

The Xingshi yinyuan zhuan:
A Study of Utopia and the Perception of the World
in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Discourse

In Two Volumes

Volume II

DARIA BERG
St. Hugh's College
University of Oxford

D. Phil. Thesis
Michaelmas Term 1994



General Contents

Volume I

<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	1
I. Text and Context	2
II. The Economic Climate	42
III. Mapping the Landscape of Utopia	51
<i>PART ONE: THE MOTIF OF THE HEALER</i>	69
IV. Medical Doctors	70
V. Medical Pedlars	102
VI. Religious Specialists	113

Volume II

<i>PART TWO: THE MOTIF OF THE ELITE</i>	142
VII. Students	145
VIII. Teachers	184
IX. Scholar-cum-merchants	200
X. Patrons of Scholarship	213
XI. Scholar-officials	223
<i>PART THREE: THE MOTIF OF THE MOTHER</i>	257
XII. Madame Chao	258
<i>CONCLUSION</i>	281
<i>LIST OF WORKS CITED</i>	285
<i>APPENDICES</i>	333

Detailed Table of Contents

Volume I

<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	1
I. Text and Context	2
1. Shandong Province in the Seventeenth Century	2
2. Fiction as Historical Source Material	10
3. The Novel <i>Xingshi yinyuan zhuan</i>	13
a. Macrostructure	13
b. Themes	16
c. Authorship	19
d. Dating	23
e. Early Editions	27
f. Recent Editions	29
g. Editions Used for the Present Study	29
4. The Reception of the Novel and Current Trends in Research	30
5. Style of Research	35
6. Three Motifs	40
II. The Economic Climate	42
III. Mapping the Landscape of Utopia	51
<i>PART ONE: THE MOTIF OF THE HEALER</i>	69
IV. Medical Doctors	70
1. Yang Taiyi	71
2. Xiao Beichuan	82
3. Ai Qianchuan	87
4. Zhao Xingchuan	94
V. Medical Pedlars	102
1. Medical pedlar No. One	102
2. Medical pedlar No. Two	107
VI. Religious Specialists	113
1. Xu Zhenjun	113
2. Sun Zhenren	119
3. Hu Wuyi	121
4. Bao Guang	125
5. Wu Bian and Cheng An	129
6. The Evil Daoist	132

Volume II

<i>PART TWO: THE MOTIF OF THE ELITE</i>	142
VII. Students	145
1. Chao Yuan	145
2. Di Xichen	155
3. Chao Liang	170
4. Xue Rubian, Xue Rujian and Xiang Yuting	172
5. Hou Xiaohuai	176
6. Shan Bao	179
VIII. Teachers	184
1. Shu Zhong	186
2. Shan Yumin	189
3. Wu Xuezhou	194
IX. Scholar-cum-merchants	200
1. Wang Weilu	201
2. Professor Xue	206
X. Patrons of Scholarship	213
1. Mr Di	214
2. Mr Li	218
XI. Scholar-officials	223
1. Chancellor Yang	224
2. Li Cuiran and Yang Wushan	231
3. Chao Sixiao	245
4. Ke Yishan	255
 <i>PART THREE: THE MOTIF OF THE MOTHER</i>	 257
XII. Madame Chao	258
 <i>CONCLUSION</i>	 281
 <i>LIST OF WORKS CITED</i>	 285
Abbreviations	286
Primary Sources	287
Secondary Sources	303

APPENDICES	333
A. Maps	334
1. Shandong Province in the Seventeenth Century	334
2. Jinan City	335
3. Jinan Prefecture	336
4. Zhangqiu County	337
B. Graphs	338
1. Plot Structure	338
2. The Exchange Rate of Silver Taels in terms of Copper Coins	339
C. Paintings	340
1. 'Writing a Book' (Summer 1644)	340
2. 'Peach Blossom Spring' by Shitao	341
3. 'Peach Blossom Spring' by Yuan Jiang	342
4. 'Peach Blossom Spring' by Fan Qi	343
5. 'Peach Blossom Spring' by Qiu Ying	344

Part Two

The Motif of the Elite

The possession of prestige, political power, personal influence, functionally important occupation, substantial economic resources, advanced education, and leisure to engage in cultural pursuits may count as criteria for membership in the upper classes of any society.¹ In late imperial China the civil service examinations (*keju* 科舉) played a crucial role as the gateway into the ‘sashed and gartered’ upper class (*shenjin* 紳衿, or *shenshi* 紳士, usually translated as ‘gentry’).² Seventeenth-century Chinese citizens could gain the position of gentry through the acquisition of a title, grade, degree, or official rank which automatically made the holder a member of the gentry group, as the modern scholar Chung-li Chang states.³ Social historians of China have divided the gentry into three strata i.e. the upper, lower and local gentry. This distinction is problematic however. The historian Spence has pointed out that social upward or downward mobility often makes it difficult to draw clear lines between classes in traditional Chinese society.⁴ Most recently Dudbridge in his analysis of Tang dynasty tales has warned against denying the complex, dynamic movement that all societies undergo in the course of

¹See G. Carlsson, *Social Mobility and Class Structure*, Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1958, 11-12.

²On the *keju* see Ho Ping-ti, 1967; Chung-li Chang, 1955; Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定, *Kakyo* 科舉, Osaka: Akitaya, 1946; *idem*, *China's Examination Hell. The Civil Service Examinations of Imperial China*, trans. C. Schirokauer, New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1976; A. Chan, 1982, 95-105, 318-325; cf. also R. Huang, *China. A Macro History*, New York and London: Sharpe, 1990, 173.

³Chang, 1955, 3.

⁴J. Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor, Bondservant and Master*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966, 44.

time by describing society in terms of static structures such as layers or substrata.⁵

The 'examination hell' leading into the privileged circles of the gentry represented the traditional ladder of success in late imperial China. Education and office holding placed political, economic, social and cultural power in the hands of the Chinese gentry.⁶ To investigate who holds power in the world of our novel and in its contextual surroundings the present study will examine those on and around the social ladder: students, teachers, scholar-cum-merchants, patrons of scholarship, and scholar-officials. Following Mills's definition of elite in terms of 'the sociology of institutional position and the social structure these institutions form'⁷ the present study refers to these groups as the 'elite'. We understand the term in its broad sense as designating persons of social or political superiority within and outside of the bureaucratic system of late imperial China.⁸

⁵Dudbridge, in press, 76.

⁶Cf. S. Naquin and E. S. Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987, 114-115.

⁷C. W. Mills, *The Power Elite*, New York: Oxford University Press, repr. 1967, 366.

⁸Cf. T. B. Bottomore, *Elites and Society*, London: Watts, 1964, 8, 12, using elite for 'functional, mainly occupational, groups which have high status (for whatever reason) in a society'. Cf. also the distinction of four elites in Qing China in Spence, 1966, 44-45. The most important distinction for the present purpose is that between official and local elite. See also G. A. Bennett, 'Elite and Society in China. A Summary of Research and Interpretation', in R. A. Scalapino and G. A. Bennett, eds., *Elites in the Republic of China*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972, 3-37.

VII

Students

The term ‘student’, *xuesheng* 學生, denoted within the Confucian schooling system of imperial China not only a person pursuing academic studies but also a candidate for officialdom.¹ The examination system as the recruitment for civil servants existed from AD 587 *mutatis mutandis* until its abolition in 1905.² In Ming and Qing times a student would have to pass through the three-step system of the *shengyuan* 生員, *juren* 舉人 and *jinshi* 進士 examinations to qualify for public office.³ We classify a character as a student according to his academic activities and status.

1. Chao Yuan

Chao Yuan 晁源 functions as the first major protagonist to appear in the *Yinyuan zhuan* and as the main hero of the Chao plot. His story covers chapters 1 to 19. When we first meet Chao Yuan at the outset of the story he is a student in his late teens. Chao Yuan appears as an indifferent student who prefers the pursuit of pleasure and the company of his peers to his books.⁴ He has not learned more than the first few characters of a nursery-rhyme.⁵ In late imperial China a child would

¹T. Grimm, *Erziehung und Politik im konfuzianischen China der Ming-Zeit (1368-1644)*, Hamburg: Harrassowitz, 1960, 79.

²Miyazaki, 1976, 137.

³Cf. Ho Ping-ti, 1962, 42-43, 173-194.

⁴YYZ, 1.2.

⁵A short verse on a didactic note beginning with ‘Show your work to your father’ (*Shang daren* 上大人), popular since the Tang dynasty for learning how to write characters; an early version was found at Dunhuang 敦煌; the *Xu chuandenglu* 續傳燈錄 in *Taishô Tripitaka* 大正新修大藏經 2077, 20.605a records one version.

traditionally start to practise reading and writing with the primers *Qianzi wen* 千字文 and *Sanzi jing* 三字經. At this point Chao Yuan abandons his studies. Having reached the educational level of a four or five year old,⁶ he remains virtually illiterate.

The narrating voice reveals that Chao Yuan is not solely responsible for his lack of learning as he did have potential. Doting on the boy, his parents failed to maintain discipline in his studies and to rebuke him for his idle life-style. The realities of the Chao's world seem a far cry from contemporary ideas about a standard Confucian education. The seventeenth-century scholar-official Huang Liuhong outlines the ideal education of the young thus:

The magistrate should exhort teachers and parents to let the pupils first acquire the proper ways of filial piety, fraternal duty, friendship and reverence and heed the virtues of propriety, righteousness, integrity and modesty. Only then should they expound the doctrines of the ancient sages and the practical application of Confucian concepts on statecraft. Then they may embark on extensive readings of the classics and historical writings and study the composition of examination essays. (...) They will become officials and get merit for their sincerity. Such men will be regarded as scholars with outstanding literary and moral qualities and as worthies on whom the state can rely. They will certainly bring glory to their parents and honour on their teachers.⁷

In Chao Yuan's case, the senior members of society, i.e. magistrates, parents and teachers, lack the necessary rigour to control and mould their young. In the light of Huang Liuhong's writings Chao Yuan, the very image of the anti-student, appears as the product of a decadent society indulgent to his whims and fancies. We shall now examine Chao Yuan's life and career against the background of Huang Liuhong's ideal picture.

When Chao Sixiao, a scholar of modest means, starts rising in the civil service, his son Chao Yuan becomes the first to benefit from his father's new position.⁸ The narrating voice describes the flattery society showers on Chao Yuan in coarse and contemptuous language. We see how different groups in society react: the poor offer themselves as servants and people of average means transfer

⁶Cf. Miyazaki, 1976, 14; Zhang Zhigong 張志公, *Chuantong yuwen jiaoyu chutan* 傳統語文教育初探, 2nd rev. edn., Shanghai: Jiaoyu, 1964, esp. 6-27, 154-159.

⁷*FHQ*S, 24.19b-20a.

⁸See *YYZ*, 1.4-5.

the title deeds of their property to Chao Yuan. Chao Yuan who before never obtained any financial credit now receives visits from money-lenders offering loans free of interest; relatives and friends freely supply Chao Yuan with money and pay out advances. He accepts all indiscriminately. The mid-eighteenth century novel *Rulin waishi* describes a similar incident: when the scholar Fan Jin 范進 succeeds in getting the *juren* degree, his economic and social status changes radically overnight. A retired official immediately offers Fan cash and a mansion. Men of modest means offer Fan parts of their land, shares of their stores, or themselves as servants in the hope of gaining his favour and protection.⁹ Gu Yanwu observed in the seventeenth century that great numbers of people, often a thousand or more, offered to serve a man as soon as he received an official appointment and were willing to rank amongst his slaves.¹⁰ But one difference creates irony in the *Yinyuan zhuan*: it depicts not the successful official but his non-titled and illiterate son Chao Yuan as the recipient of such favours.

In the eyes of society Chao Yuan himself has already risen into the ranks of the elite. His new status changes his life-style dramatically. But Chao Yuan exposes his upstart mentality by his failure to distinguish real from fake, good from bad. His behaviour turns the spectacle into the grotesque. Moreover the family's newly acquired wealth now paves the way for the illiterate youth to embark on an academic career.

The regular route of advancement in the civil service was by examination. But since 1451, two years after the Mongol invasion and the capture of the Chinese emperor, the Chinese government sold academic titles in exchange for grain and horses.¹¹ This opened to the rich a new path via the 'irregular route' into the bureaucracy.

Chao Sixiao buys for Chao Yuan the *fluxue* 附學 degree¹² for less than 300 taels.¹³ Such details closely correspond to the historical situation of the late Ming:

⁹*Rulin waishi* 儒林外史, by Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓 (1701-1754), ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1984, 3.35-50.

¹⁰*Rizhilu jishi* 日知錄集釋, by Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, 1670 edn., repr. Shanghai: Guji, 1985, 13.33a.

¹¹*Ming huiyao* 明會要, comp. Long Wenbin 龍文彬, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1956, 25.405; cf. Ho Ping-ti, 1962, 33, 46; in the context of the *YYZ* see Cao Dawei, 1988, 66-68.

¹²I.e. *fluxue shengyuan* 附學生員, supplementary licentiate.

¹³*YYZ*, 6.83.

the Chongzhen court (1628-1644) sold the academic titles of *lin* 廩 (stipend), *zeng* 增 (additional) and *fu* 附 (supplementary) licentiates for less than 270 taels, as the Hanlin Academy member Yang Shicong 楊士聰 (fl. late Ming) noted in his *Yutang huiji* 玉堂薈記.¹⁴ The purchase of the *fluxue* degree makes Chao Yuan a student of the Imperial Academy (*guozijian* 國子監). When the first Ming Emperor ascended the throne he realised his dream of a new educational institute for the training of new officials and founded an academy called *guozixue* 國子學 which later became the *guozijian*.¹⁵ This gives Chao Yuan the status of a government student, or 'licentiate' (*shengyuan*) and with it the qualification to take higher examinations for office.¹⁶ In late imperial China this status entailed privileges such as exemption from corvée, free board, a monthly stipend and wearing the Confucian scholar's attire.¹⁷ Chao Yuan enters the Academy wearing 'the Confucian scholar's cap, the round collar of a provincial graduate (*juren*), a long blue sash and dark shoes.'¹⁸ Appearance and reality however remain incongruous: though clad in a scholar's gown Chao Yuan fails to live up to literati standards. A satirical poem reminds the reader of Chao Yuan's illiteracy despite his demeanour. Worse is to come: whilst pretending to study in residence at the Academy Chao Yuan passes his time with a prostitute outside its gates.¹⁹

Chao Yuan's philistinism appears as a wide-spread problem in seventeenth century China.²⁰ In the early Ming membership in the Imperial Academy had even more importance for a public career than the *jinshi* degree. This changed with the Mongol frontier attacks. By the mid-sixteenth century almost half of all Imperial Academy Students had acquired their status by purchase. The Ming state lacked fixed quotas and an upper ceiling while adopting a laissez-faire policy for the admission of *shengyuan*. The Ming government sold even higher numbers of *shengyuan* titles in the years 1621 to 1627 for similar motives as in the mid-

¹⁴*Yutang huiji* 玉堂薈記, by Yang Shicong 楊士聰, ed. Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi, 1968, B.61-62.

¹⁵*Mingshi*, 69.1678.

¹⁶Cf. Hsieh Pao-chao, *The Government of China (1644-1911)*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1925, 145-146.

¹⁷Cf. Ho Ping-ti, 1962, 172, 175.

¹⁸YYZ, 6.83.

¹⁹YYZ, 6.83.

²⁰On the following see Ho Ping-ti, 1962, 32-33, 173-182; Chang, 1955, 99.

fifteenth century: to raise funds and meet the challenge of the foreign invaders beyond the Great Wall - the Manchu. In the mid-fifteenth century, the fictional time frame of our novel, around thirty thousand *shengyuan* existed nation-wide within a total population of sixty-five millions. In the seventeenth century the population increased to approximately one hundred fifty millions. But the current total number of *shengyuan* had soared to about half a million as the seventeenth-century eyewitness Gu Yanwu estimated.²¹ The increase in numbers entailed the deterioration of student quality.²² The depiction of Chao Yuan illustrates this very crisis of seventeenth century China.

Chao Yuan's story demonstrates that the borderlines between lower and upper gentry can blur: a *shengyuan*, Chao Yuan ranks as a member of the literati elite, not yet an official but already appearing like one.²³ We see Chao Yuan in the critical moment of social transition: he *looks* like a member of the elite but he *behaves* contrary to its norms and values. When the Mongols invade Chinese sovereign territory Chao Yuan leaves Beijing and the Academy in panic and returns to his father who holds office as sub-prefect in North Tongzhou 北通州 - not to save his parents' lives but to abscond with their money.²⁴ The narrating voice makes the moral message clear: 'Even his parents were of no concern to him, let alone the sovereign,' and explicit: 'Chao Yuan had no notion of national loyalty (*zhong* 忠) or filial piety (*xiao* 孝).'²⁵ He thus violates two cardinal Confucian virtues.

When Chao Yuan's father assumes office as a new member of the literati elite Chao Yuan takes on airs and slights his old friends.²⁶ Later he exploits, deceives and betrays his friends the actors Hu Dan 胡旦 and Liang Sheng 梁生. He cherishes them as friends as long as they have powerful connections in the political world but abandons them when they ask for his help in danger. Ultimately Chao Yuan forces them to seek their only route of escape in becoming monks.²⁷ He has no concept of friendship.

²¹*Tinglin wenji*, 1.17b.

²²Cf. Ho, 1962, 178-179.

²³Cf. Miyazaki, 1976, 36-38.

²⁴YYZ, 7.100.

²⁵YYZ, 7.100.

²⁶YYZ, 1.6.

²⁷See YYZ, 5.64-74; 7.105-8.109; 15.216-227.

When Chao Yuan's father employs the upright scholar and future minister Xing Gaomen 邢皋門 as his secretary, Chao Yuan, confident of his position as the son in a wealthy gentry family, feels superior to Xing and looks down on him.²⁸ As soon as his father has become rich Chao Yuan wants to discard his wife Ms Ji for a better one.²⁹ Chao Yuan knows no reverence or respect for others. Chao Yuan's attitude towards his wife and old friends appears as the very antithesis of traditional Confucian norms. The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 records the model virtue of Song Hong 宋弘, a minister under Guangwudi 光武帝 (r. AD 25-57), the first emperor of the later Han dynasty. Song Hong received the title of duke in AD 26. The emperor offered his sister, the princess, in marriage to Song Hong who was already married. Song Hong declined thus: 'I learnt that one must never forget the friends who shared one's life in humble circumstances, one must not discard the wife who shared one's coarse meals in days of poverty.'³⁰ Chao Yuan's conduct systematically inverts this very concept of morality. The late Ming story *San xiaolian rangchan li gaoming* 三孝廉讓產立高名 in Feng Menglong's *Xingshi hengyan* 醒世恆言 recalls Song Hong as a paragon of virtue and warns of deeds Song Hong would have jeered at - the very behaviour of Chao Yuan in the *Yinyuan zhuan*.³¹

When Chao Yuan arranges a hunt for his friends, he takes actresses and prostitutes along without regard for the separation of men and women. This is only his most flagrant breach of propriety.³² The scene presents a grotesque picture as the demimondaines march up for the outing as if in battle array.³³ Chao Yuan commits gross errors in etiquette when he assists his father in official matters.³⁴ His lies and display of vanity at his father's funeral further reveal that he lacks any sense of decorum.³⁵

²⁸YYZ, 1.6.

²⁹YYZ, 1.7-8.

³⁰*Hou Hanshu*, 26.904-905.

³¹*Xingshi hengyan*, 2.20-34.

³²YYZ, 1.10-13. Cf. Confucius's rule of the state of Lu, *Shiji*, 47.1917.

³³YYZ, 1.11-12.

³⁴YYZ, 16.237.

³⁵YYZ, 18.265-270.

Both his wife Ms Ji and his concubine Zhen'ge turn into shrews.³⁶ He fails to control Ms Ji's outbursts and Zhen'ge's whims. He cannot master his servants. They cheat and deceive him and even commit adultery with his concubine.³⁷ Chao Yuan's household falls into disorder (*jiāfān zhāiluan* 家反宅亂)³⁸ demonstrating that he has no integrity.

A parasite on his wife and on his father, Chao Yuan indulges in extravagance and foolish overspending.³⁹ As soon as he has laid hands on their money he spends exorbitant amounts to buy land, a grand upper-class residence, and women as concubines.⁴⁰ He shops for flamboyant clothes, toys, pets, aphrodisiacs and other items that all expose and ridicule his vulgarity. Chao Yuan craves for money only to waste it lavishly. He knows no modesty.

Lacking formal training and literary skills, Chao Yuan has never heard of the teachings of ancient sages. His activities in his father's office show that he cannot cope with practical political situations and lacks insight into the Confucian art of statecraft.⁴¹

The virtuous scholar Xing Gaomen recognises that Chao Yuan is a hard-hearted man and an offender of the moral order (*renxin haili* 忍心害理) who lacks moral principles (*lunli* 倫理) and has no feeling of shame (*lianchi* 廉恥).⁴² Chao Yuan brings nothing but shame on his mother who as a consequence attempts suicide.⁴³ In this way we can read the story of Chao Yuan point for point as an antithetical list to Huang Liuhong's outline of the ideal student.⁴⁴

Chao Yuan's deeds appear as a catalogue of Confucian vices. He also embodies vice in Buddhist terms for he finds joy in the killing of living beings.⁴⁵ We can moreover read Chao Yuan as a vice-figure in terms of the popular concept

³⁶See *YYZ*, 1.7; see also 11.155.

³⁷*YYZ*, 6.82.

³⁸*YYZ*, 1.8.

³⁹E.g. *YYZ*, 1.6; 1.8; 4.51; 6.83-87; cf. 7.100, 9.134-136.

⁴⁰*YYZ*, 1.6-8.

⁴¹*YYZ*, 16.237. On his illiteracy also see 13.198; 14.212.

⁴²*YYZ*, 16.236.

⁴³*YYZ*, 15.227-228.

⁴⁴See above; *FHQs*, 24.19b-20a.

⁴⁵*YYZ*, 1.13.

of *sitan*, the Four Vices of Excess.⁴⁶ Chao Yuan's selfish and ruthless greed for his wife's and his father's wealth show him above all guilty of the vice of *cai*. His excesses with Zhen'ge in particular demonstrate his addiction to the vices of *jiu* and *se*. His wanton indulgence in killing animals implies the vice of *qi*. As with the doctors, *cai* appears here as the worst vice. We have seen above that this pattern corresponds to the explicit statement of the narrating voice about its perception of the hierarchy of vices.

Chao Yuan's life ends in immediate retribution: a jealous husband catches his adulterous wife with Chao Yuan in flagrante delicto and beheads them both.⁴⁷ The public reacts to the news of his death with relief and his former victims now air their grievances.⁴⁸ His crimes appear as a negative model, a warning to others. Huang Liuhong would have blamed his lack of learning:

Even bandits are human beings. They commit crimes because the people in superior positions in society neglect education. (...) When those in superior positions in society neglect education then people do not know that they should value propriety and righteousness and fear punishment. They are liable to break the law.⁴⁹

Thus a seventeenth-century Confucian scholar-official diagnosed the root of evil in society as Chao Yuan exemplifies it.

We can read Chao Yuan's story in terms of yet another dimension: political allegory. An individual here appears as causing disturbance not only in one household but also in the whole nation. If individuals like Chao Yuan flourish, society will drown in crime, injustice, tyranny and disorder and the state will perish. The *Daxue* expresses the intrinsic relation between the individual, society and the world at large clearly:

Those who wanted to bring order to their states would first regulate their households. (...) when the household is regulated, the state will be in order; and when the state is in order, the whole world will be in perfect harmony.⁵⁰

⁴⁶On *sitan* see also sections IV-VI.

⁴⁷YYZ, 19.285-286.

⁴⁸YYZ, 20.291.

⁴⁹FHQs, 17.1a.

⁵⁰'Daxue', *Liji*, 60.1a-1b.

In the *Yinyuan zhuan* the verse introducing chapter 9 (relating the first major crisis in Chao Yuan's life as his wife commits suicide to protest against his injustice and the disorder in his household) makes the allegory explicit:

The ruin of the state and the destruction of the family [are brought about by] two kinds of people: a family [is shattered] by concubines while the state [perishes] at the hands of eunuchs.⁵¹

The text synchronises two strands of action. One takes place on the local and fictional level of events: Chao Yuan's concubine plunges his household into disorder and brings about disaster. She drives his wife into suicide.⁵² Here the institution of concubinage appears as the cause of domestic collapse. Intellectuals in the late Ming and early Qing also broached the topic of concubinage. Li Zhi 李贄 (1527-1602) recognised the equality of intelligence between the sexes but never offered an educational programme for women.⁵³ Lü Kun 呂坤 (1536-1618) expounded traditional views on the role and education of women. He spoke out against including intellectual and literary subjects, poetry or music in their training.⁵⁴ Only a few decades later Li Yu 李漁 (1611-1681) gave instructions for a universal education of women in literature of all genres, calligraphy, painting, music and practical arts. He contended that the education of one's concubines in particular was a source of pleasure.⁵⁵ Li Yu endorsed the institution of concubinage as such. He described his idea of the ideal situation in his first play *Lian xiangban*

⁵¹YYZ.9.127.

⁵²YYZ, chapters 8-9.

⁵³*Chutan ji* 初潭集, by Li Zhi 李贄, 1588, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974, 1-60; *Fenshu Xu Fenshu* 焚書續焚書, by Li Zhi, 1590, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975, 59-60.

⁵⁴*Guifan* 閨範, by Lü Kun 呂坤, 1590 edn., 1.60a, 2.2b. Cf. also Joanna F. Handlin, 'Lü K'un's New Audience: The Influence of Women's Literacy on Sixteenth-Century Thought', in Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke, eds., *Women in Chinese Society*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975, 13-38, 16-19.

⁵⁵*Xianqing ouji* 閒情偶寄, by Li Yu 李漁, in *Li Yu quanji* 李漁全集, 15 vols., ed. H. Martin, repr. Taipei: Chengwen, 1970, vols. 5-6:1903-2804, esp. 5:2288, 2294. Cf. the different interpretations by P. Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981, 10, and Chang, 1992, 69-70, 112, n. 69.

憐香伴 (composed ca. 1648).⁵⁶ The situation in his own family probably inspired Li Yu to write this piece.⁵⁷ It dramatises the mutual affection between a wife and a concubine without jealousy. Although Li Yu agreed that prostitutes were unsuitable as wives in respectable households he saw nothing wrong in loving them and bringing them home as concubines.⁵⁸ We hear a different note in the narrating voice of the *Yinyuan zhuan*:

To found a family get two ploughs.

To ruin a family get two wives.

A respectable woman is quite unfit to become a concubine,
but a prostitute is even less acceptable.⁵⁹

The *Yinyuan zhuan* identifies concubinage as a symptom but not as the cause of disorder. The narrating voice shows little sympathy with the lives of concubines or the position of women. The *Yinyuan zhuan* primarily spots the root of evil in the head of the family, the fake Confucian gentleman Chao Yuan. His lechery makes him blind to its consequence, i.e. a failure to regulate his household and to fulfil every Confucian gentleman's duty. His role as a misfit in polite society engenders all other problems.

The other strand of action shows events on the national and historical level: the Ming state succumbs to the influence of the eunuch Wang Zhen 王振 (d. 1449). He drives the Zhengtong 正統 Emperor (Yingzong 英宗, r. 1436-1449) into the fangs of the Mongol leader Esen 也先 (1407-1455) at Tumu 土木 beyond the Great Wall north-west of Beijing on 1 September 1449.⁶⁰ These events take on the overtones of apocalypse when read against the late Ming background. The rise of the eunuch Wei Zhongxian at court in the 1620s may have evoked an uncanny

⁵⁶Li Yu *quanji*, 7:2807-3029.

⁵⁷Cf. Chang, 1992, 211-213.

⁵⁸See e.g. his plays *Huang qiu feng* 凰求鳳 (1666), in *Li Yu quanji*, 9:3683-3904; *Shen luanjiao* 慎鸞交 (1667), in *Li Yu quanji*, 11:4791-5029.

⁵⁹YYZ, 13.189.

⁶⁰See YYZ, 5.71-74; 7.99-100; 8.107-108; 12.171; 15.216-217; 17.247. On Wang Zhen, Yingzong and Esen see Goodrich, 1976, 1347-49, 289-294, 416-420 respectively.

sense of *déjà vu*.⁶¹ Moreover the recollection of the Tumu debacle may have conjured up present nightmares at the end of the dynasty: in 1639 the Manchu advanced into Jinan and captured the emperor's brother Zhu Youshu 朱由樞.⁶² Another seventeenth-century writer similarly used the fifteenth-century crisis as a metaphor: Li Yu in his play *Huang qiu feng* 凰求鳳 dramatised the eunuch Wang Zhen as a symbol of late Ming evils.⁶³ This parallel seems to have sprung readily to seventeenth-century minds.

The synchronisation of domestic collapse (through concubines) and national ruin (through eunuchs) suggests allegorical potential. It is possible to read the first twenty chapters of the local society in the Chao plot as a political allegory for national events. But the remainder of the text abandons this level of meaning. As Plaks notes, the microcosm-macrocosm analogy never becomes as explicit or powerful as in the conclusion of the *Jin Ping Mei*.⁶⁴ As metaphor and allegory lose their force, however, we seem to get closer insight into perceived everyday realities.

In sum Chao Yuan's life appears as symptomatic of a social and political malady in the seventeenth century as contemporary observers perceived it. This figure on the fringe of the elite must have been a thorn in the flesh not only to a Confucian conservative, but to anybody with a concern for society. Paradoxically this role makes Chao Yuan the first hero of our novel - a tragi-comic anti-hero, a vice-figure in anti-utopia.

2. Di Xichen

Next to Chao Yuan, Di Xichen 狄希陳 functions as the other major protagonist in the *Yinyuan zhuan*. He is the main hero of the Di plot. His story occupies most of it

⁶¹Xu Shuofang, 1986, 283, notes the parallel of Wang Zhen and Wei Zhongxian but admits that the *YYZ* does not refer to anything like the Donglin Party. On Ming dynasty eunuchs see Robert B. Crawford, 'Eunuch Power in the Ming Dynasty', *T'oung Pao* 49, 1961-62, 115-148; U. H. Mammitzsch, *Wei Chung-hsien (1568-1628): A Reappraisal of the Eunuch and Factional Strife at the Ming Court*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii 1968, 28-36.

⁶²*Mingshi*, 119.3635; in the context of the *YYZ* cf. also Zhang Qingji, 1991, 95-97.

⁶³One among ten plays in *Liweng shizhong qu* 李翁十種曲 (dated 1666 AD), in *Li Yu quanji*, 9.3683-3904. The late Ming writer Shen Defu also targeted Wang Zhen as the cause of trouble for Ming emperors, see *Wanli yehuo bian*, 'buyi' 1.822-823.

⁶⁴*JPMCH*, 100.1287-1300. Cf. Plaks, 1985, 574.

from chapters 25 to 100, showing him on his way up the social ladder. His adventures begin in his student days.

Di Xichen's parents were originally farmers.⁶⁵ His father has risen into the local elite through his business. An inn-keeper in his native Mingshui, he ranks among the richest men in the village.⁶⁶ Like Chao Yuan, Di Xichen is an only son and his parents dote on him. They do their best to educate Di Xichen according to literati standards in order to pave his way into the scholar elite.⁶⁷

The reader has high expectations of Di Xichen as his career stands under the auspices of divine prophecy. The heavenly authorities that release the flood over Mingshui save Di Xichen. Amidst deadly waves and roaring storm the divine agents proclaim Di Xichen the future Registrar of Chengdu 成都.⁶⁸ A dramatic prelude announces the hero's rise. The supernatural prophecy turns out to be self-fulfilling. It thus seems at first that Di Xichen personifies one of the chosen people in the moral universe of the *Yinyuan zhuan*. His future title promises outstanding scholastic achievement and a secure place among the Confucian elite. The ensuing story of Di Xichen's rise and fall however inverts all such expectations. The discrepancy between expectations and ensuing events opens up scope for irony, comedy and laughter.

In contradiction to the prophecy, Di Xichen appears as an incapable student and a mischievous child. He first comes into the narrative focus aged twelve *sui* playing with a big false nose.⁶⁹ Despite five years of formal instruction starting with the literary primer *Baijia xing* 百家姓 up to the end of the canonical *Four Books* (*Sishu* 四書 i.e. *Daxue* 大學, *Zhongyong* 中庸, *Lunyu* 論語 and *Mengzi* 孟子 with the commentaries of Zhu Xi) Di Xichen remains illiterate.⁷⁰ He is incapable of writing a formal letter on behalf of his father. Di Xichen's first teacher Wang Weilu 汪為露 embodies one of the worst villains and Confucian vice-figures in the novel.⁷¹ The narrating voice tells that his influence has further promoted the

⁶⁵YYZ, 50.725.

⁶⁶YYZ, 25.364. Cf. section X.1.

⁶⁷YYZ, 33.483-486.

⁶⁸YYZ, 29.432.

⁶⁹YYZ, 33.484.

⁷⁰YYZ, 33.483-484.

⁷¹Cf. section V.2; IX.1.

boy's inclination for mischief.⁷² As in the case of Chao Yuan, Di Xichen's father fails to discipline his son. His mother however insists on employing a better teacher. The narrative focus shows that - as in the case of Chao Yuan - parents and teachers must bear responsibility for failing to provide the young with intellectual and moral education.

The scholar Professor Xue helps his friend Mr Di to select a better teacher for Di Xichen.⁷³ Mr Di employs the competent scholar Cheng Leyu 程樂宇 as a teacher for Di Xichen, his cousin Xiang Yuting and Professor Xue's sons Rubian and Rujian. The problem however lies with the student: in contrast to Chao Yuan who received no training, Di Xichen lacks intellectual ability. In the words of the narrating voice he is 'thick as a brick'.⁷⁴ He does not concentrate on his studies but gets easily distracted⁷⁵ - despite the fact that Di Xichen now receives a formal training of the kind that the seventeenth-century Confucian reformer Huang Liuhong considered ideal. In his *Fuhui quanshu* Huang explains how a student should follow a strict curriculum. Every morning he should recite the lesson of the previous day. Only when he has mastered it can he proceed to the next lesson. He should memorise his texts, get the intonation right, punctuate sentences correctly and practise writing. This should be repeated until he can recite the lesson fluently. Thus the length of each lesson would depend on the student's intelligence.⁷⁶ Di Xichen's very lack of natural endowment reduces teacher Cheng's curriculum to absurdity. According to the narrating voice in the *Yinyuan zhuan*:

He learned a sentence only after it was taught one hundred times. The next sentence would also require teaching one hundred times. But when he had learned the second sentence at last - could you believe it - he had already forgotten the first one.⁷⁷

Thus the narrative shows step by step how *not* to do it - portraying the anti-ideal student in close-up projection. Learning becomes a farce in this case which illustrates the attempt to rise from a non-literate family background into the literati

⁷²YYZ, 37.540.

⁷³YYZ, 33.486-487.

⁷⁴YYZ, 33.483, cf. 33.487-488; 37.540; 50.725.

⁷⁵YYZ, 33.487-488.

⁷⁶See *FHQ*S, 25.14a-14b.

⁷⁷YYZ, 33.488.

elite. This point of view betrays the voice of a Confucian conservative poking fun at the upstart and would-be elite.

Di Xichen returns into the narrative focus aged fourteen *sui*. After two years under the care of Cheng Leyu Di Xichen has gradually acquired the basics of a standard Confucian education: he can now recognise most characters in the *Four Books*, compose literary couplets and broach a literary topic with some decency. He has also learned how to write formal letters on behalf of his father.⁷⁸ The narrating voice puts the didactic message clearly:

Amongst the young some are as a matter of course highly intelligent in terms of literary learning and others are very stupid. But after all this is mostly a result of nurture (*xi* 習) rather than nature (*xing* 性). If those that teach and surround a boy are all good people, if all he takes in is good talk, then it is as with a cannon: if there is nobody to ignite its fuse, then its explosive charge will never go off. For example, as long as an eminent family in one of the new cities or counties is rising in society, a wet-nurse will be hired for the upbringing of all sons and daughters. A wealthy household has a spacious residence and a grand garden as [vast] as the sea. As long as the baby is in the arms of the wet-nurse, there is no way for it to go outside. When the little one is five or six *sui* old, he is sent to the family school. All day he leaves and enters the house by its side-doors. Only when he becomes a Confucian apprentice (*tongsheng* 童生) will he go out onto the streets. When he then sees donkeys, horses, cattle and sheep for the first time, he will not even know what they are. This way of education ensures that he can achieve the degrees of *juren* and *jinshi* in the civil service examinations with ease. The bad habits of market-places and the mundane life will not in the least pollute the youngsters who have just emerged [from the seclusion of their home]. Therefore all of them are upright and virtuous without the least traces of harshness or arrogance.⁷⁹

Having thus defined ideal education and moral goodness, the narrating voice goes on to paint the reverse picture: when a family has been wealthy for long they lose their original purity and social graces, fathers and elder brothers no longer exert discipline in educating the young, and the young in turn no longer know any reverence or restraint. They become spoilt and extravagant and lack the moral qualities of previous times.⁸⁰ The debate of nature (*xing* 性 i.e. the inborn predilection to good or evil) versus nurture (*xi* 習 i.e. the influence of intellectual and moral training, repeated practice) goes back as far as Confucius who said:

⁷⁸YYZ, 37.540.

⁷⁹YYZ, 37.539.

⁸⁰See YYZ, 37.539-540.

‘Men are close to one another by nature. They diverge as a result of nurture.’⁸¹ What the description of the fall of Mingshui paradise has already implied earlier in the narrative becomes explicit here: the narrating voice declares that nurture (i.e. habits, customs and practice) has a decisive impact on human nature.⁸² This point of view silently contradicts the dimension of karmic retribution and higher predestination. Instead it stresses individual responsibility for the loss of paradise on earth.

According to the narrating voice Di Xichen counts amongst the stupid youngsters.⁸³ He exemplifies the deterioration of the present as the narrating voice perceives it: expanding market-places, new cities and newly acquired wealth in the long run entail degeneration and pollute the pure spirit of Confucian education. *Money corrupts* - this message reiterates the views expressed and implied in the motif of the healer. With the development of a money economy and the growth of cities and market-places from the late Ming onwards, this emerges as a peculiar threat to Confucian ideals in seventeenth-century China.

Despite his lack of literary accomplishment Di Xichen starts climbing the ladder of success via the regular route i.e. the examination system. The narrative takes us into the traditional examination halls for the recruitment of the Chinese bureaucratic elite.⁸⁴ Encouraged by Di Xichen’s modest progress in his studies, his father Di Yuanwai insists on Di Xichen sitting for the *tongshi* 童試, the first qualifying examination in the *keju* system. The *tongshi* consisted of three successive examinations, the first at district level, the second at prefectural level and the third and crucial one at the provincial level.⁸⁵ Success in the *tongshi* would then qualify for gentry status as a licentiate (*shengyuan*), colloquially ‘fine talent’ (*xiucai* 秀才). At stake here, then, is Di Xichen’s entry into the gentry elite.

Many students in late imperial China failed at this first hurdle. The *Rulin waishi* for example satirises some unsuccessful candidates. One fictional character with the telling name Quan Wuyong 權勿用 punning on ‘good-for-nothing’ (*quan wu yong* 全無用) continues to sit for the first examination at district level for more

⁸¹Lunyu, 17/2.

⁸²See YYZ, 26.378; cf. Plaks, 1985, 579.

⁸³See YYZ, 50.725.

⁸⁴YYZ, ch. 37 and 38.

⁸⁵Cf. Chang, 1955, 10-12, 166.

than thirty years without ever succeeding.⁸⁶ Fan Jin, another character in the same novel, participates from the age of twenty and subsequently fails more than twenty times. He eventually makes it aged fifty-four.⁸⁷ In the *Yinyuan zhuan* Di Xichen's teacher has little hope for his pupil to succeed.⁸⁸ But one factor makes success possible even for a student like Di Xichen: corruption in the examination hall. Di Xichen's companions offer to write his papers in the examination.⁸⁹ The narrative focuses on the spectacle of Di Xichen's way into the scholar elite in close detail. Di Xichen passes the first examination at district level as Xue Rubian and Xiang Yuting each compose one essay on a topic from *Lunyu* and *Mengzi* that they hand over to him to copy.⁹⁰ In the second examination at prefectural level in Jinan Xiang Yuting writes both essays for Di Xichen.⁹¹ Xiang Yuting's brilliant albeit eccentric interpretations of *Lunyu* and *Mengzi* place Di Xichen second on the list of successful candidates.⁹² In seventeenth-century Shandong Huang Liuhong wielded the pen to prevent corruption in the examinations. In his *Fuhui quanshu* we read:

When the time of a district examination for the Confucian apprentices comes, the magistrate should first announce in public that all essays are examined in perfect justice. (...) During the examination it is necessary to prevent corruption. As success or failure in the examinations determine the students' careers they all hope for good luck. It is necessary to seal the front gate of the examination hall securely and to post guardsmen. One should not allow yamen runners or water carriers to pass on [messages].⁹³

Huang refers to the very kind of sabotage that takes place in the *Yinyuan zhuan* when warning that answer sheets should be closely guarded.⁹⁴ In late imperial China the rules for the third and most critical qualifying examination at the provincial level in particular forbade practices such as 'exchanging papers'. When

⁸⁶*Rulin waishi*, 12.171.

⁸⁷*Rulin waishi*, 3.38.

⁸⁸YYZ, 37.540.

⁸⁹YYZ, 37.541.

⁹⁰YYZ, 37.542-544.

⁹¹YYZ, 37.550.

⁹²YYZ, 37.544; 38.555, 559.

⁹³*FHQs*, 24.20a-21a.

⁹⁴See *FHQs*, 24.21b.

such kinds of fraud were detected, the director of studies had a seal to this effect stamped on the respective paper. This meant the candidate's certain failure.⁹⁵ As depicted in the *Yinyuan zhuan*, the provincial examination in Jinan poses further difficulties as a strict seating order separates Di Xichen from his friends. But good luck helps him to succeed this time too: the two topics on the *Sishu* and *Shijing* correspond to the essays drafted beforehand for Di Xichen's benefit by his mentor, the scholar Sir Lian (Lian Chunyuan 連春元). Di Xichen transcribes the essays word by word from memory.⁹⁶ With no personal effort at all Di Xichen comes out high on the list of successful candidates in all three examinations. Di Xichen's success reveals the examination system as an inadequate means of recruiting the future literati elite.

Huang Lihong summarises the topics he considered most suitable for the civil service examinations:

In the first place there will be two questions on the *Four Books* and one on the *Classics*.⁹⁷ Furthermore a question may be given on current political topics. One question will concern the composition of poetry, metrical verse or prose (...). In this way it will be possible to assess the scholarship of the student and to see if he indeed possesses superior talents.⁹⁸

In the first year of the Ming the Hongwu 洪武 emperor (r. 1368-1398) made the 'eight-legged essay' (*baguwen* 八股文) compulsory in schools and instituted it as the basis of the civil service examinations. Success on the academic ladder consequently required the 'exclusive and mechanical' study of the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics*.⁹⁹ This system survived until the first years of the twentieth century although many intellectuals questioned its utility. In the seventeenth century Gu Yanwu deplored that contemporary scholars lacked any profound knowledge of the classics. In contrast to the past learning had become a fast and superficial exercise. Gu Yanwu further noted that all students tried to find shortcuts to success. They did not study the *Four Books* and *Five Classics* but merely selected

⁹⁵See Miyazaki, 1976, 27-28.

⁹⁶YYZ, 38.557-558.

⁹⁷I.e. *Wujing* 五經: *Yijing* 易經, *Shijing* 詩經, *Shujing* 書經, *Liji* 禮記 and *Chunqiu* 春秋.

⁹⁸FHQs, 24.21a.

⁹⁹See Chan, 1982, 98, 156, 323.

a few passages, searched for suitable essays on these topics and memorised these. They were able to gain academic titles by reproducing such essays at the examinations. More often than not they passed due to sheer good luck.¹⁰⁰

Di Xichen does not stand alone as a corrupt degree candidate in his world. Other characters around him have equally gained academic honours by unlawful or unjust ways. The Assistant Magistrate Zang 臧主簿 for example relates his own experience to Di Xichen. He proposes further ways of cheating such as hiring a substitute to sit the examination in his stead.¹⁰¹ Corruption in the public examination emerges as an abiding problem in late imperial China. The missionary Justus Doolittle observed this very malpractice in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰² Against this background Di Xichen's story appears as a specially spicy but not an unfamiliar case in Ming/Qing times.

Further academic advancement becomes possible for Di Xichen as the government promotes the sale of degrees and titles. Di Xichen's qualification as a *shengyuan* defines his status as a student, not a graduate. All *shengyuan* in late imperial China were enrolled in prefectural or county schools and subjected to instruction, periodic reviewing tests and the discipline of school officials.¹⁰³ The triennial *sui* 歲 examinations determined the promotion, demotion and dismissal of *shengyuan*.¹⁰⁴ Aware of Di Xichen's intellectual limitations, Professor Xue advises Di Yuanwai to purchase a higher degree for Di Xichen in order to avoid the risks of demotion and corvée service.¹⁰⁵ In describing the liability for corvée service as a special risk the voice of Professor Xue specifies the present time of the fictional events as the post-Single Whip Method (*yitiao bianfa* 一條鞭法) era. The Single Whip Method superseded a complicated and outmoded taxation system in China in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁰⁶ It essentially meant that fixed annual

¹⁰⁰Rizhilu *jishi* 16.16b-19b.

¹⁰¹YYZ, 50.734-736.

¹⁰²J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese: with some Account of their Religious, Governmental, Educational, and Business Customs and Opinions*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1876, 431-439.

¹⁰³See Ho, 1962, 172; Miyazaki, 1976, 33-38.

¹⁰⁴See Chang, 1955, 17.

¹⁰⁵YYZ, 50.725.

¹⁰⁶Liang Fangzhong 梁方仲, 'Yitiao bianfa' 一條鞭法, *Zhongguo jindai jingji shi yanjiu jikan* 中國近代經濟史研究集刊 4.1, May 1936, 1-65.

payments in silver replaced the old land taxes paid in kind, extra levies and labour service obligations. The introduction of this system in 1531 effected substantial economic improvements.¹⁰⁷ Modern scholarship regards the Single Whip Method despite its limitations and abortive outcome as a decisive achievement of the Ming government and as one reason for the economic boom during the late Ming period.¹⁰⁸ Professor Xue's voice betrays nostalgia for the time when the Single Whip Method was still in use.¹⁰⁹ In 1636 the scholar and scientist Song Yingxing 宋應星 (1587-ca. 1666), author of the survey of contemporary industry and technology *Tiangong kaiwu* 天工開物, deplored the present as compared to a better past in a similar vein.¹¹⁰

Professor Xue proposes to take advantage of the *newly established* imperial decree enabling the stipend students (*linshan shengyuan* 廩善生員) to purchase the status of tribute student (*gongsheng* 貢生).¹¹¹ He urges Di Yuanwai to secure Di Xichen's rank among the privileged elite and thus protect the entire Di household. Di Yuanwai follows his advice. He has to spend one hundred forty taels on bribes and another three hundred taels to purchase for Di Xichen the status of *jiansheng* 監生, Imperial Academy student, and the degree of *gongsheng*, tribute student.¹¹² Arguing that the *Yinyuan zhuan* is a product of the early Qing and not the Ming the modern scholar Li Yongxiang has pointed out that this policy was first introduced in 1656 and reinstated in 1660.¹¹³ More recently Cao Dawei has shown that the practice of selling such degrees was already interrupted in 1632 and resumed in 1635.¹¹⁴ This finding defeats Li Yongxiang's argument and supports the claim that this episode reflects the early Chongzhen years around 1630. Ho Ping-ti describes the *gongsheng* as a 'crucial academic degree' because it served as a 'demarcation

¹⁰⁷See Huang, 1974, 118.

¹⁰⁸See Chan, 1982, 383; Atwell, 1982, 85.

¹⁰⁹For the debate on dating this passage see Wang Shouyi, 1961; Li Yongxiang, 1984, 167-169; Wu, 1986, 78-81; Cao Dawei, 1988, 68-70.

¹¹⁰*Yeyi, Lunqi, Tiantian, Silianshi* 野議論氣談天思憐詩, by Song Yingxing 宋應星, ed. Shanghai: Renmin, 1976, 17-18, 32.

¹¹¹YYZ, 50.725-726. Another person who takes advantage of this new policy is Assistant Magistrate Zang, see YYZ, 50.734.

¹¹²YYZ, 50.725-733.

¹¹³Li Yongxiang, 1984, 165-166.

¹¹⁴*Guojue* 92.5599, 94.5703; Cao Dawei, 1988, 66-67.

between the potential officials and commoners'.¹¹⁵ *Gongsheng* denoted licentiates selected from the district or prefectural colleges for presentation at the capital to study in the Imperial Academy. Unlike the licentiate a *gongsheng* degree holder was a 'graduate', no longer subject to periodic tests and entitled to minor official appointment.

Although Di Xichen acquires academic title and status by purchase, not by studies, he rises into the ranks of the literati elite. His relatives and friends celebrate the event with due honours. This shows that they acknowledge his advancement. But academic success via the irregular route does not entail a firm reputation among the scholarly circles as one incident during the celebration shows: the local magistrate initially hesitates to recognise Di Xichen's rise. He changes his mind only when being reminded of Di's wealth and the court's need of money. Di Xichen, then, counts among the literati by title whilst representing a figure on the fringe of the elite. The 'regular' and true Confucian scholars in the *Yinyuan zhuan* deride Di Xichen and the other fake scholars who succeed via the irregular route and by corrupt practices in the public examinations.¹¹⁶ The narrating voice underlines this point of view by expressing disregard for the purchase of degrees and cursing the 'irregular *xiuca*' in the local dialect.¹¹⁷

Thus Di Yuanwai's wealth and Di Xichen's friends pave the boy's way into the scholar elite despite his semi-illiteracy. The narrating voice expresses contempt: 'Sheer good luck made him rather inappropriately wear [the Confucian scholar's] gown and cap.'¹¹⁸ Di Xichen assumes the attire and the airs of a licentiate and an Imperial Academy student but his words and actions betray him as a grotesque figure amongst the elite.¹¹⁹ Comedy arises from the clash of his pretensions through rank and title with his conduct.¹²⁰

Huang Liuhong saw a particular need in emphasising the unity of intellectual and moral education in his days:

It is very important that the student regards it as fundamental to cultivate virtue and to mould his

¹¹⁵Ho, 1962, 27-28; Chang, 1955, 5.

