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On Chinese Part of Speech and its Characteristics in Western Sinology among 17 -19 Century

Huanhai Fang, Fan Qu, Ye Yin & Yumeng Wang

Xiamen University

Based on the analyses on Latin research model and the probes for Chinese part of speech in Western Sinology, this paper shows it was common practice to describe Chinese with Latin models for Missionaries and Sinologists in European academia after Aristotle’s category theory. Though these Westerners realized that the Chinese part of speech was different from European languages’ after adopting Thrax’s word classification method, they still revealed some typical characteristics of it with the Latin model, and these linguistic studies of Chinese part of speech then became the basis of Chinese Linguistic system in Western Sinology among the 17 -19th century.

Keywords: European sinology, Chinese language, part of speech, Latin model, characteristic

INTRODUCTION

There have been discussions on content words and function words for the Chinese part of speech in Ancient China, but their definitions were uncertain. Furthermore, Chinese grammar research was not important in traditional Chinese Language Study and most of these was to help to understand Confucian classics. Thereby, local Chinese grammar research, which served people to interpret the meaning of poems and essays in perspective of rhetoric, was affiliated to the extent of Exegetics from the beginning.

As the beginning works for local Chinese grammar, Mashi Wentong (1898) classified words into two types: content words and function words. Nouns, pronouns, descriptive words (such as adjectives), verbs and adverbs belonged to content words; prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary words and interjections belong to function words. In the perspective of the development for Chinese Linguistics, Lv Shuxiang and Wan Haifen thought Ma Jianzhong initialized the process of introducing content words and function words into grammar research. Actually, Ma Jianzhong totally classified words according to the Latin grammar system. Despite using Chinese as the research material, these analyses were almost irrelevant with Chinese in terms of the essence of theory system. No matter how proficient Ma Jianzhong was in Latin grammar research, his grasp for Latin assumedly could not be compared with that of western scholars’, given that Latin isn’t his mother tongue, let alone Ma Jianzhong’s research material was classical Chinese. So it is an interesting academic phenomenon for Chinese academia to neglect the fact that there has been so many western scholars focusing on the research for the classification of modern Chinese words...
and their materials of Chinese language is real. If we slightly expand our horizons into Western Sinology, we can find that there had been discussions on Chinese nouns, verbs, pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, interjections, conjunctions in Italian Missionary Martino Martini’s book *Grammatica Sinica* (1653).

Existing in unique forms, these Chinese researches of Western Sinology connected Chinese Linguistics with European Sinology, prompted the academic construction of Chinese Linguistics system by the collision and interconnection of Sino-Western linguistic ideas, and also pushed the subject development of European Sinology. Therefore they are of a special significance in terms of academic history. How to conduct dialogues between Chinese Linguistics researches and western ones? How to locate the study position for characteristics of Chinese part of speech? Though there had been no debates in academia, scholars advocated they should be skeptical about others’ views, but also shouldn’t confuse others with personal opinions. However, it is worth pondering about how to establish our own academic role in the Sino-Western linguistic dialogue. As we show, most of the Chinese research results, found by western Missionaries and Sinologists, are kept in European Sinology literatures except for some monographs. Therefore, this paper aims to investigate the evolutionary course about researches done on Chinese part of speech in Western Sinology, analyze how the Sinologists think about the characteristics of Chinese part of speech under their Indo-European background, and then reveal the characteristic awareness in the Chinese research of Western Sinology.

OVERVIEWS ON THE CHINESE PART OF SPEECH IN WESTERN SINOLOGY

In the views of early western scholars, Chinese is a special language and their attitudes towards it varied -- those resenting it thought no language was more primeval or difficult than Chinese; those loving it regarded it as the template of ideal language and characters, because Chinese was close to the mind and in accordance with the essence of things. For these reasons, whatever aims they held, even with colonialism factors, Westerners continued to investigate the characteristics of Chinese Grammar in the last 300 years with hundreds of works coming into being, as we can see from the main grammar monograph list below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication Date</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1653</td>
<td>Martino Martini</td>
<td>M A Grammatica Sinica (Grammar for Chinese Language, manuscript)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1667</td>
<td>Prosper Intorcetta</td>
<td>Grammatica Lingua sinensis (Grammar of Chinese Language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703</td>
<td>Francisco Varo</td>
<td>Arte de la lengua Mandarina (Grammar for Chinese Mandarin, Canton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>Joseph Prémare</td>
<td>Notitia Linguae Sinicae (Chinese Language Notes, 1831, at Malaccae by Morrison)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>Theophilus Siegfried Bayer</td>
<td>Museum Sinicum (Chinese Language Collections)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## On Chinese Part of Speech and Its Characteristics

Apart from these listed monographs, there were some textbooks which fell in the category of grammar books as well. At the same time, attentions should also be paid to some essays, introductions, pandects and general records about China, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1742</td>
<td>Etienne Fourmont</td>
<td><em>Linguae Sinarum Mandarinae Hieroglyphicae Grammatica Duplex</em> (Chinese Mandarin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>Joshua Marshman</td>
<td><em>Clavis Sinica</em> (Elements of Chinese Grammar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>Robert Morrison</td>
<td><em>A Grammar of the Chinese language</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>Jean Pierre-Abél Rémusat</td>
<td><em>Elémens de la Grammaire Chinoise</em> (Enlightments for Chinese Language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Joaquim Affonso Gonçalves</td>
<td><em>Arte China</em> (Grammar for Chinese Characters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Aignan-Stanislas Julien</td>
<td><em>Exercices pratiques d’analyse, de syntaxe et de lexicigraphie chinoise</em> (Grammar Analyses of Chinese Vocabulary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff</td>
<td><em>Notices of Chinese Grammar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>M. Antoine Bazin</td>
<td><em>ou principes généraux de la langue chinoise parlée</em> (Grammaire Mandarine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Joseph Edkins</td>
<td><em>A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language, commonly called the Mandarin Dialect</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>James Summers</td>
<td><em>Handbook of the Chinese Language</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>William Lobscheid</td>
<td><em>Grammar of the Chinese Language</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Aignan-Stanislas Julien</td>
<td><em>Syntaxe nouvelle de la langue Chinoise, fondée sur la positions des mots</em> (Handbook for Chinese Language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Tarleton Perry Crawford</td>
<td><em>Mandarin Grammar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Paul Perry</td>
<td><em>Grammaire de la langue Chinoise</em> (Grammar of the Chinese Language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Jasper Scudder Mcllvaine</td>
<td><em>Grammatical Studies in the Colloquial Language of Northern China, especially designed for the use of missionaries.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Hans Georg von der Gabelentz</td>
<td><em>Chinesische Grammatik, mit Ausschuluss des niederren Stiles und der heutigen Umgangssprache.</em> (Overview of Chinese Language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Camille Imbault-Huart</td>
<td><em>Cours éclectique de langue Chinoise parlée</em> (Chinese Language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Chauncey Goodrich</td>
<td><em>How to learn Chinese language</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Oscar F.Winsner</td>
<td><em>Some thoughts on the study of Chinese</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication Date</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
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<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1638-1642</td>
<td>Alvaro de Semedo</td>
<td>Relacao de propagacao de seregno da China e outro adjacentes (Records on Great China/The Mission Report of China and Nearby Regions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1668-1670</td>
<td>Gabriel de Magaillans</td>
<td>Nouvelle Relation de la Chine (New Records about China)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1735</td>
<td>Du Halde</td>
<td>General History of Imperial China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>T.F.Wade</td>
<td>Teach yourself Chinese/A progressive course designed to assist the student of colloquial Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1806</td>
<td>Johann Christoph Adelung</td>
<td>Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde (A Complete Volume on Language/General Linguistics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>Stephen Weston</td>
<td>FAN-HY-CHEW: A tale in Chinese and English: with notes, and a short grammar of the Chinese language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Thomas Myers</td>
<td>An essay on the nature and structure of the Chinese language; with suggestions on its more extensive study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Robert Thom</td>
<td>Aesop’s Fables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Louis Bazin</td>
<td>Memoire sum les principes generaux du chinois vulgaire (Memories about the glory of China)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Thomas Taylor Meadows</td>
<td>Desultory notes on the government and people of China, and on the Chinese language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>John Francis Davis</td>
<td>Chinese miscellanies: a collection of essays and notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Thomas Watters</td>
<td>Essays on the Chinese language, Shanghai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Calvin Wilson Mateer</td>
<td>Category Collections of Chinese Mandarin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Léon Wieger</td>
<td>Rudiments de parler et de style chinois dialecte du (Threshold for Chinese Language and Characters)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides, some more study results of Chinese lay in Chinese-foreign language dictionaries, newspapers and other books edited by European Missionaries and diplomats. However,
sorting and studying these scattered materials have not been entirely carried out. 3

From the works in the list, no matter for Chinese pronunciation, vocabulary or grammar, Western Missionaries and Sinologists gained great successes in writing and editing books on Chinese Language, which exerted great influences at that time or later. The Latin grammar model thus became the academic framework for Chinese part of speech in European Sinology, because of their productions of massive vocabulary and grammar books.

COGNITIONS OF CHARACTERISTICS FOR CHINESE PART OF SPEECH THROUGH THE PRISM OF LATIN

The Inheritance of Category Theory for Part of Speech

In Ancient Greece, Aristotle’s theory of logic classified reality into 10 categories: substance, amount, property, relation, location, time, gesture, status, motion and endurance, which translated reality in perspective of the logic. However, almost at the same time, Chinese philosophers, at the level of disputations about the name and its referent, striving for social ethics of “letting the ruler be a ruler, the subject a subject, the father a father, and the son a son”. The book Er Ya, also classified words which described the outside real world into general words and encyclopedic words: words that explain archaisms, meanings and rules belonged to general words; words that explain relatives, buildings, utensils, music, astronomy and geography, hillocks, mounts, water, grass, woods, insects, fishes, birds, wild animals and livestock belonged to encyclopedic words. These are made in the physical train of thought, but on the contrary, Aristotle seems to lay more stress on the inside relations among things rather than the classification of outside things, so his 10 categories were not on the same level—the substance meant the essence of things, while the other 9 categories, which described the substance, showed the accidental properties of things, so these 10 categories were in a “one body and nine properties” relations.

The background of Aristotle’s Category Theory is Greek Language phenomenon, and the moment the theory of logic mind based on the language structure came into being, it would in turn become the theoretical foundation for language studies. Then, concepts such as subjects, predicates, nouns and verbs would come up with the grammar research of Latin languages represented by Greek or, broadly speaking, structure analyses based on Aristotle’s theory of logic.

Because of that, in 1st century, Thrax (170 B.C.-90 B.C.) in Greece published the first systematic grammar book Techné Grammatiké (Grammar Techniques), which determined standards for the classification of part of speech and which became the model for later grammar researches because it studied grammar mainly according to morphologic changes. Adopting not only meaning standards but also form standards, including suffixes and comparative positions between words, the book classified words into 8 categories—nouns (describing people or things with case changes), verbs (describing motions or process with changes of tense, person or number), participles (with characteristics of verbs or nouns), articles (located before nouns with case changes), pronouns (replacing nouns and mark-
ing certain person), prepositions (forming words in grammar structures and located before nouns), adverbs (modifying verbs without case changes) and conjunctions (connecting discourses and filling up vacancies)—which formed a relatively complete system for part of speech. Presently, there is almost no change to this system that was applied to grammar analyses of many other languages with Latin grammar as the medium during a thousand years. 4

The European Missionaries and Sinologists who saw Chinese Language for the first time knew nothing about it. So they were curious about Chinese Language and made some superficial descriptions to its characteristics that they had observed. It should be said that it was the difference between Chinese Language and European Languages that greatly stimulated their thought of general linguistics.

Western Missionaries and Sinologists were shocked by the thoughts inspired by cross-language contacts, the impact made by alternative linguistic phenomenon in Chinese language and the extraordinary frame of Chinese culture.

Most of them, with good linguistics foundation, were trained in Latin grammar and familiar with their native language grammar, mainly the Romance Language. So when approaching Chinese Language, a new language without formal description tradition, they naturally use the Latin-Romance grammar system more or less. That is to say, these Missionaries and Sinologists are the pioneers in Chinese language studies. Missionaries studied Chinese grammar for the purpose of understanding it through Western grammar and as their language view is limited to the principle of Latin language structure, which is often applied to Chinese language without hesitation, 5 they are trying to overcome the immense obstacle in describing a language.

Although the language was changed, the grammar research was still in the same logical framework of Aristotle’s Category Theory. We could show that the syntactic structure of Indo-European Languages indeed has a close relationship with Aristotle’s theory of logic, for some concepts in Aristotle’s theory are still being used today. So far, when analyzing other languages, European grammarians are always classifying the words into 8 parts of speech, and no matter in the three ways of Indo-European linguistics: the traditional Latin grammar, emerging national language grammar and Universal grammar—or in other words, in classical, ethnic and universal ways, of the grammatical research system of Indo-European Language—this approach is using the same terms as before. 6 This has a huge impact on the Chinese studies of Western Sinology and we might say that Westerners’ study of Chinese Language has developed at a kind of the same pace with Western Sinology. 7

Characteristics for the Chinese Part of Speech in the Latin Model

Among early Chinese grammar works, despite Matteo Ricci’s early research in Chinese

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5 Francisco Varo, Arte de la lengua Mandarina, translated by Yao Xiaoping & Ma Youqing, Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press (FLTRP), 2003, F47.
phonetics, the GRAMMATICA SINICA (1653) of Martino Martini (1614-1661) is the most complete preserved book so far and it also could be regarded as the first fairly complete Chinese grammar book. This book has three chapters and in the second chapter, which studies the grammar, is divided into three parts: “the noun and their declension”, “the pronouns “and” the verb conjugation”; the third chapter introduces prepositions, adverbs, interjections, rarely used conjunctions, numerals and quantifiers in Chinese Language. Especially in the third section of Chapter Three, it distinguishes three basic tenses of verbs, which are the present tense, the past tense and the future tense.\(^8\) This book also made a systematic research to Chinese part of speech in Latin grammar system. For example, it describes localizers (qian[ 前, front], hou[ 后 , back], shang[ 上 , up], xia[ 下 , down]), verbs that refers to the directions (shanglai[ 上来, go up], xiazou [下走, go down]) as prepositions; classifies the time words (jintian[ 今天 , today], mingtian[ 明天 , tomorrow], qianri[ 前, yesterday], houri[ 后 日, the day after tomorrow]), the indicators that shows places (zheiri[ 这里, here], nali[ 那里 , there]), quantitative complements (yici [一次 , once], erci[ 二次 , twice]) and “Duo” ( 多 ) that means “about” ( 十年多 , more than ten years; 十多年 , about ten years ) into adverb. All this reflected the limitation of Martini’s cognition. At the same time, this book still recorded many language phenomenons which are common to the native speakers, i.e. “Conversion” (the multi-type phenomenon of a word, transformation of parts of speech) in Chinese Language; the lack of morphological changes in case and number and the variations of tenses are showed by “Le ( 了 )”, “GuoLe (过了)” and “Jiang (将 )”. But the most remarkable of these is that he regards the classifier as a part of speech and records the combination of noun and classifier in detail, while it is not easy for Chinese speakers to aware of these phenomenons.\(^9\)

Following D. Thrax (170 B.C.-90 B.C.)’s Techné Grammatikē, in his Arte de la lengua Mandarina (1682), Francisco Varo classified the Chinese words into 8 parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, verbs, participles, prepositions, adverbs, interjections and conjunctions; here, nouns are equal to today’s nouns and adjectives. On the one hand, Varo inherited Latin grammar, such as the view that there were no participles in Chinese Language, descriptions of gender, number and case of nouns; on the other hand, he never stuck to Latin grammar, for he did not create articles that the Chinese Language lacked.

In Notitia Linguae Sinicae (1728/1831), Joseph Prémare (1666-1736) proposed the dichotomy of Chinese word category, that is, solid characters (shizi[ 实字]) and empty characters (xuzi[ 虚字]). It argued that “the words that can’t be the element of a sentence are empty characters while the words that can be are solid characters. Solid characters can be divided into living characters (huozi[ 活字]) and dead characters (sizi[ 死字]), for example, verbs are living characters and nouns are dead characters but the Empty characters presents in the form of particles.” \(^{10}\) Joseph Prémare’s view was completely followed by Etienne Fourmont, and his Linguae Sinarum Mandarinicae Hieroglyphicae Grammatica Duplex (Chinese Mandarin, 1742), is also the copy of Notitia Linguae Sinicae. The


\(^{10}\) Joseph Prémare stressed that particles were not just used to modify the sentence, which were an indispensable part to understand the sentence. He thought the using of many particles just showed Chinese language’s enrichment, elegance and power. ”Joseph Prémare, Notitia Linguae Sinicae, 1843, P27, P47.
Elémens de la Grammaire Chinoise of Jean Pierre-Abél Rémusat argued that Chinese part of speech was lack of inflectional changes, like Indo-European languages and the relationship between words was totally decided by their positions. Furthermore, Chinese words can be divided into content and function words. Content words have real meanings but function words are used to modify content words or show the relationship between content words. But in the Chinese Language, a word might have different parts of speech, which one it belongs to is decided by the contest and its position.

In M. Antoine Bazin’s Ou Principes Généraux De La Langue Chinoise Parlée (Grammaire Mandarine, 1856) he divided Chinese words into 8 parts of speech. While in the Syntaxe Nouvelle De La Langue Chinoise (1866) of Aignan-Stanislas Julien, it just introduced nouns, verbs and function words in the Chinese part of speech. Basically, the Chinese word category was fixed into 8 parts of speech since Francisco Varo, including nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. Meanwhile, there is almost no change in Joshua Marshman’s Clavis Sinica (Elements of Chinese Grammar, 1814) and Robert Morrison’s A Grammar of the Chinese Language (1815). Along with Joseph Edkins’s A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language (Mandarin Dialect, 1857) and Jasper Scudder Mcllvaine’s Grammatical Studies in the Colloquial Language of Northern China, especially designed for the use of missionaries (1880), etc.

It was generally recognized that Chinese Language was mainly made up of monosyllables, lack of morphological changes and almost free of any rules in Latin model. To this, English Sinologist James Summers wrote in his A Handbook of the Chinese Language (1863): “Chinese words have really no classification or inflexion, and that the distinctions of case, number, person, tense, mood are unknown to natives of China.” However, there are still some rules for nouns, pronouns, variations of verb form, prepositions, adverbs, quantifiers and particles.

“Chinese Language is quite difficult to learn, and I can promise you that it has little resemblance to other languages that known in the world. There is only a kind of suffixes for the same words and you can’t find any variations of gender, number and case which are commonly seen in our language. What’s more, nothing can help us to understand who did the action, how and when he did it, even he did it alone or with other people through the verb form. In a word, in Chinese Language, a word can be a (an) noun, adjective, verb or adverb, it also can be singular or plural, masculine or feminine and so on. You have to listen and understand with the context.”

“There is no rule for the arrangement and combination of monosyllables, so if you want to understand this language, you not only need to know all the words but also need to learn each special sentence. Even if a little part of inversion can make 3/4 of the sentence beyond your understanding.”

This cognition of Chinese grammar and part of speech has basically become the basis of later researches on Chinese part of speech.

12 “In addition to this, the total number of Chinese words can be reduced to about three hundred, but they can express more than eight hundred meanings through different pronunciations, and people can use the same number of characters to express them.” The letter Priest P. Michael Bourgeois wrote to a lady, in Beijing, Oct. 15th, 1769, Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, compiled by Jean du Halde, and translated by Lu Yimin, Shen Jian & Zheng Dedi, Zhengzhou: The elephant press, 2006, Book one, P163.
The Dynamic Characteristics and the Versatility in Chinese Part of Speech

The opinions on whether and according to what standard Chinese words could be classified were at disunion in academia. But the answer was “yes” in James Summers’ *A Handbook of the Chinese Language*. In his points, Chinese themselves had made certain distinctions between nouns and verbs: nouns are known as “dead characters” (*sizi* [死字]) and verbs are known as “living characters” (*huozì* [活字]); at the same time, they classified Chinese words into two categories: solid characters and empty characters, the former includes nouns and verbs and the latter includes all the other words except nouns and verbs.  

There were three sorts of standards for classifying the part of speech - the meaning, form and grammatical function of the word as follows:  

1) Classifying according to the meaning. There are two cases: one is entirely based on the meaning, represented by Lv Shuxiang and Wang Li, the other one is classifying the part of speech on the basis of the meaning but then determining the transformation of word class by its position in the sentence, represented by Ma Jianzhong and Li Jixi, etc.

2) Classifying according to the form. This standard is suitable for some Western languages that are flexible in forms; however, it is difficult to classify the Chinese part of speech in this way, as Chinese Language itself lacks morphological changes, represented by Gao Mingkai, etc. However, it works out a conclusion that Chinese words have no fixed parts of speech which denied themselves.

3) Classifying according to the grammatical function. Zhu Dexi’s view was similar to Zhao Yuanren, who once raised a set of operating standards in 1968. Not only for Chinese but also for other languages, the essential basis for word classification is the distribution. And as the result of lacking morphological changes, Chinese words can be classified only according to their grammatical function.

The relationship among Chinese words is not on the basis of grammatical category and Chinese grammar is not based on the classification of words. In Chinese Language, the relation of thoughts is expressed in another way. Baron von Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) deemed that Chinese words, having no categorical marker, are in a simple state like root words in Sanskrit and each word can transform its grammatical category in the sentence without a trace.

The difference between T. F. Wade and Humboldt’s opinions was that although Wade keenly perceived the versatility of Chinese words, he did not fall into the mire of “Chinese
words have no fixed parts of speech”. He provided a scientific judgment instead: “Chinese itself also has the ways that needed to produce most of the results by inflexion in all the other languages”. “Chinese Language has almost achieved everything that can be realized with existing limits by syntactic treatment” profoundly revealed the internal mechanism and grammatical features of Chinese Language. He disagreed with the view that “each Chinese word can transform its grammatical category in the sentence without a trace”, but just approved “the versatility”, “the universality” and the powerful inclusion for different grammatical functions of Chinese words. At the same time, in T. F. Wade’s point of view, Chinese Language, having a corresponding analysis of the part of speech, some other grammatical meanings that are similar to inflexion and all the things that can be achieved like case, number, mood, tense, etc., maintains nearly all its abilities no matter integrally or independently used in other places.

As for inflexion, there is absolutely no place for it in Chinese grammar. The versatility of Chinese words, if we can say so, is that there is “universality” in so many Chinese words, especially the words we used to call nouns and verbs, and the inclusion for different grammatical functions reaches to such degree. All efforts to authoritatively classify languages into categories like the so-called “parts of speech”, in our language are in vain. Furthermore, no matter whether we can do the analysis of parts of speech in our language, there certainly needs to be corresponding Chinese statements. Chinese Language itself also has the ways to produce most of the results by inflexion in all the other languages, or it would not be a language. Chinese Language does not disrupt its word system and will not put each part, no matter the present or the past one, together into the word system, thus realizing what we presented by some terms as case, number, mood, tense voice or something similar. Chinese Language has almost achieved everything that can be realized with existing limits and maintained nearly all its abilities no matter integrally or independently used in other places by syntactic treatment.

CONCLUSION

Chinese part of speech is always the academic question in Chinese teaching, and so far there is still no solution on how to deal with it in Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL). As Chinese linguistics lack their own knowledge system and the Chinese academia has explained Chinese Language phenomenon with Western linguistic theories, it is the “how to observe and describe typological characteristics of it and how to construct a non-Western linguistic theory to explain Chinese Language” problem that is worthy of academics’ deep consideration. Although it may be difficult for each individual to fully establish the whole research system for Chinese characteristics of word class, we must have the typology-based awareness for Chinese characteristics.

From the 16th century, European Sinologists established a Chinese grammar research field that integrated the research traditions of Eastern and Western linguistics, during the process of contacting, learning and studying Chinese Language. Even though they cannot extract themselves from the inherent European grammatical concepts and their research inevitably exists applying, misunderstanding and distortion of Chinese characteristics. But
in such process, European Sinology proposed a series of enlightening insights after thinking, exploring and researching by Missionaries and Sinologists in European academia. Even now, it still has a great reference value in academic.

In the domestic Chinese Language academia, there are prejudices about Chinese research in Western Sinology from time to time. For example, Wang Li once specially discussed “the influence of Western European Sinologists to Chinese linguistics”. Although it had some excellent opinions, it just gave a simple summary on the Western European Sinology in the 19th century: As most of them had very little strict linguistic training, their works were not credible. Although this aimed at “some foreign Missionaries” and their researches on “dialects and minority languages in China”, later scholars often amplify this sentence to the general overseas Sinology. Such arbitrary extension is likely to form, actually has formed an academic misconception: to ignore overseas Sinology as well as overseas Chinese language teaching and research, especially the Sinology in earlier times. Meanwhile, it is believed that with the gradually development of the research, the loss of Chinese Linguistic, caused by this ignorance, will become more and more clear.  

On that account, how to comb the academic vein in European sinology, sketch the evolutionary mechanism of Chinese characteristics, analyze gains and losses of the Chinese characteristics research and locate the certain position for Chinese Language research in European Sinology, to inspire later Chinese characteristics research is doomed to be a long-term and arduous academic task.

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Eileen Chang’s Feminine Chinese Modernity: Dysfunctional Marriages, Hysterical Women, and the Primordial Eugenic Threat

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Eileen Chang has been described by critics as an unapologetically introspective and sentimental but largely apolitical writer. While most other writers of her time were concentrating on the grand and the abstract in exploring the May Fourth modernist spirit, Eileen Chang’s approach to her writing poignantly laid bare an intense interest in the modern relationships between men and women, between an individual and the collective. Contrary to popular interpretation, this paper argues that there is a strong political and subversive dimension to Chang’s writings that has hitherto been glided over or ignored completely. Specifically, this paper suggests that recurring themes of abortive parent-child relationships, the dilapidated household, and disillusioned sexual unions throughout Chang’s work not only intertwines references to her own private life and love affairs, but also reflects a larger sociopolitical history anchored in the rise of a national eugenics movement at the bedrock of Chinese modernity. The parallel narratives of The Golden Cangue (1943) and The Rouge of The North (1967) engage intimately in a social critique of the Chinese state’s propagation of eugenic practices related to reproduction. These stories unveil Eileen Chang at her best in uncovering, even allegorically, the relationship between the feminine and the sociopolitical changes besetting contemporary China. She limns a fictional world where Chinese modernity has engendered its own reflection in the image of the monstrous, embittered woman suffering from psychological and bodily decay and grapples with the corporeal manifestation of the malaise of social and marital relations in modern China.

Keywords: Eileen Chang, eugenics, Chinese modernity, rewriting, Chinese women, contemporary Chinese literature

Under the bathroom light in the middle of the night, she saw the male fetus in the toilet bowl. In her frightened eyes it was a full ten inches long, suspended between the white porcelain wall and water. Its flesh was smeared with a faint layer of blood, becoming the light orange color of recently planed wood. The blood that congealed in its recesses clearly outlined the fetus’ contours. A pair of disproportionately large round eyes, two protruding eyes. [...] She thought it would not flush away, but it eventually disappeared amidst the surging water.

- Eileen Chang, Little Reunion.

1 Requests for reprints should be sent to Rachel Leng. E-mail: rleng@fas.harvard.edu.
夜间她在浴室灯下看见抽水马桶里的男胎，在她惊恐的眼睛里足有十寸长，毕直的敧立在白磁壁上与水中，肌肉上抹上一层淡淡的血水，成为新刨的木头的淡橙色。凹处凝聚的鲜血勾划出它的轮廓来，线条分明，一双环眼大得不合比例，双睛突出。[...] 以为冲不下去，竟在波涛汹涌中消失了。

张爱玲《小团圆》

The above passage from Eileen Chang’s *Little Reunion* (2009) vividly describes the novel’s protagonist, Jiuli Sheng (Julie Sheng), as she lays eyes on her own aborted fetus. She is horrified by the unborn child’s bloody flesh and “disproportionately large” dead eyes, and the sight concurrently arouses intense feelings of wretchedness, disgust, and even fear. This passage stands out in its description of the maternal body as one that is associated with the degeneration and termination of life, rather than an act of procreation. Moreover, the ghastly description of the dead fetus uncannily evokes the spectral fetuses that regularly traversed the pages of Chinese medical texts during the early 1900s. As Frank Dikötter (1998) documents in his historiography of birth defects and eugenics in China, these fetuses were often diagnosed as misshapen lumps of flesh smeared with “foul blood and filthy fluids” that “revealed the imprint of a ghostly face” with large, protruding eyes “like a goldfish” (56). These monstrous shapes were said to have been caused by a libidinous female imagination, reflecting an embryonic fear of the transgression of boundaries between body and mind, where the self is no longer a coherent and autonomous entity (Dikötter, 1998, p. 54-6).

The clot of blood and flesh that had colonized Jiuli’s womb for months on end comes to embody the power, cruelty, and malignance of the female mind. This interpretation of Jiuli’s unnerving confrontation with the lifeless fetus is enhanced by the circumstance that, although readers may speculate Jiuli was impregnated by Shao Zhiyong, her main lover in the novel, the actual father of the baby is never confirmed or disclosed. The portrayal of an experience of femininity and childbirth that is intensely abject, self-destructive, and degenerative is intricately related to my reading of Eileen Chang’s social critique of Chinese modernity. I understand the significance of Jiuli’s aborted fetus to be threefold: first, it provides an evocative metonym for Eileen Chang’s personal abortive familial and love relationships; secondly, it reveals Chang’s views on the sexual union and reproductive process that is always immanently regressive and derivative; thirdly, the dead fetus symbolizes the nonproductive influences of eugenics and invokes abortion as an act closely related to societal decay in the Chinese context.

Published posthumously, *Little Reunion* (2009) has generated critical debates about its literary value, autobiographical authenticity, and Chang’s own emotional and political ambivalence towards the work. In a novel centered upon Jiuli’s familial and personal love story against the backdrop of World War II, *Little Reunion* concerns the imbrications of human attachment and war in memory and history. The story is divided into two parts: the first reveals Jiuli’s aristocratic but decaying family background when she is growing up during the beginning of Republican China, and the second primarily centers on her tumultuous love affair with Shao Zhiyong. Insofar as *Little Reunion* can be read as a semi-autobiographical novel, Jiuli represents Chang’s alter ego, and the story itself provides insight into Chang’s feminine perspective on Chinese modernity and the nonproductive spheres of parent-child
relationships, love, and marriage. Critics have noted that *Little Reunion* diverges from Chang’s past works in that the text weaves detailed descriptions of her personal family history, as well as overt elaborations of her love affairs with other men, especially of that with Hu Lanchang, a married traitor and philanderer. Unpleasant details about such relationships were rarely mentioned and at most only implicitly referred to in her previously published works. Jiuli’s abortion takes place almost midway through the novel after she first arrives in an apartment in New York City, marking a transitional moment in her life both physically and emotionally. Jiuli’s encounter with the dead fetus prompts her to acknowledge that she has left her life in China behind, and she is initiated into a truncated world of love, romance, and abject femininity.

