may therefore be securely dated to 1948. c) Earlier notes on W.E.H. Lecky's *History of European Morals* appear in no. 14. Entries in Guan: 3
34. (WWBJ 6: 179–228)	1959.	a) Qian's German has improved by leaps and bounds from no. 28; in his notes from Iwan Bloch's *Die Prostitution*, he jots down glosses of only relatively advanced words, such as "abscheulich," or "vortäuschen." He transcribes French without any lexical paraphernalia whatsoever. b) Franz Grillparzer's *Gesammelte Werke* continues in no. 34. Entries in Guan: 4
35. (WWBJ 6: 229–290)	1942	John Buchan's *Memory Hold-The-Door* was published in 1940. a) "Daily Notes" entry 47: "Frederick Locker-Lampson, *Patchwork*: This book is extremely hard to find. Ten years ago in Shanghai, I once borrowed and read a copy from the municipal council library." 書甚罕遘。十年前在沪，曾假工部局圖書館藏本閱之。RAG: 77. This entry dates from 1952. Qian's notes on Locker-Lampson's Patchwork, dating from roughly 1942, are found on pp. 235–243. Entries in Guan: 1
36. (WWBJ 6: 291–332)	Mid 1940s	a) Margaret Haley's *With Malice Toward Some* was published in 1938. b) Notes on Eric Partridge's *Words! Words! Words!* are also found in no 4. Qian, however, makes no allusion to his previous notes, suggesting that a significant period has since elapsed. Entries in Guan: 1
37. (WWBJ 6: 333–414)	?	a) Qian's notes on Coleridge's *Table-Talk and Omniana* are marked as a continuation of those in no. 105.

		Entries in Guan: 2
38. (WWBJ 6: 415–536)	Late 1940s	a) Judging from his extracts from Nietzsche, Qian's German is at a comparable standard with no. 34. Entries in Guan: 3
39. (WWBJ 6: 537–718)	1954 or later	Qian's notes here are from "Part III" of Otto Jesperson's *A Modern English Grammar*. "Part II" is found in no. 105, dating from 1954 or later. Entries in Guan: 0
40. (WWBJ 7: 5–202)	1953	a) This is the first notebook in the "Texts without Contexts" series, and is labelled 1953. b) We can use this notebook to test our methodology of chronologising by publication date. The inclusion of Rosamond Lehmann's *The Echoing Grove* (1953) proves that Qian still had access to newly published foreign works. This approach is therefore accurate. Entries in Guan: 10
41. (WWBJ 7: 203–400)	1954	a) Volume two in the "Texts without Contexts" series. b) Robert Gittings' *John Keats* was published in 1954. Entries in Guan: 0
42. (WWBJ 7: 401–604)	1956	a) Volume three in the "Texts without Contexts" series. b) V.S. Pritchett's *Collected Stories* were published in 1956. Entries in Guan: 3
43. (WWBJ 7: 605–805)	1957-58	a) Volume four in the "Texts without Contexts" series. This notebook must postdate no. 42. b) Qian's notes on *Prosa e Poesie Scelte* by Giuseppe Giusti are concluded in no. 44. Entries in Guan: 2
44. (WWBJ 8: 3–196)	1958	a) Fifth and final volume in the "Texts without Contexts" series. b) *The Penguin Book of Italian Verse* was first published in 1958. Entries in Guan: 5
45. (WWBJ 8: 197–388)	1963	a) Qian's notes on Fernando de Rojas *Le Celestina* are a continuation of those in no. 57.

		b) George May's *Le Dilemme du Roman au XVIIIème Siècle* was published in 1963. Entries in Guan: 4
46. (WWBJ 8: 393–596)	1957	a) Typed notes of both *Le Neveu de Rameau* by Diderot, and *Les Contemporains* by Jules Lemaitre are found in no. 163. The organisation of the typed notes, however, offers no further clues. b) Five titles were published in 1957: *Modern Language Quarterly* (Sept. 1957); Henry de Motherlant's *Carnets*; Arthur Nesbitt's *Say You Never Saw Me*; Stephen Ullmann's *Style in the French Novel*; José María Arguedas' and Ruth Stephan's *Songs and Tales of the Quechua People* Entries in Guan: 6
47. (WWBJ 8: 597–789)	Early 1960s	a) The notes from T.L.S. Aug. 1, 1975 are an addendum to J.A. Schmoll's *Das Unvollendete als Künstlerische Form* and therefore gives no indication of the notebook's original date. b) Qian's notes on Friedrich Von Schlegel's *Literary Notebooks* are the conclusion to those in no. 64. c) The notes on Fritz Strich's *Kunst und Leben* are the conclusion of those in no. 85. d) Robert Weimann's *New Criticism und die Entwicklung Bürgerlicher Literaturwissenschaft* was published in 1962. e) The notebook was issued by the same stationer as nos. 48 & 49. Entries in Guan: 5
48. (WWBJ 9: 3–198)	1962 or after.	a) Benedetto Croce by Fausto Nicolini was published in 1962. b) Qian is reading broadly in Italian, but still glosses more advanced vocabulary in English. For example, in his extracts from Dino Provenzal's *Dizionario delle Immagine*, he transcribes, "Quella donna, come donna, non vale un pistacchio." [not worth a straw] (p. 17) c) Issued by the same stationer as nos. 47 and 49. Entries in Guan: 1

49. (WWBJ 9: 199–394)	1962–1963.	a) Henri Morier's *Dictionnaire de Poétique et de Rhétorique* and Jean Rousset's *Anthologie de la Poésie Baroque Franchise* were both published in 1961. b) Issued by the same stationer as nos. 47 and 48. c) Qian's notes on Max Milner's *Le Diable dans la Littérature Française* are concluded at the beginning of no. 57. Entries in Guan: 4
50. (WWBJ 9: 395–588)	1962	a) Qian's extracts from Shakespeare, which take up all of notebooks 50 and 52, are all taken from *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. G.L. Kittredge, published in 1937. b) The conclusion to these notes is found in no. 52, which can be securely dated to 1962. Entries in Guan: 10
51. (WWBJ 9: 589–774)	1962	These notes on Boccaccio's *Il Decamerone* are the continuation of those in no. 76, dating from 1962. Entries in Guan: 1
52. (WWBJ 10: 3–196)	1962	a) The conclusion of Qian's notes on *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* from no. 50. b) The conclusion of Qian's notes on *Il Decamerone*, also found in no. 75 and no. 51. Entries in Guan: 11
53. (WWBJ 10: 197–381)	1972	a) The first entry is taken from an article in the *Guardian* dating from Aug. 4, 1971. b) Qian's notes on Dante's *Paradiso* are continued in no. 54. Entries in Guan: 2
54. (WWBJ 10: 382–562)	1972	a) Extracts from an article in the *Münchener Merkur* (28. June 1972). b) The conclusion to Qian's notes on Dante's *Paradiso*. Entries in Guan: 4
55. (WWBJ 10: 563–712)	1973	Clair Huffaker's *The Cowboy and the Cossack* was published in 1973. Entries in Guan: 4

56. (WWBJ 11: 3–194)	Early 1960s.	a) Michael Hamburger and Christopher *Middleton's Modern German Poetry* (1910—1960) was published in 1962. b) Separate notes on Hermann Meyer's *Der Sonderling in der Deutschen Dichtung* are found in no. 129. Entries in Guan: 4
57. (WWBJ 11: 195–388)	1963	a) Qian's notes on Max Milner's *Le Diable dans la Littérature Française* are a direct continuation of notebook no. 49. b) Maurice Nadeau's *Le Roman Français depuis la Guerre* and Marthe Robert's *L'Ancien et le Nouveau* were both published in 1963. c) The notes on Rojas' *Le Celestina* are concluded in no. 45. Entries in Guan: 4
58. (WWBJ 11: 389–582)	Mid 1970s	a) Qian's 165 pages of notes from Montaigne's *Essais* are taken from the Pleiad edition, published in 1958. b) The notebook ends with extracts from the May 1976 issue of *Modern Language Notes*. Entries in Guan: 3
59. (WWBJ 11: 583–774)	Early 1960s	a) Qian's notes here on the *Opere* of Giordano Bruno e Tommaso Campanella are a continuation of those in no. 89. b) The entry on Giacomo Leopardi's *Zibaldone di Pensieri* is concluded in no. 113, which follows directly on from no. 59. Entries in Guan: 6
60. (WWBJ 12: 3–196)	1956 or after?	Concludes notes on Dr. Heinz Küpper *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Umgangssprache* (1956) started in no. 116. Entries in Guan: 3
61. (WWBJ 12: 197–396)	1974	John Hawkes' *Death Sleep and the Traveller* was published in 1974. Entries in Guan: 3
62. (WWBJ 12: 397–592)	1957 or later.	a) Continuation of notes on Wolfgang Kayser's *Das Sprachliche Kunstwerk* in no. 87. b) *The Penguin Book of German Verse* was published in 1957.

		Entries in Guan: 9
63. (WWBJ 12: 593–784)	1963	a) Qian's notes on Andre Vial's *Guy de Maupassant et l'Art du Roman* are continued at the beginning of no. 80. b) *The Penguin Book of French Verse* was published in 1961. Entries in Guan: 3
64. (WWBJ 13: 3–195)	Early 1960s	a) Qian's notes on Friedrich Schlegel's *Literary Notebooks* are a continuation of those in no. 47. Entries in Guan: 3
65. (WWBJ 13: 196–390)	Early 1960s.	b) Qian's notes on Benedetto Croce's *La Poesia* are continued in no. 69. Entries in Guan: 1
66. (WWBJ 13: 391–586)	1959 or later.	a) The latest publications in this notebook are C.P. Barbier's *Samuel Rogers and William Gilpin* and John Hearne's *The Autumn Equinox*, which were both released in 1959. b) More comprehensive notes on Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* and *System und Geschichte der Philosophie* are found in nos. 145 and 147 respectively. Entries in Guan: 11
67. (WWBJ 13: 587–780)	1964	Elizabeth Sewell's *The Human Metaphor* was published in 1964. Entries in Guan: 11
68. (WWBJ 14: 3–80)	Late 1940s	Titled "Entrails of Books;" connected to the "Viscera Libri" series started in no. 25. Entries in Guan: 1
69. (WWBJ 14: 81–178)	Early 1960s.	a) Direct continuation of notes on Croce's *La Poesia*, started at the end of no. 65. b) E.F. Jacob's *Italian Renaissance Studies* was published in 1960. Entries in Guan: 4
70. (WWBJ 14: 179–232)	1960	a) Issued by the stationer at Peking University. b) Continuation of Qian's notes on Eduard Fuchs' *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte*, from no. 62. c) The direct continuation of Qian's notes on Wolfgang Kayser's *Das Groteske* is found at the beginning of no. 85.