¹¹⁶YYZ, 50.736.

¹¹⁷YYZ, 50.733.

¹¹⁸YYZ, 50.725.

¹¹⁹YYZ, 38.565.

¹²⁰See YYZ, 33.490.

personality. In his family he should be a filial son and outside a dutiful brother. He should show respect and courtesy to his elders. He should be modest and obliging with his peers. He should beware of boasting, careless behaviour, harsh words and rage. In his dealings and actions he should be loyal, trustworthy, sincere and magnanimous. All this is the practical application of cultivating virtue and moulding one's personality.¹²¹

The episodes describing Di Xichen's student days show that his moral education fails as much as his intellectual training. Di Xichen's special feature is his mischievousness. His predilection for pranks and genius for tricks point to a different kind of 'intelligence'.¹²² This distinguishes him from the rake and villain Chao Yuan and characterises Di Xichen as an individual rather than the reincarnation or 'double' of another character.

In a clash of styles we see the future 'Registrar of Chengdu' and would-be member of the elite pour his efforts into acts of roguery. The narrating voice lists his misdeeds as a climactic exercise in scatological humour. This reveals in Di Xichen an impudence in antithesis to the ideal Confucian student.¹²³ Education and academic advancement do not change Di Xichen. Both before and after becoming a member of the Imperial Academy he plays practical jokes with red dye, mud and excrement. The latrine features as his favourite place of action.¹²⁴

Di Xichen's tricks primarily target his teachers - private tutors and school teachers alike. He inverts the hierarchy of education, reducing his educators to helpless victims in the hands of their pupil. Cheng Leyu proves incapable of moulding Di Xichen's character.¹²⁵ Di Xichen acts out the nightmare of failed education. He appears as a hyperbolic projection of the anti-student in the *Yinyuan zhuan* as much as in Huang Liuhong's world. But in contrast to Chao Yuan's world of horrors Di Xichen's youth belongs to a realm of gaiety.

The characterisation of Di Xichen plays on the familiar theme of the mischievous monkey in Chinese fiction. The narrating voice emphasises his monkey nature and literally compares him to Sun Xingzhe 孫行者 from the *Xiyou*

¹²¹*FHQs*, 25.15a.

¹²²See *YYZ*, 33.490; cf. 37.540.

¹²³*YYZ*, 33.490-492.

¹²⁴*YYZ*, 62.890-892.

¹²⁵See also *YYZ*, 50.725.

ji 西遊記.¹²⁶ Scatological humour also occurs in other works of vernacular fiction such as the *Xiyou ji*.¹²⁷ In the *Yinyuan zhuan* it goes beyond the thrill of entertainment and displays more shocking overtones. Di Xichen appears as a paradoxical character. His perversion signals excess and abnormality within human society,¹²⁸ yielding at the same time ever so much fun. Di Xichen embodies the anti-utopian image of the student *par excellence*, half rogue, half joker, both aspects grotesquely overdrawn, making his audience - characters and readers alike - vacillate between outrage and laughter.¹²⁹

Di Xichen as a student has yet another moral flaw. His main vice in the contemporary terms of the Four Vices of Excess is lechery. This weakness later ties him to his wives and tormentors Sujie and Jijie. But during his student days it does not - as in Chao Yuan's case - lead to tragedy. Instead it engenders ribald comedy as the episode of his love affair with the courtesan Sun Lanji shows.¹³⁰

Corresponding to his pranks Di Xichen's first amorous adventure also emphasises scatological rather than sexual detail. The call of nature leads to his first encounter with Sun Lanji in Jinan and also serves as the pretext for subsequent visits.¹³¹ Earthy vulgarisms under the satirical magnifying-glass turn the episode into a farce. Inversion engenders irony: Sun Lanji feeds Di Xichen melon slices - a visual pun on the image of the 'broken melon' (*pogua* 破瓜) denoting the defloration of a girl.¹³² But here the courtesan herself first chooses and then 'deflowers' her lover, poking fun at Di Xichen as the innocent fool.¹³³

The scene turns into slapstick comedy when Sun Lanji receives a visit from teacher Cheng and his friends and has to hide Di Xichen in her bedroom. In contrast to his earlier impudence Di Xichen here reveals that he fears his teacher.

¹²⁶YYZ, 33.484; 37.540; 62.889; *Xiyou ji* 西遊記, attributed to Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩, ed. Beijing: Zuoja, 1954; cf. G. Dudbridge, *The Hsi-yu chi. A Study of Antecedents to the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Novel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

¹²⁷For example, *Xiyou ji*, 44.515-516, 45.518-519.

¹²⁸See YYZ, 62.889-890.

¹²⁹Cf. YYZ, 33.491; also 50.736.

¹³⁰Sun Lanji appears in YYZ, ch. 37, 38, 40, 50.

¹³¹YYZ, 37.545; twice in 38.556.

¹³²YYZ, 37.546. The character for melon (*gua* 瓜) can be 'broken up' into two eights (*ba* 八), alluding to sixteen, the marriageable age of girls.

¹³³See YYZ, 37.549.

Seeking refuge under the bed he lets the woman make a stand at the door alone - similar to the other great (anti-)hero of late Ming fiction, Ximen Qing.¹³⁴ But Di Xichen appears as far more cowardly, comical and foolish than his predecessor in the *Jin Ping Mei*.

Sun Lanji embodies the theme of the 'prostitute with a heart of gold' as she truly loves Di Xichen. She refuses to exploit him financially and encourages his studies as well as his filial duties to his parents.¹³⁵ Nonetheless their love affair is but an ironic imitation of the grand 'courtesan and scholar' love stories in Tang fiction such as *Li Wa zhuan* 李娃傳.¹³⁶ Di Xichen owes his academic advancement not to her but to his clever friends. His success primarily exposes the absurdity of the examination system as a qualification for entry into the scholar elite. A mixture of styles underlines the buffoonery of the episode: the secret encounters between Sun Lanji and Di Xichen take place in alternation with his experiences at the prefectural and provincial civil service examinations. Vernacular comedy intertwines with the erudite classical style of the literary essays Di Xichen's friends compose for him. Di Xichen's adventures with his teacher, the prostitute and his schoolmates delight in rendering the manifold conditions of life ranging from the sublime ambitions of Confucian education to lapses into the corporeal-creatural and the grotesque. Di Xichen's lack of intellectual achievement and his moral misconduct characterise him as the anti-ideal student.

Fun, teasing and jokes characterise Di Xichen's student days. The dominant theme is laughter. Adopting (with certain reservations) Bakhtin's terms for the Chinese context we can read the text as leading actors and spectators alike into 'carnival', into a popular culture of folk humour, into the 'boundless world of humorous forms and manifestations' as opposed to the official and serious tone of the imperially ordained and recognised high culture.¹³⁷ The detailed depiction of Di Xichen's mischief breaks down all boundaries of propriety, social hierarchies and the Confucian world order. He appears as an anti-hero epitomising amusement, perversion and carnival. The descriptions of Di Xichen in the role of a student

¹³⁴YYZ, 38.561-562; *JPMCH*, 5.47-48.

¹³⁵YYZ, 38.559, 564.

¹³⁶Cf. G. Dudbridge, *The Tale of Li Wa. Study and Critical Edition of a Chinese Story from the Ninth Century*, London: Ithaca, 1983.

¹³⁷M. M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. H. Iswolsky, London: MIT Press, 1968, 4.

provoke laughter throughout: at the polyphonic mixture of styles, the coexistence of the prosaic and the sublime, the sight of the world as anti-utopia.

All these adventures take place against the background of Mingshui and the loss of its paradise. Di Xichen's student days follow almost immediately upon the flood in chapter 29. As the narrating voice delves into a survey of disorder the reader may have long forgotten its didactic tone at the outset of the Di plot. In chapter 26 the narrating voice assumes the tone of a Confucian conservative outlining the depravity of the youth in Mingshui village, the students' deviousness and their shocking lack of respect for teachers and elders.¹³⁸ Huang Liuhong shared such fears about a world without proper education:

When the people do not receive education then they will not know filial piety, fraternal duty, propriety and righteousness. They will become impertinent to their superiors and bring about disorder. They will not stop at anything.¹³⁹

The theme of Di Xichen as a student reflects this very concept of anti-utopia. But the eclectic mixture of styles creates a paradox in the *Yinyuan zhuan*: the high-minded Confucian discourse on the loss of morality and order contrasts and clashes with the focus on carnival and disorder. The result - amusing and shocking at the same time - perplexes the reading audience. It appears as a grotesque sermon on the contemporary state of affairs. The details and descriptions of the historical backdrop suggest that we face the situation of late Ming China in the years between the late 1620s and the fall of the dynasty.

To sum up, both Di Xichen and Chao Yuan, the major student protagonists in the *Yinyuan zhuan*, acquire academic rank and title by purchase. They represent a familiar theme in seventeenth-century Chinese fiction. One of the most famous characters amongst purchased degree holders in seventeenth-century literature is Li Jia 李甲 from the vernacular tale *Du Shiniang nu chen baibao xiang* 杜十娘怒沉百宝箱 (dated 1619-1634) in Feng Menglong's *Jingshi tongyan*.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸YYZ, 26.380.

¹³⁹FHQs, 25.1a.

¹⁴⁰*Jingshi tongyan*, 32.316-326; cf. P. Hanan, 'The Making of *The Pearl-sewn Shirt* and *The Courtesan's Jewel Box*', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 33, 1973, 124-153; S. Rummel, *Die traditionelle chinesische Novelle. Analyse und Übersetzung der Erzählung von der Kurtisane Du Shiniang aus dem Sanyan-Zyklus*, Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1992.

Li Jia shares the main themes with Chao Yuan and Di Xichen: the son of a rich family grows into a good-for-nothing. In spite of extensive schooling he proves incapable of succeeding in the licentiate examination. He prevails upon the current political situation of the late Ming to purchase an academic degree. The title of Imperial Academy member advances him to gentry status. Like Chao Yuan and Di Xichen he proceeds to the Imperial Academy in the capital Beijing where he does not study but whiles away his time with courtesans. The story ends in tragedy. Li Jia loses his love, the courtesan Du Shiniang 杜十娘, because he fails to distinguish real from fake and to recognise the good and virtuous. These are also the very short-comings of both Chao Yuan and Di Xichen characterising the new upstart gentry and fake Confucian scholars of late Ming China in the perception of contemporary writers.

Xie Zhaozhe also witnessed how illiterate sons from wealthy families entered the Imperial Academy by means of money. This gained them scholar elite status. He observed how these men - just like Chao Yuan, Di Xichen and Li Jia - wore ostentatious clothes and frequented the local restaurants and the houses of singing-girls. The local authorities did not dare to take action against them. Xie stated that such people constituted the majority of Imperial Academy members.¹⁴¹ Modern historical scholarship has shown the phenomenon of the illiterate scholar as a widespread problem in particular during and after the Wanli reign.¹⁴² The world of the students in the *Yinyuan zhuan* revolves around these very issues: extravagance, corruption and the loss of political control.

The tale of Li Jia portrays a world threatened by foreign invasion and conquest: in 1592 the Japanese regent Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豐臣秀吉 (1536-1598) invaded Korea, whose king turned to the Chinese court for help. Short of funds, the Ming government started to sell academic degrees for rice, grain and silver, thus setting the stage for Li Jia's drama. The *Yinyuan zhuan* is set in the fifteenth century but its many details refer to a time only a few decades after the setting of *Du Shiniang*. The story of Chao Yuan and Di Xichen unfolds against the background of yet another threat looming on the frontiers of the late Ming state: foreign invaders from the North. The student heroes illustrate from various angles an era of social, moral and political breakdown.

¹⁴¹Wuzazu, 15.44b.

¹⁴²Chan, 1982, 291.

3. Chao Liang

Next to the two major student protagonists some minor characters shed further light on the student culture as depicted in the *Yinyuan zhuan*. One of them is Chao Yuan's half-brother Chao Liang 晁梁. His academic career forms a brief episode in chapters 46 and 90 of the *Yinyuan zhuan*.¹⁴³ The narrating voice tells that Mme Chao employed the teacher Yin Keren 尹克任 from Wucheng to teach Chao Liang from the age of 7 *sui* onwards for a period of ten years. Like Chao Yuan and Di Xichen, Chao Liang does not count among the bright students. Here too intellectual training fails not only because of nature but also because of nurture. The narrating voice points out that Chao Liang turns into an academic dabbler because his teacher fails to teach and guide him with patience and skill.¹⁴⁴ In this respect Chao Liang resembles Chao Yuan and Di Xichen. He too is a child of the imperfect world he inhabits.

Despite his smattering of knowledge from the literary canon Chao Liang starts rising in the academic system via the regular route. After passing the district examination Chao Liang succeeds in the prefectural examination through the favour of his father-in-law. Aged 16 *sui* Chao Liang passes the third and decisive examination as Xu Wenshan 徐文山, the former magistrate of Wucheng county, now promoted to Education Intendant of the Shandong Circuit presides at the examination and wishes to patronise Chao Liang. The reader remembers Xu Wenshan from chapters 20 and 21 as a patron and friend of Mme Chao: he supported her case as an isolated widow against her husband's rapacious clan and when Chao Liang was born he chose the boy's name.¹⁴⁵ At their meeting in the examination place Xu Wenshan reminds Chao Liang of their former friendship and inquires after his family. This makes the other examinees already suspect that Chao Liang will certainly pass and become a licentiate (*xiuca*).¹⁴⁶ In this context the examination topics support this kind of nepotism. The chosen passage from the *Lunyu* states: 'the man in a superior position does not forget friends of long standing'.¹⁴⁷ The second topic, a passage from *Mengzi*, exhorts against reading without understanding - ironic advice to the young heroes in the *Yinyuan zhuan*

¹⁴³YYZ, 46.667-669; 90.1283-1284.

¹⁴⁴YYZ, 46.667.

¹⁴⁵See YYZ, 20.298-21.313.

¹⁴⁶YYZ, 46.668.

¹⁴⁷*Lunyu*, 8/2.

who gain academic honours whilst lacking insight into the classics.¹⁴⁸ Chao Liang's oral examination with Xu shows that his scholarship is still far from accomplished, but Xu lets him pass nevertheless. Chao Liang comes out high on the list of successful candidates.¹⁴⁹ Without much effort he has arrived within the circles of the scholar elite.

Chao Liang receives a higher academic title by virtue of recommendation.¹⁵⁰ When he and Mme Chao join in famine relief and charitable activities during a natural catastrophe in Wucheng county the magistrate recommends them for imperial honours.¹⁵¹ The Chenghua emperor bestows the title of Palace Drafter (*Wenhuadian zhongshu sheren* 文華殿中書舍人) on Chao Liang. However Chao Liang renounces office to be able to stay with Mme Chao in her old age. He has no ambitions to rise in public life and never holds a post in the bureaucratic system.

Chao Liang belongs to the same world of the petty upstart gentry that has produced Chao Yuan and Di Xichen. Chao Liang as a student lacks academic ability and his environment does not provide a propitious setting for his intellectual training. We cannot regard Chao Liang as an ideal student. But unlike Chao Yuan and Di Xichen Chao Liang does not represent an anti-ideal either. As a student he has no special vice. The brevity of description and the pun in his name on 'good' (*liang* 良) underline this aspect. In the shadow of the paragon of virtue Mme Chao Chao Liang follows suit dedicating his life to the service of mankind. His most distinct moral trait is filial piety and devotion to his adopted mother Mme Chao. But here virtue appears as grotesquely overdrawn turning into comedy and verging on perversion.¹⁵²

In his role as a student however Chao Liang mainly acts as the opposite to Chao Yuan and Di Xichen. While they have to spend money and bribe their way into the elite, Chao Liang succeeds with ease on his way through the examination system by virtue of sympathy and favour. What Di Xichen tragi-comically loses after a great deal of effort, Chao Yuan acquires involuntarily and indifferently when

¹⁴⁸*Mengzi*, 7B.3.

¹⁴⁹YYZ, 46.669.

¹⁵⁰YYZ, 90.1283-1284.

¹⁵¹See also section XII.

¹⁵²As for example when he refuses to leave Mme Chao's bed for his nuptial chamber, see YYZ, 49.709.

he is offered and then declines the title of Palace Drafter.¹⁵³ Although Chao Liang does not strive for a Confucian scholar's career he eventually opts for a life dedicated to Confucian values.¹⁵⁴

When we measure Chao Liang on the scale of ideal/anti-ideal and vice/virtue this paradoxical figure reminds us that the positive values in the fictional universe of the *Yinyuan zhuan* are not without comedy and irony. Chao Liang's single-minded devotion to moral values and his effortless rise into the gentry elite provoke laughter. He too comes into sight as a typical citizen of the satirical utopia: like the other (anti-) heroes he has limitations and short-comings betraying the symptoms of a state and society suffering from failed education, nepotism and corruption.

4. Xue Rubian, Xue Rujian and Xiang Yuting

Di Xichen's friends and future brothers-in-law Xue Rubian 薛如卞 and Xue Rujian 薛如兼 and his cousin Xiang Yuting 相于廷 take up formal training under the teacher Cheng Leyu alongside Di Xichen. They appear as students in chapters 33, 37, 38 and 40 within the Di plot.

Xue Rubian, Rujian and Xiang Yuting all are sons of scholars. However their fathers Professor Xue and Xiang Lianyu 相璉字 lack the means to provide their sons with formal training. When Di Yuanwai arranges for Di Xichen's schooling they have the chance to join in for free.¹⁵⁵ The narrating voice emphasises this point by repetition: only Di Yuanwai's patronage enables them to go to the provincial capital twice and sit for the first examinations.¹⁵⁶ Here we deal with the theme of the 'poor bright student' in contrast to the rich and untalented one. The academic progress and moral conduct of Xue Rubian, Rujian and Xiang Yuting systematically put their fellow student Di Xichen to shame. Moreover Di Xichen is the oldest amongst them: the others are two to five years his juniors. In the course of events even the immature child Xue Rujian exceeds Di Xichen in literary skills.¹⁵⁷ In contrast to the sixteen-year old Xichen Xue Rujian aged twelve

¹⁵³YYZ, 90.1283-1284; 83.1180-1188. Di Xichen purchases the title of Palace Drafter but loses it at once because of oversleeping the first imperial audience, see YYZ, ch. 83.

¹⁵⁴See YYZ, 93:1322.

¹⁵⁵YYZ, 33.486.

¹⁵⁶YYZ, 37.544; 38.555.

¹⁵⁷See e.g. YYZ, 33.487-489.

passes the first *tongshi* examination without help.¹⁵⁸

The description of the three bright students is short like most descriptions of ideal characters. Their intellectual skills primarily appear as the antithesis to Di Xichen's. While Xichen still studies *Mengzi*, the teacher sets up a curriculum for Xiang Yuting to read *Xiaoya* 小雅, for Rubian to read *Guofeng* 國風 and for Rujian to read *Xiaojing* 孝經. Xichen is slow to grasp things while the others learn with ease. Xichen has to learn sentence by sentence under the teacher's instruction. Xiang Yuting and Xue Rubian only need correction of their writing mistakes. Xichen has to repeat a sentence hundreds of times. Rujian has already mastered it after only three repetitions. When the three others compose good and correct couplets only Xichen fails at the task.¹⁵⁹

With respect to moral conduct they also contrast with Di Xichen. Their sketchy descriptions lack detail but we never see them indulge in mischief. As assiduous students they devote their time seriously to their studies. When Di Xichen plays his pranks we hear through Xue Rubian the voice of reason and status quo: in a witty slogan he derides Di Xichen as the anti-student.¹⁶⁰ Again on the occasion of Di Xichen's wedding to Xue Sujie Di Xichen fails to grasp the lewd implications of the poems by the master of ceremonies while Xue Rubian pales with outrage and blushes with embarrassment.¹⁶¹ His reaction indicates the limits of what he considers right and proper for a scholar elite family. Xue Rubian concerns himself with image and status.¹⁶² His characteristic trait is the anxiety not to lose face in society, as his warning to his sister Sujie shows later in the narrative when she plans to join a pilgrimage:

Brother-in-law Di [Xichen] has already left school and entered the Imperial Academy so he does not care if people laugh. But us brothers we are still in the critical stage of having to go to school and to face people. (...) I don't so much care if people say it's the wife of Di Xichen, but I am afraid they might say this is the sister of Xue Rubian and Xue Rujian - "her father served a spell as government instructor, and her two brothers are brazening it out in their student's cap, to earn a

¹⁵⁸YYZ, 37.542-543.

¹⁵⁹YYZ, 33.487-489.

¹⁶⁰YYZ, 33.492.

¹⁶¹YYZ, 44.649.

¹⁶²See also Dudbridge, 1991, 244.

sister who behaves like this!”¹⁶³

Xue Rubian's words again underline the plight of the 'poor bright student'. The Xue brothers have gained their and, as the reader remembers, Di Xichen's first degree by literary skills but lack the funds to purchase their way further up in the examination system and rise more quickly. Their status as licentiates contrasts with Di Xichen's more established position as an Academy member and candidate for office. Irony yet again lies in inversion: while Di Xichen owes his first degree to Xue Rubian's intellectual achievement he has outstripped him and risen into the ranks of the scholar elite by means of his father's wealth. The more talented but insolvent students here define themselves clearly as belonging amongst a lower gentry group as compared to the Imperial Academy members and higher degree holders. In the end status alone counts, not the means by which it was achieved, i.e. via the regular route by virtue of talent or via the irregular one by means of wealth. Despite their talent the Xue brothers remain on the fringe of the scholar elite.

The late Ming writer Wu Yingji 吳應箕 (1594-1645) also witnessed the plight of the poor bright student in his days. He noted that the morality of students was at a very low level as a result of the corruption of the government officials. A student's success in the civil service examinations often depended on the wealth and power of his family rather than his talents. Poor scholars who wished to obtain government offices even borrowed money to pay bribes. Those who could not find the necessary money became discouraged and in the long run gave up their hopes of an official career.¹⁶⁴

In the early Qing Huang Liuhong proposed practical measures to eliminate the plight of the poor bright student. Comparing a dismal present with a better past he writes about the necessity to establish free schools. Memories of a utopian past lend authority to his proposals for reform:

In the past wealthy families had private schools while village communities had village schools to train and educate their sons. The specially gifted ones would transfer to the public schools. In a similar way Confucian apprentices nowadays can enter the prefectural schools by examination. Nowadays the sons of wealthy families in most cases do not study although they have the means.

¹⁶³YYZ, 68.979, in part following the translation in Dudbridge, 1991, 244.

¹⁶⁴*Loushantang ji* 樓山堂集, by Wu Yingji 吳應箕, Yueyatang edn., 11.4b-9a; 13.5b-8a.

Poor students cannot study because they do not have the means. Or else wealthy families having every intention to educate their sons engage a private tutor at home but [their sons] still do not study properly. In our days it is not possible for poor students to get together in groups of several families as under the ancient school system. The local authorities moreover regard education as an impractical and not an urgent task. As they do not want to take action with limited funding the ancient school system cannot be revived in our days. Consequently the classics are not taught, education does not flourish and public morals deteriorate.¹⁶⁵

Thus seventeenth-century writers perceived from various vantage-points the problems of the 'poor bright student' that are also at stake in the *Yinyuan zhuan*. The performance of Xue Rubian and Xiang Yuting as students shows great promise for their future. Xue Rubian's behaviour as a model student in moral and intellectual terms earns him a wife from a local scholar elite family. The *juren* degree holder Sir Lian takes a fancy to the bright boy and promises him his daughter in marriage.¹⁶⁶ But after all the poor bright students too belong to the same world of corruption and nepotism as their fellow students. They gladly participate in unlawful practices in the examinations, for what ultimately counts are status and appearances: they have to help Di Xichen so that their families do not lose face.¹⁶⁷ Xie Zhaozhe laughed at students who studied merely for the sake of success in the examination system.¹⁶⁸ Along similar lines the modern historian Chan surveys the loss of integrity among late Ming scholars: 'The typical scholar no longer hesitated to sacrifice his integrity for the sake of riches and power.'¹⁶⁹ Sir Lian's backing of his future son-in-law silences all other candidates who wish to harm Xue Rubian by denouncing him as a newcomer in Mingshui who offends against the law that only natives can participate in the local examinations.¹⁷⁰ Although here we meet images of ideal students the world of the Xue brothers and Xiang Yuting does not lack irony and satire, similar to Chao Liang's case. The poor bright students do their best to keep up appearances and make their world *look* all right however much there might be that is wrong, unjust and unlawful.

¹⁶⁵*FHQS*, 25.11b-12a.

¹⁶⁶*YYZ*, 37.541-542.

¹⁶⁷*YYZ*, 37.541.

¹⁶⁸*Wuzazu*, 13.9b.

¹⁶⁹Chan, 1982, 321.

¹⁷⁰*YYZ*, 37.541-542. Professor Xue settles in Mingshui when Rubian is aged four and Rujian is aged two, see *YYZ*, 25.369.

5. Hou Xiaohuai

We have seen how Chao Yuan and Di Xichen rise by the irregular route as they purchase the title of Imperial Academy student. Hou Xiaohuai 侯小槐 is a minor character in the Di plot who does likewise. His case throws yet a different light on this issue.¹⁷¹ Hou Xiaohuai runs a small medicine shop in Mingshui village.¹⁷² He neither appears in the role of a student nor engages in academic studies. On the contrary he is illiterate. In contrast to Chao Yuan and Di Xichen Hou also lacks any ambitions to rise to academic status. We can characterise Hou's social role simply as a 'non-student'.

Hou however does assume importance as a student when the local government forces him against his will to purchase the title of Imperial Academy student. Here a little local incident intertwines with the fate of the nation. In desperate want of money the imperial court decrees the sale of the *jiansheng* title and fixes quotas for each locality. The attraction for potential buyers consists in obtaining entry into the literati elite. As the voice of the Xiujiang county magistrate outlines, the title implies for its holder -

leading you up to advance on the path to learning. If you hold the title of Imperial Academy student you can wear the Confucian scholar's cap and collar. When you meet a prefectural official, a county official, a literary chancellor or a master of studies, they greet you with respect and call you Great Director of Studies. This means leading you up onto the path to high officialdom...¹⁷³

As so often in the *Yinyuan zhuan* events fail to live up to hopes, ideals and expectations. The voice of the magistrate conjures up nothing but an illusion. Fictional Xiujiang county has to recruit sixteen volunteers. But nobody comes forth. The narrating voice explains:

If the Imperial Academy student would be treated with courtesy by the officials, if he were on a par with the licentiates, the tribute students and the provincial graduates, if he were able to avoid taxes and corvée service, then even a quota of one hundred sixty would be sold out very quickly, let

¹⁷¹Hou appears within the episode on Wang Weilu in ch. 35, 41, 42; esp. YYZ, 42:620-623.

¹⁷²YYZ, 35.514.

¹⁷³YYZ, 42.622.

alone sixteen.¹⁷⁴

In contrast to Chao Yuan and Di Xichen's purchased glory Hou's story reveals the true value of the *jiansheng* title without the backing of social and monetary power. The realities of life as a *jiansheng* do not look rosy: the narrating voice goes on to tell that lower officials humiliate the purchased degree holders by hook or by crook. An Imperial Academy student resembles a 'convicted criminal' living in constant fear of everybody else. Whenever an official passes by he borrows all the possessions of the *jiansheng*, returns them broken or simply distributes them to other lower clerks. Whenever an uprising occurs in the army, the Imperial Academy student has to pay for provisions. In times of famine he has to provide relief, donate money and food in emergencies and give loans upon demand. In a lawsuit he has to bribe at all levels only to be punished harder than any commoner.¹⁷⁵ The narrating voice sums up: 'Imperial Academy students are not only unable to avoid trouble; rather they court disaster.'¹⁷⁶ Hou's experience reveals that the purchased title has lost its value as a status symbol and its power to denote a member of the scholar elite. Here the title neither admits its holder to 'gentry status and privileges' nor does it function as an 'opening for further advancement and official positions', as Chang describes the *jiansheng* status in his study of the Chinese gentry.¹⁷⁷

The late Ming writer Shen Defu tells us that scholars scorned purchased degree holders. Their status did not differ much from that of commoners. The local authorities bullied them. But Shen Defu also admits that the purchased degree holders nevertheless had importance as potential officials and that attitudes changed when they took on office.¹⁷⁸ The *Yinyuan zhuan* paints a bleaker picture.

In Hou's story the imperial court urgently requires money and orders the village elders to conscript all young would-be students from rich families and later any rich people as *jiansheng* volunteers. Only the rich can escape, for they can afford to bribe the conscriptors. When Hou is conscripted as a buyer of the title he files a case with the county magistrate pleading for exemption on the grounds of

¹⁷⁴YYZ, 42.620.

¹⁷⁵See YYZ, 42.620-621.

¹⁷⁶YYZ, 42.621.

¹⁷⁷Chang, 1955, 5.

¹⁷⁸*Wanli yehuo bian*, 15.405.

illiteracy. The magistrate dismisses the case:

You have been conscripted as a Imperial Academy student because you are completely illiterate. If you knew how to read and write a few characters, you should be registered as a farmer and commoner.¹⁷⁹

Bribes, court case and other expenses on 'the upward path towards learning' - including the purchase of the Confucian scholar's dark shoes and sash - deprive Hou of all his possessions and leave him with nothing.¹⁸⁰ The narrating voice points out that Hou represents the rule rather than the exception. Many others share his fate: 'Among ten buyers of the *jiansheng* title nine would be reduced to utter poverty and the misery of a beggar's life before they had actually paid for the title.'¹⁸¹

The story of the forced sale of academic titles takes on wider dimensions when looking at the seventeenth century with the benefit of hindsight. The Ming court on the verge of collapse was in need of money. The threat of the invading Manchu made this issue particularly urgent. The state sold everything - even the much prized status of scholarship, the flagship of its national elite. The drama of Hou and the many other anonymous buyers of the Imperial Academy student title contains tragedy because it fails to fulfil its purpose. Hou's money falls into the hands of local officials and lower officers. Even Hou's ruin fails to help save the dynasty. Corruption in the lower segments of the bureaucracy cancels out any move on the higher levels. Hou Xiaohuai's episode in the *Yinyuan zhuan* leads us into a world in which taxes, the threat of labour service and corrupt officials held the population in constant fear. It is this very fear that inspires Di Xichen to purchase his degree.¹⁸² Unlike Di Xichen Hou Xiaohuai lacks the backing of a wealthy family. In 1635 the scholar Chen Zilong 陳子龍 (1608-1647)¹⁸³ described a similar situation in Jiangnan:

¹⁷⁹YYZ, 42.622.

¹⁸⁰YYZ, 42.623.

¹⁸¹YYZ, 42.621.

¹⁸²See above section VII.2.

¹⁸³On Chen see Hummel, 1944, 102-103; Kang-I Sun Chang, *The Late Ming Poet Ch'en Tzu-lung. Crisis of Love and Loyalism*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991.

Nowadays the people in the Jiangnan area live in dire straits. Some perish because of the demands for tax payments, some perish because of labour service obligations, some perish because of starvation, some perish because of expropriation through corrupt officials, and others perish because of the atrocities of powerful families.¹⁸⁴

The modern historian Atwell has attributed such experiences to a severe economic depression throughout China in the 1630s and 1640s in response to the current conditions of the world market.¹⁸⁵ The brief story of Hou Xiaohuai depicts but one facet of a world deep in crisis.

6. Shan Bao

The story of the student Shan Bao 單豹 forms only a short episode within the Di plot in chapter 25.¹⁸⁶ This episode literally sets the stage for the marital drama of Di Xichen and Xue Sujie: when Shan Bao sells his house in Mingshui Professor Xue and his family find it just the right place to settle in the vicinity of the Di family. The story unfolds as a flashback from this point in the Di plot. It takes place right after the two utopian chapters. Its portrayal of the first individuals in Mingshui portrays a dismal world suggesting that the paradisaical state of Mingshui has become a thing of the past.

Shan Bao is the son of the scholar Shan Yumin 單于民, a professor in Mingshui. The narrating voice tells of his past as a rapacious teacher whose covetousness turns him into the tormentor and even murderer of his pupils.¹⁸⁷ The academic career of Shan Bao develops in response to his father's crimes. Shan Bao's name puns on *shan bao* 善報, good retribution.

The narrating voice portrays Shan Bao at first as a model student. He enters the government school as a *xiucai* aged 18 and becomes a stipendiary student (*lin* 廩). He comes out top in both examinations. Shan Bao achieves the same status as Chao Yuan and Di Xichen. In contrast to the two heroes Shan Bao rises via the regular route and by virtue of academic competence. His moral conduct moreover characterises him as a model Confucian student. The narrating voice tells in brief that he has all the social graces of an aspiring scholar, never using arrogant words

¹⁸⁴*Anyatang gao* 安雅堂稿, by Chen Zilong 陳子龍, repr. Taipei: Weiwen, 1977, 17.7b.

¹⁸⁵Atwell, 1986, 228-229.

¹⁸⁶YYZ, 25.370-373.

¹⁸⁷YYZ, 25.370-371; cf. section VIII.2.

or acting improperly. In short he appears to us as a paragon of Confucian student virtues as for example Huang Liuhong described them. Shan Bao also personifies the perfect Confucian son within the hierarchy of family life. At home he is filial and obedient, never showing the least traces of unruliness - in sharp contrast to Di Xichen and other rebels against Confucian hierarchies in the *Yinyuan zhuan* such as the main heroine Sujie. Furthermore Shan Bao drinks wine with moderation and never lets himself be persuaded to visit the brothels - we see him stay clear of the vices of *jiu* and *se*, thus personifying virtue with respect to the Four Vices. Shan Bao epitomises the ideal student in both intellectual and moral terms.

Everything changes when Shan Yumin becomes a professor and starts committing atrocities spurred mainly by the arch-vices of *cai* and *qi*. In response Shan Bao, then aged thirty, gradually undergoes an odd transformation. His temperament turns sour. He starts to batter his wife, driving her to suicide within two months. He does not hesitate to abuse his parents. The narrating voice describes Shan Bao's change of conduct, his inversion of Confucian virtues and disregard of social harmony and hierarchies as a form of illness, in particular as 'madness' (*bingkuang* 病狂, *xinbing* 心病).¹⁸⁸ Mental breakdown goes hand in hand with physical disintegration. His appearance changes in a grotesque way. Like the evil religious healers who perish in bizarre scenes of violence and destruction,¹⁸⁹ here the model student turns into a monster symbolising a moral universe gone crazy. Moreover he oscillates between bouts of mental and physical sickness and soundness. His form and being turn into a barometer for the moral climate of his environment. Here mind and body of an individual change in response to a fallen world. Corresponding to the retributive flood in a responsive macrocosm the human body as a microcosm reacts to depravity and moral breakdown by an insane and self-destructive rage. Shan Bao turns his world and himself in the midst of it into a nightmare.

After his father's death Shan Bao commits a gross offence against all rules of propriety. He tries to prevent his father's proper burial and to destroy the corpse. Shan Bao metamorphoses into the very antithesis of his former self: he starts indulging in the vices of *jiu* and *se*. He moreover gets obsessed with gambling. The seventeenth-century magistrate Huang Liuhong regarded gambling as a dangerous phenomenon in society and proposed to ban it:

¹⁸⁸YYZ, 25.372, 373.

¹⁸⁹See sections VI.4, 5, 6.

Gambling entices people to become thieves and robbers. In the beginning a gambler squanders the family fortune. Then he starts pilfering. Later he becomes more bold and gains sleight of hand. Finally he has turned into an infamous bandit. Therefore, in order to eradicate theft one has to put a ban on gambling first. In order to put a ban on gambling one has to wipe out gambling dens first. The so-called gambling dens are all resorts of rowdies and ruffians who concentrate on luring depraved youths and philistine vagrants into gambling and lend them money on interest. When a gambler loses they advance money while charging exorbitant interest rates. When a gambler wins they take twenty percent from his winnings as the share of the house. (...) Both the gamblers and the bosses of the gambling dens should be arrested and sent to the district magistrate for trial. They should receive severe punishment and wear the cangue as a warning [to others].¹⁹⁰

Huang Liuhong's measures 'to wipe out gambling dens and to reduce the number of gamblers' reveal gambling as a wide-spread practice in his days. Towards the end of the Qing dynasty the foreign observer Doolittle also noted that

The opening of gambling dens, or the assembling of men for the purpose of gambling, and the manufacture of gambling utensils, as cards, dice, dominoes, etc., are forbidden by law, but are openly practiced. (...) In fact, such is the condition of things here, that it would be next to impossible to prevent gambling (...) without the most extraordinary and determined personal efforts on the part of high officials. It is much more easy for them to let things go on in the accustomed way than to endeavor to execute the laws in regard to this subject.¹⁹¹

Gambling, then, counts as yet another sign of an anti-ideal world lacking the strict enforcement of law and order. But Shan Bao's way of gambling signals absurdity: when he loses, he pays out all he owes to the other party; when he wins, he does not demand anything. Unlike his compatriots in late imperial China Shan Bao in the *Yinyuan zhuan* gambles not for his own pleasure or profit. He gambles his father's wealth away. Shan Bao dramatises not only crime but also punishment.

Shan Bao's life ends in yet another feat of retribution. He dies of syphilis as the consequence of his lascivious life-style. Written as *tianbao chuang* 天報瘡, this illness with its very name signals heavenly retribution.¹⁹² Unlike the other cases of syphilis and physical destruction as retribution in the *Yinyuan zhuan*, such as the

¹⁹⁰FHQs, 23.13b-14a.

¹⁹¹Doolittle, 1876, 346-348.

¹⁹²YYZ, 25.373.

medical pedlar No. Two and the Evil Daoist,¹⁹³ here retribution does not descend on the sufferer to punish him for his own sins. Shan Bao destroys himself when his father's conduct has injected poison into this world. As in the case of Dr Yang, retribution and sick society coexist as two different perceptions of the same phenomena.¹⁹⁴ Shan Bao's acts of social and physical violence present a vision of apocalypse in a universe engulfed in crime and punishment. The scene builds up for the destruction of self and society to culminate in the supernatural flood four chapters later in the narrative.

Shan Bao's outbursts of rage systematically overturn the Confucian code of morals and manners. Shan Bao demonstrates how human society turns topsy-turvy, falling physically, mentally and morally sick in response to a corrupt world. Having spent his father's wealth Shan Bao eventually has to sell his house to his neighbour who lets it out on lease to Professor Xue. This act sets the stage for the drama of the Xue family's life in Mingshui. The backdrop promises nothing good for the ensuing main plot. Indeed the short episode of Shan Bao touches upon the major themes of the *Yinyuan zhuan*: the inversion of social hierarchies and its equation with illness and insanity, the breakdown of the moral order and the human body, the link between physical illness and the morally sick society. In a nutshell Shan Bao epitomises anti-utopia.

The story of the student Shan Bao centres on his participation in a public examination. He appears at the triennial *suikao* 歲考, the test examination for licentiates. Instead of writing an essay however he assumes the voice of his father's victim the late student Cheng Fatang 程法湯, writing out the whole tragedy of Cheng's murder at the hands of Shan Yumin. The result inverts all expectations of his reading audience. The examiner appreciates Shan Bao's work, places him first on the list of successful candidates and hands the case over to the district office for further investigation. There the two voices of the district magistrate and the literary chancellor spell out two different interpretations of the phenomenon Shan Bao. The first states: 'He is mad (*xinbing*).' The latter retorts: 'This is not madness. Rather it is some case of karmic retribution.'¹⁹⁵ The narrating voice does not resolve this paradox. Shan Bao's academic career simply ends in the laconic remark that 'the case was handed up to the higher authorities and the literary chancellor shelved the

¹⁹³See sections V.2 and VI.6.

¹⁹⁴See section IV.1.

¹⁹⁵YYZ, 25.371.

case.’¹⁹⁶ Thus Shan Bao’s heroic deed ends in anti-climax. In a world such as his there is little hope for justice and redemption. Shan Bao’s denunciation of crime wins highest honours in an absurd examination system while nobody further investigates the exposed murder case. Shan Bao’s father Shan Yumin never experiences retribution for his crimes himself. His deeds however throw the entire world off balance: first his son, one of the few model students in the *Yinyuan zhuan*, goes mad turning virtue into vice. Then the entire examination system undergoes a displacement in meaning. The place for recruiting the future elite turns into an arena for legal accusation and karmic retribution. Imperial Chinese citizens indeed perceived the examination compound as a place shrouded by myth and mystery. After all it represented the gateway into the elite, the cross-road to success or failure in life. This made it a most suitable place for hauntings by ghosts and feats of retribution, as Miyazaki tells us in his study of China’s examination hell.¹⁹⁷ Shan Bao’s story presents one example.

Paradoxically madness here means both the loss of sanity and the revelation of truth. Madness manifests itself as the inversion of normality, as physical illness, sick morality and grotesque disintegration. Shan Bao’s madness systematically inverts the Confucian moral universe, the proper ways of student behaviour, the meaning of the examination system and the goal of an academic career. The examinations reveal a world out of touch with reality requiring a mental exercise devoid of value and importance. Propositions and values articulated in the examinations lose their meaning within a malfunctioning bureaucracy. State and society in the *Yinyuan zhuan* lack an arbiter of justice and efficient authorities to ensure the execution of law and order.

¹⁹⁶YYZ, 25.371.

¹⁹⁷Miyazaki, 1976, 46-50, 53-55.

VIII

Teachers

Those students who passed the first hurdle in the examination system belonged to the transitional group of licentiates. They held scholar status but not yet the qualification for taking up office in the civil service. While the population of China approximately doubled during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the number of licentiates increased twenty times. By the late Ming this group had reached unprecedented numbers. Apart from the demographic factor political circumstances and new trends in intellectual thought contributed to this rise.¹ In the sixteenth century Wang Yangming and his followers caused a revolution in education by appealing to the masses and fostering a general interest in learning.² As Ho Ping-ti observes:

... we find agricultural tenants, firewood gatherers, potters, brick burners, stone masons, and men from other humble walks of life attending public lectures and chanting classics. Not a few of these humble men eventually became famous. Never before and never afterward, in traditional China,

¹Cf. W. S. Atwell, 'From Education to Politics: the *Fu She*', in Wm. T. de Bary, ed., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, 333-367, 336-338.

²On Wang Yangming's school of thought see Wm. T. de Bary, 'Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought', in Wm. T. de Bary, ed., *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, 145-247, Shimada Kenji 島田虔次, *Chûgoku ni okeru kindai shii no zasetsu* 中国における近代思惟の挫折, Tokyo: Chikuma, 1949; Hou Wailu 侯外廬, *Zhongguo sixiang tongshi* 中國思想通史, vols. 4.2, Beijing: Renmin, 1960, 875-911; Ono Kazuko 小野和子, 'Jukyô no itanshatachi' 儒教の異端者たち, in Matsumoto Sannosuke 松本三之介, ed., *Taidô suru Ajia* 胎動するアジア, Tokyo: Heibon, 1966, 1-46.

were so many people willing to accept their fellowmen for their intrinsic worth or did they approach more closely the true Confucian ideal that “in education there should be no class distinctions.”³

Moreover the government no longer controlled the quotas for licentiates. Virtually no limits existed on the number of students who could pass the first examination and become licentiates. This new phenomenon in Chinese society however entailed new problems. The quotas for the *juren* and *jinshi* degrees remained strictly limited, producing congestion at the threshold into the elite of degree-holders and scholar-officials. The Japanese historian Miyazaki has estimated that during the Ming and Qing one out of a hundred licentiates would ever graduate while one out of three thousand licentiates would succeed in getting the highest (i.e. *jinshi*) degree.⁴ As a result a large group of frustrated ‘eternal licentiates’ emerged.⁵

As long-term degree candidates their greatest problem was how to pay for the years of preparing for higher examinations. Many of them came from poor or impoverished families. Their lack of financial resources reduced their options of seeking success to advancing via the regular route through the examination system. Their plight was how to make a living in the meantime. The narrating voice in the *Yinyuan zhuan* holds a verbose satirical monologue on this issue. As potential career options for the unemployed scholar the narrating voice proposes to become a book-dealer, a dung carrier and distributor of night-soil, a coffin salesman, or a sycophant to the mandarin. In typical style the narrating voice takes the reader on a tour to the latrines - the filthiest corners of society - and to those places in the state system most tainted by corruption and venality. The narrating voice concludes that after all the only viable option for the scholar is the teaching profession. But to achieve happiness the scholar must understand the way of teaching.⁶

Most licentiates in the *Yinyuan zhuan* on their way up the ‘ladder to the azure

³Ho Ping-ti, 1962, 199; *Lunyu*, 15/39. Thousands of farmers, artisans and merchants flocked to the lectures Han Zhen 韓貞, a Taizhou philosopher and potter; see *Mingru xue'an* 明儒學案, by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1985, 32.720.

⁴Cf. Miyazaki, 1976, 122.

⁵Famous examples include Feng Menglong (cf. Hanan, 1981, 75-97) and Pu Songling (cf. A. Barr, ‘Pu Songling and the Qing Examination System’, *Late Imperial China* 7.1, June 1986, 87-111).

⁶YYZ, 33.478-482.

clouds' (*bubu qingyun* 步步青雲)⁷ into officialdom support themselves by teaching. So did many licentiates in late imperial China. As Chang notes in his study of the late imperial Chinese gentry and their sources of income, teaching posts were readily available to licentiates looking for employment.⁸ Teaching arrangements in traditional China limited the number of students per teacher. The great number of students studying for the civil service examinations ensured the demand for teachers. Emphasising the influence of the Wang Yangming school of thought the historian Atwell notes that

more people were being exposed to basic Confucian education during late Ming times than ever before, and it would not be unreasonable to postulate that this increasing interest in learning, coupled with the pressure of the steadily growing population, eventually created an unprecedented demand for instruction above the elementary level.⁹

After the students the teachers appear as the next group on the social ladder. In the following we shall look at several teachers in the *Yinyuan zhuan* whose personalities and professional role are portrayed in detail.¹⁰

1. Shu Zhong

The character Shu Zhong 舒忠 appears as the first teacher in the *Yinyuan zhuan*.¹¹ Living in Mingshui during its time as a paradise (in chapter 23) he personifies one citizen of utopia.

As a licentiate with the status of a stipend student (*linshan* [*shengyuan*] 廩善[生員]) he ranks as a scholar. Although he lives in poverty he comes from a family of scholars. Shu Zhong finds employment as a private tutor in the household

⁷Cf. Robert M. Marsh, *The Mandarins. The Circulation of Elites in China, 1600-1900*, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, 4. The expression stems from *Shiji* 79.2414.

⁸See Chang, 1962, 90.

⁹Atwell, 1970, 337.

¹⁰Other teachers appear in ch. 33, 38, 46.667, 62.891-892, 92.1307, 98.1396-1398 but lack specific features. On teachers in early Qing fiction see A. Barr, 'Four Schoolmasters. Educational Issues in Li Hai-kuan's *Lamp at the Crossroads*', in Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside, eds., *Education and Society in Late Imperial China 1600-1900*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1994, 50-75.

¹¹YYZ, 23.347-349.

of a wealthy landlord called Mr Li 李. His professional task is to teach Mr Li's two sons Xibo 希白 aged 8 *sui* and Xiyu 希裕 aged 6 *sui* and prepare them for the first public examination. His salary includes forty taels per annum, gifts for all the four seasons and clothes for summer and winter. Moreover his employer treats him with great respect. The narrating voice stresses that Shu Zhong receives generous pay. In the late Wanli period the tutors of the heir to the throne would receive less benefits from the imperial household. One of them, Zhu Guozhen 朱國禎 (1557-1632), looked back to his previous post as a private teacher with nostalgia:

When we first became licentiates our salary for teaching would never be below fifty or sixty taels per annum. Moreover our students would often make generous presents. Now that we have become tutors to the royal family we receive a mere thirty taels plus we have to pay for our meals.¹²

A provincial tutor in the late Ming would have considered Shu Zhong's reward as fair remuneration.¹³ Compared to the wealth of landlords, merchants and scholar-officials however Shu Zhong's salary does not amount to much. His private teaching post would let him and his family live in comfort though not in luxury.

The narrating voice introduces Shu Zhong first as a man famous for his morality and only then as a scholar. The narrating voice emphasises elsewhere the lack of greed as an essential virtue in a teacher: 'When it comes to [students] from poor families who have no means to pay their school fees, I would not ask for money but teach them for free so that they may grow into useful people.'¹⁴ The model stems from Confucius himself who expressed his attitude towards teaching thus: 'I have never refused to teach anyone who offers as much as a bundle of dried meat as a gift of his own accord.'¹⁵ Shu Zhong remains satisfied with his salary and position, for he knows no greed.

Shu Zhong's place in utopia does not mean that he has no flaws. The

¹²*Yongchuang xiaopin* 湧幢小品, by Zhu Guozhen 朱國禎, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1959, 1.20-21.

¹³Mr Di pays Teacher Cheng 24 taels per annum plus gifts, see *YYZ*, 33.486. On teachers' salaries in Qing China (generally 20-30 taels) see E. Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979, 54-61; in Qing fiction (around 30-40 taels), see Barr 1994, 66.

¹⁴*YYZ*, 35.510.

¹⁵*Lunyu*, 7/7.

narrating voice marks him as a dilettante. His literary capacities may have limits but he plays his role in society to perfection. His employer's generosity and respect enable Shu Zhong to pour his efforts into teaching his pupils. His labour pays off. After three years his pupils have exhausted his skills. Shu Zhong realises and admits that he can teach them no more. His modesty compels him to resign his post despite its benefits in order not to delay his pupils' progress. The narrating voice praises Shu Zhong's sense of responsibility and virtue: 'If there was a licentiate without moral conduct in such a situation, what would he care about delaying [his pupils' progress].'¹⁶ Shu Zhong suggests to Mr Li to employ a better and 'enlightened' teacher (*mingshi* 明師) in his stead. Lacking professional jealousy Shu Zhong himself introduces Mr Li to a famous scholar as his successor. Shu Zhong's virtues, in particular his modesty and lack of covetousness, make him a teacher in utopia after all.