Extending from Chang’s display of hypersensitivity to human relationships in *Little Reunion*, it is possible to return to her earlier fictions and reflect upon the portrayal of individual lives and their relationships in new ways. Specifically, this paper suggests that recurring themes of abortive parent-child relationships, the dilapidated household, and disillusioned sexual unions throughout Chang’s work not only intertwines references to her own private life and love affairs, but also reflects a larger sociopolitical history anchored in the rise of a national eugenics movement at the bedrock of Chinese modernity. Since space is limited, I will focus my analysis on two of Eileen Chang’s English works: *The Golden Cangue* (1943) (hereafter referred to as “*Cangue*”) and *The Rouge of The North* (1967) (hereafter referred to as “*Rouge*”). The parallel narratives of these two texts engage intimately in a social critique of the Chinese state’s propagation of eugenic practices related to reproduction. These stories were produced at critical times in China’s recent past, with the country in the midst of historical transition from the feudal Qing dynasty into the Republican Era and modernity. *Cange* and *Rouge* unveil Eileen Chang at her best in uncovering, even allegorically, the relationship between the feminine and the sociopolitical changes besetting contemporary China. She grapples with the corporeal manifestation of the contemporary malaise of social and marital relations by limning a fictional world where Chinese modernity has engendered its own reflection in the image of the monstrous, embittered woman suffering from psychological and bodily decay.

Through close readings of *Cange* and *Rouge*, I will explore how Eileen Chang deploys the life stories of squalid and repulsive characters to critique the imposition of a Western eugenics model in modern China. The analysis will draw references to developments during the Republican Era (1912-1949) when the politics of sexuality, morality, and reproduction was a prominent subject in intellectual and popular discourse. This paper contends that the recursive figure of the hysterical woman embodied by Qiqao and Yindi in *Cangue* and *Rouge* respectively re-present eugenics discourse on female hysteria and the regulation of marital sexuality with regard to parenthood, population control, and social degeneration.

**EILEEN CHANG: LIFE AND WRITINGS OF PERPETUAL FEMALE TRANSGRESSION AND SELF-DESTRUCTION**

Eileen Chang (张爱玲, 1920-1995) has been lauded as one of the most important writers produced in twentieth century China, considered by many to be on par with Lu Xun and Shen Congwen, masters of modern Chinese literature and native-soil fiction. In today’s heterotopic world where cultures converge, intersect, and interact in a multitude of
ways and places, Chang’s complex life and work presents a fascinating study of transition and hybridity across East and West. Since her death, scholarship has recorded Chang’s proclivity towards retelling: she repeatedly rewrote her personal stories from different perspectives, across English and Chinese, at different times of her life, and using multiple mediums (Shen, 2012; Wang, 2010). As such, her literary work has extended its international reach through rewritings, translations, and film adaptations. Throughout her writing career both in China and America, Chang constantly returned to the early 1940s when she was one of the most celebrated writers in Shanghai, and most of her works are centered on that period. Chang’s own personal experiences intimately informed her writing, and she frequently penned the story of a naïve, sometimes idealistic, youth who gets drawn into the chaos that pervades a deceiving, selfish, and disintegrating adult world.

Collectively, keen readers of Eileen Chang have noted her indomitable style for sentimental explorations of the self, an emphasis on the emotions and intimacy (or lack thereof) in relationships, and a tone of loss and desolation. She has often been compared to Jane Austen in her ability to dissect in minute detail the mundane things in life that affect human relationships (Louie, 2012; Luo and Wang, 2012). Consequently, scholars have stressed that Chang represents an unapologetically introspective and sentimental but largely apolitical writer (Huang, 2005; Lee, 2010; Tsu, 2010). As Ping-Kwan Leung points out: “the predominant accusation is that her works are trivial and narrow in scope, focusing only on love affairs and ignoring larger social and political issues” (86). Chang herself famously declared that she is “incapable of writing the kind of work that people usually refer to as a ‘monument to an era’ and do[es] not plan to try… [A]ll [she] really write[s] about are some of the trivial things that happen between men and women. There is no war and no revolution in [her] works” (Zhang, 2005, p. 18).

To date, few critics have looked into how “trivial things that happen between men and women” can represent certain ideologies of particular times or places, and are also significantly influenced by sociopolitical developments. As Kam Louie (2012) writes, Chang “uses the ‘trivial’ to comment on human sensibilities during great social movements” and deploys a “narrative strategy of using everyday objects as metaphors and providing a rich and detailed tapestry of Shanghai and Hong Kong life at a time of great social upheaval” (17-18). This paper builds upon the argument that Chang’s works are not as divorced from politics as has commonly been assumed. When most other writers of her time were concentrating on the grand and the abstract in exploring the May Fourth modernist spirit, Eileen Chang’s approach poignantly lays bare an intense interest in the modern relationships between men and women, between an individual and the collective.

Born into a declining aristocratic family in Shanghai, Chang was immersed in an environment of decaying decadence from a young age. Despite the family’s pedigree, Chang’s father led a dissolute life, taking on a second wife and indulging in opium, while her mother was more preoccupied with her personal liberation and becoming a Nora of New China rather than her child’s wellbeing. Chang’s parents’ irreconcilable differences and bitter divorce left the family in disarray, especially when Chang’s mother abandons her children by leaving China to live in the UK for five years. Here, Chang’s mother embodies the effects of a self-conscious women’s movement that first began to take shape in China at the turn of the century with the influence of Westernization. During this time, more women were struggling for the rights to education and independence, including the ability for women
to control their own reproductive bodies. Chang’s writing is profoundly impacted by her mother’s absence and admiration for Europe during her childhood. Hence, the image of a self-absorbed, absent, and selfish mother as well as the imagined allure of Europe haunts most of her work.

Although her work has been neglected in the official literary historiography for several decades, recent years have witnessed the rising contagion of “Eileen Chang fever” where her life and works are subject to extensive examination in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China (Louie, 2012). Since the 1970s, literary scholars such as C.T. Hsia and Shui Jing have reclaimed her significance, reviving the popularity of her work. Since her death, Chang’s life and times have been attracting more critical and popular attention than ever before. In Taiwan in particular, several generations of “Chang School writers” are said to have emerged under Eileen Chang’s influence (Su, 2006). Nonetheless, scholars have pointed out that in contrast to the wealth of scholarship on Chang’s life and work in the Chinese-speaking world, few studies have taken up her English texts (Louie, 2012; Tsu, 2010). This paper’s focus on Cangue and Rouge therefore attempts to contribute to scholarship on Chang’s English-language writings.

What concerns me in this paper is not merely to identify the imprints of Chang’s personal life in her fictions, nor to highlight the extent to which Chang retrieved or revised her repressed trauma through storytelling. Instead, I contend that there is a strong political and subversive dimension to Chang’s writings concerning her singular understanding of feminine Chinese modernity. This aspect of Chang’s writings has hitherto been glided over or ignored completely. By considering Cangue and Rouge as retellings of the same story about a Chinese woman’s misery in a disintegrating traditional Chinese family structure, it is possible to understand Chang’s repetitive and bilingual writings as a reflection not only of her own life experiences but also her views on the rapidly changing sociopolitical landscape of the Chinese national body. Although Cangue and Rouge, like many of her other texts, deal mostly with the melodrama of ordinary life, Chang may have seen in the form of the fictional embittered woman a reflection of something closest to her own feminine perspective on Chinese modernity: one that is simultaneously decadent yet desolate, haunted by a looming fear of the self-destructive sexual union and primordial eugenic threat embodied by the female reproductive body.

This dark, macabre, and even cruel side to Eileen Chang’s aesthetics is one that scholarship has yet to dwell upon. Ang Lee’s 2007 film Lust, Caution (《色，戒》), an adaptation of Chang’s short story of the same title, is the only recent interpretation of her work that touches upon a more sinister element of Chang’s work. Lust, Caution tells the story of a college girl who falls in love with drama and playacting, such that she ends up playing a lead role in an assassination plot during wartime Shanghai, at the cost of her own life. The film generated a storm of controversy, especially with regard to erotic scenes and the blunting of a feminist edge that many claimed distorted the original short story. In his interviews, Lee explains that he was originally drawn to how “scary” the plot was; as he puts it, Lust, Caution is “a story about women’s sexuality set against patriotism and the two put together is, for Chinese people, quite scary” (Utichi, 2008). Despite criticisms about the film’s sex scenes, Lee maintains that they are necessary to express how “the contortion of their bodies visually represents [the pain] they inflict on each other” (Hill, 2007).

Lee’s decision to shoot graphic sex scenes allowed him to internalize and digest the
deeper implications of *Lust, Caution*, consuming its ghost and rechanneling its haunting effects through different sensory manifestations. Reviews and studies of *Lust, Caution* have since analyzed Chang’s dense and gripping storytelling as one that delves into the complexity of human struggles with love, seduction, betrayal, and death, as well as stylized portraits of Chinese mannerisms and historical contingencies. However, I maintain that amid such interwoven abstract emotions as anxiety, fear, pain, alienation, and apathy, Lee was able to visualize a previously unspeakable dimension of Eileen Chang’s derivative, exilic, and desolate authorial perspective on the Chinese body politic. What we glimpse in Ang Lee’s film is not an Eileen Chang characterized by Haiyan Lee’s (2010) essay on the revelation of “contingent transcendence,” wherein the female protagonist is able to transcend herself and achieve self-agency, but one that more intimately inflects Chang’s understanding of female sexuality as immanent *transgression* marked by incessant self-cancellation and destruction.

**FROM THE GOLDEN CANGUE TO THE ROUGE OF THE NORTH: DYSFUNCTIONAL MARRIAGES, THE HYSTERICAL WOMAN, AND ABORTIVE MOTHERHOOD**

The Non/Procreative and De/Generative Conjugal Couple

Eileen Chang published *JinsuoJi* (《金锁记》) in 1943 during her zenith of popularity in China. She later translated it into English as *The Golden Cangue*. Combining the thematic tradition of the classic Chinese novel with modern writing skills, the novel was a great success in China at the time and has aroused enduring interest among literary critics and researchers. Fu Lei, a renowned writer and translator, declared the novel to be “at least ranked among the most beautiful fruits of our literary garden” (as cited in Xun, 2004, p. 12). C.T. Hsia, in his book on *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (1961), famously proclaimed Eileen Chang to be the most important and gifted Chinese writer to emerge in the forties and asserted that *The Golden Cangue* is “the greatest novelette in the history of Chinese literature” (Hsia, 1961, 398). The story narrates the life of Cao Qiqiao, the daughter of a sesame oil shop owner, who is sold by her brother to be the wife-cum-nursemaid of a blind and crippled man from an aristocratic family. Although Qiqiao obtains material wealth through the marriage, it comes at the expense of her psychological health. Through Qiqiao’s estranged relationships with her crippled husband, in-laws, and children, the novella exposes the suffering of Chinese women under a traditional patriarchal and feudal system. After years of bitter experiences, Qiqiao is seen at the end of the novel languishing in opium smoke after having completely depraved her children of any meaningful human connection.

After Eileen Chang settled in America in 1956, the desire to sustain her career as a writer as well as the need to earn an income compelled her to write in English. In the 1960s, Chang began working on a full-length English version of *Cangue*, entitled *The Rouge of The North*, which was published in 1967 by Cassell Company of London. In contrast to the popularity of *Cangue* in China, *Rouge* was received coldly by reviewers and American readers. A close reading of both *Cangue* and *Rouge* reveals clear differences, ranging from changes in the plot and character to the addition of details and explanations of Chinese customs and cultural particularities. While *Rouge* derives its story from *Cangue*, it now provides a prolonged account filled with specifics of the life of Chai Yindi as she deteriorates...
into a rancorous and paranoid widow. Although Qiqiao and Yindi are both women deeply disappointed by life, Yindi initially appears a more tempered and pedestrian version of her counterpart. On the one hand, the minute tracing of Yindi’s moral and psychological degeneration in *Rouge* discharges the intensity that *Cangue* conveyed by condensing only the pivotal moments in Qiqiao’s life. On the other hand, one may argue that Chang’s detailed rewriting of Qiqiao into Yindi amounted to a fuller re-representation of the same lived feminine experience in all its banality, absurdity, and cruelty across time from different aesthetic distances and perspectives.

Significantly, the publication of *Cangue* and *Rouge* both coincide with distinct transitional moments in Chang’s life and her experiences of marriage and relationships. She published *Cangue* in 1943 when she was still young and had a lot of pent up rage against her family, especially her negligent mother and dissolute father, to whom she attributes an unhappy childhood. The popularity of *Cangue* helped attract the attention of Hu Lancheng, who then pursued and married Eileen Chang, only to betray her both sexually and emotionally repeatedly before their divorce in 1947. Accused as a traitor for her marriage to Hu, Chang was exiled to the margins of respectability as a writer in China, and though she eventually managed to declare her innocence, she never regained the level of popularity she previously enjoyed. Upon moving to the U.S., Chang worked on writing *Rouge* when she was remarried with her second husband, Ferdinand Reyher (1897-1967), a prominent leftist writer twenty three years her senior. The year 1967, when *Rouge* was published, turned out to be an emotionally difficult time in Chang’s life, when Reyher died after a long illness in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Given the backdrop of Chang’s personal experiences, perhaps it is unsurprising that many of her texts take up the institution of marriage, sexual relations, and issues of parenthood as a focal concern.

*Cangue* and *Rouge* cast an especially pathological lens on all marital relationships and sexual unions. From the beginning, the stories recount how Qiqiao/Yindi marries into an affluent family as the Second Mistress, delving into detailed descriptions about how the girl is repulsed by the sight of her blind and crippled husband. For Qiqiao/Yindi, marriage to a crippled man is an intensely abject experience, one that traps her in a state of liminality between life and death. Coined by Julia Kristeva (1982), the term “abjection” refers to signs of disgust and horror as reactions to an inability to transcend the base associations of the corporeal such as bodily fluids, waste, blood, and gendered difference. As such, the abject focuses attention on the “thresholds” that are manifested in those bodily orifices blurring the distinction between the inside and the outside, attraction and repulsion, desire and death. “At these sites,” as one critic puts it, “what is inside the body is expelled to the outside, and what is outside can be taken in,” blurring the boundaries between self and other (Newman, 1997, p. 210).

In *Cangue*, Qiqiao is horrified by her bedridden husband and the idea that by “staying with a cripple, [she will] smell crippled too,” incarcerating her as “a butterfly specimen in a glass box, bright-colored and desolate” (186).Qiqiao is constantly aware that others view her as an object of derision yet voyeurism because of her sexual relations with a man afflicted with “the soft bone illness” and “tuberculosis of the bones” (190). She becomes the source of endless gossip amongst her sister-in-laws and even the household servants, especially after she starts smoking opium “to take her mind off things” (177). *Rouge’s* Second Master is equally repugnant as an asthmatic “hunch-backed and pigeon-breasted” man, with
eyes that were “tilted slits now closed, now squinting upward, empty” (24). Before Yindi even meets her future husband, “part of her died” at the anticipation of his “horrible-looking eyes” (21). Like Qiqiao, Yindi is highly aware of her lowly status within the family, where “the attitudes of the servants and relatives were plain to see” (28).

Throughout the novels, Qiqiao and Yindi repeatedly emphasize their ghosted lives as a result of their marriage with Second Master. When Qiqiao has a conversation with her brother-in-law, Chi-tse, about the importance of health, Qiqiao dissolves into tears, crying that touching her husband is enough to make one realize “how good it is not to be sick” (186). This recollection of touching “soft and heavy” deadened flesh causes her to convulse in a way that “seemed to be not so much weeping as vomiting, churning and pumping out her bowels” at the image of the shriveled body (187). As such, Qiqiao’s entire life is weighed down by her husband’s “sticky dead flesh,” where even a moment of solitude reminiscing childhood memories of going to the market is now haunted by the image of her husband’s “lifeless body” (194). Infected with “all kinds of illnesses from anger,” she begins to sink into a zombie-like state of being “sane enough one minute and the next minute off again, and altogether disagreeable” and increasingly “out of touch with reality” (190-3, 205).

In Rouge, the narrative is more subtle in relaying the consequences of Yindi’s decision to marry a blind, stunted invalid. After her marriage, Yindi “felt as if she had died and was back as a ghost” and repeatedly talked about being dead and having “dropped dead” (26, 32). Her humiliating position within the family and sexual frustrations lead her to conclude that the sexual union where “giv[ing] your body over to be loved” also involves “giv[ing] it over to be robbed and abused” by the man “walk[ing] in on her any time and tak[ing] anything he wanted” (106-7). As a widow, Yindi sees her own face in a window glass and experiences an eerie distancing from her reflection: “Just the face alone with no hair showing, a blue-shadowed moon afloat on the dark pane… It frightened her to see the face smile back at her beckoning slightly… A ghost. Perhaps she had hanged herself sixteen years ago and did not know it” (107). Thus, both Cangue and Rouge present a scenario where a young girl encounters one of the living dead in the form of her crippled husband, provoking her descent into madness and a phantasmagoric existence.

Kristeva’s Powers of Horror (1982) asserts that the corpse is the most horrifyingly disruptive site of abjection, confronting the self with boundaries that are traversed and unity punctured so that the resultant breach threatens to consume the whole. In this interpretation, Qiqiao’s violent reaction to the loathing of her invalid husband displays how “amid the violence of sobs, of vomit,” she is “in the process of becoming an other at the expense of [her] own death” (Kristeva, 1982, p. 3). In contrast, Yindi’s response is a mute protest of the symptom. At first glance, it may appear that Rouge limns a milder experience of abjection in marriage, but upon closer reading it becomes clear that in Yindi’s case, the border between self and Other was already encroached when she chooses to marry a wealthy but crippled man. Here, Yindi manifests what Kristeva terms an abject “passion that uses the body for barter instead of inflaming it,” compelling her to marry for monetary gain instead of love (1982, p. 4). By making the decision to enter into a sexual union with “the jettisoned object,” Yindi had already plunged herself into a “place where meaning collapses” and her ghostly reflection represents the power of death to infiltrate, infect, and consume life (Kristeva, 1982, p. 2). While Qiqiao still manages an attempt to establish her selfhood in confrontation with and trapped by abjection, Yindi is one step further from redemption:
she is fully engulfed by the horror of self-abjection, unable to extricate herself, because she traded her youth and vitality for wealth and vanity.

In “From the Mouths of Babes” (“童言无忌”), Chang reveals an unnerving take on the notion that humanity is trapped in an endless cycle of repetition and ghostly reflections that reverberates with the experiences of Qiqiao/Yindi: “The transformation of life into drama is unhealthy. People who have grown up in the culture of the city always see pictures of the sea before they see the sea; they read of love in romance novels and only later do they know love. Our experience is quite often second-hand, borrowed from artificial theatricals, and as a result the line between life and its dramatization becomes difficult to draw” (Zhang, 2005, p. 8). These sentences underscore that there is an abject component inherent to the act of copying, a term that can be associated with the adoption of Western thought in contemporary Chinese society as well as the human reproductive process.

The feminine experience of Chinese modernity in Chang’s worldview is forever contaminated by some uncanny element that is intrinsically harmful, alien, and artificial. To further understand Chang’s desolate view on the non/productive sexual union or the de/generation of a wholesome national body, we must turn to consider the eugenics movement of Republican China in regulating the quality of bodies. In the context of Chang’s life and writings, the abject body can be understood on three interrelated levels: first, in terms of an individual’s physical conditions; second, in relation to the nuclear family structure; and third, as the projection onto a national body that signifies China’s status as a nation-state at the global level. By reading Cangue and Rouge against the framework of the Chinese eugenics movement, the shadowy realm of Eileen Chang’s corpus that engages in sociopolitical criticism by revealing the anarchic power of abject bodies, self-destructive sexuality, and delinquent parenthood begins to take shape.

Grotesque Bodies, Transgressive Sexuality, and the Spectral Nation

Although Cangue and Rouge present readers with a woman’s abject experience on a psychological level, the setting of a historical epoch and a city – Shanghai – in decline cannot be overlooked. The revolution of 1911 profoundly altered the political structures of imperial China. In an era of intense nationalism and rapid state-building, open talk of sex rapidly became a sign of liberation from the “shackles of tradition” among modernizing elites, taking large cities by storm in Republican China (Dikötter, 1995, p. 1). Soon, educated groups began promulgating that the control of sexual desire and reproduction was necessary to restore the strength of the nation and achieve modernity. For the modernizing elites of Republican China, individual sexual desire had to be disciplined and evil habits eliminated, and couples were to regulate their sexual behavior strictly to help bring about the revival of the nation (Dikötter, 1992). Pan Guangdan (潘光旦, 1899–1967), a distinguished sociologist and eugenicist in China at the time, began to publicize his observations of the symptoms of the Chinese national character. He criticized that the Chinese did not have any desire to glorify their national life, but were only selfishly concerned with their individual propagation or family-line continuation. After a series of foreign invasions, opium, civil wars, custom-reform campaigns, and anti-superstition campaigns, the only lesson Chinese people had learned was how to manage barely surviving (Pan, 1928; Lu, 2009). Pan’s judgment of the Chinese national spirit in exhaustion and decay resonated with the May Fourth critique
on cultural decadence and racial degeneration. Along the same lines, Lu Xun criticized: “Chinese males and females tend to age ahead of their time; before they reach twenty, they have already turned senescent” (as cited in Sun, 1996, p. 202).

Due to this degeneration discourse, eugenic ideas based on the American model soon gained increased attention from the public and became an influential source of inspiration for national salvation (Chung, 2002). The bedrock of the Chinese eugenics campaigns revolved around the healthy conjugal couple and social control of carnal impulses as essential to combating the threat of racial degeneration. Raising the specter of racial extinction, many writers claimed that the poor physical quality of the population was one of the key causes of the nation’s backwardness (Dikötter, 1995, p. 69).

With an understanding of the eugenics discourse Chang was likely exposed to during her life and times, it is possible to see how her fiction manifests imperfect conceptions of an unhealthy Chinese national body. After the fall of the Qing dynasty, the married couple was feverishly promoted as a harmonious family model and heralded by civil society as the “natural” foundation of social order in modernizing texts on sex and society (Chung, 2002; 2011). The woman had a duty to the body politic, social reformers claimed, since careless procreation would lead to the production of unfit people and degenerates (Dikötter, 1998, p. 17). Following from this, the fact that Chang makes woman and her abject status in the Chinese family system the central issue of Cangue and Rogue comes into focus as a critique of social changes altering the structure of the traditional family model. Qiqiao and Yindi’s tragic marriages reveal how the conjugal couple, rather than being procreative, is immanently transgressive and self-destructive. This sentiment is emphasized by the female protagonists’ perverted marriage to a wretched, crippled man.

During the Republican era, Chinese eugenics campaigns enlisting popular support for the improvement of population quality and national prosperity promoted the regulation of marital health. These campaigns focused on breeding future generations of better quality (素质 suzhi) citizens by restricting certain individuals from reproducing, preventing the racial stock from being contaminated by undesirable traits (Chung, 2002; 2011). For example, the 1931 marriage regulations of the Chinese People’s Republic stated that persons suffering venereal disease, leprosy, tuberculosis, mental disease, or paralysis were forbidden to marry (Meijer, 1971, 61). Crippled individuals were often relegated to the category of canji (残疾, literally translated as “deformed” but now takes on the meaning of “disabled”) in the production of an undesirable Otherness for the Chinese population (Kohrman, 2004). As Murphy et al. (1998) observe in their study, disability is “an in-between state, for the disabled person is neither sick nor well, neither fully alive nor quite dead” (238). Disabled or disfigured individuals thus occupy a deeply indeterminate zone of their and others’ making. Bodily disintegration became a signifier of the dangers of sexual pollution and transgression, and symbolized the fragility and vulnerability of human existence (Kohrman, 2004). As Frank Dikkoter vividly describes in his study on Imperfect Conceptions: Medical Knowledge, Birth Defects and Eugenics in China (1998): “A grotesque carnival of freaks and monsters, a macabre procession of sick people, cripples and hunchbacks, a bedraggled humanity crushed under the weight of inbreeding and mental retardation trekked through the pages of medical texts… [F]reaks embodied the disfigurement of the nation” (68).

Qiqiao /Yindi’s marginal marriage to Second Master resulted in her being physically
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and emotionally cast out of her own family onto the social and geographic margins of life and respectability. As a widow, she is further marginalized by being deprived of her full portion of the household inheritance and the property she should have received. In a sardonic twist, the fact that the bedridden Second Master is even able to have children, when eugenic laws would have prevented his marriage and reproduction, insinuates something sinister and barren about the trajectory of Chinese modernity. Chang herself was deeply concerned about the poor capacity for people to shoulder the responsibilities of providing for their children. In her own words: “Mothers and fathers are not gods, but they are forced into occupying a position of divinity… If conditions do not favor a child even before he is born, then he can hardly be expected to succeed later in life. Such are the operations of fate” (Zhang, 2005, p. 132). Given the subaltern and peripheral lives led by Third Master as a crippled father and Qiqiao/Yindi as an evil mother in a decaying aristocratic family, the narrative foreshadows the deprived and marginal fates that await their children.

In both Cangue and Rogue, the feminine experience of sexual relations and motherhood are degenerative and self-destructive, revealing Chang’s cynical position on the potential for sexual enlightenment to provide the “bright light on the path to national wealth and power” (Dikotter, 1995, p. 2). The incestual relationship between Qiqiao/Yindi and her brother-in-law, Third Master, directly contributes to her distrust of all men and eventual descent into madness. In Cangue, Qiqiao’s desire for her brother-in-law, Chi-tse, is only alluded to in a scene of flirtatious banter. Years later, when a widowed Qiqiao sees Chi-tse again when he comes to borrow money, she admits that she had married into the Chiang family just “to meet Chi-tse, because it was fated that she should be in love with him” (201). Their love is one that is never consummated, however, and Qiqiao unleashes her anger built up from a repugnant marriage and fruitless affair on her children, manipulating their lives and forcing opium on them. She humiliates her in front of others and constantly puts her down, ruining Chang-an’s confidence in returning to school for self-improvement, and later also sabotaging her marriage plans (208). In the end, Chang-an emerges as the totally unpleasant “spit and image” of her mother who manipulates others to maintain her own security and power (211).

Qiqiao equally depraves her son by forcing him to cook opium for her and gossip about his wife, so that she can enjoy divulging to others “in detail all her daughter-in-law’s secrets as confessed by her son” (215). Her actions drive her son’s wife into sickness and eventual death. As Qiqiao herself recognizes, “this was an insane world, a husband not like a husband, a mother-in-law not like a mother-in-law” (216). The story ends in a maudlin tone where Qiqiao is all alone confined to her opium couch, arousing only to the revulsion of her own wicked existence and the knowledge that “her son and daughter hated her to the death, that the relatives on her husband’s side hated her, and that her own kinsfolk also hated her” (234). However, the narrative does not indicate when Qiqiao’s story will end, and implies that women like her may continue to haunt a feminine Chinese modernity indefinitely. This lingering presence is enhanced by the time consciousness of Cangue’s narrative, where the novella opens with a reference to “Shanghai thirty years ago on a moonlit night,” and ends with a contrast between “now” and “then” by asserting that “the story of thirty years ago is not yet ended – can have no ending” (171, 234).

Taking Rouge as a continuation of Cangue across time, one can see how Yindi’s story...
weaves larger sociopolitical developments in modern China, particularly with regard to the
propagation of eugenics discourse. One of the most prominent changes is in the title itself,
which is modified from The Golden Cangue to The Rouge of the North. The words on the
head page explain the title:

The face powder of southern dynasties.
The rouge of the northern lands.
Chinese expression for the beauties of the country, probably seventh cen-
tury.

It is worth highlighting that in Chinese, the phrases “the face powder of southern dynas-
ties” (南朝金粉) and “The rouge of the northern lands” (北地胭脂) do not actually refer
to “beauties,” but rather to the figure of the prostitute (Luo and Wang, 2012, p. 2). Thus,
the title implies that women like Yindi peddle their beauty and youth for wealth through
marriage, and are not dissimilar from prostitutes capitalizing on the female body as a trans-
actional commodity. The basic plot concerning Qiqiao and Yindi’s marriage appears to sup-
port this reading where the female body is similarly leveraged for monetary gain: Qiqiao
was sold by her brother in Cangue, whereas Yindi decides to sacrifice her love interest
and exchange her beauty and adolescence for wealth. Accordingly, the title change further
underscores the theme of social and moral decay with regard to female sexuality and the
reproductive body, and foreshadows the prolonged account of this deterioration in Rouge.

Yindi similarly has an affair with her brother-in-law, Third Master, but the novel re-
veals more details about how she once sang a ballad to him in the middle of the night, and
had rendezvoused with him at a Buddhist temple, after which she had tried to hang herself
out of shame and fear of being punished for adultery. Yindi also projects her anger and un-
fulfilled desires onto her son, Yensheng, but her actions are less fuelled with the vengeful
determination and manic energy that make Qiqiao the most abominable mother in modern
Chinese literature. Although Yindi manipulates her son’s life and ruins his marriage by
driving his wife to death, she nonetheless reveals tenderness towards him. She reveals trac-
es of protectiveness when she gets angry about Yensheng’s cousins and relatives “laughing
at him” or commenting about him being “so small and thin” (137). Towards the end of the
novel, Yindi recognizes that “there was something monstrous about a face grown unrecog-
nizable over the years” but they still “felt so safe together… For a moment she was close to
tears, willing to live her life through him. He was a part of her and male” (150). Although
this moment did not last long, and Yindi soon returns to her usual iniquitous self, she lets
Yensheng handle the family money – the one thing that she values more than anything else
– knowing that “he could be trusted because he wanted to win her confidence” (173). In ef-
fect, the desperate madwoman in Cangue is transformed into a moneyed but desolate wom-
an in Rouge, making Yindi a more believable yet unsettling persona.

The Hysterical Woman and Fearsome Children

The exceptional rage and delusion represented by the prototype of Qiqiao/Yindi in her
attempt to destroy everyone around her would seem a fitting counterpart to Lu Xun’s infa-
mous madman of China. Although it is possible that Chang similarly wanted to criticize the
inescapable “iron house” of traditional China and urge readers to work towards a more progressive society, my reading infers that Chang was not nearly so optimistic about the Chinese population’s capacity for change. Instead, a more appropriate counterpart of Qiqiao/Yindi might be found in the figure of the hysterical woman in eugenics discourse. Insofar as Qiqiao/Yindiconsstitutes Chang’s inquiry into the female psyche, they reflect a constant state of bodily and emotional imbalance. As David Wang (1998) points out, “the Chinese title of Rogue, Yuan-nü (怨女) is more suggestive of Yindi’s state. The Chinese character for yuan denotes ‘embittered,’ ‘sullen,’ and ‘rancorous;’ and when used to describe women, it evokes a major trope in classical Chinese poetic invocations of the feminine” (xxii). In this understanding, female embitterment is a menacing force. In addition to having roots in the Chinese poetic tradition, I want to argue that the figure of Yuan-nü (怨女) has close associations with the hysterical woman in eugenics discourse as an anarchic figure defying all reason and regulation.