		Entries in Guan: 2
71. (WWBJ 14: 233–286)	1960	a) Same design as no. 70. b) Luigi Rosso's *Gli Scrittori d'Italia* is continued in no. 84. Entries in Guan: 0
72. (WWBJ 14: 287–367)	1963	a) La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes is continued in no. 80. b) André Schwarz-Bart's *Le Dernier des Justes* was published in 1959. Entries in Guan: 0
73. (WWBJ 14: 369–450)	1960 or later	C.S. Lewis' *Studies in Words* was published in 1960. Entries in Guan: 5
74. (WWBJ 14: 451–532)	1964	a) Qian's notes on Paul Delbouille's *Poésie et Sonorités* were begun in no. 81. b) Salavatore's Quasimodo's *The Poet and the Politician* was published in 1964. c) Both *The Poet and the Politician* and Giambattista Vico's *Scienza Nuova* are marked as "continuations." I have failed, however, to locate the original entries. Entries in Guan: 2
75. (WWBJ 15: 533–614)	1958 or later.	Jules Brody's Boileau and Longinus was published in 1958. Entries in Guan: 1
76. (WWBJ 15: 615–694)	1962	a) Max Wehrli's *Deutsche Barocklyrick* and Alfred Kazin's Contemporaries were both published in 1962. b) K. Spalding and K. Brooke's *An Historical Dictionary of German Figurative Usage* is continued in nos. 77 and 83. Entries in Guan: 3
77. (WWBJ 15: 3–84)	1964	a) Arthur Schopenhauer's *Parerga und Paralipomena* is a continuation of notes in no. 100. b) Norris W. Yates' *The American Humorist* was published in 1964. Entries in Guan: 2
78. (WWBJ 15: 85–166)	1961	a*) L'Esthétique Contemporaine* by Guido Morpurgo-Tagliabue continues in no. 81.

		b) Raymond Bayer's *Histoire de l'Esthétique* was published in 1961. Entries in Guan: 3
79. (WWBJ 15: 167–248)	1966	Andrea de Nerciat's *Les Maîtres de l'Amour* continues in no. 197. Entries in Guan: 2
80. (WWBJ 15: 249–330)	1963	a) J.I.M. Stewart's *Eight Modern Writers* was published in 1963. b) Conclusion of notes on *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* from no. 72. c) Conclusion of notes on Andre Vial's *Guy de Maupassant et l'Art du Roman* from no. 63. Entries in Guan: 0
81. (WWBJ 15: 331–412)	1964	a) Conclusion of *L'Esthétique Contemporaine* by Guido Morpurgo-Tagliabue in no. 78. b) Paul Delbouille's *Poésie et Sonorités* continues in no. 74. Entries in Guan: 1
82. (WWBJ 15: 413–492)	Early 1960s.	a) Francesco Flora's *Orfismo della Parola* concludes notes started in no. 69. b) G.G. Ferrero's *Marino e i Marinisti* continues in no. 108. Entries in Guan: 1
83. (WWBJ 15: 493–574)	1962	a) K. Spalding's *An Historical Dictionary of German Figurative Usage* is continued from no. 76. b) Robert Weimann's *"New Criticism" und die Entwicklung der bürgerlichen Literaturwissenschaft* was published in 1962. Entries in Guan: 0
84. (WWBJ 15: 575–655)	1960	a) Luigi Russo's *Gli Scrittori d'Italia* is continued from no. 71. b) Saggi Italiani, *L'Arte e le Arti, G.B. Vico: La Vita e le Opere, and I Contemporanei* were all published in 1960. Entries in Guan: 2
85. (WWBJ 15: 656–736)	Early 1960s	a) Wolfgang Kayser's *Das Groteske* is continued from no. 70.

		b) Fritz Strich's *Kunst und Leben* continues in no. 47. Entries in Guan: 3
86. (WWBJ 16: 3–190)	1963	Twenty titles from 1963. Entries in Guan: 1
87. (WWBJ 16: 191–386)	1957 or later,	a) Wolfgang Kayser's *Das Sprachliche Kunstwerk* continues in no. 62. b) Wm. K. Pfeiler's *German Literature in Exile* was published in 1957. Entries in Guan: 1
88. (WWBJ 16: 387–514)	Early 1960s.	a) James Greig's *Francis Jeffrey of the Edinburgh Review* was published in 1948. b) Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literature is continued from no. 47. Entries in Guan: 7
89. (WWBJ 16: 515–708)	Early 1960s	a) Mario Fubini's *Critica e Poesia* is continued from no. 48. b) Giordano Bruno and Tommaso Campanella's *Opere* continues in no. 59. c) Luigi Pareyson's *Estetica* was published in 1963. Entries in Guan: 4
90. (WWBJ 16: 709–786)	1962 or later	Qian has worked from a reprint of the 12th edition of Evelyn Underhill's *Mysticism*. Entries in Guan: 3
91. (WWBJ 17: 3–82)	1960 or later	Ira Morris' *The Paper Wall* was published in 1960. Entries in Guan: 1
92. (WWBJ 17: 83–164)	1964 or later	*The Raymond Chandler Ominibus* and Anthony Powell's *The Valley of Bones* were both published in 1964. Entries in Guan: 1
93. (WWBJ 17: 165–214)	1954	Multiple works from 1954 e.g., Norman Longmate's *Oxford Triumphant* and G. Santayana's *My Host the World*. Entries in Guan: 0
94. (WWBJ 17: 215–264)	Mid 1950s	Olivia Manning's *The Doves of Venus* was published in 1955. Entries in Guan: 0

95. (WWBJ 17: 265–314)	1959	a) Franz Grillparzer's *Gesammelte Werke* is continued directly from no. 34. b) Ralph Rickett's *Love in Four Flats* was published in 1959. Entries in Guan: 2
96. (WWBJ 17: 315–364)	1957	*Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France 1957* Entries in Guan: 1
97. (WWBJ 17: 365–558)	1966–9	a) *The Marxist* (April 1969). Qian left for the Cadre School in Henan in November. b) Same stationer as no. 98. Entries in Guan: 3
98. (WWBJ 17: 559–749)	1966	Victor Hugo's *Oeuvre Poétiques Complètes* is continued from no. 197. Entries in Guan: 11
99. (WWBJ 18: 3–110)	1971	Magazines from 1971. (Qian Yuan would send magazines to her father at the Cadre school) Entries in Guan: 1
100. (WWBJ 18 : 111–192)	1964	Schopenhauer's *Parerga und Paralipoemena* continues in no 77. Entries in Guan: 1
101. (WWBJ 18 : 193–242)	1955	a) *The Daily Notes* first quote from Qian's extracts from Furetière's Le Roman Bourgeois in "Entry 418." b) L.B. Simpson's translation of La Celestina was published in 1955. Entries in Guan: 0
102. (WWBJ 18 : 243–292)	1956	Saul Bellow's *Seize the Day* and Pierre Boulle's *Saving Face* were both published in 1956. Entries in Guan: 1
103. (WWBJ 18 : 293–342)	1954	J.B. Priestley's *Low Notes on a High Level* was published in 1954. Entries in Guan: 1
104. (WWBJ 18 : 343–420)	1959	Over twenty titles from 1959, starting with Dan Davin's *No Remittance*. Entries in Guan: 2
105. (WWBJ 18 : 421–502)	?	a) Coleridge's *The Table Talk and Omniana* continues in no. 37.

		Entries in Guan: 1
106. (WWBJ 18 : 503–672)	1947	*A Free House*, ed. Osbert Sitwell, was published in 1947. Entries in Guan: 3
107. (WWBJ 18 : 673–733)	Early 1970s	a) Iris Murdoch's *A Fairly Honourable Defeat* was published in 1970. Qian returned to Beijing in 1972. b) Qian reads Marx. Yang Jiang has revealed that Qian read Marx in the original during the Cultural Revolution. Entries in Guan: 1
108. (WWBJ 18 : 734–814)	Early 1960s	G.G. Ferrero's *Marino i Marinisti* is continued from no. 82. Entries in Guan: 1
109. (WWBJ 19: 3–88)	1933–1938	a) Issued by the stationer at Kwang Hua University, were Qian taught from 1933–34. b) J.W.N. Sullivan's *Aspects of Science* and J.H. Muirhead's *The Elements of Ethic* are mentioned in November and December of "Court Diary 14" respectively. c) Gilbert Murray's *Liberality and Civilisation* was published in 1938. Entries in Guan: 1
110. (WWBJ 19: 89–122)	?	Latest publication is Lizzie Susan Stebbing's *Thinking to Some Purpose* (1939) Entries in Guan: 0
111. (WWBJ 19: 123–319)	1958	André Billy's *Vie des Frères Goncourt* was published in 1958. Entries in Guan: 3
112. (WWBJ 19: 320-488)	1962	Dino Provenzal's *Perché si Dice Cosi?* was published in 1959. Entries in Guan: 4
113. (WWBJ 19: 521–714)	Early 1960s.	Giacomo Leopardi's *Zibaldone di Pensieri* is continued from no. 59. Entries in Guan: 3
114. (WWBJ 20: 3–198)	1964 or after.	Marked as "supplementary to the Notebook containing Hegel, Ausgewählte Texte; Dante, *La Divina Commedia* etc." i.e. no. 67. Entries in Guan: 6
115. (WWBJ 20: 199–402)	1962	a) P. Dupré ed. *Encyclopédie des Citations* concluded from no. 112.

		b) Cruickshank ed. *The Novelist as Philosopher* was published 1962. Entries in Guan: 4
116. (WWBJ 20: 403–592)	1956 or after.	Heinz Küpper‘s *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Umgangssprache* continues in no. 60. Entries in Guan: 1
117. (WWBJ 20: 593–790)	1960	Tutto d’Annunzio’s *Eurialo de Michelis* was published in 1960. Entries in Guan: 5
118. (WWBJ 21: 3–198)	1974	The state of Qian’s handwriting in his notes on Shelley’s *Poems* indicates that they were taken shortly after he was hospitalised in 1974. Entries in Guan: 6
119. (WWBJ 21: 199–394)	1965 or after	Norman Mailer’s *American Dream* was published in 1965. Entries in Guan: 5
120. (WWBJ 21: 395–589)	1973-1974.	The end of the “Table of Contents” for this notebook is compiled in Qian’s hand of 1974. Entries in Guan: 4
121. (WWBJ 21: 593–846)	Mid 1950s-Mid 1960s or after?	a) Loose sheaves of handwritten notes spanning over a decade. Leonard Nelson’s *Socratic Method* is cited in the body of “Entry 489” of the “Daily Notes,” which dates from 1956. b) Otto Jespersen’s *A Modern English Grammar*, also in no. 39. c) Thomas de Quincey’s *Collected Writings* also in no. 157. d) Melvin M. Rader’s *A Modern Book of Esthetics* is continued from no. 177. Entries in Guan: 15
122. (WWBJ 22: 4–190)	Early 1970s	Alan Sillitoe’s *A Start in Life* was published in 1970. Entries in Guan: 3
123. (WWBJ 22: 191–455)	1982	a) Malcolm Bradbury’s *Rates of Exchange* was published in 1982. b) Issued by the “Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference” 政协全国委员会, as is Chinese “Leather Cahier 14 addenda.” Qian would have attended this

		conference in his capacity as vice-director of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, a post to which he was appointed in 1982. Entries in Guan: 0
124. (WWBJ 22: 456–646)	1984	a) V.S. Naipaul's Finding the Centre was published in 1984. b) A.N. Wilson's Hilaire Belloc continues in no. 127. c) Issued by the same stationer as Chinese "Small Cahier 2." Entries in Guan: 2
125. (WWBJ 22: 456–646)	1971	Magazines and Journals from 1971. While at the Cadre school, Qian Yuan sent her father foreign newspapers. He also read Marx. Entries in Guan: 0
126. (WWBJ 23: 4–185)	1974 or after	Helen MacInnes' *The Snare of the Hunter* was published in 1974. Entries in Guan: 2
127. (WWBJ 23: 187–337)	1984	a) A.N. Wilson's *Hilaire Belloc* is continued from no. 124. b) Saturday Review (July 1984) c) Notebook design reads, "1912-1982" Entries in Guan: 0
128. (WWBJ 23: 361–495)	1975	Quotes from T.L.S. March 7, 1975 (p. 418) Entries in Guan: 4
129. (WWBJ 23: 533–730)	1973 or after	Kurt Vonnegut's *Breakfast of Champions* was published in 1973. Entries in Guan: 6
130. (WWBJ 24: 2–404)	1976	Proust's *A La Recherche du Temps Perdu* continued from no. 145. Further notes in 149. Entries in Guan: 1
131. (WWBJ 24: 405–804)	Late 1980s	a) Franzo Sacchetti's *Il Trecentonovelle* concludes notes from no. 137. b) Matteo Bandello's *Le Nouvelle* continues in no 144. c) Marginalia on p. 417 cites "Entry 799" from the "Daily Notes" (1973).