The denouement of Shu Zhong's story carries a clear didactic message. Shu Zhong's reward for his uprightness consists in his and his family's rise into the scholar-official elite. First, his former pupils both succeed in passing the first examination at the age of 14 *sui*. Mr Li declines on behalf of his sons all subsequent offers of marriage into wealthy families. He instead insists on marrying them to Shu Zhong's daughters. Later both sons become scholar-officials in high positions. Second, Shu Zhong himself eventually graduates as a senior licentiate (*gongsheng*). His new status elevates him above the group of licentiates and enables him to hold office in the imperial bureaucracy.¹⁷ Special quotas for *gongsheng* in the *juren* examination would moreover give him advantages over the licentiates. He thus becomes a member of the privileged elite. Shu Zhong first takes on a post as an assistant director of studies (*xundao* 訓導) in a prefectural school and later rises to the position of assistant prefect (*tongpan* 通判). His reward consists in the fulfilment of any Confucian scholar's ambitions. Shu Zhong's intellectual limitations do not spoil his performance as an ideal teacher. In the last analysis virtue alone is what counts.

Shu Zhong dramatises the image of the teachers from a utopian past as the narrating voice perceives it:

Those who in the past worked as teachers after all had to be profound in their learning and

¹⁶YYZ, 23.347.

¹⁷Cf. Chang, 1955, 7; Ho, 1962, 27.

outstanding in their morality. (...) But it was not only their scholarship that qualified them as teachers. Most important, their virtue, moral conduct, integrity and character presented a model for their students to emulate.¹⁸

This statement reiterates traditional concepts. In the seventeenth century Huang Liuhong called to mind the ancient classic *Yijing*: ‘Instructing the young in correct behaviour is what the sage accomplishes.’¹⁹ Following the ideal of the ancients Huang too stressed that a teacher should transmit scholarship as well as morality:

How could the teacher not put his efforts into moulding the character whilst merely paying attention to reading and recitation?²⁰

The utopian ambience of Shu Zhong’s story culminates in a hyperbolic happy ending for all its actors. Shu Zhong and his pupils succeed in climbing the ‘ladder to the clouds’. Virtuous conduct meets with its due reward. But the reward here does not link to the Buddhist concept of retribution in a next life. Its this-worldly outcome responds to the Confucian gentleman’s ideals. In view of the career prospects for licentiates in the seventeenth century Shu Zhong dramatises a teacher’s utopia true to the Confucian spirit.

2. Shan Yumin

After Shu Zhong three major teachers appear in the Di plot. One by one they demonstrate how the world of the Di plot falls short of utopia. The first of them is Shan Yumin 單于民 in chapter 25.²¹ We have already met him and his son Shan Bao among the students.²² Shan Yumin, a former assistant director of studies (*xundao*) in a prefectural school in Nanyang, Henan province, enters the narrative when his turn comes to take on a professorship on a temporary assignment in Mingshui. Shan Yumin’s task is to teach licentiates in a government school. In contrast to the private tutor Shu Zhong, Shan Yumin holds an official teaching post. This position allows him to live in modest circumstances. We learn nothing

¹⁸YYZ, 35.510.

¹⁹FHQS, 25.15a. *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1.32b.

²⁰FHQS, 25.15a.

²¹YYZ, 25.370-373.

²²Cf. section VII.6.

about his intellectual abilities. The narrative focuses on his moral conduct in the role of a teacher.

Shan Yumin's name puns on 'good to the people' (*shan yu min* 善於民). His name however turns out to be a euphemism. The narrating voice remarks that he develops a disposition for cruelty. When new licentiates enter his school he starts to exploit them until he has extorted all their possessions. One of his students is Cheng Fatang.²³ Orphaned since childhood, Cheng marries into a widow's family. His wife and mother-in-law encourage his studies but it takes a long time until he gets admission to sit for the first examination because he lacks the means to pay bribes. He eventually succeeds and enters government school as a licentiate to study under Shan Yumin. Shan Yumin's greed forces Cheng to sell everything, even the jewellery of his wife and his mother-in-law. He has to pawn their clothes, reducing the family to poverty. Once on the occasion of a festival Cheng pays his respect to Shan Yumin. Shan shows himself dissatisfied with Cheng's gift, flies into a rage and orders his janitors to cane him. The wounds Cheng receives from the caning cause his death within a few days.²⁴ Shan Yumin's craving for wealth and indulgence in wrath - the vices of *cai* and *qi* - make him the bane of his students. Shan Yumin abuses his position of power while abandoning his role of teaching.

The narrating voice perceives vice and misconduct not only in one but in the majority of contemporary teachers.²⁵ In his study of education in the Ming dynasty the modern historian Grimm describes covetousness in teachers as a common phenomenon.²⁶ Teachers in government schools did not receive any official salary. They depended on gifts from students and the income from the land owned by the school. The seventeenth-century thinker Gu Yanwu deplored the greed he perceived in the teachers of his days.²⁷ He quoted the philosopher Lu Shiyi 陸世儀 (1611-1672) who endorsed the Confucian ideal of teachers without office or salary who should hold a special position in society by virtue of their moral conduct rather

²³Cf. section VII.6.

²⁴YYZ, 25.370-371.

²⁵YYZ, 35.511.

²⁶Grimm, 1960, 84.

²⁷*Rizhi lu jishi*, 17.35a.

than rank or title.²⁸ This attitude may have accounted for the fact that the profession did not seem attractive to the literati. An entry in the *Mingshi* on the fifteenth century states that *juren* degree-holders detested the teaching profession.²⁹ Teachers ranked lowest in the hierarchy of officials. Although Chang Chung-li points out that in imperial China teaching was regarded as an 'honourable profession for the gentry,'³⁰ Grimm maintains that the social status of teachers generally remained low and as a consequence *juren* graduates rarely took on provincial teaching posts. The majority of teachers and school directors came from the tribute system, holding titles of *suigong*, *gongshi*, *engong* or *jiansheng*.³¹ The *Yinyuan zhuan* likewise depicts as teachers those who hold licentiate status (and sometimes another academic rank as well) but not (or not yet) the *juren* degree.

Vice, in particular covetousness, in teachers indeed posed a problem in the Ming. Imperial edicts were issued to exhort teachers as for example in 1382: 'The teacher should epitomise the way of the ancient sages and put every effort into teaching to guide the uneducated.'³² Another edict from 1462 denounced greed and licentiousness in teachers.³³ In 1518 Wang Yangming proposed to reform the education system and issued instructions and school regulations to teachers. He deplored the low level of morality of contemporary teachers in provincial schools in contrast to the ideal teachers of the ancient past.³⁴ In the seventeenth century Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) assigned to government teachers a key role in society. In his *Mingyi daifang lu* 明夷待訪錄, a blueprint for ideal society, he affirmed their moral function and social responsibility:

When in any region sacrifices are held that violate the rites, when clothes are worn against the legal regulations, when local markets offer useless things, when corpses are abandoned without burial, when people listen to the songs of actors, and when vulgar words fill the streets, then the

²⁸*Rizhilu jishi*, 17.36a-36b. On Lu Shiyi see Hummel, 1970, 548-549.

²⁹*Mingshi*, 69.1680.

³⁰Chang, 1962, 89.

³¹See Grimm, 1960, 82.

³²*Da Ming huidian* 大明會典, by Li Dongyang 李東陽 et al., revised by Shen Shixing 申時行 et al., 1587 edn., repr. Taipei: Wenhai, 1964, 78.6a.

³³*Da Ming huidian*, 78.13b.

³⁴*Chuanxi lu* 傳習錄, by Wang Shouren 王守仁, in *Wang Wenchengong quanshu* 王文成公全書, Sibuyi edn., repr. Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1935, 2.70-71.

educational official in the local Confucian government school fails to fulfil his task.³⁵

The imagery of covetousness and cruelty in the story of Shan Yumin takes on an almost allegorical meaning:

... today's teachers have the same cast of mind as today's officials. The officials of the past as a matter of course served their sovereign and provided for the people. The officials of our days merely exploit the people to enrich themselves. Therefore, if they do not get the favour of their sovereign, they will only hanker after their own profit. The teachers of the past as a matter of course wanted to teach and transmit the traditions of the past to the next generation. The teachers of our days merely teach for the sake of the school fees to make a living. Therefore, if someone is unable to pay his school fee, they behave like the magistrates who get furious because the people cannot pay their taxes.³⁶

The narrating voice describes Shan Yumin as the very antithesis of the teachers of the past.³⁷ The portrayal of this teacher as the tormentor and murderer of his students projects the grim face of the narrative present. The narrating voice perceives Shan Yumin not only as a typical teacher but also as representing a universal phenomenon of his time.

The portrayal of Shan Yumin as a vice-figure leaves little space for amusement. We witness a nightmare. A teacher administering corporeal punishment on a student did not count as extraordinary in traditional China. Already the *Shujing* mentions the cane as a means to discipline students.³⁸ The seventeenth-century *Fuhui quanshu* confirms that caning as a form of punishment serves the purpose of education.³⁹ But here a teacher has his student beaten to death only to gratify his greed. As in the case of the doctor Ai Qianchuan, the vice of covetousness incites Shan Yumin to murder.

The *Fuhui quanshu* distinguishes between seven kinds of homicide.⁴⁰ In the

³⁵*Mingyi daifang lu* 明夷待訪錄 (written 1662/63), by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981, 'Xuexiao' 學校, 13.

³⁶YYZ, 35.510-511.

³⁷YYZ, 25.370.

³⁸*Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, 3.14a.

³⁹FHQs, 12.4b.

⁴⁰FHQs, 14.9b-16a.

case of intentional murder (*gusha* 故殺) as happens here the *Fuhui quanshu* prescribes the punishment of death by decapitation after investigation at court.⁴¹ The *Fuhui quanshu* informs us that the duty to examine the corpse and lead the investigation would fall on the magistrate.⁴² But in Shan's case no magistrate investigates the crime. Only a local scholar-official living in retirement examines the corpse and files a suit to expose the murder case. The authorities however seek profit, not justice. Shan Yumin only receives a beating and has to pay bribes. In the end he and his janitors suffer no more than demotion. The failure to punish this teacher for his vices and crimes lies with the contemporary bureaucracy. In exposing corruption as the bane of its time Shan Yumin's story strikes a key note in the *Yinyuan zhuan*.

Retribution descends not on Shan Yumin but instead on his son Shan Bao. Shan Yumin's crimes disturb the harmony in the microcosm of his household. They cause the inversion of filial piety, the loss of respect for elders, the proliferation of vices and eventually the end of his family line, as the story of Shan Bao's systematic self-destruction demonstrates.⁴³ Indirectly Shan Yumin also upsets the balance of the macrocosm. He is the first to bear responsibility for the fall of Mingshui and the loss of its paradise. He is also the first to provoke the wrath of the gods and their subsequent purging of the village by the flood. Physical illness and abnormalities develop in humans in response to the crimes of humanity that start with Shan Yumin's.⁴⁴ The cycle of nature collapses, too, resulting in the failure of harvest, drought and flood. Famine, cannibalism and epidemics ensue.⁴⁵ The structure of society turns topsy-turvy as individuals disregard its traditional values. Extravagance takes over and fashions change.⁴⁶ The story of the major protagonists (in particular Di Xichen and Xue Sujie) echoes the very consequences of Shan's sins. Taking over the stage from the Shan family, the Xue and Di families play out the hell of inverted hierarchies and dysfunctioning relationships. In short, retribution for Shan Yumin's deeds engulfs the world around him. Shan Yumin appears as the one who triggers the drama of anti-utopia.

⁴¹*FHQ*S, 14.10b-11a.

⁴²*FHQ*S, 14.4a-7b; 16.1a-31b.

⁴³See section VII.6.

⁴⁴*YYZ*, 27.392, 403.

⁴⁵*YYZ*, 27.390-391.

⁴⁶*YYZ*, ch. 26-28.

3. Wu Xuezhou

The next teacher we encounter in Mingshui is Wu Xuezhou 吳學周. He makes a brief appearance in chapter 31.⁴⁷ After the flood that supernatural forces release over Mingshui the balance of nature collapses. Subsequently a prolonged period of drought and an unnatural cold spell result in famine plunging the population into a plight that leads to cannibalism.⁴⁸ A list of such incidents climaxes in the story of Wu Xuezhou.⁴⁹

Wu Xuezhou's academic standing remains obscure except for the fact that he has not been teaching for long. The narrating voice calls him by his name without any reference to academic titles, an indication perhaps that Wu does not even rank as a licentiate. We learn nothing about his professional abilities. His name however contains a pun on *wu xue* 無學, 'lacking learning'. Wu Xuezhou runs a private school. He teaches more than ten pupils aged eleven to twelve *sui*. Different from Shan Yumin, Wu accepts any pupil willing to attend without demanding school fees. His motives however are far from noble.

Within a fortnight three of Wu Xuezhou's pupils have disappeared. Their families believe that the boys were kidnapped on the road and devoured by the starving as happens in other incidents in Mingshui.⁵⁰ One of Wu's other pupils is the son of a noodle-shop keeper. Worried about his son's security, his father escorts him to school every day. When his son fails to return home one day, the man searches for him at school. Wu prevaricates but the father insists that his son cannot be elsewhere. While they argue the father suddenly sees his son peep his head out of Wu's private rooms and then withdraw again. All spectators - father and reader alike - feel relief that the suspicions about cannibalism seem not to have come true. Everyone believes the pupil after all alive and safe in Wu's place.

Many seventeenth-century citizens would have shared the worries of the anonymous father. Survival cannibalism in times of natural disasters and man-made emergency situations such as war and siege has a long history in China. In a recent study the modern historian Chong defines this kind of cannibalism as a normally prohibited behaviour occurring only in times of crises. He calls it an 'act of

⁴⁷YYZ, 31.452-454.

⁴⁸YYZ, 31.450.

⁴⁹YYZ, 31.451-452.

⁵⁰YYZ, 27.391; 31.451-452.

desperation arising by circumstance rather than by design' which even those who depend on it for survival would condemn under normal circumstances.⁵¹ The earliest references found stem from the summer of 594 BC.⁵² Modern historians have little doubt about the existence of survival cannibalism.⁵³ Historical records since the Han dynasty yield a mass of data on this subject.⁵⁴ Late Ming records mention the occurrence of survival cannibalism in Shandong province during the years 1615, 1616, 1640 and 1641 among numerous other incidents elsewhere in China.⁵⁵ Famine and cannibalism also continued to take their toll during the Qing.⁵⁶

In the *Yinyuan zhuan* the shock follows when the father forces his way into Wu Xuezhou's private rooms. He calls his son but gets no answer. The reader understands only in retrospect that his son's reappearance at Wu's door was but a supernatural vision helping to disclose the facts. The father discovers a pot of soup simmering on the stove in Wu's kitchen and recognises the human remains of his son inside. In Wu's house he also finds the clothes of his son and the three other pupils who disappeared earlier. Human flesh was cooked into soup in China already in the period of the Warring States (475-221 BC).⁵⁷ Copious references to cannibalism in Ming fiction render boiling as the most popular image for preparing

⁵¹Key Ray Chong, *Cannibalism in China*, Wakefield, New Hampshire: Longwood Academic, 1990, 1.

⁵²*Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, (Xuanguong 宣公, 15th year) 24.9b; (Aigong 哀公, 8th year) 58.14b. *Shiji*, 38.1629, 40.1702.

⁵³See Kuwabara Jitsuzô 桑原鷺藏, 'Shina ningen ni okeru shokujinniku no fûshû' 支那人間に於ける食人肉の風習, *Tôyô gakuhô* 東洋学報 14.1, July 1924, 1-62; Chong, 1990, 55; Nakano Miyoko 中野美代子, *Kanibarizumu ron* カニバリズム論, Tokyo: Fukutake, 1987, 161.

⁵⁴Cf. Chong, 1990, 45-46, 55-77, 107-115.

⁵⁵*Qingzhou fuzhi* 青州府志, Qing impression of Wanli edn., (preface 1673), 20.28a-28b, 30a; *Mingshi*, 24.328; 30.511; *Chongzhen shilu* 崇禎實錄, ed. Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1971, 13.243; *Jinan fuzhi* 濟南府志; facsimile of 1893 edn. (preface 1840), 20.18b.

⁵⁶See *Qingshi gao* 清史稿, ed. Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1976, 14.1648-1655.

⁵⁷*Zhan' guo ce zhushi* 戰國策注釋, by Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6 BC), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1990, 1248-1249.

human flesh.⁵⁸ In the *Yinyuan zhuan* it comes out that the teacher Wu Xuezhou opened his school in order to partake of his fat and healthy pupils such as the noodle-shop keeper's son. A weak constitution on the other hand would spare a pupil's life. The modern scholar Kwang-chih Chang has doubted the practice of gourmet cannibalism in China.⁵⁹ The fear of famine, murder and cannibalism however must have been real to many seventeenth-century Chinese citizens. Ye Shaoyuan 葉紹袁 (fl. early 17th century) gave an eye-witness account of the year 1642:

As to cannibalism: in the past I heard that it existed in Shandong and Henan but I had doubts about it. Nowadays it occurs often within and outside of Suzhou city. (...) The authorities have imposed severe penalties but people continue to commit such acts.⁶⁰

Pu Songling described in the *Liaozhai zhiyi* how the fear of hunger and cannibalism in 1640 drove a man to selling his wife.⁶¹ Tang Menglai 唐夢賚 (1627-1698), a friend of Pu Songling, watched an incident of cannibalism in Shandong in 1640 when famine ensued after a long drought. He reported on a father killing and eating his son and a younger brother preying on his sick older brother. Later he recalled the fear among the population: 'That year we often bolted our doors and dared not to go out.'⁶² When five thousand rebels suffered decapitation after attacking Puzhou 濮州 in Shandong during the same year starving people devoured their

⁵⁸*Shuihu quanzhuan* 水滸全傳, attributed to Shi Nai'an 施耐庵 and Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1953, repr. Hong Kong, 1976, 11.167, 27.427-431, 44.716; *Xiyou ji*, 20.230; 28.322-324; 29.326, 328; 42.481-485; 49.562; 72.821; 73.832; 77.879-880; 78.893; 86.977-978.

⁵⁹Kwang-chih Chang, ed., *Food in Chinese Culture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977, 243; but compare Chong, 1990, xi.

⁶⁰*Qizhen jiwenu* 啟禎記聞錄, by Ye Shaoyuan 葉紹袁, Tongshi edn., 2.10b. Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805) described the late Ming situation in similar terms in his *Yuwei caotang biji* 閱微草堂筆記, ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1980, 8.161-162.

⁶¹'Liu Xing' 劉姓, in *Liaozhai zhiyi*, 7.879-882.

⁶²*Zhihetang zaji* 志壑堂雜集, by Tang Menglai 唐夢賚, ed. *Zhaodai congshu* 昭代叢書, 8.8a-8b. Cf. also A. Barr, "Pu Songling and *Liaozhai zhiyi*: A Study of Textual Transmission, Biographical Background, and Literary Antecedents", D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University 1983, 109.

corpses.⁶³ The *Yinyuan zhuan* states that fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers, husbands and wives killed and devoured each other.⁶⁴ According to Sima Guang's 司馬光 (1019-1086) *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 cannibalism among fathers and sons already existed in 135 BC.⁶⁵ The *Hou Hanshu* mentions cannibalism among husbands and wives in AD 170.⁶⁶ The gazetteer of Qingzhou prefecture, Shandong, records that in 1616 famine drove people into cannibalism. First people devoured only corpses but later they also preyed on the living without concern whether father or son, wife or husband, elder or younger brother. Some sold human flesh in the market while others salted it at home to guard against worse times to come.⁶⁷ The gazetteer of Jinan also mentions cases of fathers killing and eating their sons in 1641.⁶⁸ Such scenes took place not only in Shandong. Dai Li 戴笠 (fl. 1670) noted that during the Chongzhen reign markets for human flesh opened in Shanxi, a mother killed and ate her daughter and a son killed, roasted and ate his parents.⁶⁹ Other late Ming observers depicted cannibalism between kinsfolk during the siege of Kaifeng by the rebel leader Li Zicheng in the autumn of 1642.⁷⁰ The *Yinyuan zhuan* cites the proverbs people reiterated to rationalise their plight: 'To have [the body of one's relative] eaten by strangers is not as good as eating it oneself to survive.' And: 'If I am not killed, I shall starve to death. It is better to die earlier and escape suffering whilst saving somebody else.' The local history of Tancheng 鄒城 county in southern Shandong quotes very similar proverbs as common currency in 1640 and 1641 - a time when even friends no longer dared to

⁶³*Huailing liukou shizhong lu* 懷陵流寇始終錄, by Dai Li 戴笠, in *Xuanlantang congshu xuji* 玄覽堂叢書續集, ed. Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, Nanjing: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1947, 13.21b.

⁶⁴YYZ, 31.451.

⁶⁵*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, by Sima Guang 司馬光, ed. Beijing: Guji, 1956, 17.575.

⁶⁶*Hou Hanshu*, 8.331.

⁶⁷*Qingzhou fuzhi*, 20.28a-28b.

⁶⁸*Jinan fuzhi*; 20.18b.

⁶⁹*Huailing liukou shizhong lu*, 6.8b, 9.11b, 13a.

⁷⁰*Shoubian rizhi* 守汴日志 (1643), by Li Guangdian 李光壁 (1596-1662), ed. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 1987, 28; *Daliang shoucheng ji jianzheng* 大梁守城記箋証, by Liu Yi'an 劉益安, ed. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 1982, 106.

walk together in the fields.⁷¹ The fall of the Ming government did not change the situation. A famine in Sichuan in 1647 for example claimed thousands of lives and resulted in cannibalism. One observer, Gu Shanzhen 顧山貞 (fl. mid-17th century), noted that since the dynastic transition disorder in society had gone so far that husbands ate their wives and fathers ate their children. In the markets men's flesh sold for seven cash per cattie, women's for eight. Even the offspring of the literati elite such as the youngest son of the Grand Secretary Liu Yuliang 劉宇亮 (*jinshi* 1619) from Mianzhou 綿州 in Sichuan fell prey to the hunger of bandits.⁷² Such images - showing the collapse of social order in the extreme - form the backdrop to Wu Xuezhou's story and the drama of the Di family.

The father gets his revenge for the cannibalism of the teacher Wu Xuezhou. He brings the case before the magistrate. The magistrate has Wu and his wife flogged and thrown into the city moat as living food for the starving. In a recent study the historian Chong describes learned cannibalism in contrast to survival cannibalism as an institutionalised and culturally sanctioned practice.⁷³ Modern scholarship has found many motives for learned cannibalism in China such as punishment, hate, love, loyalty, filial piety, taste, and medical treatment.⁷⁴ In Wu's death scene the narrating voice and also the reading audience appreciate that the vice-figure receives his due retaliation. Whilst reeling from Wu's cannibalism the spectator here sanctions cannibalism by sharing the perspective of the narrating voice and participating in the narrative ironies. Wu Xuezhou's deed differs from all traditions of cannibalism. It takes us to the limits of carnival, the celebration of disorder, destruction and death. Wu's representation reaches the extremes of the grotesque in inverting the ideal of the teacher's role in society into the imagery of cannibalism. Wu embodies the very antithesis of the 'renowned teacher' (*mingshi* 名師) whom the narrating voice mentions as a potential saviour of society in times of disaster.⁷⁵

⁷¹*Tancheng xianzhi* 郟城縣志, by Feng Kegan 馮可參, 1673 edn., 9.9; cf. J. Spence, *The Death of Woman Wang*, New York: The Viking Press, 1978, 5.

⁷²*Kedian shu* 客滇述, by Gu Shanzhen 顧山貞, ed. Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1969, 21.

⁷³Chong, 1990, 2.

⁷⁴See Chong, 1990, 46-54, 79-103, 115-123; Kuwabara, 1924, 32-59. *Gegu* 割股, cutting flesh off one's thigh to cure relatives, is mentioned in *YYZ*, 4.53; 36.537; 52.759-760.

⁷⁵*YYZ*, 31.455.

The late Ming scholar-official Lü Kun regarded cannibalism as the result of extravagance and excess, in particular the local official's failure to rule with a strong hand and to maintain the law.⁷⁶ The *Yinyuan zhuan* too projects the imagery of cannibalism as a sign of social disorder. Wu Xuezhou takes on a metaphoric dimension in representing the Confucian teacher as a man-eating monster. This image anticipates the early twentieth-century short story *Kuangren riji* 狂人日記 by Lu Xun. The 'Diary of a Madman' takes the metaphor of social satire further and describes the whole tradition of Confucianism as a cannibal culture.⁷⁷ The *Yinyuan zhuan* however depicts not Confucian culture but the perversion of Confucianism as cannibal. Carnival, satire by inversion and the grotesque here dramatise the fiction of anti-utopia *par excellence*.

⁷⁶*Shizheng lu* 實政錄 (1598), by Lü Kun 呂坤, ed. Zhejiang shuju, 1872, 3.19a-b; cf. C. Clunas, 'Regulation of Consumption and the Institution of Correct Morality by the Ming State', in Chun-chieh Huang and Erik Zürcher, eds., *Norms and the State in China*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993, 39-49, 47.

⁷⁷*Kuangren riji* 狂人日記 (1918), by Lu Xun 魯迅, in *Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集, vol. 1, ed. Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1982, 422-432.

IX

Scholar-cum-merchants

A new phenomenon took shape in the late Ming as the population increased while chances dwindled for aspiring scholars to succeed in the higher examinations: not only did literati and merchants mix and intermarry.¹ Many literati 'gave up book-learning and went into business' (*qiru jiugu* 棄儒就賈, *qushi congshang* 去士從商).² In the early seventeenth century the Grand Secretary Yu Shenxing 于慎行 (1545-1608), a native of Dong'a 東阿 in western Shandong, noted that many members of the scholar elite sought profit in the textile industry.³ This trend continued. In 1855 the governor of Hubei province Hu Linyi 胡林翼 (*jinshi* 1836) memorialised:

In the past licentiates, Imperial Academy students and other members of the literati elite did not get permission to go into business. The idea behind the law forbidding the scholar elite to involve themselves in business activities was to exert control and prevent monopoly. Investigation into corrupt practices in recent years shows that licentiates and Imperial Academy students conceal their names and go into business while businessmen accumulate wealth and in turn purchase official titles.⁴

¹See Yu Yingshi 余英時, *Zhongguo jinshi zongjiao lunli yu shangren jingshen* 中國近世宗教倫理與商人經神, Taipei: Lianjing, 1987, esp. 104-121.

²As in 'Jie'anfang gong mubiao' 節菴方公墓表, by Wang Shouren, in *Wang Wencheng gong quanshu*, 25.363.

³*Gushan bizhu* 穀山筆麈 (1613), by Yu Shenxing 于慎行, repr. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984, 4.39. On Yu see Goodrich, 1976, 1614-1616.

⁴*Hu Wenzhong gong yiji* 胡文忠公遺集, by Hu Linyi 胡林翼, 1867 edn., repr. Taipei: Wenhai, 1976, 4.12a.

Epitaphs for example show that many seventeenth-century scholars went into business even without concealing their identities.⁵ The *Yinyuan zhuan* features several protagonists who give up book-learning and go into business. The characters Wang Weilu and Professor Xue present two prominent examples.⁶

1. Wang Weilu

The adventures of Wang Weilu 汪為露 occur in the Di plot within chapters 33 and 42.⁷ Wang appears in post-diluvian Mingshui as the first teacher of Di Xichen. Wang embodies yet another licentiate who makes his living as a Confucian teacher. The son of a licentiate and teacher, Wang stands in the tradition of scholars. He tutors candidates for the first civil service examination. His competence and success earn him a reputation as ‘the first among the enlightened teachers (*mingshi* 明師) who understand the way of teaching.’⁸ His professional skills enable him to make a fortune by teaching. At first Wang seems to epitomise the ideal teacher. Paradoxically he soon turns out to be the one who taught Di Xichen for five years and left his pupil illiterate.⁹

Wang begins to play an important part in the *Yinyuan zhuan* when he gives up the pursuit of Confucian scholarship and goes into business. Unlike the teacher Shu Zhong in utopia, Wang Weilu does not remain satisfied with his income from teaching. As soon as he has acquired enough capital he buys land, builds a house and starts the business of money-lending.¹⁰ The literati of imperial China would have found Wang Weilu’s behaviour appalling. A pun in his name on *wang wei ru*

⁵E.g. Xi Benjiu 席本九 (1599-1678), see *Yaofeng wenchao* 堯峰文鈔, by Wang Wan 汪琬, Sibu congkan edn., 15.8a-9b; Xi Qitu 席啟圖 (1638-1680), see *Yaofeng wenchao*, 15.1a-2b; Wang Dalai 王大來 (1676-1712), see *Fang Wangxi xiansheng quanji* 方望溪先生全集, by Fang Bao 方苞, Sibu congkan edn., 10.11b-12b; She Zhaoding 佘兆鼎 (1633-1705), see *Fang Wangxi xiansheng quanji*, 11.17a-18a. See also Ho (1962, 287) on scholars who took up trade out of Ming loyalism after the fall of the Ming.

⁶Further examples are the side-plot character Zhang Maoshi 張茂實 (YYZ, 63.899) and Di Xichen (YYZ, 75.1072, 77.1092) who is not a real scholar however.

⁷Ch. 33, 35, 38, 39; see also section V.2. Ch. 41-42 dramatise his posthumous manifestation as a ghost.

⁸YYZ, 35.512.

⁹YYZ, 33.484-485; 35.520; 39.574.

¹⁰YYZ, 35.512-513.

枉為儒, 'the perversion of Confucianism', reflects this attitude. Song dynasty Confucianists frowned upon scholars and their offspring going into business. The scholar-official and poet Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210) exhorted his sons and grandsons to pursue Confucian studies and not to take up trade.¹¹ His contemporary Yuan Cai 袁采 (ca. 1140-1195) expressed a similar view about the lowliness of merchants and the unsuitability of such a profession for the literati.¹² In his study of the income of the scholar elite in late imperial China Chung states that 'private profit-seeking in business was not regarded as a proper occupation for the gentry.'¹³ At the end of imperial rule in China Western observers still noted that 'pride of class and personal ambition' forbade 'all the literati, whether actual office-holders or not, (...) following any of the low avocations of life' because they were 'at the top of the social ladder.'¹⁴ Thus: 'It would be beneath their dignity (...) to take to trade.'¹⁵ As such views imply, the phenomenon of 'giving up book-learning and going into business' went against the very grain of Confucianism.

Wang Weilu turns into an arch-villain the moment he starts investing money. He neglects his duties as a teacher and eventually stops dealing with students.¹⁶ When he becomes a money broker he abuses, cheats and maltreats his former pupils to exploit them for profit. Covetousness (*cai*) appears as Wang's main vice. Several incidents show how he covets the property and wealth of others.¹⁷ His story must have seemed familiar to the inhabitants of seventeenth-century China. Huang Liuhong observed in Shandong:

It has also happened that wicked men bear grudges against other people or envy them their wealth. Consequently they commission rogues from the city and gang up with corrupt underlings and

¹¹*Weinan wenji* 渭南文集, by Lu You 陸游, Sibu congkan edn., 21.7a; *Shuidong riji* 水東日記, by Ye Sheng 葉盛 (1420-1474), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980, 15.157. On Lu see Franke, 1976, 691-704.

¹²*Yuanshi shifan* 袁氏世範, by Yuan Cai 袁采, in *Zhibuzuzhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書, 2.23b.

¹³Chung, 1962, 149.

¹⁴Chester Holcombe, *The Real Chinese Question*, London: Methuen & Co., 1901, 71-72.

¹⁵Robert K. Douglas, *Society in China*, London: A. P. Innes, 1894, 116.

¹⁶YYZ, 35.512-513; 39.568.

¹⁷YYZ, 35.514-523; 38.560; 39.568-573.

rapacious runners to commence fake litigations. (...) Of course the plan of these wicked men had nothing to do with wishing to go to law. With the help of a pack of rascals they try to reduce their victims to poverty simply to vent their anger.¹⁸

Wang terrorises both his neighbours and his students. We see in close detail how Wang encroaches upon the land and estate of his neighbours Sir Liu and Hou Xiaohuai, harrasing them for years.¹⁹ He exploits and blackmails his former pupil Zong Zhao 宗昭, now a *juren* degree holder, and also Di Xichen. He helps himself to 'gifts of gratitude' for his services as a teacher and dictates the amount of his rewards. Wang hinders Zong Zhao's progress, thwarts his plans to sit for the metropolitan examination and ruins his reputation as a scholar, forcing him to flee to another province.²⁰ Wang also threatens Di Xichen, insults Mr Di and rejects their gifts in the hope of extorting even more.²¹ Minor details such as his refusal to reward a government messenger and his reluctance to spare money for medicines during his illness further reveal his stinginess.²² Wang's covetousness climaxes in his last scene. Lying on his death-bed Wang Weilu tries to extort money from Mr Di by incriminating him with murder. He first orders his son to commit suicide in front of Mr Di's door. Wang then asks his son to carry him to Mr Di's house as he wants to die in front of Di's door. The son refuses both requests and reminds his father of law and punishment.²³ During his time as a magistrate in Shandong Huang Liuhong had to handle similar cases:

In some law cases involving life one person uses a corpse to incriminate another. Such evil practices should be punished severely. It is usually the case that one person wants to bring disaster upon another because he bears a grudge against him. Or else one person goes to law with another and makes a false accusation because he knows that otherwise he cannot win at court. In extreme cases one person kills another to incriminate someone else and falsely claims his wealth or seizes his possessions. It even happens that one person pretends that a corpse belongs to his family and falsely accuses another of premeditated murder. People contrive so many kinds of wicked schemes

¹⁸*FHQ*S, 11.10b-11a.

¹⁹*YYZ*, 35.514-515. On Hou see also section VII.5.

²⁰*YYZ*, 35.518-520.

²¹*YYZ*, 35.520-523; 38.560.

²²*YYZ*, 35.516-517; 39.577.

²³*YYZ*, 39.576-577.

that I cannot list all.²⁴

Wang Weilu contrives a kind of crime that has parallels in seventeenth-century history. As Huang Liuhong tells us:

The facts of cases involving false incrimination can be as follows: either an unburied corpse is used, or a buried corpse is exhumed, or a relative is murdered by intent to incriminate somebody else. In some cases the perpetrator of this crime files a lawsuit himself while in others the victim takes the perpetrator to court.²⁵

Historical incidents in Shandong may well have rivalled the story of Wang's excesses. The narrating voice resembles Huang Liuhong in blaming the vice of covetousness. The fact that in the *Yinyuan zhuan* the instigator plays the part of a teacher - a Confucian gentleman - makes his misconduct doubly revolting.

Anger (*qi*) features as yet another of Wang's vices. Wang gets angry with neighbours and students alike. He falsely accuses his victims of the very crimes he has inflicted upon them.²⁶ He files lawsuits against them and wants to beat up everybody. His anger in particular targets his successor, Di Xichen's second teacher Cheng Leyu.²⁷ Wang's professional jealousy in particular contrasts him with the utopian teacher Shu Zhong.²⁸ Anger makes Wang even disobey the authorities. When the magistrate decides in favour of Hou Xiaohuai Wang gathers his disciples after the trial to beat Hou up.²⁹ Huang Liuhong had such experiences:

Once the magistrate has settled a law case, both parties assemble evil youths from among their relatives and friends, as well as labourers from the farms and vagrants from the streets. They all wield short cudgels, iron bars, diamond clubs for quelling demons and similar weapons, and beat each other up in front of the magistrate's *yamen*. Such incidents happen frequently everywhere north and south. This most wicked practice is truly abominable.³⁰

²⁴*FHQS*, 15.1a.

²⁵*FHQS*, 15.1b.

²⁶*YYZ*, 35.514, 521; 39.572-573.

²⁷*YYZ*, 35.521; 39.569, 571, 576.

²⁸See section VIII.1.

²⁹*YYZ*, 35.516-517.

³⁰*FHQS*, 11.19b-20a.

The narrating voice depicts in detail how Wang's indulgence in anger distorts him into the grotesque. We see him rolling in the dirt, inflated like a cow and reduced to subhuman forms.³¹ Carnival here takes place in the extreme.

Wang also proves guilty of lechery (*se*). He eavesdrops on people's bedroom affairs, making himself as a teacher ridiculous in the eyes of the whole community of Mingshui.³² Voyeurism occurs as a common motif in Ming/Qing fiction, usually happening by accident.³³ But here it illustrates a deliberate breach of social decorum and indulgence in vice.

One more incident shows how Wang fails in his role as a scholar. The school superintendent complains that Wang has never introduced himself at the government school but turns up on each festival only to gobble up the sacrificial meat.³⁴ This makes the pattern of the four vices almost complete. Although drunkenness (*jiu*) does not occur gluttony ranks among his vices. This series of events systematically exposes Wang Weilu not only as a dystopian teacher but also as a dystopian citizen in the Confucian world-view. The portrayal of Wang Weilu reads like a catalogue of horrors.

The list of Wang's vices beats other negative examples of the elite in appearing as almost complete. The narrating voice compares the role and duties of a teacher to that of a father within the Confucian concept of the five moral obligations (*wulun* 五倫).³⁵ It seems only logical that Wang should also fail as a father. He does not scruple to induce his son to crime and to risk his son's death.³⁶ The Mingshui authorities admit that Wang 'ranks first among those scholars who have no moral conduct.'³⁷ Wang Weilu, the teacher-cum-broker, appears as a vice-figure in hyperbolic projection, personifying the perversion of Confucianism in every respect.

Wang Weilu's life of sick morality results in physical illness. He dies from

³¹YYZ, 35.517, 39.571-572, 576.

³²YYZ, 35.518.

³³See e.g. *JPMCH*, 13.134.

³⁴YYZ, 39.575; 52.607.

³⁵YYZ, 33.482; 35.510.

³⁶YYZ, 35.521; 39.576-577.

³⁷YYZ, 39.575.

syphilis, the ‘sores of heavenly retribution’.³⁸ Divine retribution also descends on him after death as thunder strikes Wang Weilu’s corpse.³⁹ Moreover the inversion of morality and filial piety in Wang’s son Little Xianbao (Xiao Xianbao 小獻寶) represents ‘immediate retribution’ (*xianbao* 現報) as the pun in his name suggests. Similar to Shan Yumin’s son Shan Bao, Little Xianbao has an addiction to gambling. He steals his father’s money and neglects to prepare the burial.⁴⁰ But in spite of heavenly punishment and the voice of didacticism Wang Weilu never receives his due punishment in professional life. Society allows him to remain a scholar and a teacher after all. For the Mingshui authorities never put into practice their threats of demotion from scholar status.⁴¹ The problem lies with their showing leniency towards Wang because of his learning. They ignore the imperial edicts issued throughout the Ming ordering strict disciplinary action with teachers who misbehaved.⁴² The Literary Chancellor in the *Yinyuan zhuan* admonishes his audience in the end: ‘If such people flourish they will bring great calamity upon society.’⁴³ The *Yinyuan zhuan* agrees in spirit with the *Fuhui quanshu* that the law should be enforced with more severity. The denigration of Wang Weilu reflects the perception of a Confucian conservative. Here the narrating voice airs all the prejudices Confucian tradition would have nurtured against the literati who gave up book-learning and went into business.

2. Professor Xue

We meet another representative of this type of literati in Professor Xue 薛教授 (Xue Zhen 薛振, style: Qizhi 起之) from Henan, the father of Sujie, Rubian and Rujian and one of the major protagonists in the Di plot. When Professor Xue first appears in chapter 25 he pursues a career in teaching. He has reached the position of a teacher in government schools via the regular route through the examination system. A licentiate on a government stipend (*linsheng*) since the age of seventeen, he graduates as a senior licentiate (*gongsheng*) aged forty-four. Subsequently he

³⁸Expurgated from *YYZ*, 39.577; see *T-YYZ*, 39.508-510. Cf. section V.2.

³⁹*YYZ*, 41.600.

⁴⁰*YYZ*, 39.578-580; 41.599-600.

⁴¹*YYZ*, 35.516, 520; 39.575.

⁴²*Da Ming huidian*, 78.5a-7a, 12b-22b, esp. 13b. Cf. section VIII.2.

⁴³*YYZ*, 39.575.

occupies various teaching posts in local Confucian schools, first as an assistant director of studies (*xundao*), then as an instructor (*jiaoyu* 教諭) and last as a professor (*jiaoshou* 教授) in a prefectural school.⁴⁴

His life takes an unexpected turn in his early fifties. On his way to take up a new post as a moral mentor (*jishan* 紀善) he stops over at Mr Di's inn in Mingshui.⁴⁵ Seventeenth-century Mingshui was a place on the main route from commercial centres such as Linqing and Jinan to the three eastern prefectures of Shandong (Qingzhou 青州, Laizhou 萊州 and Dengzhou 登州) on the peninsula. Merchants on business trips stopped over in Mingshui. Scholars on their way to examinations or professional assignments would take rest there. For example the scholar-official and writer Ding Yaokang from Zhucheng in Qingzhou would pass through Mingshui on his many journeys to the capital between the years 1623 and 1652.⁴⁶ The *Yinyuan zhuan* depicts how Professor Xue on his way from Jinan to Qingzhou and also a group of piece-goods merchants from Qingzhou on their return trip from Linqing stay as guests at Mr Di's inn.⁴⁷

Professor Xue takes a liking to the place. He learns from Mr Di that Mingshui needs a textile shop to meet the rising demands. The locals have not yet set up any because they are preoccupied with farming and have little sense for business.⁴⁸ China's textile industry boomed in the late Ming. The commercial centres of Shandong such as Linqing and Jining manufactured and traded in piece goods. As the piece-goods merchants at Mr Di's inn tell, textiles are never unsalable and guarantee a profitable business.⁴⁹

Professor Xue later resigns from his post as a moral mentor and moves to Mingshui.⁵⁰ Following Mr Di's suggestion Professor Xue sets up his own business and opens a textile shop in Mingshui.⁵¹ He invests five hundred taels in cloth and spends another fifty taels on kerchiefs, turbans, towels, burlap and

44YYZ, 25.366.

45YYZ, 25.364-367.

46Cf. Zhang Qingji, 1991, 87.

47YYZ, 25.374.

48YYZ, 25.366-367.

49YYZ, 25.374.

50YYZ, 25.368.

51YYZ, 25.370, 373.

summer socks.⁵² Summer socks were a late sixteenth-century invention from Songjiang, one centre of Ming China's clothing industry, and immediately became a fashion throughout the empire.⁵³ A busy textile industry provided for new designs in fashion and fast changes in clothing during the late Ming. The scholar and minister Gu Qiyuan 顧起元 (1565-1628) recalled that in his native Nanjing women's fashions had changed only once every decade in the late sixteenth century while the early seventeenth century produced new fads every two or three years.⁵⁴ Contemporary fashions dictated a variety of gauze and satins which the major fabric trade markets of South China produced.⁵⁵ In the past the literati had worn headgear of simple style whereas in the late Ming they had the choice between more than a dozen different types of turbans.⁵⁶ Professor Xue as a textile merchant meets the demands of his time.

As his business flourishes Professor Xue decides not to return to his native Henan but to settle in Mingshui.⁵⁷ He never again takes up teaching although the narrating voice continues to refer to him as 'professor'. Neither the narrating voice nor the population of Mingshui ever deny Professor Xue the status and prestige of a Confucian teacher - despite the fact that he has 'given up book-learning and gone into business.'

Professor Xue represents a central paradox within the elite in the *Yinyuan zhuan*. The fact that he has taken up trade does not interfere with his affirming the Confucian value system. In contrast to Wang Weilu Professor Xue has no vices. His moral conduct even saves him and his family from the flood that cleanses Mingshui.⁵⁸ Professor Xue represents the Confucian voice of reason. He lectures

⁵²YYZ, 25.374.

⁵³See *Yunjian jumu chao* 雲間據目鈔, by Fan Lian 范濂, repr. Taipei: Xinxing, 1962, 2.2b.

⁵⁴*Kezuo zhuiyu* 客座贅語 (preface dated 1617), by Gu Qiyuan 顧起元, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987, 9.293. On Gu see Goodrich, 1976, 734-736.

⁵⁵See *Yueshi bian* 閱世編, comp. Ye Mengzhu 葉夢珠, ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1981, 8.173-178, 177.

⁵⁶*Kezuo zhuiyu*, 1.23. See also *Beichuang suoyu* 北窗瑣語, by Yu Yonglin 余永麟, ed. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1936, 40.

⁵⁷YYZ, 25.375.

⁵⁸YYZ, 29.429-433.

his daughter Sujie on the rules of proper conduct, exhorts his family to virtue and supports the Confucian movement for moral reform.⁵⁹ He in turn falls prey to Sujie's rebellion against the Confucian world order.⁶⁰ Her misbehaviour and atrocities eventually make him die of shock.⁶¹ There is but little satire in the portrayal of this character or derision in the tone of the narrating voice.⁶²

In the Song dynasty Confucians still insisted that even a rich merchant could not measure himself with a scholar, as the writings of the scholar-official and historian Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) testify.⁶³ Attitudes towards merchants began to change during the latter half of the Ming reign. Wang Yangming spread the concept that 'the four orders have different professions but follow the same Way. Their devotion to it is one and the same.'⁶⁴ Believing that any man in the street could become a sage Wang Yangming proclaimed: 'Even doing business all day long does not prevent you from becoming a sage or a worthy.'⁶⁵ Representatives of the Taizhou School of Thought 泰州學派, the radical wing of the Wang Yangming School, such as Wang Gen 王艮 (1483-1541) and Wang Dong 王棟 (1503-1581) further disseminated these concepts.⁶⁶ In the sixteenth century the writer and scholar-official Wang Daokun 汪道昆 (1525-1593), a descendant of salt merchants from Huizhou 徽州, claimed that 'the good merchant

⁵⁹YYZ, 44.643-646; 56.808-809; 52.762.

⁶⁰YYZ, 48.700-701.

⁶¹YYZ, 59.865.

⁶²The incident involving Professor Xue and Xu Zhenjun in YYZ, 29.429-430 is rather a joke, yet again stressing the professor's kindness.

⁶³*Ouyang wenzhong gong wenji* 歐陽文忠公文集, Sibu congkan edn., 63.15b. On Ouyang Xiu see Franke, 1976, 808-816.

⁶⁴*Wang Wencheng gong quanshu*, 25.363.

⁶⁵*Chuanxi lu shiyi* 傳習錄拾遺, by Wang Shouren 王守仁, repr. in *Wang Yangming chuanxi lu xiangzhu jiping* 王陽明傳習錄詳註集評, ed. Chen Rongjie 陳榮捷, Taipei: Xuesheng, 1983, 14.398.

⁶⁶See *Mingru xue'an*, 32.709-717; 732-744; on Wang Gen see also Goodrich, 1976, 1382-1385; deBary, 1970, 157.

is no worse than the learned Confucian.’⁶⁷ The poet and literatus Li Mengyang 李夢陽 (1473-1529) compared the good merchant to the good scholar.⁶⁸ The words of the essayist, teacher and official Gui Youguang 歸有光 (1507-1571) echo his perceptions of change in the world: ‘In the past the four orders pursued different professions but nowadays scholars frequently mix and mingle with farmers and merchants.’⁶⁹ The voice of the writer and thinker He Xinyin 何心隱 (1517-1579) reflects how the concept of the four orders and their hierarchy became obsolete: ‘Merchants are superior to farmers and artisans, scholars are superior to merchants and sages are superior to scholars.’⁷⁰ In the seventeenth century the philosopher Tang Zhen 唐甄 (1630-1704), a scholar-official who later in life became a merchant, affirmed that there was nothing degrading in making one’s living by trade.⁷¹ Gui Youguang’s great-grandson, the poet and Ming loyalist Gui Zhuang 歸莊 (1613-1673) even expressed the view that merchants were superior to scholars in moral terms. He advised the young to become merchants and not scholars.⁷² These voices bear witness to the formation of a new phenomenon in Chinese society. In some cases political motives may have accounted for this development after the fall of the Ming.⁷³ But modern scholarship has shown that Ming loyalism cannot count as the main motive.⁷⁴ A change in attitudes had already taken root during the last two centuries of Ming reign. Similar voices come from

⁶⁷*Taihan ji* 太函集, by Wang Daokun 汪道昆, Jinling edn., 1591, 55.1a. On Wang see Goodrich, 1976, 1427-1430; Fujii Hiroshi 藤井宏, ‘Shinan shōnin no kenkyū’ 新安商人の研究, *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報 36.2, Sept. 1953, 32-60, 42-43; 36.3, Dec. 1953, 65-118, 66-71.

⁶⁸*Kongtong xiansheng ji* 空同先生集, by Li Mengyang 李夢陽, repr. Taipei: Weiwen, 1976, 44.4a. On Li see Goodrich, 1976, 841-842.

⁶⁹*Zhenchuan xiansheng ji* 震川先生集, by Gui Youguang 歸有光, Shanghai: Guji, 1981, 13.319. On Gui see Goodrich, 1976, 759-761.

⁷⁰*He Xinyin ji* 何心隱集, by He Xinyin 何心隱, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1960, 3.53. On He see Goodrich, 1976, 513-515; Ronald Dimberg, *The Sage and Society: The Life and Thought of He Hsin-yin*, Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1974.

⁷¹See *Qianshu* 潛書, by Tang Zhen 唐甄, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984, 1 B.91.

⁷²*Gui Zhuang ji* 歸莊集, by Gui Zhuang 歸莊, ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1984, 6.360. On Gui Zhuang see Hummel, 1943-44, 427.

⁷³As in Gui Zhuang’s case; cf. also Yu, 1987, 112-113; Ho, 1962, 287.