Medical texts in the late Qing dynasty increasingly scrutinized women based on their reproductive functions, and their bodies were described as intrinsically out of balance and sickly, particularly during polluting events like menstruation and pregnancy. Moreover, medical texts endowed postmenopausal women with a sexuality which was thought to be irresistible and dangerous. Sexual deprivation caused these “old girls” (老女 laonü) to become bitter, jealous, and intolerant. The sexualization of the female body in biologizing discourse was particularly prominent in medical concepts of hysteria, which was thought to be a hereditary disease which was expressed between the age of fifteen and twenty-five. Hysteria was characterized by symptoms such as neuroticism, violent affectional changes, emotional instability, excessive apprehension, and deliberate exaggerations (Su, 1935; Dikötter, 1995, p. 50). In this sense, hysteria became a catch-all for irregular female behavior and all forms of pathological phenomena, where the hysterical woman lacked self-control and often indulged in improper thoughts or wild fantasies. She was inclined towards crime, wandering about in a state of altered consciousness. Sexual frustration was pinpointed as the primary cause of female hysteria; therefore, the fulfillment of sexual desires and the ability to control the female reproductive body was believed to be the only way to remedy such a medical condition (Dikötter, 1995).

Knowledge about this component of eugenics discourse makes it possible to see how Qiqiao and Yindi are both hysterical women to varying degrees. Through these characters, Chang projects a dysfunctional and morose approach towards childbirth, motherhood, and the female reproductive body more generally. While Cangue focused on the perversity of one woman and how she had used the “heavy edges” of her golden cangue “to chop down several people” causing them death and suffering, Rogue fleshes out Yindi’s surroundings to reveal the absurdity of others’ lives and actions as well. The concluding chapters of Rogue place repeated emphasis on how everyone was “in fact all in the same position as Yindi… a widow living on some dead money” (133). With the onset of the Japanese occupation, “more and more people were put into her position… so not just her relatives but all of the more scrupulous people had come to be like her, a widow who stayed home to keep watch over her chastity. Now she could pinch pennies legitimately as everybody was doing” (176). The irony here is that the exact behavior that used to be a source of ridicule and derision for Yindi later became a model for others to emulate. Chang’s rewriting implies that from Cangue to Rogue, selfish and neurotic behavior is no longer limited to the isolated hysteri-
Cal woman, but has permeated all of Chinese society.

Chang’s pessimistic assessment of parenthood and the nuclear family as a reflection of (un)civilized society is evident in the portrayal of Qiqiao/Yindi’s warped relationships with their children, but is even more obvious in Rouge when Third Master’s womanizing comes under special scrutiny. In Rogue, the narrative follows his life in greater detail as a man who steals from his own family and sinks deeper and deeper into debt, gambling, and prostitution. Near the beginning of the novel, there is an incident where Third Master steals his wife’s coveted pearl flower, which he likely pawned for money to continue patronizing brothels. To clear their name from theft, the household’s servants hired a round lighter to try and identify who actually stole the item. Third Master finds out that the only way to break the spell would be to smear pig’s blood on the face, as “pig’s blood is one of the filthy things used as antidotes for witchcraft” (68). When he attempts to buy a bowl of pig’s blood, however, he receives a bowl of blood from dubious origins. He questions not simply “what” the blood was, but “whose,” implying the possibility that it could be human blood (69). This scene inauspiciously occurs in the same chapter following Yindi’s childbirth, after which she was made to remain in the maternity “blood room” and “sit up straight all day so as to bleed as much as possible and be rid of the unclean blood” (55).

Therefore, the narrative sequence intimates that the blood Third Master receives and ends up smearing on his face is the same blood Yindi shed during childbirth, leaving the room “reek[ing] of blood as if there had been a murder” (70). In Chinese eugenics discourse, the blood of women, especially blood related to the womb during menstruation or pregnancy, is perceived as a sign of female generative power and vitality, but also the site of murderous contamination, sickness, and abjection (Chung, 2002; Furth, 2002). This morbid scene where Third Master smears his own face with contaminated blood hence portends his destitute existence and cursed fate at the end of the novel. Moreover, the inclusion of this bloody scene seems to reflect Chang’s own desire to expose how “only filth can kill the mystery, the aura” of sex, childbirth, and parenthood (68).

Interestingly, the round lighting process depends on the purity of children with “clean eyes able to see ghosts and spirits invisible to grown-ups” to catch the thief (70). At this juncture, the text points to Chang’s simultaneous respect and fear towards children. In her essay on “Making People,” Chang asserted her observation that “most parents don’t understand their children, while most children are able to see right through their parents and understand exactly what sort of people they are… [Adults] fail to see what is so very frightening about children’s eyes – such earnest eyes, the eyes of angels on Judgment Day”(131). The little boy in the story exemplifies this formidable power of children’s eyes when he declared he “saw a red-faced person” with “no eyes or nose, just a big red face,” leaving Third Master “exhilarated by his narrow escape” (70). As a virgin boy, the child had the power to see into the depths of Third Master’s conscience, and if it were not for the filthy blood used, the narrative indicates that a different scenario would likely have unfolded.

In the last few chapters of Rouge, Yindi learns that Third Master lived his later years with two concubines in a barren room of a small alley house and died from illness without having any children. The fate of Third Master divulged in Rouge that was absent from Cangue evokes the growing emphasis in popular eugenics discourse that a man’s excessive sexual activity causes a decline in the generative power of his semen. Profligate sex would decrease his ability to have healthy offspring and increase his exposure to venereal diseas-
es. Therefore, sexual desire was targeted as a domain for state intervention and public control, where discourse demanded that the social subject subordinate his drives to the needs of a higher collectivity (Chung, 2002). The fate of Third Master denudes the barren outcome of men who do not keep their womanizing in check, speaking directly to prevalent public discourse on the issue, but also reveals the lingering resentment Chang still holds against her ex-husband, the libertine Hu Lancheng.

Another significant difference in the plot between *Cangue* and *Rouge* is the omission of Qiqiao’s daughter, Chang-an, in Yindi’s story. Scholars have noted that without Chang-an, Yindi appears more pleasant and acceptable as a mother (Luo and Wang, 2012). However, the question remains: what might have happened to Chang-an that caused her character to completely disappear from *Rouge*? Given the insight readers now have into Yindi’s abortive seduction of Third Master, we may speculate that Yindi aborted her second (love)child.

At one point in the story, Yindi reflects that the concubines from singsong houses “not only ruined Third Master but left him childless,” as “practically all singsong girls were barren, maybe because of the abortion herbs that their madams had forced on them too often” (146). This keen knowledge about the frequent usage of abortion herbs amongst singsong girls insinuates that she might have acquired some for her own usage. Moreover, we may turn to Chang’s other texts, especially *Naked Earth* (1954), for clues as to why she departed from the original storyline in *Cangue* when rewriting in English. Chang wrote *Naked Earth* (1954) and *Rice Sprout Song* (1954) during the time she was based in Hong Kong in between leaving China and arriving in the United States. The books were commissioned by the United States Information Services as part of an anti-Communist propaganda initiative.

*Naked Earth* (1954) stands out for its insertion of a horrific episode where a female character goes for an illegal abortion that eventually bleeds her to death. The Chinese version of the novel, 《赤地之恋》, does not contain this scene. In the English version, Su Nan is impregnated from a love affair with Sheng, a high ranking Comrade, in a scheme to seduce him and make him release her first love, Comrade Liu, from prison. Her pregnancy drives her into a frenetic state, where she obsesses over “that thing growing inside her, fattening itself on her” and likens its growth to that of a time bomb “ticking inside her, faster than the clock” (289, 291). This loss of control over her womb provokes Su Nan to feel alienated and repulsed by own body; she loathes that her body was “dumbly protect[ing] this thing she could not live with” and “could not understand how that parasitic life had such a tenacious hold on her” (291). When she finds a dodgy clinic reputed for giving illegal abortions, an accidental spill of antiseptic prior to her operation leaves ominous red stains on the floor that makes the room look like a murder scene. Su Nan finds herself in a doubly humiliated and marginalized position: Sheng had not only exploited her sexually, but had also fooled her about liberating Liu. Yet, she was to be the one suffering both physically and emotionally from her unproductive maneuvers, sacrificing her psychological wellbeing and eventually her life.

By way of suggesting a point of entry into reading the significance of abortion in Chang’s oeuvre, I will return to the evocative passage from *Little Reunion* cited in the epigraph to this essay. It is worth highlighting that the scenes from *Little Reunion* and *Naked Earth* are the only two instances where Chang plainly writes about abortion. However, the issue of abortion and themes of abortive relationships pervade all of her works. In *Eileen Chang and Reyher* (《张爱玲与赖雅》, 1996), Sima Xin attributes the addition of abor-
tation in *Naked Earth* to Chang’s own abortion and miscarriage experience prior to marrying Reyher. The ghostly fetus(es) haunting her from this experience of abortion might also have impelled her to cancel the existence of Chang-an from the pages of *Rouge*. Notably, this erasure of the female character echoes Chang’s peculiar ethics of “the moral virtue of self-negation,” through which she expresses a desire to cancel herself out from life (2005, p. 132).

The implications of abortion in *Rouge* and *Naked Earth* evoke the double-edged sword of the abortion issue in relation to the Chinese woman and eugenics discourse. Abortion appears on the agenda of eugenics in multiple ways: as the revelation of medical control over reproduction, a means to regulate the quality of the human population, and also the ability for women to achieve a form of self-determined sexuality (Gilheany, 1998). The rise of eugenics discourse in China brought women enhanced prenatal care and means of birth control, nonetheless shouldering them with an ever-growing burden of national survival. With the stress on birth and population regulation, the control that Chinese women exerted over their bodies became the primary arena where they could subvert national and patriarchal hierarchies. The view that motherhood should be freed from slavery, where Chinese women should be spared the burden of required reproduction to become better citizens contributing to society, gained popularity. The traditional Chinese belief of childbearing and childrearing as the essence of marriage was perceived as manacles enchainning Chinese women, draining substantial mental resource and physical strength from them. With the introduction of birth control and abortion procedures, both the preservation and taking of human life became the subject of new types of moral and political decision making for the first time (Gilheany, 1998).

Chang reveals a unique sensitivity towards these developments altering the intersection of eugenics, reproduction, and motherhood. With the rise of eugenics, the human body and the process of reproduction increasingly became merely another socioeconomic and moral commodity in government rhetoric. Her contemplations on the social consequences of the blurred distinction between life and death is most clearly addressed in her essay on “Making People” (*造人*, 1944) where she reveals a deep seated anxiety about the perpetuation of an unregulated reproductive process. In her words: “Nature’s ways are shockingly wasteful… Why should we expend our flesh and blood in such a profligate manner? Civilized people are extremely expensive creatures, requiring enormous sums of money to be fed, raised, and education… What on earth could induce us to produce these useless creatures, destined as they are for the evolutionary scrap heap, in such profuse quantities?” (Chang, 2005, p. 132-133). The matter of censurable motherhood is one that laces many of Chang’s works, infusing the narratives with an undercurrent of premature death. As Carlos Rojas (2008) observes, “for Eileen Chang … the image of her mother similarly functions as a temporal interregnum, foreclosing the possibility of her own death before it has even come to pass, and opening a space for textually mediated modes of procreative dis/semination(180).” In this way, the figure of Qiqiao/Yindi serve as a reminder of Chang’s past and the inevitable rupture of figurative artifact bearing tangible traces of her dead mother’s presence. Delinquent parenthood is at the core of Chang’s diagnosis of her unhappy life, and by extension, a disintegrating China.

The increased number of abject characters that populate *Rouge*, especially the numerous troops of singsong girls, Peking Opera female impersonators, and concubines, further
EilEn Chang’s FEmininE ChinEsE modErnity

evices this fear of excessive proliferation. Set during a time in China’s history where prostitution was increasingly reviled as a social evil and polygamy was abandoned for the conjugal family model, the presence of these characters in Cangue and Rouge connotes a dismal state of modern Chinese society in the 1900s (Hershatter, 2002). The fearsome power of uncontrollable reproduction is best dramatized by the burlesque outcome of Yindi’s attempt to bring honor to the family by securing Yensheng a concubine and a son. Ironically, while Yindi succeeds in getting a grandson, her plan backfires as the house ends up being overpopulated by undesirable children, a spectacle that mocks the anachronistic over-emphasis on women’s biological function in marital relations. The concubine, Dungmei, is described in terms of a commodity whose “belly [is borrowed] for a son,” but turns to be “too good a breeder” giving birth to babies in “litters like pigs” (169, 180). This satirical plot change in Rouge mirrors the fear and aversion Chang herself developed towards children over the years, where she “felt both esteem and terror when confronted with little children, from whom [she] deliberately maintain[ed] a respectful distance” (2005, 131).

Chang’s concluding lament in “Making People” is telling of her view on the primordial eugenic threat inherent within human reproduction: “It is in our nature to want humanity to thrive and proliferate, to reproduce and to continue reproducing. We ourselves are destined to die, but our progeny will spread across the earth. But what unhappy progeny are these, what hateful seeds!” (2005, 133). In returning to the possibility of Yindi’s abortion, then, one might suspect she murders her own daughter before the newborn even has the chance to live. Alternatively, Yindi’s transgression concedes the reality that bringing another life into her world would only lead to other forms of unhappiness, frustration, and death.

THE PROLIFERATION AND SPECTRAL RETURN OF RECURSIVE (RE)PRODUC-TIVITY

In the early 20th century, modern Chinese literary thought was produced under tremendous political turbulence and historical crisis. Since the “Opium War” of 1840-42, China had suffered from the repeated humiliation of defeat in war by the imperialist powers of Japan and the West. The Chinese intellectual class wanted to strengthen their nation’s position by embracing Western discourses of modernity, initiating the adoption of the Western model of eugenics. With the external threat of imperialist encroachment, China’s weaknesses as a nation had been exposed. Therefore, cultural production during this time, as Kirk Denton (1996) explains, “convey at the very least the sense of urgency and crisis felt by educated Chinese” (5). Out of this turmoil, May Fourth authors envisioned themselves as a cultural force using literature to prompt social change, empowering themselves through writing to validate current political regimes and establish standards for Chinese modernity.

Although writing out of the same milieu, Eileen Chang has consistently been described as an author who goes against the grain of May Fourth fiction. As David Wang writes of Rouge, “this is a novel not about national politics but about politics as a daily practice of life. It does not have the usual revolutionary ‘obsession with China,’ to use C.T. Hsia’s term; rather it probes the reactionary meaning of all such Chinese obsessiveness” (1998, p. vii). Eileen Chang herself provides us with a roadmap to understand her perspective: in her work, emphasis is placed on the futility of grandness and exhibits no tragedy but only desolation, because “tragedy is a kind of closure, while desolation is a form of revelation” (2005,
17). In the absence of fecundity, her texts are arguably much more evocative as a radically bestial call to arms. There is a powerful destructive undercurrent flowing throughout all of her works beneath the intricate descriptions of a looming, decadent, gothic family environment, and a monstrosely anarchic and fearful female sexuality.

In “Writing of One’s Own,” Eileen Chang contemplates her unique vision of modern history and her fascination with an aesthetics of liminality:

In this era, the old things are being swept away and the new things are still being born. But until this historical era reaches its culmination, all certainty will remain an exception. People sense that everything about their everyday lives is a little out of order, out of order to a terrifying degree. All of us must live within a certain historical era, but this era sinks away from us like a shadow, and we feel we have been abandoned. In order to confirm our own existence, we need to take hold of something real, of something most fundamental, and to that end we seek the help of an ancient memory, the memory of a humanity that has lived through every era, a memory clearer and closer to our hearts than anything we might see gazing far into the future. And this gives rise to a strange apprehension about the reality surrounding us. We begin to suspect that this is an absurd and antiquated world, dark and bright at the same time. Between memory and reality there are awkward discrepancies, producing a solemn but subtle agitation, an intense but as yet indefinable struggle (Chang 2005, p. 17-18).

Here, Chang’s writing captures the uncertainty of transitional moments, where history is distinctly broken into fragmented segments characterized by illusory realms situated at the intersection of memory and reality, past and present, legitimacy and expediency. However, this passage also implies that these broken fragments can be reorganized and infused with fresh meaning; but what does it mean for “new things” to be born into “an absurd and antiquated world” dominated by backwardness, regression, and destruction? What if what is born is not an infant, but a stillbirth, where the pregnancy is aborted right before the delivery? As Chang comments in another essay, “The more arduous the situation, the more apparent will become the tremendous love parents bear for their children. Either the parent or the child must be sacrificed to circumstances, and it is from this hard truth that we have derived the moral virtue of self negation” (2005, p. 132). Thus, the mother sacrifices herself to save the child from entering a world haunted by abortive, spectral beings – yet another sexual and textual perversion in Chang’s corpus.

Chang’s own “indefinable struggle” focuses on uncovering the irremediably corrupted basis of life in a threatening world of facades, masks, and deception. The stories of Qiqiao, Yindi, Jiuli, and Su Nan all parade a reality in which childbirth and procreation is no longer natural and pure, a causal chain is established between morality, illness, and mortality, and biological disorders are explained as a breakdown in social order and human conduct. Chang understands that her generation of Chinese grew up at a most volatile moment of modern Chinese history, challenged alternatively by old and new spaces. Through the trope of an overwrought Chinese woman, Chang illuminates a feminine Chinese modernity
where the damaging effects of social change and eugenics are not confined to the physical body, but equally inscribed on the psychic condition. Her works therefore dwell on the experiential and interpersonal dimensions of human existence. It is in this state of flux that we glimpse the (im)possibilities of sexual freedom and experience the predicaments of moral agency. Women who are shrewd enough to exploit the intersections of extreme pathology and extreme enlightenment manage to carve out a precarious space for themselves, albeit at the expense of other people: their children, their rivals, their servants, their lovers. There are no obvious winners here – even those who appear to come out on top are profoundly compromised by many bruised hearts and lost souls. Women are embittered to the point of perversion by their surroundings, sliding ever further into moral decline and bourgeois deception.

Much has been written about Eileen Chang already, and yet much still remains a mystery. The puzzle that intrigues me the most is Chang’s distinctive acts of self-translation and rewriting. David Wang has written variously on her penchant for rewriting her life story in various formats, especially in the last four decades of her career (1998; 2010a; 2010b; 2012). As an author, Chang must have understood the importance of originality in literary production, so why was she so preoccupied with making repetitive copies? In Wang’s forward to Rouge, he posits that at a psychological level, Chang’s rewriting exhibits a Freudian compulsion leading to her “repetitive and bilingual project” where she rewrites the story of Cangue into two languages more than four times over a span of twenty-four years (1998, p. vii). Many have also highlighted the semi-autobiographical elements of these stories in relation to Chang’s own childhood and marriage experiences, and surmised her need to simultaneously recall and suppress memories of her past (Fong, 2001; Wang, 2010a; 2010b; Shen, 2012). However, the act of reproducing abject women and themes of anxiety vis-à-vis sexual desire and human procreation extend beyond Chang’s attempt to retrieve or overcome her own repressed memories and trauma; the textual proliferation of Cangeand Rouge emulates Chang’s own primordial fear of the reproductive body signified by the act of (re)writing itself.

As a Chinese immigrant to the US, Chang wanted to reinvent herself in English, but her stature from the 1940s in the sphere of Chinese ideograms repeatedly miscarried in the terrain of English letters. Critics observed that Chang had not given up Chinese for English, and the novels could not be fully appreciated due to aesthetic preconceptions. As Sheng-mei Ma (2011) observes, Chang’s “habit of inserting phonetic transcription of Chinese phrases into English novels privileges Chinese, as if the English rendition exists only as a pointer to the Chinese original which is unavailable, technically, on Chang’s typewriter or, linguistically, on the reader’s mental template” (129). Chang’s English novels on China read “linguistically authentic,” but “artistically inferior,” and this “bizarre and frustrating mix” contributed to the untenability of her English writings (Ma, 2011, p. 129). Her repeated efforts to write in English and gain entry into the American literary circle were ultimately sterile, providing a concrete analogy for Chang’s poignant view on the futility of reproduction. Moreover, the fate of Naked Earth acutely displays her misadventure in transcribing her works in English: the preface indicates that the book was an “experiment” by The Union Press in determining public interest in the publishing of English works of Asian authors. However, the book was a disappointment; it was never reprinted, and remains in obscurity to this day.
The insertion of a morbid abortion episode into the narrative of *Naked Earth* evocatively parallels the presence of repellent foreign elements introduced with Chang’s use of an adopted language. It was as if she could no longer trust her native language to speak of such grim details, and sought out a surrogate voice in which to convey the paralyzing alienation, marginalization, and uncontrollable fears that her homeland had inflicted upon her. By depicting the primordial eugenic threat haunting the landscape of modern China through estranged characters and hybrid narratives, Chang crafts a spectral return of the legacy of the Western eugenics model on the diasporic frontier. In Chang’s eyes, there is no originality or enlightenment in the world, and almost all forms of life are immanently transgressive and regressive. The process of rewriting and copying was one that she compulsively engaged in yet also deeply feared, revealing a self-destructive obsession with the abject nature of reproduction and the artificial creation of derivative facsimiles. Eileen Chang’s own fate proved her to be a grim author imprisoned by desolation when she lived years in self-imposed isolation and was eventually found dead, wasted, and alone in a destitute apartment at the periphery of Hollywood. Within this context, it is fitting that her stories revolve around the fruitlessness of marriage and looming social decay, represent childbirth as a pathological process, and identify female sexuality with danger. Regardless, there is something uncanny about the way her works increased in popularity and continue to proliferate after her death. Given the recent resurgence of eugenics arguments in public discourse with the revision of China’s one-child policy and shifting approaches towards population control, it would seem that the implications of Eileen Chang’s life and works for the state of Chinese modernity, like her recursive retellings of *Cangue* and *Rouge*, has not yet come to an end – can have no ending.

**REFERENCE**


Eileen Chang’s Feminine Chinese Modernity


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Zhou Fohai: Nationalism of Collaboration

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The study of wartime collaboration during the Sino-Japanese War from 1937-1945 offers an important but understudied contribution to understanding modern Chinese nationalism and the quest for a modern Chinese state. Declared at the end of the war as traitors (hanjian), Sino-Japanese collaboration has brought with it a pejorative connotation, an expression of power with political intentions to draw lines of orthodoxy that paint collaboration as something markedly different than the nationalisms of the KMT or CCP. In this paper I focus on Zhou Fohai, a secondary but prominent Republican Era figure who served as a pivotal politician in Wang Jingwei’s collaborative Nanjing regime. Nationalism will be understood as a fluid political identity that often blurred political party lines and ideologies; taking many paths toward saving China and creating a modern Chinese nation. Zhou Fohai demonstrates this; an example how collaboration was understood as a means to “save China” and a Sun Yatsen inspired ideology that saw Sino-Japanese collaboration as a more viable alternative than a Western or Soviet intervention.

His nationalism will be shown as not “anti-Jiang,” but anti-communism and saw his own shifting political allegiances as best for a modern Chinese state. He believed China should likewise remain fluid in its international alliances; a realpolitik calculation that China should remain fluid in its wartime alliances with a “foot in each boat” (suowei jiaota liang zhi chuan). This will be situated in a “Mandate of Heaven,” framework of Chinese statecraft that displaced the “nation” from the center of Chinese nationalism, instead legitimizing a regime’s right to rule as sanctioned by an ultimate moral authority and marked by different international and domestic sociopolitical agendas. Thus, rather than understanding collaboration in a moralistic discourse, as a markedly different path embarked on than Mao Zedong or Jiang Jieshi – Zhou Fohai diaries and 1946 trial testimony will demonstrate a much more nuanced and complex picture of wartime collaboration and China’s competing nationalisms on the path to creating a modern Chinese state.

Keywords: Zhou Fohai, collaboration, Sino-Japanese War, Wang Jingwei

Sino-Japanese collaboration from 1937-1945 offers an important contribution to understanding nationalism in wartime China. The outbreak of war in East Asia provided a stage for prominent Chinese politicians to fight for disparate, competing visions of an ideal modern Chinese state and how best to realize it. Scholars have tended to focus on the anti-Japanese resistance as a modus operandi for Chinese nationalism of the period, expressed most prominently through the dominant political discourses of the time; the Kuomintang (KMT) on the right and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) on the left. Outside of this false binary existed a chorus of voices that endorsed neither the KMT nor CCP visions of the Sino-Japanese War and sought an alternative path of collaboration with China’s occupier, Japan. Declared at the end of the war as traitors (hanjian), Sino-Japanese

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collaboration has brought with it a pejorative connotation, a “rhetoric of power that legitimates other ideologies,” with political intentions to draw lines of orthodoxy that paint collaboration as something markedly different than the nationalisms of the KMT or CCP (Hwang, 1998, p.8). The following will focus on the collaborative regime of Wang Jingwei in Nanjing, founded in 1940, and how Sino-Japanese collaborators reconciled their decision with a self-perceived position as Chinese nationalists. Within this regime, a focus will be on one of its most important politicians, Zhou Fohai. The main sources informing the study will be Zhou Fohai’s diaries, documents from his trial in 1946 and relevant secondary literature with a concentration on the historical circumstances of his defection and how he perceived collaboration with Japan as the best path for China’s national interests. Though outside of the dominant political orthodoxy, those within the Wang Jingwei regime viewed themselves “as the truest patriots,” and saw negotiation with Japan as the only realistic solution to the crisis of war (Mitter, 2013, p. 207).

Nationalism will be used and understood consistent with Prasenjit Duara’s concept of “nation-views,” or a “national identity as founded upon fluid relationships” that “both resembles and is interchangeable with other political identities” (Duara, 1996, p. 8). Zhou Fohai serves as a microcosm of this; nationalism as a negotiation interpreted and reconstituted within different political forms and ideologies that often used temporary alliances as a means to an end. Just as the nation-views of Jiang Jieshi and Mao Zedong led them to seek certain short and long-term alliances in solving the issue of war with Japan consistent with their vision for a Chinese state, Zhou Fohai and his fellow collaborators saw an alliance with Japan as a better alternative than a Western or Soviet intervention, but were never pro-Japanese. As will be shown, even in the midst of an alliance with China’s wartime enemy, he never abandoned an orthodoxy KMT understanding of Chinese nationalism harkening back to Sun Yat-sen. Furthermore, his insistence that he was never “anti-Jiang,” and a continued desire for Nanjing and Chongqing to work together shows the complex relationship between Chinese politics and nationalism within a “Mandate of Heaven” framework that displaced the nation as central in favor of a form of statecraft that legitimizes a regime’s right to rule as sanctioned by an “ultimate moral authority” (Sheng, 1997, p. 189). Divergent understandings of what constituted this ultimate moral authority and who was its rightful bearer led to different domestic sociopolitical agendas amongst China’s political elite and shaped how nationalism negotiated wartime circumstance and alliances on the path to modern China.

CHINESE NATIONALISM AND THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR

On July 7th, 1937 – an exchange of fire at Lugouqiao brought years of budding Sino-Japanese tensions to a head. Tokyo’s opening response was to endorse a local solution with Prime Minister Konoye announcing on July 12th that he supported keeping the conflict contained to the area. Jiang Jieshi never trusted Japan’s intentions in this regard declaring on July 19th that surrender at the Marco Polo bridge would soon mean a surrender of Beijing, and finally a surrender of Nanjing. Convinced that the KMT could not turn a blind eye

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to Japan’s latest aggression, Jiang prepared for a broad confrontation unless his demands were met that Japan make no more infringements on Chinese sovereignty and give back his government’s rights in north China. Japanese forces continued to achieve decisive victories over the National Revolution Army: sacking Shanghai on November 26th, 1937 with impending victory at Nanjing in December looming.

The fall of Nanjing on December 13th caused Jiang Jieshi to retreat further into China moving his capital to Wuhan and then Chongqing. German diplomats Paul Trautmann and Herbert Von Dirksen attempted to mediate between the KMT and Tokyo throughout the end of 1937 and into the winter of 1938. After a stalemate ensued in negotiations – Tokyo took a hard line approach to Jiang and the KMT. In the middle of January 1938 Tokyo gave the KMT a “72-hour ultimatum” to accept demands that Jiang recognize Manchukuo, allow for the creation of neutral zones in north China and Inner Mongolia, and the establishment of new political organs in north China. As the window of the 72-hour ultimatum drew shut – Tokyo officials from the central government, Army and Navy met on January 15th, 1938 to discuss the next move for the “China Question.” Tokyo leaders were divided into two political factions on how best to handle the situation in China: one advocating a divide and conquer strategy in order to weaken and neutralize China as a threat and the other sought a unified China in order to fulfill “some kind of historical mission,” to recreate the grandeur of imperial China under Japanese rule (Bunker, 1972, p. 53). The essence of Japan’s strategy sought to play on an already divided and factionalized China in order to coalesce a “federation of local regimes” into a pro-Japan central government (Bunker, 1972, p. 55).

When the deadline for the 72-hour ultimatum drew to a close, Tokyo publicly hardened to Jiang. At the January 15th meeting, Foreign Minister Hirota, as well as important officials from the Navy and Army called for a cessation of negotiations with the KMT, saying Jiang’s significance had been reduced to an “insignificant local regime,” that would ultimately be annihilated and replaced with a new central government (Boyle, 1970, p. 274). This policy toward Jiang was endorsed by Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe on January 16th when he publicly announced the Imperial government would sever negotiations with the KMT and would look forward to a new successor regime in which China and Japan could negotiate an adjustment of “Sino-Japanese relations and the building of a rejuvenated China” (Boyle, 1970, p. 275). The language of Konoe’s speech was, according to Boyle (1970), biting and highly militaristic, prompting Foreign Minister Hirota to call it “stronger than even a declaration of war” in his comments to the Japanese Diet (p. 275). Despite this public dismissal of Jiang’s relevance, Tokyo continued to seek channels for negotiations through both high and low level contacts after January. After the Japanese victory at Wuhan in October 1938 Japan had reached the limits of their ability to militarily and economically pursue the war. A stalemate ensued with Tokyo unable to stretch its occupation further, unwilling to concede its gains and Jiang tenaciously holding onto the war. Later in 1941, though useful in understanding Tokyo’s stance toward negotiations with Jiang, General Tojo responded to an American demand that Japan withdraw from China, saying that Japan’s losses meant it impossible they forfeit their gains:

We sent a force of one million men, and it has cost us well over one hundred thousand dead and wounded … hardship for four years, and a national expenditure of tens of billions of yen. We must by all means get satisfactory results from this (Boyle, 1972, p. 275).
Tokyo had come to realize the tenacity of China’s resistance and its desire to stop the war, but maintain its gains led to a shift in strategy to “political offensives and protracted war” (Huang & Yang, 2001, p. 58). With its military stretched and China’s main powers unwilling to acquiesce its demands, Tokyo’s pursuit of key KMT politicians like Wang Jingwei and Zhou Fohai, became a key component of Japan’s search for a political solution to the war. Tokyo’s new strategy to look outside of Jiang for a political solution was built on the fact that the two dominant parties, the CCP and KMT held nationalistic and ideological positions that made acquiescing to Japanese terms impossible. If Zhou Fohai’s nationalism allowed him to collaborate with Japan – the dominant CCP and KMT leaders, Mao Zedong and Jiang Jieshi’s made certain they could not. It was within the context of a fervent anti-Japanese United Front and different visions for how the Sino-Japanese War’s solution could lend toward Jiang and Mao’s nation-view that made a capitulation to Japan impossible. This coupled with Tokyo’s desire toward a political solution created a space for Sino-Japanese collaboration as an alternative nationalism.