		Entries in Guan: NA
132. (WWBJ 25: 3–196)	1987	Sainte-Beuve's *Causeries du Lundi* continued from no. 135, continues in nos. 150 and 154. Entries in Guan: NA
133. (WWBJ 25: 197–390)	1989	Lichtenberg's *Aphorismen Essays Briefe* continues in no. 138. Heine's *Werke und Briefe* continued from no. 142. Entries in Guan: NA
134. (WWBJ 25: 391–584)	1989	Heine's *Werke und Briefe* continued from nos. 132 and 142. Entries in Guan: NA
135. (WWBJ 25: 585–776)	1987	Sainte-Beuve's *Causeries du Lundi* continues in no. 132. Entries in Guan: NA
136. (WWBJ 26: 3–94)	1989	*The Letters of Evelyn Waugh* was published in 1989. Entries in Guan: NA
137. (WWBJ 26: 95–497)	1989	Franco Sacchetti's *Il Trecentonovelle* continues in no. 131 (1989). Entries in Guan: NA
138. (WWBJ 26: 499–680)	1989	a) Lichtenberg's *Aphorismen, Essays, Briefe* is continued from no. 133. b) P.D. James' *Devices and Desires* was published in 1989. c) Luigi Rosso's *Antologia della Critica Letteraria* is continued from no. 144. Entries in Guan: NA
139. (WWBJ 27: 3–300)	Late 1980s?	a) Louis Conard's edition of *Madame Bovary* and *L'Education Sentimentale*. Qian may have compiled this during the same period as his notes on Flaubert's *Correspondence*. b) Same notebook design as Chinese "Leather Cahier 4." Entries in Guan: NA
140. (WWBJ 27: 301–492)	1987	a) Flaubert's *Correspondence* continues in no. 141. b) Same notebook design as 141, 211. Entries in Guan: NA
141. (WWBJ 27: 493–684)	1987	a) Flaubert's *Correspondence* is continued from no. 140.

		b) Jules Renard's *Journal* continues in no. 156. c) Same notebook design as 140, 211. Entries in Guan: NA
142. (WWBJ 28: 3–196)	1989	Immanuel Kant's *Anthropologie in Pragmatischer Hinsicht* is concluded from no. 147. Heine's *Werke und Briefe* continues in nos. 133 and 134. Kingsley Amis' Ending Up: 1974. Entries in Guan: NA
143. (WWBJ 28: 197–350)	1988	Harry Kemelman's *Thursday the Rabbi Walked Out* was published in 1978. Rene Wellek's *A History of Modern Criticism* is continued from no. 146. Entries in Guan: NA
144. (WWBJ 28: 351–530)	Late 1980s.	Matteo Bandello's *Le Novelle* is continued from no. 131. Luigi Rosso's *Antologia della Critica Letteraria* continues in no. 138. Entries in Guan: NA
145. (WWBJ 29: 3–406)	1976	Proust's *A La Recherche du Temps Perdu* continues in nos. 130, 148 and 149. Article from *Encounter* (1976) Entries in Guan: 9
146. (WWBJ 29: 407–600)	1988	*The Faber Book of Letters* was published in 1988. Notes on this title continue in no. 195. Rene Wellek's *A History of Modern Criticism* continues in no. 143. Entries in Guan: NA
147. (WWBJ 29: 601–792)	1989	Kant's *Anthropologie in Pragmatischer Hinsicht* continues in no. 142. Entries in Guan: NA
148. (WWBJ 30: 3–196)	1976	Proust's *A La Recherche du Temps Perdu* is continued from nos. 145 and 130 and continues in no. 149. Entries in Guan: 0
149. (WWBJ 30: 197–244)	1976	Proust's *A La Recherche du Temps Perdu* is continued from no. 148.

		Stendhal's *Œuvres Intimes* continues in no. 150. Entries in Guan: 0
150. (WWBJ 30: 391–583)	1987	a) Stendhal's *Œuvres Intimes* is concluded from no. 149. b) Saint-Beuve's *Causeries du Lundi* is continued from 135. Continues in no. 154. c) Katharine Brigg's *A Dictionary of Fairies* was published in 1976. Entries in Guan: 0
151. (WWBJ 30: 584–775)	1970s	Anthony Powell's Books Do Furnish a Room was published in 1971. Entries in Guan: 8
152. (WWBJ 31: 3–196)	1982	*Herodotus* continues in 153. Entries in Guan: NA
153. (WWBJ 31: 197–388)	1982	a) Graham Greene's Monsignor Quixote was published in 1982. b) *Herodotus* is continued from 152. Entries in Guan: NA
154. (WWBJ 31: 389–582)	1987	a) George G. Wilson's *The Story of the Novel* was published in 1979. b) Saint-Beuve's *Causeries du Lundi* is continued from no. 150. c) Saint-Beuve's *Nouveaux Lundis* continues in no. 155. Entries in Guan: NA
155. (WWBJ 31: 583–735)	1987	a) Eva Kittay's *Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure* was published in 1987. b) Saint-Beuve's *Nouveaux Lundis* is continued from no. 154. c) Felix Pryor's *The Faber Book of Letters* is concluded from no. 146. d) Same notebook design as nos. 140, 141 and 211. Entries in Guan: NA
156. (WWBJ 31: 741–754)	1987	Jules Renard's *Journal* is concluded from no. 141. Entries in Guan: NA

157.[24] (WWBJ 32: 5–240)	1935–1937	a) Yang Jiang has signed off and dated a stray leaf from their time at Oxford, "8.XI.1936. Typed by Chi-kong Yang Chien." b) Robert Harborough Sherard's *Bernard Shaw, Frank Harris, and Oscar Wilde* was published in 1937. Entries in Guan: 1
158. (WWBJ 32: 241-716)	1940s	a) The latest publication is *Mind* (1947). b) There is evidence that the organisation of the notes in this sheaf represents the order in which Qian read the works in question. His continuation to Wilkie Collins' *Armadale*, for instance, appears shortly after the original entry. Entries in Guan: 33
159a. (WWBJ 33: 3–653)	Late 1940s–Mid 1950s.	a) Two tables of contents, both dated "1949" and titled "Chop-Suey being the commonplace book of C.S. Ch'ien" and "Tablets of Memory being Extracts and Abstracts of Books by C.S. Ch'ien" respectively. b) However, the current organisation of this sheaf does not match the table of contents that Qian drew up in 1949. For example, extracts from *Modern Language Notes* (1958) are not found under "Tablets of Memory," nor does this entry carry Qian's own pagination. Such entries must have found their way into the group later on. From this clue, we can extrapolate that all paginated entries predate 1949, while all unpaginated entries postdate that year. c) The latest unpaginated title is Felix Barker's *The Life and Strange Death* of Eleanor Max, published in 1955. d) Qian's table of content extends to *A Treatise on the Novel* by Robert Liddell. Entries in Guan: 21
159b (WWBJ 34: 3–635)	Largely late 1940s.	a) None of the entries in this sheaf are found in Qian's table of contents. The pagination, however, continues on from the titles in that series.

[24] Notebooks nos. 157 to 189 are collections of loose typed notes. Their organisation forms a significant obstacle to coherent chronologisation, as the date of one title cannot necessarily be used to chronologise the remaining entries in the same sheaf. Monika Motsch informs us, however, that "Qian himself sorted [the loose notes] into various groups, assigning them to envelopes." (WWBJ Index: xxxii) For the most part, these groups betray a chronological, rather than a thematic coherence. The exceptions are nos. 169 and 170, which collect notes from literary journals. Although we can no longer draw chronological conclusions on the basis of notebook covers, we can identify clues from the colour of the ink ribbon, the quality of paper, and the typeface.

		b) Entries postdating 1949 are later additions, written on the reverse side of typed pages. E.g. A.E. Dyson's *Swift: The Metamorphosis of Irony* (1955), and *MLN* (Mar. 1973) Entries in Guan: 45
160. (WWBJ 35: 3–170)	1969 or later	a) Coherent pagination throughout. b) Richard Kostelanetz's *On Contemporary Literature* was published in 1969. c) Purple ink ribbon, similar to no. 182. Entries in Guan: 2
161. (WWBJ 36: 171–421)	Late 1940s	a) Coherent pagination throughout. b) Hans Baron's *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* was published in 1955. This, however, is a later addition, written on the reverse side of a typed page. All other entries date from the 1940s. c) Qian's notes on R.G. Collingwood's "An Essay on Metaphysics" are split into two parts, and presented in the correct order, suggesting that the organisation of these notes reflects the sequence of Qian's reading. Entries in Guan: 11
162. (WWBJ 36: 429–562)	Mid 1950s	a) No pagination. b) Brian Fitzgerald's *Daniel Defoe* was published in 1954. Entries in Guan: 2
163. (WWBJ 37: 3–474)	1940s	a) Headed letter paper from "Shanghai Herald," "National Central Library, Nanking" and "National Library of Peiping" b) Marjorie Nicolson's *Newton Demands the Muse* was published in 1946. Entries in Guan: 17
164. (WWBJ 37: 475–609)	Early 1960s	Stuart M. Tave's *The Amiable Humorist* was published in 1960. Entries in Guan: 6
165. (WWBJ 37: 3–222)	Early 1960s	Robert Graves' *Oxford Addresses on Poetry* was published in 1962. Entries in Guan: 9

166. (WWBJ 37: 223–390)	Late 1950s	Vincent Brome's Frank Harris was published in 1959. Nearly all the entries in this sheaf are from the late 1950s. Entries in Guan: 5
167. (WWBJ 37: 391–510)	1961	Mary Eden and Richard Carrington's The Philosophy of the Bed was published in 1961. Entries in Guan: 7
168. (WWBJ 38: 3–108)	1960	*English* (Spring 1960) Entries in Guan: 2
169. (WWBJ 38: 109–305)	1963	P. Mansell Jones' *The Assault on French Literature* was published in 1963. Entries in Guan: 1
170. (WWBJ 38: 306–448)	Late 1950s	*Modern Language Quarterly* (Sept. 1957) is also found in no. 46. Entries in Guan: 4
171. (WWBJ 38: 449–569)	Early 1960s	a) Moravia's *Racconti Romani* are also found in no. 59. b) Latest title is *A Private Correspondence* by Lawrence Durrell and Henry Miller, published in 1963. Entries in Guan: 4
172. (WWBJ 39: 3–202)	Mid 1960s	David Cecil's *Max: A Biography* was published in 1964. Entries in Guan: 4
173. (WWBJ 39: 207–340)	Early to mid 1960s.	S.K. De's *Sanskrit Poetics as a Study of Aest*hetic was published in 1963. Entries in Guan: 5
174. (WWBJ 39: 341–440)	Late 1970s	Jane Dunn's *Moon in Eclipse* was published in 1978. Entries in Guan: 3
175. (WWBJ 39: 441–574)	Mid 1950s–1972	a) Loose sheaves of notes, spread across two decades. b) Qian quotes from W.H. Auden's edition of Kierkegaard in the body of entry 489 of the "Daily Notes," which was compiled in the mid 1950s. b) *News* (Feb.-Sept. 1972) b) John Passmore's *A Hundred Years of Philosophy* is also found in no. 183. Entries in Guan: 6
176. (WWBJ 40: 3–226)	Mid 1960s	Sean McCann's *The World of Brendan Behan* was published in 1965.

		Entries in Guan: 14
177. (WWBJ 40: 227–416)	Mid 1960s	Wallace Hildick's *Word for Word* was published in 1965. Entries in Guan: 5
178. (WWBJ 40: 417–459)	1970s.	Graham Greene's *A Sort of Life* was published in 1971. Entries in Guan: 1
179. (WWBJ 40: 469–586)	1980	a) The last page in this sheaf is a fragment from Qian's manuscript draft for his essay "Chinese Poetry and Chinese Painting" 中國詩與中國畫, published in 1979.[25] b) Antony Alpers' *The Life of Katherine Mansfield* was published in 1980. Entries in Guan: NA
180. (WWBJ 40: 589–716)	Late 1970s	Virginia Woolf's *The Letters* was published in 1976. Entries in Guan: 0
181. (WWBJ 41: 2–209)	Mid 1970s	a) *Italian Quarterly* (Winter, 1975) b) Blue ink ribbon, similar to no. 183. Entries in Guan: 7
182. (WWBJ 41: 210–254)	1969 or later	a) Latest title is *Compton Mackenzie's Thin Ice* from 1956. b) Purple ink ribbon, similar to no. 160. Entries in Guan: 0
183. (WWBJ 41: 259–465)	1970s	a) David Lodge ed., *Twentieth Century Literary Criticism: A Reader*, 1972. b) John Passmore's *A Hundred Years of Philosophy* is also found in no. 175. c) Blue ink ribbon, similar to nos. 162 and 181. Entries in Guan: 2
184. (WWBJ 41: 486–584)	Late 1970s	a) R.B. Heilman's *The Ways of the World* was published in 1978.