⁷⁴Yu, 1987, 115.

late Ming fiction. Ling Mengchu's *Erke Pai'an jingqi* 二刻拍案驚奇 for example declares: 'In Huizhou as custom has it business comes first, scholarship second.'⁷⁵

Professor Xue's story also illustrates how Confucian attitudes towards money and wealth began to change. Traditional Confucianists considered talking about money as shameful and suitable for merchants only. Scholars by contrast should aspire to sagehood and regard poverty as a virtue. Late Ming observers deplored that the contemporary literati felt no shame in discussing their income and to devise how to make more money.⁷⁶ In a satirical monologue on the licentiates' problem how to make a living the narrating voice in the *Yinyuan zhuan* derides the Confucian concept of the happy poor scholar as an illusion.⁷⁷ Professor Xue also goes into business because of the lucrative prospects. The narrating voice reveals that his position of moral mentor brings neither fame nor gain whereas later as a merchant in Mingshui with a monopoly on textiles he earns as much as twenty to thirty taels a day.⁷⁸ His pursuit of profit however presents no conflict with his morality.

Professor Xue appears not only as a virtuous Confucian but even as an ideal scholar-cum-merchant. The piece-goods traders from Qingzhou explain that a merchant can succeed in business only if he lacks vices such as extravagance, gluttony, lechery and fraud (as in using forged money).⁷⁹ Ming merchants referred to their ethics as *gudao* 賈道, the 'Way of Business.' In counting honesty (*chengxin* 誠信), refraining from fraud (*buqi* 不欺) and the observation of moral principles (*tianli* 天理) as important criteria in conducting business the Ming/Qing merchants adopted the values of Neo-Confucianism.⁸⁰ They moreover linked such

⁷⁵*Erke Pai'an jingqi* 二刻拍案驚奇, by Ling Mengchu 凌濛初, ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1985, 37.680.

⁷⁶*Siyou zhai congshuo* 四友齋叢說, by He Liangjun 何良俊, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983, 34.312-313; *Wuzazu*, 4.36b-37a; *Yeyi*, 9-10, 40-41.

⁷⁷YYZ, 33.478-482. Cf. *Lunyu* 6/11, 7/16, 15/2; *Maoshi zhengyi*, 7/1.7a; *Liji*, 59.6a-6b.

⁷⁸YYZ, 25.367, 375.

⁷⁹YYZ, 25.374.

⁸⁰For *tianli* and the merchant Hu Renzhi 胡仁之 see *Dami shanfang ji* 大泌山房集, by Li Weizhen 李維楨, Jinling edn., Wanli era, 73.13a-15b. For Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052) on *buqi* see *Shaoshi wenjian lu* 邵氏聞見錄, by Shao Bowen 邵伯溫 (1057-1134), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983, 8.83. For Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086) on *cheng* see *Shaoshi wenjian houlu* 邵氏聞見後錄, by Shao Bo 邵博 (d. 1158), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983, 20.156. Cf. Yu,

concepts with popular beliefs in divine retribution. Gui Zhuang illustrates this in a story about an oil-trader in Hangzhou. When the whole city perishes in a fire the oil-trader's household alone remains intact because of his honesty.⁸¹ The message corresponds to the story of Professor Xue and the survival of his family in the flood of Mingshui.

The seventeenth-century scholar and official Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609-1672) observed that many contemporary merchants, notably those who had 'given up book-learning,' were Confucians and followers of Wang Yangming.⁸² Wang Yangming's teachings could justify their change of career. On the other hand his ideas responded to contemporary trends in society. Wang Yangming praised the scholar-turned-merchant Fang Lin 方麟 for adopting Confucian morality and values in the world of business.⁸³ In the sixteenth century the scholar Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲 (alias Lin Shusheng 林樹聲, *jinshi* 1541) commended the scholar-cum-merchant Zhang Shiyi 張士毅 for remaining true to the ethos of Confucianism (*ruyi* 儒意) in his profession.⁸⁴ In the *Yinyuan zhuan* Professor Xue's business flourishes while he remains a 'good man' (*haoren* 好人).⁸⁵ The morality of Professor Xue in the end sanctions his actions. He remains sincere and upright, never discarding the ethos of his Confucian background. In depicting Professor Xue the narrating voice abandons all prejudices against the new elite of scholar-cum-merchants. The paradox of the scholar-cum-merchants in the *Yinyuan zhuan* reveals the tensions between Confucian convention and the spirit of the age in seventeenth-century China.

1987, 140-143; Zhang Haipeng 張海鵬 and Tang Lixing 唐力行, 'Lun Huishang "gu er hao ru" de tese' 論徽商賈而好儒的特色, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 4, 1984, 57-70, 80, esp. 63-64.

⁸¹*Gui Zhuang ji*, 10.520.

⁸²'Zhuo Haichuang mubiao' 卓海幢墓表, by Wu Weiye 吳偉業, in *Meicun jia cang gao* 梅村家藏稿, Sibu congkan edn., 50.1a-2a.

⁸³*Wang Wencheng gong quanshu*, 25.363.

⁸⁴*Lu Wending gong ji* 陸文定公集, by Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲, Huating Lushi jia edn., 1616, 7.41a-41b.

⁸⁵YYZ, 25.364, 375, 29.433.

X

Patrons of Scholarship

The Huizhou 徽州 merchants from South Zhili 南直隸, modern Anhui 安徽 province, one of the richest commercial groups in seventeenth-century China, attempted to identify with 'elite culture'.¹ They demonstrated literati values by patronising Confucian scholarship and the arts. Their wealth made it possible: according to Xie Zhaozhe the richest boasted fortunes of one million silver taels while those ranking in the middle possessed two to three hundred thousand taels.² As the modern scholar Zurndorfer puts it, they cultivated 'a kind of cultural mimicry', adopting the conventions of the literati elite, imitating their life-style, goals and ambitions and seeking their company.³ They collected books and antiquities and patronised painters and calligraphers.⁴ They donated cash for schools and propagated education. They built private academies (*shuyuan* 書院) for the licentiates and scholars of their region and printed the Confucian classics for

¹See Fujii Hiroshi 藤井宏, 'Shinan shōnin no kenkyū' 新安商人の研究, *Tōyō gaku* 東洋学報 36.1, June 1953, 1-44; 36.2, Sept. 1953, 32-60; 36.3, Dec. 1953, 65-118; 36.4, March 1954, 115-145; Fu Yiling 傅衣凌, *Ming Qing shidai shangren ji shangye ziben* 明清時代商人及商業資本, Beijing, 1956, esp. 49-91; Zhang Haipeng and Tang Lixing, 1984, 57-70, 80.

²*Wuzazu*, 4.25b.

³H. T. Zurndorfer, *Change and Continuity in Chinese Local History. The Development of Hui-chou Prefecture 800 to 1800*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989; esp. 219-230, 226.

⁴On merchant culture and patronage in Anhui see J. Cahill, ed., *Shadows of Mt. Huang. Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*, Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981; Jason Chi-sheng Kuo, 'Huichou Merchants as Art Patrons in the late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in Chu-tsing Li, ed., *Artists and Patrons. Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, Lawrence, Kansas: University of Washington Press, 1989, 177-188.

free distribution among poor students.⁵ It comes as no surprise, then, that their circles produced many scholars as well as merchants. One descendant of the Huizhou merchants, the writer and scholar-official Wang Daokun, remarked:

Xin[-an, i.e. Huizhou], a city of three merchants to one scholar, is a cultivated place. Merchants strive for gain, scholars for fame. When a man fails in scholarship then he gives up book-learning and takes up business. Once he has reaped the profits he will plan for his descendants to give up business and take up book-learning. Book-learning and business are given up and taken up in rotation. As a result a man either earns ten thousand piculs [of grain] or is honoured with grand carriages and a thousand teams of horses. It is a process like the turning of the wheel. How could one give value to either one profession only?⁶

In Shandong province in the latter half of the seventeenth century one hundred forty five *juren* and forty seven *jinshi* degree holders, among them two prime ministers, came from salt merchant families.⁷ In Shandong as depicted in the *Yinyuan zhuan* Professor Xue also illustrates Wang Daokun's observation. He has gone into business but encourages his sons in turn to devote themselves to Confucian studies. However the academic careers of Xue Rubian and Rujian - the poor bright students - become possible only with the support of Mr Di, their patron.

1. Mr Di

Di Zongyu 狄宗羽, alias Binliang 賓梁, the father of Di Xichen and one of the major protagonists in the Di plot, originally comes from a peasant background.⁸ When he first appears at the outset of the Di plot in chapter 25 he is a landlord, innkeeper and businessman in Mingshui.⁹ Like Mr Di many landlords in late imperial China made money on the agricultural production of their land while engaging in handicraft industries, commerce and usury. In Shandong they set up breweries, oil presses, flour mills, weaving works, miscellaneous goods shops and

⁵*Taihan ji*, 53.11a; cf. Ho Ping-ti, 1962, 44, 73; for a discussion of the Huizhou merchants as sponsors of Ming and Qing academies see Okubo Hideko 大久保英子, *Min Shin jidai shoin no kenkyû* 明清時代書院の研究, Tokyo: Kokusho kankôkai, 1976, 260-285.

⁶*Taihan ji*, 52.11a.

⁷Cf. Ho Ping-ti, 1962, 83-85.

⁸YYZ, 50.725.

⁹YYZ, 25.367.

cloth stores. They also ran money shops and pawn shops. Wine shops, pharmacies and silk and cotton stores counted among the most popular business enterprises of the landlords of Zhangqiu.¹⁰

Mr Di lacks accomplishment in scholarship. He remains illiterate but his wealth enables him to become a patron of scholarship. He tries to educate his son Di Xichen to become a scholar-official. He employs private tutors for Xichen and generously rewards them for their efforts.¹¹ His generosity also extends to his relatives and friends. He allows his nephew Xiang Yuting and Professor Xue's sons to study together with Xichen and pays for their schooling.¹² He has a classroom built for all pupils.¹³ He moreover sponsors their trips to the prefectural capital to sit for the first public examinations.¹⁴ Without Mr Di's support neither the Xue brothers nor Xiang Yuting could have made a career in the imperial bureaucracy because their fathers lacked the means. As Xichen alone proves incapable of succeeding via the regular route Mr Di buys his son's way up the 'ladder to the clouds' by purchasing a degree.¹⁵ On a much smaller scale than the Huizhou merchants and far from the commercial centres of southern China we glimpse here a perceived reflection of the merchants' patronage of scholarship in local history. Its record in fiction sheds light on incidents that would rarely have made it into the pages of official historiography.

As the historian Chang outlines, in imperial China the task to illustrate moral principles, establish private colleges, subsidise students and repair local schools fell on the literati.¹⁶ In acting as a patron of scholarship Mr Di the inn-keeper displays virtues that would befit a member of the literati elite. He moreover treats the visitors at his inn as guests and refuses to take money for catering.¹⁷ In contrast to most other inhabitants of Mingshui he knows how to treat the immortal

¹⁰Cf. Jing and Luo, 1959, Appendix 2.

¹¹Cf. section VII.2.

¹²YYZ, 33.486.

¹³YYZ, 33.486.

¹⁴YYZ, 37.544; 38.555.

¹⁵YYZ, 50.725-733.

¹⁶Chang, 1955, 63.

¹⁷YYZ, 25.364, 367.

Xu Zhenjun with due respect.¹⁸ When he digs up a treasure of silver in his garden he returns it to the previous owner of the estate whom he knows to be in need of money.¹⁹ He mediates in disputes within the village, trying to restore order and harmony in the society around him.²⁰ Mr Di's conduct elevates him to quasi-elite status within his community. The Mingshui villagers along with the narrating voice respectfully call him Di Yuanwai 狄員外. Although Mr Di remains a commoner he adopts Confucian goals and ideals. The Huizhou merchants displayed their interest in Confucian ethics on a grander scale than Mr Di but like him in spirit. Zhao Jishi 趙吉士 (1628-1706), a Huizhou scholar and editor of the prefectural gazetteer, noted that in his native place 'each summer and winter a thousand men gather in every village to make sacrifices in honour of Zhu Xi. They perform the rituals with sophistication.'²¹ Wang Daokun stressed how much the rich salt merchant Wu Shiyong 吳時英 valued the Confucian concept of 'virtue' (*de* 德).²² Cheng Yunzhang 程雲章, alias Yunzhuang 雲莊, (1602-1651), another scholar from the Huizhou merchant background, advocated the unity of the three teachings.²³ Members of the Huizhou merchants participated and played a leading role in the three teachings movement in the seventeenth century.²⁴ Mr Di's philanthropy and moral conduct also imply respect for Buddhist and Daoist values alongside his Confucian virtues. He also gets approval from the popular divinities in the *Yinyuan zhuan*. The immortal Xu Zhenjun rewards Mr Di's hospitality by letting him and his household survive the flood without harm.²⁵

The representation of Mr Di - a commoner, landlord and businessman - as one of the most positive figures within a Confucian world poses a paradox. Conservative Confucians such as He Liangjun 何良俊 (1506-1573), the son of a landlord from Songjiang 松江, deplored that farmers increasingly abandoned the

¹⁸YYZ, 29.425-433.

¹⁹YYZ, 34.498-501.

²⁰ E.g. YYZ, 34.502-508; 62.896.

²¹*Jiyuan ji suoji* 寄園寄所寄, by Zhao Jishi 趙吉士, repr. Taipei: Guangwen, 1981, 11.8a.

²²*Taihanji*, 37.18a-22a, esp. 20a.

²³See *Nanlei wen'an* 南雷文案, by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲, Sibu congkan edn., 9.1a-2b.

²⁴Cf. Sakai Tadao, 1977, 282.

²⁵YYZ, 29.431.

‘basic occupation’ (*benye* 本業) of agriculture to make a living in commerce and industry, the ‘non-essential profession’ (*moye* 末業). According to He, the number of merchants and craftsmen had increased three times during his life-time.²⁶ Followers of the Wang Yangming school such as He Xinyin however argued in favour of the social mobility that contemporary conditions were making possible. He Xinyin supported social ambition and encouraged each of the four orders to move up the social scale by mastering the principles of the next higher order.²⁷ Similarly the description of Mr Di’s occupation and ambitions has no negative connotations.

The narrating voice shows Mr Di in a favourable light throughout. It remains serious in his representation, projecting him as a paragon of virtue in the moral cosmos of the *Yinyuan zhuan*. The narrating voice remarks that he has the air of the ‘ancients’.²⁸ His morality ranks him as an heir to the inhabitants of the utopian past. In this respect Mr Di’s story resembles the authentic tale of Xu Laopu 徐老僕 alias A Ji 阿寄, a servant and merchant, as recorded by the writer Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (*jinsi* 1526)²⁹ and also by Feng Menglong.³⁰ A Ji’s morality and management skills make him successful in business. His wealth enables him to provide for his late master’s family and have the sons educated as Confucian scholars. Li Zhi’s appraisal made A Ji famous in the late Ming.³¹ The story of A Ji, like that of Mr Di, affirms the belief of Wang Yangming and his followers in the moral potential of men from non-literati backgrounds.

The image of Mr Di as a patron of scholarship inverts the conventional hierarchy of the four orders (i.e. scholars, peasants, craftsmen and merchants) in society. Mr Di equals scholars in morality while surpassing them in terms of social and financial power. He socially mixes with them, making friends with the scholars

²⁶*Siyou zhai congshuo*, 13.111-112, 34.312. See also Goodrich, 1976, 515-518.

²⁷*He Xinyin ji*, 3.53-54.

²⁸YYZ, 25.364.

²⁹‘A Ji zhuan’ 阿寄傳, by Tian Rucheng 田汝成, in *Tian Shuhe wenji* 田叔禾文集, ed. Tian Yiheng, 1563 edn., 6.18a-19b. Cf. P. Hanan, *The Chinese Short Story. Studies in Dating, Authorship and Composition*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973, 244. On Tian see Goodrich, 1976, 1286-1288.

³⁰*Xingshi hengyan*, 35.767-787.

³¹‘A Ji zhuan’ 阿寄傳, in *Fenshu Xu Fenshu*, 5.222-223.

and officials who stay at his inn. He and Professor Xue intermarry their children.³² Li Zhi explained that merchants would need the contact with the literati for social protection: 'To realise profit and to avoid harm, they must make friends with the scholars and officials.'³³ The relationship of Mr Di and Professor Xue even shows a form of symbiosis. Mr Di helps Professor Xue on his way into business and Professor Xue advises Mr Di on the academic career of Di Xichen.³⁴ Here we see merchants and literati 'mix and mingle', a phenomenon the observers of seventeenth-century Huizhou have amply documented.

In sum Mr Di dramatises the recognition that commerce can make a positive contribution to society. The morality books of the seventeenth century reflect similar attitudes.³⁵ As the *Quanjie quanshu* 勸戒全書, written in 1639 by the failed examination candidate Chen Zhixi 陳智錫 (fl. early seventeenth century), claims:

Wealth is like medicine. It can keep people alive or it can kill them. The difference lies simply in whether or not you know how to use it.³⁶

Mr Di's use of wealth as a patron of scholarship accounts for his importance to local society and for his role as a utopian figure in the *Yinyuan zhuan*.

2. Mr Li

Mr Li 李大郎, another rich commoner in the *Yinyuan zhuan*, inhabits the paradise of Mingshui in chapter 23.³⁷ He appears only in the short episode about teacher Shu Zhong. The narrating voice reveals about Mr Li's occupation and background only that his family has been accumulating a fortune for generations. The sources

³²Di Xichen marries Xue Sujie; Xue Rujian marries Di Qiaojie, see YYZ, ch. 44 and 59.

³³Cf. *Huang Ming shishuo xinyu* 皇明世說新語, by Li Shaowen 李紹文, 1606 edn., 2.31b; Ho Ping-ti, 1962, 45.

³⁴YYZ, 25.366-375; 33.486; 50.725-726.

³⁵Cf. Cynthia J. Brokaw, *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit. Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China*; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, esp. 3-27, 207-216; Okuzaki Hiroshi 奥崎裕司, *Chûgoku kyôshin jinushi no kenkyû* 中国郷紳地主の研究, Tokyo: Kyûko, 1978, 461-472.

³⁶*Quanjie quanshu* 勸戒全書 (written in 1639, preface 1641), by Chen Zhixi 陳智錫, held in Naikaku bunko Library, 6.38b-39a.

³⁷YYZ, 23.346-349.

of his wealth remain obscure. Possibly it derives from farming and trade as in Mr Di's case.

Although Mr Li's ancestors never produced a single scholar they have been trying to educate their sons. Until his late teens Mr Li studied under a private tutor but failed to acquire any book-learning. The narrating voice dismisses Mr Li's academic efforts as hopeless but concedes that he has a good grasp of farming.³⁸ In this respect Mr Li corresponds to the model landlord as perceived by the conservative Confucian moralist and teacher Zhang Lüxiang 張履祥 (1611-1674) from Zhejiang, an opponent of Wang Yangming's philosophy and a follower of Zhu Xi.³⁹ Changes in commerce and the fiscal system in the late Ming reinforced the trend towards a majority of absentee or rentier landlords.⁴⁰ A small group of managerial landlords remained. They usually held twenty to two hundred *mu* 畝 (Chinese acres)⁴¹ of land and personally engaged in farming, supervising and assisting their agricultural labourers.⁴² Zhang Lüxiang criticised the majority of contemporary landlords who chose to remain ignorant of agriculture.⁴³

One trait in particular distinguishes Mr Li from others in the opinion of the narrating voice: he shows respect to scholars and anybody willing to study. He employs tutors for his sons and displays generosity in remunerating them. The seventeenth-century morality books describe the ideal role of the wealthy commoner as contributing to the construction of a better Confucian world while striving for his and his family's advancement into the literati elite. As Brokaw summarises:

Accumulation for economic purposes - what the morality-book authors call "accumulation for its own sake" - is, in fact, perceived as evil. Wealth, especially in its commercial expression, had to be channeled in the proper "Confucian" direction, away from mercantile investment and into the

³⁸YYZ, 23.347.

³⁹Hummel, 1943, 45-46; Okada Takehiko 岡田武彦, 'Chô Yôen to Roku Futei' 張楊園と陸桴亭, *Teoria* テオリア 9, Dec. 1965, 1-30.

⁴⁰Cf. Brokaw, 1992, 7-8, quoting Mi Chu Wiens, "Socioeconomic Change during the Ming Dynasty in the Kiangnan Area", Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University 1973, 206.

⁴¹Circa 6.667 *mu* equal one acre.

⁴²Cf. Zurndorfer, 1989, 147.

⁴³*Yangyuan xianshen quanji* 楊園先生全集, by Zhang Lüxiang 張履祥, Jiangsu shuju edn., 1871, 19.21a-21b.

performance of good deeds; only then does the merchant have any chance of attaining what must be his fondest goal - to cease to be a merchant and to become a scholar-official.⁴⁴

Heaven rewards Mr Li's good intentions with two sons who make it into the scholar-official elite. Mr Li moreover receives imperial rank and title as the father of high officials. Such were the rewards the seventeenth-century morality books promised in return for a commoner's good deeds. The *Quanjie quanshu* includes a similar anecdote: the father of the scholar-official Li Wenda 李文達 (alias Xian 賢, 1408-1467), a wealthy textile merchant, sells cotton to other merchants. When a fire destroys the cotton father Li returns the merchants' money to them. The episode ends thus: 'At home his wife dreamt that night that a man in red clothes gave her a jade child. The following year she gave birth to Xian. He became a grand secretary.'⁴⁵ The *Yinyuan zhuan* here gives its picture of the virtuous commoner the same orientation as the *Quanjie quanshu*.⁴⁶

Mr Li remains a shadowy figure with few individual traits. His characteristics mainly foreshadow Mr Di. Mr Li also plays a key role in the lives and careers of the literati around him. His sons and both their teachers can become scholar-officials only because Mr Li supports them. Using his wealth to patronise scholarship Mr Li represents the ideal 'rich man' within the Confucian cosmos. His role as a patron sanctions his wealth and turns its use into virtue in Confucian eyes.⁴⁷ This secures him a place in utopia and by analogy places Mr Di into the same context. In depicting Mr Li and Mr Di as utopian figures the narrating voice echoes Li Zhi's conviction that merchants should no longer count as parasitic or secondary in the social order.⁴⁸ The *Yinyuan zhuan* takes the argument even further

⁴⁴Brokaw, 1991, 215.

⁴⁵*Quanjie quanshu*, 6.38a-b. On Li Wenda see Goodrich, 1976, 819-822.

⁴⁶As often in the *Yinyuan zhuan*, the causal link between action and reward does not apply consistently. The career of Di Xichen is but an ambivalent 'reward' for Mr Di's good deeds (cf. sections VII.2, X.1); their story breaks down the conceptual pattern. Mr Li by contrast as a utopian character fits into the framework.

⁴⁷Cf. Okuzaki Hiroshi 奥崎裕司, 'Minmatsu Shinsho no rishoku kihan - kôkakaku no ichisokumen' 明末清書の利殖規範 — 功過格の一側面, in Sakuma Shigeo 佐久間重男, ed., *Chûgoku shi, tōjishi ronshū* 中国史、陶磁史論集, Tokyo: Ryôgen, 1983, 231-261, 259-260.

⁴⁸*Cangshu* 藏書, by Li Zhi 李贄, repr. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974, 34.587.

by demonstrating that the literati elite depend on the support of rich commoners as patrons.

The motif of the commoner patrons, similar to the scholar-cum-merchants, reveals a tension between the position of conservative Confucianism and the affirmation of contemporary phenomena in society. The *Yinyuan zhuan* does not resolve the paradoxes. Both Mr Di and Mr Li connect their families to a scholar's family. Mr Li marries his sons to the daughters of teacher Shu Zhong. Living in utopia as they do they live happily ever after. As we read on from chapters 23 and 24 and move into the Di plot, however, the picture of the happy mixed society turns out to be an illusion.

The perfect place Mr Li inhabits does not exist in the Di plot. The joining of the Di and Xue families conjures up all the nightmares of mixed society that might have plagued Confucianists. The marriage of Di Xichen and Xue Sujie runs counter to the concept of the superiority of scholars and inferiority of merchants within the hierarchy of the four orders. In this light Di Xichen, the boy from a peasant and merchant background, and Xue Sujie, the daughter and sister of educated men and scholars, form a grotesque *mésalliance*. Di Xichen's social inferiority moreover clashes with the traditional concept of male superiority within the marital hierarchy.⁴⁹

The narrating voice blames karmic retribution for the failure of their marriage. But as the explanation of karmic retribution remains riddled with ambiguities the reader's attention shifts to the protagonists' own words and actions. They dramatise the conflicts arising when individuals from different social backgrounds begin to mix and intermarry. In Di Xichen and Xue Sujie we see the first generation of scholars and merchants under one roof. They fail to adapt to each other. The professor's daughter proves incapable of respecting the innkeeper's son and pseudo-scholar. The union of the merchant and scholar families results in tragedy as Xue Sujie wreaks havoc with Di Xichen, his relatives and her own family. As she announces when her family proposes Di Xichen as her husband, she is taking revenge for having been forced into the marriage.⁵⁰ Her rage

⁴⁹Another scholar-merchant marriage is that of Xue Rubian and Di Qiaojie. Here the social hierarchy corresponds to the marital hierarchy - the husband comes from the scholarly background. Qiaojie's role as a virtuous wife compensates any other potential conflict; see *YYZ*, ch. 59.

⁵⁰*YYZ*, 25.375-376.

eventually kills both Mr Di and Professor Xue.

The stories of Mr Di and Professor Xue end in the break-down of all patterns of utopianism. The narrating voice affirms their actions and beliefs as well as their changing social roles. Their lives however end in social disorder and physical destruction. The discrepancy between narrating voice and narrative events creates a cacophony that dominates the novel. We can read the drama of the marriage between the merchant and scholar families as a literary expression of the undercurrent of conflict that ensued in late imperial China when different groups in society started to mix and to mingle.

XI

Scholar-officials

In the late seventeenth century the Jesuit missionary Gabriel de Magalhães (1610-1677) recalled how a Chinese scholar-official in the government service under the Ming dynasty perceived his place in the world:

Et pour moy, toute ma gloire & ma felicité consiste dans cette ceinture & cet habit de Mandarin, tout le reste n'est que des fables & des paroles que le vent emporte, & des choses que l'on raconte & qu'on ne voit pas. Ce qui se voit, c'est de gouverner & de commander aux autres, c'est l'or & l'argent, les femmes & les concubines, & la multitude de valets & des servantes, ce sont les belles maisons, les grandes richesses, les banquets & les divertissements: En un mot, les biens, les honneurs & la gloire sont des suites de l'avantage d'estre Mandarin. C'est-là toute la felicité que nous desirons, & dont nous jouïssons dans nôtre grand & sublime Empire...¹

Officialdom represented the top of the social ladder. To the many aspiring scholars and licentiates in Ming/Qing China it meant the fulfilment of a life-long ambition, their dream of glory and happiness. However *noblesse oblige* - an aspect the late Ming official who talked to the European missionaries failed to elucidate. The role of scholar-officials - active or retired (*guan* 官, *xianghuan* 鄉宦) - as models of morality in society gave them their *raison d'être*. They had proved their knowledge and learning by success in the examination system. Their higher degree (such as *juren* or *jinshi*) qualified them to hold office in the imperial bureaucracy and to wield rulership in their assigned locality. The term *guan* 官 ('office' or 'official')

¹G. de Magaillans, (S^r B. trans.), *Nouvelle relation de la Chine. Contenant la description des particularitez les plus considerables de ce grand Empire* (written in 1668), Paris: Louis Lucas, 1689, 214-215.

denotes the institutional aspect of the Chinese polity while *zheng* 政 ('to rule') refers to its functional side. Etymologically *zheng* 政 relates to *zheng* 正 ('to regulate').² Ruling meant creating order and harmony in the empire.³ This was the task of the emperor. He in turn exercised power by means of the imperial bureaucracy - the scholar-officials. Many scholar-officials appear in the *Yinyuan zhuan*. Most of them hold minor posts as local magistrates in the provinces whilst a few occupy high positions in the capital.

1. Chancellor Yang

Chancellor Yang 楊尚書 ranks among the most distinguished scholar-officials in the *Yinyuan zhuan*. He has served as a chancellor (*shangshu* 尚書) in one of the Six Ministries⁴ and holds the title of Guardian of the Heir Apparent (*gongbao* 宮保). When we encounter him in a brief episode in chapter 23 he has reached old age.⁵ After retiring from court he returns to his native Mingshui village on a full government pension. Chancellor Yang becomes an 'official residing in his native place' (*xianghuan*).⁶ The modern scholar Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定 sketches the image of the typical *xianghuan* in late imperial times:

The local gentry (*xianghuan*) tended to rely on their former position and power in the central government. Living in their native places they would selfishly indulge in their every whim. Even

²Cf. Bernhard Karlgren, 'Grammata Serica Recensa', *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 29, 1957, 220-221, no. 833.

³H. Franke, 'Das Begriffsfeld des Staatlichen im chinesischen Kulturbereich', *Saeculum* 4.2, 1953, 231-239, 235-236.

⁴I.e. the Ministries of Personnel (*libu* 吏部), Rites (*libu* 禮部), Revenue (*hubu* 戶部), War (*bingbu* 兵部), Justice (*xingbu* 刑部) and Works (*gongbu* 工部), formerly under the prime minister, since 1380 direct under the emperor.

⁵YYZ, 23.341-346.

⁶Cf. Mori Masao, 'The Gentry in the Ming - An Outline of the Relations between the *Shih-ta-fu* and Local Society', *Acta Asiatica* 38, 1980, 31-53, 35.

their servants behaved like tyrants and would often provoke the resentment of the people.⁷

The late Ming writer Wang Wenlu 王文祿 (1503-1586) depicted retiring scholar-officials in similar terms:

Nowadays scholar-officials return home fully laden. They buy vast estates and gardens and undertake constructions of buildings on a grand scale. They open pawnshops and money-lending businesses everywhere. They display their power recklessly. They wine and dine feasting on rare delicacies. Even their runners and servants wear white silk and elegant garments.⁸

Not so Chancellor Yang. He builds no mansion to indicate his rank but simply repairs his ancestors' old residence to live there.⁹ He owns less land than the local peasants. He does not engage in business activities for profit. He has no concern for the mandarin's sash, dress or 'anything one can see'. He returns the servants appointed to serve him in retirement. He keeps no horses and prefers to walk. Wealth, honour and glory do not tempt him to indulge.

Chancellor Yang devotes his life to fulfilling his moral obligation as a scholar-official: to execute good government. Living in retirement only enhances his function as the ideal elite. As a country gentleman he is free from the obligations and restrictions of life in office and at court. He can live amongst the people and work at grass-roots level. As the scholar-official Yan Maoyou 顏茂猷 (*jinshi* 1634) stated in his ledger of merit and demerit *Diji lu* 迪吉錄 (completed in 1622):

The local gentry (*xiangshen* 鄉紳) are the hope of the nation. By residing at home and doing good

⁷Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定, 'Mindai So-Shô chihô no shitaifu to minshû' 明代蘇松地方の士大夫と民衆, repr. in *idem*, *Ajia shi kenkyû* アジア史研究, Kyoto: Tôyôshi kenkyûkai, 1964, 321-360, 325. One famous example is Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636) as described in 'Minchao Donghuan shishi' 民抄董宦事實, in *Youmanlou congshu* 又滿樓叢書, ed. Zhao Yichen 趙詒琛, repr. Jiangsu guangling guji, 1986, 2.1a-8b; cf. Nelson J. Wu, 'Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636): Apathy in Government and Fervor in Art', in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds., *Confucian Personalities*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962, 260-293.

⁸*Ceshu* 策樞, by Wang Wenlu 王文祿, ed. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1936, 3.64-65. On Wang see Goodrich, 1976, 1449-1451.

⁹YYZ, 23.341.

they can influence the provinces, they can develop their neighbourhood and they can educate the backward. Their influence is a hundred times greater than that of scholars (*shiren* 士人).¹⁰

Chancellor Yang invites his fellow citizens - along with the readers of his story - into utopia. He turns his small country estate into an idyll by a river where peach trees blossom in late spring.¹¹ He constructs the place as a *locus amoenus* on the model of Tao Yuanming's Peach Blossom Spring. He builds a few huts across a bridge amidst the peach and willow trees. He opens an inn there beckoning to the passer-by to stop off. He provides wine 'so that the lack of it would not spoil the visitor's appreciation of the place'.¹² Like King Wen 文王 who shared his park with the people Chancellor Yang opens his estate for all to enjoy.¹³ Mencius would have considered his conduct ideal.

Chancellor Yang's inn has the function to inform the people about the principles of good government. Its visitors learn how the chancellor regulates his household.¹⁴ In seventeenth-century Shandong not only officials but even pedlars, servants and labourers wore silk hats and dresses.¹⁵ But neither Chancellor Yang nor his housekeepers wear silk or elegant clothes. Instead he wears coarse outfits varying only according to season. In the late Ming lavishness in dining became common throughout the empire.¹⁶ Chancellor Yang by contrast prefers plain food. He shuns extravagance and advocates frugality. The chancellor himself frequently

¹⁰*Diji lu* 迪吉錄 (completed 1622), by Yan Maoyou 顏茂猷, 1886 edn., 4.56a. Cf. Sakai, 1977, 81. On Yan see Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫, 'Gan Moken no shisô ni tsuite' 顏茂猷の思想について, in *Kamata Hakushi kanreki kinen rekishigaku ronsô* 鎌田博士還暦記念歴史学論叢, Tokyo: Kokusho kankôkai, 1969, 259-273, esp. 261-262. Sakai (1977, 78-85) defines officials appointed to bureaucratic posts and retired officials residing in their native place as *xiangshen* and to scholars ranking from *shengyuan* to *juren* without official appointment as *shiren*.

¹¹YYZ, 23.343.

¹²YYZ, 23.343.

¹³King Wen, the father of King Wu 武王 who founded the Zhou 周 dynasty (trad. 1122 BC; hist. ca. 1050-221 BC), epitomises the ideal king. *Mengzi*, 1B:2.

¹⁴YYZ, 23.344-346.

¹⁵*Guojue*, 91.5520-5521; *Yeyi*, 41-42.

¹⁶*Siyou zhai congshuo*, 34.313, 314; *Kezuo zhuiyu*, 7.231-232; *Yueshi bian*, 9.193-194.

visits the inn but he does not drink.¹⁷ This detail suggests that he has no such vice as craving for wine (*jiu*). Nor does he covet wealth (*cai*). None of his housekeepers ever dares to cheat, for they follow their master's example.¹⁸ He does not run the inn for profit but sells wine for less than half the market price and provides free savouries on top. His guests do not even have to pay at once. The only condition is that they drink on the premises. For the chancellor uses the place to mix with the people. The inn provides an opportunity for direct contact between elite and commoners. Chancellor Yang puts into practice what the seventeenth-century philosopher Tang Zhen demanded of a ruler. Tang Zhen's *Qianshu* 潛書, a blueprint for political reform, proclaims: 'To execute good government one has to understand what the people feel. To understand what the people feel one has to be close to them.'¹⁹

Chancellor Yang puts himself on a par with the commoners and shares the life of the villagers.²⁰ Seeing that the chancellor shows respect and humility to a peasant the provincial administration commissioner Liu 劉方伯 asks in amazement: 'He is but a peasant. Why the fuss?' The chancellor explains: 'If I had not met with imperial favour, I would be just like this peasant. My official position ranks me higher than this peasant but his fields are many acres bigger than mine.'²¹ The chancellor entertains the guests at his inn regardless of their social standing. He, one of the highest ministers in the empire, serves wine to two government clerks from a neighbouring district and leaves his meal for them.²² Tang Zhen considered the very kind of humility Chancellor Yang displays as essential in a ruler:

He who ranks higher than ten people should know how to place himself below these ten. He who ranks higher than one hundred people should know how to place himself below these one hundred. He who is at the top of the world should know how to place himself below everybody else.²³

¹⁷YYZ, 23.343.

¹⁸YYZ, 23.346.

¹⁹*Qianshu*, 1B.67.

²⁰YYZ, 23.342.

²¹YYZ, 23.342.

²²YYZ, 23.343, 345.

²³*Qianshu*, 1B.69.

Tang Zhen regarded the widening gap between the rulers and the ruled as the reason for social disorder and misgovernment in seventeenth-century China. The *Yinyuan zhuan* here offers one way how to bridge it.

Chancellor Yang embodies the ideal elite on the model of antiquity. He behaves like the legendary rulers in the golden age of the past as Tang Zhen perceived them:

The worthy rulers of antiquity had the dignity of emperors and all the riches in the empire. But they preserved their child-like hearts and placed themselves on a par with the peasants. Their palaces resembled cottages in the countryside and they dressed and ate like poor scholars. They regarded everybody in the empire as members of their household.²⁴

Chancellor Yang shows how to put the ways of the ancients into practice in Tang Zhen's days. Tang Zhen also believed that modesty and humility in a leader would preserve peace and harmony throughout the land:

Therefore Shun 舜 and Yu 禹 during their reigns made do with poor clothes and coarse food and did not dare to indulge. This did not mean that they did not have the same desires as other people. But they feared that it would turn the world upside down if they were not equal.²⁵

Chancellor Yang maintains this concept of balance. His peach blossom paradise thus achieves the very harmony lacking in the Chao and Di plots.

The vision of the ideal elite in both the *Yinyuan zhuan* and the *Qianshu* turns for inspiration to pre-Qin China, a society as yet unmarred by legalism. Indeed Chancellor Yang's domain lacks laws, force or punishments. When somebody commits an offence he simply ignores it.²⁶ This aspect brings his world close to an era even before Shun and Yu. It takes us right back to the utopia of Shennong 神農 as advocated by the School of the Tillers (*nongjia* 農家), one of the ten

²⁴*Qianshu*, 2A.105.

²⁵*Qianshu*, 1B.97. Shun and Yu were legendary sage kings in China's Golden Age of antiquity (ca. 2300-2200 BC).

²⁶YYZ, 23.346.

philosophical schools of ancient China mentioned in the *Hanshu*.²⁷ The tillers devoted themselves to agriculture and sericulture. They dreamt of a realm without administration and laws. The followers of Shennong did not believe in serving a sage king. They inverted the social hierarchy of superior and inferior. They envisaged their ideal ruler ploughing side by side with his subjects and cooking his own meals.²⁸ He would live like a peasant and teach but not punish - like Chancellor Yang in the *Yinyuan zhuan*.

Chancellor Yang regulates the microcosm of his household by the influence of his perfect virtue (*sheng de* 盛德).²⁹ But the narrative focus remains on his public life only, showing him in relation to his colleagues, housekeepers, visitors and the locals. We never see him as a private person or a family man. The narrating voice here touches neither on the topic of wife and marriage nor on destiny or retribution. This emphasises Chancellor Yang's allegorical function as a ruler in relation to the people. Following the *Daxue* we can imagine his function in the world at large by drawing the analogy between regulating one's household, governing the empire and bringing harmony to the world. Chancellor Yang stands as a model for others to follow like the rulers of antiquity. As the *Zuozhuan* records, the Duke Wen of Jin 晉 taught his people righteousness, trustworthiness and the rules of propriety by standing as an example in his political and military conduct.³⁰ Confucius too aimed to execute good government by the influence of morality. Huang Liuhong urged his contemporaries to follow the example of Confucius and reform society:

Alas! It is evident that our ancient sage achieved the reform of society through the influence of his virtue. If only everybody would put his teachings into practice then we could restore the good

²⁷Shennong (fl. traditionally 2737 BC) counts as a legendary emperor before Shun and Yu, a farmer's god and the inventor of agriculture. Cf. A. C. Graham, 'The *Nung-chia* "School of the Tillers" and the Origins of Peasant Utopianism in China', in *idem*, *Studies in Chinese Philosophical and Philological Literature*, Singapore: The Institute of East Asian Philosophies, 1986, 67-110.

²⁸*Hanshu* 漢書, by Ban Gu 班固, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962, 30.1743.

²⁹YYZ, 23.345-346.

³⁰*Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, (Xigong 僖公, 27th year) 16.12b-13a.

government of Zhongdu 中都 today.³¹

Chancellor Yang dramatises the potential for such leadership.

The image of the elite feeding the people and also giving moral instruction derives from an ancient *topos*. As the *Shijing* puts it:

Give us drink,
give us food,
give us education,
give us exhortation.³²

The late Ming collection *Xingshi hengyan* too dramatises this image in a similar way: the story *San xiaolian rang chan li gaoming* 三孝廉讓產立高名 tells how at the beginning of the later Han dynasty Xu Wu 許武, a high ranking scholar-official from a peasant background, retires to his native village and serves wine and food to the locals.³³ Using the occasion to demonstrate his virtue he sets an example of fraternal duty for generations to follow. The story derives its subject matter from much older material included in the *Hou Hanshu*.³⁴ In the *Yinyuan zhuan* the inn presents an ideal setting for a scholar-official to demonstrate how the elite should function in state and society.

The chancellor's inn projects the vision of an archaic idyll. But it does not lie in a remote land or in the distant past. Utopia and anti-utopia exist side by side within the same narrative place and time. Visitors from the outside world enter into this 'good place'. They do not have to travel far: the provincial administration commissioner Liu belongs to a neighbouring district and the two government clerks come from Zouping a few miles east of Zhangqiu. But they marvel at the wonders of the chancellor's world. Chancellor Yang's humility leaves Liu 'speechless'.³⁵

³¹*FHQ*S, 13.12a. Confucius once governed Zhongdu, a city in the ancient state of Lu (west of modern-day Wenshang 汶上 county, Shandong), cf. *Shiji*, 47.1915.

³²*Maoshi zhengyi*, 15/3.1b-3a.

³³*Xingshi hengyan*, 2.20-34.

³⁴*Hou Hanshu*, 76.2471-2472. See also the late Ming collection *Zhinang quanji*, 13.292.

³⁵*YYZ*, 23.342.

And the two clerks report: 'The high ranking country gentry of our district burst Heaven with their arrogance but they do even more evil than their housekeepers!'³⁶ They reveal their world as doubly antithetical. They have never before seen modesty and morality in scholar-officials, let alone integrity and frugality in their households. In this sense the chancellor's inn appears as a utopian island.

The episode of Chancellor Yang portrays him at work in provincial society. But his rank and title imply that he plays a key role in the state as well. As a counselor to the heir apparent he has the power to realise the principles of utopia in the government. He can mould the future emperor and teach him virtue. His position suggests the potential for moral reform from the top. Tang Zhen also regarded the education of the heir apparent as one of the most important means to put his plans for reform into practice.³⁷ His *Qianshu* contains one chapter on how to educate the crown prince.³⁸ It proposes to make the prince live with the peasants, taste their food and wear their clothes. He should learn humility and frugality. The *Qianshu* however does not renounce laws and punishments whilst the *Yinyuan zhuan* shies away from Tang Zhen's iconoclasm and egalitarianism. The *Qianshu* demands action whilst the *Yinyuan zhuan* plays with possibilities. But both sketch the same dream of ideal leadership in late imperial China and both take a similar course towards it.

2. Li Cuiran and Yang Wushan

During the reign of the Wanli emperor the scholar-official Yang Dongming 楊東明 (1548-1624) retired from political life and returned to his native Yucheng 虞城 in Henan.³⁹ Similar to Chancellor Yang in the *Yinyuan zhuan*, Yang Dongming devoted himself to the welfare of his hometown. In 1590 he organised the local elite into a Society for Sharing Happiness (*tongle hui* 同樂會). He soon felt disappointment that the society merely served as an occasion for drinking and

³⁶YYZ, 23.345.

³⁷Cf. Jacques Gernet, 'L'Homme ou la Paperasse: Aperçu sur les Conceptions Politiques de T'ang Chen (1630-1704)', in Dieter Eikemeier and Herbert Franke, eds., *State and Law in East Asia*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981, 112-125, esp. 117-118.

³⁸*Qianshu*, 1B.71-74.

³⁹Cf. Goodrich, 1976, 1546-1547.

entertainment. Only those who did good deeds, he reasoned, could truly claim happiness. He believed that propagating goodness would lead towards the utopia of *datong* 大同, the Great Sharing. Changing the name of his organisation to the Society for Sharing Goodness (*tongshan hui* 同善會) he asked its members to do good deeds (*shanju* 善舉) such as contributing money to relieve famine and poverty.⁴⁰ His example set a trend that continued well into the Qing dynasty.⁴¹

We have seen Chancellor Yang at work in Mingshui during its paradisaical days. Seventeenth-century Chinese texts use the term 'good deeds' (*shanju*) for philanthropy (giving towards the enrichment of public life) as well as charity (compassionate giving to the poor), as the modern scholar Handlin Smith has pointed out.⁴² To a seventeenth-century Chinese mind Chancellor Yang's philanthropic spirit would seem charitable in the same way as the care of orphans or famine relief. When Mingshui has fallen on hard times and flood and famine ensue in the Di plot the scholar-officials Li Cuiran 李粹然 and Yang Wushan 楊無山 are posted to Shandong province.⁴³ As high government officials they hold a rank among the literati elite comparable to Chancellor Yang. The *Yinyuan zhuan* shows them at work in office.

Li Cuiran from Henei 河內 county in Huaiqing 懷慶 prefecture, Henan 河南 province serves in the capacity of assistant surveillance commissioner as the head of the general administration circuit of Jinan (*shoudao fushi* 守道副使). As the guidelines to the *Yinyuan zhuan* announce, the virtuous protagonists retain their real names in the narrative.⁴⁴ Li Cuiran's historical counterpart has been identified as Li Zhengxiu 李政修, style: Cuiran 粹然, from Henei. He received his *jinshi*

⁴⁰*Shanju gongke* 山居功課, by Yang Dongming 楊東明, 1624 edn., 1.7a-8a.

⁴¹Cf. Fuma Susumu 夫馬進, 'Dôzen kai shôshi - Chûgoku shakai fukushi shijô ni okeru Minmatsu Shinshô no ichizuke no tame ni -' 同善会小史 - 中国社会福祉史上における明末清初の位置づけのために -, *Shirin* 史林 65.4, 1982, 37-76, 42-43; *idem*, 'Zenkai, zendô no shuppatsu' 善会、善堂の出発, in Ono Kazuko 小野和子, ed., *Min Shin jidai no keisei to shakai* 明清時代の形成と社会, Kyoto: Kyôto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyûjo, 1983, 189-232.

⁴²See Joanna F. Handlin Smith, 'Benevolent Societies: The Reshaping of Charity During the Late Ming and Early Ch'ing', *Journal of Asian Studies* 46.2, May 1987, 309-335, 311-312.

⁴³YYZ, 31.455-461.

⁴⁴Cf. section I.5.

degree in 1616 and later became a minister. Some time between the years 1628 and 1634 he served in the capacity of assistant surveillance commissioner as the head of the general surveillance circuit of Jinan (Jinan *dao* 濟南道).⁴⁵

When famine leads to cannibalism in Mingshui⁴⁶ Li Cuiran in the *Yinyuan zhuan* uses all the money and goods he has at hand to aid the poor. He sets up four foundling homes (*baoying ju* 保嬰局) with over a dozen wet-nurses each. He has the abandoned children picked up from the streets to raise them in the foundling homes. He provides them with food throughout the winter season. Li Cuiran furthermore founds other foundling homes in all the thirteen counties under his jurisdiction. His work saves thousands of children. The gazetteer of Henei county notes that Li Zhengxiu - like his fictional counterpart - established orphanages (*ciyou ju* 慈幼局) when many people starved and abandoned their children when natural disasters struck at the end of Ming reign.⁴⁷

The idea of saving the children has a long history in China. The classic of rites *Liji* 禮記 describes the ideal state of *datong* as a realm in which people treated all children like their own children, provided a place for them to grow up in peace and cared for the orphans.⁴⁸ For reality looked different: abandonment and infanticide by drowning have always counted as common means in China to dispose of the newborn (mostly female) children whom one could not raise or did not want.⁴⁹ Already in the Han dynasty officials tried to combat this phenomenon. Jia Biao 賈彪 (fl. AD 147-168) saved thousands of abandoned children from death and Zheng Hun 鄭渾 (fl. AD 189-227) punished those who abandoned their

⁴⁵Sun Kaidi (in *YYZ*, 1521-1522) points to the slight incongruity between the fictional and the historical titles; see section I.3.d.

⁴⁶Cf. section VIII.3.

⁴⁷*Henei xianzhi* 河內縣志, ed. Yuan Tong 袁通 and Fang Lujian 方履錢, 1825 edn., repr. Taipei: Chengwen, 1976, 26.22b. Sun Kaidi (in *YYZ*, 1522) tentatively dates Li's relief work to 1640 when he served in Jinan 冀南 in Lu'an 潞安 prefecture, Shanxi 山西 province. This however does not allow for conclusions as to dating the novel. It is conceivable that Li was involved in famine relief already during his stay in Jinan.

⁴⁸*Liji*, 21.3a-3b.

⁴⁹Cf. Leung, 1985, 16, 36.

children.⁵⁰ Seventeenth-century minds perceived these two officials as models of charity.⁵¹ In the mid-thirteenth century the Southern Song state set up the first public orphanages (*ciyou ju*) in the lower Yangzi area. Zhu Xi was the first to establish ‘granaries to raise children’ (*juzi cang* 舉子倉) in Fujian 福建.⁵² The Song charities however remained sporadic and temporary.

The Ming government by contrast did not give much consideration to the problem of orphans.⁵³ In the absence of any imperial directive the local officials were left to themselves to deal with the foundlings. The sixteenth-century magistrate Huang Zuo 黃佐 (1490-1566) in Guangxi for example proposed adoption into childless families.⁵⁴ During his stay in China from 1582 to 1610 Matteo Ricci also noted that poverty and the fear of the future frequently drove the population to commit infanticide.⁵⁵ Modern historians have described the number of abandoned children in the late Ming and early Qing as considerable. In the early Qing for example one village of 70,000 inhabitants counted 660 foundlings.⁵⁶ The gazetteer of Jintan 金壇 county, Zhenjiang 鎮江 prefecture in the Jiangnan area records the observations of a seventeenth-century magistrate:

Whenever I walk in the countryside I will certainly see the corpses of children around the river banks. This makes my heart ache and I feel upset and grieved. It is said that the people have no

⁵⁰On Jia see *Hou Hanshu*, 67.2216. On Zheng see *Weishu* 魏書, in *Sanguozhi* 三國志, by Chen Shou 陳壽, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1973, 16.508-512.