**SITUATING NATIONALISM: JIANG, MAO AND TOKYO’S WANG JINGWEI ALTERNATIVE**

The toll of the war on China was immense; mounting fatalities, flooding, famine and wartime atrocities that still resonate in China’s national narrative. Yet, Jiang and Mao felt a continued fight was their only option largely due to a nationalistic lens that saw surrender to Japan as contradictory to their conceptions of a Chinese state and their place in it. Before continuing on the road to defection of Zhou Fohai, the following will examine the reason for the impasse between Tokyo and China that led to a space for Sino-Japanese collaboration; Mao and Jiang’s United Front that used anti-Japanese resistance as a dictum for realizing individual goals.

If nationalism is a constructed political identity, both the Chongqing and Nanjing KMT had a similar foundation but ultimately understood the building of a modern Chinese state in a much different way. As Barrett says of the Nanjing KMT,

> It sought no break with the ideological directions and practical policies of the pre-1937 Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek. Rather, his (Wang) government sought to carry out these policies more effectively, realizing as it did the need to restructure Sino-Japanese relations under the rubric of a new order in East Asia (Brook, 2007, p. 103).

Zhou Fohai and Wang Jingwei were Nationalist ideologues and did not seek a different path from Jiang on ideological grounds. Zhou rose the ranks within the KMT by writing an introduction to Sun Yat-sen’s thought and eventually wrote a seminal GMD ideological text. As will be shown, they saw the founding of the Nanjing regime as a Nationalist state based on Sun Yat-sen’s principles and bearing the KMT flag as their symbol. Similarly, Jiang was committed to Sun Yat-sen’s thought and felt the Sino-Japanese war a “spiritual sacred trust, a continuation of the 1911 revolution symbolized by Sun Yat-sen” (Mitter, 2013, p. 245). Jiang’s secular, neo-Confucian framework that emphasized modernization made him more akin to alliances with the West than the Soviet Union. While some have argued that

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3 The work was, The Theoretical System of the Three People’s Principles (Sanminzhuyi lilun de tixi).
Jiang’s strategy was to amp up his efforts against Japan in order to attract Western sympathies, it was ultimately not a pro-West stance or KMT ideology that dictated his refusal to negotiate with Japan.

Jiang’s lifetime hatred of communism was pushed aside when he agreed to partner with the Soviet Union and CCP out of necessity. In his diary, Jiang reflected on the decision as “choosing between two evils,” however, the immediate issue was that Japan was fueled by a dream to turn all of China into a “Second Manchukuo” (Mitter, 2013, p. 245). For Jiang, surrendering to Japan meant national extinction and represented his most dangerous foe, which had the intentions and capabilities to bring his visions for a modern Chinese state crumbling down before it started. Furthermore, the internal dynamics of his government necessitated resistance to Japan. His party and military ranks were in conjunction with the popular patriotic fervor that the war presented (Boyle, 1972, p. 250).

Similar to Jiang’s use of the United Front, scholars have shown that Mao had no intention of the CCP-KMT union as a long-term status quo. Jiang’s suspicion of Mao was warranted. Mao felt it vital to keep the resistance alive and worried that a truce between the KMT and Tokyo would spell an end for the CCP’s efforts that would then have to combat two opponents. Mao’s anti-Japanese stance was part of his larger “proletarian internationalism,” that sought a model that “transcended the boundaries of the nation-state,” in order to mold a new China that broke with the old (Sheng, 1997, p. 5). This subsequently led Mao and his colleagues to adopt a pro-Soviet stance, with Lenin’s USSR as a bastion of civilization and the primary progenitor of civilization’s end goal, communism (Sheng, 1997, p. 5).  

Jiang, and China’s KMT ruling class thus represented “narrow bourgeoisie nationalism” and were viewed by Mao as the “running dog” of western states with the United States and the KMT’s “foreign master”(Sheng, 1997, p. 7). Mao and the CCP’s “foreign master” may have been aptly pointed out to be the USSR making the Sino-Japanese alliance of Zhou Fohai and the Nanjing KMT contra to the Soviet Union as impossible. Mao’s fluidity in alliances, a “united front doctrine” allowed him to forge short-term relationships on pragmatic grounds, such as seen with the KMT (Sheng, 1997, p. 8). However, Mao’s alliances were often done under the close gaze of Stalin, and were not viewed as contradictory, but supportive of Mao’s long-term mission within the Comintern. Mao’s commitment to the international communist mission with the USSR as the ideological paradigm of China’s ideal future state, as well as Stalin’s call for an “anti-fascist front,” made a negotiated peace with the Soviet enemy, Japan, as a defeat of Mao’s China.

Therefore, both Mao and Jiang saw an alliance with Japan as an impossibility and contrary to their nation-views. Mao’s loyalty lie with Moscow, the enemy of Japan and Jiang saw Japan’s intentions to squash his nation, making survival paramount. In this context they joined against a common enemy, Tokyo becoming the national enemy of the CCP and KMT. In short, just as Jiang saw a short-term collaboration with the Soviet Union and CCP as a necessary measure, Wang and Zhou saw Japan as a new “foreign master” to achieve their ideal Chinese state – an orthodox Nationalist regime free of communism. Despite being a founding member of the CCP – Zhou Fohai’s collaboration was marked by a perception that communism was the preeminent threat to China, and not Japan. Zhou said his

\[4 \text{ As Sheng notes, this “internationalism,” was at home in China’s historical “all under Heaven psyche,” of cultural universalism (Sheng, p. 5).} \]
time as a Propaganda Minister for the KMT during the Second United Front forced him to “deceptively paint an optimistic picture of the war situation,” in conjunction with CCP propagandists who were using the War of Resistance to “throw General Chiang out of power” (Boyle, 1970, p. 277). When working with the CCP Propaganda Department he recalls how difficult it was to hide his resentment for them (Zhou, August 3rd, 1938). He was critical of the Soviet Union and CCP, as well as Jiang’s willingness to work with them. In what would retrospectively be a prescient appraisal, Zhou felt the CCP was using the Second United Front and war with Japan as a way to improve their weak political position, seeing the toll of a long resistance as a way to push Jiang from power (Boyle, 1970, p. 277). Throughout 1938 and the period leading up his decision to defect, Zhou often wrote in his diary about the “Communist Problem” (gongdangchang wenti) saying that he is diametrically opposed to them (Zhou, March 1st, 1938). Much as Jiang viewed his decision between the USSR and CCP as a choice between two evils, Zhou was pessimistic about the future of China, saying he did not want to become the “running dog” (zougou) of the USSR like the CCP, or a Japanese Puppet (riren kuilei) (Zhou, June 18th, 1938). While in hindsight he may have became the latter, he was at the same crossroads of many Chinese nationalists with a difficult decision.

In the beginning phases of the war Zhou suspiciously watched the Soviet Union and CCP and thought they intended to seize (juequ) China’s northwest as their own power base (Zhou, November 3rd, 1938). In this way, just as Stalin had hoped the Second United Front could secure the USSR’s eastern front and prevent an attack from Japan; Japan’s desire to form an “anti-communist front,” would have been attractive to Zhou who viewed communism as China’s pre-eminent threat.

While Jiang was not pro-CCP, the United Front line was an unwise move for those who sought other alternatives to the war. According to Zhou, Jiang was put into a difficult situation and forced to weave a “cocoon to bind himself,” in order to keep up and even outdo the CCP in a context of anti-Japanese sentiments as the popular expression of Chinese nationalism amongst the masses (Boyle, 1972, p. 277).5 Certainly, Jiang’s position was different – and more power made more at stake; to collaborate with Japan would mean forfeiting what he had worked his life to achieve. But this did not apply to all within his ranks. In November of 1938 Tokyo opened a window to KMT politicians to pursue a different path of Jiang, one that they hoped would bring a needed end to a protracted war and a China free of communism.

A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY: TOKYO, ASIA’S NEW ORDER AND A NATIONALISM OF COLLABORATION

It was in November of 1938 that the KMT-CCP call for continued resistance, and Tokyo’s desire to stop the war through a political solution created an opening for Wang and Zhou to seek an alternative ending to the war. On November 3rd, 1938, Konoye’s “New Order” speech in Asia created a crack in his January statement that Tokyo would no longer deal with the KMT, and proposed a new East Asian Order with enduring peace. In it Konoye proposed that Japan and China should unite to fight against the real menace, communism.

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5 Some historians have proposed that Wang’s initial orders were from Jiang, Wang chosen secretly as a figure to conduct a diplomatic Jiang could not.
Furthermore, Konoye endorsed a statement made earlier in the year by Hirota that Jiang’s regime existed as a “mere local regime” and was welcome to participate in this new order if it would “remold its personnel so as to translate rebirth into fact” (Boyle, 1972, p. 290). Wang Jingwei and his group seized this as an opportunity to see where they could fit into this “New Order,” and pursue their goal of ending the war with a KMT state free of communism left behind. Between November 12th and 20th, a Low-Key Club (didiao julebu) member and member of the CC Clique, Mei Siping was sent to Shanghai as an exploratory probe and reached an agreement that Wang Jingwei would defect and form a new government able to see through the details of a new Sino-Japanese agreement (Mitter, 2013, p. 205). The meeting, known as the Chungkuang Conference was held in early November and also decided Wang “would establish a new government at an opportune time” (Boyle, 1972, p. 294). The Low-Key Club had been active throughout 1938, with important KMT politicians like Gong Zongwu, Chen Gongbo and Zhou Fohai as members. They had conducted informal probing of Japan’s willingness to end the war – but it was not until November 1938 that a situation presented itself to make concrete.

When Mei Siping returned from Tokyo, he, Zhou Fohai and other important KMT officials met at Wang Jingwei’s residence on November 26th, 1938. There it was decided that Wang would defect from Chongqing and other members of the Low-Key Club would follow. Zhou’s next move would be to fly to Kunming to await further orders before eventually departing for Hanoi. As the plane took off for Kunming on December 5th, Zhou viewed it as an end to his old political life, but through his self-perceived patriotism he ultimately saw his personal sacrifice, “individual success or failure” conjoined with the issue of whether the “nation would survive or perish” (Zhou, December 5th, 1938). The survival of the nation, and how Sino-Japanese collaboration would realize this was fleshed out in the ensuing days of his diary. Zhou Fohai ultimately viewed the future Nanjing KMT as a Nationalist regime free of communism, an inheritor of Sun Yat-sen’s principles: a short-term alliance to seek an alternative end to the war that did not involve the CCP or USSR. In this regard, with Chongqing and Nanjing both as Nationalists regime there was not an envisioned rivalry but divergent paths that should work together to reach the same goal through different routes (yi tu tong gui) in the interest of peace throughout the country (Zhou, January 1st, 1940).

A NATIONALISM OF COLLABORATION

If the nationalism of Jiang and Mao made Sino-Japanese collaboration impossible, the following will show how Zhou Fohai understood and reconciled his decision to defect. It was in the early days of his defection that Zhou outlined a conviction that he would maintain until his decision to work for Chongqing again in 1942 as an agent for Dai Li; that the decision to defect was never envisioned to specifically undermine Jiang. According to his diary, he left the November 26th meeting and immediately wrote a letter to Jiang, though never sent it, outlining that he knew Jiang would be most mad at him; after all he had been a close political ally of Jiang, not a rival like Wang. He continues to write that though he

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6 The so-called Low-Key Club was a group of Chinese intellectuals and politicians named for their thought that China’s anti-Japanese fervor needed to be pacified. They were also a “peace movement” who saw peace with Japan as the best solution to the war. Both Wang Jingwei and Zhou Fohai would have known each other through contacts of this group.
knew Jiang would not forgive him, he wanted to explain the rationale for his defection – not to combat Jiang but to serve as a third group that would facilitate discussions and advocate peace (Zhou, November 26th, 1938). The success of Chongqing and Wang were not mutually exclusive to Zhou but could be mutually affirming in gaining an end to the war. When he landed in Hanoi he continued to write and emphasize this point to important members of Jiang’s inner-circle. In a letter to Chen Bulei he wrote that his leaving was not to form an “anti-Jiang movement,” but for with the sole purpose of advocating peace (Zhou, December 28th/29th, 1938). Three days later he wrote to Chen Bulei again asking that Jiang and Wang do not deal with one another according to harsh measures (Zhou, December 31st, 1938). While this may surely have been done as a public way to soften the blow of his decision and a way to externally assuage his own fears of arrest and execution, his diary reflects a similar line of thought in closed-door meetings with Japan that would have been far from Jiang’s eyes and ears. In these negotiations he often stipulated that Jiang should not be the target of a Wang-Japan alliance, and the Chongqing KMT should remain free. Instead of advocating an anti-Jiang stance, he advised Wang’s earliest statements to Japan make two demands: That Japan abandons its traditional thought of invading China and second to immediately stop the war, preserving Chinese people’s right to exist and be independent through the method of peace, not to supersede Jiang (Zhou, December 26th, 1938).

This may seem contradictory: politically betraying Jiang on one hand and seeing their purpose as similar in another – but must be understood in the context of Chinese statecraft that historically understood collaboration did not mean treason or a willful forfeiture of Chinese sovereignty. As Chen (2004) says, “it was no secret to every educated Chinese that foreign or ‘barbarian’ invaders had conquered China, and China had survived as a nation by collaborating with invaders.” (p. 22) Just as Mao did not view his USSR alliance, or Jiang his acceptance of American aid as a forfeiture of Chinese sovereignty or anything less than nationalistic – Zhou and the Nanjing KMT saw an alliance with Japan as a necessary measure to save the country. They continued to attempt to build a nation according to KMT ideology and saw the best way to do so was for China to remain flexible in its relations. Zhou’s real politick calculations for China’s national interests followed suit with his individual behavior – that China should remain fluid in its wartime alliances with a “foot in each boat” (suowei jiaota liang zhi chuan) (Zhou, July 29th, 1940).

Zhou and Wang arrived in Hanoi in December of 1938 and would remain there through April of 1939. They remained in political limbo throughout this period – a traitor exiled outside of Chinese politics but not recognized diplomatically by Japan, and thus impotent. Throughout the beginning parts of 1940, Zhou continued to endorse that the main purpose of defection was to broker peace. Wang’s group continued to hit snags in their negotiations as Japan continued to hold hope for favorable negotiations with Jiang. Ultimately the group would become caught in this web, Wang and his compatriots a second-place prize to store

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7 This ideological stance would be affirmed in his later considerations to work as a double agent for Chongqing and collaborate with Jiang in 1942. ZFR, Nov. 26th, 1938.

8 Both Wang and Zhou reflect a fear of Jiang and an impending rest. When Zhou sat in Kunming waiting to leave for Hanoi he heard an important leader had arrived and worried that it was Jiang, saying he was doomed, and described his feelings like that of a student waiting nervously for his teacher to return to the room and dolly out punishment.

9 For example, on January 15th, 1940 – in a meeting with the Japanese Minister Kato – Zhou says that Jiang should stay. In other meetings he says that Chongqing should remain free.
away until Jiang could be brought over. Similar to his sentiments that Wang’s regime did not seek an anti-Jiang movement, Zhou believed that China would not remain divided for long and would need to work together. He said that Chongqing would realize the weakness of a divided China and contact would be opened between the two (Zhou, January 4th, 1940). The idea of being a negotiating partner and intermediary between Chongqing and Japan even informed Zhou’s anger toward not being recognized diplomatically by Japan. Zhou wrote that Wang’s government had no purpose if it were not going to be diplomatically recognized by Japan – but his reasoning was not merely for respect as a sovereign nation. He said that diplomatic recognition would be a bargaining chip with Chongqing; to maintain leverage (yudi) in bringing Chongqing to negotiations (Zhou, January 13th, 1940). In other words, if Wang’s government carried with it no power or significance, Jiang would have no reason to take them seriously as an intermediary between Japan and China and their purpose of brokering peace would not be achieved.

After over a year of negotiations in March of 1940, Japan recognized Wang’s group as a government. When Japan and Wang agreed to form a new “Nationalist Government,” Nanjing, as its location was symbolically important – purported publicly as the “return to the capital” (huandu) that was abandoned by Jiang (Barrett, 2005, p. 5). The ceremony that formally recognized the Nanjing government was concluded in March of 1940 – KMT symbolism permeated the ceremony and were central in Zhou’s account in his diary; red nationalists flag filling the sky and a speech being given on Sun Yatsen’s “Three Principles” as the Government’s guiding principle. In perhaps the most emphatic statement that Nanjing was inheriting a similar political mantle as the KMT – Zhou and Wang followed a pattern like leaders before them in visiting the tomb of the founder of the movement. On March 19th, 1940 – only days before the ceremony – Zhou visited the tomb of Sun Yatsen along with Wang. Zhou writes of the visit in his diary,

I visited the tomb (Sun’s) with Wang. I looked back on the past and it seemed like a dream. Wang read aloud (Sun’s) last testament and a tear drop fell from his eye. I, too, sobbed. After we were done paying homage, the sun suddenly came out. Was such a bright light appearing an omen? (Zhou, March 19th, 1940)

Wang was a close associate of Sun during his life, and Zhou a KMT ideologue. Furthermore, Zhou and Wang would have been aware of Sun’s links to Japan and how Japan had served as an ally and place of refuge for Sun and many other Chinese revolutionaries in the nascent days of the KMT. Sun had preached a doctrine of pan-Asianism, and saw Japan as an integral part of this scheme. While Zhou did not endorse pan-Asianism in his political career – his education and early exposure to the vibrant intellectual and political

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10 This façade of legitimacy was quickly exposed as Wang’s government was forced to make concessions that chipped away at its credibility; a fact most played out in the later trials that called its members traitors. On November 30th, 1940 – the “Basic Treaty for Readjusting Sino-Japanese Relations,” forced Wang to agree that Manchuria was part of Japan, economic concessions and allowed Japanese forces to remain in Northern China, even if the war ended (Barrett, p. 6).

11 Zhou also reflected on the event in very egotistical terms, calling himself the center of a new movement – but this movement was one that followed the mold and path of the KMT structure before. For this account see: ZFR, March 30th, 1940. The only issue that Wang won a concession on was the right to bear Sun Yatsen’s Nationalist government flag as the symbol of his regime. However, Japan stipulated that a yellow banner be placed below it (See: ZFR, p. 276, note 1).
climate of Japan would have surely had a lasting effect that made Japan not necessarily an
enemy – but a possible partner in reshaping China in the context of Western imperialism
and communism. Furthermore, it shows that in 1940 they still had hope that they would not
be a puppet, but that Sino-Japanese cooperation was a space to pursue a Nationalist Chi-
nese state in the wake of a nation wrecked by war. However, by this period it had become
increasingly obvious that Japan had intended the regime only as a puppet regime used to
control parts of China or bring Jiang to the bargaining table, with the door to peace closing.

The war increasingly became an international event and the December 7th, 1941 Japa-
nese bombing of Pearl Harbor meant the real possibility of an American entrance into the
war – joining Britain and Russia against the Japan and Germany as a formidable force.

Four days later, on December 11th, 1941 in a meeting of important Nanjing politicians Zhou
gave a bleak assessment of the war and said that Japan would inevitably lose eventually due
to its lack of resources, and even if they won they would turn China into a Japanese colony
(Martin, 2009, p. 66). Not long after Japan’s critical defeat at Midway from June 4th – 7th,
1942, Zhou becomes more critical of Japan. On June 19th and 20th he calls Japan’s strategy
unwise and increasingly becomes pessimistic about their chances in the war (Zhou, June
19th/20th, 1942).  It is clear by the end of the 1942 that Zhou began to believe he had made
the wrong decision; even appearing suicidal throughout his diary (Mitter, 2013, p. 288). It
was in this context that Zhou agreed to become an agent inside Nanjing for Dai Li, Jiang’s
lead intelligence officer.

The reasons for Zhou’s decision in 1942 to defect back to Jiang were again complex.
According to Martin (2009), a major reason for Zhou’s contacts with Dai Li was to ensure
the safety of his family who were pawns in Li’s strategy of using family members of im-
portant collaborators as leverage (p. 61). While this was certainly part of Zhou’s thoughts,
as early as 1938 Zhou understood the hardships his family may endure and did not see it as
deterrent. According to Zhou’s testimony “the door to peace had closed” and he saw no
reason to continue working in that direction. Indeed, it did seem clear by 1942 that Nan-
jing’s ability to broker peace had passed and Chongqing may very well inherit China. Yet,
he again did not think this meant all of China’s future had to be vested in the success of
Chongqing, and one political body. He continued, even after working for Chongqing to say
that China should act as if they were “playing chess and not make an irreversible move”
and remain flexible and should retain room for a margin of error (baoliu zhuan huan yudi)
(Zhou, October 5th, 1943).

It turned out that Tokyo’s “New Order” consisted of using Wang’s regime as bargaining
chip in its efforts to end the war with China’s real power, Jiang. According to Chief Cabinet
Secretary Kazami Akira, a close confidant of Konoye, the Premier saw Wang only as a me-
diator,

Konoe never considered, never even dreamed, of establishing a new cen-
tral government centered on Wang… He earnestly hoped that, with Wang
standing in between, acting as a mediator [Japan] might be able to talk
with China and things might proceed better (Boyle, 1972, p. 291).
While a retrospective understanding of Wang’s regime as a “puppet” of Japan does little
good in understanding their nationalism; Zhou’s decision to work for Chongqing from

12 See also August 6th, 1942 for a bleak assessment of the war.
within Nanjing in 1942 is telling of his view of a Sino-Japanese collaboration. He never
diverted from Nationalist ideals, nor did he aim at usurping Jiang – but saw Japan as a more
suitable ally than the Soviet Union or CCP. Just as Jiang abandoned his Soviet alliance
when it no longer served its purpose, the Nanjing KMT relationship with Japan can similarly
be seen as a temporary marriage of convenience.

**TRAITOR’S REASONING: EVALUATING ZHOU’S NATIONALISM AND CONCLUD-
ing Remarks:**

As Zhou Fohai told those in the Nanjing Court that would eventually condemn him – his
reasons for defecting should not be dismissed as “traitor’s reasoning” (hanjian lilun) and
should be understood outside the moralistic of good and bad nationalisms. It instead offers
a contribution to understanding the diverse expressions of nationalism in wartime China
(Nanjing City Archives, 1991, p. 99). Rana Mitter writes that an enduring lesson from
China’s wartime history is the “contingent nature of China’s path to modernity,” and that
“Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Zedong and Wang Jingwei – each embodied a different path to the
same goal: a modern, national Chinese state” (Mitter, 2013, p. 377). Historians should be
cautious to read inevitability into contingency; even those in Zhou Fohai’s time recognized
the often jagged, relative path to nationalism and a modern Chinese state and Zhou’s con-
temporaries were much more ambiguous than the eventual Nanjing court’s verdict of guilt
demonstrate. Dai Li, head of Jiang’s intelligence services in Chongqing gave Zhou advice
in the form of a poem that his position in Nanjing did not have to be contrary to him act-
ing on behalf of Chongqing, “Loyalty and treason are not exclusive positions, just as life
and death are not opposed to one another…” (Martin, 2009, p. 66) Similarly, an internal
debate at the Chongqing Central Statistics Bureau between July and October of 1946 dis-
cussed whether Zhou was loyal (zhong) or traitorous (jian) during the war (Hwang, 2005,
p. 85). The agents concluded that Zhou was loyal because he had maintained contacts with
Chongqing and ultimately helped the postwar effort. Key members of the KMT spoke on
Zhou’s behalf and the cross-party connections he retained may have contributed to his death
penalty being commuted. A letter written by Chen Guofu and Chen Lifu is found in the trial
documents of Zhou and speaks on his behalf and asks for a reduction to his sentence for all
the good he did during the war and surely contributed to a stay of his execution (Nanjing

Besides the ambiguity of those in Chongqing over whether Zhou was a traitor, Zhou
also was also aware of and used contemporary examples of collaboration to show collab-
oration did not necessitate treason. During his trial he drew similarities between his deci-
sions and others throughout Asia and Europe. Zhou mentions European collaborators such
as Henri Petain, and Asian collaborators such as Ba Maw and Jose P. Laurel (Hwang, 2005,
p. 84). He points out how the then president of the Philippines Manuel A. Roxas had taken
a post in a Japanese puppet government in order to demonstrate that “an individual who
took office in a puppet government was not always willing to betray the nation…” (Hwang,
2005, p. 84) He rhetorically asks from prison,

Is it possible for the Filipinos not to know of national righteousness? (Is it
possible…) they could not distinguish loyalty from treachery, and not to
discern right from wrong? I mean that the Filipinos are really well aware
of what is right and wrong, can really distinguish loyalty from treachery and really insist on righteousness (Hwang, 2005, p. 84).

Similarly, Koreans under American rule held a belief that those who had collaborated with Japan were “realists who had simply been responsive to the international restraints faced by Korea” (Chen, 2004, p. 17).

Zhou understood the thin line separating hero and traitor but ultimately felt they were “national heroes” (minzuyingxiong). On May 13th, 1940 – Zhou Fohai reflected in his diary on how history will judge those in the Nanjing regime:

Everyone considers those in Chongqing to be national heroes (minzuyingxiong) – and they consider us traitors (hanjian). We consider ourselves to be national heroes (minzuyingxiong). Whether or not we are national heroes will be determined by whether or not we can save the nation. We believe only peace is sufficient to save the nation. When its all said and done, if China and Japan remains at war – we will be traitors. If China is at peace, we will be remembered as heroes (Zhou, May 13th, 1940).

On January 16th, 1940 – Zhou said although they may be labeled currently as traitors (guozet) – in ten years both China and Japan would be thankful for his decisions (Zhou, January 16th, 1940). He also continued to contend all the good he had done for the country. In his “Brief Deposition,” (jiandan de zibai) he compared his actions to others working for the good of the country – saying that he had carried out of his work in the “mouth of the tiger” (hukou zhong zuogongzuo), which was no less dangerous than fighting on the front line. As a result, he wrote that the Japanese military officers would put the label of both “anti-Japanese” (heping de kangri zhe) and “Chongqing factor” (chongqing fenzi) (Nanjing City Archives, 1991, p. 1289). This testimony was surely self-serving, cognizant of those like Chen Gongbo who were recently executed. However, this does not dismiss the logic of Zhou and others – that collaboration was a nationalistic act and not treasonous.

It was in the context of the Sino-Japanese that nationalism functioned as an ideology to imagine new forms of the state in the absence of a strong central state (Mitter, 2005, p. 9). This contestation for political hegemony made Republican Era China a fertile context for diverse forms of nationalism. By the end of the Qing dynasty, according to Xiaobing Tang, “The nation was more an ideological projection strategically resorted to in an age of imperialist intrusion than an actual functioning institution” (Mitter, 2005, p. 9). This ideological projection was re-constituted into many forms; and the paths to its actualization was envisioned many ways and belie an overly structural approach to Chinese political history that frames nationalism as predominantly through a false binary of KMT or CCP ideology. Although the Nanjing KMT took a different path than the one endorsed by the Second United Front of the KMT-CCP, they nonetheless viewed collaboration with Japan as a temporary measure in an unfavorable situation.

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Building Friendship: Soviet Influence, Socialist Modernity, and Chinese Cityscape in the 1950s

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This study examines how the Chinese urban landscape was transformed by a national urge to modernize the country based on Soviet blueprints in the 1950s. It begins with an introduction to the Chinese government’s “friendship rhetoric” acclaiming Soviet socialist achievements, and goes on to discuss how physical construction was used to substantiate the “language of modernity” in the rhetoric, thus altering the appearance of Chinese cities and the lifestyle of city dwellers. The discussion centers on the so-called “Sino-Soviet friendship buildings,” a new addition to Chinese cityscape that generated the construction of Soviet-style buildings across the country, to demonstrate how the new trends in urban architecture induced new beliefs and perspectives. Therefore, the architecture of the 1950s is viewed as a manifestation of the type of modernity that China was advancing, and as an indication of the new direction in Chinese worldviews.

Keywords: Sino-Soviet alliance, socialist modernity, cityscape, 1950s China

This city was intimately related to cotton . . . With the help of the Soviet big brother, the city built nearly ten textile factories all at once in the 1950s . . . In these factories, not only were the equipment, workshops, and techniques provided by the Soviets, even the living quarters were designed by Soviet experts . . . [In each apartment building] there is a well-maintained garden and a workers’ club for residents . . . This is a city filled up by textile workers, a city topped with Soviet-style buildings. An Delie was born into this city.

. . . An Delie was born around March 1954. His father named him, and the name itself was a reflection of Sino-Soviet friendship at the time. Responding to the call of the government, An Delie’s parents moved from Shanghai to support this city’s development; they were both middle school teachers. His father used to wear colorful shirts made of Soviet print cotton, and his mother had Soviet-style bulaji. Back then they both yearned for the wonderful life of the Soviet big brother, and they also hoped little An Delie would study in the Soviet Union when he grew up (Tie 2005, p. 1-2).

1 Requests for reprints should be sent to Yan Li. E-mail: yli23458@oakland.edu.
2 An Delie (Chinese: 安德烈) is the Chinese transliteration of a common Russian name Андрей (English: Andrei).
3 Bulaji (Chinese: 布拉吉) is the Chinese transliteration of the Russian word платье, or “frock.”
These paragraphs from Tie Ning’s fictional short story exemplify the deep involvement between China and the Soviet Union in the early 1950s. Today, many Chinese cities that developed in the fifties, like the one Tie Ning portrayed, still have areas that remain reminiscent of Soviet input into China’s urban planning and reveal the extent to which Soviet culture was assimilated into everyday life. At that time, cities underwent socialist modernization based on the Soviet model. Chinese city planners turned to Soviet urban planning for ideas and inspirations, and frequently they renamed streets and roads to make reference to Sino-Soviet friendship. Fashion was affected as well, when modified Soviet-style clothing such as Lenin jackets and bib-and-brace overalls became city people’s proud attire. 

Bulaji, bowknots, and colorful waistbands – typical summer ensemble for Soviet women – were chic among fashionable Chinese women. Like An Delie’s parents in the story, young parents would adopt pleasant-sounding Russian names for their children or name them after Soviet heroes. Whenever possible, people avidly learned Russian and aspired to study in the Soviet Union; even those with low levels of literacy were able to put some pidgin Russian words into daily practice, fancying their “newness.” The transnational practices that enabled the migration of Soviet experience, personnel, and culture into China constituted the focal point of China’s quest for modernity.

In this article, the type of modernity that the nascent People's Republic of China (PRC) chose to embrace is defined as “socialist modernity.” This terminology seeks to emphasize that the early PRC government did not modernize blindly, but instead pragmatically sought a particular type of modernity that could effectively establish China in the Cold War polarization abroad and among the Chinese populace at home. Indeed, it was not just modernity or socialist modernity that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) wanted to establish, but an international socialist modernity. The intention in constructing a new society was to create a culture that, while still Chinese, was integrated with the larger global society, thus stronger and more resilient in its interactions on the international scene. The international modernity chosen, as the result of a divided world and the exigencies of the time, was that of the Soviet Union; the effects of this choice were directly manifested across China, particularly in cities.