[25] This fragment has not been examined in Zhang Hongyang 張紅揚, "Qian Zhongshu 'Zhongguo shi yu Zhongguo hua' chugao ban de faxian yu banben yanjiu" 錢鍾書《中國詩與中國畫》初稿版的發現與版本研究,*Daxue tushuguan xuebao* 大學圖書館學報, Vol. 39, No. 5 (Sept. 2021): 113-119.

		b) Charles C.F. Greville's *The Greville Memoirs* continues in no. 185. Entries in Guan: 1
185. (WWBJ 42: 2–118)	Late 1970s	a) Charles C.F. Greville's *The Greville Memoirs* is continued from no. 184. b) W. Jackson Bate's *Samuel Johnson* (1977) continues in no. 186. Entries in Guan: 2
186. (WWBJ 42: 119–424)	Late 1970s.	W. Jackson Bate's *Samuel Johnson* is continued from no. 185. *Writers at Work: The "Paris Review" Interviews* is also found in no. 164. Entries in Guan: 9
187. (WWBJ 42: 425–608)	Mid 1980s.	a) Headed letter paper of the "Literary Department of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences." b) Tzvetan Todorov's *Critique de la Critique* was published in 1984. Entries in Guan: 0
188. (WWBJ 42: 609–662)	Mid 1980s	a) First page features the words "*Wei cheng* 圍城"(Fortress Besieged) in running script. b) These notes are paginated, but incoherently. c) D.J. Enright ed., *Uses of Euphemism,* was published in 1985. Entries in Guan: 0
189.[26] (WWBJ 43: 5–54)	1955-1956	*Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* (Sept. 1955); *The Listener* (1956) Entries in Guan: 0
190. (WWBJ 43: 55–112)	1955-1957	*The Review of English Studies* (Oct. 1955); *French Studies* (1957). Entries in Guan: 0

[26] The remaining notebooks contain Qian's extracts from newspapers, magazines, and scholarly journals. As these publications are nearly all chronologically presented, dating these notebooks is relatively trivial. I have included them in my chronology for three reasons: a) to be comprehensive, b) to highlight rare cross-references (Andréa de Nerciat's *Les Maîtres d'Amour* in no. 197, for example, is concluded from no. 79), and c) to draw attention to the hiatus that Qian took from note taking, from 1966-1972, during the height of the Cultural Revolution.

191. (WWBJ 43: 113–252)	1957-1959	*The New Statesman and Nation* (1957); *New Statesman* (1959) Entries in Guan: 2
192. (WWBJ 43: 253–445)	1958–1961	*RES* (Aug. 1958); *The London Magazine* (June, 1961). Entries in Guan: 0
193. (WWBJ 43: 449–544)	1961–1962	*A Review of English Literature* (1961); *MLR* (Jan. 1962) Entries in Guan: 0
194. (WWBJ 43: 547–626)	1962–1963	*German Life and Letters* (May, 1962); *Saturday Review* (Mar. 1963) Entries in Guan: 0
195. (WWBJ 44: 3–194)	1963–1964	*New Statesman* (22 Mar. 1963); *The London Magazine* (Oct. 1964) Entries in Guan: 0
196. (WWBJ 44: 195–385)	1964–1966	*New Statesman* (23 Oct. 1964); *New Statesman* (14 Jan. 1966) Entries in Guan: 0
197. (WWBJ 44: 387–582)	1965–1966	*TLS* (12 Aug. 1965); *New Statesman* (1966) Entries in Guan: 5
198. (WWBJ 44: 583–776)	1972–1973	*Encounter* (Jan. 1973); *New Statesman* (27 July 1972) Entries in Guan: 0
199. (WWBJ 44: 777–969)	1975	Comparative Literature (Spring, 1973); TLS (1975) Entries in Guan: 0
200. (WWBJ 45: 2–403)	1973–1978	*New Statesman* (1973); *The London Magazine* (Apr. 1978). Entries in Guan: 0
201. (WWBJ 45: 404–802)	1973–1978	*New Statesman* (17 Aug. 1973); *The London Magazine* (Apr. 1978) Entries in Guan: 0
202. (WWBJ 46: 3–196)	1979–1980	*New Statesman* (1979); TLS (May, 1980) Entries in Guan: 0
203. (WWBJ 46: 197–388)	1980–1981	*TLS* (May, 1980) continued from no. 202; TLS (5 June 1981). Entries in Guan: 0
204. (WWBJ 46: 389–580)	1981–1982	*Encounter* (Aug. 1981); *Encounter* (May, 1982) Entries in Guan: 0

205. (WWBJ 46: 581–773)	1982–1983	*New Statesman* (14 May, 1982); *TLS* (1983) Entries in Guan: 0
206. (WWBJ 47: 3–380)	1984–1986	*TLS* (1984); *New York Review of Books* (1986) Entries in Guan: 0
207. (WWBJ 47: 395–786)	1986–1989	*TLS* (11 July 1986); *Encounter* (Apr. 1989) Entries in Guan: 0
208. (WWBJ 48: 3–400)	1989–1991	*London Review of Books* (20 Apr. 1989); TLS (1991) Entries in Guan: 0
209. (WWBJ 48: 401–518	1991	*Literary Review* (Mar. 1991) Entries in Guan: 0
210. (WWBJ 48: 519–712)	1991–1992	*Literary Review* (1991); *London Review of Books* (1992) Entries in Guan: 0
211. (WWBJ 48: 713–780)	1992	*TLS* (1992) Entries in Guan: 0

APPENDIX A.2 (*Chinese Language Notes*)

Notebook	**Date**	**Chronological Notes**
1.[27] 殘頁 A (ZWBJ 1: 3–60)	1949	a) Fan Xulun has identified this sheaf of notes as the first of two volumes of Qian's "Journal from a Remote Hovel" (*Pianyuan lu risheng* 偏遠廬日乘) from June to December 1949. Also marked "Journal from a Remote Pavilion" (*Pianyuan lou risheng* 偏遠樓日乘.)[28] b) I've found two pieces of evidence to support this view: "[…] also 'Lyrics on a Bamboo Branch' in *juan* five of *Collected Poetry from the Hall of Corrupted*

[27] Notebooks nos. 1 to 9 of the Chinese Language Notes consist of loose leaves that originally formed part of Qian's diaries in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The excision of Qian's diaries during the first "Thought Reform Movement" of 1951–52 renders these notes difficult to chronologise. We can piece together evidence, however, from references that Qian makes to works reviewed in specific diaries.

[28] Fan Xulun's 范旭侖 article "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi 錢鍾書著作考異" is no longer available on his blog: https://blog.sina.com.cn/1fxl. His chronological observations have been preserved, however, in the footnotes to Shixi youjin's 視昔猶今 transcription of the first three volumes of the *Chinese Language Notebooks*: https://tghgsw.blogspot.com/2018/09/1.html. I have furnished my own evidence to either support or refute Fan's conjectures.

		Literature (Journal from a Remote Pavilion, Nov. 13th)." 又《變雅堂詩集》卷五〈竹枝詞〉（《偏遠樓日乘》十一月十三日），均可參觀.ZWBJ 1: 178. This refers to Qian's notes found on *Bianya tang shiji* 變雅堂詩集 in "Loose Leaves A" (*canye* 殘頁 A) ZWBJ 1: 38–44. d) A further chronological clue is afforded by a reference to Qian's diary entry of Nov. 13th, 1949: "Zhang Qiaoye was the first to make this argument. See his entry from June 3rd, 1886, in *A Diary from Three Continents*. (My diary of Nov. 13th, 1949, cites this passage)." 張樵野先作此論，見《三洲日記》光緒十二年六月初三日（民國三十八年十一月十三日日記引）。 ZWBJ 1: 424. This date coincides with the chronological span of "Journal from a Remote Hovel." Qian's notes on *Sanzhou riji* 三洲日記 are found in "Loose Leaves A." ZWBJ 1: 8–11. Entries in Guan: 6
2. 殘頁 B (ZWBJ 1: 61–228)	1950–1951	a) Fan Xulun identifies this sheaf as the second of two volumes of Qian's "A Journal of Squalor" (*hui sheng* 穢乘). Jan. 1951-Feb. 1952.[29] b) I've found one piece of evidence to support this view: "The self-annotation to the fourth line in 'Lay disciple Huang Jiuyan passes Baoyun [Temple],' i.e. 'the grand historian's writings on the country of dreams' in the second *juan* of *Collected Poems from Baoyun* reads, "He [Jiuyan] said of himself that he had compiled *A History of Dreams* that was a foot high.' See "A Journal of Squalor 2," July 9th." 《寶雲詩集》卷二〈黃九烟居士重過寶雲〉第四句「夢國河山太史書」自注：「自言有《夢史》高一尺。」參觀《穢乘·二》六月九日。ZWBJ 1: 203 This refers to Qian's notes on *The Posthumous Writings of Master Jiuyan* (*Jiuyan xiansheng yiji* 九湮先生遺集) in "Loose Leaves B." ZWBJ 1: 82–91. c) However, three other pieces of evidence suggest that at least part of "Loose Leaves B" belongs to "Diary from a Swallow's Nest": i) "For He Yimen's calumny against Qing Zhu, see my entry of Dec. 3rd in the fifth volume of 'Diary from a

[29] Fan Xulun, "Wo Qian Zhongshu ren ta Hu Shizhi 我錢鍾書認他胡適之," *Dongfang zaobao* 東方早報, Oct. 27th 2013.

		Swallow's Nest.'" 何義門詆青主語，見《燕巢日記》第五冊十二月三日。ZWBJ 1: 146. This refers to Qian's notes on the *Collected Works of Master He Yimen* 何義門先生集, found in "Loose Leaves B." ZWBJ: 115–119. ii) "I've been searching for this collection [*Jiuyan xiansheng yiji* 九煙先生遺集] for over ten years! Nearly all the pieces that I have read dotted around the place [by Huang Jiuyan] are collected here. Only the riddles recorded in 'A Letter to Huang Jiuyan' from *juan* one of Zhang Shanlai's *Extant Correspondence* and the "Letters to Zhang Shanlai" section in volume one of [Zhang Chao's 張潮] *Letters from Friendly Voices,* as well as "A Poem Composed While Smitten," collated in *juan* three of Yuan Jie's *Remarks on Poetry from Lizhuang,* have been missed out. See my entry of August 31st, in volume four of "Diary from a Swallow's Nest." 覓此集十許年矣！他處所見零星篇什幾無不在，惟《尺牘友聲集甲集·與張山來札》、張山來《尺牘偶存》卷一〈與黃九烟札〉中所載度詞、袁潔《蠡莊詩話》卷三所載〈情竇詩〉皆漏而未收（參觀《燕巢日記》第四冊八月三十一日）ZWBJ 1: 82. This refers to Qian's notes on *Lizhuang shihua* 蠡莊詩話 in "Loose Leaves B." ZWBJ: 167–168) iii) "*Juan* four of Wang Shanshi's *Mountain Records: Volume One*, 'To Gaorong Lake' in *juan* two of the *Collected Prose of Niu Kongshan*, and *juan* seven of Zhang Jingyun's "New Words from Qiuping." (See my entry of July 25th from "A Journal from a Remote Hovel," and my entry of Dec. 7th from volume five of "A Diary from a Swallow's Nest." 王山史《山志初集》卷四、《牛空山文集》卷二〈與高蓉湖〉、張景運《秋坪新語》卷七（參觀《偏遠廬日乘》七月二十五日、《燕巢日記》第五冊十二月七日）皆可補。(ZWBJ 1: 230) Qian's notes on *Shanzhi chuji* 山志初集 are found in "Loose Leaves B." ZWBJ 1: 123-127. Entries in Guan: 19.
3. 殘頁 C (ZWBJ 1: 229–322)	1950	a) Fan Xulun argues that this sheaf is the fifth volume of "Diary from a Swallow's Nest" from 1950.[30]

[30] Fan Xulun, "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."

		b) Fan appears to be following the clue furnished in 2.b.iii above. (i.e.《牛空山文集》卷二〈與高蓉湖〉、張景運《秋坪新語》卷七（參觀《偏遠廬日乘》七月二十五日、《燕巢日記》第五冊十二月七日）皆可補.) This passage however, is found in Qian's notes on *Xinshi congkan* 心史叢刊 in "Loose Leaves C." ZWBJ 1: 229-232. It makes no sense that Qian should refer to his current notebook as a separate diary. c) Another reference, however, suggests that this sheaf may also contain volume four of the same series: "For notes on the 'Sunset Poem,' in juan three [of *Jiuyan xiansheng yiji*] see my entry of August 31st in volume four of "Diary from a Swallow's Nest." 卷三〈夕陽詩〉，見《燕巢日記》第四冊八月三十一日。ZWBJ 1: 83. This refers to a passage from Qian's notes on Fang Hui's 方回 *Tongjiang xuji* 桐江續集 in "Loose Leaves C." ZWBJ: 244–246. d) My evidence from 2.c.ii, suggests that at least part of the fifth volume of "Diary from a Swallow's Nest" is found in "Loose Leaves B." Entries in Guan: 9
4. 殘頁 D (ZWBJ 1: 323–352)	1949	a) Fan Xulun identifies this as the second volume of "A Journal from a Makeshift Dwelling" (*qie zhu lou risheng* 且住樓日乘) dating from January to May 1949.[31] b) I've found one piece of evidence to support this view. "Long ago, I read Lu Xinyuan's *Addenda to Anecdotes in Song Poetry* and was bowled over by the two couplets "Miscellaneous Chants from Jinling" in *juan* seventy-three. Latterly, I recorded them in my "Journal from a Makeshift Dwelling." (Jan. 8th, 1949). 余曩年讀陸心源《宋詩紀事補遺》，劇賞卷七十三所載〈金陵雜詠〉兩絕句，錄入《且住樓日乘》（民國三十八年一月八日）。今覩全《集》，亦無過此二首者。ZWBJ 1: 395. This refers to Qian's notes on *Song shi jishi buyi* 宋詩紀事補遺 in "Loose Leaves D." ZWBJ 1: 340–347. c) Same stationer as no. 5. Entries in Guan: 4

[31] Fan Xulun, "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."