⁵¹Cf. *FHQS*, 31.16a.

⁵²Cf. Wang Deyi 王德毅, ‘Songdai de yanglao yu ciyou’ 宋代的養老與慈幼, *Songshi yanjiu ji* 宋史研究集 6, 1971, 399-428; Richard von Glahn, ‘Community and Welfare: Chu Hsi’s Community Granary in Theory and Practice’, in Robert P. Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer, eds., *Ordering the World. Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993, 221-254.

⁵³Cf. Angela K. Leung, ‘L’accueil des enfants abandonnés dans la Chine du bas-Yangzi aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles’, *Études chinoises* 4.1, 1985, 15-54, 19.

⁵⁴*Taiquan xiangli* 泰泉鄉禮, by Huang Zuo 黃佐, *Siku quanshu zhenben siji* edn., repr. Taipei: Shangwu, 1973, 4.11b-12a.

⁵⁵Ricci, 1958, 86-87.

⁵⁶Leung, 1985, 39.

conscience, but does the problem not rather lie in the incapability of those who govern to take care of them?⁵⁷

Buddhist institutions offered one solution. Feng Menglong's *Sanyan* stories describe orphans growing up in the monasteries.⁵⁸ Seventeenth-century morality books turned to a wider public for help. The monk Zhuhong allotted twenty five points of merit for 'rearing a foundling'.⁵⁹ The late Ming morality book *Fushou quanshu* 福壽全書 exhorted readers to follow the example of Song dynasty orphanages and raise abandoned children.⁶⁰ 'Set up orphanages to raise the abandoned children' urged the morality book *Huizuan gongguoge* likewise in the early Qing.⁶¹ Saving one abandoned child would, so the *Huizuan gongguoge* claimed, score three hundred points of merit.⁶²

While the government remained in a passive position and corruption seemed to paralyse the bureaucracy the charity movements of the seventeenth century took on new dimensions in terms of sponsorship and spirit.⁶³ Individuals started to take the initiative by founding charitable societies and institutions to save the children. In the late Ming a 'society to foster children' (*yuying she* 育嬰社) came into existence in Yangzhou 揚州.⁶⁴ Modern studies of the seventeenth-century orphanages in the Jiangnan area have shown that sponsorship came almost exclusively from local elites (i.e. literati and merchants) on a voluntary basis.⁶⁵ Tang Zhen drew attention

⁵⁷*Jintan xianzhi* 金壇縣志, 1683 edn., 1.4a; cf. Leung, 1985, 28 (original has not been available to me).

⁵⁸*Yushi mingyan*, 30.442-458; *Xingshi hengyan*, 15.289-317; *Jingshi tongyan*, 35.350-358.

⁵⁹*Zizhi lu*, in *Yunqi fahui*, A.2b.

⁶⁰*Fushou quanshu* 福壽全書, Chongzhen (1628-1644) edn., 4.2a-b; cf. Handlin Smith, 1987, 321.

⁶¹*Huizuan gongguoge*, 8.28b. Cf. Sakai, 1970, 349; *idem*, 1977, 383-395.

⁶²*Huizuan gongguoge*, 7.26a-26b.

⁶³Handlin Smith, 1987, 310; cf. Fuma, 1983, 191, 211-215, 220.

⁶⁴See *Renpu leiji zengding* 人譜類記增訂, by Liu Zongzhou 劉宗周 (1578-1635), Chongwen edn., 5.61b.

⁶⁵Cf. Handlin Smith, 1987, 310.

to a foundling home (*yuying tang* 育嬰堂) in Suzhou which employed over three hundred wet-nurses. The literati elite (*shidafu* 士大夫) provided the yearly cost of one thousand taels. Tang Zhen praised this as ‘the good deed of one village’ and deplored that it remained an isolated instance of charity within an empire full of suffering.⁶⁶ Huang Liuhong proposed practical measures to deal with abandoned children:

Set up foundling homes like the orphanages of the Song dynasty. Invite the philanthropic gentry to act as directors. The magistrate should take the lead in donating funds and then ask his colleagues, the literati and the rich commoners for voluntary contributions.⁶⁷

Li Cuiran in the *Yinyuan zhuan* illustrates how one scholar-official tackles the problem of orphans. The narrating voice endorses Li’s project by relating events in a matter-of-fact way. As one of the few scholar-officials to devote himself to charity he represents a rare ideal. However the project lacks the support of the government as well as the participation of the local literati or merchants. The tragedy of the children of seventeenth-century China lies in the fact that Li Cuiran stands alone in his crusade against their plight.

Yang Wushan from Wuling 武陵 county, Changde 常德 prefecture in Huguang 湖廣 province in the South of China serves as a regional inspector (*xun’an yushi* 巡按御史) of Jinan. He has received his *jinshi* degree in the year *xinwei* 辛未 (i.e. 1631, to make him a contemporary of Li Cuiran). The Ming and early Qing governments would send one regional inspector to each province on a one-year assignment to tour all localities in his jurisdiction. His official duties included the supervision of officials and their activities in the provinces and accepting complaints from the people. He had to report on conditions in the provinces to the emperor, denouncing unfit officials, criticising inappropriate policies or proposing new measures. The Kangxi Emperor terminated this post in 1661.⁶⁸ No data have been discovered about Yang Wushan’s identity in history but he too embodies traits we can find in contemporary scholar-officials.

⁶⁶*Qianshu*, 2A.148-149.

⁶⁷*FHQ*S, 31.16b.

⁶⁸Cf. Hucker, 1985, 253.

Arriving in Mingshui in the autumn Yang Wushan realises that the population cannot survive the winter unless they receive famine relief. He uses all the financial resources available to him at his post and raises funds from government officers to buy rice. He has the poor registered, distributes meal vouchers and opens a soup kitchen (*zhouchang* 粥廠) to provide rice gruel for five months. His way of distributing food corresponds to one of the methods Chen Xigu proposed in his morality book *Huizuan gongguoge*:

On the previous day count the starving and distribute vouchers. On the following day at dawn the representatives from each family will gather at a certain place, register and receive their provisions. Supply them with their allowances once every ten days.⁶⁹

Chen Xigu however worried that soup kitchens using this method of distribution could threaten the public order as they drew people away from their occupations and encouraged popular disturbances.⁷⁰ Huang Liuhong voiced similar fears.⁷¹ He remembered the Song dynasty official Zeng Gong's 曾鞏 (1019-1083) claim that daily rations of food would only encourage vagrancy. Huang Liuhong admitted that soup kitchens could save the lives of thousands of famine victims but he considered them as the worst kind of relief measure. Prevention is better than cure, Huang believed. He compared a famished society to the sick body:

Since we know that dearth follows upon prosperity we must plan ahead to avoid disaster. Since we know that every human falls ill at some stage of his life we must take precautions beforehand to guard against the consequences. We must keep grain in store just as we must stock up on medicines. If we keep grain in store we can use it for famine relief and a year of dearth will not result in disaster. If we stock up on medicines we have them at hand to cure illness and an illness will not have any consequences.⁷²

Huang proposed to hand out money and grain for the winter and spring so that people could support themselves at home without giving up their occupations. He

⁶⁹*Huizuan gongguoge*, 7.29b.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

⁷¹*FHQs*, 27.1a-5a.

⁷²*FHQs*, 27.1a.

suggested re-establishing the community granary system (*shecang* 社倉) Zhu Xi had introduced in the Song dynasty.⁷³ The grain reserves would then support the people in times of famine. Huang perceived the scholar-official who fails in his duty towards his community as a healer who fails to treat the sick:

Storing up grain without using it to provide famine relief is just like stocking up on medicines and not handing them out to cure illnesses.⁷⁴

The granary system would eliminate the disadvantages Huang Liuhong spotted in the soup kitchens, such as the danger of theft of relief materials, the long queues of people, and the difficulties in identifying the real famine victims.⁷⁵

Such fears come true in Yang Wushan's world. The *Yinyuan zhuan* throws light on the faces of those flocking to his soup kitchen. Among the starving there is a group of over two hundred poor students - those without the influential and wealthy connections of the Xue brothers and Xiang Yuting.⁷⁶ Shocked to see scholars and commoners mix, Yang Wushan sets up another soup kitchen for them in the Confucian school. Yang also separates men and women. He tries hard to maintain order - as in an ideal Confucian state. His soup kitchen however lies within a fallen world. Among the fed some merely feign starvation. Xue Chongli 薛崇禮 and his wife claim meal vouchers although they own a shop for food grains and salt. When the fraud comes out Yang Wushan exempts them from punishment and merely fines them three piculs of millet as a contribution towards the relief project.⁷⁷ Yang Wushan, like Chancellor Yang, tries to influence society by education, not by punishments.

People like Xue and his wife are not the only ones to undermine Yang Wushan's efforts. The *Yinyuan zhuan* depicts in detail how the local elite fail in their responsibility for the welfare of their community. When Yang Wushan leaves

⁷³FHQ, 27.1b.

⁷⁴FHQ, 27.2a.

⁷⁵FHQ, 27.2b-3a; see also 27.11a-17b.

⁷⁶See section VII.4.

⁷⁷YYZ, 31.456. This act echoes the moral code of Chancellor Yang and also the utopia of the tillers.

at the end of the winter to tour the province for one month Mingshui is left to itself. The magistrate realises that the people need famine relief for one more month to survive until the arrival of spring. He tries to raise funds from the local gentry (*xianghuan*) and the *juren* degree holders, the rich students in the schools and the wealthy commoners. But he gets very little from the gentry and the degree holders, even less from the schools and nothing at all from the commoners. The local elite of Mingshui proves reluctant to do anything for charity's sake. The magistrate has no choice but to request Yang Wushan upon his return to sponsor the soup kitchen once again.⁷⁸

Charity traditionally characterised the ideal role of the local elite in China. The Song dynasty scholar-official Fan Zhongyan 範仲淹 (989-1052) set an example of charity from private funds within the lineage organisation.⁷⁹ In the Song dynasty Liu Zai 劉宰 (1165-1238), a scholar-official living in retirement, undertook one of the most spectacular projects of famine relief from private funds.⁸⁰ During a famine in Jintan county in 1224 he organised a soup kitchen feeding up to fifteen thousand mouths a day, as the records tell us.⁸¹ The seventeenth century morality books made a similar point.⁸² The *Huizuan gongguoge* reminds the local scholar elite that the welfare of the community lies in their hands.⁸³ The *Bufeiqian gongde li* 不費錢功德例 made it the first duty of the local gentry (*xiangshen*) to 'take the lead in philanthropic movements'.⁸⁴ When a flood devastated Shandong, Henan and Nan-Zhili provinces in the late Ming in 1594 the retired scholar-official Yang Dongming submitted a memorandum and a painting of famine conditions to the

⁷⁸YYZ, 31.458-461.

⁷⁹Cf. Denis Twitchett, 'The Fan Clan's Charitable Estate', in David S. Nivison and Arthur F. Wright, eds., *Confucianism in Action*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959, 97-133.

⁸⁰James T. C. Liu, 'Liu Tsai (1165-1238): His Philanthropy and Neo-Confucian Limitations', *Oriens extremus* 25.1, 1978, 1-29.

⁸¹*Mantang wenji* 漫塘文集, by Liu Zai 劉宰, Siku quanshu zhenben jiuji edn., repr. Taipei: Shangwu, 1979, 22.9b.

⁸² Cf. Sakai, 1970, 352; *idem*, 1977, 397; Brokaw, 1991, 197-204.

⁸³*Huizuan gongguoge*, 7.29a-29b.

⁸⁴*Bufeiqian gongde li* 不費錢功德例, by Xiong Hongbei 熊弘備, in *Xunsu yigui* 訓俗遺規, ed. Chen Hongmou 陳弘謀, 1766 edn., 4.53a-63b, 53a.

throne. The Wanli emperor turned pale.⁸⁵ He subsequently allocated five thousand taels to famine relief.⁸⁶ In general however the emperor rather showed apathy in matters concerning disasters and relief projects. When famine led to cannibalism in Shandong and elsewhere in 1594 he issued the following statement:

Although We live in the palace We have not allowed Ourselves even to take rest. We have repeatedly decreed the remission of taxes. We do not know if Our ministers have carried out Our orders and if Our people have received the benefits of Our benevolence. At this time both public and private sources have been exhausted. We do not know whether there is any other relief for emergencies apart from the imperial funds and the tribute rice.⁸⁷

When snowstorms struck Yucheng in 1602 Yang Dongming did not wait for support from the government nor from his society, the *tongshan hui*.⁸⁸ He set up a soup kitchen on his own. The late Ming morality book *Quanjie quanshu* praised such deeds citing the example of Ding Bin 丁賓 (*jinshi* 1571), a member of the local literati elite of Jiashan 嘉善. A model of charity, he 'never tired of taking pleasure in goodness'.⁸⁹ Ding Bin undertook famine relief during a flood in 1587, ran a soup kitchen for three months in 1588, gave clothing to the poor in winter, petitioned for loans and contributed his own funds towards relief during a flood in 1608. During torrential rains in 1624 he provided rice for the locals at his expense.⁹⁰ In the early Qing the Kangxi emperor ordered tax relief in cases of emergency and the establishment of granaries in every district as a preventive measure. Huang Liuhong regarded it as the local magistrate's task to ensure that the granary system functioned, to undertake famine relief if necessary and to solicit the support of the local elite.⁹¹

⁸⁵*Mingshi*, 30.511. On Yang see Goodrich, 1976, 1546.

⁸⁶*Zuiwei lu* 罪惟錄, by Cha Jizuo 查繼佐 (1601-1677), Sibu congkan edn., 14.21a-21b.

⁸⁷*Mingshi chaolüe*, 2.6b.

⁸⁸Handlin Smith, 1987, 312; *Shanju gongke*, 6.16b.

⁸⁹*Quanjie quanshu*, 5.19b-20b.

⁹⁰On Ding see *Mingshi*, 221.5829-5830. Cf. Okuzaki, 1978, 461-472; Brokaw, 1991, 157-228.

⁹¹*FHQ*S, 27.11a-17b.

In the world of the *Yinyuan zhuan* however the initiative for relief work comes neither from the court nor from the local elite. During the last years of the Ming Chen Zhixi complained in his morality book about this very failure of the gentry:

In recent days whenever flood and drought occur the gentry with big granaries wish every day that the price of rice would soar. They even decline to help their relatives and friends.⁹²

The local elite's neglect of their social responsibilities motivated Chen Zhixi to imagine how the gods would reply to a prayer for rain (*Shen da qiuyu wen* 神答求雨文):

We have noted that below on earth the rich do not help the poor, the noble do not help the lowly and even relatives do not help each other. Is there anybody not afflicted by the drought? We have noted that when the poor ask the rich, when the lowly ask the noble, or when relatives ask each other for help they meet with no response. Who responds to their pleas for help? Even pleas for help from people of the same social standing meet with no response. You are thousands of miles away from heaven but you want to turn to us for a response? Turn inwards instead! Consider always to show compassion! If you shower your kindness on others then we shall send showers of rain on you too.⁹³

Attitudes had not changed in the early Qing. The scholar-official Feng Kewan 馮可參 (*jinshi* 1651) who compiled the local history of Tancheng 鄒城 county in southern Shandong in 1673 noted that the local elite was unwilling to make donations or to rebuild the emergency granaries that had been destroyed. They did not even respond to a request for lending out grain for emergency use.⁹⁴ Seen from this perspective the 'charity movement' of seventeenth-century China seems to have left the majority of the local elite untouched.

Yang Wushan's charity transcends his official duties. The deed of this scholar-official in spending his effort and money would score high in the seventeenth-century morality books. The *Huizuan gongguoge* promises three

⁹²*Quanjie quanshu*, 5.21a-b.

⁹³*Quanjie quanshu*, 5.21b.

⁹⁴*Tancheng xianzhi*, 5.12, 15; cf. Spence, 1978, 12.

hundred points to ‘influential people who take the lead in donating funds for relief projects in a year of famine and put heart and soul into devising good ways to succour the starving.’⁹⁵ A person could earn up to one thousand merit points when spending money for philanthropic purposes.⁹⁶ Both Yang Wushan and his colleague Li Cuiran fulfil an ideal proclaimed by the morality books. Similar to the syncretist tendencies of the morality books, the narrating voice blends Confucian and Buddhist concepts in explaining the coming of these two officials as an interlude of the ideal within a fallen world. The narrating voice tells that Heaven and Earth like a father and mother have compassion with their people, want to reform them and teach them goodness. Therefore they send two bodhisattvas in the shape of Li Cuiran and Yang Wushan to earth to save the people.⁹⁷

Charity played an important part in Buddhist monasteries and temples in China. For centuries they had been providing ‘hospitals and dispensaries for the sick, feeding stations for the hungry, and havens for the aged and decrepit’.⁹⁸ Yang and Li’s concern for charity corresponds to the idea of compassion in Mahâyâna Buddhism aiming at the salvation of all living creatures.

The Song dynasty philosopher Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1078) formulated the idea of Heaven and Earth as universal parents and love for all in his ‘Western Inscription’ (*Ximing* 西銘) which became the basis for Neo-Confucian ethics:

I call Heaven my father and Earth my mother. Even my tiny self has its place in their midst. (...) All people are my brothers and all things are my companions. (...) Have compassion for the orphans and the weak. This is how the young should be treated. The sage identifies his virtue with that of Heaven and Earth. (...) Even the weary, infirm, crippled or sick, those without brothers, children, or spouses are all my brothers who are in distress and have no one to turn to.⁹⁹

⁹⁵*Huizuan gongguoge*, 7.29a.

⁹⁶*Huizuan gongguoge*, 7.33b.

⁹⁷YYZ, 31.454-455.

⁹⁸Ch’en, 1964, 295.

⁹⁹‘Ximing’ 西銘, in *Zhangzi quanshu* 張子全書, by Zhang Zai 張載, ed. Zhu Xi 朱熹, repr. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1935, 1.1, 1.4. Cf. Chan, 1973, 495-500. On Zhang see Franke, 1976, 39-43.

In 1639 Chen Zhixi asserted in his morality book the obligations of the elite to society in similar terms:

Heaven and earth are the great parents. (...) No parents in this world can bear to see their children suffer; therefore it never happens that heaven and earth do not show compassion towards the plight of their people, be they young or old, rich or poor. If a rich man has the wish to share with others and does not value his wealth too much, then his parents will rejoice. When he finds others in distress and shows compassion by helping and succouring them, then his parents will rejoice even more. (...) The virtue of showing compassion to the poor and helping those in need without concern for their response is certainly what heaven and earth appreciate. The vice of hoarding wealth and ignoring the plight of others without concern for their resentment is certainly what heaven and earth despise.¹⁰⁰

The philosopher Lu Shiyi emphasised the importance of practical action. He encouraged scholars to put their learning to use not only in the government service but also in local education and charity.¹⁰¹ Lu Shiyi too organised a charitable society (*tongshan hui*) during the famine of 1641.¹⁰² Confucians like him would have approved of Yang Wushan and Li Cuiran's representation of the national elite. As the late Ming state approached bankruptcy famine relief from private funds also took on a political significance. It would help to keep rebellion down, as one censor reminded the Chongzhen court in a report from the provinces in 1631.¹⁰³ The Japanese scholar Mori Masao makes a similar point: the seventeenth-century literati proposed that landlords should provide famine relief for their tenants to suppress the anti-tax rebellions of the peasants.¹⁰⁴ The modern historian Tong has shown in his study of collective violence in Ming society that popular uprisings increased

¹⁰⁰*Quanjie quanshu*, 5.20b-21a.

¹⁰¹Cf. Okada, 1965, 15-26; Brokaw, 1991, 25.

¹⁰²Hummel, 1943, 548-549.

¹⁰³*Xu wenxian tongkao*, 32.29b.

¹⁰⁴Mori Masao 森正夫, 'Jûroku-jûhachi seiki ni okeru kôsei to jinushi denko kankei' 十六 — 十八世紀における荒政と地主佃戸関係, *Tôyôshi kenkyû* 東洋史研究 27.4, March 1969, 69-111; esp. 90-96.

during the latter part of the Ming as the government reduced famine relief.¹⁰⁵ The narrating voice in the *Yinyuan zhuan* points to charity as only one example of Li Cuiran and Yang Wushan's good government (*shanzheng* 善政).¹⁰⁶ They project a rare glimpse of ideal leaders within a world in which the majority of the ruling elite fails to live up to their role.

¹⁰⁵Tong, 1991, 125-127.

¹⁰⁶YYZ, 31.455.

3. Chao Sixiao

Chao Sixiao 晁思孝 from Wucheng county, the father of Chao Yuan, is a major protagonist playing the role of a scholar-official. His career dominates the first part of the Chao plot before the utopian chapters.¹⁰⁷ Chao Sixiao holds office first as a district magistrate (*zhixian* 知縣) in Huating 華亭 county, South Zhili 南直隸 province, and later a few ranks higher in the imperial bureaucracy as a sub-prefectural magistrate (*zhizhou* 知州) in North Tongzhou 北通州, North Zhili 北直隸 province.¹⁰⁸ The magistrate functioned as the local representative of the emperor.¹⁰⁹ The common people perceived the magistrate as *the* government. They owed taxes and corvée to him. As he presided over the court of the first instance they filed their lawsuits with him. The magistrate was the dispenser of law and the arbiter of morals. He bore the responsibility for governing everyone in his geographic jurisdiction. The late Ming magistrate Hai Rui 海瑞 (1513-1587) stressed that a magistrate functioned as the mediator between society and the cosmos. He would bear the responsibility for the moral health of the people and in particular for their physical well-being in times of disaster.¹¹⁰ The ideal role of the magistrate was, as his title indicates, to get to know and to understand his district or department (*zhi xian* 知縣, *zhi zhou* 知州).¹¹¹ The people addressed him as Parent Official (*fumu guan* 父母官) as he would ideally act like a parent to his people.

The people's farewell rites for a magistrate who left office would reflect on his performance as a local ruler. The *Fuhui quanshu* mentions the ritual of 'holding the shafts of the carriage and lying down in the ruts' (*panyuan wozhe* 攀轅臥轍) as a symbolic gesture of gratitude manifesting unwillingness to let the magistrate

¹⁰⁷YYZ, chapters 1-18.

¹⁰⁸In Ming/Qing times a district magistrate held rank 7a, a subprefectural magistrate 5b on a scale of bureaucratic ranks ranging from 9 (low) to 1 (high).

¹⁰⁹Cf. Byron Brenan, 'The Office of District Magistrate in China', *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series 32, 1897-1898, 36-65; Hucker, 1985, 77-78; John R. Watt, *The District Magistrate in Late Imperial China*, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1972, esp. 137-138.

¹¹⁰*Hai Rui ji* 海瑞集, by Hai Rui 海瑞, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981, A3.145-146. On Hai see Goodrich, 1976, 474-479.

¹¹¹Watt, 1972, 87.

depart.¹¹² Both times Chao Sixiao leaves office, first in Huating and later in North Tongzhou, he receives the honour of ‘having his boots removed’ to prevent his leaving and to keep them as a ‘memory of love’ (*tuoxue yiai* 脱靴遺愛).¹¹³ On the surface the act seems proper but appearances are deceptive. In Huating -

the local gentry (*xiangshen*) mused: ‘The Parent of the People Chao does not himself admit that he was cruel to the scholar-commoners. He does not even realise it. He merely says that customs in Huating are bad. Let us make a valedictory poem, employ our sons and younger brothers, write the names of all the students and send the professor to lead them on and see him off. Let us also prepare a marquis, get a pair of boots and ask all the tenants and servants in our household to dress up as the common people and take off his boots.’¹¹⁴

The local elite put on a show, for ‘none of the common people made a move to comply with the custom of “taking off his boots as a memory of love”’.¹¹⁵ Dramatic irony heightens the spectacle as Chao Sixiao never realises that it is but a farce. The narrating voice discloses that the scholar-commoners (*shimin* 士民 i.e. the licentiates) and the common people (*baixing* 百姓) ‘hated Magistrate Chao like a viper and could not wait for him to leave. They wanted to use exorcist rites and smoke out the evil.’¹¹⁶ Ever since taking up office Chao Sixiao has antagonised the scholar-commoners and the common people whilst siding with the powerful, i.e. the local gentry (*xianghuan*), the higher degree holders (*juren* and *jiansheng*) and other officials.¹¹⁷ When he finally leaves...

some scholar-commoners bought three animals for sacrifice to fulfil their vows, some ordered a Daoist ceremony as a celebration, some burnt white paper and some indeed broke vinegar bottles as an exorcism against evil. Some merely prayed to Buddha while others muttered curses in their prayers.¹¹⁸

¹¹²FHQs, 32.1b.

¹¹³YYZ, 6.78; 17.255.

¹¹⁴YYZ, 6.78.

¹¹⁵YYZ, 6.78.

¹¹⁶YYZ, 6.78.

¹¹⁷YYZ, 5.63.

¹¹⁸YYZ, 6.78.

In North Tongzhou Chao Sixiao's departure looks similar. This time Chao Sixiao is demoted on the grounds of misgovernment and the locals are relieved to see him go. Only one sycophant, the *yamen* runner Cao 曹, summons a group of his pals, sets up a marquis and prepares a pair of boots for Chao Sixiao to take them off as a memory of love. The locals later compose a doggerel verse deriding the act of honouring a corrupt official.¹¹⁹ The *Fuhui quanshu* diagnosed the problems with many seventeenth-century magistrates thus:

Corruption occurs because covetousness has gripped the minds of these officials and they lack compassion and benevolence. Their skills in government affairs are inferior and they rarely plan ahead. Thus their dirty tricks make them the objects of satire while the people suffer under the yoke of their cruelty.¹²⁰

Much is wrong with Chao Sixiao as a scholar-official. He owes his rise into the ranks of the literati elite to 'good luck' and connections. Having achieved licentiate (*shengyuan*) status via the regular route Chao Sixiao repeatedly fails in the *juren* examination.¹²¹ He acquires through seniority the status of tribute student (*suigongsheng*) among a group of senior licentiates annually promoted into the Imperial Academy.¹²² Yet again he fails to take the *juren* degree but his connections help him to pass an examination for minor government office. By a stroke of 'good luck' he gets the assignment as a district magistrate in Huating.¹²³ He makes the acquaintance of the actors Hu Dan and Liang Sheng who have connections to the imperial bodyguards (*jinyiwei*) and the palace eunuch Wang Zhen. Hu and Liang offer to secure Chao Sixiao's promotion for bribes at a reduced rate. They invite him to choose his preference for any post in the empire. Chao Sixiao acquires the lucrative position of sub-prefect of North Tongzhou for the price of two thousand

¹¹⁹YYZ, 17.255.

¹²⁰FHQs, 'Author's Preface' (*zixu* 自序), 5a.

¹²¹YYZ, 1.2.

¹²²According to Chung-li Chang's statistical study (1955, 127) Chao Sixiao would share this status with around twenty thousand contemporaries in late imperial China.

¹²³YYZ, 1.4.

taels.¹²⁴ The narrating voice primarily explains Chao's rise by his 'good luck'.¹²⁵ But the historical allusions suggest that he thrives on more than just luck. Chao Sixiao can flourish because the political climate of his day favours him. He lives in a state dominated by imperial bodyguards and eunuchs. Bribery rather than merit decide an official's promotion and appointment. Officials strive for lucrative positions while shunning poor posts. Greed and graft guide their careers. Modern scholarship has described such phenomena as characteristic of the latter half of the Ming dynasty.¹²⁶

Chao Sixiao proves incapable of running his office as a magistrate. He relies on his secretary Xing Gaomen 邢皋門 as his aide in government affairs.¹²⁷ To make up for Chao Sixiao's incompetence the model scholar Xing Gaomen takes charge from behind the scenes.¹²⁸ When Xing Gaomen resigns Chao Sixiao lets Chao Yuan fill his place and commit errors in handling his official affairs.¹²⁹ When Chao Yuan falls ill Chao Sixiao makes a mess of his office.¹³⁰

Chao Sixiao fails to observe the protocol. The *Fuhui quanshu* explains how a magistrate should behave towards his superiors:

Whenever a superior official passes through or visits in person one's district on public business one should make arrangements to receive and entertain him and his retinue adequately.¹³¹

During Chao Sixiao's spell as a magistrate His Excellency Xin 辛閣下, a Hanlin 翰林 Academician, passes through Huating but Chao fails to receive and entertain him with due courtesy.¹³² His Excellency Xin impeaches Chao Sixiao, but a relative of Chao's manages to cover up the affair by means of bribes. When His

¹²⁴YYZ, 5.64-74. Cao Dawei (1984, 228-229) has shown that this was the current rate in the Chongzhen reign.

¹²⁵YYZ, 1.3; 16.233.

¹²⁶See Tong, 1991, 115-119.

¹²⁷YYZ, 1.6; 7.101; 16.230-236.

¹²⁸YYZ, 16.234-235.

¹²⁹YYZ, 16.237.

¹³⁰YYZ, 17.247.

¹³¹FHQs, 4.8b.

¹³²YYZ, 17.248.

Excellency Xin later meets Chao again in Tongzhou he submits a memorandum to the throne requesting a legal investigation. Chao Sixiao lands in prison but yet again bribes and 'good luck' set him free. He suffers demotion for his misconduct but gets away with a profit. Huang Liuhong knew how corruption could paralyse the bureaucracy when superior officials failed to put a check on local officials. He deplored that bribes would often cover up cases of corruption among officials and put an end to the investigation and punishment of civil servants.¹³³ Apathy in the government lets officials like Chao Sixiao flourish.

Chao Sixiao fails to show loyalty to the state. Upon learning that the Mongol leader Esen besieges the northern borders of the Ming empire Chao Sixiao plans to flee from North Tongzhou. Against Xing Gaomen's advice he submits his letter of resignation only to earn a rebuke from his superior.¹³⁴ He does not heed *Mengzi's* message about the scholar-official's duty to the state:

Zisu 子思 lived in Wei 衛. There were invaders from Qi 齊. Someone said: 'Invaders are coming. Why do you not leave?' 'If I leave,' answered Zisi, 'who will help the ruler defend the state?'¹³⁵

Chao Sixiao epitomises the very antithesis of the Confucian model official Zisi. He proves all too willing to abandon his sovereign and his subjects in times of danger - like many of his late Ming counterparts. During the last years of the dynasty the writer and scholar-official Xia Yunyi 夏允彝 (1596-1645) accused ministers, in particular the grand secretary Zhou Yanru 周延儒 (1588-1644), of neglecting to protect the northern borders against the invading Manchu.¹³⁶ In the 1630's Zhou Yanru was also accused of accepting bribes from a native rebel leader.¹³⁷ When the Manchu threatened the capital after their incursion into Shandong province Zhou Yanru failed to put up resistance but falsely claimed victory over the invaders.¹³⁸

¹³³*FHQs*, 25.2b.

¹³⁴*YYZ*, 7.100-101.

¹³⁵*Mengzi*, 4B.31. On Zisi i.e. Yuan Xian 原憲 (515 BC - ?), a disciple of Confucius, see *Shiji* 67.2207.

¹³⁶*Xingcun lu* 幸存錄, by Xia Yunyi 夏雲彝, in *Mingji baishi* 明季稗史, ed. Liuyun jushi 留雲居士, Sibu congkan edn., 15.4a-4b.

¹³⁷Cf. Goodrich, 1976, 277-279; Chan, 1982, 301-305.

¹³⁸*Mingshi*, 308.7925-7931.

The Manchu prince-regent Dorgon 多爾袞 (1612-1650, r. 1643-1650) perceived the weakness of the Ming state as lying in the very inefficiency and corruption of its officials.¹³⁹ After the conquest of Ming China he noted:

The Chongzhen emperor was good but the problem was that his military officers faked merit and falsely claimed victory whilst his civil servants coveted bribes and broke the law. Therefore he lost the empire.¹⁴⁰

Greed also appears as Chao Sixiao's vice. The Ming court allocates one million taels from the imperial treasury to North Zhili for grain and resistance against the Mongol invaders while waiving all taxes. North Tongzhou receives a share of over ten thousand taels.¹⁴¹ Chao Sixiao embezzles the funds while imposing double taxes on the people. The narrating voice states that his dealings 'brought ruin to many a family'.¹⁴² Modern critics of the novel have pointed out that such incidents reflect the conditions of the late Chongzhen years, not the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁴³ In the late Ming Matteo Ricci noted how the magistrates' greed and lust for power plunged the people into destitution:

So great is the lust for domination on the part of the magistrates that scarcely anyone can be said to possess his belongings in security, and everyone lives in continual fear of being deprived of what he has...¹⁴⁴

Huang Liuhong too found officials like Chao Sixiao among his contemporaries:

Some magistrates even levy extra taxes of as much as a hundred percent. The peasants slog away

¹³⁹Cf. Frederic E. Wakeman, Jr., 'China and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis', *Late Imperial China* 7.1, June 1986, 1-26, 16; *idem*, 'Romantics, Stoics, and Martyrs in Seventeenth-Century China', *Journal of Asian Studies* 43.4, Aug. 1984, 653-656.

¹⁴⁰*Duoergun shezheng riji* 多爾袞攝政日記, Guoli Beiping gugong bowuyuan edn., repr. 1935, 3a.

¹⁴¹YYZ, 17.247.

¹⁴²YYZ, 17.248.

¹⁴³Cao Dawei, 1984, 225-227.

¹⁴⁴Ricci, 1953, 88.

for the whole year but how could their income ever meet such demands beyond all limits?¹⁴⁵

Huang condemned their misgovernment:

The court should regard the love of the people as the basis for all its policies and the magistrate should concentrate on showing compassion for the people. If he insists on ‘draining the pond and catching the fish’ by taxing the people so much that they have nothing left then he does not, I fear, act in accordance with the benevolence of the emperor and the compassion of the ancient sages.¹⁴⁶

Chao Sixiao’s deeds in sum present a catalogue of shortcomings in his professional and moral conduct as a magistrate.

Chao Sixiao’s career as a local ruler appears as tightly intertwined with the fate of the nation. The narrating voice underlines Chao Sixiao’s allegorical potential as a ‘bad sovereign’ by comparing him to the first Han emperor Gaozu 漢高祖 (r. 206-195 BC) ‘who devoted himself to massacring his meritorious ministers’.¹⁴⁷ Chao Sixiao’s adventures take place during the Zhengtong reign around the year 1449 when the Mongols under Esen threaten the northern borders. The eunuch Wang Zhen coaxes the emperor into leading the military defence in person. The campaign ends in disaster: the emperor falls into the hands of the Mongols at Tumu.¹⁴⁸ The narrative repeatedly refers to Esen’s incursions.¹⁴⁹ They form the backdrop of national events to Chao Sixiao’s spell as magistrate in Huating and North Tongzhou. The dynasty approaches doom as Chao Sixiao rises in the government. It is a time in which evil forces shake the empire right, left and centre: foreign armies break through the borders; eunuchs usurp power at court; corruption proliferates in the bureaucracy. Chao Sixiao’s story dramatises the negative counter-world to the utopia of a perfect magistrate’s rulership. As the narrating voice outlines it in chapter 24:

¹⁴⁵*FHQ*S, 25.2b.

¹⁴⁶*FHQ*S, 9.15b.

¹⁴⁷*YYZ*, 15.218.

¹⁴⁸Cf. section VII.1.

¹⁴⁹*YYZ*, 2.18; 5.65; 7.100; 8.107-108; 12.171; 15.216-217; 17.247.

If an evil ruler governs a place, then there will also be evil ghosts and evil spirits, evil wind, evil rain, an evil sun and moon, evil stars, evil thunder, evil dew, evil snow, evil frost, evil hail and evil lightning. This will in turn bring forth evil officials, evil clerks, evil lictors and evil messengers...¹⁵⁰

Both macrocosm and microcosm, the world at large and the individual's mind, prove responsive to the conduct of the magistrate as the core of the world - an ancient idea as stated in the *Yijing*: 'Heaven sends down omens to manifest the good or bad. The sage takes them as rules for action.'¹⁵¹ The Han dynasty Confucian Lu Jia 陸賈 (d. 178 BC) claimed that the omens of good or evil all stemmed from the conduct of the local ruler.¹⁵² A bad ruler would cause natural disaster as much as illness: 'Bad government (*e zheng* 惡政) produces a bad atmosphere (*qi* 氣) and a bad atmosphere produces calamities and abnormalities.'¹⁵³ Lu Jia reasoned:

When the government causes human society to lose the Way below [on earth] the pattern of heaven will change above. When bad government descends on the people locust plagues will appear on the land. If the worthy ruler is wise he will know that he must reform in response to the omens.¹⁵⁴

Chao Sixiao however never reforms. He does not even realise his wrongs.¹⁵⁵

A sense of crisis pervades Chao Sixiao's world. Here the emperor distributes a large sum of money to the provinces and waives taxes whereas he does not support charity and famine relief in the other episodes. At stake here is the existence of the state. The threat to the empire comes from the outside as well as from within.

¹⁵⁰YYZ, 24.354.

¹⁵¹*Zhouyi zhengyi*, 7.29b-30a.

¹⁵²Cf. Mei-kao Ku, *A Chinese Mirror for Magistrates. The Hsin-yü of Lu Chia*, Canberra: Australian National University, 1988, esp. 117, 124-125.

¹⁵³*Xinyu* 新語, by Lu Jia 陸賈, in *Han Wei congshu* 漢魏叢書, ed. Cheng Rong 程榮, repr. Kyoto: Chûbun, 1970, 11.10b.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵See YYZ, 18.258.

The emperor's generosity aims to prepare for defence and also to keep the population calm. Chao Sixiao however fails to defend the nation while increasing the danger of rebellion. The narrating voice refers repeatedly to the mood of revolt among the people: 'Had the common people of our days lived under Chao Sixiao, they would certainly file a lawsuit even in the dead of night if they cannot find the time during the day and submit their accusation to the King of Hell if they cannot hand it to an official.'¹⁵⁶ Huang Liuhong shared the concern about social unrest that might ensue when the magistrate failed in his duties:

When the magistrate has no concern for the pains and ailments of the people and the people do not dread the law and punishments then it frequently happens that wives kill their husbands, younger brothers kill their elder brothers, the strong bully the weak and the influential literati oppress the ignorant locals. (...) If the resentment of the people grows and they start to throw angry glares at the magistrate a local riot might ensue. I fear that those who harm the people will bring ruin to the state. How dreadful!¹⁵⁷

The millenarian atmosphere of Chao Sixiao's story suggests obvious parallels to late Ming history. The threat of the Manchu loomed on the northern frontiers. Inside the major Chinese cities the voices of students, literati and merchants rose in protest against excessive taxation and corruption among officials.¹⁵⁸ A series of popular uprisings occurred over the last decades of Ming rule targeting 'greedy officials and corrupt clerks' (*tanguan wuli* 貪官污吏).¹⁵⁹ In the early 1620's the

¹⁵⁶YYZ, 17.248. See also YYZ, 7.95.

¹⁵⁷FHQS, 25.3a-3b.

¹⁵⁸Cf. Wakeman, 1985, 1:105-109; Balazs, 1965, 11; Fuma Susumu 夫馬進, 'Minmatsu no toshi kaikaku to Kôshû minpen' 明末の都市改革と杭州民変, *Tôhō gakuhô* 東方学報 49, Feb. 1977, 215-262.

¹⁵⁹On the popular uprising in Linqing in 1599 see Okano Masako 岡野昌子, 'Minmatsu Rinshin minpen kô' 明末臨清民変考, in Ono Kazuko, ed., *Min Shin jidai no keisei to shakai*, Kyoto: Kyôto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyûjo, 1983, 103-133. The local elite participated in the tax riots of 1601 and the uprising of 1626 in Suzhou; see Shimizu Taiji 清水泰次, 'Mindai no ryûmin to ryûzoku' 明代の流民と流賊, *Shigaku zasshi* 史学雑誌 46.2, 1935, 192-230; 46.3, 1935, 348-384, esp. 372-373; Saeki Yûichi 佐伯有一, '1601 nen "shikiyo no hen" o meguru sho mondai' 一六〇一年織傭之變をめぐる諸問題, *Tôyô bunka kenkyûjo kiyô* 東洋文化研究所紀要 45, 1968, 77-108, 88.

Donglin intellectuals and partisans launched their attack against the corruption at court and among the bureaucracy. Setting out on a moral crusade to save the world they tried to replace the ‘evil elements’ with ‘good’ officials. In 1624 the Donglin leader Gao Panlong 高攀龍 (1562-1626) raged against the censor Cui Chengxiu 崔呈秀 (*jinshi* 1613, d. 1627) for having accepted bribes to recommend corrupt officials for high offices whilst ignoring other more deserving scholars because they could not pay.¹⁶⁰ According to Huang Zongxi, the Donglin leaders and their followers condemned

officials at court whose minds are not set on the emperor, officials in the provinces whose minds are not set on the commoners and officials living in retirement at home who gather to discuss philosophy and to cultivate virtue but whose minds are not set on implementing the Way in society.¹⁶¹

Urban rioters and Donglin partisans both targeted the very likes of Chao Sixiao. The events in the *Yinyuan zhuan* dramatise how the world turns into anti-utopia when the magistrate fails to execute good government. Chao Sixiao’s story conveys a cry of outrage at the perversion of ideal leadership. However the narrating voice does not side with the common people, dreading internal rebellion as much as foreign invasion. The narrative never mentions the Donglin movement. But the apprehension of the dynasty’s doom imbues the story of the magistrate in dystopia.

¹⁶⁰On Gao see Goodrich, 1976, 701-710; *Mingshi*, 243.6311-6314. On Cui see *Mingshi*, 306.7848-7852. On the Donglin Academy and political party see Ono Kazuko 小野和子, ‘Tôrinha to sono seiji shisô’ 東林派とその政治思想, *Tôhō gakuhô* 東方学報 28, March 1985, 249-282; Mizoguchi Yûzô 溝口雄三, ‘Iwayuru Tôrinha jinshi no shisô - zenkindaiki ni okeru Chûgoku shisô no tenkai - (jô)’ いわゆる東林派人士の思想 — 前近代期における中国思想の展開 (上), *Tôyô bunka kenkyûjo kiyô* 東洋文化研究所紀要 75, March 1978, 111-341; Heinrich Busch, ‘The Tung-lin Academy and Its Political and Philosophical Significance’, *Monumenta Serica* 14, 1949-1955, 1-163; Charles O. Hucker, *The Censorial System of Ming China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966, esp. 163-172; *idem*, ‘The Tung-lin Movement of the Late Ming Period’, in John K. Fairbank, ed., *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957, 132-162, 157.

¹⁶¹*Mingru xue’an*, 58.615.

4. Ke Yishan

Amongst the various scholar-officials in the *Yinyuan zhuan* - both good and bad ones - Ke Yishan 柯以善, the magistrate of Wucheng county, occupies a special position.¹⁶² He makes only a brief appearance in the Chao plot towards the end of the novel.¹⁶³ At first he seems to represent just another 'bad official'. When excessive rain destroys the crops in Wucheng in 1478 famine ensues.¹⁶⁴ The people appeal for famine relief. But Magistrate Ke Yishan does not report the emergency to the higher authorities, for he fears for his personal profit. He fails to take steps to relieve the plight of the people. He does not try to reduce their poverty by asking the higher authorities for permission to pay tax in cash instead of grain. On the contrary he uses physical torture on the people to extort grain.¹⁶⁵ Ke Yishan acts as the very antithesis to Chancellor Yang, Li Cuiran and Yang Wushan, and also to the ideal magistrate as depicted by Hai Rui.¹⁶⁶ Ke Yishan commits atrocities in office similar to Chao Sixiao. And yet he differs in a significant way.

The story of Ke Yishan shows that not all is lost in the world of the *Yinyuan zhuan*. For Ke Yishan, whose name puns on 'can become good' (*keyi shan* 可以善), has the capacity for reform. The narrating voice points out that Ke Yishan has never cared for good deeds. But he is impressed when seeing that Mme Chao and Chao Liang devote themselves to philanthropy and offer to donate grain to make up the remaining tax debt on behalf of the people. Mme Chao's example changes his attitude. He now feels remorse for his misgovernment and his cruelty. He informs the authorities about Mme Chao's acts of charity and recommends Mme Chao and Chao Liang for imperial honours.¹⁶⁷ Ke Yishan dramatises the potential for a better world. But the hero of the story is not Ke Yishan. His example shows

¹⁶²See above; other bad officials in *YYZ*, ch. 9-11; 14, 50; other good officials in *YYZ*, 12.171-173 (Li Chunzhi 李純治, 'Mr Pure Government'); *YYZ*, 10.141; 85.1209 (the historical figure and archetype of the good official Yang Zhen 楊震, cf. *Hou Hanshu*, 54.1759-1791); *YYZ*, ch. 20, 21 (Xu Wenshan 徐文山).

¹⁶³*YYZ*, 90.1278-1285.

¹⁶⁴Hu Shi set this episode into the context of Pu Songling's description of Zichuan in 1703 (see *YYZ*, 1462-1463). New evidence makes this most unlikely however (see section I.3.d).

¹⁶⁵*YYZ*, 90.1279-1280.

¹⁶⁶*Hai Rui ji*, A3.145-146.

¹⁶⁷*YYZ*, 90.1282-1283.

how scholar-officials can undergo reform and how utopia can become reality under the influence of one person: Mme Chao. The motif of the elite culminates in the episode of Ke Yishan conveying the voice of optimism. It appears as a voice from within a world in disorder (perceived to lack both *zheng* 正 and *zheng* 政), preaching the need for moral reform and showing a path for salvation. The voice endorses the potentiality of utopia - if only society would listen to the advice of its saviour, Mme Chao, the great mother.

Part Three

The Motif of the Mother

XII

Madame Chao

On the eve of her ascension to heaven Mme Chao 晁夫人 (née Zheng 鄭氏) takes a bath, dons her robes and sits down to wait. Some female relatives keep vigil by her side. At night a sweet scent and music fill the air. Mme Chao, aged 104, closes her eyes. Undergoing transformation in the manner of holy people she attains immortality.¹ These events in chapter 90 of the *Yinyuan zhuan* form the climax to the story of Mme Chao that spans almost the entire novel.

Late Ming citizens witnessed such events, or so they claimed. According to two contemporary scholar-officials, Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590) and Fan Shouji 范守己 (1542-ca. 1611), a hundred thousand people watched in Taicang 太倉, Nan Zhili province, on the Double Ninth festival (the ninth day of the ninth month on the Chinese calendar/17 October) of 1580 as the twenty-one year old widow Wang Daozhen 王燾貞, *alias* Tan Yangzi 曇陽子 (1558-1580), underwent transformation and ascended to heaven as an immortal.² Tan Yangzi, the daughter of the grand secretary Wang Xijue 王錫爵 (1534-1611) lost her fiancé when she

¹YYZ, 90.1288.

²'Tanyang dashi zhuan' 曇陽大師傳, in *Yanzhou shanren xugao* 弇州山人續稿, by Wang Shizhen 王世貞, Chongzhen edn., repr. Taipei, 1970, 78.1a-31a., 78.24b; 'Tanyang xianshi zhuan' 曇陽僊師傳, in *Chuijiancao* 吹劍草, in *Yulongzi ji* 御龍子集, by Fan Shouji 范守己, 1590, 32.1a-22b, 18a-19a. See Goodrich, 1976, 1399-1405 (on Wang), 425-427 (on Fan). On Tan Yangzi see also Goodrich, 1976, 1425-1427; Sakai, 1977, 258-263; Ann Waltner, 'T'an-Yang-tzu and Wang Shih-chen: Visionary and Bureaucrat in the late Ming', *Late Imperial China* 8.1, June 1987, 105-133; Miura Shûichi 三浦秀一, 'Shinkô Yu Anki bon seiritsu no jidaiteki jôkyô - Banreki no chishikijin to dôkyô' "真誥" 俞安期本成立の時代的情況 — 万曆の知識人と道教, in Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫, ed., *Chûgoku kodôkyôshi kenkyû* 中国古道教史研究, Kyoto: Dôhōsha, 1992, 511-564.

was only seventeen years of age.³ Claiming the status of widowhood she subsequently moved into rooms of her own. She had visions of conversing with female immortals and deities, among them the Mother Queen of the West (Xiwangmu 西王母) and the bodhisattva Guanyin 觀音.⁴ Contemporary literati and officials became Tan Yangzi's disciples, among them her father Wang Xijue, her uncle the vice-commissioner of education Wang Dingjue 王鼎爵 (1536-1585), the writer Wang Shizhen, his younger brother the poet and minister Wang Shimou 王世懋 (1536-1588), the prefectural judge Fan Shouji, the scholar-official Shen Maoxue 沈懋學 (1539-1582), the magistrate, poet and dramatist Tu Long, the chancellor of Nanjing National University Feng Mengzhen, the scholar Qu Ruji 瞿汝稷 (1548-1610), the scholar-official Guan Zhidao 管志道 (1536-1608) and the Hanlin Academician and minister Zhao Yongxian 趙用賢 (1535-1596), all *jinshi* degree holders.⁵ She also had female followers.⁶ Modern historians have marvelled at her appeal to high and low.⁷ She must have offered something her contemporaries longed for. Her teachings centre on morality, the return to simplicity and serenity (*tian dan* 恬澹).⁸ She preached salvation for the world and used her power to heal illnesses. Her hagiographers link moral reform to the image of healing the body - as in the *Yinyuan zhuan*.

³On Wang Xijue see Goodrich, 1976, 1376-1379.

⁴*Yanzhou shanren xugao*, 78.15a-18a. Xi Wangmu (*alias* Jinmu 金母) first appeared in the first century BC as a benevolent deity. Later popular Daoism transformed her into a Daoist immortal. See Homer H. Dubs, 'An Ancient Chinese Mystery Cult', *Harvard Theological Review* 35.4, 1942, 221-240. Guanyin appeared as a female manifestation of the male Indian bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in Chinese Buddhism since around 1100, see G. Dudbridge, *The Legend of Miaoshan*, London: Ithaca, 1978, 10-19. On Guanyin see also Diana Y. Paul, *Women in Buddhism. Images of the Feminine in Mahāyāna Tradition*, repr. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1985, 247-278; P. Steven Sangren, 'Female Gender in Chinese Religious Symbols: Kuan Yin, Ma Tsu, and the "Eternal Mother"', *Signs. Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 9.1, Autumn 1983, 4-25, 6-8.