This article examines how the Chinese urban landscape was transformed by a national urge to modernize the country based on Soviet blueprints. It begins with an introduction to the CCP’s “friendship rhetoric” acclaiming the achievements of Soviet socialist modernization, and goes on to discuss how physical construction was used to substantiate the “language of modernity” in the rhetoric and to provide a controlled inspiration to the general populace, thus altering the appearance of Chinese cities and the lifestyle of city dwellers. The discussion centers on the so-called “Sino-Soviet friendship buildings,” a new addition to Chinese cityscape that generated the construction of Soviet-style buildings across the country and induced further changes in urban life. The focus here is not on new theories or designs in Chinese architecture, but rather, on the social functions and cultural implications of Soviet-style construction. I address how the new trends in urban topography deepened

4 The changes contingent on Soviet influence were more visible in cities than in the countryside. The “friendship propaganda” also had more effect on the urban population. Generally speaking, urban dwellers’ higher literacy allowed them to acquire more knowledge about the Soviet Union. Their extensive exposure to the friendship rhetoric (sometimes even direct contact with Soviet people) influenced their worldviews and behavior in diverse and more profound ways.
the “language of modernity,” modified popular tastes, and brought about new beliefs and perspectives. In other words, I view the architecture of the 1950s as a manifestation of the type of modernity that China was advancing, and as an indication of the new direction in Chinese worldviews.

THE LANGUAGE OF MODERNITY

“Lean to one side,” or “yiban dao,” was New China’s major foreign policy against US containment in the Cold War. In the early days, this policy mainly focused on forging a strategic friendship with the Soviet Union, and spreading a “friendship rhetoric” to promote a pro-Soviet environment in China. These were but a few first steps by which China as a nation could claim an internationalist identity. According to this proposed new identity, China was entitled to share the Soviet experience of building socialism, which was vitally important to the Chinese leadership in the early years of state building. As the Communist regime cemented power in the mainland, it was faced with the enormous task of developing China from a poor agrarian country into a strong, advanced, and economically secure nation. Modernization, however, was a new endeavor for the CCP, far beyond its familiar knowledge and wartime experience. Therefore, the party leaders had to look abroad for a handy model and at a time of Cold War isolation, they turned to the leading socialist state, the Soviet Union. Shortly after the PRC was founded, the country embarked on a journey to learn from the Soviet Union.

In 1953, China started the first Five-Year Plan, and the whole country plunged into a comprehensive reconstruction. Acquiring direct Soviet assistance and learning from Soviet experience – or more directly, copying much of the Soviet development model – became an expedient choice for the CCP. Against this backdrop, Mao called on the people to “blow up a high tide of studying the Soviet Union across the country to build our own nation” (Mao 1990, p. 46). Thus, the campaign to implement the Soviet modernization model was initiated in all industries.

To mobilize Chinese society for building Soviet-style socialism, the friendship rhetoric came to be endowed with new content and significance. Rather than paying excessive lip service to the Sino-Soviet alliance, the friendship rhetoric began to give concrete examples of Soviet achievements and the Soviet people’s “happy life.” For example, the Soviet Union was said to be a country with the largest area of land, a huge population, and an abundance of natural resources. In numerous pamphlets and handbooks circulated at the time, the Soviet Union was described as the leading country in every regard: the first socialist state in the world, the largest democratic state, a nation with the highest literacy rate and the most advanced culture, the strongest fortress with an indestructible army safeguarding world peace, etc. The rhetoric attributed all these accomplishments to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the “superior” socialist system: under the leadership of the CPSU, the Soviet people not only turned a backward agrarian country into a strong, advanced socialist country marching on the path to Communism, but they also made enormous progress in culture and science and surpassed the most advanced capitalist countries.

By all possible means of mass communication – newspapers, magazines, books, pic-

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5 See, for example, Gu (1951), Wei (1951), Zhu (1951), Shandong sheng Zhong-Su youhao xie hui (1953), Jiangsu sheng Zhong-Su youhao xie hui (1956), Shanghai shi Zhong-Su youhao xiehui xuanchuanbu (1958).
tatures, posters, blackboard bulletins, study groups, radio programs, films, songs, etc. – the friendship rhetoric presented an image of a “perfect” Soviet life to Chinese masses. The following excerpts from an article that appeared in a handbook circulated nationwide can give us some idea about how the rhetoric portrayed the living standard of Soviet workers.

Soviet workers are well dressed. Men wear well-ironed suits; women wear perfume and look graceful – they are even prettier than the fashionable women and modern-looking ladies in Shanghai! . . . In terms of eating, by 1946 Soviet workers had reached the following living standard. For breakfast, [they had] 75 to 100 grams of butter, two eggs, or fried sausage, two cups of milk, and a lot of bread. Lunch included a bowl of soup cooked with cabbage, potatoes, noodles, and beef, then a big plate of sautéed pork or fried beans and roast chicken served together with bread, and lastly, a small plate of steamed sweet fruits and a cup of tea with sugar. In the evening, workers could go to worker’s clubs for lemon tea, cakes, and fruits. Of course this was the standard five years ago, and now it is even better . . . Soviet workers’ houses are also pretty. An apartment for a couple has at least five rooms including bathroom, living room, storage room, and bedroom, not to mention complete water and electricity systems. Each apartment is equipped with radios, carpets, and elegant decorations, and outside the apartment building residents can take a walk in the garden. For unmarried bachelors, two persons share a room fully equipped with a closet and carpets, and they have easy access to gymnasium, ballroom, swimming pool, radio broadcasting, etc. (Li 1951, p. 11-12).

As we now know, the average life of Soviet citizens during this time was hardly as ideal as described above. In many places, food shortages and insufficient housing remained persistent problems. However, very few Chinese at the time had the means to verify their sources of information, because self-sponsored travel outside China in the Maoist era was nearly impossible, and those selected for state-sponsored study trips to the Soviet Union constituted only a tiny percentage of the population. Although some were bitterly disillusioned by what they saw in the Soviet Union, they were discouraged from divulging the information. Since most people were inclined to believe what the friendship rhetoric claimed, it is not surprising that workers who read the above handbook would aspire to replicate the idealized Soviet life by adopting Soviet industrial experience. Besides workers, the friendship rhetoric also targeted peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, women, and youths with specific language about Soviet modernity. Soviet life became so desired that thousands of people strove to find a way to visit the Soviet Union and witness the “heavenly” life with their own eyes.

THE SOVIET EXHIBITION CENTER

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6 Some Chinese students found it hard to believe that some “misconducts,” such as theft, alcoholism, cheating in exams, and loose morals, existed among Soviet college students. However, they were not permitted to mention such things to their Chinese fellows. See Zhonggong zhongyang xuanchuan bu (1957, 18-22).
To help the population experience Soviet life first-hand without leaving China, to deepen popular understanding of socialism, and to underscore the importance of building Chinese socialism on the Soviet model, the Chinese government decided to build exhibition centers and showcase Soviet achievements on Chinese soil. The idea first surfaced in 1952 when Li Fuchun, Deputy Director of the Finance and Economic Committee of the Government Administration Council, visited the Soviet Union. During the visit, the Soviet side expressed interest in opening exhibitions in China to demonstrate Soviet accomplishments in economy, science and technology, culture, architecture, etc. The Chinese government quickly responded with a decision to build four multipurpose public buildings in four key cities – Beijing, Shanghai, Wuhan, and Guangzhou – so that visitors throughout China could learn about Soviet life and industry, enjoy Soviet paintings, watch Soviet ballet, and savor Russian cuisine, all in one building. To optimize visitors’ experience of Soviet culture, the buildings themselves were built in Soviet style; Soviet architects and technicians were assigned to guide their design and construction. Thus, one of the foremost methods that the CCP employed to provide material examples of Soviet socialism rapidly came to fruition.

The completion of the Soviet Exhibition Center (Sulian zhanlanguan) in Beijing coincided with Nikita S. Khrushchev’s first visit to China in September 1954. After Stalin’s death in 1953, Khrushchev’s government increased economic and technological aid to China, making a more explicit attempt to court Chinese support in the international communist movement and in world affairs. A legion of Soviet experts was dispatched to China to provide training and give advice in all industries where help was needed. Altogether, more than 20,000 Soviet experts in various fields visited China between 1949 and 1960. Against this backdrop, Khrushchev’s visit brought China’s “learn from the Soviet Union” campaign to a new height.

But for the Chinese people, the highlight of Khrushchev’s visit was a myriad of exhibits he brought to the Beijing exhibition Center’s grand opening. Between October 2 and December 26, 1954, the center held its first exhibition, titled “the Exhibition of Soviet economic and Cultural Achievements.” Both Chinese and Soviet leaderships attached great importance to this exhibition and attended the opening ceremony. A total of 11,500 items were on display, including several machines of the latest models used in the manufacturing, metallurgical, and electrical industries, a multitude of textiles, handicrafts, and household products, as well as a variety of improved crops, fruits, and domesticated animals. In addition, the exhibition also presented a wide collection of cultural materials including books, magazines, textbooks, paintings, sculptures, musical scores, and photographs.

For a latecomer to the socialist bloc such as China – a country that was still not able to produce its own cars and tractors – the ingenious exhibits from the “Soviet big brother” were eye-opening. The exhibition received a round of applause from Mao, Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai, who were “very pleased and satisfied” with this generous gift from Moscow. According to a People’s Daily (Renmin ribao) report on October 13, 1954, Mao wrote Khrushchev twice to express his “heartfelt appreciation” for “the Soviet people’s deep friendship with Chinese people and their support to Chinese people’s cause of [socialist]

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7 According to Shen Zhihua (2002, 25-28), the number of Soviet experts in China was difficult to determine because of scattered, insufficient information. Also see Spence (1969, 282-283).
After being shown in Beijing, the exhibition went to Shanghai, Guangzhou, Wuhan, and other cities, drawing more than 11 million visitors. As the largest exhibition in the early history of the PRC, it made a remarkable impact on Chinese spectators as it allowed them to see first-hand what they heretofore had seen only in pictures and films. Face-to-face encounters with Soviet socialist exploits, and especially the sight of affluent Soviet life, were an illuminating inspiration to all Chinese who desired the same living standard. As Qian Junduan (Secretary of the SSFA General Committee) pointed out, during the exhibition people could see and feel what a beautiful and happy life the Soviet people had: “they eat well and dress well, they have nice houses and enjoy a variety of cultural activities. Our people must know all this. To build socialism is to make all people of China live such a life” (Qian 1954). After the inaugural exhibition, in April 1955 the Soviet Exhibition Center hosted a second exhibition showcasing the fruits of Czechoslovakia’s ten years of socialist construction. Seeing the rich evidence of socialist advantages, Chinese people’s confidence in the future under the communist leadership was boosted, and public morale for building socialism was noticeably high. These exhibitions brought socialist modernity from abroad to urban centers throughout China, and they brought to many people the thrills of modernity through the prism of socialism.

Not only did the Soviet products on display win Chinese admiration, but the Soviet Exhibition Center itself was also a monumental spectacle. Still standing in Beijing today, “the tall, tower-like structure, adorned with socialist realist statuary, rises above the main cross- ing of two sections of the exhibition space at the entrance to the building. Two lower wings form a curvilinear colonnade around the base of the building, symmetrically arranged around the central tower” (Rowe & Kuan 2002, p. 92). The exotic Russian architectural style made the center a Beijing landmark throughout the Maoist era, and even today it still constitutes a unique scene among the variegated “modernist-style” office buildings, department stores, and apartment compounds.

For people growing up in the 1950s, the Soviet Exhibition Center had an additional dimension of significance. It was a symbol of advanced, revolutionary Soviet culture, a sacred place they dreamed of visiting on important occasions in their lives. With revolutionary aspirations, they gathered here to celebrate college graduations, engagements, marriages, childbirths, and if they were lucky enough to be selected to study in the Soviet Union, they would make a pilgrimage to the center and take pictures before departure (Huang 2007, p. 254). In their view, the 87-meter tower forming the superstructure of the building was tantamount to the Kremlin in Moscow, “a beacon illuminating the road ahead” (Xu 2004). Now that more than half a century has passed, the red star glowing day and night on
the top of the building still has an irreplaceable place in the memories of this generation.

The Soviet Exhibition Center also enriched the cultural life of Beijing residents. In the center’s circular open-air theater, many Chinese people had their first encounter with the Russian ballet *Swan Lake*. Indeed, it was during this time that Chinese ballet started to take shape under Soviet guidance. Later the theater was furnished with a roof and became the well-known Exhibition Center Theater, where audiences could enjoy dance and singing performances from the Soviet Union and other socialist brother countries. Similarly, the center’s cinema also became a popular site which movie-goers frequented for foreign movies.


MOSCOW RESTAURANT

Despite the fame of its theater and cinema, the best-known part of the Soviet Exhibition Center, from then until today, has been the affiliated restaurant specializing in Russian cuisine, which is aptly named Moscow Restaurant. As the first restaurant serving foreign food in Beijing after the founding of the PRC, the original Moscow Restaurant looked like a diminutive Russian palace. It comprised the western wing of the Soviet Exhibition Center, with a tall arch gate supported by beautifully carved pillars. The interior décor was even more impressive: an ornate dome reaching three stories high, crystal chandeliers inlaid with snowflake-shaped decorations hanging from the soaring ceilings, four gigantic copper pillars with relief carvings in the spacious dining hall, tall windows with heavy, luxurious curtains, granite curtain walls adorned with Russian paintings, a swing gate, hardwood floors, gorgeous sculptures, and a small fountain spraying streams of water into the air.

In addition to its awe-inspiring design, Moscow Restaurant also gained its exalted standing from the distinguished clientele it served. After the opening ceremony of the “Exhibition of Soviet Economic and Cultural Achievements” on October 2, 1954, Premier Zhou Enlai hosted a state reception at Moscow Restaurant to welcome Khrushchev’s delegation and other foreign guests residing in China. From then on, the restaurant was the appointed dining place for Soviet experts in Beijing. It was also responsible for catering receptions and parties held at the USSR Embassy in Beijing. “Sometimes for special events, all 300 of the restaurant’s staff had to go and cook over there. We also brought over vegetables, ingredients, cooking utensils, and sometimes even tables,” recalled Wang Zhaozhong, who rose from a cook to become the manager of the restaurant (Li 2009). As the fruit of Sino-Soviet friendship, Moscow Restaurant heartily celebrated the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution in 1957: its chefs prepared two sugar carvings – one modeled after the Kremlin and the other the Tian’anmen Tower – to symbolize the strong alliance between the two countries.11

Given its unique standing, Moscow Restaurant had special payment requirements for diners. Instead of cash, it required meal tickets available only to a small circle of customers such as foreign specialists and their families, Chinese governmental officials, senior intellectuals, and celebrities (Wang 2009). For this reason, dining at Moscow Restaurant was a statement of personal status. For Soviet experts in China the access to Moscow Restaurant was something to be taken for granted, but for the Chinese it was a privilege to eat there, an aspect that made Moscow Restaurant a charm. Ironically, even though some Chinese harbored grievances against the presumptuous, overbearing behavior of certain Soviet experts (especially on the grassroots levels where direct contact was unavoidable), few raised criticism against Soviet experts eating separately in designated restaurants (and residing separately in designated hotels) from their Chinese brothers and sisters.12 This shows that the “friendship rhetoric” had cultivated among at least some of the Chinese people a friendly, respectful attitude toward the Soviet Union, its people, and its culture.

The Chinese admiration for Soviet life and culture naturally led to a public longing for a “foreign,” “exotic” taste. Indeed, everything on Moscow Restaurant’s menu looked...
curious and mysterious in the Chinese eye: pickled cucumber, foie gras, beef stroganoff, chicken Kiev, etc. The longing to savor Russian cuisine became more intense when later the restaurant’s meal ticket restriction was lifted and it was opened to the public. But for ordinary people it was still a luxury beyond their affordability. At that time, the average cost of living in Beijing was 8 yuan per person per month. The restaurant offered three *prix-fixe* meals at 1.5, 2.0, and 2.5 yuan, and just one serving of borscht cost 1.2 yuan. Apparently, for most people it was nearly unthinkable to eat there. Yet even the expensive price did not deter but only intensified people’s desire to visit Moscow Restaurant and sample the food of the “Soviet big brother.” Those whose salary range did not fall into the “privileged” category would have to save for several months to buy a meal. And when they did make it, they would brag about their experience again and again before admiring listeners (Liu 2013). This way the fame of Moscow Restaurant spread far beyond the small number of people who had eaten there. No doubt, if anyone had the luck to work in the restaurant, that was cause enough for envy and admiration (Li 2006).

Admittedly, although some Chinese developed a taste for Russian food, most people could not acclimate to its flavor or texture. Some complained caviar smelt too strong and others thought borscht was too sour. Nevertheless, during those years of rationed supplies, the food served at Moscow Restaurant doubtless tasted richer than the familiar Chinese dish of cabbage and the coarse corn buns. In fact, together with foreign embassies in Beijing, Moscow Restaurant was among a limited number of “special units” that enjoyed ample supplies. Even during the three extreme years of food shortages and famines between 1959 and 1961, supplies to the restaurant maintained the same standard and volume.  

To many, however, it was not the food but the feeling of being a “high-end” customer in the dream-like mansion of Moscow Restaurant that completed their Russian experience. Just sitting in such a palace was enough to make one dazed, not to mention the gratification of eating exotic food and experiencing a different dining style. Privileged the customers felt, to experience such an expensive meal, practicing Western dining etiquette, and gingerly experimenting strange utensils. Here, shiny knives and forks replaced chopsticks; brownish coffee served in a cup on a silver-rimmed plate took over the yellowish tea commonly offered in Chinese restaurants; and big wine glasses with long stems and wide bottoms stood in lieu of traditional Chinese wine cups. Most utensils, wine, and some cooking ingredients were imported from the Soviet Union to enhance the authentic flavor. All these details were deeply and vividly ingrained in the memories of every Chinese diner. Four decades later, when former patrons of Moscow Restaurant finally had the chance to set foot on Russian soil, some even judged the authenticity of Russian cuisine based on their recollections of the food served at Moscow Restaurant (Luo 2004).

All in all, at a time when the Soviet Union was China’s primary window to the outside world, Moscow Restaurant both stimulated and satisfied the Chinese curiosity about foreign food and culture, and it was all done in politically permissible terms. Endowed with a flavor of Russian aristocracy, the restaurant also embodied advanced Soviet socialist

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14 It is worth mentioning that oftentimes Chinese delegations to the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries were sent to Moscow Restaurant before departure to learn about western dining etiquette, especially how to use forks and knives.
culture that guaranteed its ideological legitimacy. After a meal, visitors could go to the adjacent cinema to watch *Lenin in 1918*,\(^{15}\) or the theater next door to see a performance, thus concluding their ritual journey to the Soviet Exhibition Center, a sacred site of socialist ideals, and at the same time gratifying their cravings for something “foreign” and “modern.” Among young men in Beijing, it quickly became the latest fad to bring their girlfriends to the restaurant to propose marriage. A diner recalled that in 1955, after saving every penny for three months, he invited his girlfriend to Moscow Restaurant. In the name of revolution and the socialist cause, he proposed to her by singing the famed Russian song “Moscow Nights.”\(^{16}\) Since then it has been a tradition for the couple to come to the restaurant to celebrate their wedding anniversaries.\(^{17}\) This is but one of the many romantic stories intimately associated with Moscow Restaurant. 

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15 Set in the Russian Civil War, *Lenin in 1918* [Russian: *Ленин в 1918 году*] is a 130-minute Soviet revolution film released in 1939. The Chinese government promoted the film and made it extremely popular in the 1950s.

16 This song’s Russian title is “Подмосковные вечера.” It won the international song contest at the World Festival of Youth and Students in 1957 and since then has become one of the best-known and most beloved Russian songs. The title literally means “evenings outside Moscow,” but is most commonly known as “Moscow Nights” or “Midnight in Moscow” to the English speaking world. The Chinese translation is “Mosike jiawai de wanshang” (莫斯科郊外的晚上). As the most popular Russian song in China, this song is still well remembered by those who lived through the Maoist era.

17 Personal interview, Beijing, June 22, 2009.
THE SOVIET-STYLE BUILDINGS

Shortly after the Soviet Exhibition Center was opened in Beijing, three additional exhibition centers were completed to showcase Soviet socialist achievements in other Chinese cities. In 1955, the Shanghai Sino-Soviet Friendship Building and the Guangzhou Sino-Soviet Friendship Building were completed, and in the following year the Wuhan Sino-Soviet Friendship Palace came into being. Like the Soviet Exhibition Center in Beijing, these three centers also hosted the “Exhibition of Soviet Economic and Cultural Achievements,” and their popularity soared. Altogether, the Sino-Soviet friendship buildings in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Wuhan infused the life of urban dwellers with not only the high ideals of international solidarity but also the sensation of modern material life.

At the same time, these four edifices also became the most conspicuous landmarks of their cities and models for other Chinese cities, making Soviet architecture the prevailing mode of building design. As the first few public structures to demonstrate the characteristics of Stalinist architecture in the PRC, these four monumental complexes, which were more or less modeled on the Admiralty Building in St. Petersburg, offered Chinese architects a concrete illustration of Soviet architectural concepts. Pseudo- and semi-Soviet-style structures soon mushroomed across the country, especially in places where Soviet aid was received.

In the Chinese context, so-called “Soviet-style” or “Stalinist” architecture was simply a loose term for Chinese buildings that were patterned on Russian architectural designs or that incorporated Russian architectural elements. Unlike the buildings in Eastern Europe that still remain distasteful reminders of Stalinism, Soviet-style architecture in China was generally free from the neoclassical “excesses” of tiers and spires that granted them extraneous height. Typically, a Soviet-style building in China involved a symmetrical tower block featuring a high-rise in the center flanked by two lower wings. Masonry was often used, which naturally dictated narrow windows and sturdy, thick walls. This style dominated new structures built in the 1950s that housed important party organizations and provincial governments, as well as the teaching buildings and dormitories on newly reorganized university campuses. Some of them were completely based on blueprints used in the Soviet Union. For example, several mining schools and colleges in Liaoning, Hebei, and Jiangxi provinces adopted the design for the main building of the former Leningrad State Mining Institute (today’s Saint Petersburg Mining Institute) in its entirety. Others that were designed by Chinese architects, such as the Anhui Provincial Government Building, Tsinghua University’s and Anhui University’s main buildings (both emulated the design of Moscow State University’s main building), absorbed the style and layout of some Soviet buildings. Overlooking traditional Chinese palaces and temples, these monumental Soviet-style buildings unmistakably “underscored the new Soviet presence in China” (Rowe & Kuan 2002, p. 92).

However, Soviet architecture and the proliferation of Soviet-style buildings across China were not always seen as intrusive or incongruous with Chinese local architecture. It was
not clear whether there were mandatory orders from the central government or local leaders to build new buildings in the Soviet style, yet it was generally believed that the symmetrical, imposing, and sometimes grandiose Soviet designs best served to legitimize China’s new socialist order and buttress the communist authority. Symbolizing a break with the past, Soviet-style architecture also represented an appropriate way of celebrating the victory of socialist revolutions (both in China and in the world), the Sino-Soviet alliance, and China’s new-found sense of belonging in the socialist world. Rising above China’s emerging industrial centers, Soviet-style buildings applied to these cities an identity that was both socialist and internationalist.

To heighten the socialist, internationalist nature of new constructions, Chinese architects combined Soviet features with traditional architectural concepts in the course of emulating Soviet architecture. Some of these novelties resulted from adapting conventional Chinese architectural elements for new purposes, as reflected in the widespread use of doves and red stars as adornments. In buildings such as the “Four Departments and One Committee” Building (sibuyihui dalou) in Sanlihe and Tianjin University’s No. 9 Teaching Building, the image of dove, a symbol of world peace and internationalism, appears in place of traditional dragon-head ornaments on the ends of ridgepoles commonly seen in imperial palaces. The red star, symbol of revolution, was extensively used in buildings with revolutionary significance. For instance, the Military Museum of Chinese Revolution, like the Soviet Exhibition Center in Beijing, has a colossal red star at the top of its central tower. Similarly, sculptures and murals – two additional forms of decoration commonly applied to traditional Chinese architecture – took on new content. As in the Soviet Union, sculptures and murals were often made elaborate and grandiose to enhance the artistic appeal of socialist architecture. A typical example is a series of sculptures on the theme of harvesting in front of the National Agriculture Exhibition Center. Like the pillars carved with clusters of fruits on the façade of the Soviet Exhibition Center, these sculptures display the great achievements of agricultural development in China and the advantages of the socialist system. Moreover, eye-catching slogans were added to reinforce public understanding of the function of certain buildings. Examples of this include the Chinese characters of “solidarity” and “progress” on the two side doors of the main entrance to the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, which are reminiscent of the slogans of “peace” and “friendship” at the entrance to the Soviet Exhibition Center.

The above local motifs more or less shortened the distance between Soviet designs and the Chinese public, but what really made Soviet-style buildings acceptable to ordinary Chinese citizens was the fact that the solidly built Soviet-style buildings surrounding their lives afforded them solid proof of an admirable socialist modernity. Indeed, at a time when the Soviet Union was China’s main contact with the world, Soviet architecture was viewed as “modern,” “exotic,” and in the words of the rank and file, “especially good-looking, trendy, and worth copying” (Run and Yang 2009). To understand the appeal of Soviet-style buildings in China, we have to bear in mind that high-rises were a rarity in most Chinese cities in the 1950s. No doubt the newly built Soviet-style structures – often the tallest buildings in the urban center – became hallmarks of modernity. When the Xinjiang Kunlun Hotel

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21 This early office building complex housed four state departments – No. 1 Department of Mechanics, No. 2 Department of Mechanics, Department of Heavy Industry, Department of Finance – and the State Planning Committee.
was completed in 1959, “the city of Urumqi still bordered on the barren Gobi desert and roads were bumpy,” recalled Wang Jianming, who worked in the hotel for eight years after its completion (Zhang 2005). Not surprisingly, the hotel – built in a semi-Soviet style and the tallest building in Urumqi – was popularly greeted with a rousing fanfare. In the eyes of local residents, the building looked “strong,” “sturdy,” “magnificent,” and “modern,” and it was deemed a privilege to attend a meeting or eat a meal there (Zhang 2005; Liu 2005). Even today the townsfolk of Urumqi still refer to it as “Eight Floors,” an intimate nickname they gave to the building fifty years ago.

Soviet-style residential buildings, which represented the highest standard of residential constructions in China at the time, gave Chinese people an even closer understanding of Soviet modernity. Although these buildings in China were not as well equipped as the Soviet residential buildings portrayed in the Chinese friendship rhetoric, they were far better than the commonly found small, rundown mud-brick houses. Following the Soviet pattern, each residential area was a self-contained unit complete with a garden, a canteen, a worker’s club, and sometimes even with a nursery or a hospital, as the excerpts from Tie Ning’s short story describe at the beginning of the article.

Along with the infrastructure, entertainment organized especially to cater to the Soviet nationals living in China also spread among Chinese residents of Soviet-style buildings. On weekends and for special occasions, worker’s clubs would organize film screenings and dance parties that often drew huge crowds of participants and onlookers (Kuang & Pan 2005, pp. 273-275). Russian music and dance quickly swept Chinese cities. Men and women danced in Russian or pseudo-Russian fashion to tunes from Mother Russia, and many people learned to play the accordion, a musical instrument for Russian folk music. Russian songs were furnished with Chinese lyrics; their beautiful melodies and delightful themes of love and happiness captivated the hearts of numerous music fans, and they are still well-remembered today. In such surroundings, some sports and pastimes popular in the Soviet Union also gained currency in China. For instance, chess, an international game then dominated by the Soviet Union and a Soviet propaganda tool against American hegemony during the Cold War, was promoted as a competitive sport by the Chinese government. Ice skating became a popular winter activity that mesmerized thousands of young people in North China. In Beijing, skating in the Shichahai Ice Rink was the second most fashionable activity for young people, outranked only by the Moscow Restaurant. Soviet lifestyles thus became even more ingrained into everyday urban life; the vision of socialist modernity and the importance of internationalist solidarity also penetrated deeper into the hearts of city dwellers.


FOLDING DOWN

Architecture has often been used by new regimes as a way to enhance authority, build nationalism, and bring about popular identification with the state. In this regard, the CCP employed Soviet architectural forms and refashioned cityscape to cement its authority and develop the newly formed socialist state identity. While Soviet-style structures were on the forefront for achieving such goals, they also were on the leading edge in terms of socialist modern usage: to directly introduce Soviet culture and technology to Chinese society at large.

The CCP succeeded quite well in bringing an international flavor to the physical structures that Chinese people inhabited, used, and recognized in their daily lives. Designed to boast of the advantages of the socialist system and to present the masses with a feel of modernity, the transformations in Chinese urban architecture “reinforced an internationalist image that China was on the verge of enjoying the fruits of socialism just like the Soviet Union was” (Hess 2007, p. 178). From these material forms, the populace was able to perceive that the claims made by the new regime concerning socialism and modernity were more than fanciful. Well-built modern structures and the lifestyles they displayed convinced at least some of the population to expect modern Chinese life to be fully integrated into the modern world. In light of over a century of resisting foreign incursion – from the Opium Wars to World War II – achieving broad-based support for adopting a foreign modernization path in less than a decade is truly extraordinary.

By mid 1950s, China’s alliance with the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc had brought fundamental changes to its urban space. New architectural designs were added to city topography, aesthetics and tastes were reshaped in everything from clothes and music to food and hobbies. These changes also extended to the hearts and minds of millions who were coming of age in the 1950s. Under Soviet influence, school education was reformed, views of gender, youth, and personal relations were reoriented, and new values and ethics were discussed. In less than a decade, the Sino-Soviet friendship had transformed Chinese popular imagination and outlook in a significant way.

Given the popularity of Soviet culture and its influence on the Chinese population in the 1950s, it is difficult to believe that the international and domestic situations would shift so dramatically that by 1960, the massive transnational cultural flow from the Soviet Union to China had already ceased, never to be restored to the same level. When the alliance foundered, the PRC government made every effort to break away from the Soviet model and blocked all sources of Soviet cultural influence: Soviet-inspired clothes vanished from sight, Russian-language programs halted, and Soviet films and literary works were banned from circulating in public channels. In architecture, existing Soviet-style buildings were repainted or modified to look less foreign, and ongoing construction projects were either stripped of all the “excesses” or redesigned from scratch. When a physical overhaul was impossible, a change of name was imposed. As a result, in 1958 the Soviet Exhibition Center in Beijing was renamed Beijing Exhibition Center (Beijing zhanlanguan), and accordingly Moscow Restaurant became Beijing Exhibition Center Restaurant (Beijing zhanlanguan canting). Likewise, the Shanghai Sino-Soviet Friendship Building was renamed Shanghai Exhibition Center (Shanghai zhanlanguan) in 1968.