5. 殘頁 E (ZWBJ 1: 353–370)	1948	a) Fan Xulun identifies this sheaf as volume two of "Diary from a Swallow's Nest."[32] b) My evidence, however, suggests that this sheaf belongs to the "Journal from a Makeshift Dwelling": i) "Meng Zhao was good friends with, and equally as renowned as, Guo Pinjia and Zha Meishi. His poetic style shares qualities of both, but is closer to that of Pingjia. Meishi's poetry is more closely gilded and finely wrought, while Pinjia's is carefree and crisp, succeeding by virtue of its naked descriptiveness. Pinjia has learned this from Yang Chengzhai. (See my entry of April 12th in "Journal from a Makeshift Dwelling") 孟昭與郭傾伽、查梅史交好齊名，詩格亦出入二子間，而尤近傾伽。梅史較緻貼雕繪，傾伽鬆爽清峭，每以白描擅勝，蓋得力楊誠齋者（參觀《且住樓日乘》四月十二日）ZWBJ 1: 79. This refers to Qian's notes on Guo Pinjia's *Lingfen guan shiji* 靈芬館詩集 in "Loose Leaves E." ZWBJ 1: 357–359. ii) "In a letter to Bai Gu, Ma Xianglin mentions 'your respected concubine' several times, and sends gifts to boot. (see my entry of April 13th in "Journal from a Makeshift Dwelling.") Isn't this a symptom of jealously? 馬湘蘭致百穀書札數及「令政夫人」，并有餽遺（《且住樓日乘》四月十三日），豈不妬之效耶？ZWBJ 1: 308. This refers to Qian's notes on *Zhongguo minghua ji* 中國名畫集 in "Loose Leaves E." ZWBJ 1: 359–363. iii) Same stationer as no. 4. Entries in Guan: 2
6. 殘頁 F (ZWBJ 1: 371–422)	1948	a) Fan Xulun identifies these notes as volumes two and three of "Diary from a Swallow's Nest."[33] b) The only reference that I've found to volume two of "Diary from a Swallow's Nest," however, points to "Loose Leaves A." See, 1.c. Entries in Guan: 6
7. 殘頁 G (ZWBJ 1: 423–444)	1948?	a) Fan Xulun identifies these notes as "Journal from a Makeshift Dwelling," 1938.[34]

[32] Fan Xulun, "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."
[33] Fan Xulun, "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."
[34] Fan Xulun, "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."

		b) I have found no evidence to support this view. The only chronological clue from this sheaf is found in marginalia to notes on Joubert's *Pensées*, where Qian cites a passage of his diary from Nov. 13th, 1949. ZWBJ 1: 424. (i.e. 張樵野先作此論，見《三洲日記》光緒十二年六月初三日（民國三十八年十一月十三日日記引）Translated in 1.d. This refers, however, to notes on *Sanzhou riji* 三洲日記, found in "Loose Leaves A." ZWBJ 1: 8–11. Entries in Guan: 5
8. 殘頁 H (ZWBJ 1: 445–476)	1949	a) Fan Xulun has identified this sheaf of notes as the second volume of "Journal from a Remote Hovel" from June to December 1949.[35] b) I've found one piece of evidence to support this view. "*Juan* seven of Zhang Jingyun's "New Words from Qiuping." (See my entry of July 25th from "A Journal from a Remote Hovel." 張景運《秋坪新語》卷七（參觀《偏遠廬日乘》七月二十五日、《燕巢日記》第五冊十二月七日）皆可補。ZWBJ 1: 230. Qian's notes on *Qiuping xinyu* 秋坪新語 are found in "Loose Leaves H." ZWBJ 1: 447–448. Entries in Guan: 6
9. 殘頁 I (ZWBJ 1: 477–485)	1949	a) Fan Xulun argues that this sheaf is the continuation of "Loose Leaves D," i.e. "Journal from a Makeshift Dwelling."[36] b) Qian's notes on *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 from "Loose Leaves D" are continued here. (ZWBJ 1: 484-485) Entries in Guan: 2
10. 大本（一） (ZWBJ 1: 489–662)	1937–1943	a) Fan Xulun argues that this notebook is "a composite, compiled in 1937, 1938, 1939, the second half of 1941 and the first half of 1943."[37] b) *Huaiju shicun* 槐聚詩存 dates the first of Qian's two poems on p. 490 to 1941. c) Cao Yuanzhong's 曹元忠 *Jianjing shi yiji* 箋經室遺集 was published in 1941.

[35] Fan Xulun, "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."
[36] Fan Xulun, "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."
[37] Fan Xulun, "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."

		d) Qian's poem on p. 617 was published in *Guoli yuekan* 國力月刊 in December 1942.[38] e) Diary entry dated Jan 1st, 1937. p. 662. f) Fan Xulun dates Qian's notes on the *Weishu* 魏書 to 1943.[39] g) "Daily Notes" entry 77: "Nara Singde, *Collected Poetry from the Abreuvoir*, 2 vols. When I read this work a decade ago, I admired its lofty diction." 納蘭容若《飲水詩集》二卷. 十年前讀此，頗賞其吐屬高華。RAG: 127. Entry 77 was compiled in 1952. Qian's notes here on *Yinshui shiji*, which must date from roughly 1942, are found on p. 643–644. Entries in Guan: 44
11. 大本（二） (ZWBJ 2: 5–76)	1937–38?	a) Fan Xulun writes that this notebook, entitled "Golden Nuggets" [碎金] was compiled in 1956, but does not cite his evidence.[40] By 1956, Qian compiled his Chinese language notes horizontally in pen. Here they are made vertically in brush, suggesting an earlier genesis. Compare with *Shaojian lu yi* 少見錄一 (ZWBJ 5: 5–190) from the 1950s. b) Yang Jiang's note: "*The Stone Speaks* emerged from this." 石語由此取出.p. 3. Qian wrote "Shi yu" in Paris, in 1938. I have not, however, found any mention of the protagonist of that short work, Chen Yan 陳衍 (1856-1937), in this notebook. c) The cover is labelled, "Ji Kang, Golden Nuggets." 季康,碎金. Evidently, the notebook originally belonged to Yang Jiang, but was then commandeered by Qian. Entries in Guan: 16
12. 大本（三） (ZWBJ 2: 77–150)	1939–1940	a) Yang Jiang's note: "1939-1940?-41? Notes from Qian's time in Lantian. Mentions Yan Qian, Yao Chen and others. Judging from its excisions, it was probably a diary." 1939-1940?-41? 在藍田時筆記，有燕謙、堯臣等人，有剪去部分，當是日記。p. 77.

[38] Fan Xulun, "Pianshi zhouxuan jiao liangxiong 篇什周旋角兩雄" *Dongfang zaobao*, 東方早報, March 26, 2016.
[39] Fan Xulun, "Qian Zhongshu du Songshu 钱锺书读宋书," *Pengpai xinwen* 澎湃新聞, Aug. 17, 2018.
[40] Fan Xulun, "Shaonian qingshi wan liu hen 少年情事宛留痕," *Dongfang zaobao* 東方早報, Sep. 15, 2013.

		b) Fan Xulun identifies this notebook as "A Journal from Hunan" (*Xiang risheng* 湘日乘). Dec. 1939–first half of 1940.[41] c) Diary entries from Hunan dating from Dec. 20–27th 1939. pp. 97–102. d) Twelve of Qian's own poems, all dated to 1940. For example, the poem on p. 122 was published in *Guoshi jikan* 國師季刊 No. 6 (Feb. 1940). Entries in Guan: 11
13. 大本（四）(ZWBJ 2: 151–228)	1940	Qian's poem on p. 195 is dated in *Huaiju shicun* to 1940. Entries in Guan: 11
14. 大本（五）(ZWBJ 2: 229–290)	1940	a) Yang Jiang's note: "Probably notes from 1940" 當是 1940 年筆記.p. 227. b) Fan Xulun: "Large Cahier 5" is the second volume of "A Record of Fisheyes and Mouse Whiskers" (*Yuyan shuxu lu* 魚眼鼠鬚錄)dating from 1940.[42] c) Qian's poem on p. 272 is the first of three poems under the title "Occasional Jottings" (*Ou shu* 偶書) in *Huaiju shicun*, dated to 1940. d) Qian's three poems on pp. 282–283 are dated in *Huaiju shicun* to 1940. Entries in Guan: 13
15. 大本（六）(ZWBJ 2: 291–434)	1940–1941	a) Fan Xulun: "Large Cahier 6" is the third volume of "A Record of Fisheyes and Mouse Whiskers" dating from 1940 to early 1941.[43] b) *Huaiju shicun* dates Qian's poem on p. 309 to 1940. Entries in Guan: 10
16. 大本（七）(ZWBJ 2: 347–416)	1941	a) Fan Xulun: "Large Cahier 7," which contains notes on the Complete Pre-Tang Prose, dates from 1941, but was resumed in 1955. [44] b) Qian's notes on *The Complete Pre-Tang Prose* continue in no. 24.

[41] Fan Xulun, "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."
[42] Fan Xulun "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."
[43] Fan Xulun "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."
[44] Fan Xulun "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."

		Entries in Guan: 15
17. 大本（八） (ZWBJ 2: 417–466)	1941	a) Fan Xulun: “Large Cahier 8” is the fourth volume of “A Record of Fisheyes and Mouse Whiskers” and dates from the first half of 1941.[45] b) *Huaiju shicun* dates the poem on p. 423 to 1941. Entries in Guan: 6
18. 大本（九） (ZWBJ 2: 467–632)	1946	a) Fan Xulun: “Large Cahier 9” is the second volume of “Records of the Unusual” (*shaojian lu* 少見錄).[46] b) Latest publication: Zhao Yizhen 趙詒琛 and Wang Dalong 王大隆 ed. *Xinsi congbian* 辛巳叢編 (1941) Entries in Guan: 26
19. 大本（十） (ZWBJ 2: 347–416)	1945	a) Fan Xulun: “Large Cahier 10” is the “Jottings on the Seven Disciplines” cahier, from the second half of 1945.[47] b) Zhang Zhi dates Qian’s notes on *Xu Xiyou ji* 續西游記 to 1945.[48] Entries in Guan: 12
20. 大本（十一） (ZWBJ 3: 30–40)	Early 1940s	Latest publication: *Gugong zhoukan* 故宮週刊, no. 30 (1941) Entries in Guan: 1
21. 大本（十二） (ZWBJ 3: 41–78)	1944-1945	a) Fan Xulun: “Large Cahier 12” is the “Miscellanea from Banana Grove Pavilion (*Jiaoxuan suilu* 蕉軒隨錄)” cahier, from 1944–1945.[49] Entries in Guan: 8
22. 大本（十三） (ZWBJ 3: 79–146)	1943	a) Yang Jiang’s note: This cahier has lost its front matter. It records events from the Qing dynasty. 此冊無頭，記清朝事. p. 77. b) Fan Xulun: “Large Cahier 13” is the “Compendium of Poetry from a Lean-to at Clear Dusk” (*Wanqing yi shihui* 晚晴簃詩匯) cahier, from 1943.[50] Entries in Guan: 2

[45] Fan Xulun “Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi.”
[46] Fan Xulun “Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi.”
[47] Fan Xulun “Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi.”
[48] Zhang Zhi, ““Qian Zhongshu shougao zhong de niandai xinxi 錢鍾書手稿中的年代信息,” *Shanghai Shuping*, Nov. 11, 2012.
[49] Fan Xulun “Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi.”
[50] Fan Xulun “Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi.”