⁵See Goodrich, 1976, 1376 (on Wang Dingjue), 1406-1408 (on Wang Shimou), 1192 (on Shen), 702 (on Qu), 740 (on Guan), 138-140 (on Zhao).

⁶E.g. Tu Long's wife and mother, see *Baiyu ji* 白榆集, by Tu Long 屠隆, repr. Taipei: Weiwen, 1977, 8.16b-17a.

⁷See Goodrich, 1976, 1427.

⁸*Yanzhou shanren xugao*, 78.14b. The *Chuijiancao* (32.16b, 19b) renders *dan* as 澹.

After ascension to immortality Mme Chao becomes the Mother Goddess (*niangniang* 娘娘) of Mount Yi 嶧山. This range of hills south-east of Zou county 鄒縣 in southern Shandong is famous for the visit of the first Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 (r. 221-210 BC) in 220 BC.⁹ Mme Chao presides over a site of historic importance for state religion. In this respect she resembles the mother goddess of Mount Tai. The cult of the mother goddess here too includes the imperial dimension. Recent scholarship has shown that the cult of the goddess of Mount Tai as represented in the popular religious literature (*baojuan* 寶卷, 'precious scrolls') in the late Ming - despite the connection with sectarian movements and rebellions - supported the ruler and the state.¹⁰ The story of Mme Chao too builds on imperial prestige and power.

A temporary assignment of the Goddess of Mount Yi as the regent deity of Mount Ni 尼山 in Qufu 曲阜, the birth-place of Confucius, emphasises her association with the Confucian tradition.¹¹ Mme Chao turns into a cult figure on both the elite and the popular levels. Magistrates and members of the gentry elite come to offer libations after her ascension to heaven.¹² The commoners of her native Wucheng erect a shrine in her memory. They make a pilgrimage to Mount Yi to pay homage and pray to the mother goddess.¹³ Their trip echoes the pilgrimage to Mount Tai in the Di plot.¹⁴ The seventeenth-century 'precious scroll' *Taishan niangniang baojuan* 泰山娘娘寶卷 perceives the Mother Goddess of Mount Tai thus:

The empress on the mountain peak manifests her divine wisdom and power to protect the nation, aid the people and preserve peace and prosperity.¹⁵

⁹See *Shiji*, 6.242.

¹⁰See Daniel L. Overmyer, 'Attitudes Toward the Ruler and State in Chinese Popular Religious Literature: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century *Pao-chüan*', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44.2, 1984, 347-379, esp. 363-364.

¹¹YYZ, 93.1329. See *Shiji*, 47.1905.

¹²YYZ, 90.1288.

¹³YYZ, 93.1328-1332.

¹⁴YYZ, ch. 68-69. For a detailed study of this episode see Dudbridge, 1991.

¹⁵*Taishan niangniang baojuan* 泰山娘娘寶卷 (original has been unavailable to me); translated in Overmyer, 1984, 362.

Like the seventeenth-century pilgrims to Mount Tai, the pilgrims to Mount Yi believe that their mother goddess will give protection and salvation. According to the sectarian scriptures, the Mother Goddess of Mount Tai -

in her control of Mount Tai shows no partiality, is not concerned with [distinctions between] those who are ignorant or wise, male or female, poor or rich, in high or humble positions: she looks upon them all as one.¹⁶

Male and female pilgrims from commoner and scholar elite families swarm over Mount Yi ever after.¹⁷ Mme Chao's concern for the welfare of the people transcends all social distinctions. In this respect Mme Chao also resembles the utopian figure of Chancellor Yang, an ideal representative of the Confucian elite.¹⁸

Mme Chao the Mother Goddess reminds of Wusheng laomu, 無生老母, the 'Eternal Venerable Mother', a deity emerging in the late sixteenth century pantheon of popular religion.¹⁹ The Eternal Venerable Mother soon began to replace the male deity Maitreya (Milefo 彌勒佛) as the most popular object of worship.²⁰ Her image has been traced to Xi Wangmu and also to Guanyin as her antecedents.²¹ Late Ming believers however craved for an archetypal mother goddess that would *precede* all other deities. So they created Wusheng laomu as the *mother* of Xi Wangmu and Guanyin. The cult of the Eternal Venerable Mother reached a peak in the mid-Wanli period. At that time she appeared as an aged mother goddess who had created the world and now strove to bring salvation to its inhabitants, her straying children. She became the central deity in the White Lotus sectarian

¹⁶*Taishan niangniang baojuan*, ch. 1; adapted from Overmyer, 1984, 364.

¹⁷YYZ, 93.1330.

¹⁸See section XI.1.

¹⁹Cf. Naquin, 1976, 9-18; Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion. Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China*, Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1976, 73-108, 135-145; on the worship of mother goddesses see also Marjorie Topley, 'The Great Way of Former Heaven: A Group of Chinese Secret Religious Sects', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26, 1963, 362-392, 389.

²⁰Yu Songqing 喻松青, 'Ming Qing shiqi minjian zongjiao jiaopai zhong de nüxing' 明清時期民間宗教教派中的女性, *Nankai xuebao* 南開學報 5, 1982, 29-33.

²¹Cf. Overmyer, 1976, 139, 142.

movement of the late Ming.²² Seventeenth-century sectarian writings equate Wusheng laomu with the goddess of Mount Tai.²³ Modern scholarship has placed Tan Yangzi too into the context of Wusheng laomu.²⁴ The *Yinyuan zhuan* does not express the connection with Wusheng laomu but Mme Chao embodies a similar archetype within a millenarian atmosphere. Sectarian believers held that the Eternal Venerable Mother would send a messenger deity when natural disasters and human wickedness had caused disorder and chaos at the end of one *kalpa*, or era:

The Three Powers [Heaven, Earth, and Man] will not be in harmony. When Heaven is not in harmony, the stars and planets will roll about chaotically. When Earth is not in harmony, the five grains will not grow. When Man is not in harmony, the people will be in great distress.²⁵

The followers of the sectarian movement imagined the apocalypse as a time of calamities such as flood, fire or wind. But the Eternal Venerable Mother would protect and save her believers. As the precious scroll of the Buddha of Medicine *Yaoshi rulai benyuan baojuan* 藥師如來本願寶卷, printed in 1543 by donations from one imperial concubine and five princesses, promises: when the people of the mortal world 'suddenly meet the Eternal Mother they will escape from their suffering and as children enter the Lotus Pool.'²⁶ She would show how to survive and return to paradise.²⁷

The *Yinyuan zhuan* presents a similar dystopia. The flood of Mingshui spills over both the Di and the Chao plots, affecting not only the Xiujiang area but also Mme Chao's native Wucheng county and the whole empire. The narrating voice notes that the days of prosperity and harmony (*taiping*) have come to an end.²⁸ A

²²This movement frequently led to uprisings; one occurred in Shandong in 1622. See Barend ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teaching in Chinese Religious History*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992, 227-238.

²³*Taishan niangniang baojuan*, ch. 24; quoted in Overmyer, 1984, 363.

²⁴Waltner, 1987, 125-126.

²⁵*Gongzhong dang* 宮中檔, National Palace Museum, Taiwan, Jiaqing 20/6/13 (1815), translated in Naquin, 1976, 12.

²⁶Cited in Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, *Zhongguo su wenxue shi* 中國俗文學史, vol. 2, repr. Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1984, 314.

²⁷Cf. Naquin, 1976, 12.

²⁸YYZ, 32.463.

series of natural disasters plagues Wucheng. During a drought the magistrate summons a Daoist to induce rainfall.²⁹ But the practices of the Evil Daoist merely exacerbate the situation. When the people of Wucheng pray for rain at Mme Chao's shrine the elements of nature respond at once. Rain starts falling and continues to fall in time throughout the year. A good harvest follows. Later a monk confirms in trance that it was indeed the Goddess of Mount Yi who sent rain. Mme Chao here functions like the ancient Chinese mother goddess Xi Wangmu in a popular cult in or near Shandong in 3 BC: as the *Hanshu* by Ban Gu records, sacrifices to her help avert disaster when a drought threatens the existence of the people.³⁰

As the Goddess of Mount Yi Mme Chao also administers justice. When a thief steals a purse from one of the pilgrims Mme Chao's divine powers make him return it to its owner.³¹ She here assumes the secular powers of a magistrate on the model of the ideal world described in chapter 23 in which a similar case of theft is justly resolved.³² Mme Chao is capable of restoring the dream of a just and lawful state within the Chao plot.

Mme Chao is the only character in the *Yinyuan zhuan* to undergo apotheosis. She qualifies for this position by virtue of her characteristics as the most eutopian figure in the novel. She distinguishes herself by her contributions to the welfare to society and by her morality. Mme Chao succeeds in all the tasks at which other protagonists - in particular the elite and the healers - fail.

The lifetime of Mme Chao - in this world and hereafter - establishes a chronological framework within the novel. The dates of her birthday and her ascension to heaven run like a thread through the narrative. As her story spans the Chao plot from chapter 1 - across the utopian chapters and the Di plot - up to chapter 93, it creates the illusion of stability in terms of narrative structure. The reader can sense how narrative time passes as she ages. No other character in the novel reaches her age. The narrating voice compares her life-span to that of the legendary Emperor Shun.³³ Mme Chao dramatises an ideal of leadership in provincial society that does honour to this Confucian model ruler.

At the outset of the Chao plot Mme Chao appears as the wife of the scholar-

²⁹YYZ, 93.1331-1333. See section VI.6.

³⁰*Hanshu*, 11.342; 26.1311-1312.

³¹YYZ, 93.1330-1331.

³²See YYZ, 23.349-351.

³³YYZ, 90.1277, 1290.

official Chao Sixiao and the mother of Chao Yuan. Her position is weak: with little authority over her husband and her son she has to submit to their orders and whims.³⁴ She exhorts them to morality without avail. To protest against their misconduct in private and public life she attempts suicide.³⁵ But even this act - the ultimate means for women to make themselves heard in the Confucian family - has no effect. As long as the men in her family live she cannot exert any influence.

Such was the position Confucian tradition assigned to woman in the family. The ancient classic *Yijing* defines *yin* 陰 as the female-maternal principle in the cosmic order, symbolised by earth and moon, as opposed to *yang* 陽, the male-paternal principle, heaven and sun.³⁶ The fifty-fourth hexagram of the *Yijing*, 'The Marrying Maiden' (*guimei* 歸妹), presents the image of 'thunder over the lake' (*ze shang you lei* 澤上有雷) as the ideal of female responsiveness.³⁷ As the modern scholar Guisso explains in his study of women as perceived in the *Five Classics*: 'woman following man just as a lake was seen to be stirred by the passage of thunder across its surface'.³⁸ Since the former Han dynasty social hierarchies were perceived in terms of *yin* and *yang*. *Yang* stood for ruler, father and husband, *yin* for subject, son and wife. *Yang* denoted 'noble', *yin* 'lowly'.³⁹ The *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 by Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-6 BC), the first extant compilation of biographies of extraordinary women and a standard reference work for centuries to come, defines female virtue as submissiveness: 'A girl obeys her parents. A wife obeys her husband. A widow obeys her son.'⁴⁰ Mme Chao's husband and son silence

³⁴Chao Yuan forbids Mme Chao and Ms Ji to visit temples while going on pilgrimages with Zhen'ge, *YYZ*, 2.19; 11.155.

³⁵*YYZ*, 15.227.

³⁶*Zhouyi zhengyi*, 1.1a-28a.

³⁷*Zhouyi zhengyi*, 5.33b.

³⁸Richard W. Guisso, 'Thunder Over the Lake: The Five Classics and the Perception of Woman in Early China', in R. W. Guisso and S. Johannesen, eds., *Women in China*, New York: Philo Press, 1981, 47-61, 50.

³⁹See *Cheng* 稱 text to *Laozi* 老子, transcribed in 'Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu chutu Laozi yiben juanqian gu yishu shiwen' 長沙馬王堆漢墓出土老子乙本卷前古佚書釋文, *Wenwu* 文物 10, 1974, 30-42, 40-42. *Chunqiu fanlu*, 11.13a.

⁴⁰*Lienü zhuan yizhu* 列女傳譯注, by Liu Xiang 劉向, ed. Jinan: Shandong daxue, 1990, 1.38-39.

her accordingly - despite the fact that hers is the voice of virtue.

There was some scope for the voices of women to gain prominence in imperial China. Women had been playing the role of political counsellors since earliest times. The *Weishu* 魏書, written during the sixth century under the Northern Qi 北齊 dynasty (550-577), records examples of women who distinguished themselves by their intelligence, debating skills, and classical scholarship.⁴¹ High ministers sought their advice on government affairs.⁴² In his household instructions, *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓, the model for a genre of 'household instructions' in later centuries, the Confucianist Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531-591) assigned women to their place inside the house but he nevertheless conceded:

If [a woman] has intelligence, talent, and a good grasp of ancient and modern literature then she should assist her husband and make up for his short-comings.⁴³

In the late Ming Tan Yangzi's mother, Mme Zhu 朱淑人 (1533-1598),⁴⁴ would counsel her husband, the Wanli emperor's grand secretary Wang Xijue, about important affairs of state: 'She would quote ancient and recent examples and ponder the problem from all aspects.'⁴⁵ Unlike such women Mme Chao lacks literacy and a classical education.⁴⁶ But she has an intuitive knowledge of morality, giving her wisdom and moral superiority. Both her husband and her son pay dearly (suffering demotion from scholar elite status and premature death respectively) for not

⁴¹On women in the *Weishu* see Jennifer Holmgren, 'Widow Chastity in the Northern Dynasties: the *lieh-nü* Biographies in the *Weishu*', *Papers on Far Eastern History* 23, March 1981, 165-186.

⁴²*Weishu* 魏書, by Wei Shou 魏收, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974, 92.1978-1983.

⁴³*Yanshi jiaxun jijie* 顏氏家訓集解, by Yan Zhitui 顏之推, ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1980, 1.59.

⁴⁴On Tan Yangzi and her family see A. Waltner, 'The Grand Secretary's Family: three Generations of Women in the Family of Wang Hsi-chüeh', in *Family Process and Political Process in Modern Chinese History*, vol. 1, Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1992, 541-577.

⁴⁵*Goushan xiansheng ji* 緱山先生集, by Wang Heng 王衡, Wanli edn., repr. Taipei: Wenhai, 1970, 14.35a.

⁴⁶YYZ, 15.228.

listening to her advice and for failing to reform.⁴⁷ Like the patron of scholarship Mr Li in the utopian chapters, Mme Chao comes from a rich and illiterate commoner family but she intuitively knows how to treat a scholar and teacher with respect.⁴⁸ Her innate knowledge - the Mencian concept of *liangzhi* 良知 - makes her one of Wang Yangming's modern sages.⁴⁹

Mme Chao's wisdom and gentleness make her an ideal wife and mother from the Neo-Confucian point of view.⁵⁰ She lacks jealousy completely - like the exemplary Taisi 太姒 from the Zhou dynasty, wife of King Wen and mother of King Wu, and in contrast to the shrewish spouses of Chao Yuan and Di Xichen.⁵¹ Mme Chao consents readily when Chao Sixiao wants to take a concubine.⁵² Her model conduct is her good fortune: when both Chao Sixiao and Chao Yuan lie dead the concubine presents her with a new male heir, Chao Sixiao's posthumous son Chao Liang.

After the deaths of Chao Sixiao and Chao Yuan Mme Chao begins to play a major part in the *Yinyuan zhuan*. Her status as Chao Sixiao's principal wife makes her Chao Liang's 'formal mother' (*dimu* 嫡母). The formal mother often played a more important role in a boy's life than his biological mother. In a recent article on mothers and sons in late imperial China Hsiung Ping-chen notes: 'In the words and deeds of many Ming-Qing males, we find that the mother who came to mean the most was actually his *dimu*, or "formal mother".'⁵³ She could exert a strong influence on the moral and intellectual education of her 'formal' son. In the seventeenth century for example Ms Wang 王氏 (d. 1645), the 'formal mother' of

⁴⁷YYZ, chapters 17-19.

⁴⁸YYZ, 16.235; for her treatment of Chao Yuan's teacher see 92.1307-1308; see also section X.2.

⁴⁹*Mengzi*, 7A.15; on *liangzhi* in the thought of Wang Yangming see *Mingru xue'an*, 10.180-219.

⁵⁰On the ideal woman as depicted in Neo-Confucian texts see Waltner, 1981, 124.

⁵¹On Taisi see *Maoshi zhengyi*, 16/2.7a; 16/3.11b. The preface to the *lienü zhuan* in *Mingshi*, 301.7689-7690, also alludes to Taisi.

⁵²YYZ, 18.265.

⁵³Hsiung Ping-chen, 'Constructed Emotions: The Bond Between Mothers and Sons in Late Imperial China', *Late Imperial China* 15.1, June 1994, 87-117, 88. (Romanisation adapted by D. B.)

the thinker Gu Yanwu, would read classical literature and instruct Gu Yanwu in morality. After the death of her fiancé she lived in chaste widowhood with the Gu family, performed *gegu* to express her devotion to her parents-in-law, pledged her life to the Ming dynasty and starved herself to death when the Manchu army approached in 1645. Her example made Gu Yanwu a Ming loyalist.⁵⁴ Mme Chao likewise devotes herself to educating her formal son. She employs a teacher for Chao Yuan and encourages his Confucian studies.⁵⁵ She trains him in showing compassion for the people and makes him join in philanthropic activities.⁵⁶ Mme Chao fulfils the task of guiding her son in true Confucian manner following the classic example of Mencius's mother, Mengmu 孟母.⁵⁷ The Confucian tradition attributed great importance to mothers training their sons as the future elite.⁵⁸ Liu Xiang's *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 places the mothers top of the list.⁵⁹ Yan Zhitui's household instructions emphasise the role of mothers in the moulding of their sons' characters: 'To put an end to quarreling and fighting among brothers the exhortation of a widowed mother is more effective even than the doctrines of Yao and Shun.'⁶⁰ In the Song dynasty the Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi also attributed great importance to mothers in matters of education, for they could help to prepare their sons for success in the civil service.⁶¹

While Mme Chao is not successful in the education of her first son Chao Yuan she succeeds in turning her 'formal' son Chao Liang into a Confucian scholar and a paragon of filial piety. Mme Chao succeeds in educating Chao Liang because she has become a widow. She no longer has to submit to the authority of her

⁵⁴See *Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu* 顧亭林先生年譜, by Zhang Mu 張穆, 1843 edn., repr. Taipei: Guangwen, 1971, 1.4b.

⁵⁵YYZ, 46.667.

⁵⁶YYZ, 90.1279-1280.

⁵⁷*Lienü zhuan yizhu*, 1.38-39.

⁵⁸Cf. Gudula Linck, 'Aus der fruchtbaren Erde wie einsame Schatten - zum Wandel der Wahrnehmung von Weiblichkeit bei der chinesischen Oberschicht der Sung-Zeit', in Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, ed., *Lebenswelt und Weltanschauung im frühneuzeitlichen China*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990, 189-222, 198-204.

⁵⁹*Lienü zhuan yizhu*, ch. 1.

⁶⁰*Yanshi jiaxun jijie*, 1.19.

⁶¹*Xiaoxue jizhu* 小學集注, by Zhu Xi 朱熹; Sibuy beiyao edn., 1.1a-1b, 4.1a-2a.

husband or her first son - two of the most dystopian examples of the elite.⁶² As Chao Liang grows up Mme Chao reigns supreme in her household. As a widow she can play the role of mother to perfection.

In the eyes of Confucianists Mme Chao would personify a model widow. She never remarries, in accordance with the Neo-Confucian ideal of chaste widowhood that gained prominence since the Song dynasty philosophers Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107).⁶³ In legal terms remarriage would prevent her from taking any property into a second marriage.⁶⁴ By staying in control of her husband's and son's property Mme Chao can make good their past wrongs: she returns everything acquired unlawfully to the previous owners.⁶⁵ Faithful widowhood here serves a philanthropic purpose.

The Song dynasty Confucianist Yuan Cai noted on the lives of widows:

In some cases women suffer their husband's death while their sons are still young but they are able to educate and raise their sons, live in harmony with their relatives, manage the family finances, and make their households prosper. They are all worthy women.⁶⁶

Widowhood in imperial China meant hardship in most cases. The dead husband's clan would covet the widow's property. Ms Peng 彭氏 from Tancheng county was widowed in 1669 when Huang Liuhong served as the magistrate there.⁶⁷ When her husband Chen Taizhen 陳太禎 died her son Chen Lian 陳連 was still a school-boy. Chen Taizhen had left her a house, some money, land and an ox for the farming. Immediately after his death the members of the Chen clan extorted three

⁶²See sections VII.1, XI.3.

⁶³*Er Cheng ji* 二程集, by Cheng Hao 程顥 and Cheng Yi 程頤, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981, 22 B.301. On chastity see Mark Elvin, 'Female Virtue and the State in China', *Past and Present* 104, 1984, 111-152; A. Waltner, 'Widows and Remarriage in Ming and Early Qing China', in R. W. Guisso and S. Johannesen, eds., *Women in China. Current Directions in Historical Scholarship*, Youngstown: Philo Press, 1981, 129-146; Jennifer Holmgren, 'The Economic Foundations of Virtue: Widow-Remarriage in Early and Modern China', *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 13, 1985, 1-27.

⁶⁴*Huang Ming zhi shu* 皇明制書, 1579 edn., repr. Tokyo: Koten kenkyūkai, 1966, A.8.

⁶⁵YYZ, 22.331-332.

⁶⁶*Yuanshi shifan*, 1.24b-25a.

⁶⁷FHQ, 12.19a-23a. Cf. Spence, 1978, 59-76.

taels of silver, stole the ox and wanted to move into Ms Peng's house. She resisted but one relative, Chen Guoxiang 陳國相, shouted at her: 'I shall make sure that nothing shall be left for you!'⁶⁸ On 9 June 1670 he killed Chen Lian. Huang Liuhong concludes that Chen Guoxiang's motives for murdering his cousin were to end the family line and usurp the property rights.⁶⁹

Like Ms Peng Mme Chao too falls prey to the greed of her husband's clan. The members of the Chao clan introduce themselves to her as soon as Chao Sixiao and Chao Yuan are dead.⁷⁰ They demand grain and loot her house, attempting to dispossess her.⁷¹ She later divides her property giving a share to all clan members but they continue to harrass her.⁷² Moreover a villain from Wucheng, Wei San 魏三, tries to extort money from Mme Chao. He files a suit against her falsely claiming Chao Liang as his son.⁷³ Each time Mme Chao finds herself at the mercy of the magistrate - like Ms Peng in seventeenth-century Tancheng whose case Huang Liuhong tried. Each time a fair magistrate (Chao Liang's mentor Xu Wenshan) appears like a *deus ex machina* to rescue Mme Chao. The narrating voice concedes that this becomes possible only with the help of higher powers: Heaven does not tolerate such misconduct and the spirits send the good magistrate in time.⁷⁴ Upon the death of another relative, Chao Jinren 晁近仁, the rapacious members of the Chao clan seize his land and strip his widow of her inheritance.⁷⁵ The late Ming scholar-official Lü Kun appears as exceptional in his efforts to instruct women how to claim their rights:

Life is hard for widows and orphans. It is even more pitiable if a childless widow has to remain chaste. She may receive generous treatment if she is wealthy. But who will care for her if she is poor? People cheat and harm her in all possible ways and she has nowhere to go. They persist in making false accusations before heaven. If the woman wishes to inherit her husband's property she

⁶⁸FHQ5, 12.22a.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

⁷⁰YYZ, 20.294.

⁷¹YYZ, 20.296-298.

⁷²YYZ, 22.320; 32.468-475.

⁷³YYZ, 46.669-678.

⁷⁴YYZ, 20.304.

⁷⁵YYZ, 53.766-768.

should insist on proceeding according to the legal code.⁷⁶

The examples of Mme Chao and Chao Jinren's widow in the *Yinyuan zhuan* and Ms Peng in seventeenth-century Tancheng show how difficult it was to put Lü Kun's advice into practice. Mme Chao however triumphs against all odds.

To Mme Chao, widowhood also means liberation and the opportunity for leadership. Similar to Tan Yangzi in the Wanli years, Mme Chao gains the independence to become active in society only as a widow. She can now act outside the confines of her home and teach morality by making her conduct an example for others to emulate. In early fifteenth-century Shandong the widow Tang Sai'er 唐賽兒 from Putai 蒲臺 rose to power in her community as a religious and military leader. On returning from her husband's grave she decided to follow her calling, styled herself 'Mother of Buddha' (Fomu 佛母) and led an insurrection in 1420.⁷⁷ The early eighteenth-century novel *Nüxian waishi* 女仙外史 by Lü Xiong 呂熊 (fl. 1704) portrays her as an immortal.⁷⁸ But unlike Tang Sai'er and other female sectarian leaders in Ming/Qing times,⁷⁹ Mme Chao does not instigate a rebellion. Her acts never undermine the power of the ruler and the state. On the contrary she devotes herself to moral reform and the restoration of law and order.

Mme Chao's deeds dramatise on the local level what the warrior widow Qin Liangyu did on the national scale during the last decades of the Ming dynasty.⁸⁰ Qin Liangyu took on the leadership of her husband's army after his death and set out to defend the Ming state against native rebels and Manchu invaders. Mme Chao too takes over the function of her husband after his death. She acts as a mother not only to her son but also to the whole community. But while the magistrate Chao

⁷⁶*Zongyue ge* 宗約歌, by Lü Kun 呂坤, in *Lüzi yishu* 呂子遺書, Kaifeng edn., preface dated 1827, 15a.

⁷⁷Cf. Goodrich, 1976, 1251-1252.

⁷⁸*Nüxian waishi* 女仙外史, by Lü Xiong 呂熊, ed. Huhehot: Neimenggu renmin, 1985.

⁷⁹On women in religious movements see Yu Songqing, 1982, 29-33; Erhard Rosner, 'Frauen als Anführerinnen chinesischer Sekten', in Gert Naundorf, Karl-Heinz Pohl and Hans-Hermann Schmidt, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien*, Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann, 1985, 239-246.

⁸⁰On Qin see section I.3.d.

Sixiao fails in his role as the ‘father of the people’,⁸¹ the ‘mother of the people’ Mme Chao personifies the ideal Confucian ‘parent official’ (*fumu guan*) - like the magistrate in the utopia of old Mingshui.⁸² She receives the Emperor’s recognition and admiration, like Qin Liangyu in the Chongzhen years.⁸³

Mme Chao’s native Wucheng appears as a dystopian island, the very inversion of Chancellor Yang’s peach blossom realm.⁸⁴ When natural disasters ravage the empire the literati elite set up relief projects everywhere - except for Wucheng. Seeing the apathy and lack of compassion among both scholar-officials and local gentry Mme Chao becomes active. The narrating voice stresses the Confucian dimension of her motives. As famine and cannibalism decimate the population she cannot bear to see the suffering (*xinzhong shifen buren* 心中十分不忍).⁸⁵ She displays the kind of mentality (having a mind that cannot bear to see others suffer, *you bu ren ren zhi xin* 有不忍人之心) Mencius attributed to the ideal ruler.⁸⁶ By taking action she puts into practice the Confucian concept of ideal leadership.

Mme Chao as the landlady of Yongshan estate first saves its six to seven hundred inhabitants. She forbids her estate managers to oust a single person, counts the number of the people and orders the distribution of grain. While looting, theft and starvation are the order of the day on all other estates, everyone at Yongshan survives unharmed.⁸⁷ Mme Chao turns her estate into the utopia of the model landlord as depicted in seventeenth-century morality books.⁸⁸ Turning her attention to the whole community she subsequently embarks on famine relief. She starts to sell grain well below the market price to provide food while economising with her resources. To aid the destitute she runs a free soup kitchen.⁸⁹ Upon hearing about the deprivation of the commoners at the hands of the magistrate Ke

⁸¹See section XI.3.

⁸²YYZ, 24.357.

⁸³YYZ, 32.465; 90.1283-1284.

⁸⁴See section XI.1.

⁸⁵YYZ, 32.464. Such conditions prevail in Wucheng in YYZ, ch. 32 and 90.

⁸⁶*Mengzi*, 1A.7; 2A.6.

⁸⁷YYZ, 32.464-465.

⁸⁸See section XI.1.

⁸⁹YYZ, 32.465-466.

Yishan she pays the remaining tax debts on behalf of the people.⁹⁰ She distributes rice and grain for famine relief and orders the rich to provide for the poor.⁹¹ Mme Chao takes care of the orphans, the crippled, the sick, the poor and the needy.⁹² Herself but a widow, Mme Chao also devotes herself to protecting widows.⁹³ She acts true to the spirit of King Wen's ideal state as described by Mencius and the utopia of *datong* as depicted in the *Liji*.⁹⁴ She anticipates in spirit the sponsorship of philanthropic institutions for the protection of widows that began to flourish in the early Qing but are lacking in her world.⁹⁵

The scholar elite, the Emperor and the narrating voice laud her as a manifestation of the bodhisattva Guanyin.⁹⁶ The narrating voice moreover places her among the cream of the elite, calling her a 'female Sir Fan Wenzheng' 女范文正公, *alias* Fan Zhongyan, the Song dynasty scholar and philanthropist.⁹⁷ She takes on the responsibilities the literati elite should have taken on but did not. Mme Chao the perfect philanthropist would get full scores in the Ming/Qing morality books. As a Daoist immortal, a bodhisattva in her compassion and a Confucian reformer of society, Mme Chao epitomises the syncretist utopia *par excellence*. The rarity of her example moreover reflects back on the weakness of her contemporaries: the men in power.

In perfect Confucian form Mme Chao stands as a model for her fellow citizens. They learn from her example just as Huang Lihong envisaged social reform on the model of the ancient sages.⁹⁸ She reforms not only the magistrate Ke

⁹⁰YYZ, 90.1278-1280; see section XI.4.

⁹¹YYZ, 90.1282.

⁹²YYZ, 32.475; 57.824-825.

⁹³YYZ, 36.534; 57.828-829; 92.1308-1314.

⁹⁴*Mengzi*, 1B.5. *Liji*, 21.3a-3b.

⁹⁵See Fuma Susumu 夫馬進, 'Shindai no jutsurikai to shinsetsudô' 清代の恤嫠会と清節堂, *Kyôto Daigaku bungakubu kenkyû kiyô* 京都大学文学部研究紀要 30, March 1991, 41-131; Chia-lin Pao Tao, 'Chaste Widows and Institutions to Support Them in Late-Ch'ing China', *Asia Major*, Third Series 4.1, 1991, 101-119.

⁹⁶YYZ, 90.1282-1283; 32.463 (chapter title).

⁹⁷YYZ, 90.1283. Cf. section XI.2.

⁹⁸*FHQs*, 13.12a; cf. section XI.1.

Yishan⁹⁹ but also both the rural and the urban elites of Wucheng in addition to everyone on her estate and in her soup kitchen. The powerful families in the neighbourhood of Yongshan imitate her estate management.¹⁰⁰ Her influence thus saves many lives among the rural population. The retired magistrate Wu Qingyun 武卿雲 in Wucheng city hears of Mme Chao's example and feels shame:

Such wonderful acts of charity - and us men with our high hats and broad sashes, we are not doing anything at all while letting one woman who wears a skirt and her hair in a bun do everything! What is the use of all our masculine attire? How shameful!¹⁰¹

He subsequently raises funds to distribute grain and runs a soup kitchen himself. Eventually all powerful families follow suit and join in the relief work, donating rice and wood or running their own soup kitchens.¹⁰² Mme Chao's morality and generosity prevent her estate managers and aid workers from cheating.¹⁰³ The *Yinyuan zhuan* here makes a similar point as the seventeenth-century morality book *Huizuan gongguoge* which depicts elderly ladies and widows as the model heads of their households: septuagenarian Mme Yang Chengzhai 楊誠齋夫人 gives much care to the well-being of her servants; Mme Sima Wenzheng 司馬文正夫人, née Zhang 張氏, and Mme Yuan 袁夫人 treat their servants with kindness and generosity. Never showing anger or arrogance these ladies educate the members of their households by the example of their virtue.¹⁰⁴ Mme Chao likewise succeeds in regulating her household and restoring order in her community. Her household and her soup kitchen resemble Chancellor Yang's utopian inn - flourishing true to the spirit of the ancient Chinese concept of the ideal world.¹⁰⁵

Apart from promoting moral soundness and harmony in her world Mme Chao also helps to heal illnesses. Like the motif of the healers, Mme Chao's story combines the imagery of bringing order to the state with healing the body. In a

⁹⁹YYZ, 90.1279-1282. Cf. section XI.4.

¹⁰⁰YYZ, 32.465.

¹⁰¹YYZ, 32.466.

¹⁰²YYZ, 32.467, 475.

¹⁰³YYZ, 32.466-467.

¹⁰⁴*Huizuan gongguoge*, 2.96a-100b.

¹⁰⁵See section XI.1.

world ravaged by sin and sickness she initiates moral reform as well as the return to physical health. She nurses a boy from the Chao clan back to health.¹⁰⁶ Although Mme Chao herself does not heal, she sends out healers, patronises doctors and distributes medicines. In times of epidemics in Wucheng she gives money to Hu Wuyi, the actor-turned-monk-turned-healer, to buy land, grow medicinal herbs, prepare medicines and cure people's illnesses.¹⁰⁷ When Chao Liang falls ill due to excessive mourning after her leaving the mortal world she sends from heaven the Daoist immortal Sun Zhenren with a wonder-drug to save Chao Liang.¹⁰⁸ First as a widowed mother and later as a goddess she fulfils the same function of benefactress to society. Under her wing healers appear and illnesses get cured. Albeit from behind the scenes, she plays an important part in restoring the well-being of the people.

In depicting how Mme Chao reforms and saves her world the narrating voice becomes increasingly serious. Her hyperbolic representation of goodness and moral soundness sets a counter-point to the explorations into the depths of sin and vice that dominate the novel. Many mothers appear in the *Yinyuan zhuan* apart from Mme Chao. Some act as strong-willed, virtuous and wise mothers while others are vicious and spiteful. Di Xichen's mother Mrs Di is a woman with good common sense who tries to manage her household with a strong hand.¹⁰⁹ So is Mrs Tong 童奶奶, the mother of Di Xichen's second wife Jijie. She handles with aplomb the professional mishaps of her husband, the silversmith Tong Qi 童七.¹¹⁰ Mrs Xiang 相大妗子, Di Xichen's aunt, is one of the few characters to castigate Xue Sujie.¹¹¹ Professor Xue's wife Mme Xue personifies virtue and gentleness while his concubine Ms Long 龍氏, the mother of Sujie, Rubian and Rujian, is a rough and wayward character. Mme Li 李夫人, a minor character appearing only once briefly, represents a model widow and mother who raises her sons to become high scholar-officials.¹¹² Strong mother figures appear in both plots. But none equals

¹⁰⁶YYZ, 57.825.

¹⁰⁷YYZ, 90.1282; see section VI.3.

¹⁰⁸YYZ, 90.1289-1290; see section VI.2.

¹⁰⁹See e.g. YYZ, 33.484-485, 489; 40.584-585; 48.702.

¹¹⁰YYZ, ch. 54, 55, 70, 71.

¹¹¹YYZ, 60.859-861.

¹¹²YYZ, 34.497-498.

Mme Chao. Length of description, attention to detail and narrative focus make her alone stand out in the foreground. A unique character among the mother figures of the *Yinyuan zhuan*, she appears as *the* heroine of the novel in contrast to the shrewish and childless anti-heroine Sujie and the major male protagonists.

Powerful women and goddesses also feature in other Ming novels. Guanyin plays the role of saviour in the *Xiyou ji*. The Divine Lady (Nüwa niangniang 女媧娘娘) reigns supreme in the cosmos of *Fengshen yanyi*.¹¹³ In the *Shuihu zhuan* the Mysterious Goddess of the Ninth Heaven (Jiutian xuannü 九天玄女) rescues the hero Song Jiang.¹¹⁴ The sixteenth-century novel *Jin Ping Mei* however has no strong mother figure: Ximen Qing's principal wife Yueniang 月娘, the would-be mother, lacks the wisdom and power to make up for her husband's deficiencies, herself seeking rather than giving spiritual protection.¹¹⁵ As the mother of Ximen Qing's posthumous son Yueniang plays a major role in the early Qing sequel *Xu Jin Ping Mei*. She dies a saint but never attains the aura of Mme Chao.¹¹⁶ The *Xu Jin Ping Mei* portrays Yueniang as a woman in need of support and help, rather mocking the values of chaste widowhood.¹¹⁷ Pu Songling's *Liaozhai zhiyi* also recounts stories of widows in a mock-heroic and irreverent tone of voice.¹¹⁸ Mme Chao ranks among the few most powerful heroines of Ming/Qing fiction.

There were women in late imperial China who acted like Mme Chao. Tan Yangzi's mother Mme Zhu had the reputation of making her family prosper by managing her household properly.¹¹⁹ The local gazetter of Yucheng in Henan province praises Ms Qiu 邱氏, the second wife of the scholar-official Yang

¹¹³*Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義, ed. Beijing: Zuoja, 1956, eg. 1.1-7.

¹¹⁴*Shuihu quanzhuan*, 42.675-680.

¹¹⁵E.g. *JPMCH*, ch. 21, 40.

¹¹⁶*Xu Jin Ping Mei*, 63.647. On Yueniang see also Ogawa Yôichi 小川陽一, 'Chûgoku shôsetsu ni okeru dôkyô - toku ni Zoku Kin Pei Bai to Taijô kannôhen -' 中国小説における道教 — とくに続金瓶梅と太上感応篇 —, in Akizuki Kanei 秋月観英, ed., *Dôkyô kenkyû no susume - sono genjô to mondaiten o kangaeru - 道教研究のすすめ — その現状と問題点を考える —*, Tokyo: Hirakawa, 1986, 113-128, 121-123.

¹¹⁷*Xu Jin Ping Mei*, 50.482-484.

¹¹⁸*Liaozhai zhiyi*, 2.191-193; 5.699-703; 7.927-928; 9.1221-1224; 9.1283-1286.

¹¹⁹*Goushan xiansheng ji*, 14.31b, 35a.

Dongming, for her charitable donations. Once she had over one hundred rolls of cloth made into clothes for the poor.¹²⁰ Many women, especially widows among the sectarian followers, sold medicines or practised as healers.¹²¹ But it is difficult to find an example to match Mme Chao.

In her systematic reform of society she embodies the saviour in the midst of a nightmare. It has been suggested that the late Ming image of the protective mother goddess, in particular Wusheng laomu, represents an androgynous figure.¹²² A chaste widow in particular would fit this image. Mme Chao however appears as more than the revival of an archetype. Elite and commoners, young and old, men and women all turn to her and take her as a model - like the late Ming citizens who followed Tan Yangzi. The *Yinyuan zhuan* emphasises the role of Mme Chao as a *woman*. She has greater intelligence and foresight than the male elite. She is the only character in the novel to think of famine prevention by storing up grain as in the granary system the *Fuhui quanshu* proposes to magistrates.¹²³ When she hears about Wu Qingyun joining in the famine relief she suggests an even better way of doing it. To prevent sabotage she suggests dividing among them the tasks of selling cheap grain and running the soup kitchen. Wu Qingyun admits: 'What a good idea and I didn't even think of it!'¹²⁴ He takes over Mme Chao's soup kitchen while retaining her management system because it is superior to what he can devise himself. The narrating voice makes it clear that only a *woman* can do what Mme Chao does:

Mme Chao, one woman, emptied her pockets to distribute fourteen or fifteen thousand pecks of grain to relieve the starving in the country-side. This is, I fear, what even the public-spirited men

¹²⁰*Yucheng xianzhi* 虞城縣志, comp. Xi Qingyun 席慶雲, 1895 edn., repr. Taipei: Chengwen, 1976, 7.3a-3b. On Yang see section XI.2.

¹²¹Cf. Yu Songqing, 1982, 32-33; Waltner, 1981, 142-143; Victoria Cass, 'Female Healers in the Ming and the Lodge of Ritual and Ceremony', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106.1, 1986, 233-240.

¹²²D. H. Porter, 'Secret Sects in Shantung', *Chinese Recorder* 17.1, 1886, 1-10, 4; Linck, 1990, 217-218, also perceives a 'reduction of femininity' in the ideal image of the mother in late imperial times.

¹²³YYZ, 32.465; see also 90.1286.

¹²⁴YYZ, 32.466.

are not capable of doing.¹²⁵

The narrating voice portrays Mme Chao not as equal but as superior to men. In its typically earthy way of expression this reads:

A man who fails in his moral duties is a real swine!

A benevolent woman is mightier than a hero.¹²⁶

In the late Ming world we also hear other voices of literati inverting gender hierarchies and ranking women top. The scholar-official Lü Kun describes many exemplary women as superior to men, using phrases such as: ‘Even some heroic men cannot match her intelligence and courage.’¹²⁷ The writer Feng Menglong likewise commends such ladies: ‘Few have her intelligence and courage; not one in a million can match her firmness and endurance.’¹²⁸ In the early seventeenth century Tan Yangzi’s brother, the *jinshi* degree-holder Wang Heng 王衡 (1561-1609),¹²⁹ recalled that his grandfather, a magistrate, once said about his mother, Mme Zhu:

This girl has the same bearing as me. But in intelligence and firmness she surpasses me. Isn’t this girl rather like a man?¹³⁰

Some late Ming literati were convinced that they could learn from a woman.¹³¹ Wang Heng looked up to his mother as a model of virtue. He considered himself morally and intellectually inferior to her.¹³² The scholars who became Tan Yangzi’s disciples submitted to her as a teacher, seeking from her spiritual

¹²⁵YYZ, 32.468.

¹²⁶YYZ, 30.449.

¹²⁷*Guifan tushuo*, 2.15b.

¹²⁸*Zhinang quanbu*, 26.533.

¹²⁹On Wang see Goodrich, 1976, 1378; the editor’s preface to the Wenhai reprint of *Goushan xianshengji* gives his dates as 1564-1607.

¹³⁰*Goushan xiansheng ji*, 14.30a.

¹³¹See also A. Waltner, ‘Learning from a Woman: Ming Literati Responses to Tanyangzi’, *International Journal of Social Education* 6.1, 1991, 42-59.

¹³²*Goushan xiansheng ji*, 14.34a, 38b.

guidance, healing and a cure for the ills of the world. In 1643 the scholar-official Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664) praised Tan Yangzi's niece, the warrior Ms Wang 王氏 (Wang Heng's fifth daughter), for her heroic military defence of Xindu 新都 city in Sichuan province at the side of her husband, the scholar-official Huang Yisheng 黃翼聖 (*alias* Ziyu 子羽, 1596-1659) against the rebel leader Zhang Xianzhong 張獻忠 (1605-1647) in the Chongzhen reign period.¹³³ The narrating voice in the *Yinyuan zhuan* compares Mme Chao to a historical figure, the heroic warrior Ms Feng Bao 馮寶夫人, *alias* Mme Xian 洗夫人/Duchess of Qiaoguo 譙國夫人 (d. ca. AD 601).¹³⁴ The Duchess of Qiaoguo was famous for her military exploits and her loyalty to the state. She played an important part in quelling rebellions and defending imperial power during the Sui 隋 dynasty's (581-617) pacification of South China. As a widow she became a local ruler. The people called her Sage Mother (*shengmu* 聖母) because she protected their borders and preserved peace.¹³⁵ Writing in 1603 Wang Heng likewise places his mother Mme Zhu in the context of the Duchess of Qiaoguo, claiming that a heroine like her could be a saviour in times of crisis.¹³⁶ Feng Menglong was another late Ming writer to sing the praises of the Duchess of Qiaoguo.¹³⁷

Like the Duchess of Qiaoguo, Ms Wang and Qin Liangyu in spirit, Mme Chao struggles to save the nation. Mme Chao does not take up arms but her deeds likewise help to maintain order in the empire. As Chao Liang warns the magistrate Ke Yishan:

If you again extort the tribute grain from the [commoners], they will either rebel or their corpses

¹³³*Muzhai you xue ji* 牧齋有學集, by Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, Sibu congkan edn., 37.5a-6a. See Hummel, 1943, 148-150 (on Qian), 37-38 (on Zhang). On Huang see *Muzhai you xue ji*, 23.7b-9b, 31.8a-10a, 37.4b-8b.

¹³⁴YYZ, 32.463.

¹³⁵On the Duchess of Qiaoguo see *Suishu* 隋書, by Wei Zheng 魏徵 et al., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1973, 80.1800-1803; *Beishi* 北史, by Li Yanshou 李延壽, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974, 91.3005-3007; *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, ed. Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1959, 270.2116-2117.

¹³⁶*Goushan xiansheng ji*, 14.38b.

¹³⁷*Zhinang quanbu*, 26.526-527.

will all pile up in the ditches.¹³⁸

Chao Liang explains his mother's motives for her philanthropy:

My mother seeks neither recognition from the authorities nor repayment from the commoners. She only hopes her native place will be safe and peaceful.¹³⁹

The narrating voice praises her achievements: while putting an end to disturbances she succeeds in restoring the utopian world (*taiping*) of the past to some extent.¹⁴⁰ The narrating voice implies that she carries on the tradition of China's sages and perfect rulers¹⁴¹ - in the absence of capable men. In this respect the *Yinyuan zhuan* echoes the voices of other late Ming literati. Lü Kun's modern biographer Handlin attributes his views on the superiority of some women to his 'disillusionment with fellow officials'.¹⁴² By immortalising Tan Yangzi and her female relatives in their writings, Wang Shizhen, Wang Heng and Qian Qianyi air but 'their own moral and political anxieties,' as the modern historian Waltner maintains.¹⁴³ The Japanese scholar Miura Shûichi 三浦秀一 discusses the cult of Tan Yangzi in the context of late Ming intellectuals and their interest in Maoshan 茅山 Daoism revelation texts, in particular Yu Anqi's 俞安期 (1550-ca. 1618) edition of the *Zhen' gao* 真誥 by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536).¹⁴⁴ Miura suggests that the craze for Tan Yangzi epitomises the *Zeitgeist* of the late Ming, expressing a longing to transcend human artificiality, to solve the conflict between individuality and public duty in times of political chaos, and to return to nature.¹⁴⁵ However he does not elucidate the issue of Tan Yangzi taking on moral leadership as a woman.

In the late Ming the thinker and *jinshi* degree holder Geng Dingxiang 耿定向

¹³⁸YYZ, 90.1280.

¹³⁹YYZ, 90.1281.

¹⁴⁰YYZ, 32.466.

¹⁴¹Comparing her also to the Empress Zhen 甄皇后 (d. 221 AD), famous for her philanthropy, see YYZ, 32.463; *Weishu*, in *Sanguozhi*, 5.159-163.

¹⁴²Handlin, 1975, 27.

¹⁴³Waltner, 1992, 572.

¹⁴⁴Miura, 1992, 520-544. On Yu see also Goodrich, 1976, 1606-1608.

¹⁴⁵Miura, 1992, 556.

(1524-1596) lamented that men could no longer claim moral leadership. In praising Tan Yangzi he primarily criticises the shortcomings of his male contemporaries. In his perception the heroism of women symbolises the very lack of it in men.¹⁴⁶ But Mme Chao represents more than the fantasies of some late Ming literati and their disenchantment with the contemporary state of affairs.¹⁴⁷ Since the Wanli era people from all walks of life flocked to the shrines of maternal deities. Anticipating the apocalypse they created new images of archetypal mother goddesses. In the world of the *Yinyuan zhuan* too we watch how society at all levels craves for the great mother as a saviour. In this light the utopia of Mme Chao reflects a millenarian moment of collective anxiety and longing.

¹⁴⁶*Geng Tiantai xiansheng wenji* 耿天臺先生文集, by Geng Dingxiang 耿定向, 1598 edn., repr. Taipei: Wenhai, 1970, 19.33b-34b.

¹⁴⁷Anna Gerstlacher et al., eds., *Woman and Literature in China*, Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1985, 1, interpret all female protagonists in Ming/Qing fiction as manifestations of male projections expressing fear or desire. This approach however would fail to take into account the multi-layers of Mme Chao's appeal and significance.

Conclusion

The title of the *Yinyuan zhuan* has promised a tale of marriage destinies, reincarnation, karma and retribution - but what we have found in the novel extends far beyond the thematic framework. The present study has attempted to discover some of the multi-layers of meaning that the narrative contains. Our reading of it has traced the landscapes of utopia and anti-utopia as they gradually unfold before the reader's eyes. These visions provide insights into the vernacular culture and the perception of the world in seventeenth-century China.

For the present purpose, it does not primarily matter how much of the story 'really' happened. What matters is to hear the voices of the past speak about their world and to reconstruct their emotional and moral universe. History appears - to speak with the French historian Braudel - as 'a song for many voices' although some voices will drown others and reality will not always fit into a harmonised setting for solo and chorus.¹ One way of trying to hear these voices is to follow some key themes and motifs in the text of the *Yinyuan zhuan* and in the contextual discourse. Our analysis presents such an attempt, aiming to gain access to the popular imagination of China's past.

The motif of the healer represents one key theme in the narrative. The text links the image of curing with that of governing. The diagnosis of illness in the human body leads to the exposure of short-comings in society. Sins and vices cause disorders in the individual as a microcosm and also imbalances in the macrocosm of the world at large. Decadence and moral decay result in physical breakdown. The image of the body politic as a physical organism and the equation of illness with moral sickness reflect concepts of common currency in Chinese thought. The motif of the healer can be traced throughout the narrative of both the Chao and the Di plots. But like the theme of marriage destinies and retribution, the

¹Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 2, trans. Siân Reynolds, London: Collins, 1973, 1238.

motif of the healer constitutes only one of the many narrative layers. As a framework of meaning, it does not work consistently or without ambiguity. We see the healers and the characters around them not only as literary tropes but also as individuals who do not always fit into the categories of the conceptual framework. But as we lose sight of patterns and frameworks we seem to get closer insight into a literary expression of perceived reality and historical experience.