However, the reputations of these buildings among Chinese youths remained intact,
showing the ingrained high regard that Soviet culture enjoyed among the Chinese populace and speaking volumes about the on-the-ground effect which the physical presence of Soviet culture had in influencing general opinion. Remarkably, Moscow Restaurant retained its distinct status even during the Cultural Revolution and eventually regained its original name in the 1980s.

For Chinese architects, the influence of Soviet architecture was already so deep that it was nearly impossible for them to obliterate its traces in their new works. For this reason, even the Great Hall of the People on Tian’anmen Square and the Military Museum of Chinese Revolution, two of the “ten monumental buildings” (shida jianzhu) constructed in 1959 in a concerted effort to “create the new style of Chinese socialist architecture,” resonated with elements of Soviet architecture. In the following three decades, building designs in major cities were mostly modeled on the “ten monumental buildings” in Beijing. The combination of indigenized Soviet designs and traditional Chinese styles continued well into the 1990s.

Meanwhile, the old Soviet-style buildings constructed in the 1950s have faded into obscurity and loneliness since China started its economic reform and opened up to the Western world. In light of the stunning speed of modernization across the country, the Soviet-style residential buildings are out-of-date and many have been replaced by apartment buildings with new facilities befitting modern lifestyles. With regard to the future of existing Soviet-style buildings, thirst for new apartments among residents contrasts with an appeal for preserving cultural heritage among architects and activists concerned with the disappearance of old architectural works. In this debate, Soviet-style buildings were temporarily brought back in the spotlight, though not with the attention they received in the fifties, after the 2008 Sichuan earthquake that had a magnitude of 8.0. In the shock-affected areas, many of the buildings (especially school buildings) constructed in the 1990s were reduced to rubble, whereas a good number of Soviet-style buildings firmly stood their ground. This attests to the “solidity” of Soviet-style construction, which Tie Ning fondly describes in her aforementioned short story.

Today, when we pass by the textile workers’ apartments designed by the Soviets and gaze reflectively at these similar-looking, old, and somewhat clumsy buildings and the smoke pipes on the roof that have turned pitch black, we can still see the solid material and grand style of Soviet-style buildings and feel the romantic zeal for communism (Tie 2005, 1).

As Tie Ning aptly captures in this paragraph, most Chinese who have lived through the Maoist upheavals view Soviet-style buildings with a sentiment of nostalgia as they reminisce about the bitter-sweet days with the “Soviet big brother,” a time that condensed the thrill and pangs of building socialism in China. After the ups and downs of political movements in the second half of the twentieth century, they find themselves lost again amidst economic boom and accelerated rhythms of life. They therefore look back at the early PRC time that marked their youth and dreams. The rose-tinted spectacles they wear to view the past is nostalgia, and Soviet-style buildings become a trigger of nostalgia. Like An Delie,

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22 For more information about the “ten monumental buildings,” see Hung (2010, pp: 51-72).
the protagonist in Tie Ning's short story who gets lost without the old routine that the old Soviet-style residential buildings embody, many people need objects of nostalgia that they identify with to reassert their identities. For this reason, in 1995 when the Wuhan municipal government decided to demolish the Wuhan Sino-Soviet Friendship Palace and build a new building complex on the site, the townspeople swarmed to the building to bid farewell. Similarly, Moscow Restaurant remains a symbolic site to many who want a taste of the past. That this restaurant still operates today speaks volumes about the public yearning for the revolutionary ethos that promises no return.

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Subversion from within: Power of Supernatural Female in Pu Songling’s Liaozhai Zhiyi

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Studies on Pu Songling’s Liaozhai Zhiyi so far have yielded considerable arguments on the domestication (or humanization) of the supernatural females in his metamorphosis narrative, a process through which the alien power of these supernatural females is eventually assimilated into the patriarchal society of human world. However, through a close reading of Pu’s metamorphosis narrative, I argue that supernatural females continue to constitute a subversive force even after they have been domesticated. Although subject to the positionality of the patriarchal order, women are not completely passive and powerless within this structure. Unable to transcend the disciplines of phallocentric society, they somehow manage to survive within that order through various ways. In practice, women pose a profound threat to these disciplines by implicitly redeploying and transforming them into women’s own favorable advantage that can in turn secure feminine power. Thus, a real subversion does not come from transcendence, but precisely comes from within. With an examination of the supernatural women’s individual efforts as well as their various forms of alliance, this article aims to make manifest of how supernatural females proactively constitute a permanent threat to the patriarchal society.

Keywords: redeployment, subversion, grand narrative, private narrative

PARODIC REDEPLOYMENT OF PATRIARCHAL DISCOURSE

Although women are traditionally viewed as vulnerable groups that are normally more inclined to be exposed to oppression, tangible or intangible, they are not completely silent recipients of injustice, but subjects with agency who are able to proactively redeploy the dominant discourses over femininity. Despite the fact that under the patriarchal circumstances, they cannot afford to be litigious, they manage to transform that law to make the most of it. As Judith Butler would suggest, power can neither be withdrawn nor refused, but only redeployed, a true subversive force can only be gained through “a parodic redeployment of power rather than on the impossible fantasy of its full-scale transcendence” (Butler, 1990, p. 124). In other words, as she states elsewhere in Gender Trouble, “If subversion is possible, it will be a subversion from within the terms of the law, through the possibilities that emerge when the law turns against itself and spawns unexpected permutations of itself.” (Butler, 1990, p. 93) It is precisely in this sense that Nancy Fraser concludes Butler is correct in claiming that “a culturally constructed subject can also be a critical subject” (Benhabib et al., 1995, p. 69), that people (women) can also have “critical capacities” which enable them to rewrite the script. However, it is worth noticing that the power derived from

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redeployment has no universal form, it may manifest itself in different even contradictory forms, and as situation-bound as male dominance, it may vary according to concrete context. It is in this sense, therefore, that I expect some particular feature of women’s subversive potential exhibited in Pu Songling’s metamorphosis narrative.

Research on Pu’s metamorphosis stories has paid scant attention to the female bondings by which female powers are awakened and enhanced. While it is an apparent fact that the male bondings constitute a main source of women’s oppression, women’s power is not entirely paralyzed by this heterogeneous joint force; the often neglected female bondings, although as a marginal force, may also pose destabilizing power unto the male-centered culture. With the following metamorphosis stories, I will examine how women’s awareness of their own female power can be raised in a woman’s alliance with another, to secure a more desirable position that is possibly allowed in that structure.

The female fox spirit in the story of “Hengniang” (Pu, 1992, p. 1418) serves as a perfect example to start this discussion. Hengniang (the fox spirit) is the first wife of a mercer. Although plain-looking, she somehow manages to enjoy her husband’s full attention (独锺爱恒娘), and thus keeps her husband away from his concubine who is much younger and more beautiful than her. Hengniang’s mysterious charm greatly intrigues the interest of Ms. Zhu, Hengniang’s new neighbor who is suffering from her husband’s long neglect because of the distraction of his concubine, even though Ms. Zhu is the one who has a much more pleasant face to look at ([妾貌远逊朱]). With an eager hope to win her husband back, Ms. Zhu seeks advice from Hengniang, asking her what kind of magic she possesses to keep her husband away from a conventionally much more desirable concubine. Composedly, Hengniang replies, it is not her husband’s fault for ignoring Ms. Zhu, on the contrary, Ms. Zhu is the one to blame for being estranged from her husband, thus indicating that this relationship is supposed to be under her own control. Then Hengniang works out a plan to help Ms. Zhu out of this dilemma. In the first stage, Hengniang asks Ms. Zhu to stop intervening in her husband’s activities, and deliberately reject him if he comes to visit her. Ms. Zhu follows every instruction she has been given; she allows more time for her husband to spend with his concubine and resolutely rejects him when he comes to perform a husband’s duty perfunctorily. Before long, the whole family refreshes their opinions of her, thinking of her as a virtuous wife (共称朱氏贤). One month later, when Ms. Zhu reports this to Hengniang, Hengniang believes this is a good sign and encourages her to go further by wearing no make-up and attending diligently to housework. As expected, Ms. Zhu’s devotion to housework incites a special fondness for her in her husband. Then Hengniang suggests it is time for Ms. Zhu to dress up again and show her husband how beautiful she actually is as she used to be. Ms. Zhu’s husband falls for his wife’s trick and is fascinated by his wife once again. However, Ms. Zhu is taught to always keep a desirable distance from her husband in order to keep him interested. In this way, Ms. Zhu successfully wins her husband’s favor back, and thus regains a more desirable place as a wife in this family.

In this story, the women’s alliance between Hengniang and Ms. Zhu is the locus where one woman’s knowledge of the patriarchal law is transmitted to another as a weapon that can be later transformed into part of female power. In other words, the female bonding es-

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2 A very rare case in Pu Songling’s *LiaozhaiZhiyi* in which the young female fox spirit is not favored for her beauty.
tablished in this alliance constitutes a force that is alien to the patriarchal law.

At the first sight, Hengniang’s strategy is rather disappointing, because what she offers is nothing new but going back to the old role of a submissive wife, obeying all those wifely virtues, being unconditionally hard-working, less complaining, staying in the inner quarters and turning a blind eye to her husband’s love affairs. However what is interesting about this returning is that all these compromises Ms. Zhu makes are compromises that are knowingly and strategically made, whose ultimate end is by no means simply being a successful wife in the traditional sense, but to get what she desires from that society, or what that society could and should offer her as a woman occupying this position. In this sense, both Ms. Zhu and Hengniang are performing a parodic redeployment of patriarchal discourse, through which a true subversive force can be gained. It is not only women who have been manipulated by the patriarchal law, but men are also manipulated by the same code when women actively redeploy this law.

If going back to the role of a devoted wife is the whole story, then the meaning of this parodic redeployment in this story is less subversive by a lot. As a matter of fact, the most creative part and true power of Hengniang’s redeployment of patriarchal discourse lies in her consciously combining different roles of women (roles that are imposed onto women by the male-centered society) in one figure. Rather than teaching Ms. Zhu to play passively the role of traditional devoted wife, Hengniang redefines Ms. Zhu’s role as half-wife half-concubine; while on the one hand, Ms. Zhu sticks to the conventional wifely virtues; on the other hand, she is expected to be equipped with some qualities that previously belong to a concubine, such as the limited accessibility. As Hengniang points out at the end of this story, normally a husband favors his concubine more than his wife not necessarily because his concubine is beautiful, but simply because she is not the wife, the role which is taken for granted; thus she is fresh and hard to get (甘其所乍获, 而幸其所难遘也), which makes her a perfect site and a welcome challenge to attest men’s power over women, and to better confirm the privilege of being a man. Therefore, by playing double roles at the same time, Ms. Zhu’s place in the family is doubly secured; she is not only the indispensible wife, but also the desirable concubine.

To some extent, most of the supernatural females that have been either actually married to human males or simply fallen in love with them in Pu’s metamorphosis narrative, naturally play this dual role due to their special identity. In other words, their supernaturality grants them an innate dual role. For one thing, they are humanized and domesticated wives (or lovers) that would unconditionally offer their help in their husbands’ (or lovers’) career and life; for another; they are distinguished from this traditional role by their inborn supernaturality, the signal of rare accessibility. Such a duality, the availability and rarity, automatically mimic two different modes of patriarchal discourse on women. By playing this dual role, thus catering to the demand and fantasy of the human male generated in patriarchal discourse, these supernatural females gain a much wider space and much more flexibility in human society, since this duality not only guarantees a rigid stereotype of either and or (availability or unavailability), but the whole range between these two poles. Thus, besides the supernatural power attached with these supernatural females, the more authentic power resides in their advantage of combining multiple roles in one which makes them more adaptable to a male’s fantasy, not in a passive way, but in the way that it increases the degree of a man’s dependence on one particular woman. In this light, the power of rede-
ploying patriarchal discourse on women, the power of mimicking more than one role is not primarily self-liberating, but other-trapping.

In Pu’s metamorphosis narrative, the multiplicity of supernatural women’s role can be well identified in their relationship with their human lovers. To be precise, many metamorphosis stories show the relationship between man and woman is more complicated than simply being lovers.

In Yingning (婴宁), the fox spirit Yingning and Wang Zifu (王子服) are husband and wife, yet Yingning first interprets their relation as sister and brother. Yingning prefers to address Wang Zifu as ‘big brother’ (大哥) or a ‘close relative’ (至戚) when Wang first comes to visit her, and she describes their relationship as jiafuzhiqing (葭莩之情), indicating that they are connected to each other as relatives in the first place, even during the moment she realizes Wang Zifu intends to take her as his wife (Pu, 1992, pp. 150-59).

In NieXiaoqian (聂小倩), the female ghost NieXiaoqian also treats NingCaichen (宁采臣) as brother even after they sleep in the same bed (Pu pp. 160-66). After NingCaichen revives her, Xiaoqian insists to stay with him and his family. Since Ning’s mother does not fancy the idea of having a ghost daughter-in-law, she proposes to serve Ning as his sister (请以兄事). In many other stories, the romance between the male and supernatural female is facilitated by the female playing the role of her lover’s life savior.

In Hongyu (红玉), the author is more interested in depicting the fox spirit Hongyu as the life savior of her husband Feng Xiangru (冯相如) as Feng’s secret lover at first and legal wife later (Pu pp. 269-75). She helps him all along: first she fully funds Feng’s marriage with an ideal woman she herself selects for him, then she raises Feng’s only son (born of Feng’s ex-wife) while Feng is in prison on the charge of murder, and she saves him from prison at last.3

In the story Pianpian (翩翩), the supernatural female Pianpian saves Luo Zifu (罗子浮) from his abjection. Through the years they live together in the fairy land, she gives birth to a son, educates him into a talented young man and finds him a perfect wife; then when Luo Zifu is sent back to the human world, he rejoins his family as a well-off man (Pu, pp. 444-49).

While sometimes the supernatural female saves the male protagonist out of selfless dedication, in other cases, being her lover’s life savior is to reciprocate the male’s favor or help (i.e. in the story of Huaguzi (花姑子) (Pu pp. 636-41), Woman in Green (绿衣女) (Pu pp. 675-76), Xiaocui (小翠) (Pu pp. 997-1005)).

Although it varies, in most cases, the relationship Pu Songling appreciates between these lovers is a kind of special friendship in which the supernatural female plays the role of the male’s soul mate, a quality that is normally absent in the traditional role of wife in Chinese society but became much desired in the Ming-Qing period. It is in the Ming-Qing-period (especially the Qing period) that the friendship-like relation between lovers, or wife and husband, became a fashion and was most appreciated among literati. In such a relation, the primary reason a man and a woman are bonded together is their shared common interest (interest in literary and art activities) and a better understanding of each other, rather than the traditional family duty (giving birth to a male heir to carry on the man’s family line).

3 Feng Xiangru is charged of murder, and Hongyu uses some tricks to scare the judge out of this case, and Feng is released as not guilty.
Such a fashion can be found both in the real life (exchange of poems between wife and husband, or between a scholar and a courtesan. Some of the most famous examples are Qian Qianyi 钱谦益 (1582-1664) and Liu Rushi 柳如是 (1618-1664), Mao Pijiang 冒辟疆 (1611-1693) and Dong Xiaowan 董小宛 (1624-1651), and literary texts (i.e. scholar-beauty fiction). In his book Qisizhenquan 祈嗣真诠, Yuan Huang 袁黄 (?-?) attaches great importance to the friendship between wife and husband, regarding it not only as a more enjoyable relationship, but also as the foundation of a harmonious and successful family. ( 夫妇而寄以朋友之义, 则衽席之间可以修省, 一唱一和, 其乐无涯, 岂独可以生子哉. 终身之业, 万化之源, 将基之矣.) Along with this fashion, the talent became an important measurement of women; Li Yu 李渔 (1610-1680) considers women’s talent (especially literary talent) just as important as women’s beauty (有色无才, 断乎不可).

In the story Fenzhou Fox 汾州狐 (Pu p. 249), the fox spirit first assumes a very close friend of Mr. Zhu before they become lovers (遂与款密, 久如夫妻之好). In the story Lin Siniang 林四娘 (Pu pp. 278-82), what qualifies the female ghost Lin Siniang as a much more desirable partner of Chen Baoyao 陈宝钥 is her specialized knowledge and talent that introduces her to a deeper spiritual communication with Chen. Although they are first attracted to each other for the admiration of each other’s appearance, it is in their later spiritual communication that this relationship blossoms. A big part in this story is devoted to depicting how they compassionately discuss the tonality 音律 and poetry, and how Chen is deeply moved by the songs and poems Lin improvises. Pu defines this kind of relationship as “beyond husband and wife” (两人燕妮，过于琴瑟). In the story Liansuo 连锁 (Pu pp. 327-34), the relationship between Yang Yuwei 杨于畏 and the female ghost Liansuo is defined as friendship-like (剪烛西窗，如得良友) as they spend lots of time together discussing poetry. In the story Liancheng 连城 (Pu pp. 361-66), Liancheng and the young scholar Qiao 乔生 are spiritually bonded through Qiao’s poem before they actually meet each other in person; knowing that his poem has been thought of highly by Liancheng, Qiao is delighted that he has finally found his soul mate (连城我知己也!). In the story Huanniang 宦娘 (Pu pp. 984-89), the male protagonist Wen Ruchun 温如春 falls in love with the female ghost Huanniang who knows how to admire him as a talented instrumentalist. Huanniang dreams of an ideal relationship with the male protagonist Wen Ruchun, in which she is both his lover and soul mate (琴瑟之好，自相知音). However, what comes in the way is her belief that a ghost could not afford such bliss (薄命人乌有此福) and thus she has to turn down Wen Ruchun’s proposal. However, her unavailability is later compromised by her helping Wen Ruchun marry another girl GeLianggong 葛良工, who knows how to appreciate his talent in playing guqin 古琴 (a string instrument) as much as she does. Obviously, the special bond between Wen Ruchun and Huanniang is not undermined by Wen’s marriage. On the contrary, it has been enhanced in Huanniang’s unselfish gesture of love; their relationship has transcended the traditional heterosexual love.

In summary, in Pu’s metamorphosis stories, the characters of supernatural females expose how much men expect or demand different qualities from women; and the fact that one female can play multiple roles simultaneously (consciously or unconsciously) demonstrates the power of flexibility in switching among different modes produced by the patriarchal law and consequently, in increasing men’s dependence on one female.

Apparently a parodic redeployment of patriarchal discourse entails some sacrifice, small or big, however, the point is not how much sacrifice a woman has to make before she
can be finally legitimately enjoy the privileges entitled to the position, but for what purpose, what kind of sacrifice, this woman believes is worth to be made. The difference between the two situations lies in the fact that, for the latter, women are not acting as hopeless or lost subjects who have nothing better to come up with but to blindly comply to this all too transcendental structure which operates at its own will; they are permitted some initiatives in their roles, although quite limited. As shown in the story of Hengniang, part of the patriarchal codes have been deciphered, a well-awareness of the mechanism of patriarchal society makes the women a knowing subject who can adjust their activities accordingly. For this knowing subject, obeying the patriarchal law is not as blind and imperative as before, rather, it becomes more of a choice with some free quality; since they are well informed of what kind of results would follow their chosen performance. In the case of Ms. Zhu, she willingly behaves with wifely virtues not because she enjoys performance, but because a more desirable result has been promised in this performance. To be precise, what really matters in this performance is not the question of whether women can transcend the patriarchal relations, but the fact that they actively participate in the patriarchal relations to change their destiny. And this participation is no small matter for women; it is the counterattack through which women’s subjectivity can be retrieved—to attack through perfunctory obedience. It is in this sense, Beauvoir asserts that “Woman has been free only in becoming a captive; she renounces this human privilege in order to regain her power as a natural object.” (Beauvoir 1953, p. 203)

Hengniang’s strategy, to some extent, can be interpreted as what Drucilla Cornell would call “the enactment of mimetic identifications” which is both a rhetorical and artistic device for both the engagement with and the displacement of the boundaries that have been set on women and femininity (Benhabib et al., 1995, p. 97). In light of Cornell’s theory, Hengniang’s act is a consciously, politically committed engagement with the positioning of femininity, thus, this complicity is not merely mirroring but also miming. The difference is of great significance. “Miming not only implies mirroring but as enactment it is also a parody of what it mirrors. Miming always carries within it a moment of parody of what it mirrors.” (Benhabib et al., 1995, p. 97) Therefore, through conscious mimetic identifications, which creates a distance from the male’s fantasies and exposes the gap between fantasies and the complexity of actual females, females regain the state of subjectivity.

Obviously, the patriarchal world is not a paradise for women just because some of them happen to decipher a small fraction of its working mechanism, but to some extent, they successfully get it under their control by knowing how to mime the social norms to satisfy their own needs before they can make bigger waves. Hengniang’s strategy of obeying the old rules is a counterattack to the patriarchal law; the male-favored law is employed to secure women a more desirable position, if they must be positioned.

In the story of “NieXiaqian” 聂小倩 (Pu, 1992, p. 160), the alliance between Xiaoqian and the senior female ghost also signifies a redeployment of the patriarchal discourse, although Xiaoqian is coerced into this alliance by the senior female ghost. To satiate her lust for the blood of young man, the senior ghost forces the young ghost Xiaoqian to seduce young men. The two strategies she imparts to Xiaoqian (sex and money) are in fact aimed at men’s craving for power, the essential identity label established by the patriarchal discourses. As Xiaoqian reveals later to the male protagonist NingCaichen 宁采臣, these two things are most desired by men, and have seldom failed to get men trapped in their
Although what the senior ghost teaches Xiaoqian is nothing but common knowledge which is transparent to both men and women, a more important lesson learned in this alliance is primarily not what kind of knowledge about patriarchical society is at women’s command, whether that knowledge is profound or superficial, but an awareness sparked by the senior ghost in Xiaoqian to make the most of that apparent knowledge to get what is desirable for a woman. Thus, even when Xiaoqian is eventually converted by NingCai-chen’s noble personality and withdraws from this women’s alliance, this awareness is not extinguished subsequently. Rather, it is precisely this awareness that leads Xiaoqian out of this league, she prefers to end her miserable slavery by playing the part of a victim to provoke Ning’s compassion; after Ning saves her from the control of the senior ghost, she successfully wins Ning’s mother’s favor through playing the role of a dedicated future wife which secures her a better life in the human society and a great honor in the underworld as well. As she explains to Ning’s mother, she wants to marry Ning primarily because his noble personality is putatively able to bring her great honor in the underworld. It is until then that Xiaoqian’s consciousness-raising is complete.

Women’s alliance can function as a subaltern public sphere of political significance where feminine power can be produced or brought back into view. As criticized by Nancy Fraser, Habermas’ account of public sphere as open and accessible to all is not unproblematic, at least in the patriarchal context, since while it is theoretically all-inclusive, it is exclusionary in actual practice. Nevertheless, rather than having equal access to a single all-inclusive public sphere which sounds utopian, Fraser embraces a more adequate model which consists of “multiple, interacting publics” in which not only the definition of what is public sphere is challenged, but what is or is not public and thus political issue is also necessary to be reconsidered. Therefore, besides the dominant public sphere, there can be subaltern counter-publics functioning as parallel discursive arenas “where subordinate groups can formulate counter-discourses about their interests and needs in opposition to those produced in dominant publics” (Canaday, 2003). Women’s alliance in the above two stories can be considered as one of those subaltern counter-publics whereby women’s counter-discourses are generated, and those issues that are traditionally viewed as belonging to private sphere are brought into view.

Although this subaltern public is much less privileged in the power hierarchy, the discourses produced and circulated in this sphere are consciousness-raising and agent-producing; they empower women to act as an agent, or with an awareness of being an autonomous agent. One important aspect of this subaltern public sphere is that it is by no means independent of the dominant public sphere; on the contrary, it derives its own power precisely from the dominant public sphere. In other words, its power is borrowed from and firmly held.
based on the dominant discourses, since it actually depends on the public power of patriarchy to counterattack the patriarchal law, and consequently to achieve their personal purpose. Although the discursive practice in this subaltern counter-public is derivative and thus secondary in comparison with the dominant discourses, it is not consequently passive. Its proactive quality lies in the fact that it is consciously redeploying the patriarchal discourses and transforming them into discourses that are feminine-benefiting with a clear awareness of women’s position in that patriarchal structure. It is in this light, and I would like to repeat Judith Butler’s argument, that we say if subversion is possible, it should be subversion from within the terms of the law, through the possibilities that emerge when the law turns against itself and spawns unexpected permutations of itself.

In some other metamorphosis stories, to redeploy the patriarchal discourse for a woman does not necessarily entail much sacrifice as having been made in the above two stories, sometimes it can be painless and sacrifice-free. Yingning is one of the supernatural females who successfully participates in the patriarchal construct and finds her own place therein through a much more enjoyable performance.

For many readers of LiaozhaiZhiyi, Yingning 婴宁 may be their favorite female character amongst all those supernatural females for her endearing innocence. However, her innocence is not that innocence of practical purpose in terms of her using this innocence as a masquerade to enter the human world. Knowing full well that in the dominant patriarchal discourse, ignorance is virtue for a woman (女子无才便是德). Yingning’s foster mother repeatedly emphasizes how Yingning is as innocent as an infant due to her lack of proper education when she intends to marry Yingning to WangZifu. And Yingning herself acts along quite adeptly by concealing her worldly-wise character in her innocent laughter and ignorant speech. Yingning’s ignorance is largely exhibited through her ignorance of Wang’s sexually suggestive language. When Wang meets Yingning in the garden on the second day of his stay in Yingning’s house, he shows her the flower she left on the street when they first saw each other. Yingning does not interpret this gesture as courtship, and asks why he keeps a withered flower which seems to her valueless. Wang replies that the reason he keeps it has nothing to do with this flower but has everything to do with its previous owner, the fact that it comes from Yingning can remind him of her, and then he adds how much he loves her and how much this love makes him suffer, physically and mentally. Yingning keeps misinterpreting Wang’s love for her as kinship (葭莩之情), since they were just told the day before that they are cousins. Wang emphasizes that his love for her is not familial love but love between a couple (夫妻之爱), and it turns out Yingning is ignorant of the difference between the two. When Wang explains that a couple ‘sleep in the same bed at night’ (夜共枕席耳), Yingning thinks for a while and says she is not used to sleeping with a stranger.

7 The notion that women’s virtue lies in their ignorance 女子无才便是德, as Chen Dongyuan studied in History of Chinese Women’s Life, first appears in late Ming, and the reasons he gives to this phenomenon are two-fold. First, Chen attributes the prevalence of this idea to the great influence of Xixiangji 西厢记 (The story of West Wing). In this drama, the initial reason for Cui Yingying losing her chastity is precisely because of the fact that she is well educated and thus is able to exchange poems with scholar Zhang which later lead to their secret love; thus by denying women’s learning, people expect to preclude the possibility of getting in touch with those seductive scholars. Another reason can be found in the social reality of that period. In late Ming, many courtesans are women who have excellent literary talent, thus people tend to easily link the literary talents of women with the identity of prostitute.
Later, Yingning tells her foster mother that Wang wants to sleep with her in the presence of Wang. Wang feels so embarrassed by Yingning’s forwardness and blames her for talking something that is not supposed to be said in public. Yingning is not convinced at all, arguing about what kind of things a daughter should hide from her mother; besides, sleeping is the most common human activity, and there is nothing to be ashamed of.

If Yingning’s ignorance is one desirable aspect of her femininity that attracts Wang, it is also the shining point that gets her accepted by Wang’s mother, who has been informed of her alien nature. Although her alien nature is rather disturbing, Yingning’s acted ignorance assures Wang’s mother of her harmlessness.

The author exposes Yingning’s performance of ignorance at the end of this story by referring to the salient transformation of her personality after their marriage. Very worried that Yingning may make their private life public, Wang is surprised that she never mentions their sexual life to anyone at all. One thing that can best reveal her performed innocence is her punishment of Wang’s neighbor for his lascivious behavior. As a matter of fact, what this neighbor has done to Yingning is exactly what Wang has done to her once before—staring at her longer than what is normally appropriate. However, instead of misinterpreting this intensive attention, this time she hints the man to meet her that night, and punishes him with her supernatural power by letting him having sex with a tree. As Pu Songling comments at the end of the story, “Judging from her innocent laughter, she can hardly be sophisticated, however the mischief at the wall exposes what a crafty creature she actually is. ……My Yingning is concealing herself in her laughter.”

Yingning’s performance of innocence is her redeployment of the patriarchal order based on her well-awareness of what kind of ‘feminine quality’ is constructed as harmless by that dominant discourse, by paying lip service to the rules running the world she has to or wants to live in, she successfully makes the most out of it.

TRANSFORMING THE PATRIARCHAL DISCOURSE

For other supernatural women, their attitude towards the patriarchal law is more radical. Rather than being knowingly complicit with men in this structure to make the most out of it, they go even further to change the patriarchal law which is supposed to privilege men into a constraint for men.

In the story Axia (Pu1992, p. 431), the male protagonist Jingxing learns his lesson the hard way. Axia, a non-human creature taking the form of a young lady successfully punishes Jing Xing by making him suffer from men’s own rules. At the beginning of the story, Axia quickly makes up her mind to marry Jing Xing because she predicts there is a bright prospect ahead of him after he passes the civil service examination. Then she asks for short leave to get permission from her parents to make their marriage legal. It is only in her absence that Jing Xing begins to realize he has been caught in a dilemma. There is no chance that the two of them could live here trouble-free since his staying in the present residence is only temporary because he is already married and has a wife waiting for him at

8 Yingning was born by a fox spirit but raised by an old ghost lady, and the Wang’s family is confused about whether she is a fox or a ghost.

9 “观其孜孜憨笑，似全无心肝者；而墙下恶作剧，其黠孰甚焉。……我婴宁殆隐于笑者也。” P155.
home; however it would be even more undesirable to take Axia home which would risk his wife’s jealousy. After scrupulous consideration, Jing Xing decides to divorce his wife before he gets married with Axia. Convinced that Axia is a better choice, Jing Xing is rather resolute in divorcing his wife, and refuses to change his mind when his wife begs for reconciliation. But unfortunately Axia never shows up.

One year later, Jing Xing the widower runs into Axia again only to find that Axia has been married to some other man. Furious at this news, he excoriates Axia for her infidelity. But Axia refuses to accept this accusation and insists the shame is on him. As she explains later, ‘Abandoning your wife is of no difference from abandoning me, if a man has no fidelity to his first wife, will he treat other women in any better fashion?’ Jing Xing is rendered speechless by Axia’s words, watching Axia leave, leaving him with endless regret.

The patriarchal notion of fidelity in this story is transformed into an alienated idea that goes against patriarchal power. In a patriarchal society like the late imperial China, discourse on fidelity is only on the part of women, as a cultural norm, it is used to discipline women, to check the feminine power. For men, however, the idea of fidelity can be rather strange, since it is forged to control, not to be controlled. Axia throws this alienated idea back to the patriarchal subject who actually is its producer, and as one of its victims, she knows well how to work it back on the oppressor.