23. 大本（十四） (ZWBJ 3: 147–204)	Early 1940s	a) Latest publication: Wang Zhaoyong's 汪兆鏞 *Weishang zhai zawen* 微尚齋雜文 (1942) b) Fan Xulun: "Large Cahier 14" is the "Thirty-Five Examples of Seals" (*Sanshi wu ju* 三十五舉) cahier from 1943.[51] Entries in Guan: 17
24. 大本（十五） (ZWBJ 3: 205–371)	Mid 1940s	a) Latest publication: Liu Cheng'ou 劉成禺 *Hongxian jishi shi benshi bozhu* 洪憲紀事詩本事簿注 (1945). b) Same stationer as no 25. c) Fan Xulun: "Large Cahier 15" is "Records of the Unusual," (*shaojian lu* 少見錄) from 1946 to 1948.[52] Entries in Guan: 14
25. 大本（十六） (ZWBJ 3: 375–544)	Mid 1940s	a) Yang Jiang's note: *Sixty Poets of the Southern Song* 南宋六十家集。p. 373. b) Same stationer as no. 24. c) Fan Xulun: "Large Cahier 16" is volume six of "Records of the Unusual," from 1948.[53] d) "Daily Notes," entry 203: "My daughter Yuan is reading *A Compilation of Wild Acquisitions*. I once came across it ten years ago. Picking it up and reading a passage at random, it all comes flooding back to me, like a lost object that's been found. Its archaic narrative is elegant, deftly capturing its subject matter. 圓女方閱《野獲編》，十年前經眼者也。信手摭一函讀之，如舊地重來、故物覆還。以古語敘事，典雅而能詳切。RAG: 280. This entry was compiled in 1953. His notes on *Yehuo bian* 野獲編 are found on pp. 388–389. Entries in Guan: 46
26. 大本（十七） (ZWBJ 3:) 545–616	1943	a) Notes on *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 are also found in no. 33. These notes start from *juan* 497. b) Yang Jiang's note: This was probably compiled in Shanghai during the war. 當是淪毀在上海時記。(p. 543)

[51] Fan Xulun "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."
[52] Fan Xulun "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."
[53] Fan Xulun "Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi."

		c) Fan Xulun: “Large Cahier 17” is the “Bitter Rain” (*kuyu* 苦雨) cahier, from 1943.[54] Entries in Guan: 11
27. 大本（十八）(ZWBJ 4: 3–48)	1944	a) Fan Xulun: “Large Cahier 18” is the “Collected Poetry from Successive Dynasties,” (*Liechao shiji* 列朝詩集) from 1944.[55] b) Same stationer as no. 28. Entries in Guan: 1
28. 大本（十九）(ZWBJ 4: 3–48)	Mid 1940s	Same stationer as no. 27. a) Fan Xulun: “Large Cahier 19” is “Sixty Forms of Arias” (*liushi zhong qu* 六十種曲) cahier, from 1944.[56] Entries in Guan: 10
29. 大本（二十）(ZWBJ 4: 49–96)	Post 1943	Latest publication: Huang Jun’s 黃濬 *Huasui ren sheng’an zheyi* 花隨人聖庵摭憶 was first published in 1943. a) Fan Xulun : “Large Cahier 20” is “Reminicenses from a Flower Gatherer’s Sacred Hut” (*Hua suiren sheng an zheyi* 花隨人聖盦摭憶) cahier, from 1949.[57] Entries in Guan: 25
30. 大本（二十一）(ZWBJ 4: 199–258)	1945	a) Same stationer as no. 31. b) Title : “Records of the Unusual” (*Shaojian lu* 少見錄) c) Fan Xulun dates this notebook to the first half of 1945.[58] d) Yang Jiang’s note: There is a later “Records of the Unusual” that is unconnected to this volume. The table of contents is incomplete. There are many more notes after those on *Master Kang Nanhai’s Calligraphy*, and *Collected Writings from the Pavilion of Celestial Truth* 後又有少見錄。與此冊不相連。目錄不全。康南海先生墨跡，天真閣集以下尚多。(p. 197)

[54] Fan Xulun “Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi.”
[55] Fan Xulun “Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi.”
[56] Fan Xulun “Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi.”
[57] Fan Xulun “Qian Zhongshu zhuzuo kaoyi.”
[58] Fan Xulun, “Yuyan huancheng de konghua paoying 語言幻成的空花泡影,” *Shanghai shuping* 上海書評, May 25, 2015.

		Entries in Guan: 6
31. 大本（二十二）(ZWBJ 4: 259)	1945	a) Same stationer as no. 30. b) Title : *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩. Entries in Guan: 6
32. 大本（二十三）(ZWBJ 4: 317–394)	1941	Zhu Yizun's 朱彝尊 *Pushu tingji* 曝書亭集 is continued from no.17. Entries in Guan: 23
33. 大本（二十四）(ZWBJ 4: 395–486)	Mid 1940s	a) This notebook contains the bulk of Qian's reading on the Buddhist canon. In "Entry 488" of the "Daily Notes," Qian writes, "I read the Buddhist canon ten years ago…" 余十年前閱《大藏》[…] RAG: 780. "Entry 488" was compiled in 1955. b) Zhang Zhi dates this notebook to 1946.[59] Entries in Guan: 19
34. 大本（二十五）(ZWBJ 4: 487–542)	Early 1950s	Latest publication : Zhang Huijian's 張慧劍 *Chenzi shuolin* 辰子說林 (1946) "Daily Notes" entry 729: "My colleagues are compiling an annotated selection of Tang poetry, and have strongarmed me into joining them. I've been allocated Wang Ji, among seventeen other poets. I'm renewing my acquaintance with the Complete Tang Prose, and comparing my thoughts with my notes from ten years ago. [...]" 諸君選注唐詩，強余與役，分得王績等十七人，因覆取《全唐文》溫讀一過，合之十年前評釋，錄於此。RAG : 1886. Entry 729 was compiled in roughly 1962. Qian's first set of notes on the *Complete Tang Prose* is found on pp. 495–528. Entries in Guan: 11
35. 硬本 (一) (ZWBJ 5: 5–190)	Late 1950s	a) Title : "Records of the Unusual 1" (*Shaojian lu yi* 少見錄一) b) Latest publications : A Ying 阿英 ed., *Yapian zhanzheng wenxue ji* 鴉片戰爭文學集 (1957); Lu Gong 路工 ed., *Ming Qing pinghua xiaoshuo xuan* 明清平話小說選 (1958); Jiang Ruizao's 蔣瑞藻 *Xiaoshuo zhitan* 小說枝談 (1958). c) Wu Qian's 吳騫 *Baijing lou shihua* 拜經樓詩話 continues in nos. 37, 38.

[59] Zhang Zhi, "Niandai xinxi."

		Entries in Guan: 58
36. 硬本 (二) (ZWBJ 5: 191–393)	Late 1950s	a) Title : "Records of the Unusual 2" (*Shaojian lu er* 少見錄二) b) Latest publications : Lu Gong 路工 ed., *Mingdai gequ xuan* 明代歌曲選 (1956) ; Ren Ne 任訥 *Dunhuang qu jiaolu* 敦煌曲校錄 (1955). Entries in Guan: 40
37. 硬本 (三) (ZWBJ 5: 398–578)	Late 1950s	a) Wu Qian's 吳騫 *Baijing lou shihua* 拜經樓詩話 is continued from no. 35. It continues in no. 38. Entries in Guan: 29
38. 硬皮本（四） (ZWBJ 6: 3–296)	Late 1980s?	a) Same stationer as Foreign Language Notebook no. 139. b) The second and third volume of Changbai hao gezi's 長白浩歌子 *Yingchuang yicao* 螢窗異草. The first volume is found in no. 81. c) Zhang Nie's 張嵲 *Ziwei ji* 紫微集 is marked as addenda to "Entry 505" in the *Daily Notes*. d) Wu Qian's 吳騫 *Baijing lou shihua* 拜經樓詩話 is marked as addenda to nos. 35 and 37. Entries in Guan: 31
39. 硬皮本（五） (ZWBJ 6: 297–481)	Early 1960s	Latest publication: Liu Ousheng 劉禺生 *Shizai tang zayi* 世載堂雜憶 (1960) Entries in Guan: 29
40. 硬皮本（六） (ZWBJ 7: 5–200)	Early 1960s	a) Latest publication: Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 *Yu Jiaxi lunxue zazhu* 余嘉錫論學雜著 (1962) b) *Wenzi* 文子 continues in no. 41. Entries in Guan: 22
41. 硬皮本（七） (ZWBJ 7: 201–394)	Early 1960s	a) *Wenzi* 文子 continued from no. 40. b) Qian refers to this notebook as *Taiping guangji ce* 太平廣記冊. c) Addenda to *Shitong tongshi* 史通通釋 is found in "Leather Cahier 19."

		d) Notes on Yao Pengtu's 姚朋圖 *Dang de yishu zhai shi lu* 當得異書齋詩錄 also feature in "Entry 642" of the *Daily Notes*. Entries in Guan: 21
42. 硬皮本（八A）(ZWBJ 7: 395–436)	Late 1950s	a) Same stationer as nos. 43, 44, and 45. b) Marginalia. E. Partridge ed. A Dictionary of Modern Slang, 4th ed. (1956) (p.416); W. Summer's *Folkways* (p.) in the late 1950s. (Foreign Language Notebook no. 166.) Entries in Guan: 4
43. 硬皮本（八B）(ZWBJ 7: 437–518)	Late 1950s	a) Same stationer as nos. 42, 44 and 45. Entries in Guan: 7
44. 硬皮本（八C）(ZWBJ 7: 519–553)	Late 1950s	a) Same stationer as nos. 42, 43 and 45. b) Du Wenlan's 杜文瀾 *Gu Yaoyan* 古謠諺 marked as addenda to notes on the same title in no. 36. (Late 1950s) Entries in Guan: 4
45. 硬皮本（八D）(ZWBJ 8: 3–86)	Late 1950s	a) Same stationer as nos. 42, 43 and 44. Entries in Guan: 19
46. 硬皮本（九）(ZWBJ 8: 87–286)	1962 or later	a) Same stationer as no. 47 and Foreign Language Notebook no. 63. (1963) b) Qian's notes on 史記會注考證 continue in no. 47. Entries in Guan: 7
47. 硬皮本（十）(ZWBJ 8: 287–477)	1962 or later	a) Same stationer as no. 46 and Foreign Language Notebook 63. b) Qian's notes on 史記會注考證 are continued from no. 46. c) Latest publication: Chen Dengyuan 陳登原 *Guoshi jiuwen di er fen ce* 國史舊聞第二分冊 (1962). d) Fan Xulun dates this notebook to 1962.[60] Entries in Guan: 21

[60] Fan Xulun, "Rong'an guan pinzao lu – Chen Dengyuan 容安館品藻錄·陳登原," *Nanfang dushi bao* 南方都市報, March 23, 2017.

48. 硬皮本（十一）(ZWBJ 9: 5–406)	Early 1960s	a) Addenda to *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠臨 in "Leather Cahier 30." d) Addenda to *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 in no. 59. (Leather Cahier 21). Entries in Guan: 44
49. 硬皮本（十二）(ZWBJ 9: 407–604)	1962 or later	a) Latest publication: Xie Guozhen 謝國楨, *Ming Qing suibi tancong* 明清筆記談叢 (1962) b) Zhu Guozhen's 朱國禎 *Yongchuang xiaopin* 涌幢小品 are also found in no. 80. Entries in Guan: 51
50. 硬皮本（十三）(ZWBJ 10: 7–194)	Mid 1960s	a) *Quan Songci* 全宋詞 also in 51. Entries in Guan: 22
51. 硬皮本（十四）(ZWBJ 10: 205–398)	Mid 1960s	a) *Quan Songci* 全宋詞 also in 50. b) Latest publication: Deng Zhicheng 鄧之誠, *Qingshi jishen chubian* 清詩紀事初編 (1965). c) Fang Shitai's 方世泰 *Nantang shihua* 南堂詩話 is also in no. 47. Entries in Guan: 15
52. 硬皮本（十四附）(ZWBJ 10: 399–450)	1992 or later	a) Same stationer as Foreign Language Notebook no. 123. b) Latest publication: Chen Shangjun ed., *Quan Tangshi xushi* (1992) c) Zhang Zhi dates this notebook to the early 1990s.[61] Entries in Guan: NA
53. 硬皮本（十五）(ZWBJ 10: 451–639)	Mid 1960s	a) Latest publication: Tan Jiefu 譚戒甫,*Mobian fawei* 墨辯發微 (1964) b) Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之 ed. *Laozi jiaoshi* 老子校釋 is discussed in "Entry 755" of the *Daily Notes*. Entries in Guan: 6
54. 硬皮本（十六）(ZWBJ 11: 5–198)	1985	Latest publication: Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, *Jiannan shigao jiaozhu* 劍南詩稿校注 (1985). Continues in no. 55.

[61] Zhang Zhi, "Niandai xinxi."