Another dominant motif is that of the elite. The criticism of the contemporary ruling elite as incapable and depraved reflects the common-place rhetoric of conservative Confucianists. Social critique targets in particular the fake literati, a group of nouveaux riches who have arrived in elite positions because of corruption in the state system and the growing power of money in late Ming times. The dramatisation of the elite in fiction however explodes the framework of traditional values and concepts. We see scholar-cum-merchants and commoners as new groups among the elite. The portrayal of some scholar-cum-merchants and commoners paradoxically reflects none of the traditional Confucian bias against them. The narrating voice frequently airs the attitudes of a Confucian conservative while also confirming the new tenets and iconoclastic ideas of Wang Yangming's philosophy. This paradox runs like a thread through the narrative, leaving an unresolved tension.

The mother emerges as a *leitmotif* within the Chao plot. The mother-figure as goddess and saviour in times of disaster dramatises a millenarian ambience that appears to have prevailed during the last years of Ming rule. Her characterisation reflects the apprehension of the apocalypse and the search for a new kind of moral leadership. She appears as a model to replace the literati elite perceived as failing in their role as leaders both on the local and the national level.

The Chao plot throughout reveals an obsession with political concerns that have been identified as peculiar to late Ming times: corruption in the bureaucracy, the threat of internal rebellion and the fear of foreign invasion. The Di plot by contrast appears as surprisingly silent on these issues while exploring some of the broader concerns of the economic, intellectual and cultural spheres of the seventeenth century. Whether they were written before the fall of the Ming dynasty or in the years around the dynastic change, both plots convey voices and visions steeped in the late Ming world.

The aspects explored by the present study cover only a part of the world as represented in the *Yinyuan zhuan*. Further layers of meaning and narrative depths remain for future investigation. Much fun and entertainment in the novel derive from a delight in exposing sexual and scatological perversion. The narrating voice

often abandons its didactic discourse while delving into a voyeuristic survey of its surroundings. It fills its tale with love and beauty and also with filth and blood. It depicts some characters - such as Di Xichen and Sun Lanji as star-crossed teenage lovers - with endearing and emotional touches. In representing everyday life, however, irony and satire by inversion frequently turn seemingly normal proceedings into the grotesque. Carnavalesque imagery introduces a layer of hyper-realism in the novel. This creates disturbing visions of nightmares, oscillating between humour and horror. The grotesque makes the novel an uneasy read, which may also account for its relative neglect throughout the centuries.

The richness of the orchestration of voices and visions in the *Yinyuan zhuan* makes critical analysis and historical inquiry rewarding tasks. The present reading of the novel presents one way of trying to reconstruct and to understand the world out of which it emerged. The multi-layers of meaning in the narrative leave ample scope for different readings and further exploration.

List of Works Cited

Abbreviations

- FHQ* *Fuhui quanshu* 福惠全書. By Huang Liuhong 黃六鴻. Author's preface 1694. Ed. Obata Yukihiro 小畑行蘭. Repr. Yamane Yukio 山根幸夫, Tokyo: Kyûko, 1973.
- JPMCH* *Jin Ping Mei cihua* 金瓶梅詞話. 4 vols. Ed. Hong Kong: Xinghai wenhua, 1987.
- T-YYZ* *Xingshi yinyuan* 醒世姻緣. By Xi Zhou sheng 西周生. 2 vols. Ed. Taipei: Lianjing, 1986.
- TDT* *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* 醒世姻緣傳. By Xi Zhou sheng 西周生. Tongdetang edn. 20 vols. Repr. Beijing: Wenxue guji, 1988.
- YYZ* *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* 醒世姻緣傳. By Xi Zhou sheng 西周生. 3 vols. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1981, repr. 1985.

Primary Sources

Anyatang gao 安雅堂稿. By Chen Zilong 陳子龍. Repr. Taipei: Weiwen, 1977.

Baiyu ji 白榆集. By Tu Long 屠隆. Repr. Taipei: Weiwen, 1977.

Beichuang suoyu 北窗瑣語. By Yu Yonglin 余永麟. Ed. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1936.

Beishi 北史. By Li Yanshou 李延壽. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974.

Bizhu 筆麈. By Mo Shilong 莫是龍. Qijinzhai congshu 奇晉齋叢書 edn.

Bowuzhi jiaozheng 博物志校證. By Zhang Hua 張華. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980.

Boyizhi 博異志. By Zheng Huangu 鄭還古. Ed. Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji, 1984.

Bu nongshu jiaoshi 補農書校釋. Ed. Chen Hengli 陳恆力. Beijing: Nongye, 1983. § 'Tongxiang zaiyi ji' 桐鄉災異記. By Zhang Lüxiang 張履祥. 174-175.

Bufeiqian gongde li 不費錢功德例. By Xiong Hongbei 熊弘備. In *Xunsu yigui* 訓俗遺規, ed. Chen Hongmou 陳弘謀, 1766 edn.

Cangshu 藏書. By Li Zhi 李贄. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974.

Ceshu 策樞. By Wang Wenlu 王文祿. Ed. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1936.

Chanzhen houshi 禪真後史. By Fang Ruhao 方汝浩. Ed. Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji, 1987.

Chanzhen yishi 禪真逸史. By Fang Ruhao 方汝浩. Ed. Jinan: Qilu, 1986.

Cheng 稱 text to *Laozi* 老子. Transcribed in 'Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu chutu Laozi yiben juanqian gu yishu shiwen' 長沙馬王堆漢墓出土

老子乙本卷前古佚書釋文, *Wenwu* 文物 10, 1974, 30-42.

Chongzhen shilu 崇禎實錄. Ed. Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1971.

Chuanxi lu 傳習錄. By Wang Shouren 王守仁. In *Wang Wenchenggong quanshu* 王文成公全書, Sibei beiyao edn. Repr. Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1935.

Chuanxi lu shiyi 傳習錄拾遺. By Wang Shouren. Repr. in *Wang Yangming chuanxi lu xiangzhu jiping* 王陽明傳習錄詳註集評, ed. Chen Rongjie 陳榮捷, Taipei: Xuesheng, 1983.

Chuanya neiwaibian 串雅內外編. By Zhao Xuemin 趙學敏. Ed. Beijing: Zhongguo, 1987.

Chuijiancao 吹劍草. By Fan Shouji 范守己. In *Yulongzi ji* 御龍子集, 1590 edn.

Chuke Pai'an jingqi 初刻拍案驚奇. By Ling Mengchu 凌濛初. Ed. Shanghai: Gudian wenxue, 1957.

Chunqiu fanlu 春秋繁露. By Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒. Siku quanshu edn.

Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi 春秋左傳正義. Song edn. reprinted by Ruan Yuan 阮元 in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, 1816. Repr. Kyoto, 1971.

Chutan ji 初潭集. By Li Zhi 李贄. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974.

Da Ming huidian 大明會典. By Li Dongyang 李東陽 et al. Revised by Shen Shixing 申時行 et al. 1587 edn. Repr. Taipei: Wenhai, 1964.

Daliang shoucheng ji jianzheng 大梁守城記箋証. By Liu Yi'an 劉益安. Ed. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 1982.

Dami shanfang ji 大泌山房集. By Li Weizhen 李維楨. Jinling edn. Wanli era (1573-1620).

Diji lu 迪吉錄. By Yan Maoyou 顏茂猷. 1886 edn.

Dongchang fuzhi 東昌府志. 1600 edn.

Dongyou ji 東游記. By Fang Ruhao 方汝浩. Ed. Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji, 1988.

Douzhen chuanxin lu 痘疹傳心錄. By Zhu Huiming 朱惠明. In Cheng Yongpei 程永培, ed., *Liuli zhai yishu shizhong* 六醴齋醫書十種, Guangzhou: Cangxiutang, 1891.

Duoergun shezheng riji 多爾袞攝政日記. Guoli Beiping gugong bowuyuan edn. Repr. 1935.

Er Cheng ji 二程集. By Cheng Hao 程顥 and Cheng Yi 程頤. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981.

Erke Pai'an jingqi 二刻拍案驚奇. By Ling Mengchu 凌濛初. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1985.

Fang Wangxi xiansheng quanji 方望溪先生全集. By Fang Bao 方苞. Sibucongkan edn.

Fanwang jing xindepin pusajie yishu fayin 梵網經心地品菩薩戒義疏發隱. By Zhu Hong 株宏. In *Yunqi fahui* 雲棲法彙, 40 extant *juan*, Chongzhen (1628-1644) edn.

Fengcaoan qianji 豐草菴前集. By Dong Yue 董說. In *Wuxing congshu* 吳興叢書.

Fengshen yanyi 封神演義. Ed. Beijing: Zuojia, 1956.

Fenshu Xu Fenshu 焚書續焚書. By Li Zhi 李贄. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975.

Fushou quanshu 福壽全書. Chongzhen (1628-1644) edn.

Gallagher, Louis J., trans. *China in the Sixteenth Century: the Journals of Matthew*

Ricci: 1583-1610. New York: Random House, 1953.

Geng Tiantai xiansheng wenji 耿天臺先生文集. By Geng Dingxiang 耿定向. 1598 edn. Repr. Taipei: Wenhai, 1970.

Goushan xiansheng ji 緱山先生集. By Wang Heng 王衡. Wanli (1573-1620) edn. Repr. Taipei: Wenhai, 1970.

Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu 顧亭林先生年譜. By Zhang Mu 張穆. 1843 edn. Repr. Taipei: Guangwen, 1971.

Guanzi jijiao 管子集校. Ed. Guo Moruo 郭沫若 et al. Beijing: Kexue, 1956.

Gui Zhuang ji 歸莊集. By Gui Zhuang 歸莊. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1984.

Guifan 閩範. By Lü Kun 呂坤. 1590 edn.

Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成. Ed. Jiang Tingxi 蔣廷錫. Repr. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1934.

Gujin yijian 古今醫鑑. By Gong Xin 龔信. Ed. Gong Tingxian 龔廷賢. Rev. Wang Kentang 王肯堂. Repr. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1958.

Guochao dianhui 國朝典彙. By Xu Xueju 徐學聚. Repr. Taipei: Zhongguo shixue congshu, 1968.

Gushan bizhu 穀山筆麈. By Yu Shenxing 于慎行. 1613. Repr. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984.

Hai Rui ji 海瑞集. By Hai Rui 海瑞. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981.

Hainei shizhou ji 海內十洲記. By Dong Fangshuo 東方朔. In *Shuoku* 說庫, ed. Wang Wenru 王文濡. Repr. Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji, 1986.

Hakusai shomoku 舶載書目. Ed. Ôba Osamu 大庭修. Suita, 1972.

Hanshan laoren mengyou ji 憨山老人夢遊集. By Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清.
Repr. Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1983.

Hanshu 漢書. By Ban Gu 班固. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962.

He Xinyin ji 何心隱集. By He Xinyin 何心隱. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1960.

Henei xianzhi 河內縣志. Ed. Yuan Tong 袁通 and Fang Lujian 方履錢. 1825
edn. Repr. Taipei: Chengwen, 1976.

Hongloumeng 紅樓夢. By Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹. Ed. Beijing: Renmin wenxue,
1957.

Hou Hanshu 後漢書. By Fan Ye 范曄 et al. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1973.

Hu Wenzhong gong yiji 胡文忠公遺集. By Hu Linyi 胡林翼. 1867 edn. Repr.
Taipei: Wenhai, 1976.

Huailing liukou shizhong lu 懷陵流寇始終錄. By Dai Li 戴笠. In *Xuanlantang
congshu xuji* 玄覽堂叢書續集, ed. Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, Nanjing: Guoli
zhongyang tushuguan, 1947.

Huang Ming shishuo xinyu 皇明世說新語. By Li Shaowen 李紹文. 1606 edn.

Huang Ming zhi shu 皇明制書. 1579 edn. Repr. Tokyo: Koten kenkyûkai, 1966.

Huizuan gongguoge 彙纂功過格. By Chen Xigu 陳錫嘏. 1758 edn.

Jiaozheng Waike zhengzong 校正外科正宗. By Chen Shigong 陳實功. 1860 edn.

Jiashen chaoshi xiaoji 甲申朝事小記. Ed. Bao Yangsheng 抱陽生. Repr. Beijing:
Shumu wenxian, 1987.

Jinan fuzhi 濟南府志. Preface 1840. Facsimile of 1893 edn.

Jinghuayuan 鏡花緣. By Li Ruzhen 李汝珍. Ed. Beijing: Zuoja, 1953.

Jingshi tongyan 警世通言. By Feng Menglong 馮夢龍, Shanghai: Guji, 1992.

Jining zhili zhouzhi 濟寧直隸州志. 1859 edn. § 'Shouyu ji' 守禦記. By Zheng Yuqiao 鄭與僑.

Jintan xianzhi 金壇縣志. 1683 edn.

Jiuxue an biji 舊學齋筆記. By Li Baoxun 李葆恂. In *Yizhou Lishi congkan* 義周李氏叢刊.

Jiyuan ji suoji 寄園寄所寄. By Zhao Jishi 趙吉士. Repr. Taipei: Guangwen, 1981.

Kedian shu 客滇述. By Gu Shanzhen 顧山貞. Ed. Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1969.

Kezuo zhuiyu 客座贅語. By Gu Qiyuan 顧起元. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987.

Kong Shangren shiwenji 孔尚任詩文集. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962.

Kongtong xiansheng ji 空同先生集. By Li Mengyang 李夢陽. Repr. Taipei: Weiwen, 1976.

Kuaixue tangji 快雪堂記. Comp. by Feng Mengzhen 馮夢禛. 1616 edn.

Kuangren riji 狂人日記. By Lu Xun 魯迅. 1918. In *Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集, vol. 1., ed. Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1982.

Kŭmnam sŏnsaeng p'yohaerok 錦南先生漂海錄. By Ch'oe Pu 崔溥. 1488.
Repr. in *Yŏnhaengnok sŏnjip* 燕行錄選集, vol. 2, Seoul: Taedong Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn 大東文化研究院, Sŏnggyun-gwan University 成均館大學校, 1962.

Li Yu quanji 李漁全集. By Li Yu 李漁. 15 vols. Ed. Helmut Martin. Repr. Taipei: Chengwen, 1970.

- Liaozhai zhiyi: huijiao huizhu huiping ben* 聊齋志異會校會注會評本. By Pu Songling 蒲松齡. Ed. Zhang Youhe 張友鶴. Shanghai: Guji, 1962. Rev. edn. 1978.
- Lienü zhuan yizhu* 列女傳譯注. By Liu Xiang 劉向. Ed. Jinan: Shandong daxue, 1990.
- Liezi jishi* 列子集釋. Ed. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979. Repr. 1985.
- Liji* 禮記. Song edn. reprinted by Ruan Yuan 阮元 in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, 1816. Repr. Kyoto, 1971. § 'Zhongyong' 中庸. § 'Daxue' 大學.
- Lingfeng Ouyi zonglun* 靈峰藕益宗論. Japanese edn. of 1723.
- Linqing zhili zhouzhi* 臨清直隸州志, 1784 edn. § 'Huomian tushui beiji 豁免土稅碑記'. By Hu Xining 胡悉寧. 1686.
- Linqing zhouzhi* 臨清州志. 1674 edn. Repr. in *Xijian Zhongguo difangzhi huikan* 希見中國地方志彙刊, Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1992.
- Liuqing rizha* 留青日札. By Tian Yiheng 田藝蘅. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1992.
- Loushantang ji* 樓山堂集. By Wu Yingji 吳應箕. Yueyatang edn.
- Lu Wending gong ji* 陸文定公集. By Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲. Huating Lushi jia edn. 1616.
- Lu Xun shuxin ji* 魯迅書信集. By Lu Xun 魯迅. Ed. Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1976.
- Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋. By Wang Chong 王充. Ed. Huang Hui 黃暉, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1990.

Lunyu yinde 論語引得. Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series 16.
Ed. William Hung et al. Beijing: Hafu-Yanjing xueshe, 1940.

Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi 呂氏春秋校釋. Ed. Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷. Shanghai: Xuelin,
1984.

Mantang wenji 漫塘文集. By Liu Zai 劉宰. Siku quanshu zhenben jiuji edn. Repr.
Taipei: Shangwu, 1979.

Maoshi zhengyi 毛詩正義. Song edn. reprinted by Ruan Yuan 阮元 in *Shisanjing
zhushu* 十三經注疏, 1816. Repr. Kyoto, 1971.

Meicun jia canggao 梅村家藏稿. By Wu Weiye 吳偉業. Sibü congkan edn.

Mengzi yinde 孟子引得. Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series 17.
Ed. William Hung et al. Beijing: Hafu-Yanjing xueshe, 1941.

Ming huiyao 明會要. Comp. Long Wenbin 龍文彬. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua,
1956.

Ming tongjian 明通鑑. By Xia Xie 夏燮. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1959.

Mingliaozi you 冥寥子游. By Tu Long 屠隆. Ed. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1937.

Mingru xue'an 明儒學案. By Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua,
1985.

Mingshi 明史. Comp. by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua,
1974.

Mingshi chaolüe 明史鈔略. By Zhuang Tinglong 莊廷鑑. Sibü congkan edn.

Mingshi tongsu yanyi 明史通俗演義. By Cai Dongfan 蔡東藩. Ed. Hangzhou:
Zhejiang renmin, 1980.

- Mingyi daifang lu* 明夷待訪錄. By Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981.
- Muzhai you xue ji* 牧齋有學集. By Qian Qianyi 錢謙益. Sibu congkan edn.
- Nanlei wen'an* 南雷文案. By Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲. Sibu congkan edn.
- Nüxian waishi* 女仙外史. By Lü Xiong 呂熊. Ed. Huhehot: Neimenggu renmin, 1985.
- Ouyang wenzhong gong wenji* 歐陽文忠公文集. Sibu congkan edn.
- Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方. By Sun Simiao 孫思邈. Repr. Shanghai: Jiujingzhai, 1908.
- Qianjinfang yanyi* 千金方衍義. By Sun Simiao 孫思邈. Ed. Zhang Lu 張璐, Shanghai: Saoye shanfang, 1801.
- Qianshu* 潛書. By Tang Zhen 唐甄. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984.
- Qiewen zhai wenchao* 切問齋文鈔. 1775 edn. § 'Guangjian qishuo' 廣儉戚說. By Qiu Xinni 丘心尼.
- Qingshi gao* 清史稿. Ed. Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1976.
- Qingzhou fuzhi* 青州府志. Preface 1673. Qing impression of Wanli (1573-1620) edn.
- Qizhen jiwen lu* 啟禎記聞錄. By Ye Shaoyuan 葉紹袁. *Tongshi* 痛史 edn. Repr. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1911.
- Qizhuiji* 七綴集. By Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書. Shanghai: Guji, 1985.
- Quanjie quanshu* 勸戒全書. By Chen Zhixi 陳智錫. Preface 1641. Held in Naikaku bunko Library, Tokyo.

- Qufu xianzhi* 曲阜縣志. By Pan Xiang 潘相. 1774 edn. Repr. Taipei: Xuesheng, 1968.
- Renpu leiji zengding* 人譜類記增訂. By Liu Zongzhou 劉宗周. Chongwen edn.
- Rizhilu jishi* 日知錄集釋. By Gu Yanwu 顧炎武. 1670 edn. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1985.
- Rulin waishi* 儒林外史. By Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1984.
- Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義. Song edn. reprinted by Ruan Yuan 阮元 in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, 1816. Repr. Kyoto, 1971.
- Shanhaijing jiaoyi* 山海經校譯. Attributed to Guo Pu 郭璞. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1985.
- Shanju gongke* 山居功課. By Yang Dongming 楊東明. 1624 edn.
- Shaoshi wenjian houlu* 邵氏聞見後錄. By Shao Bo 邵博. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983.
- Shaoshi wenjian lu* 邵氏聞見錄. By Shao Bowen 邵伯濫. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983.
- Shezhi fengtu lun* 歙志風土論. 1609. In *Tianxia junguo libing shu* 天下郡國利病書, by Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, Sibugongkan edn.
- Shiji* 史記. By Sima Qian 司馬遷. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1959. Repr. 1972.
- Shiyi ji* 拾遺記. By Wang Jia 王嘉. Zishu baijia 子書百家 edn.
- Shizheng lu* 實政錄. By Lü Kun 呂坤. 1598. Zhejiang shuju edn., 1872.
- Shoubian rizhi* 守汴日志. By Li Guangdian 李光燾. Ed. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 1987.

- Shuidong riji* 水東日記. By Ye Sheng 葉盛. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980.
- Shuihu houzhuan* 水滸後傳. By Chen Chen 陳忱. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1981.
- Shuihu quanzhuan* 水滸全傳. Attributed to Shi Nai'an 施耐庵 and Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1953. Repr. Hong Kong, 1976.
- Siyou zhai congshuo* 四友齋叢說. By He Liangjun 何良俊. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983.
- Songchuang mengyu* 松窗夢語. By Zhang Han 張瀚. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1986.
- Suishu* 隋書. By Wei Zheng 魏徵 et al. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1973.
- Taihan ji* 太函集. By Wang Daokun 汪道昆. Jinling edn. 1591.
- Taiping guangji* 太平廣記. Ed. Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1959.
- Taiquan xiangli* 泰泉鄉禮. By Huang Zuo 黃佐. Siku quanshu zhenben siji edn. Repr. Taipei: Shangwu, 1973.
- Tamhŏn yŏn'gi* 湛軒燕記. By Hong Taeyong 洪大容. Repr. in *Yŏnhaengnok sŏn'jip* 燕行錄選集, vol. 1, Seoul: Taedong Mun-hwa Yŏn'guwŏn 大東文化研究院, Sŏnggyun-gwan University 成均館大學校, 1960.
- Tancheng xianzhi* 郟城縣志. Comp. Feng Kegan 馮可參. 1673 edn.
- Tancheng xianzhi* 郟城縣志. 1763 edn.
- Tao Yuanming ji* 陶淵明集. By Tao Yuanming 陶淵明. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979.
- Taoan mengyi* 陶庵夢憶. By Zhang Dai 張岱. Ed. Hangzhou: Xihu, 1982.

Tian Shuhe wenji 田叔禾文集. Ed. Tian Yiheng 田藝蘅. 1563 edn. § 'A Ji zhuan' 阿寄傳. By Tian Rucheng 田汝成.

Tinglin wenji 亭林文集. By Gu Yanwu 顧炎武. In *Gu Tinglin xiansheng yishu shizhong* 顧亭林先生遺書十種, Pengyingge edn.

Tongzhi tiaoge 通制條格. Beijing: Guoli Beiping tushuguan, 1930. Repr. Taipei: Xuehai, n.d.

Wanbing huichun 萬病回春. By Gong Tingxian 龔廷賢. 1587. Repr. Beijing: Renmin weisheng, 1988.

Wang Wenchenggong quanshu 王文成公全書. By Wang Shouren 王守仁. Sibu beiyao edn.

Wanli dichao 萬曆邸鈔. Repr. Taipei: Guting, 1968.

Wanli yehuobian 萬曆野獲編. By Shen Defu 沈德符. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1959. Repr. 1980.

Weinan wenji 渭南文集. By Lu You 陸游. Sibu congkan edn.

Weishu 魏書. In *Sanguozhi* 三國志. By Chen Shou 陳壽. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1973.

Weishu 魏書. By Wei Shou 魏收. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974.

Wuxianzhi 吳縣志. 1924 edn.

Wuzazu 五雜俎. By Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛. 1608 edn. Repr. Taipei: Xinxing, 1971.

Xiaoxue jizhu 小學集注. By Zhu Xi 朱熹. Sibu beiyao edn.

Xin Tangshu 新唐書. By Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 et al. Repr. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975.

Xingcun lu 幸存錄. By Xia Yunyi 夏雲彝. In *Mingji baishi* 明季稗史, ed. Liuyun jushi 留雲居士, Sibugongkan edn.

Xingshi hengyan 醒世恆言. By Feng Menglong 馮夢龍. Ed. Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1984.

Xingshi yinyuan zhuan 醒世姻緣傳. Ed. Henan: Zhongzhou guji, 1982. Repr. 1987.

Xingshi yinyuan zhuan 醒世姻緣傳. Ed. Jinan: Qilu, 1980.

Xinke xiuxiang piping Jin Ping Mei 新刻繡像批評金瓶梅. Repr. Hong Kong: Sanlian and Qilu, 1990.

Xinyu 新語. By Lu Jia 陸賈. In *Han Wei congshu* 漢魏叢書, ed. Cheng Rong 程榮. Repr. Kyoto: Chûbun, 1970.

Xiuta yeshi 繡榻野史. Partially repr. in R. H. van Gulik, *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period*, vol. 2, Tokyo: Privately Published, 1951, 173-191.

Xiyou bu 西游補. By Dong Yue 董說. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1983.

Xiyou ji 西遊記. Attributed to Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩. Ed. Beijing: Zuoja, 1954.

Xu chuandenglu 續傳燈錄. In *Taishô Tripitaka* 大正新修大藏經 2077.

Xu Jin Ping Mei 續金瓶梅. By Ding Yaokang 丁耀亢. In *Jin Ping Mei xushu sanzong* 金瓶梅續書三種, vol. 1., ed. Jinan: Qilu, 1988.

Xu Wenxian tongkao 續文獻通考. Ed. Shanghai: Tushu jichengju, 1901.

Yangyuan xianshen quanji 楊園先生全集. By Zhang Lüxiang 張履祥. Jiangsu shuju edn., 1871.

Yanshen zhenzhi 顏神鎮志. 1670. Repr. in *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng*,

- xianzhenzhi zhuanji* 中國地方志集成縣鎮志專集, vol. 29, Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1992.
- Yanshi jiacang chidu* 顏氏家藏尺牘. By Yan Guangmin 顏光敏. Repr. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1935.
- Yanshi jiaxun jijie* 顏氏家訓集解. By Yan Zhitui 顏之推. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1980.
- Yanzhou shanren xugao* 弇州山人續稿. By Wang Shizhen 王世貞. Chongzhen (1628-1644) edn. Repr. Taipei, 1970.
- Yaofeng wenchao* 堯峰文鈔. By Wang Wan 汪琬. Sibu congkan edn.
- Yeyi, Lunqi, Tiantian, Silianshi* 野議論氣談天思憐詩. By Song Yingxing 宋應星. Ed. Shanghai: Renmin, 1976.
- Yicui jingyan* 醫粹精言. By Xu Yanzuo 徐延祚. Guangzhou: Tieru yixuan, 1896.
- Yishuo* 醫說. By Zhang Gao 張杲. 1544 edn.
- Yixue qimeng huibian* 醫學啟蒙彙編. By Zhai Liang 翟良. Wenchengtang edn. § 'Xu' 序. By Lin Qilong 林起龍.
- Yongchuang xiaopin* 湧幢小品. By Zhu Guozhen 朱國禎. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1959.
- Youmanlou congshu* 又滿樓叢書. Ed. Zhao Yichen 趙詒琛. Repr. Jiangsu guangling guji, 1986.
- Yuan Hongdao ji jianjiao* 袁宏道集箋校. By Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1981.
- Yuanqu xuan waibian* 元曲選外編. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961.
- Yuanshi shifan* 袁氏世範. By Yuan Cai 袁采. In *Zhibuzuzhai congshu*

知不足齋叢書.

Yucheng xianzhi 虞城縣志. Ed. Xi Qingyun 席慶雲. 1895 edn. Repr. Taipei: Chengwen, 1976.

Yuemantang riji bu 越縵堂日記補. By Li Ciming 李慈銘. Repr. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1936.

Yueshi bian 閱世編. Comp. Ye Mengzhu 葉夢珠. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1981.

Yuewei caotang biji 閱微草堂筆記. By Ji Yun 紀昀. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1980.

Yunjian jumu chao 雲間據目鈔. By Fan Lian 范濂. Repr. Taipei: Xinxing, 1962.

Yushi mingyan 喻世明言. By Feng Menglong 馮夢龍. Ed. Hong Kong: Zhonghua, 1965.

Yutang huiji 玉堂薈記. By Yang Shicong 楊士聰. Ed. Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi, 1968.

Zhan' guo ce zhushi 戰國策注釋. By Liu Xiang 劉向. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1990.

Zhangqiu xianzhi 章丘縣志. Editions of 1596, 1691, 1833, 1907.

Zhangshi yitong 張氏醫通. By Zhang Lu 張璐. Ed. Zhejiang guan. 1899.

Zhangzi quanshu 張子全書. By Zhang Zai 張載. Ed. Zhu Xi 朱喜. Repr. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1935.

Zhaoyu zhi 肇域志. By Gu Yanwu 顧炎武. Incomplete MS in Guoxue-Library Nanjing.

Zhenchuan xiansheng ji 震川先生集. By Gui Youguang 歸有光. Ed. Shanghai: Guji, 1981.

- Zhihetang zaji* 志壑堂雜集. By Tang Menglai 唐夢賚. In *Zhaodai congshu* 昭代叢書.
- Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義. Song edn. reprinted by Ruan Yuan 阮元 in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, 1816, repr. Kyoto, 1971.
- Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋. Ed. Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961.
- Zhuozhongzhi* 酌中志. By Liu Ruoyu 劉若愚. Repr. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1935.
- Zitaoxuan zazhui* 紫桃軒雜綴. By Li Rihua 李日華. Guoxue zhenben wenku edn.
- Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑. By Sima Guang 司馬光. Ed. Beijing: Guji, 1956.
- Zizhilu* 自知錄. By Zhu Hong 祿宏. In *Yunqi fahui* 雲棲法彙, 40 extant *juan*, Chongzhen (1628-1644) edn.
- Zongyue ge* 宗約歌. By Lü Kun 呂坤. In *Lüzi yishu* 呂子遺書, Kaifeng edn., preface dated 1827.
- Zuiwei lu* 罪惟錄. By Cha Jizuo 查繼佐. Sibü congkan edn.

Secondary Sources

- Adachi, Keiji 足立啓二. 'Min Shin jidai ni okeru senkeizai no hatten' 明清時代における銭経済の発展. In Chûgokushi kenkyûkai 中国史研究会, ed., *Chûgoku sensei kokka to shakai tōgō* 中国専制国家と社会統合, Kyoto: Bunrikaku, 1990, 387-412.
- Adshead, S. A. M. 'The Seventeenth-Century General Crisis in China'. *Asian Profile* 2.1, 1973, 271-280.
- Aida Hiroshi 相田洋. 'Sangen no sekai' 三言の世界. *Fukuoka daigaku kiyō* 福岡大学紀要 28.2, 1978, 1-23.
- Araki Kengo. 'Confucianism and Buddhism in the Late Ming'. In Wm. T. de Bary, ed., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1975, 39-66.
- Arita Tadahiro 有田忠弘. 'Seisei innen den no kotoba' 醒世姻縁伝のことば. *Ryûkoku daigaku bukkyō bunka kenkyûjo kiyō* 竜谷大学仏教文化研究所紀要 14, 1975, 19-28.
- Atwell, William S. 'From Education to Politics: the *Fu She*'. In Wm. T. de Bary, ed., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, 333-367.
- Atwell, William S. 'Notes on Silver, Foreign Trade, and the Late Ming Economy'. *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 3.8, Dec. 1977, 1-33.
- Atwell, William S. 'International Bullion Flows and the Chinese Economy circa 1530-1650'. *Past and Present* 95, 1982, 68-90.
- Atwell, William S. 'Some Observations on the "Seventeenth-Century Crisis" in China and Japan'. *Journal of Asian Studies* 45, 1986, 223-244.
- Atwell, William S. 'Ming Observers of Ming Decline: some Chinese Views on the "Seventeenth-Century Crisis" in Comparative Perspective'. *Journal of the*

Royal Asiatic Society, 1988, 316-348.

Bachtin, M. *Literatur und Karneval. Zur Romantheorie und Lachkultur*. Frankfurt, 1990.

Bakhtin, M. M. *Rabelais and his World*. Trans. H. Iswolsky. London: MIT Press, 1968.

Bakhtin, M. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Ed. and trans. C. Emerson. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.

Bal, Mieke. *Narratology. Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*. Trans. Christine van Boheemen. Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Barnhart, Richard M. *Peach Blossom Spring. Gardens and Flowers in Chinese Paintings*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983.

Barr, Allan. "Pu Songling and *Liaozhai zhiyi*: A Study of Textual Transmission, Biographical Background, and Literary Antecedents". D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University 1983.

Barr, Allan. 'Pu Songling and the Qing Examination System'. *Late Imperial China* 7.1, June 1986, 87-111.

Barr, Allan. 'Four Schoolmasters. Educational Issues in Li Hai-kuan's *Lamp at the Crossroads*'. In Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside, eds., *Education and Society in Late Imperial China 1600-1900*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1994, 50-75.

Barthes, Roland. 'Historical Discourse'. In M. Lane, ed., *Introduction to Structuralism*. New York: Basic Books, 1970.

Bauer, Wolfgang. *China und die Hoffnung auf Glück. Paradiese, Utopien, Idealvorstellungen in der Geistesgeschichte Chinas*. Repr. München: Carl Hanser, 1974.

Belsey, Catherine. *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama*. London: Methuen, repr. 1985.

Bennett, G. A. 'Elite and Society in China. A Summary of Research and Interpretation'. In R. A. Scalapino and G. A. Bennett, eds., *Elites in the Republic of China*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972, 3-37.

Booth, Wayne. *The Rhetoric of Fiction*. 1961. Repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983.

Bottomore, Tom B. *Elites and Society*. London: Watts, 1964.

Brandauer, Frederick P. *Tung Yüeh*. Boston: Twayne, 1978.

Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols., London: Collins, 1973.

Brenan, Byron. 'The Office of District Magistrate in China'. *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. New Series 32, 1897-1898, 36-65.

Brockmeier, Peter. 'Literatur als erfahrene Geschichte. Überlieferung und Erklärung erlebter Gegenwart bei Montaigne, Meslier, Voltaire und Primo Levi'. In H. Eggert, U. Profitlich and K. R. Scherpe, eds., *Geschichte als Literatur*, Stuttgart: Metzler, 1990, 40-55.

Brokaw, Cynthia J. *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit. Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Brook, Timothy. 'Guides for Vexed Travelers. Route Books in the Ming and Qing'. *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 4.5, June 1981, 32-76.

Brook, Timothy. *Geographical Sources of Ming-Qing History*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1988.

Busch, Heinrich. 'The Tung-lin Academy and Its Political and Philosophical Significance'. *Monumenta Serica* 14, 1949-1955, 1-163.

- Cahill, James, ed. *Shadows of Mt. Huang. Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*. Berkeley, 1981.
- Cahill, James. *The Compelling Image. Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Cao Dawei 曹大為. 'Xingshi yinyuan de banben yuanliu he chengshu niandai' 醒世姻緣的版本源流和成書年代. *Wenshi* 文史 23, 1984, 217-238.
- Cao Dawei 曹大為. 'Xingshi yinyuan zhuan zuo yu Mingmo bian' 醒世姻緣傳作于明末辨. *Beijing shifan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue)* 北京師範大學學報社會科學 4.88, 1988, 64-71.
- Cao Yibing 曹亦冰. *Linlanxiang he Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* 林蘭香和醒世姻緣傳. Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu, 1993.
- Cao Zhengyi 曹正義. 'Liaozhai liqu yuci zhengshi' 聊齋俚曲語詞證釋, *Pu Songling yanjiu jikan* 蒲松齡研究集刊 1, 1980, 213-228.
- Cao Zhengyi 曹正義. 'Jindai wenxian yu fangyan yanjiu' 近代文獻與方言研究. *Wenshizhe* 文史哲 3, 1984, 43-48, 68.
- Carlsson, Gösta. *Social Mobility and Class Structure*. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1958.
- Cass, Victoria. 'Female Healers in the Ming and the Lodge of Ritual and Ceremony'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106.1, 1986, 233-240.
- Chan, Albert. *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982.
- Chan, Wing-tsit, trans. and comp. *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963, repr. 1973.
- Chang Chun-shu and S. Hsueh-lun Chang. *Crisis and Transformation in*

Seventeenth-Century China. Society, Culture, and Modernity in Li Yü's World. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992.

Chang Chung-li. *The Chinese Gentry. Studies in Their Role in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Society.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955, 99.

Chang, Kang-I Sun. *The Late Ming Poet Ch'en Tzu-lung. Crisis of Love and Loyalism.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991.

Chang, Kwang-chih, ed. *Food in Chinese Culture.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

Chen Bingzao 陳炳藻. 'Pu Songling ye shi Xi Zhou sheng ma?' 蒲松齡也是西周生嗎. *Zhongbao yuekan* 中報月刊 69, 1985, 64-70; 70, 1985, 45-48.

Chen Keng 陳鏗. 'Cong Xingshi yinyuan zhuan kan Ming Qing zhiji de difang shishen' 從醒世姻緣傳看明清之際的地方士紳. *Xiamen daxue xuebao* 廈門大學學報 78.4, 1984, 91-99.

Chen Naiqian 陳乃乾. *Shiming biehao suoyin* 室名別號索引. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1957.

Ch'en, K. S. *Buddhism in China. A Historical Survey.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964.

Ch'en Shouyi. *Chinese Literature - A Historical Introduction.* New York: Ronald, 1961.

Chong, Key Ray. *Cannibalism in China.* Wakefield, New Hampshire: Longwood Academic, 1990.

Chou Chih-p'ing. *Yüan Hung-tao and the Kung-an School.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Chua Siewteen. "Die Probleme im *Hsing-shih yin-yüan* und seine literarische

- Stellung". Dr. Phil. dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München 1966.
- Clunas, Craig. *Superfluous Things. Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*. Oxford: Polity, 1991.
- Clunas, Craig. 'Regulation of Consumption and the Institution of Correct Morality by the Ming State'. In Chun-chieh Huang and Erik Zürcher, eds., *Norms and the State in China*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993, 39-49.
- Crawford, Robert B. 'Eunuch Power in the Ming Dynasty'. *T'oung Pao* 49, 1961-62, 115-148.
- Cullen, Christopher. 'Patients and Healers in late Imperial China: Evidence from the *Jinpingmei*'. *History of Science* 31, 1993, 99-150.
- Davies, A. R. *T'ao Yuanming (AD 365-427). His Works and their Meaning*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- de Bary, Wm. Theodore. 'Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought'. In Wm. T. de Bary, ed., *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970, 145-247.
- de Magaillans, G., Sr B. trans. *Nouvelle relation de la Chine. Contenant la description des particularitez les plus considerables de ce grand Empire*. Written in 1668. Paris: Louis Lucas, 1689.
- DeWoskin, Kenneth J., trans. *Doctors, Diviners, and Magicians of Ancient China: Biographies of Fang-shih*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.
- Dimberg, Ronald. *The Sage and Society: The Life and Thought of He Hsin-yin*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1974.
- Dohi, Keizo. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Syphilis. Insbesondere über ihren Ursprung und ihre Pathologie in Ostasien*. Tokyo: Nankodo, 1923.
- Doolittle, J. *Social Life of the Chinese: with some Account of their Religious,*

Governmental, Educational, and Business Customs and Opinions. 2 vols. in 1. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1876.

Douglas, Robert K. *Society in China*. London: A. P. Innes, 1894.

Dubs, Homer H. 'An Ancient Chinese Mystery Cult'. *Harvard Theological Review* 35.4, 1942, 221-240.

Dudbridge, Glen. *The Hsi-yu chi. A Study of Antecedents to the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Dudbridge, Glen. *The Legend of Miao-shan*. London: Ithaca, 1978.

Dudbridge, Glen. *The Tale of Li Wa. Study and Critical Edition of a Chinese Story from the Ninth Century*. London: Ithaca, 1983.

Dudbridge, Glen. 'Three Fables of Paradise Lost'. *Bulletin of the British Association for Chinese Studies*, 1988, 27-36.

Dudbridge, Glen. 'A Pilgrimage in Seventeenth-Century Fiction: T'ai-shan and the Hsing-shih yin-yüan chuan'. *T'oung Pao* 77.4/5, 1991, 226-252.

Dudbridge, Glen. *Religious Experience and Lay Society in T'ang China. A Reading of Tai Fu's 'Kuang-i chi'*. In press.

Dunstan, Helen. 'The Late Ming Epidemics: A Preliminary Survey'. *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 3.3, 1975, 1-59.

Eberhard, Wolfram. *Social Mobility in Traditional China*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962.

Edwards, Richard. *The World around the Chinese Artist. Aspects of Realism in Chinese Painting*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1989.

Eliade, Mircea. *Patterns in Comparative Religion*. Trans. Rosemary Sheed. New York, 1963.

Elliot, R. C. *The Shape of Utopia. Studies in a Literary Genre*. Chicago, 1970.

Elvin, Mark. 'Female Virtue and the State in China'. *Past and Present* 104, 1984, 111-152.

Fairbank, John K., and Edwin O. Reischauer. *China. Tradition and Transformation*. Rev. edn. Sydney, London and Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1989.

Fowler, Alastair. *Kinds of Literature. An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

Franke, Herbert. 'Das Begriffsfeld des Staatlichen im chinesischen Kulturbereich'. *Saeculum* 4.2, 1953, 231-239.

Franke, Herbert, ed. *Sung Biographies*. 4 vols. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976.

Fu Yiling 傅衣凌. *Ming Qing shidai shangren ji shangye ziben* 明清時代商人及商業資本. Beijing, 1956.

Fu Yiling 傅衣凌. *Ming Qing nongcun shehui jingji* 明清農村社會經濟. Beijing: Sanlian, 1961.

Fujii Hiroshi 藤井宏. 'Shinan shōnin no kenkyū' 新安商人の研究. *Tōyō gaku hō* 東洋學報 36.1, June 1953, 1-44; 36.2, Sept. 1953, 32-60; 36.3, Dec. 1953, 65-118; 36.4, March 1954, 115-145.

Fujita Keiichi 藤田敬一. 'Shindai Santōshō keiei jinushitei shakai seishitsu 清代山東省經營地主底社會性質'. *Atarashii rekishigaku no tame* 新しい歴史学のため 111, 1966, 11-22.

Fuma Susumu 夫馬進. 'Minmatsu no toshi kaikaku to Kōshū minpen' 明末の都市改革と杭州民變. *Tōhō gaku hō* 東方學報 49, Feb. 1977, 215-262.

Fuma Susumu 夫馬進. 'Dōzen kai shōshi - Chūgoku shakai fukushi shijō ni okeru Minmatsu Shinshō no ichizuke no tame ni -' 同善会小史 - 中国社会福祉史上における明末清初の位置づけのために -. *Shirin* 史林 65.4, 1982,

37-76.

Fuma Susumu 夫馬進. 'Zenkai, zendô no shuppatsu' 善会、善堂の出発. In Ono Kazuko 小野和子, ed., *Min Shin jidai no keisei to shakai* 明清時代の形成と社会, Kyoto: Kyôto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyûjo, 1983, 189-232.

Fuma Susumu 夫馬進. 'Shindai no jutsurikai to shinsetsudô' 清代の恤嫠会と清節堂. *Kyôto Daigaku bungakubu kenkyû kiyô* 京都大学文学部研究紀要 30, March 1991, 41-131.

Gallie, W. B. *Philosophy and the Historical Understanding*. New York: Schocken Books, 1964.

Ge Xianning 葛賢寧. *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shi* 中國小說史. Taipei: Zhonghua wenhua, 1956, 166-168.

Gearhart, Suzanne. *The Open Boundaries of History and Fiction. A Critical Approach to the French Enlightenment Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Genette, Gérard. *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*. Trans. Jane E. Lewin. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Gernet, Jacques. 'L'Homme ou la Paperasse: Aperçu sur les Conceptions Politiques de T'ang Chen (1630-1704)'. In Dieter Eikemeier and Herbert Franke, eds., *State and Law in East Asia*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981, 112-125.

Gerstlacher, Anna et al., eds. *Woman and Literature in China*. Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1985.

Goodrich, L. Carrington. *The Literary Inquisition of Ch' ien-lung*. Rev. ed. New York: Paragon, 1966.

Goodrich, L. Carrington, and Chao-ying Fang, eds. *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

- Graham, A. C. 'The *Nung-chia* "School of the Tillers" and the Origins of Peasant Utopianism in China'. In A. C. Graham, *Studies in Chinese Philosophical and Philological Literature*, Singapore: The Institute of East Asian Philosophies, 1986, 67-110.
- Graham, A. C. *The Book of Lieh-tzu*. Repr. New York: Mandala, 1990.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Representing the English Renaissance*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1988.
- Greiner, Peter. *Die Brokatuniform- Brigade (chin-i wei) der Ming Zeit von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der T'ien-shun Periode, 1368-1464*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975.
- Grimm, Tilemann. *Erziehung und Politik im konfuzianischen China der Ming-Zeit, 1368-1644*. Hamburg: Harrassowitz, 1960.
- Guisso, Richard W. 'Thunder Over the Lake: The Five Classics and the Perception of Woman in Early China'. In R. W. Guisso and S. Johannesen, eds., *Women in China*, New York: Philo Press, 1981, 47-61.
- Hanan, Patrick. 'Sources of the *Chin P'ing Mei*'. *Asia Major* 10.1, 1963, 23-67.
- Hanan, Patrick. *The Chinese Short Story. Studies in Dating, Authorship and Composition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Hanan, Patrick. 'The Making of *The Pearl-sewn Shirt* and *The Courtesan's Jewel Box*'. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 33, 1973, 124-153.
- Hanan, Patrick. *The Chinese Vernacular Story*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Handlin, Joanna F. 'Lü K'un's New Audience: The Influence of Women's Literacy on Sixteenth-Century Thought'. In Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke, eds., *Women in Chinese Society*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975, 13-38.

- Handlin Smith, Joanna F. 'Benevolent Societies: The Reshaping of Charity During the Late Ming and Early Ch'ing'. *Journal of Asian Studies* 46.2, May 1987, 309-335.
- Hawkes, David, trans. *The Story of the Stone*. Vol.1. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973.
- Hegel, Robert E. *The Novel in Seventeenth-Century China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.
- Ho Ping-ti. *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China. Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368-1911*. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1962, repr. 1967.
- Ho, Wai-kam. 'Late Ming Literati: Their Social and Cultural Ambience'. In Chu-tsing Li and James C. Y. Watt, eds., *The Chinese Scholar's Studio. Artistic Life in the Late Ming Period*, New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987, 23-36.
- Holcombe, Chester. *The Real Chinese Question*. London: Methuen & Co., 1901.
- Holmgren, Jennifer. 'Widow Chastity in the Northern Dynasties: the *lieh-nü* Biographies in the *Weishu*'. *Papers on Far Eastern History* 23, March 1981, 165-186.
- Holmgren, Jennifer. 'The Economic Foundations of Virtue: Widow-Remarriage in Early and Modern China'. *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 13, 1985, 1-27.
- Hom, Marlon Kau. "The Continuation of Tradition: A Study of *Liaozhai zhiyi* by Pu Songling (1640-1715)". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington 1979.
- Hou Wailu 侯外廬. *Zhongguo sixiang tongshi* 中國思想通史. 5 vols. Beijing: Renmin, 1957-60.
- Hsia, C. T. *The Classic Chinese Novel. A Critical Introduction*. New York and

London: Columbia University Press, 1968.

Hsieh Pao-chao. *The Government of China, 1644-1911*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1925.

Hsiung Ping-chen. 'Constructed Emotions: The Bond Between Mothers and Sons in Late Imperial China'. *Late Imperial China* 15.1, June 1994, 87-117.

Hsu, S. *A Buddhist Leader in Ming China. The Life and Thought of Han-Shan Te-Ch'ing*. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979.

Hu Shi 胡適. 'Xingshi yinyuan zhuan kaozheng' 醒世姻緣傳考證. 1931. Repr. in *YYZ*, 3:1448-1495.

Huang Lin 黃霖. 'Ding Yaokang jiqi Xu Jin Ping Mei' 丁耀亢及其續金瓶梅. *Fudan xuebao (shehui kexue)* 復旦學報社會科學 4, 1988, 55-60.

Huang, Ray. *Taxation and Governmental Finance in Sixteenth-Century Ming China*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

Huang, Ray. *1587, A Year of No Significance: The Ming Dynasty in Decline*. New Haven and London, 1981.

Huang, Ray. *China. A Macro History*. New York and London: Sharpe, 1990.

Huang Renyu 黃人宇. 'Cong Sanyan kan wan Ming shangren' 從三言看晚明商人. *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報 7.1, Dec. 1974, 133-153.

Huang Suqiu 黃肅秋. 'Zaiban qianyan' 再版前言. In *YYZ*, 1:1-2.

Hübotter, Franz. *Die Geschichte der chinesischen Medizin zu Beginn des XX. Jahrhunderts und ihr historischer Entwicklungsgang*. Leipzig: Asia Major, 1929.

- Hucker, Charles O. 'The Tung-lin Movement of the Late Ming Period'. In John K. Fairbank, ed., *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957, 132-162.
- Hucker, Charles O. *The Censorial System of Ming China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.
- Hucker, Charles O. 'Confucianism and the Chinese Censorial System'. In Arthur F. Wright, ed., *Confucianism and Chinese Civilization*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959, repr. 1975, 50-76.
- Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Hummel, Arthur, ed. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, 1644-1912*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943.
- Hymes, Robert P. 'Not Quite Gentlemen? Doctors in Sung and Yuan'. *Chinese Science* 8, 1987, 9-76.
- I Songgyû 李成珪. 'Shandong in the Shun-chih reign: The Establishment of Local Control and the Gentry Response'. Part One. Trans. Joshua A. Fogel. *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 4.4, Dec. 1980, 1-34; Part Two. *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 5.4, June 1981, 1-31.
- Idema, Wilt. 'Diseases, Doctors, Drugs and Cures. A very preliminary list of passages of medical interest in a number of traditional Chinese novels and related plays'. *Chinese Science* 2, 1977, 37-63.
- Inami Ritsuko 井波律子. *Chûgoku no gurotesuku riarizumu* 中国のグロテスクリアリズム. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1992.
- Isobe Yûko 磯部祐子. 'Chûgoku shôsetsu, gikyoku ni arawareta kyôshinzô. Omoni Minmatsu kara Shinchûki ni kakete' 中国小説戯曲にあらわれた郷紳像、主に明末から清中期にかけて. *Tôhoku daigaku Nihon bunka kenkyûjo kenkyû hôkoku* 東北大学日本文化研究所研究報告 23, 1987,

175-193.