First, as what is demanded of woman, Axia requires the fidelity of a man to a woman to be blind as well. If fidelity itself cannot be said as completely negative, blind fidelity cannot be any more negative. Women are taught to be loyal to any man who happens to be her husband, and any violation of this fidelity to this man is risking a catastrophic result. When this blind fidelity is applied to man, Axia expects the same effect. Therefore, when Jing Xing violates his fidelity to his original wife, this begets him no good. As a woman, Axia does not regard herself as ‘the one’, but as ‘one of the group’, thus her good sense of sisterhood nullifies Jing Xing’s sacrifice of divorcing another woman for this woman. Rather than being moved by his gesture, she feels offended by Jing Xing’s breach of his marriage contract, and does not hesitate to punish him relentlessly. She disillusions Jing Xing’s fantasy that something better is reserved for him if he gets rid of this one at first, and lets him wait in vain for more than one year without receiving any notice. And worse still, because of his abandonment of his wife, his promised official position has been repealed, thus he becomes more and more impoverished and has to beg for food among his relatives. Jing Xing remains wifeless until he is forty, and when he finally gets a new wife, it turns out he marries an ugly shrew.

Besides, Axia makes Jing Xing suffer not only through punishing him for his infidelity, but also through her own practice of fidelity. One reason that makes Axia no longer available to Jing Xing when they meet each other again, is that Axia at that time is somebody else’s wife, and she is supposed to remain loyal, thus only available to her present husband according to the idea of fidelity. This reason, although is just mentioned in passing, in fact outweighs Axia’s individual initiative on a profound level. If Axia’s personal insistence of punishing Jing Xing’s infidelity is something that still leaves room for negotiation, her adherence to fidelity is impeccable and all too well supported to be challenged in a soci-

10 “负夫人甚于负我！结发者如是，而况其他？” P432.
11 “我已归郑君，无劳复念”。 P432
ety which itself fabricates this idea and embraces it unflinchingly. Thus he lays a trap for himself. He may nullify women’s subjectivity, but he cannot and do not wish to nullify his own rule on which he lives. That is why after Axia’s speech, he is unable to come up with any word to respond. By playing a role of loyal wife endorsed by the patriarchal law, Axia successfully transforms the patriarchal discourse into its own prison, makes the law turn against itself. In this sense, Axia is an alliance with all the women in that society. However, their power is not generated from their marginalized feminine side, on the contrary, it is fueled by the very dominant patriarchal discourses; the untenable patriarchal discourse offers loopholes to be exploited, to be transformed by the heterogeneous power into its own enemy.

To a great degree, transforming of the patriarchal law, rather than self-generating discourses, is only generated and made thinkable in the first place by the prohibitive force of the dominant discourses and patriarchal law. As Judith Butler would argue, the law can never be totalizing but hegemonic and dominant; and the dominant patriarchal ways of understanding the world requires systemic repression of other possibilities that contain destabilizing elements to their dominance; thus these possibilities are constructed as marginal and outside, “possibilities which are socially forbidden”. (Alsop et al. 2002, p. 100) However, for Butler, it is precisely out of this negative construction, the effort made to render these possibilities unthinkable in the dominant norms that these possibilities are made thinkable. These socially forbidden discourses are what Foucault names ‘reverse discourse’ whose formation can contribute to resisting the dominant censure by which they are produced and to which they seek to subvert (Foucault 1978, p. 101). Therefore, the women’s alliance is made visible primarily because it has been constructed as a forbidden structure in the patriarchal context of Chinese society. The persistent effort in domesticating women, confining them as at once isolated being and object attached to their family, produces the desire for this alternative option of making alliance with other women, the homosocial desire between female, whereby the consciousness-raising and the redeployment of the patriarchal law become possible. While the women’s bondings function to facilitate these two processes, these two processes are not dependent on these bondings; the resistance that comes from individual woman, as we see in Yingning’s private experience, can be directly incited and made thinkable by the repression from the dominant discourses. To use Foucault’s term, where there is power, there is resistance; women’s resistance can be understood as a form of micro-power that is derived from the dominant power body, and exercised from the marginal. Nonetheless, the marginal is not somewhere outside the law, as a negative position that only women are eligible to occupy in Lacan’s theoretical framework; rather it is still inside the law, since it is erected by the law itself. Thus, following this logic comes the conclusion that the real subversive force still and can only reside within the patriarchal order. The law produces its own disruption and destabilization.

Here, the law is not understood as the symbolic order articulated in Lacanian sense, the only location whereby the world we live in can attain its intelligibility and anything outside is unintelligible, out of language; rather I prefer to use Butler’s interpretation of the law which is based firmly on her social constructionist view that there is no pre-discursive (pre-linguistic) original untainted by cultural construction; therefore, the law is absolutely not absolute, it is not the entity of cultural construction, but merely the dominant ideology within the cultural construction; and what is outside the law is not unintelligible, but constructed as marginal. Thus, the difference between Lacan and Butler is “what for Lacan is ‘unthinkable’ is for Butler unthinkable within dominant culture”. (Alsop et al., 2002, p100)
AGAINST THE GRAND NARRATIVE

If the redeployment of patriarchal discourse is a transformation of the masculine power underpinned by this discourse, the intrinsic power in women serves as a complementary element that facilitates women’s survival in a male-centered society. And this intrinsic power has been intensified in the form of supernatural women’s supernatural power.

One thing that constantly disturbs men is the discrepancy between men’s grand narrative over women and women’s own personal narrative. Constantly they find their efforts of stereotyping women are in vain. There exist two separate stories about women, one is written by and for men, and the other is inscribed in women. Against men’s grand narrative and stereotypes of women, women always have their own way of telling their stories. Their marginalized discourse, although muted for the most part, has not been completely deprived of power.13

However, women’s personal narrative cannot be completely separated from the grand narrative, on the contrary, the grand narrative is an integral part of this personal narrative, and it is precisely through assimilating the grand narrative into her own that a woman’s discourse gains dramatic force. For a large part of metamorphosis stories in LiaoziZhiyi, supernatural females successfully enter the human world and later make their impact there by means of fabricating a false story (or history) of herself, a story that is in accord with the grand narrative; then, in due course, they will take the man by surprise with apriate story.

In the story of Huapi 画皮 (Pu 1992, p. 124), the man-killer ghost easily disarms Wang with a well-designed scene that is intelligible within the terms of the grand discourse. Disguised as a young beautiful woman carrying her luggage, marching quickly but with difficulty on the road, such a debut makes the ghost an impression of a vulnerable subject which signifies no potential danger to approach. Wang follows this woman closely and is delighted to find out she has a pleasant face. When asked why she is walking alone, the ghost refuses to tell her story at first giving the reason that her trouble cannot be solved by a stranger. Acting the victim works well on Wang’s heroism, he insists to know her story byoffering a helping hand (卿何愁忧？或可效力，不辞也), and her following story is exquisitely fabricated to fall perfectly into the old grand narrative of woman. As she recounts,

13 One form of female power that is directly contradictory to the normative gender relations is exhibited in the image of jealous wife 妒妇 in Pu Songling’s LiaoziZhiyi among which the most famous are Ms. Yin in the story Ma Jiefu 马介甫, Ms. Ni in Zhang Cheng 张诫, Ms. Ruan in Xinshisiang 辛十四娘, Ms. Li in Yanwang 阎王, Jiangcheng in Jiangcheng 江城, Ms. Jin in Shaonu 少女, Ms. Wang in Lü Wubing 吕无病, the neighbor’s wife in Cui Meng 崔猛, Ms. Hou in Princess Yunluo 云萝公主, Ms. Shen and Zanggu in Shanhu 珊瑚, Ms. Liu in Ms. Duan 段氏, Ms. Zhao in Wangda 王大, Ms. Shen in Danan 大男, and Ms. Lang in Jinse 锦瑟. Although these jealous wives do pose some threat to the patriarchal order, they do not benefit much from being deviant from the traditional role of virtuous wife. Pu usually prepares rather miserable ends for these jealous wives and depicts them as evil women who do not deserve any better treatment but being severely punished. Another reason I don’t include this group of women in this article is because jealous wife gradually becomes another stereotype of women in the Ming and Qing periods, which make this category part of the grand narrative, especially in the late Ming and early Qing, the image of jealous wife emerges in literary texts and reaches its peak quantitatively compared with the previous texts. See Chen Shizhen 陈士珍 The image of jealous wife in the fiction of late Ming and early Qing and its influence to family 明末清初小说中的妒妇形象及其对家庭的影响, [D](Hebei Normal University, 2011), Feng Yuejuan 冯月娟 The jealous wife and shrew in the biji fiction of late Ming and early Qing 明末清初笔记小说中的妒妻悍妇 [D] (Xiamen University, 2007), Wang Ying 王英 The image of shrew in Ming Qing fiction and its cultural meaning 读明清小说中悍妇形象及其文化含蕴 [D] (South-central University for Nationalities, 2008)
her parents committed forced marriage on her in result of the tempting betrothal presents offered by her pursuer, therefore she was married to this man as his concubine. Unfortunately his wife is unbearably jealous and constantly abuses her; she has had it enough, and decides to run away. Obviously, the ghost deliberately sets her story in the framework of grand narrative of women in a male-centered society within which the logic of this story is produced and can be testified. Within this logic, a woman is more likely than not linked to a vulnerable and powerless role, her story is more credible if her role in it is a victim of some violence and injustice rather than a strong character, and her designed debut (the image of a woman marching alone on the road with her luggage) further enhances the credibility of her story. Wang buys this story without any hesitation, and offers his place for her to stay. Thus by telling a woman’s story in a patriarchally logical way, the ghost successfully gets herself assimilated into the human world which prefers an intelligible image of woman.

However, this intelligible image is too cramped to contain a satisfactory depiction of a full woman; there are edges that cannot be rubbed down, heterogeneities that cannot be assimilated. And a different story has just begun. A woman’s personal story is told in a different way. Most often than not, it is lived rather than told or written. In other words, a woman is a story; she lives as a story, a story unfinished, and a story to be continued with various possibilities. The uncertainty of her private story renders the grand narrative about her as futile and pale.

This grand narrative has not been challenged until one day Wang comes across a Taoist priest who is convinced that Wang must have been haunted by some evil spirit. Terrified by the priest’s words that if he fails to locate this haunting spirit and terminates his relationship with it, he would probably die, Wang begins to suspect the young woman he has picked up in the street who has been kept in his room since then. With such a suspicion in mind, Wang comes back to his room and only to find his room is locked from inside. Unable to get in, he peeks through the window, and sees a hideous ghost with protruding teeth. On the table is a full piece of human skin on which the ghost is wielding her pen. When finished, she puts this human skin on, and becomes a beautiful woman, the very woman Wang has been with so far. Terrified by this horrifying scene, Wang runs away immediately and searches for the Taoist priest to rescue his life from this ghost. The priest gives him a horsetail whisk, and let him hang it at his door to keep this ghost away. Unfortunately, the horsetail whisk given by the priest fails to scare the ghost away; she bursts open into his room, rips his chest open and takes away his heart.

The female’s personal narrative represented in this story is a radical disrespect for the grand narrative. Rather than a vulnerable and innocent concubine, she turns out to be a man-eating ghost, whose image and power is totally beyond men’s knowledge and control.

Normally, under masculine domination, the images of women are constituted and represented through the male-dominated grand narrative. The intrinsic strength of masculine domination, in Pierre Bourdieu’s view, lies in the fact that what women can resort to are merely “categories constructed from the point of view of the dominant” (Bourdieu 2001, p. 35), thus there is little hope that the dominated can possess their own point of view independent of the intervention of the dominant. Bourdieu has his own term to capture the alleged overwhelming force of this grand narrative which is ‘symbolic violence’. For Bourdieu, symbolic violence is instituted through a dilemma that the dominated have no way of escaping the dominant ideology, since the instruments to which they resort to make sense
of themselves, the outside world, and their relation with the outside world, are inevitably constructed by the dominant. In other worlds, women have no other option but to submit themselves to the masculine domination “when the schemes she applies in order to perceive and appreciate herself, or to perceive and appreciate the dominant (high/low, male/female, white/black, etc.) are the product of the embodiment of the—thereby naturalized—classifications of which her social being is the product.”14 Interpreted from this angle, women, as the dominated group, are internally trapped in the grand narrative of masculine domination, with little possibility of subversion.

However, as showed in the story above, things are not all negative. Being trapped in the grand narrative does not designate a passive destiny for women; rather this grand narrative offers a site on which women can build their subversive force, as the grand narrative can be transformed into powerful instruments by which women turn the masculine domination against men themselves. The ability to transform the grand narrative is women’s private narrative, a woman’s weapon men cannot control thoroughly, as this weapon gains its most formidable force from the dominant discourses men embrace. In this story, it is men’s own fabrication of myth of women, their grand narrative about women, that confines men’s imagination of women potential variation as an individual, it is the attempt to define women with a stereotype that is redeployed by women to counterattack the dominant ideology with their undefinable individual narrative.

Admittedly, not every woman’s personal narrative is equally destructive to the patriarchal order as depicted in this one, but it is safe to say every woman’s own story stands more or less a negation to the patriarchal grand discourse. It does not necessarily have revolutionary significance, but it naturally deviates from the track paved by the dominant group, it cannot be tracked down.

In the story of Hongyu (Pu 1992, p. 269), the fox spirit Hongyu introduces herself as the daughter of Xiangru’s 相如 neighbor when she first tries to approach Xiangru. While this fabricated identity fits her in the human world, it also unfortunately makes her secret relationship with a poor man accusable, as in the traditional view, the unacknowledged love affair is thought of as negative, destructive and unproductive to the man. Therefore, when their relationship is finally exposed, Xiangru’s father who represents the grand narrative of the patriarchal society severely reproaches both of them. For Xiangru, he is wrong because he is not supposed to be distracted from his study by some disgraceful romance, which if made public, will bring him bad reputation, and even if made known to nobody, will also make him suffer by shortening his life span (人知之，丧汝德；人不知，促汝寿); and for Hongyu, she is accusable for not behaving properly as an unmarried woman (不守闺戒). As indicated in this statement, in the dominant discourse, a woman involved into a relationship with a man without the consent from her and his family is inauspicious, she may corrupt the man’s ambition and beget misfortune.

However, Hongyu’s story refuses to follow the grand narrative assigned for her. She has

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14 Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine domination* (Stanford University Press, 2001). p35. Bourdieu doubts that women can exert real power over male domination, as he prescribes in this book, “women can exercise some degree of power only by turning the strength of the strong against them or by accepting the need to efface themselves and, in any case, to deny a power that they can only exercise vicariously.” Thus their weapons are quite weak, and can contribute nothing to women’s liberation but to confirm the dominant representation of women as “maleficent beings.” P32.
her own way to prove the invalidity of the prevalent speech.

After being reproached by Xiangru’s father, Hongyu decides to terminate their illegal relationship and find him a legal wife instead. Thus she encourages Xiangru to propose to Miss Wei, a perfect match she selects for him, and offers him enough money as the betrothal presents. Everything goes well with this new couple, in accordance with the authentic rituals as required by social norms, their marriage seems to be blissful and promising. Wei proves to be a virtuous wife, docile and willing to take care of all the housework, and most importantly, she successfully brings this family a son. However, before long, it turns out this legal marriage is by no means more auspicious than an illegal romance.

Wei’s beauty invites an unwanted admirer Mr. Song. Knowing that Xiangru is in a very poor condition, Song wishes to persuade him to sell his wife for money. Although irritated by Song’s arrogance, Xiangru dares not manifest his anger in front of Song; yet when he reports this to his father, the old man intrudes into Song’s house and swears at Song’s family furiously. Song takes his revenge very soon by sending several hatchet men to Xiangru’s house to beat Xiangru and his father. This is a fatal blow to Xiangru’s family, Xiangru’s father is severely injured and dies later, his wife cannot bear the insult and commits suicide, Xiangru tries to revenge his father by lodging an appeal, but fails. Since then, he lives in despair with his son.

Therefore, the legal wife entrusted with the whole family’s destiny fails to bring this family any good fortune as once expected, and it turns out to be Hongyu, the illegal lover, who saves this family. The death of Xiangru’s father and wife is finally avenged by a mysterious chivalrous man who kills Song and other four people in Song’s family, however, Xiangru is held as responsible for this murder as the mysterious man cannot be tracked. Xiangru ends up in jail and worse still, his only son is taken away and abandoned on the road by the Song family. Although thoroughly tortured in jail, Xiangru is exempted from the death penalty thanks to some mysterious power that intimidates the magistrate out of Xiangru’s case.

As the only one left in his family, Xiangru lives in grave misery until one day, Hongyu comes back with his son and her real identity. She confesses that she is a fox spirit, and she adopted his son after he was put into jail. They resume their illegal relationship, and far from destructive, their illegal relationship runs this new established family effectively.

The stark contrast between Wei and Hongyu renders the grand narrative about women invalid, women refuse to be stereotyped, refuse to play within the roles assigned to them. They always possess full potential of subverting to that assignment. As Beauvoir says, “there is no figurative image of woman which does not call up at once its opposite” (Beauvoir 1953, p. 201). A virtuous wife does not promise a better life, though an illegal lover, even a monster, may be harmless.

The ambivalence and elusiveness of women may also account for the gender asymmetry in Pu Songling’s metamorphosis stories. The fact that most of the metamorphic figures in LiaozhaiZhiyi are female can be attributed to men’s confusion about woman’s uncertainty. In man’s eyes, woman, as the other, whose existence is foreign albeit close to them, she stands for everything that he is incapable of grasping with his own experience. Her life is too multidimensional and contradictory to be exhausted in one stable figure, thus she has to reside in a combination of different species and different spaces. The transboundary ability bestowed to these supernatural women is no more than an incarnation of men’s disquiet
about women’s mystery.

To some extent the whole metamorphosis narrative in *LiaozhaiZhiyi* can be viewed as an allegory of women’s intractability. While supernatural females can be interpreted as “the creatures of a male power-fantasy” (Said1978), they inevitably expose the anxiety in that fantasy and thus the paleness of the grand narrative. Generally speaking, most tension of the metamorphosis narrative derives from the striking contrast between the eligible and acceptable role (according to the grand narrative) played by the supernatural female and the role she actually is. This frequently repeated scene is the main site where women’s private story contradicts with the grand narrative and renders the latter invalid.

In the story Xiaocui 小翠 (Pu 1992, pp. 997-1005), the fox spirit Xiaocui first fits her story into the grand narrative by a fabricated identity; under the camouflage of the daughter of a single mother who desperately needs to marry her daughter for money, Xiaocui successfully dispels the suspicion why she has to marry a mentally disabled husband. Her private narrative begins long before the moment she reveals her true identity, which was right after their marriage. Rather than playing the role of a traditional wife, she likes to play around with her husband (dressing her husband up as a woman, playing the role of Yuji虞姬 while dressing her husband as Xiang Yu 项羽, playing Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 and letting her husband play the role of Attila, playing a trick on her father-in-law’s enemy Wang by dressing up as the ministry of revenue 吏部尚书, and dressing her husband as the emperor). Xiaocui’s unconventional behaviors convince her family that she is a jinx 祸水, and will sooner or later bring this family down. However the truth is quite the opposite, as Xiaocui confesses later, she married this family in order to reciprocate an unintentional help from her father-in-law received by her mother. A similar plot can be found in the story Chang’e嫦娥 (Pu 1992, pp. 1071-80). In this story both ZongZimei’s 宗子美 wife Chang’e and concubine Diandang 颠当 are supernatural females (his wife is an immortal who has been descended to the human world for her misdeed, and his concubine is a fox spirit from the West Hill). However they fit themselves into human world by playing the traditional women’s role in the grand narrative. Like Xiaocui, they both fancy role play. Chang’e once impersonated the dancing Zhao Feiyan 赵飞燕 and the drunk Yang Yuhuan 杨玉环, and her lifelike performance successfully impresses Zong who is thrilled to find out that by marrying one woman he married thousands of different women (吾得一美人, 而千古之美人, 皆在床闼矣!). Diandang also jokingly impersonates Budhisattva’s maidservant by treating Chang’e as the Budhisattva when Chang’e is meditating. In addition, Diandang even impersonates Chang’e herself to please Zong when Chang’e refuses to have sex with Zong.

While all these impersonations make women’s role hard to be captured within the scope of grand narrative, it also makes the grand narrative seem more plausible. All these impersonations can be interpreted as the second camouflage which renders the first camouflage (the traditional role of wife and concubine) natural and real; to use Jean Baudrillard’s term, their simulation secures the originality of the simulacrum which actually contains no reality either (Baudrillard 1994). Thus the secondary performance adds reality to the primary

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15 Zhao Feiyan and Yang Yuhuan represent the two stereotypes of women’s beauty in ancient China. Zhao is favored by the emperor for her slender waist and Yang is adored for her plumpness (环肥燕瘦). The dancing scene of Zhao and the drinking scene of Yang are two frequently repeated scenes in the literary texts and other performing arts in China, which are believed to capture their beauty to its full potential.
performance in this story, which further confirms the simulacrum and parody nature of the grand narrative. In this sense, the role play can be read as supernatural female’s strategy which facilitates their being accepted into the grand narrative in the first place, and makes their future violation of that narrative possible. Admittedly, these two stories only constitute two exceptions in Pu’s metamorphosis narrative in which most of the supernatural females only play a one-layer performance, and some do not even bother to play any traditional roles but prefer to directly shock her human partner; however, their designed supernatural nature is the mark of their private story that contradicts with the grand narrative, and this mark carries the intrinsic subversive force.

Women’s potential of subverting the grand narrative can be further confirmed with reference to Foucault’s interpretation of power. For Foucault, power exists not as an absolute force, but in terms of power relations. Therefore, power, in Foucauldian sense, is both positive and productive, carrying with a capillary quality which operates at the lowest extremities of society in everyday social practices. Understanding of this sort would further facilitate an understanding of resistance in terms of challenging patriarchal discourses at a micro level. The dominant discourse may produce the dominant power at one particular moment, yet cannot cancel the potential power from those marginalized discourses. Such a pluralistic and localised conception of power indicates that Foucault deems determination as polymorphous rather than unilinear. Therefore, men’s control over women has never been absolute or thorough; there were always existing possibilities for women’s self-salvation.

In Confucian discourses, men tended to represent women as a disturbing element. A popular belief seldom questioned in this dominant discourse was that women, born with the polluting power as the abject, inherently possess the potential to do harm to men’s privileged order, thus women should always be kept under control, and one of the most convenient ways is to cancel her independence and subjectivity. By denying her autonomy over herself, cutting off her association with the outside world, men always had women under their supervision. Historically, this supervision was a life-long project. In her natal family, she is submissive to her father, in marriage, her husband becomes her leader, and after the death of her husband, she is supervised by her son. As an attachment or property of the male, women were not allowed, or at least not encouraged, to develop their own social relations without the permission of their male supervisors, even within the family. In this way, women were not only forbidden entry into the patriarchal power system exhibited as various male bondings, but also isolated from any kind of female bondings that may pose a threat to male bondings. In other words, not only were the male-female relationship dominated by the male power, but the female bondings, were also regulated by the male power.

Men’s attempt to isolate women both from the male-dominated society and the female bondings might be a convincing testimony of masculine power privileged by the patriarchal society. Nevertheless, it also betrays a deep fear inscribed in men’s confidence, a fear of feminine power. As Julia Kristeva puts it, “One of them, the masculine, apparently victorious, confesses through its very relentlessness against the other, the feminine, that it is threatened by an asymmetrical, irrational, wily, uncontrollable power.”(Kristeva1982) The relentless surveillance and regulation over women is not only the result of men treating women as the vulnerable group, it is also generated from a profound fear of their monitored subject.

That fear does not come from nowhere. As the metamorphosis stories analyzed above
indicate, for the patriarchal laws, there always exists a threat posed by either an individual woman or women’s bondings in which women’s force has been awakened and enhanced. Under the repression of masculine power, women’s force is exhibited in the way that in their resistance to the order they have to live in so far, they are able to survive without sacrificing their subjectivity, and submit to that order without losing their potentials of subversion.

CONCLUSION

A man’s relationship to a woman can be diversified, although stereotyped, even in a rigorous patriarchal society. In front of a woman, man assumes the position as her master, her protector, her owner, her partner, or even her slave. But none of these are transparent, since as one part of this relationship, woman is in an eternal tension between her own mysterious world and the real world she lives in, and it is just in a space somewhere between these two realms, she manages to find her balance, near or far, her ever-changing stance refuses her being captured by man. As Simone de Beauvoir puts in The Second Sex, ‘Under whatever aspect we may consider her, it is this ambivalence that strikes us first.’(Beauvoir 1953, p.163) To be a woman, is ‘something so strange, so confused, so complicated, that no one predicate comes near expressing it and the multiple predicates that one would like to use are so contradictory that only a woman could put up with it.’10 Hélène Cixous also beautifully captures the elusive quality of women in ‘The laugh of the Medusa’, and I would like to cite the whole sentence as a brief conclusion:

she comes in, comes-in-between herself me and you, between the other me where one is always infinitely more than one and more than me, without the fear of ever reaching a limit; she thrills in our becoming. And we’ll keep on becoming!17

REFERENCE


16 Kierkegaard in Stages on the Road of Life, quoted in The Second Sex, p.163.
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A New Biography of Qian Zhongshu: Re-evaluation of His Cultural Significance for Contemporary China

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Arguably the most erudite and versatile man of letters in modern China, Qian Zhongshu devoted his energy and talent to exploring the “mutual illumination” between Chinese and Western literary studies, poetics, and aesthetics. The drastic vicissitudes of twentieth-century China never swayed his fondness for learning while his creative output in classical studies, comparative literature, fiction writing, and translation has rendered his name virtually peerless in modern China. Whereas nowadays, his works seem to have become a heap of musty old books, it is here argued that Qian Zhongshu’s intellectual legacy deserves more scholarly attention due to its newly-acquired significance for the realities of the contemporary Chinese society.

Keywords: Qian Zhongshu, comparative literature, biography, cultural significance, contemporary China

LIFE AND CAREER OF QIAN ZHONGSHU: A SHORT BIOGRAPHY

It is appropriate to assume that no student of Chinese literary theory, Chinese intellectual history, or sinology could ignore the influence of Qián Zhōngshū 钱锺书, whose erudition and versatility have brought him wide recognition as a major representative scholar, writer, literary critic, and polyglot translator in modern China. Born into a family with a scholarly tradition in Wuxi, Jiangsu Province, on 21 November 1910, Qian received rigorous training in traditional learning from a very early age under the tutelage of his father Qián Jībó 钱基博, a famous historian and educator who worked as a professor at a number of then-renowned universities including Saint John’s University in Shanghai 圣约翰大学, the National Tsinghua University in Beijing, and the war-displaced National Normal College in Western Hunan 国立师范学院 (today’s Hunan Normal University in Changsha, Hunan Province).

When Qian was one year old, his father decided to give him a formal name by following a custom of lot-drawing. Thus Qian was left alone in a room with a display of deliberately selected items. To the joyful surprise of his father, the one-year-old grabbed at a book; hence his name Zhōngshū 钟书, meaning “fondness for books.” (Tang 2005, p. 34) As the first son of the family, Qian was given to his sonless elder uncle for adoption, which was a custom [of son-sharing within close kin] not uncommon before 1949. Qian spent a carefree childhood under the loving care and tutoring of his uncle until the latter’s death in 1919. When Qian was brought back to his parents’ home, his father found him to be quite

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naughty and loquacious. So he gave his son a new courtesy name, Mòcún 默存, an allusion to The Classic of Changes\(^2\) meaning “to retain a measure of reticence,” and proceeded with a more sophisticated and systematic training in traditional learning. It was during this period that Qian’s prodigious memory and precocious literary talent began to stand out to the surprise of his learned elders.

While a pupil at a local primary school, Qian expanded his interest to Western fiction by voraciously reading Lin Shū’s 林纾 translations. His father, though a traditional Confucian scholar himself, had a vision for modern liberal education, and sent Qian to middle schools in Suzhou and Wuxi run by US Episcopalians. Qian thus became a member of the privileged group of his time that received an English language education at a very young age. The five-year-old training at the missionary schools not only enabled Qian to read British and US literatures in their original languages, but also facilitated his later command of other Western languages such as French, German, Latin, Greek, Spanish, and Italian (Lanciotti 1998, 48 (3/4), p. 447). In 1929, Qian Zhongshu enrolled in the Department of Western Languages and Literatures at Tsinghua University. Rumor had it then that Qian got a “zero” for mathematics in the matriculation exams (but the other version, supported also by his wife, was that Qian got “15” out of “100”) (Tang 2005, pp. 63, 67; Zhang 1993, p. 15). This, however, was never confirmed to be true, but what is certain is that a decision about his admission was specially made on the basis of his exceptional performance on the exams in Chinese and English. Qian was quite a legendary personage at Tsinghua, not only for his language and literary talent or extensive reading, but more often for the fact that he always received top grades in final exams even though he had buried himself in unrelated books the whole semester. (Tang 2005, pp. 80–81) Even the renowned Tsinghua Professor Wú Mì 吴宓 thought highly of Qian’s academic potential and exalted him to be a young opposite number of Chén Yínquè 陈寅恪, a great scholar known at that time as “the Professor of Professors.” (Zhang 1993, p. 17) At Tsinghua, Qian met his wife, Yáng Jiàng 杨绛, who entered Tsinghua three years after him and was to become a noted playwright herself. In 1935, after being awarded a Boxer Indemnity Scholarship, Qian married Yang Jiang in his Wuxi hometown, and in the same year they went together to the University of Oxford. The year of 1937 was a miserable one for China, as it was the year when Japan started its all-out military aggression. For the young couple, Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang, however, that was an auspicious year full of happiness; Qian not only had their only child Qián Yuán 钱媛, but also became one of the very first Chinese to receive the Bachelor of Letters degree from Oxford, with a thesis entitled Chinese in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. (Egan 1998, p. 3; Hu 1977, p. 4) Driven by a strong passion for learning and having declined a position as reader offered by Oxford, Qian accompanied his wife to the University of Paris to further their studies of French literature. After a brief one-year stay, however, they made a hard decision to discontinue their studies, returning instead to a China ravaged by Japanese military aggression in 1938.

\(^2\) The Classic of Changes 易 经, or I-Ching, is a sophisticated book widely applied in divination. Qian Zhongshu’s courtesy name Mocun 默存 comes from the line “默而成知, 不言而信, 存乎德行”, which advises one to be reticent and faithful so that his words will bring no trouble to himself.