		Entries in Guan: NA
55. 硬皮本（十七）(ZWBJ 11: 199–392)	1985	a) Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, *Jiannan shigao jiaozhu* 劍南詩稿校注 continued from no. 54. b) Latest publication: *Guben xiqu congkan* 古本戲曲叢刊 (1985) Entries in Guan: NA
56. 硬皮本（十八）(ZWBJ 11: 393–501)	1987	a) Kong Fanli's 孔凡禮 *Songshi jishi xubu* 宋詩紀事續補 (1987). b) Huang Zongxi's 黃宗羲 *Mingwen hai* 明文海 continues in "Small Cahier 11." Entries in Guan: NA
57. 硬皮本（十九）(ZWBJ 12: 5–200)	1982	a) Yu Xin's 庾信 *Yuzi shanji* 庾子山集 is marked as addenda to no. 49. b) Same stationer as no. 58. Entries in Guan: NA
58. 硬皮本（二十）(ZWBJ 12: 201–394)	1982	a) Huang Tingjian's 黃庭堅 *Shangu shiji zhu* 山谷詩集注 is marked as addenda to "Leather Cahier 29." b) Same stationer as no. 57. c) Qian's notes on *Herodotus* are continued from Foreign Language Notebook no. 152. Entries in Guan: NA
59. 硬皮本（二十一）(ZWBJ 12: 395–585)	Early 1960s	a) Same stationer as Foreign Language Notebooks no. 47, 48 and 49. Entries in Guan: 3
60. 硬皮本（二十二）(ZWBJ 13: 5–200)	Early 1970s	a) Same stationer as no. 61. Marked by stationer as "July 1964." I suspect this notebook lay fallow for a number of years, as the content is shared with no. 61, which can be securely dated to the 1970s. b) Wang Bi 王弼 ed, *Zhouyi Zhengyi* 周易正義 continues in no. 61. Entries in Guan: 24
61. 硬皮本（二十三）(ZWBJ 13: 201–394)	Early 1970s	a) Same stationer as no. 62. b) Wang Bi ed, *Zhouyi Zhengyi* continued from no. 60. c) *Zuo Zhuan* 左傳 continues in no. 62.

		d) Qian's notes on *Zhouyi Zhengyi*, *Maoshi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義 and *Zuozhuan* coincide with entries "769, 770, 771, 772" in *Daily Notes*. (Early 1970s). Entries in Guan: 3
62. 硬皮本（二十四）(ZWBJ 13: 395–585)	Early 1970s	*Zuo Zhuan* is continued from no. 61. Entries in Guan: 7
63. 硬皮本（二十五）(ZWBJ 14: 5–200)	1971 or later	Latest publication: Zhang Shizha 章士釗, *Liuwen zhiyao* 柳文指要 (1971) Entries in Guan: 20
64. 硬皮本（二十六）(ZWBJ 14: 201–394)	Mid 1980s	Shi Puji's 釋普濟 *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 is marked as addenda to no. 68. Entries in Guan: NA
65. 硬皮本（二十七）(ZWBJ 14: 395–586)	?	a) Latest publication: Deng Zhicheng 鄧之誠, *Sangyuan dushu ji* 桑園讀書記 (1955) b) *Wei Bozi wenji* 魏伯子文集 is also in no. 47. Entries in Guan: 24
66. 硬皮本（二十八）(ZWBJ 15: 5–202)	Early 1970s	a) Chen Lu's 陳澐 *Liji jishuo* 禮記集說 continues in no. 67. b) *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 is also in "Small Cahier 1." Entries in Guan: 4
67. 硬皮本（二十九）(ZWBJ 15: 203–398)	Early 1970s	a) Same stationer as no. 62. b) *Liji jishuo* is continued from no. 66. c) Addenda to Luo Guanzhong's 羅貫中 *Pingyao zhuan* 平妖傳 is found in "Small Cahier 3." Entries in Guan: 15
68. 硬皮本（三十）(ZWBJ 15: 399–592)	Mid 1970s	a) Same stationer as no. 69. b) Addenda to Wu Weiye's 吳偉業 *Meicun shiji* 梅村詩集 are found in no. 76. (Mid 1970s) c) Su Zhe's 蘇轍 *Luancheng houji* 欒城後集 continues in no. 69. Entries in Guan: 27

69. 硬皮本（三十一）(ZWBJ 16: 5–202)	Mid 1970s	a) Same stationer as no. 68. c) Su Zhe's 蘇轍 *Luancheng houji* 欒城後集 is continued from no. 68. Entries in Guan: 10
70. 硬皮本（三十二）(ZWBJ 16: 203–396)	1986?	a) *Hou Xiyou ji* 後西游記 is marked as addenda to notes on same title in no. 47. b) *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 marked as addenda to no. 45. c) Marginalia: *New York Review of Books* (1986). p. 292. d) This notebook is larger than any other in the "Leather Cahier" group. Entries in Guan: 9
71. 硬皮本（三十三上）(ZWBJ 16: 397–457)	1974	a) Same stationer as no. 72. b) Latest publication: Zhonghua shuju edition of Song shu 宋書 (1974). Continues in no. 74. Entries in Guan: 6
72. 硬皮本（三十三下）(ZWBJ 17: 3–294)	1974	a) Yang Jiang's note: "This cahier volume should be from 1974–75. Judging from the handwriting after [the entry on] *An Anthology of Liu Hedong's Writings*, we can tell that it was compiled during our period in "exile," when [Zhongshu] suffered cortical damage following an asthma attack that had landed him in hospital. He was unable to govern his hand properly. (Later, his handwriting gradually recovered). 此冊當是1974-75年筆記。觀《柳河東集》以後筆跡，可知是"流亡"期間，哮喘，急救後，大腦皮層受損，手不應心 (後漸復原)。p. 1 b) Same stationer as no. 71. Entries in Guan: 21
73. 硬皮本（三十四）(ZWBJ 17: 295–372)	Early 1990s	Latest publication: Yan Fu 嚴復, *Yan Fu ji* 嚴復集 (1986) ; *Zheng Xiaozu riji* 鄭孝胥日記 (1993) Entries in Guan: 0
74. 小本（一）(ZWBJ 17: 373–519)	Mid 1970s	a) Title: "Historical Tidbits" (*Shi sui* 史碎) b) *Song shu* is continued from no. 71.[62]

[62] See, Fan Xulun, "Qian Zhongshu du 'Songshu' 錢鍾書讀宋書," *Shanghai shuping*, Aug. 16, 2018.

		c) *Jinshu* 晉書 continues in 75. Entries in Guan: 3
75. 小本（二） (ZWBJ 18: 5–170)	Mid 1970s	a) Same stationer as Foreign Language Notebook no. 124. b) Title: *Shi sui* 史碎 c) *Jinshu* 晉書 continued from no. 74. Entries in Guan: 3
76. 小本（三） (ZWBJ 18: 171–323)	Mid 1970s	a) Wu Weiye's 吳偉業 *Meicun shiji* 吳梅村詩集 is marked as addenda to no. 68. b) *Jinshu* 晉書 continued from nos. 74 and 75. i.e., part of "Shi sui." series. Entries in Guan: 5
77. 小本（四） (ZWBJ 18: 324–498)	Early 1970s	a) Liu Xie's 劉勰 *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 is continued from Qian's notes on Zhang Xuecheng's 張學誠 *Wenshi tongyi* 文史通義 no. 83. b) Cao Xueqin's 曹雪芹 *Shitou ji* 石頭記 continues in 78. c) Latest publication: Zhou Yibai 周貽白 ed., *Mingren zaju xuan* 明人雜劇選 (1958). d) Entries 797 and 798 (1973–74) in the Daily Notes cover *Shitou ji* and *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義. Entries in Guan: 4
78. 小本（五） (ZWBJ 19: 5–192)	Early 1970s	a) Cao Xueqin's 曹雪芹 *Shitou ji* 石頭記 is continued from no. 77. Entries in Guan: 18
79. 小本（六） (ZWBJ 19: 193–342)	1978	Fan Xulun dates Qian's notes on Xie Zhangding's 謝章鋌 *Duqi shanzhuang cihua* 賭棋山莊詞話 to 1978.[63] Entries in Guan: NA
80. 小本（七） (ZWBJ 19: 355–566)	1979 or later	Date on the cover of the notebook (1979). Entries in Guan: NA

[63] Fan, "Shaonian qingshi."

81. 小本（八） (ZWBJ 20: -)	1980s	First volume of 長白浩歌子 *Yingchuang yicao* 螢窗異草.Second and third volumes are found in no. 38. Entries in Guan: NA
82. 小本（九） (ZWBJ 20: -)	?	Entries in Guan: 3
83. 小本（十） (ZWBJ 20: -)	Early 1970s	Qian's notes on Liu Xie's *Wenxin diaolong* continue in 77. Entries in Guan: 2
84. 小本（十一） (ZWBJ 20: -)	1986 or later	Latest publication: Wang Haosou 王皓叟, *Houcun qianjia shi jiaozhu* 後村千家詩校注 (1986) Entries in Guan: NA

Appendix A.3 (*Daily Notes*)[64]

Notebook	**Date**	**Chronological Notes**
1. (RAG: 1–99)	1952	a) Title: "Daily Notes" (*Rizha* 日札) b) Entries: 1–55. Entry 38 deleted. c) Entry 16: Wang Jisi 王季思 *Jiping jiaozhu Xixiang ji* 集評校注西廂記 (1949). Zhang Zhi dates the beginning of Daily Notes on the basis of this publication date.[65] b) Yang Jiang writes, however, that the *Daily Notes* date from "after the 'Thought Reform Movement.'" (Sep. 1951-52) (RAG: iii) d) Entry 47: Frederick Locker-Lampson, *Patchwork*: This book is extremely hard to find. Ten years ago in Shanghai, I once borrowed and read a copy from the municipal council library."

[64] Yang Jiang writes that the *Daily Notes* are composed of "23 notebooks." (RAG: iii) Unfortunately, the published facsimiles have not incorporated images of the notebook covers, nor is there any editorial demarcation between notebooks. Qian inaugurates each notebook, however, with a title in refined calligraphy and a selection of scholarly seals. We can, in addition, identify changes in notebook layout. Despite these clues, I have only been able to identify twenty-two notebooks. The current organisation of the series contains numerous errors which are relatively easy to address due to the sequential numbering of the entries. There are also gaps in the "entries," most notably from 546-554 in notebook no. 11. Where an entry is missing, I have highlighted it in my chronological notes.

[65] "Zhang," "Niandai xinxi."

		書甚罕遘。十年前在沪，曾假工部局圖書館藏本閱之。RAG: 77.
2. (RAG: 99–187)	Early 1953	a) Title: *Huaiju rizha* 槐聚日札 b) Entries: 56–121. Entry 66, 78, 109 deleted. c) *Huaiju shicun* dates "Miscellaneous Chants on Days Off at The Studio of Accommodating Ease." (Rong'an shi xiumu zayong 容安室休沐雜詠) in "Entry 114" to 1954. RAG: 178. I suspect this date is unreliable. d) Chang Xiaolu's 昌效鲁 *Shuzi shigao* 叔子詩稿 dates the poem "Strolling through Zhaofeng park alone and remembering Mocun in Beijing" 後獨遊兆豐公園憶默存北京," which appears in Entry 118 under the title, "Shuzi remembers me while admiring flowers and sends a poem." 叔子看花相憶寄詩奉答," to 1953. RAG: 182. e) Entry 77: "Nara Singde, *Collected Poetry from the Abreuvoir*, 2 vols. When I read this work a decade ago, I admired its lofty diction." 納蘭容若《飲水詩集》二卷. 十年前讀此，頗賞其吐屬高華。RAG: 127. Qian's relevant notes here on *Yinshui shiji*, which must date from roughly 1942, are found in "Large Cahier One" in the Chinese Language Notes. See A.2.10.
3. (RAG: 187–286)	Mid 1953	a) Title: *Huaiju rizha* b) Same notebook format as no. 2. c) Entries: 122–204. d) "Entry 203.": "My daughter Yuan is reading *A Compilation of Wild Acquisitions*. I once came across it ten years ago. Picking it up and reading a passage at random, it all comes flooding back to me, like a lost object that's been found. Its archaic narrative is elegant and tightly sprung. 圓女方閱《野獲編》，十年前經眼者也。信手摭一函讀之，如舊地重來、故物覆還。以古語敘事，典雅而能詳切。RAG: 280. Qian's notes on *Yehuo bian* 野獲編 are found in Chinese notebook no. 25.

		e) Entry 185: “Six years ago Jiang translated a volume for the British Council. She showed the draft to Fu Nu’an (1908-1966), who thought it too restrained. Jiang told me, and I confided this trick to her. She followed my instructions and Nu’an fell for it hook line and sinker. He was even so smug as to claim that he had ‘a sharp critical eye.’” 六年前絳為英國文化委員會譯小冊，以稿示傅怒菴，怒菴謂過於拘謹。絳告予，予以此訣授之，絳如言。怒菴果墮計中，尚沾沾自負為「觀書月眼」也。RAG: 263. Yang translated this volume in 1948.
4. (RAG: 287–386)	Early–Mid 1954	a) Title: *Huaiju rizha* b) Entries: 205–243
5. (RAG: 387–457)	Late 1954	a) Title: *Huaiju rizha* b) Entries: 244–273. Entry 248 is missing. c) Fan Xulun dates Qian’s notes on Lun Caixiang 論蔡襄 *Cai Zhonghui gongji*《蔡忠惠公集》in Entry 401 to November 1954.[66]
6. (RAG: 457–533)	1953-54	a) Title: *Huaiju rizha: Rong’an guan zhong yu gong* 容安館中寓公 b) Same notebook format as no. 5 c) Entries: 274–319 d) Rong’an guan designates the bungalow in the Zhongguan campus of Peking University, where Qian and his family moved on October 16th, 1952 (*Women sa*, p. 127). e) *Huaiju shicun* dates Qian’s poem in Entry 319: “After no letters from Shuzi for a year, he suddenly sends a poem in regulated verse, raw to the bone with emotion. I reply matching his rhymes.” 叔子無書經歲忽寄懷一律鬢絲髀肉情見乎詞步韻奉答” (RAG: 532) under a different title, “Shuzi sends a heartfelt poem on the Double Ninth Festival. I didn’t reply for a while, then received more news, at which I composed matching rhymes to his poem.” (叔子重九寄詩見懷余久未答又承來訊即和其韻) to 1953.