Israeli, R. *Muslims in China. A Study of Cultural Confrontation*. London and Malmö: Curzon, 1978.

Jefferson Ann, and David Robey, eds. *Modern Literary Theory: A Comparative Introduction*. London: Batsford Academic, 1982.

Jin Xingyao 金性堯. 'Xingshi yinyuan zhuan zuozhe fei Pu Songling shuo' 醒世姻緣傳作者非蒲松齡說. *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 4, 1980, 307-317.

Jing Su 景甦 and Luo Lun 羅崙. *Qingdai Shandong jingying dizhu di shehui xingzhi* 清代山東經營地主底社會性質. Jinan: Renmin, 1959.

Jing Su and Luo Lun. *Landlord and Labor in Late Imperial China. Case Studies from Shandong*. Trans. Endymion Wilkinson. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1978.

Karlgren, Bernhard. 'Grammata Serica Recensa'. *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 29, 1957.

Kong Lingjing 孔另境. *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shiliao* 中國小說史料. Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1959. Repr. 1962.

Kôsaka Jun'ichi 香坂順一. 'Seisei innen no sakusha no kotoba' 醒世姻緣の作者のことば. *Min Shin bungaku gengo kenkyûkai kaihô* 明清文学言語研究会会報 5, 1964, 22-38.

Ku, Mei-kao. *A Chinese Mirror for Magistrates. The Hsin-yü of Lu Chia*. Canberra: Australian National University, 1988.

Kuo, Jason Chi-sheng. 'Huichou Merchants as Art Patrons in the late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries'. In Chu-tsing Li, ed., *Artists and Patrons. Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, Lawrence, Kansas: University of Washington Press, 1989, 177-188.

- Kuwabara Jitsuzô 桑原鷺蔵. 'Shina ningen ni okeru shokujinniku no fûshû' 支那人間に於ける食人肉の風習. *Tôyô gakuhô* 東洋学報 14.1, July 1924, 1-62.
- Ledyard, Gari. 'Korean Travelers in China over Four Hundred Years, 1488-1887'. *Occasional Papers on Korea*, March 1974, 1-42.
- Ledyard, Gari. 'Hong Taeyong and His Peking Memoir'. *Korean Studies* 6, 1982, 63-103.
- Leung, Angela K. 'L'accueil des enfants abandonnés dans la Chine du bas-Yangzi aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles'. *Études chinoises* 4.1, 1985, 15-54.
- Leung, Angela Ki Che. 'Organized Medicine in Ming-Qing China: State and Private Medical Institutions in the Lower Yangzi Region'. *Late Imperial China* 8.1, June 1987, 134-166.
- Lévy, André. *Inventaire Analytique et Critique du Conte Chinois en langue vulgaire*. 3 vols. Paris: Collège de France, 1978-1981.
- Li Yongxiang 李永祥. 'Pu Songling yu Xingshi yinyuan zhuan' 蒲松齡與醒世姻緣傳. *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 1, 1984, 163-175.
- Liang Fangzhong 梁方仲. 'Yitiao bianfa' 一條鞭法. *Zhongguo jindai jingji shi yanjiu jikan* 中國近代經濟史研究集刊 4.1, May 1936, 1-65.
- Linck, Gudula. 'Aus der fruchtbaren Erde wie einsame Schatten - zum Wandel der Wahrnehmung von Weiblichkeit bei der chinesischen Oberschicht der Sung-Zeit'. In Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, ed., *Lebenswelt und Weltanschauung im frühneuzeitlichen China*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990, 189-222.
- Liu Dajie 劉大杰. *Zhongguo wenxue fazhanshi* 中國文學發展史. 1962. Repr. Shanghai: Guji, 1982, vol. 3, 1231-1234.

- Liu, James T. C. 'Liu Tsai (1165-1238): His Philanthropy and Neo-Confucian Limitations'. *Oriens extremus* 25.1, 1978, 1-29.
- Liu Jieping 劉階平. 'Xingshi yinyuan zhuan de zuozhe yiwen'
醒世姻緣傳的作者疑問. *Zhongguo yizhou* 中國一周 141.1, 1953, 22-23.
- Liu Jieping 劉階平. 'Xingshi yinyuan zhuan zuozhe Xi Zhou Sheng kaoyi'
醒世姻緣傳作者西周生考異. *Shumu jikan* 書目集刊 10.2, 1976, 3-10.
- Liu Junren 劉鈞仁, ed. *Zhongguo diming dacidian* 中國地名大辭典. Beijing: Guoli Beiping yanjiuyuan, 1930.
- Liu Ts'un-yan. *Chinese Fiction in Two London Libraries*. Hong Kong: Lung Men, 1967.
- Liu Ts'un-yan. 'Introduction: "Middlebrow" in Perspective'. *Renditions* 17&18, 1982, 1-40.
- Lu Dahuang 路大荒. 'Liaozhai quanji zhong de Xingshi yinyuan yu Guci ji de zuozhe wenti' 聊齋全集中的醒世姻緣與鼓詞集的作者問題. *Guangming ribao* 光明日報. Sept. 1955. Repr. in *Zhongguo yuwen xueshe*, ed., *Ming Qing xiaoshuo yanjiu lunwen ji* 明清小說研究論文集, 1970, 57-63.
- Lu Gwei-Djen and Joseph Needham. *Celestial Lancets: A History and Rationale of Acupuncture and Moxa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Lu Xiaolei 魯肖雷. 'Xingshi yinyuan zhuan zhong de dianshi'
醒世姻緣傳中的典史. *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 41.1, 1987, 62.
- Luo Lun 羅崙 and Jing Su 景甦. *Qingdai Shandong jingying dizhu jingji yanjiu*
清代山東經營地主經濟研究. Jinan: Qilu, 1985.
- Mammitzsch, U. H. "Wei Chung-hsien (1568-1628): A Reappraisal of the Eunuch and Factional Strife at the Ming Court". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii 1968.

- Mann, Susan. *Local Merchants and the Chinese Bureaucracy, 1750-1950*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987.
- Marsh, Robert M. *The Mandarins. The Circulation of Elites in China, 1600-1900*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.
- Matsueda Shigeo 松枝茂夫. 'Seisei innen den no hanashi' 醒世姻縁伝の話. In *Chûgoku no shôsetsu 中国の小説*. Tokyo, 1948.
- McMahon, Keith. 'Eroticism in Late Ming, Early Qing Fiction: The Beauteous Realm and the Sexual Battlefield'. *T'oung Pao* 73, 1987, 217-264.
- McMahon, Keith. *Causality and Containment in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Fiction*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988.
- McMahon, Keith. 'Review: *Margins of Utopia: Shui-hu hou-chuan and the Literature of Ming Loyalism* by Ellen Widmer'. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48.2, 1988, 545-550.
- Meskill, John. *Ch'oe Pu's Diary: A Record of Drifting Across the Sea*. Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press, 1965.
- Miller, David, ed. *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*. Oxford: Blackwell Reference, 1987.
- Mills, C. Wright. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press, repr. 1967.
- Miura Shûichi 三浦秀一. 'Shinkô Yu Anki bon seiritu no jidaiteki jôkyô - Banreki no chishikijin to dôkyô' "真誥" 俞安期本成立の時代的情況 一 万曆の知識人と道教. In Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫, ed., *Chûgoku kodôkyôshi kenkyû 中国古道教史研究*, Kyoto: Dôhōsha, 1992, 511-564.
- Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定. *Kakyo 科挙*. Osaka: Akitaya, 1946.

- Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定. 'Mindai So-Shô chihô no shitaifu to minshû' 明代蘇松地方の士大夫と民衆. Repr. in Miyazaki Ichisada, *Ajia shi kenkyû* アジア史研究, Kyoto: Tôyôshi kenkyûkai, 1964, 321-360.
- Miyazaki Ichisada. *China's Examination Hell. The Civil Service Examinations of Imperial China*. Trans. C. Schirokauer. New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1976.
- Mizoguchi Yûzô 溝口雄三. 'Iwayuru Tôrinha jinshi no shisô - zenkindaiki ni okeru Chûgoku shisô no tenkai -, jô)' いわゆる東林派人士の思想 — 前近代期における中国思想の展開 (上) . *Tôyô bunka kenkyûjo kiyô* 東洋文化研究所紀要 75, March 1978, 111-341.
- Mori Masao 森正夫. 'Jûroku-jûhachi seiki ni okeru kôsei to jinushi denko kankei' 十六 — 十八世紀における荒政と地主佃戸関係. *Tôyôshi kenkyû* 東洋史研究 27.4, March 1969, 69-111.
- Mori Masao. 'The Gentry in the Ming - An Outline of the Relations between the *Shih-ta-fu* and Local Society'. *Acta Asiatica* 38, 1980, 31-53.
- Mote, Frederick W. 'Yuan and Ming'. In K. C. Chang, ed., *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977, 195-257.
- Mote, Frederick W. 'The Transformation of Nanking, 1350-1400'. In G. W. Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977, 101-153.
- Mote, Frederick W., and Denis Twitchett, eds. *The Cambridge History of China. The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644*. Vol. 7. Part I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Motsch, Monika. 'Ehegeschichten zur Erleuchtung der Welt. Ein Roman aus der Qing-Dynastie'. *Orientierungen* 1, 1991, 79-98.
- Mühlhahn, Klaus. 'Herrschaft, Macht und Gewalt: Die Welt des *Shuihu zhuan*'.

minima sinica 1, 1992, 57-90.

Nakano Miyoko 中野美代子. *Kanibarizumu ron* カニバリズム論. Tokyo: Fukutake, 1987.

Nakayama Mio. 'On the Fluctuations of the Price of Rice in the Chiang-nan Region during the First Half of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1795)'. *Memoirs of the Research Department of Tôyô Bunko* 37, 1979, 55-90.

Naquin, Susan. *Millenarian Rebellion in China. The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976.

Naquin, Susan and E. S. Rawski. *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987.

Needham, Joseph. *Science and Civilisation in China*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: University Press, 1956.

Needham, Joseph. *Clerks and Craftsmen in China and the West: Lectures and Addresses on the History of Science and Technology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Norton, P. B., ed. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia*. Chicago, 1992.

Ogawa Yôichi 小川陽一. 'Chûgoku shôsetsu ni okeru dôkyô - toku ni *Zoku Kin Pei Bai to Taijô kannôhen* -' 中国小説における道教 — とくに続金瓶梅と太上感應篇 —. In Akizuki Kanei 秋月観英, ed., *Dôkyô kenkyû no susume - sono genjô to mondaiten o kangaeru - 道教研究のすすめ — その現状と問題点を考える —*, Tokyo: Hirakawa, 1986, 113-128.

Okada Takehiko 岡田武彦. 'Chô Yôen to Roku Futei' 張楊園と陸桴亭. *Teoria* テオリア 9, Dec. 1965, 1-30.

Okano Masako 岡野昌子. 'Minmatsu Rinshin minpen kô' 明末臨清民変考. In Ono Kazuko 小野和子, ed., *Min Shin jidai no keisei to shakai* 明清時代の

形成と社会, Kyoto: Kyôto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyûjo, 1983, 103-133.

Ôki Yasushi 大木康. 'Fû Bôryû to gijo' 馮夢龍と妓女. *Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu kiyô* 広島大学文学部紀要 48, 1989, 71-91.

Ôki Yasushi 大木康. 'Minmatsu kônan ni okeru shuppan bunka no kenkyû' 明末江南における出版文化の研究. *Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu kiyô* 広島大学文学部記要 50, Jan. 1991, 156-176.

Okubo Hideko 大久保英子. *Min Shin jidai shoin no kenkyû* 明清時代書院の研究. Tokyo: Kokusho kankôkai, 1976.

Okuzaki Hiroshi 奥崎裕司. *Chûgoku kyôshin jinushi no kenkyû* 中国郷紳地主の研究. Tokyo: Kyûko, 1978.

Okuzaki Hiroshi 奥崎裕司. 'Minmatsu Shinsho no rishoku kihan - kôkakaku no ichisokumen' 明末清書の利殖規範 — 功過格の一側面. In Sakuma Shigeo 佐久間重男, ed., *Chûgoku shi, tôjishi ronshû* 中国史、陶磁史論集, Tokyo: Ryôgen, 1983.

Ono Kazuko 小野和子. 'Jukyô no itanshatachi' 儒教の異端者たち. In Matsumoto Sannosuke 松本三之介, ed., *Taidô suru Ajia* 胎動するアジア, Tokyo: Heibon, 1966, 1-46.

Ono Kazuko 小野和子. 'Kyôkaen no sekai - Shinchô kôshôgakusha no yûtopia zô' 鏡花縁の世界 — 清朝考証学者のユートピア像 —, *Shisô* 思想, July 1984, 40-55.

Ono Kazuko 小野和子. 'Tôrinha to sono seiji shisô' 東林派とその政治思想. *Tôhō gakuhō* 東方学報 28, March 1985, 249-282.

Ôsawa Noboru 大沢昇. *Chûgoku no seiai tekunorojî* 中国の性愛テクノロジー. Tokyo: Seikyû, 1992.

- Osgood, C. *Village Life in Old China: a community study of Kao Yao, Yünnan*. New York: Ronald, 1963.
- Ôtsuka Hidetaka 大塚秀高. *Zôho Chûgoku tsûzoku shôsetsu shomoku* 增補中国通俗小説書目. Tokyo: Kyûko, 1987.
- Ou Ming, et al. *Chinese-English Glossary of Common Terms in Traditional Chinese Medicine*. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., 1982.
- Overmyer, Daniel L. *Folk Buddhist Religion. Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China*. Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Overmyer, Daniel L. 'Attitudes Toward the Ruler and State in Chinese Popular Religious Literature: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century *Pao-chüan*'. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44.2, 1984, 347-379.
- Paul, Diana Y. *Women in Buddhism. Images of the Feminine in Mahâyâna Tradition*. Repr. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1985.
- Peng Xinwei 彭信威. *Zhongguo huobi shi* 中國貨幣史. Shanghai: Renmin, 1958, repr. 1988.
- Plaks, Andrew H. 'After the Fall: *Hsing-shih yin-yüan chuan* and the Seventeenth-Century Chinese Novel'. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45.2, 1985, 543-580.
- Plaks, Andrew H. *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Porter, D. H. 'Secret Sects in Shantung'. *Chinese Recorder* 17.1, 1886, 1-10.
- Quan Hansheng 全漢昇. *Zhongguo jingji shi luncong* 中國經濟史論叢. Hong Kong: Xinya yanjiusuo, 1972.
- Rall, Jutta. *Die Vier Grossen Medizinschulen der Mongolenzeit. Stand und Entwicklung der chinesischen Medizin in der Chin- und Yuan-Zeit*.

- Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1970.
- Rawski, Evelyn S. *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979.
- Rosner, Erhard. 'Frauen als Anführerinnen chinesischer Sekten'. In Gert Naundorf, Karl-Heinz Pohl and Hans-Hermann Schmidt, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien*, Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann, 1985, 239-246.
- Rosner, Erhard. *Die Heilkunst des Pien Lu. Arzt und Krankheit in bildhaften Ausdrücken der chinesischen Sprache*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991.
- Rossabi, Morris. 'Muslim and Central Asian Revolts'. In J. D. Spence and J. E. Wills, Jr., eds., *From Ming to Qing. Conquest, Region, and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979, 167-199.
- Rummel, Stefan M. *Der Mönche und Nonnen Sündenmeer. Der buddhistische Klerus in der chinesischen Roman- und Erzählliteratur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1992.
- Rummel, Stefan M. *Die traditionelle chinesische Novelle. Analyse und Übersetzung der Erzählung von der Kurtisane Du Shiniang aus dem Sanyan-Zyklus*. Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1992.
- Saeki Yûichi 佐伯有一. '1601 nen "shikiyo no hen" o meguru sho mondai' 一六〇一年織傭之變をめぐる諸問題. *Tôyô bunka kenkyûjo kiyô 東洋文化研究所紀要* 45, 1968, 77-108.
- Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫. 'Gan Moken no shisô ni tsuite' 顔茂猷の思想について. In *Kamata Hakushi kanreki kinen rekishigaku ronsô 鎌田博士還暦記念歴史学論叢*. Tokyo: Kokusho kankôkai, 1969, 259-273.
- Sakai Tadao. 'Confucianism and Popular Educational Works'. In Wm. T. de Bary, ed., *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, New York and London: Columbia

University Press, 1970, 331-366.

Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫. *Chûgoku zensho no kenkyû* 中国善書の研究. 1960.
Repr. Tokyo: Kokusho kankôkai, 1977.

Sangren, Steven P. 'Female Gender in Chinese Religious Symbols: Kuan Yin, Ma
Tsu, and the "Eternal Mother"'. *Signs. Journal of Women in Culture and
Society* 9.1, Autumn 1983, 4-25.

Schipper, Kristofer. 'The Cult of Pao-sheng ta-ti and its spreading to Taiwan: a
Case Study of *fen-hsiang*'. In E. B. Vermeer, ed., *Development and Decline
of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990,
397-416.

Scholes, Robert E. and Robert Kellogg. *The Nature of Narrative*. New York:
Oxford University Press, 1979.

Seidel, Anna. 'Taoism'. In *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th edn.,
macropaedia, vol. 17, Chicago, 1974, 1034-1044.

Shimada Kenji 島田虔次. *Chûgoku ni okeru kindai shii no zassetsu* 中国における
近代思惟の挫折. Tokyo: Chikuma, 1949.

Shimizu Taiji 清水泰次. 'Mindai no ryûmin to ryûzoku' 明代の流民と流賊.
Shigaku zasshi 史学雑誌 46.2, 1935, 192-230; 46.3, 1935, 348-384.

Spence, Jonathan D. *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor, Bondservant and
Master*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966.

Spence, Jonathan D. *The Death of Woman Wang*. New York: The Viking Press,
1978.

Spence, Jonathan D. *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. London: Faber and
Faber, 1985.

Strassberg, Richard. *The World of K'ung Shang-jen. A Man of Letters in Early*

Ch'ing China. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

Sun Kaidi 孫楷弟. 'Yifeng kaozheng Xingshi yinyuan de xin'
一封考證醒世姻緣的信' 1931. Repr. in *YYZ*, 3:1500-1527.

Sun Kaidi 孫楷弟. *Zhongguo tongsu xiaoshuo shumu* 中國通俗小說書目. Repr.
Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1991, 238-239.

Tao, Chia-lin Pao. 'Chaste Widows and Institutions to Support Them in Late-
Ch'ing China'. *Asia Major*, Third Series 4.1, 1991, 101-119.

Teiser, S. F. 'Engulfing the Bounds of Order: The Myth of the Great Flood in
Mencius'. *Journal of Chinese Religions* 13/14, 1985/86, 15-43.

Ter Haar, Barend J. 'The Genesis and Spread of Temple Cults in Fukien'. In E. B.
Vermeer, ed., *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and
18th Centuries*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990, 349-396.

Ter Haar, Barend J. *The White Lotus Teaching in Chinese Religious History*.
Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992.

Thompson, Laurence G. 'Medicine and Religion in Late Ming China'. *Journal of
Chinese Religions* 18, Fall 1990, 45-59.

Tian Pu 田璞. 'Xingshi yinyuan zhuan zuozhe xintan' 醒世姻緣傳作者新探.
Henan daxue xuebao (Zhhexue shehui kexue) 河南大學學報哲學社會科學
86.5, 1985, 77-82.

Todorov, Tzvetan. 'Les Catégories du récit littéraires'. *L'Analyse structurale du
récit, Communications* 8, 1966, 127.

Todorov, Tzvetan. *Poétique de la prose*. Paris: Seuil, 1971.

Tong, James W. *Disorder under Heaven. Collective Violence in the Ming Dynasty*.
Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Topley, Marjorie. 'The Great Way of Former Heaven: A Group of Chinese Secret Religious Sects'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26, 1963, 362-392.

Twitchett, Denis. 'The Fan Clan's Charitable Estate'. In David S. Nivison and Arthur F. Wright, eds., *Confucianism in Action*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959, 97-133.

Unschuld, Paul U. 'Das *Ch'uan-ya* und die Praxis chinesischer Landärzte im 18. Jahrhundert'. *Sudhoffs Archiv* 62.4, 1978, 378-405.

Unschuld, Paul U. *Medical Ethics in Imperial China. A Study in Historical Anthropology*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1979.

Unschuld, Paul U. *Nan-ching. The Classic of Difficult Issues*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1986.

van Gulik, R. H. *Sexual Life in Ancient China*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.

von Glahn, Richard. 'The Enchantment of Wealth: The God Wutong in the Social History of Jiangnan'. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51.2, Dec. 1991, 651-714.

von Glahn, Richard. 'Community and Welfare: Chu Hsi's Community Granary in Theory and Practice'. In Robert P. Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer, eds., *Ordering the World. Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993, 221-254.

von Koppenfels, Werner. '*Mundus Alter et Idem*. Utopiefiktion und mennipeische Satire'. *Poetica* 17, 1982, 16-66.

Voskresenskii, D. N. 'Utopian Motifs in Chinese Fiction of the Seventeenth Century: The Theme of the Search for a Blissful Land.' Trans. J. Kelly. *Tamkang Review* 8.2, 1977, 133-146.

- Vosskamp, Wilhelm. 'Utopie als Antwort auf Geschichte. Zur Typologie literarischer Utopien in der Neuzeit'. In H. Eggert, U. Profitlich and K. R. Scherpe, eds., *Geschichte als Literatur*, Stuttgart: Metzler, 1990, 273-283.
- Wakeman, Frederic E., Jr. 'Romantics, Stoics, and Martyrs in Seventeenth-Century China'. *Journal of Asian Studies* 43.4, 1984, 653-656.
- Wakeman, Frederic, Jr. *The Great Enterprise. The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in 17th Century China*. 2 vols. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1985.
- Wakeman, Frederic E., Jr. 'China and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis'. *Late Imperial China* 7.1, June 1986, 1-26.
- Waltner, Ann. 'Widows and Remarriage in Ming and Early Qing China'. In R. W. Guisso and S. Johannesen, eds., *Women in China. Current Directions in Historical Scholarship*, Youngstown: Philo Press, 1981, 129-146.
- Waltner, Ann. 'T'an-Yang-tzu and Wang Shih-chen: Visionary and Bureaucrat in the late Ming'. *Late Imperial China* 8.1, June 1987, 105-133.
- Waltner, Ann. 'Learning from a Woman: Ming Literati Responses to Tanyangzi'. *International Journal of Social Education* 6.1, 1991, 42-59.
- Waltner, Ann. 'The Grand Secretary's Family: three Generations of Women in the Family of Wang Hsi-chüeh'. In *Family Process and Political Process in Modern Chinese History*, vol. 1, Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1992, 541-577.
- Wang Chi-chen. 'Translator's Preface'. *Renditions* 17&18, 1982, 41-45.
- Wang Deyi 王德毅. 'Songdai de yanglao yu ciyou' 宋代的養老與慈幼. *Songshi yanjiu ji* 宋史研究集 6, 1971, 399-428.
- Wang Shouyi 王守義. 'Xingshi yinyuan de chengshu niandai' 醒世姻緣的成書年代. *Guangming ribao* 光明日報, 28 May 1961.

- Wang Sucun 王素存. 'Xingshi yinyuan zuozhe Xi Zhou sheng kao'
醒世姻緣作者西周生考. *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 17.3, 1958, 7-9.
- Watt, John R. *The District Magistrate in Late Imperial China*. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1972.
- Widmer, Ellen. *Margins of Utopia: Shui-hu hou chuan and the Literature of Ming Loyalism*. Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Wiens, Mi Chu. "Socioeconomic Change during the Ming Dynasty in the Kiangnan Area". Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University 1973.
- Wong K. Chimin and Wu Lien-teh. *History of Chinese Medicine. Being a Chronicle of Medical Happenings in China from Ancient Times to the Present Period*. Shanghai: National Quarantine Service, 1936.
- Wu, Nelson J. 'Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636): Apathy in Government and Fervor in Art'. In Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett eds., *Confucian Personalities*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962, 260-293.
- Wu, Pei-yi. 'The Spiritual Autobiography of Te-ch'ing'. In Wm. T. de Bary, ed., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1975, 67-92.
- Wu, Pei-yi. 'An Ambivalent Pilgrim to T'ai Shan in the Seventeenth Century'. In Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992, 65-88.
- Wu, Yenna. "Marriage Destinies to Awaken the World: a literary study of *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan*". Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University 1986.
- Wu, Yenna. 'The Inversion of Marital Hierarchy: Shrewish Wives and Henpecked Husbands in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Literature'. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48.2, 1988, 363-382.
- Wu, Yenna. 'Xingshi yinyuan zhuan de banben wenti' 醒世姻緣傳的版本問題. *Zhongwai wenxue* 中外文學 17.2, 1988, 97-107.

- Wu, Yenna. 'Repetition in *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan*'. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51.1, 1991, 55-87.
- Xie Guan 謝觀. *Zhongguo yixue dacidian* 中國醫學大辭典. 2 vols. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1933.
- Xie Zhufan and Huang Xiaokai. *Dictionary of Traditional Chinese Medicine*. Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1985.
- Xu Beiwen 徐北文. '*Xingshi yinyuan zhuan jianlun*' 醒世姻緣傳簡論. In *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* 醒世姻緣傳. Vol. 1. Repr. Jinan: Qilu, 1980, 1-12.
- Xu Fuling 徐復嶺. *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan zuozhe he yuyan kaolun* 醒世姻緣傳作者和語言考論. Jinan: Qilu, 1993.
- Xu Junhui 徐君慧. *Cong Jin Ping Mei dao Hongloulou* 從金瓶梅到紅樓夢. Nanning: Guangxi, 1987.
- Xu Shuofang 徐朔方. 'Lun *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* yiji ta he *Jin Ping Mei* de guanxi' 論醒世姻緣傳以及它和金瓶梅的關係. *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線 34.2, 1986, 278-287.
- Xu Zhimo 徐志摩. '*Xingshi yinyuan zhuan xu*' 醒世姻緣傳序. 1931. Repr. in *YYZ*, 3:1435-1447.
- Yamada Keiji. 'The Formation of the *Huangdi neijing*'. *Acta asiatica* 36, 1979, 67-89.
- Yamane Yukio 山根幸夫. 'Min Shin jidai kahoku ni okeru teikishi 明清時代華北における定期市'. *Shiron* 史論 8, 1960, 493-504.
- Ying Bicheng 應必誠. '*Hongloulou yu Xingshi yinyuan zhuan*' 紅樓夢與醒世姻緣傳. In *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan wenxue yanjiusuo* 中國社會科學院文學研究所, ed., *Hongloulou yanjiu jikan* 紅樓夢研究集刊, vol. 12, Shanghai: Guji, 1985, 203-220.

- Ying Bicheng 應必誠. 'Lun Xingshi yinyuan zhuan' 論醒世姻緣傳. In Zhao Jingshen 趙景深, ed., *Zhongguo gudian xiaoshuo xiqu lunji* 中國古典小說戲曲論集, vol. 2, Shanghai: Guji, 1987, 306-326.
- Yu Songqing 喻松青. 'Ming Qing shiqi minjian zongjiao jiaopai zhong de nüxing' 明清時期民間宗教教派中的女性. *Nankai xuebao* 南開學報 5, 1982, 29-33.
- Yu Yingshi 余英時. *Zhongguo jinshi zongjiao lunli yu shangren jingshen* 中國近世宗教倫理與商人經神. Taipei: Lianjing, 1987.
- Yü Greenblatt, Kristin. 'Chu-hung and Lay Buddhism in the Late Ming'. In Wm. T. de Bary, ed., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1975, 93-140.
- Yuan Shishuo 袁世碩. 'Xu' 序. In Xu Fuling 徐復嶺, *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan zuozhe he yuyan kaolun* 醒世姻緣傳作者和語言考論, Jinan: Qilu, 1993, 1-5.
- Zhang Haipeng 張海鵬 and Tang Lixing 唐力行. 'Lun Huishang "gu er hao ru" de tese' 論徽商賈而好儒的特色. *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 4, 1984, 57-70, 80.
- Zhang Qingji 張清吉. *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan xinkao* 醒世姻緣傳新考. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 1991.
- Zhang Zhigong 張志公. *Chuantong yuwen jiaoyu chutan* 傳統語文教育初探. 2nd rev. edn. Shanghai: Jiaoyu, 1964.
- Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸. *Zhongguo su wenxue shi* 中國俗文學史. 2 vols. Repr. Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1984.
- Zheng Zhiming 鄭志明. *Zhongguo shanshu yu zongjiao* 中國善書與宗教. Taipei: Xuesheng, 1988.

Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良. *Shaoliang congkao* 紹良叢稿. Jinan: Qilu, 1984.

Zhu Yanjing 朱燕靜. “*Xingshi yinyuan zhuan yanjiu*” 醒世姻緣傳研究. M.A. dissertation, Taiwan University 1978.

Zurndorfer, Harriet T. *Change and Continuity in Chinese Local History. The Development of Hui-chou Prefecture 800 to 1800*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989.

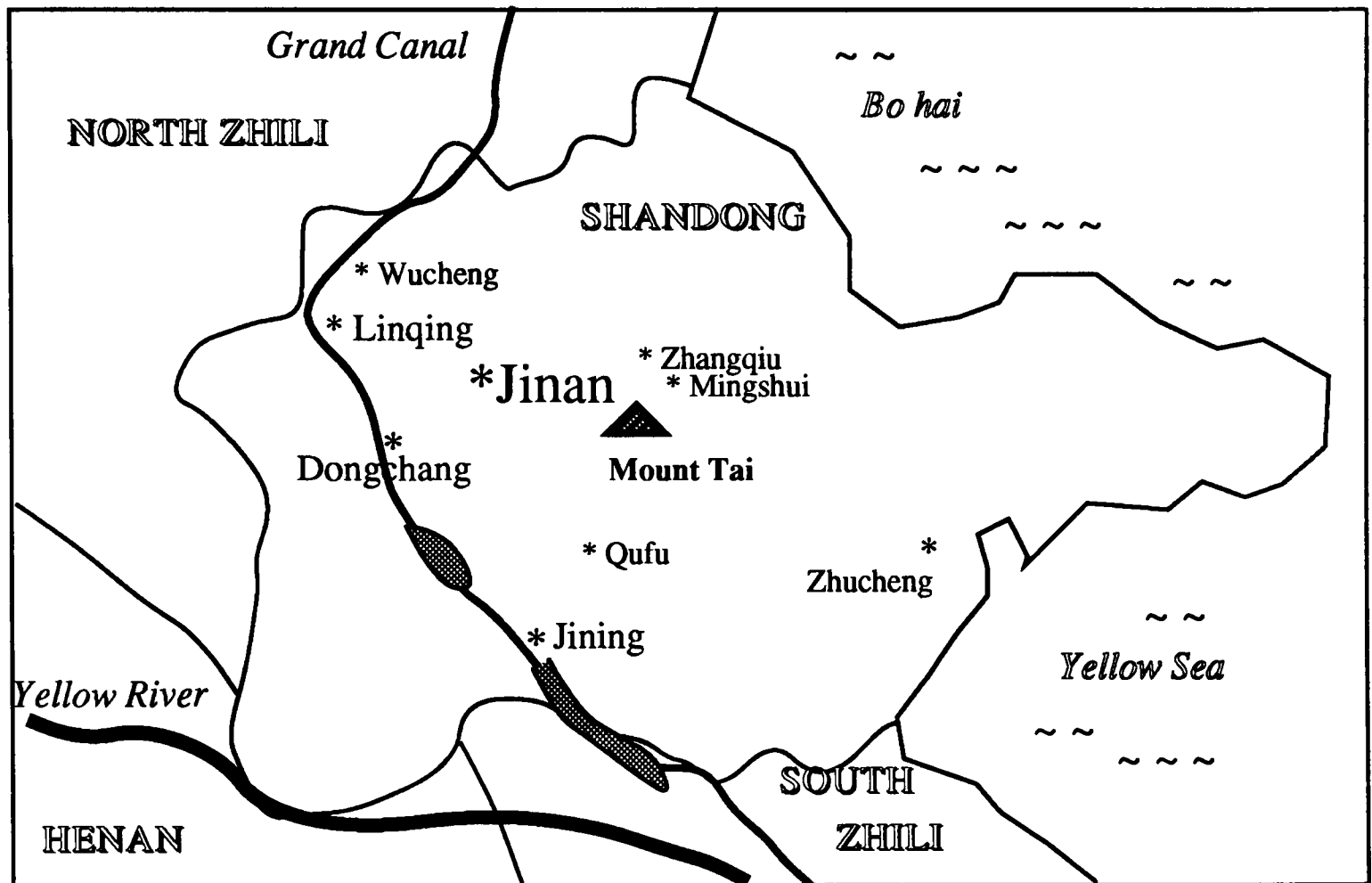
Appendices

Appendix A

Maps

1. Shandong Province in the Seventeenth Century

(as relevant to the present study)



KEY:

PROVINCE

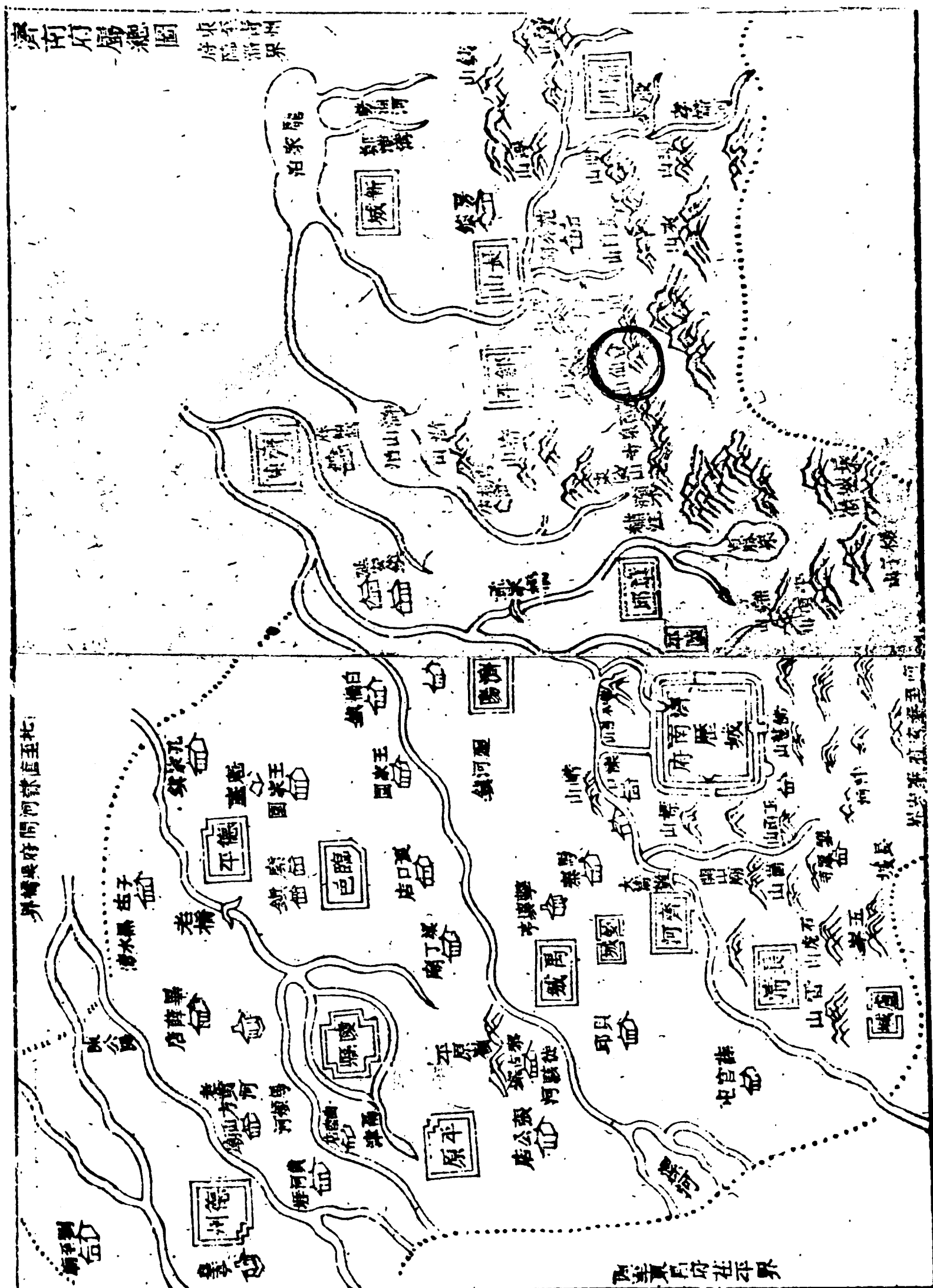
* Provincial Capital

* Other cities and smaller towns

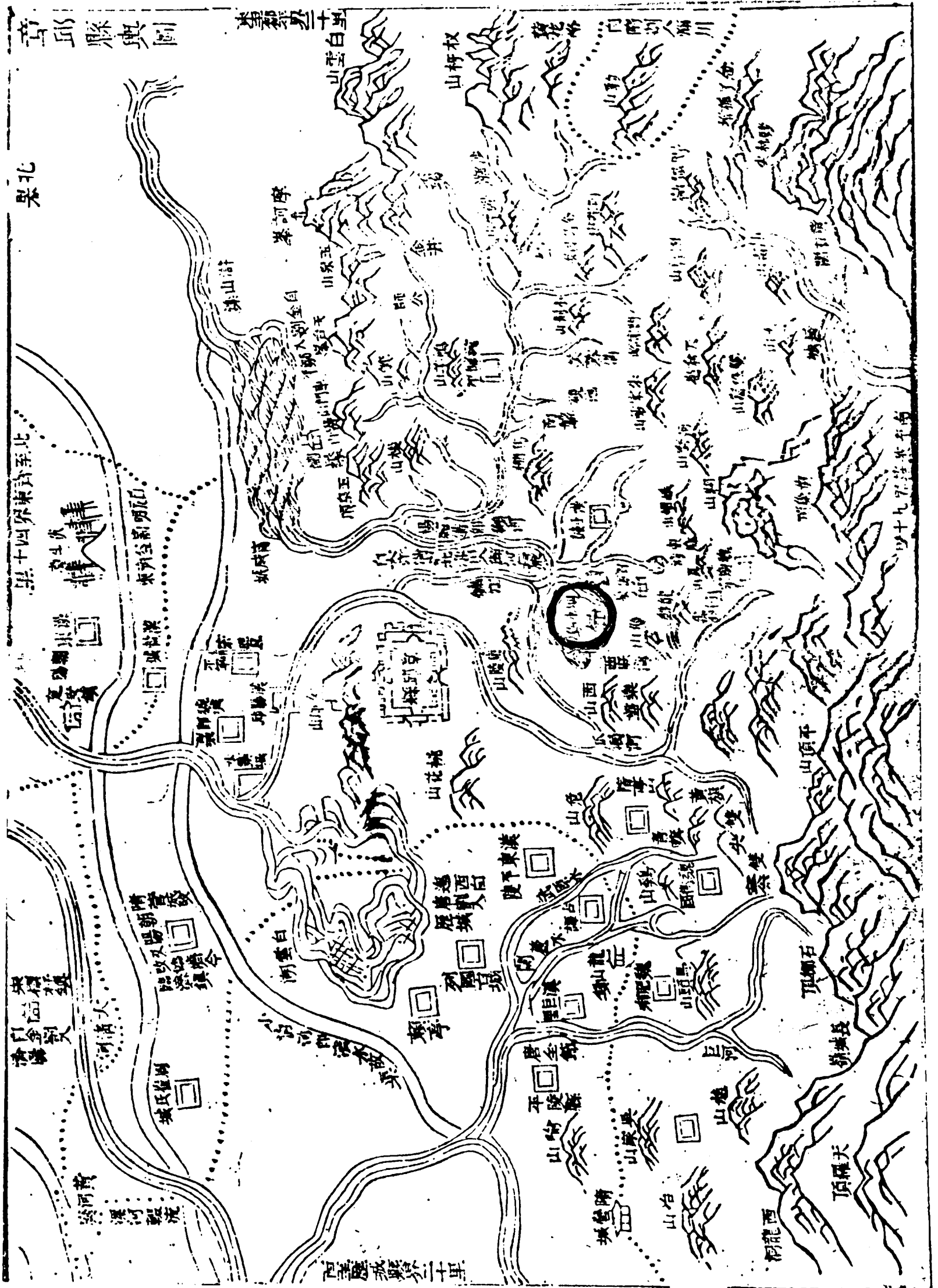
— Prefectural Boundaries

— River

~ Sea



3. Jinan Prefecture. In *Jinan fuzhi*.
(A circle marks Mt Huixian.)



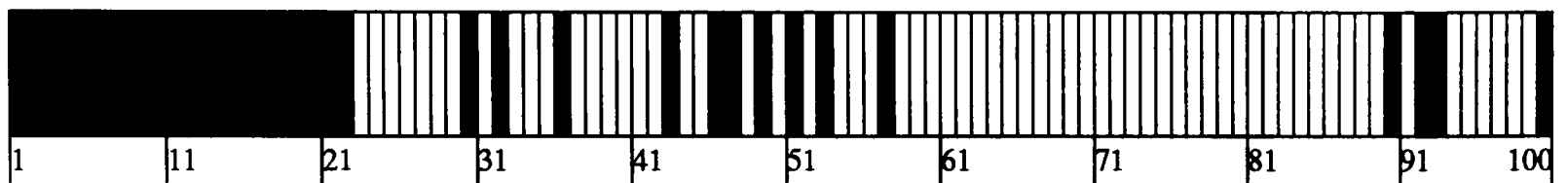
4. Zhangqiu County. In *Jinan fuzhi*.
(A circle marks Mingshui Village.)

Appendix B

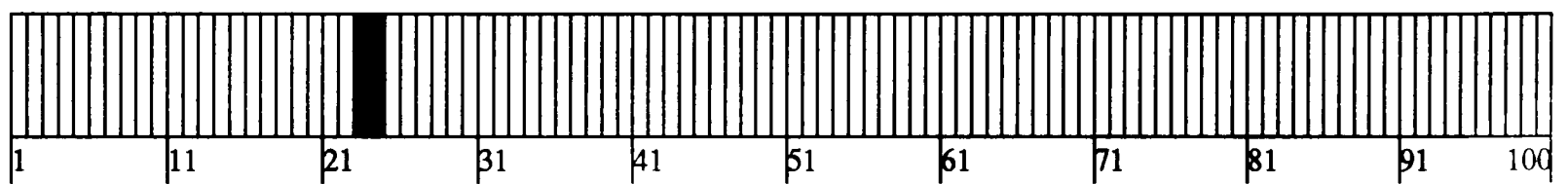
Graphs

1. Plot Structure of the *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan*:

Chapters 1 - 100 classified according to plots



The Chao plot (major protagonists: Chao family; main place of action: Wucheng county)



Eutopian chapters



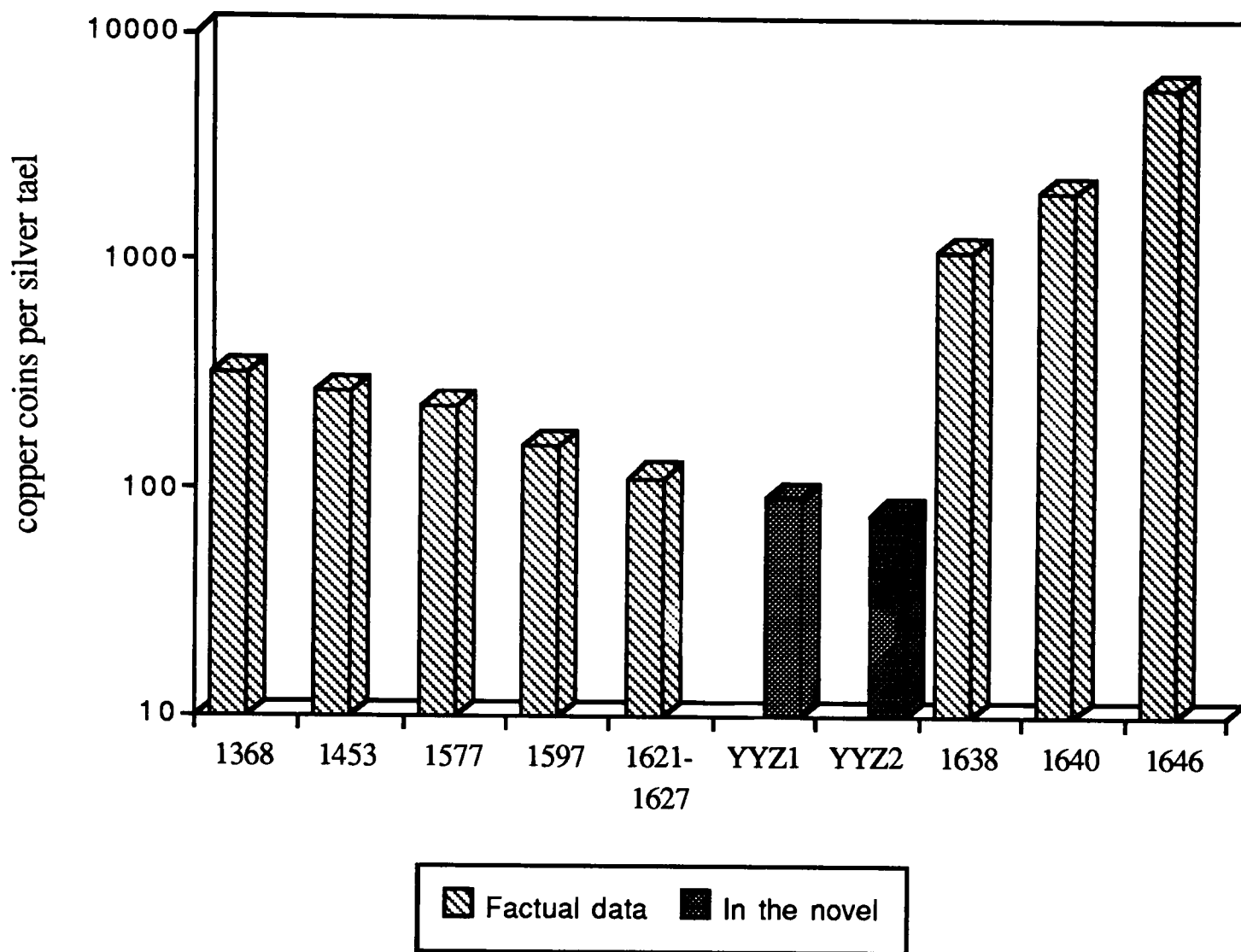
The Di Plot (major protagonists: Di family; main place of action: Mingshui Village)

KEY:

■ represented

□ not represented

2. The Exchange Rate of Silver Taels in Terms of Copper Coins



The graph shows the gradual decrease of the value of silver from the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) until the Tianqi reign period (1621-1628) and the sharp increase of the value of silver in the late 1630s and 1640s. The data in the *Yinyuan zhuan* (YYZ1 and YYZ2) suggest that Di Xichen's story takes place just before the turning point in the 1630s when the value of silver was at its lowest. The y-axis of the graph is plotted on a logarithmic scale.

Appendix C

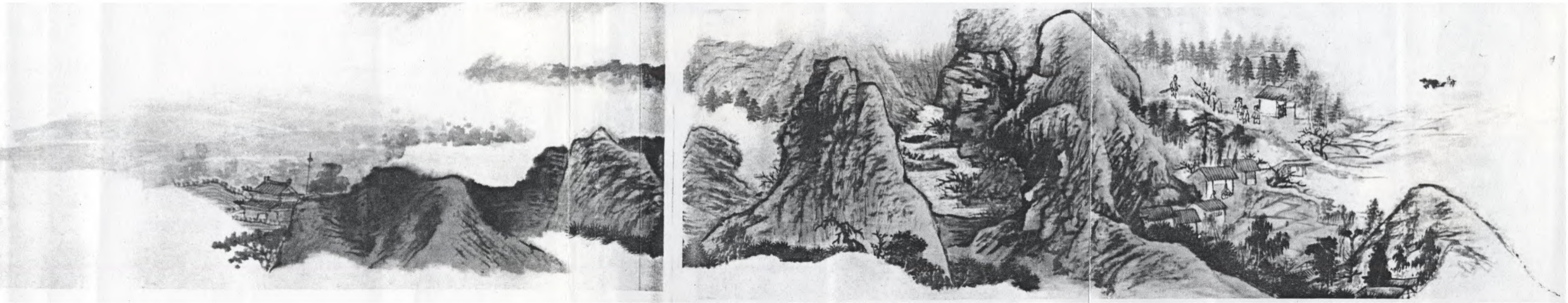
Paintings



1. 'Writing a Book'. Attributed to Li Yujian. Printed in colour by Shizhuzhai, summer 1644. Repr. in Zheng Zhenduo, comp., *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu*, vol. 9, Shanghai, 1940-42.

Appendix C

2. 'The Peach Blossom Spring'. By Shitao (1642-1707). Handscroll in ink and colour on paper. From: Edwards, 1989, 138-139.



靈山多與秘谷口人家藏渙父
 偶然到桃花流水香迷途難借
 問歸路已隨花不比天台上還
 堪度石梁

桃源圖中元日以費
 滋衡同學詩發興為此
 清湘遺人大滌子極靈



Appendix C

3. 'The Peach Blossom Spring'. By Yuan Jiang (1690-1746). Dated 1719. Twelve hanging scrolls, ink and colour on silk. From: R. Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring. Gardens and Flowers in Chinese Paintings*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983, 114-115.



Appendix C



4. 'The Peach Blossom Spring'. By Fan Qi (1616-1694). Leaf G from an album of eight leaves, ink and colour on paper. From: Barnhart, 1983, 12.

Appendix C



5. 'The Peach Blossom Spring'. Attributed to Qiu Ying (ca. 1516-1551). Dated 1548. Details of handscroll on ink and colour on silk. Chicago, Art Institute, Kate S. Buckingham Income Fund. From: Edwards, 1989, 137.