\(^3\) Lin Shu (1852—1924) was a highly productive translator in modern China who rendered a big number of English or French novels into literary Chinese and thus played a very important role in modern China’s literary evolution.
In the same year of their return, Qian was hired as a professor of Western languages and literatures of Tsinghua University, which, because of the all-out war, was relocated to Kunming in the southwestern Yunnan Province to become part of the famous ad hoc National Southwestern Associated University (Xīnán liǎn dà 西南联大). Qian migrated the next year to another ad hoc university, the National Normal College (Guólì shǐfān xuéyuàn 国立师范学院, today’s Hunan Normal University) in Hunan Province, to join his aged father, and worked as head of its English department. Interestingly, it was during this vagrant and war-ridden period that Qian started to author his famous literary-theoretical work *On the Art of Poetry* (Tányì lù 谈艺录) and his only full-length novel *Fortress Besieged* (Wéichéng 围城). In a trip to Shanghai in the summer of 1941, however, Qian became stranded because of Japanese occupation of the city when the Pacific War broke out. Having no chance of returning to Hunan, Qian managed to secure a job in Shanghai. He first taught at the Aurora Women’s College (震旦女子大学) in Shanghai’s French concession for a couple of years and then transferred to the more famous Jinan University (Jīnán dàxué 景南大学), then in Shanghai but later relocated to Guangzhou) in 1946, working concurrently as the chief compiler of the National Central Library in Nanking and the chief editor of its English quarterly publication, *Philobiblon* 书林季刊. During this period in Shanghai and Nanking, Qian published his collection of short essays, *Written in the Margins of Life* 写在人生边上, and a collection of short stories, *Human, Beast, and Ghost* 人 兽 鬼. He also published a number of influential academic papers in English and French in the quarterly journal *Philobiblon*. In 1948, on the eve of the founding of the People’s Republic, Qian chose to remain in the mainland, declining an offer of professorship by the National Taiwan University and a position of dean at the University of Hong Kong (Tang 2005, p. 256).

With China entering a whole new era, Qian’s life and career became much more stable, except for the chaotic period of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). He worked successively as a professor of foreign languages at Tsinghua University, and as a researcher in classical Chinese literature at Peking University, until the establishment of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) in 1955, which appointed him a full-time researcher and a senior member overseeing its section of philosophy and social sciences. From 1976, when the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) was established on the basis of this section of CAS, Qian worked successively as a researcher and its vice president (Tian, Ma & Chen 1997, p. 19). As careful analysts may find out, between the years 1950 and 1956, Qian Zhongshu seemed to disappear and to be academically unproductive. (Tian, Ma & Chen 1997, p. 14; Zhang 1993, p. 216) The only work of solid scholarship close to this period was the *Annotated Selection of Sung Poetry* 宋诗选注 published in 1958. The fact, however, as revealed by later research on him, was that he joined a committee of elite scholars responsible for translating into English the voluminous *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* 毛泽东选集, which was first published by the British publishing company Lawrence & Wishart in 1954. In 1960, he was once again enlisted in the work of polishing and finalizing the English versions of Mao’s poems. But this work was severely distracted by the Cultural Revolution and was not finished until the end of 1974. There is now reason to

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4 Qian Zhongshu became the vice president of the CASS in 1982 at the age of 72. According to authors of Qian’s biographies such as Zhang Wenjiang, that was an honorary title so that Qian could represent the CASS and China’s arts circles in international communication.
believe that Qian’s part in this committee contributed greatly to the success of the English version of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* and *Mao Tse-tung Poems* 毛泽东诗词, in terms of the literariness and quality of the translations. (Zhang 1993, pp. 91-92) The candor, the scholarly humor and pride that Qian might have exhibited during his participation in such a sensitive and protracted mission, however, must also have sown the seeds of his persecution during the Cultural Revolution. (Egan 1998, p. 7; Tang 2005, p. 287) In 1966, the beginning year of the Revolution, Qian was declared a “capitalist academic authority” and was publicly denounced and humiliated. In 1969, he was sent as the first dispatch to the notorious “May Seventh Cadres School” 五七干校 for “reform through labor.” His wife Yang Jiang followed the second year. Qian spent three years at this labor camp, during which time his health deteriorated rapidly and his son-in-law committed suicide at home after being the victim of false charges. Even during such difficult years, however, Qian persisted with academic research. His masterpiece, the 1.3 million-word *Guǎnzhuī biān* 管锥编 or *Limited Views: Essays on Ideas and Letters* (hereafter *Limited Views*), was basically completed during this period through collecting, recollecting, and working on his important reading notes accumulated over many years.

When the Cultural Revolution was over, Qian was already an elderly man. Although he became vice president of the CASS in 1982, served as editor for journals and advisor for associations, and was elected to the standing committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), he did not make any new major academic or creative breakthroughs for the remainder of his life. It was also during this period, however, that Qian Zhongshu became a real Chinese household name as well as an important cultural symbol of twentieth-century China (Tang 2005, pp. 327–348). His *Fortress Besieged* was translated into many foreign languages, including English, French, Japanese, German, and Russian (Egan 1998, p. 2), and his esoteric magnum opuses, *Limited Views* and *On the Art of Poetry*, have since attracted increasing scholarly attention, particularly from top-level researchers in Chinese-Western comparative literature, Chinese poetics, and sinology. It is also worth mentioning that Qian Zhongshu’s visits to Italy, the United States, and Japan from 1978 to 1980 spurred no modest waves of international interest. (Tang 2005, pp. 301–321) The world seemed suddenly curious about this “China man,” both as a scholar and as a phenomenon. The world could not believe that an elderly man from China, which had practically isolated itself in political movements for three decades, could make witty and eloquent speeches in refined British English, quote copiously in Latin, French, or Italian originals, and discuss with facility the most delicate issues to do with ideas and letters. (Lanciotti 1998, Vol. 48 (3/4), p. 478; Egan 1998, p. 9)

Qian Zhongshu died in Beijing on 19 December 1998. The French President Jacques Chirac expressed his deep condolences five days later, followed by the British Culture Secretary Chris Smith. (Tang 2005, p. 366) Media coverage in France, Great Britain, Japan, Australia, the United States, and so on, echoed the grief amongst the Chinese intelligentsia: Qian’s death marked the end of an era for an extraordinary generation of Chinese
A GENUINE HEART FOR GREAT LEARNING

Just as John Milton (1608–1674) wrote, “The childhood shows the man, as morning shows the day.” Qian Zhongshu’s whole lifetime was foreshadowed in his early temperament as well as implied by his most-used names: “Zhongshu,” meaning “fondness for books,” and “Mocun,” meaning “a measure of reticence.” Apart from the numerous biographical descriptions about Qian’s prodigious memory and precocious literary sensitivity, his wife Yang Jiang shared an interesting family anecdote. (Tang 2005, p. 36) When Qian was only four or five, still adopted son of his doting uncle, he was somehow allowed to follow his own interest in reading Ming-Qing middlebrow fiction about heroes and warriors. When the family gathered at evening time, he would often show off his mastery of the tales by telling the adults what he had read, gesticulating with his hands and feet when it came to fierce fights. What’s more amazing, however, was the small boy’s unusual imagination and critical intuition. For example, he would come up with his own riddle as to why one prominent hero could only be a hero within the covers of one specific book. He would then justify this by arguing that the mighty hero in the Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Sān-guó yǎnyì, 三国演义), GuānYŭ 关羽, whose “Green Dragon Crescent Blade” (Qīnglóng yǎnyuè dāo 青龙偃月刀) weighed forty kilograms, would have been no hero at all had he entered the Heroes of the Tang Dynasty (Shuōtáng yǎnyì quánzhuàn 说唐演义全传), where Lĭ Yuánbā’s 李元霸 pair of hammers weighed 400 kilograms; and, by the same token, Li Yuanba would be a sheer nobody should he enter the myth fiction Journey to the West (Xīyóu jì 西游记), where the Monkey King’s “golden cudgel” (Jīngū bàng 金箍棒) could grow to a horrifying weight of more than 6,000 kilograms.

Compared with his liking for middlebrow fiction, however, Qian was far better versed in Chinese literary and philosophical classics and poetry of all periods. As a teenager, his classical knowledge was already surprising, if not surpassing, many of his father’s peers and acquaintances. By the age of twenty, he was already ghostwriting a number of sophisticated articles for his father, including a preface to the renowned scholar Qián Mù’s 钱穆 Essentials of Sinology (Guóxué gàilùn 国学概论). (Tang 2005, pp. 47–48; Egan 1998, p. 3) Then, after years of further tempering and refining at Tsinghua and Oxford, Qian’s unparalleled attainment in Chinese classics and poetry found best expression in his three major academic works, namely, On the Art of Poetry, Limited Views, and Annotated Selection of Sung Poetry. Not only were all of them written in elegant classical Chinese, but more importantly they manifested how freely Qian could let his mind travel among authors, works, and ideas of both ancient and modern times, and how readily and fittingly he could make them serve his argument. To apply Qian’s own sentence (in his academic article “The Return of the Native”) to himself, his “wit is an intellectual power, which, like ‘a nimble spaniel,’ pounces quickly upon resemblances in dissimilar things.” (Qian 2005,

6 Upon Qian’s passing, Yu Yingshi 余英时 commented “[H]is decease marked the ending of Chinese classical culture together with the 20th century” (他的逝世象征了中国古典文化和20世纪同时终结) and Wang Yuanhua 王元化 also pointed out that “Qian’s passing means the end of a whole generation of men of letters which emerged since the early 20th century” (钱锺书去世，意味着20世纪初涌现出来的那一代学人的终结).

7 A famous line by John Milton in his long poem Paradise Regained.
From another perspective, however, it might also be because of this that Qian’s works, particularly his *Limited Views*, have remained so far forbidding to most students and scholars even from the same research field.

While very highly accomplished in classical Chinese, Qian’s English was also highly acclaimed by his contemporaries. When still a student at Tsinghua, he already worked part-time as the English editor and a regular contributor to the *Tsinghua Weekly Magazine* (*Qīnghuá zhōukān*, 华周刊). During his time at Oxford from 1935 to 1937, his language competence was further sharpened through extensive reading of English, European, and US novels, which eventually shaped his idiosyncratic style featuring a combination of wit, humility, pedantry, satire, and allusion. One may get a glimpse of this style from an English speech he gave as the chairman of his class:

> . . . and I was, to my infinite shame, a mere roi fainéant. I, therefore beg to tender to our classmates in general my sincerest apologies and to these officers in particular my heartfelt gratitude. I cannot be too thankful for your indulgence towards me, but the very fact that I was successively unsuccessful in calling up meetings shows plainly, as goes the common parlance, “where I stand.” (Qian, 2005, p. 414)

Equally revealing of such a style was the end of the speech, where he pledged, “I remain, ladies and gentlemen, your obedient though undutiful servant, Ch’ien Chung-shu,” (Qian, 2005, p. 414), which is obviously a parody of Samuel Johnson’s complimentary close in his “Letter to Lord Chesterfield.”

Qian Zhongshu’s major scholarly achievement at Oxford was his Bachelor of Letters thesis, *China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, which was an exhaustive study of references of China scattered into English literature for two hundred years and analyses of their effect and implications. This thesis could well be a PhD thesis with distinction even by today’s strict standards. After Qian returned to China, he continued to write and publish in English. Most of these articles went to the authoritative quarterly journal *Philobiblon* in the 1940s, and are still treasured by Chinese students of language and literature today.

Like the typical Confucian scholar who “only elaborates but not creates” (*Shù ěr bù zuò* 述而不作), Qian Zhongshu’s primary interest was in reading and interpreting what he had read. His turn to fiction writing happened quite by chance, although he handled it in a masterly fashion. According to an article in memory of him by Zhèng Cháozōng 郑朝宗, Qian’s friend and a famous “Qian Studies” scholar, Qian decided to write fiction toward the end of the war with Japan, when all of a sudden he lamented that, even though he had read and commented on novels for almost half a lifetime, without writing his own, he might “not even be a match for Somerset Maugham.” (Tian, Ma & Chen 1997, pp. 47–48) Thus, he first tried his hand at short stories, which were later collected into *Human, Beast, and Ghost*, and then he started to write *Fortress Besieged*, a “comic odyssey with a continuous picaresque action” (Hsia 1961, p. 441) that C. T. Hsia believed to be “the most delightful and carefully wrought in modern Chinese literature.” (Hsia 1961, p. 442) Alluding to the

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8 It is written at the end of Samuel Johnson’s Letter to Lord Chesterfield that “[…] I once boast myself with so much exultation, my lord, your lordship’s most humble, most obedient servant, Sam. Johnson.”

9 This Confucianist maxim was articulated in *The Analects* as: “述而不作，信而好古.”
French saying about “forteresse assiégée,” where people outside want to rush in while people inside want to get out, this novel satirizes the foppishness and vanity of a coterie of overseas returnees with their romantic entanglements and psychological dilemma in an estranged homeland. Since its first publication in book form in 1947 (the novel began partial serialization in the Chinese magazine *Renaissance* in 1946), *Fortress Besieged* has been translated into many foreign languages. Its adaptation into a television drama on the Chinese mainland in 1990 has made it an enduring bestseller and one of the best-known modern novels in China.

Self-depreciating and retiring, though endowed with unworldly spirit and talent, Qian Zhongshu has lived out the true meanings of his two names. His life went through weal and woe and his devotion to learning always persisted, from his childhood haunts in Wuxi to the research libraries of Oxford, from the missionary schools in Shanghai to the shabby schoolhouses in Western Hunan, from the cow sheds of labor camps to his tiny studio in Beijing. Throughout Qian’s lifetime, there has been, admittedly, no shortage of criticism accusing him of being supercilious, unsociable, or not worldly-wise enough (Tian, Ma & Chen 1997, pp. 69–70). But his genuine heart for great learning, together with his superior scholarly achievements, has made him truly “[contemporary] China’s foremost man of letters.” (Egan, 1998, p. 1)

IN PURSUIT OF MUTUAL ILLUMINATION ACROSS NATIONAL LITERATURES

Qian Zhongshu’s contribution to literary studies after 1949 was mainly reflected in his pursuit of mutual illumination across national literatures. Canadian “Qian Studies” scholar Christopher Rea rightly commented that, “Widely read in modern and classical Chinese, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Latin, Qian pioneered a new model of comparative literature that drew out resonances in cross-cultural patterns of figurative language” (Rea, 2010). In his speech delivered to the “26th Conference of Chinese Studies” in 1978 and his opening address to the “First Sino-American Symposium on Comparative Literature” in 1983, Qian spelled out explicitly his research orientation as seeking for the “mutual illumination” (Qian, 2005, p. 403–408) or “concordia discors” (Qian, 2005, p. 417) across national literatures and cultures.

Qian’s magnum opus *Limited Views* is the best indication of such an orientation. Qian displayed, in this book, his extraordinary ability to invoke rich literary associations across the borders of language, space, and time. After reading this book, one will realize that Qian’s wit works more nimbly than any “nimble spaniel.” According to the research by Ronald Egan, the well-known American “Qian Studies” scholar and the translator of selected portions of this book:

> The erudition and breath of reading evidenced by the sources Qian cites in Limited Views, is nothing short of astounding. The Western sources

11 Qian Zhongshu explained this idea in his essay The Mutual Illumination of Italian and Chinese Literature.
12 Qian Zhongshu expressed this pursuit in the Opening Address to the First Sino-American Symposium on Comparative Literature.
alone—Greek, Latin, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and English (cited in the original language, accompanied usually by a Chinese paraphrase)—number approximately two thousand. This number, in turn, is dwarfed by that of the Chinese sources Qian cites, which must be seven times as large. Given that any particular source is typically cited more than once, with some furnishing dozens of references sprinkled through Qian’s essays, the total number of citations in Limited Views must run close to a hundred thousand, if not more. For example, in a two-and-a-half page entry on the motif of disliking what one sees in the mirror, apart from references to Ovid, Virgil, Boccaccio, and Hegel (Phänomenologie des Geistes), one finds citations of Corneille (La Place royale), Giacomo Leopardi (Zibaldone), Torquato Tasso (Aminta), Oscar Wilde (The Portrait of Dorian Gray), and The Letters of W. B. Yeats. The Chinese sources are similarly far-ranging. (Egan, 1998, p. 16)

While perhaps no one could challenge the wisdom in such a research strategy or the breadth and depth of his knowledge, Qian’s approach to achieving “mutual illumination,” in terms of research methodology, still leaves much room for aspiring scholars to build on. For example, with such vast materials and admirable critical faculty readily at his disposal, Qian did not delve deeper into the cultural and philosophical qualities underlying the resonance and heterogeneity between Chinese and Western literatures, and formulate his own theoretical framework. This, again, however, must have been caused by the Confucian doctrine of elaboration but not creation. Secondly, although guided by the principle of mutual illumination, Qian’s primary interest was invariably placed on the Chinese side. His extensive evocations of Western ideas and sources were primarily intended to lend strength to his interpretations of the Chinese classics and poetry. This has resulted in two side effects barring a more effective reception of his works: on the one hand, focusing on the Chinese side and writing in high classical Chinese have made it more difficult for them to influence a wider Western readership, while, on the other hand, the copious associations and citations of Western sources have rendered his works unfathomable for the majority of Chinese readers. Nevertheless, for both cases, it is not the author, Qian Zhongshu, who is to blame.

THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE: QIAN’S SPIRITUAL LEGACY FOR TODAY’S CHINA

Unlike some other Chinese scholars of his time, Qian Zhongshu never once voiced his love for his country or his people, even though patriotism was very much valued in China, particularly so after 1949. Instead of words and speech, Qian expressed this peculiar Chinese sentiment through his consistent action, and, in a more detached way, he transformed it into his love for the great Chinese tradition. In 1938, he decided to give up a possible academic career in a relatively safer Europe to return to the war-ridden China. We may still feel a vague sentiment of nostalgia in the “Prefatory Note” to his thesis China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries:

Years so pleasant to recall, and yet so curiously remote: for the War, while
most efficiently shortening human lives, gives one also a specious feeling of longevity, the feeling of having lived very long from being made to outlive a good deal in a short while. I only regret now with a wisdom after the event that I had done but niggardly justice to those years in not spending them to some better purpose. (Qian, 2005, pp. 82–83)

Around the year 1949, Qian was faced with a similar choice: whether to remain in mainland China, where the future would be full of uncertainty for a scholar like him, or to head overseas, where a stable life and career could be reasonably expected. Again, Qian chose to stay in his native land. Even though the consequence of this decision was that his academic life would be seriously affected by the ten-year Cultural Revolution and largely occupied by irrelevant obligations, Qian never once blamed his personal misfortune on that decision, nor did he blame it on China. When commenting on Qian’s “stubborn devotion to China” (Huters 1999, Vol. 11(1), p. 193), the American “Qian Studies” scholar Theodore Huters made the following remark:

Had he left home, he [Qian Zhongshu] certainly would have become celebrated in Western academic circles for his amazing command of world literary scholarship; he would also have been able to command the most important academic posts in Western sinology for the asking. (Huters 1999, Vol. 11(1), p. 193)

In a sense, Qian’s return to his native land in person is secondary to a return in soul and in spirit at the metaphysical level. By choosing to return to the native land in person, Qian might actually already have determined to rejuvenate an ancient Chinese literary tradition and to bring it back to a problematic modern world. This transition in Qian Zhongshu’s philosophy must have happened after prolonged periods of deep immersion in both Chinese and Western ideas and letters, and, furthermore, it must have been this transition in mind that accounted for his decision to return to, and remain in, his native land. Based on this understanding, we may now have even more reason to believe that Qian’s way and style of writing and researching might just be his silent attitude toward the frenzied political movements (later frenzied material desires) of his time or, in other words, his call for “the return of the native.”

Qian Zhongshu himself must have been very conscious of this turn; he must also have been the most mindful of the problems of his time and of the need for a literary and cultural solution. But because of his “fondness for books” and his “measure of reticence,” he would not say it out bluntly. So he tucked it away in a discussion about “home” in his article, “The Return of the Native,” through the mouths of William Wordsworth and an anonymous Chinese nun. For today’s Chinese who are turning their eyes to anything foreign but laying waste the garden of their own tradition, the following quotation from this article of Qian’s might hold all the answers:

13 The Return of the Native is an English essay which Qian published in the Philobiblon in 1947. It is also the title of Thomas Hardy’s sixth published novel. It is here argued that Qian Zhongshu employed this title to express his wishes for the return of the native Chinese literary and cultural tradition in the face of Western intellectual dominance.
An English poet [William Wordsworth] might say:
“Our destiny, our being’s heart and home,
Is with infinitude, and only there.”
But the first remark that suggests itself to a Chinese mystic would be that
the home is not there, but here. Witness the following allegorical poem by
a Zenist nun:
All day long I looked vainly for a sign of Spring,
My grass shoes raising clouds from the dust of all fields.
Returning home, I smilingly pick a plum-blossom and sniff it,
And lo! here on the sprig is Spring in its fullness.¹⁴ (Qian, 2005, p. 364)

尽日寻春不见春，
芒鞋踏遍陇头云。    
归来笑拈梅花嗅，
春在枝头已十分。 (Luo, 1983, p. 346)

REFERENCE

Beijing: Wenhua Press.
New York: Columbia University Press.
Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.

¹⁴ This is Qian Zhongshu’s own rendering of the poem by the anonymous nun. Its original version in Chinese is also provided.


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Prospectus of “Confucius China Studies Plan”

In order to foster a deeper understanding of China and the Chinese culture among young generations from around the world, to enable the prosperous growth of China studies, to promote the sustainable development of Confucius Institutes, and to enhance the friendly relationship between China and the people of other countries, the Confucius Institute Headquarters has set up the “Confucius China Studies Program”. The Program consists of six subprograms in the academic areas of Humanities and Social Sciences, namely Joint Ph.D. Fellowship, Ph.D. in China Fellowship, “Understanding China” Fellowship, Young Leaders Fellowship, International Conference Grant and Publication Grant.

Applicants for Sino-Foreign Joint Ph.D. Subprogram and Ph.D. in China Subprogram should submit their applications to the Confucius Institute Headquarters by the end of February each year. Applicants shall log in http://ccsp.chinese.cn, set up an individual account, consult the university information and research topics, fill in the online application information, upload the relevant certification materials, submit and print out the Application Form. Please send the signed Application Form and other application materials (see About CCSP) to the Confucius Institute Headquarters and Chinese university (including the Chinese versions). The Headquarters will organize the “Confucius China Studies Program” Expert Committee to conduct the appraisal and interview. The result of appraisal will be announced in the spring each year. The Ph.D. candidates will start their programs from the autumn each year. The starting and termination time of other five subprograms will be determined in accordance to their specific situations.

Currently there are fourteen universities appointed by Hanban to receive applications of the program and Xiamen University ranked number one last year in terms of the number of successful applicants admitted. Xiamen University was founded in 1921 by the well-known patriotic overseas Chinese leader Tan Kah Kee, the first university in China to be founded by an overseas Chinese. Xiamen University has a strong team of academic and administrative staffs, making it possible to provide a full range of educational programs. It is a key comprehensive research university directly affiliated to the Ministry of Education of China, a first-class university with extensive international influence and is ranked in the top 20 of the over 2,000 universities and colleges in China. Xiamen University’s campuses lie on either side of Xiamen Bay, opposite the Taiwan Strait, between the feet of green hills and the blue sea, and are recognized as one of the most beautiful campuses in the world. Dean’s College of the Confucius Institute Headquarter will be established in Xiamen University in the next few years, which will set up a model in training leaders of Confucius Institutes all over the world. Qualified doctoral students supervisors in the Overseas Education College of Xiamen University are Professor Tongtao Zheng, Professor Huanhai Fang, Professor Daqun Chang, and Professor Yu Zhu. Detailed information about these supervisors and supervisors from other colleges can be found on the Hanban website http://www.cnconfucius.com or on the college’s website http://oec.xmu.edu.cn/website.aspx?website_id=164&website_class=2

Overseas Education College of Xiamen University look forward to seeing you in the near future!
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Email: osao@xmu.edu.cn      Web: http://ice.xmu.edu.cn

Add.: 422 South Siming Road, Xiamen, Fujian Province, China  Postcode:  361005

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<td>Joint Ph.D. Fellowship</td>
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<td>From 6 months to 2 years</td>
<td>Lodging and living stipend (80,000 RMB per year); Research fund (20,000 RMB per year); Round-trip international airfare; Tuition fees; Expenses for the foreign supervisor’s visit or research in China; Expenses for life and medical insurances in China; Group activities and cultural experience.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Ph.D. in China Fellowship</td>
<td>foreign students to pursue full-time Ph.D. degrees in the humanities and social sciences at Chinese universities</td>
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<td>Lodging and living stipend (80,000 RMB per year); Research fund (20,000 RMB per year); Round-trip international airfare; Tuition fees; Expenses for life and medical insurances in China; Group activities and cultural experience.</td>
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<td>“Understanding China”-Fellowship Visiting Scholar to China</td>
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<td>From 2 weeks to 6 months</td>
<td>10,000 RMB per month; Round-trip international airfare; Expenses for life and medical insurances in China.</td>
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<td>From 2 weeks to 2 months</td>
<td>Accommodation and travel expenses in China; Round-trip international airfare; Expenses for life and medical insurances in China.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>“Understanding China”-Chinese Visiting Scholar</td>
<td>Chinese senior scholars to give credit courses on Chinese economics, business, finance, law, and culture etc. in foreign universities and Confucius Institutes</td>
<td>From 6 to 12 months</td>
<td>Scholars will be paid according to the standard of Government-sponsored teachers; Extra research grant will be given to the scholar when needed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Young Leaders Fellowship</td>
<td>outstanding youths with at least a Bachelor’s Degree hold a certain position in politics, economics, finance, law, education, culture, arts, and media; senior undergraduates or graduates with a position in students’ associations</td>
<td>From 2 weeks to 6 months</td>
<td>Accommodation and travel expenses in China; Round-trip international airfare; Expenses for life and medical insurances in China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>International Conference Grant</td>
<td>Confucius Institutes, universities, research institutes, and scholars to hold or attend international academic conferences on Sinology and/or China Studies</td>
<td></td>
<td>The accommodation and travel expenses of conference speakers; Registration fees; Publication fees of conference proceedings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Publication Grant</td>
<td>foreign scholars to publish or translate relevant monographs, doctoral dissertations, or founding relevant academic journals on Sinology and/or China Studies.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Expenses for editing, translation, publication, circulation and advertising. The exact expenses will be approved according to the application.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Long-term Chinese Program

Overseas Education College, Xiamen University
Xiamen City, Fujian Province, China

Duration: at least 1 semester, about 20 class hours per week, 18 weeks per semester
Spring Semester: February/March to July
Fall Semester: September to the next January

Credit Hours: students can choose courses of their own levels according to results of placement interview and/or test, their needs, and suggestions of OEC office. The maximum is 24 credit hours per semester.

Extracurricular Activities: free campus tour, all kinds of gala evenings organized by the OEC every semester, Chinese language competitions, field and track sports competitions, and football matches. Visit to historic cultural spots, Marathon and so on are self-paid.
Certificates Awarded: Certificate of Completion issued by Overseas Education College of Xiamen University

Qualification to Apply:
1. Healthy foreigners over 18 years old
2. High school diploma or above

Time for Application:
1. Spring Semester: October to the middle of January the next year
2. Fall Semester: March to the end of July
The exact deadlines are published on our website at http://oec.xmu.edu.cn

Documents Needed for Application:
a) application form (downloadable at http://oec.xmu.edu.cn/file/Applc.doc)
b) a photocopy of the passport
c) certificate for highest education

Way of Application:
Simply complete the application form (downloadable at http://oec.xmu.edu.cn/file/Applc.doc) and email to us (oec@xmu.edu.cn).

Fees:
a) Enrolment Fees: 400RMB (for new students only)
b) Tuition Fees: 8000RMB per semester
c) Textbook costs: About 300RMB/semester/person (depends on the courses you choose).
# A Summary of Chinese Programs

*Overseas Education College, Xiamen University, China*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Programs</th>
<th>Opening Time</th>
<th>Requirements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Face-to-Face Teaching</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Term Chinese (less than 1 semester)</td>
<td>Eight-week Basic Chinese Class</td>
<td>Early May, 8 Weeks</td>
<td>Over 18 years old, (nearly) zero-level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Four-week Oral Chinese Class</td>
<td>Early July, 4 Weeks</td>
<td>Over 18 years old with basic Chinese oral skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Four-week China Study Program</td>
<td>Early July, 4 Weeks</td>
<td>Over 18 years old with basic Chinese oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Class for Groups</td>
<td>Flexible</td>
<td>Over 15 students of similar Chinese level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>China Study Program for Groups</td>
<td>Flexible</td>
<td>Over 15 students of similar Chinese level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Teacher Training</td>
<td>Flexible</td>
<td>Over 15 students of similar Chinese level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Term Chinese</td>
<td>Regular Long Term Chinese</td>
<td>Spring &amp; Fall Semesters</td>
<td>Over 18 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate Chinese (4 years or 2+2)</td>
<td>(1) Business Chinese</td>
<td>Fall Semester, 4 Years or 2+2 Years</td>
<td>High school graduates or above; Students with HSK 6 certificate can join the third year directly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Chinese Culture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate Chinese Language and Literature (3 years)</td>
<td>(1) Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language</td>
<td></td>
<td>B.A. degree or two years after junior college graduation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Comparative Study of Chinese and Foreign Languages and Cultures</td>
<td>Fall Semester, 3 Years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) Chinese Culture and Communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>MTCSOL (2 years)</td>
<td>Master of Teaching Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages</td>
<td>Fall Semester, 2 Years</td>
<td>B.A. degree or two years after junior college graduation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral Degree (3 years)</td>
<td>Doctor of Chinese Education to Speakers of Other Languages</td>
<td>Fall Semester, 3 Years</td>
<td>Master degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distance Learning</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate Chinese (correspondence)</td>
<td>(1) Chinese Language and Literature</td>
<td>5 Years</td>
<td>High school graduates or above; fluent Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Chinese Language and Literature (for teaching)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate Chinese (on-line)</td>
<td>(1) Chinese Language and Literature</td>
<td>3 to 5 Years</td>
<td>High school graduates or above; fluent Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Chinese Language and Literature (for teaching)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Tel:** +86-592-2186211, 2182451, 2187728  **Fax:** +86-592-2093346  
**Website:** http://oec.xmu.edu.cn
**Email:** oec@xmu.edu.cn  
**MSN:** xmuoec@hotmail.com
CALL FOR PAPERS

The Quarterly Journal of Chinese Studies (i.e., former Journal of Chinese Studies, ISSN: 2224-2716), recently indexed by the EBSCOhost™ database system and ProQuest™ database system to improve its visibility, is an international peer-reviewed academic journal (in English) which is edited by the Overseas Education College of Xiamen University in China. It publishes articles and reviews on a full gamut of Chinese studies which include but are not limited to Chinese language education, Chinese linguistics, Chinese culture, Chinese literature, Chinese arts, Chinese history, Chinese society, Chinese politics and economy. It intends to promote research and provide an interface for scholarly communications and discussions in the fields.

All submitted articles should be original and are subjected to blind peer review and to the discretion of the editors. As a benefit, authors and co-authors will receive two free copies of the issue including the printed manuscript.

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

All submissions should be saved as Microsoft Word files and emailed to jcs@xmu.edu.cn

Papers
The length of each paper is expected to be in the range of 6,000–10,000 words. The text should be typed in 12-point Times New Roman font on A4 paper, and double-spaced.

The title should be on the first page followed by an abstract around 200 words together with 3 to 5 keywords. The second page should list author name(s), title(s), brief biographical data, institutional and email address(es), and indicate the corresponding author.

The wording of the text and bibliographic reference should be in the APA style.

Reviews
Reviews can be in the range of 1,000-6,000 words. Contributors should follow the guidelines for papers.

Editorial correspondence
Queries may be directed to Yu Zhu (Ph.D.), the executive editor at jcs@xmu.edu.cn