[66] Fan, “Rong’an guan pinzao lu – Lin Yutang.”

		f) *Huaiju shicun* dates Qian's poem "Dajie sends a poem remembering me from a distance. I reply, matching his rhymes." 大杰寄詩遠憶步韻奉酬" under the title "Liu Daxie sends a poem from Shanghai, asking for news. I reply in matching rhymes." 劉大杰自滬寄詩問訊和韻" in Entry 319 to 1952. RAG: 532.
7. (RAG: 533–573)	1954	a) Title: *Rong'an guan rizha: Huaiju jushi* b) Same notebook format as nos. 5 and 6. c) Entries: 320–357. Entry 353 is missing. d) *Huaiju shicun* dates Qian's poem "A Poem from The House of Accommodating Ease at Dusk in Spring" (Rong'an guan chun mu jishi 容安館春暮即事) in Entry 336 to 1954. RAG: 552. See also, *Women sa*, p. 131. e) *Huaiju shicun* dates Qian's poem "Long Yusheng sends an occasional couplet that he wrote on the Dragon Boat Festival. I belatedly reply, matching the rhymes of his heartfelt poem written on the eve of last year's Mid-Autumn Festival." 龍榆生寄示端午漫成絕句即追和去年秋夕見懷詩韻奉報 in Entry 355 (RAG: 570) to 1959. However, Bi Lu's 碧廬 article "Qian Zhongshu huaiju shicun zhushi gao. 1959 nian" 錢鍾書槐聚詩存注釋稿·一九五九年 dates it to 1954.
8. (RAG: 573–623)	1955	a) Title: *Rong'an guan rizha: Huaiju jushi* b) Entries: 358–400. Entries 367, 368, 387, and 388 are missing.
9. (RAG: 623-704)	1957	a) Title: *Rong'an guan rizha: Huaiju jushi* b) Entries: 573–603 c) Entry 599: "Yu Pingbo has shared his manuscript of an edition of Dream of the Red Chamber with colleagues to proofread. I was allocated chapters 71 to 80." 俞平伯校訂《紅樓夢》稿，分同人審訂，余得第七十一回至八十回。 RAG: 692. Yu Pingbo's edition was published in 1958.

10. (RAG: 705–754)	1955-56	a) Title: *Rong'an guan rizha: Huaiju jushi* b) Entries: 453–480
11. (RAG: 755–948)	1956	a) Title: *Huaiju rizha* b) Entries: 481–572. Entries 546–554 are missing. c) *Huaiju shicun* dates poem in Entry 506 to 1956.
12. (RAG: 949–1050)	1955	a) Title: *Rong'an guan rizha: Huaiju jushi* b) Entries: 401–452. Entry 442 is missing. c) *Huaiju shicun* dates poem in Entry 441 to 1955.
13. (RAG: 1050–1249)	1957	a) Title: *Rong'an guan rizha* b) Entries: 604–636. c) *Huaiju shicun* entry 623 to 1956. d) Poem in "Entry 634," "En route to Hubei" (fu e daozhong 赴鄂道中). Records Qian's journey to visit his ailing father in Hubei in 1957. RAG: 1231.
14. (RAG: 1250–1342)	1958	a) Title: *Rong'an guan rizha* b) Entries 637–656
15. (RAG: 1343–1479)	1959	a) Title: *Rong'an guan zhaji* b) Same format as no. 14. c) Entries: 657–689
16. (RAG: 1479–1632)	1960	a) Title: *Rong'an guan zhaji* b) Entries: 690-702
17. (RAG: 1633–1778)	1961	a) Title: *Rong'an guan zhaji* b) Entries: 703–720. Entries 711–16 are missing. c) *Huaiju shicun* dates poem at the end of "Entry 704" to 1964. d) Entry 705: "I'm proofreading the manuscript of my colleagues' book *A Literary History*." 校改同

		人撰《文學史》稿. RAG: 1681. This work, compiled by a team of scholars at the literary division of the Academy of Social Sciences, was published by Renmin wenxue chubanshe in 1962.
18. (RAG: 1779–1916)	1962	a) Title: *Rong'an guan zhaji* b) Entries: 721–730 c) Zhang Zhi dates "Entry 729" on *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 to 1962, when Qian was coerced into compiling an annotated selection of Tang poetry. "My colleagues are compiling an annotated selection of Tang poetry, and have strongarmed me into joining them. I've been allocated Wang Ji, among seventeen other poets. I'm renewing my acquaintance with the Complete Tang Prose, and comparing my thoughts with my notes from ten years ago. [...]" 諸君選注唐詩，強余與役，分得王績等十七人，因覆取《全唐文》溫讀一過，合之十年前評釋，錄於此。RAG : 1886. The notes from ten years before are found in Chinese Language Notebook nos. 32 and 34.
19. (RAG: 1917–2074)	1963	a) Title: *Rong'an guan zhaji* b) Same notebook format as no. 18 c) Entries: 730–741
20. (RAG: 2075–2234)	1964-1965	a) Title: *Rong'an guan rizha: Huaiju jushi* b) Same notebook format as nos. 18 and 19. c) Entries: 742–760
21. (RAG: 2235–2397)	1966-1973	a) *Rong'an shi zhaji* b) Entries: 761–770. c) Entry 761 begins with a diary entry from Feb. 5th, 1966.
22. (RAG: 2398–2570)	1973–74	a) *Rong'an shi zhaji* b) Entries: 771–802. c) Entry 801: Draft of Qian's preface to Zhang Zunliu's 張遵騮 *Ge shan yiji* 個山遺集.Fan

		Xulun dates this entry to 1973, Zhang Zhi dates it to 1974. d) *Huaiju shicun* dates poem at the end of "Entry 799" "Delighted at receiving Shuzi's letter, I send him this poem," 喜得叔子書并寄詩 to 1973. RAG: 2566.
23. (Uncollated)	?	Notebook missing.

APPENDIX B (Errata to Vols. 1–3 of the *Foreign Language Notes)*

VOL. 1.

201-203: “Stray Notes.” These pages are missing from the published edition.

318-321: Missed entry: Herbert Paul, *Men & Letters*.

366-367: Missed entry: Mona Wilson, *Jane Austin and Some Contemporaries*.

410-414: Missed entry: Jottings from French authors.

419: Missed entry: L- Merrick, *While Paris laughed*.

438-439: Missed entry: Barry Pain, *The One Before*.

424: Missed entry: Title and author illegible.

446: Missed entry: Herbert George Jenkins, *The Bindles on the Rocks*.

454: Missed entry: Arthur Quiller-Couch, *Dead Man’s Rock*.

455: Missed entry: A. A. Milne, *Four Day’s Wonder*.

460: Missed entry: H. C. Bailey, *Call Mr Fortune*.

466: Missed entry: H. C. Bailey, *Mr Fortune’s Practice*.

468: Missed entry: Stacy Aumonier, *Miss Bracegirdle*.

471: Missed entry: John Buchan, *A Prince of the Captivity*.

472: Missed entry: H. C. Bailey, *The Shadow on the Wall*.

473-474: Missed entry: List of Italian phrases.

474: Missed entry: E.M. Delafield, *Provincial Lady Goes Further*.

475-476: Missed entry: Quotations from Edgar Allen Poe.

478: Missed entry: H. C. Bailey, *Case for Mr Fortune*.

486-487: Missed entry: W. W. Jacobs, *Sea Urchins*.

487-489: Missed entry: James Laver, *Panic among Puritans*.

490: Missed entry: Francois Mauriac, *Destins*.

493: Missed entry: Brillat-Savarin, *Aphorismes du professeur*.

511-515 Missed entry: "Jottings."

518: Missed entry: J. B. S Haldane, *The inequality of man and other essays.*

523: Missed entry: W. W. Jacobs, *The Lady of the Barge*.

527: Missed entry. Folke Leander, *Humanism and Naturalism: a comparative study of E. Seillière and Babbitt and P.E. More.*

VOL. 2.

60-66: Missed entry: J.A. Symonds, In the key of blue and other essays.

71: Missed entry: Andrew Lang, *Essays in Little*.

77-79: Missed entry: Walter Savage Landor, *Imaginary Conversations*.

107: Missed entry: Brief extracts from Dante.

118: Missed entry: Two pages of unattributed notes

120-121: Missed entry: W.M. Urban, *The Elements of Unintelligibility in Whitehead's Metaphysics.*

165: Missed entry: Martin Secker, *The Art and Craft of Letters*.

168: Missed entry: Lessing, *Mima von Barnhelm oder das Soldatenglück.*

185-186: Missed entry: Extracts from Cantos 1-8 of Dante's Inferno.

422: Missed entry: Edward Dowden, *Shakespeare: His Mind & Art.*

422-423: Missed entry. John Middleton Murray, *Son of Woman.*

423-424: Missed entry: Studies in Seven Arts.

429: Missed entry: "Jottings."

487: Missed entry: Eric Partridge, *A Critical Medley*.

487: Editorial error: A reference to Fritz Strich's, *Deutsche Klassik und Romantik* has been mistaken for an entry.

511-512: Missed entry: Selection from the poetry of Robert Browning.

533-534: Missed entry: Paul Scarron, *Le Roman Comique*.

535: Missed entry: Evelyn Waugh, *Decline and Fall*.

540-541: Missed entry: Arthur Murphy, *The Way to Keep Him*.

542-551: Missed entry: Bartlett's, *Familiar Quotations*.

556-557: Missed entry: "Jottings."

575-576: Missed entry: "Jottings."

583: Missed entry: J.W. Mackail, *Andrew Cecil Bradley*.

583-584: Missed entry: Continuation of D. N. Samson, English into French.

588: Missed entry: "Jottings."

589-591: Missed entry: Continuation of D. N. Samson, English into French.

601-604: Missed entry: Don Byrne, *Brother Saul*.

613: Missed entry: F. Austey, *The Tinted Venus*.

VOL. 3.

230-232: Missed entry: Gerald Cumberland, *Written in Friendship*.

236-237: Missed entry: J. C. Squire, *Life at the Mermaid*.

257-266: Missed entry: D. Sitwell, *Penny Foolish, A Book of Tirades and Panegyrics*.

285-286: Missed entry: Charles Louis Philippe, *Babu de Montparnasse*.

286-287: Missed entry: Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, *Tribulat Bonhomet*.

287: Missed entry: Jérome et Jean Tharaud, *La jument errante*.

311-15: Missed entry: Compton Mackenzie, *Poor relations*.

343-346: Editorial error: *Frank Harris*, by A. I. Tobin and Elmer Goetz, not Hugh Kingsmill.

382-384: Missed entry: Richard Garnett, *The Twilight of the Gods and other Tales.*

749-753: Missed entry: Rudoslav A. Tsanoff, *The Problem of Immortality*.