





# Italian Association for Chinese Studies

## Selected Papers | 4

*Edited by Attilio Andreini and Federica Passi*

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Edited by Attilio Andreini and Federica Passi

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## Preface

The fourth volume in the *Selected Papers* series of the Italian Association of Chinese Studies (Associazione Italiana di Studi Cinesi, AISC) includes some of the papers presented at the 17th Biennial Conference held in Venice from September 5-7, 2019. The year was significant because it marked the 40th anniversary of the founding of AISC in Rome in 1979. The choice of Venice as the venue for the conference was linked to this anniversary: the AISC's legal office has been located in Venice since the beginning, at the Giorgio Cini Foundation on the island of San Giorgio. Forty years is a long life for an academic association, especially given how Chinese studies in Italy and the relationship between the two countries have changed. Therefore, we have taken the opportunity of the publication of this volume to briefly review the history of our Association and offer younger AISC members and interested readers some insights into its development. In doing so, we hope to contribute to a better understanding of Chinese studies in Italy over the past four decades.

The AISC was founded in Rome on January 15, 1979, as evidenced by the notarial deed in the appendix to this volume. The founding members were five scholars from universities that offered courses on China: Lionello Lanciotti (1925–2015), the doyen of post-World War II Italian sinology, who was the first professor of Chinese language and literature at Ca' Foscari University in Venice (from 1966 to 1979), then professor of Chinese philology at L'Orientale University of Naples until 1997; and four professors who were, at various times, his students: Piero Corradini (1933–2006) from the University of Macerata (who later became professor of far eastern history at La Sapienza University in Rome); Annamaria Palermo (1943–2017) and Maurizia Sacchetti (1940–) from L'Orientale University of Naples, and Mario Sabattini (1944–2017) from Ca' Foscari University.

The birth of the Association marked a step change in academic research on China in Italy. A few years previously, in 1975 (when relations between the European Community and the People's Republic of China officially began), the European Association of Chinese Studies (Association européenne d'études chinoises) was founded, and Professor Lanciotti was a member of the board of directors. Other sinological associations sprung up around the same time, for example, in the United Kingdom (1976) and France (1980). There was a need to systematically

promote academic research on Chinese culture in Europe when the rapprochement between Western European countries and the People's Republic of China was already a given economically, culturally, and even politically. The reopening of diplomatic relations with Beijing in 1970 offered new opportunities for student and teacher exchanges between Chinese and Italian universities.

After the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 and the launching of Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms in December 1978 (a few weeks before the founding of the AISC), the need to equip Italian society with the ability to understand and interact with China became more urgent—though only a minority could see this. In fact, sinological studies and cultural exchanges between Italy and China were already well in place. In the post-World War II period, Chinese language and culture were taught at the “Istituto Orientale di Napoli” (Oriental Institute in Naples, later named L'Orientale University of Naples) and “La Sapienza” University in Rome, as well as at the “Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente” (Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East, ISMEO); these institutions would be followed by courses in Chinese language and culture at Ca' Foscari University in Venice in 1966. A few China experts were active in other Italian universities. The “Associazione per l'amicizia fra Italia e Cina” (the Association for Friendship between Italy and China), politically connoted as pro-Maoist, had been founded in the early 1960s, and managed much of the tourism (which was primarily but not exclusively politically motivated) with the People's Republic of China. The “Istituto Italo-Cinese” (Italo-Chinese Institute) in Milan, which was dedicated principally to promoting business relations but also to spreading knowledge about contemporary China, was established in 1972. But from its inception, the AISC wanted to be something else, and this remains the case. It represented the first Italian attempt to define and establish the study of Chinese civilization in Italian universities as a distinct field of research, emphasizing its multidisciplinary nature and the need to acquire the necessary linguistic skills. As a scientific body, the Association is a place for discussion and dialogue between those who are professionally engaged in Chinese studies. Article 4 of the AISC statute makes clear that “The Association is created to promote and foster, by all means, scientific activities related to the study of China and its civilization. The Association will not engage in any political activity.” Independence is guaranteed because, as a nonprofit organisation, the AISC depends solely on its members' dues.

The AISC founders were the scholars who constituted the first board of directors. They imprinted the idea of the Association as being a gathering place for the sinological community, which was spread across a small number of institutions. The account book for the early years states that there were forty-two paying members in 1979. In the following year, the number fell to thirty-three. Scrolling through the names, one finds scholars who, in the decades to come, would promote the study of Chinese philology, history, literature, art, and religion through their research and teaching. The Association is also in contact with Italian institutions in China, such as the Italian Embassy in Beijing, and some foreign sinologists. In 1980, it joined the European Association of Chinese Studies. In 1980, the AISC donated Lit 500,000 to the Belice earthquake victims.



The growth of the AISC in the early 1980s was evidenced by a steady increase in membership. The first *Annuario* (Yearbook) was published in 1984, when the Association had fifty-five members, each of whom were forwarded a questionnaire designed to gather information about their activities; around forty responded. The yearbook was the first bibliography of late-1970s and early-1980s Chinese studies in Italy. It also marked the first step towards a systematic effort by AISC to highlight modern Italian sinology, which culminated in 1988 with the publication of the *Italian Sinological Bibliography 1959 -1987* (edited by Giovanni Vitiello). In 2007, the Association supported the publication of a more complete bibliography of Chinese studies in Italy (*China in Italy, a Bibliography From 1899 to 1999*), edited by Francesco D'Arelli. In the meantime, the number of members had increased steadily, and the Association now counts more than two hundred and twenty associates.

The biennial conferences began in 1985 and became the centerpiece of the Association's activities. At the beginning of the 1990s, the board of directors decided to publish the proceedings. The result was fourteen volumes containing most of the Italian papers presented. Among the authors are the names of well-known sinologists and young researchers, attesting to the activities of AISC members from 1993 to 2019. The first ten volumes bear the title of each conference theme. From 2011, the conferences were organized with no specific theme so that participants could present their research without limitation, as the titles of the final four proceedings indicate.

*Intellettuali e potere in Cina. Atti del Convegno AISC (Venezia 5–6 aprile 1990)*, edited by Mario Sabattini. Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 1993.

*Le fonti per lo studio della civiltà cinese. Atti del Convegno AISC (Napoli 24–25 novembre 1993)*, edited by Maurizio Scarpari. Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 1995.

*Conoscenza e interpretazione della civiltà cinese. Atti del V Convegno AISC (Roma 23–25 maggio 1996)*, edited by Piero Corradini. Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 1997.

*Cina: miti e realtà. Atti del VI Convegno AISC (Venezia 21–23 maggio 1998)*, edited by Alfredo Cadonna and Franco Gatti. Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 2001.

*Tradizione e innovazione nella civiltà cinese. Atti del VII Convegno AISC (Milano 30 settembre–2 ottobre 1999)*, edited by Clara Bulfoni. Milano: Franco Angeli, 2002.

*L'invenzione della Cina. Atti dell'VIII Convegno AISC (Lecce 26–28 aprile 2001)*, edited by Giusi Tamburello. Galatina: Congedo editore, 2004.

*La Cina e l'Altro. Atti del IX Convegno AISC (Capri, 14–16 ottobre 2003)*, edited by Annamaria Palermo. Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" – Il Torcoliere, 2007.

*Percorsi della civiltà cinese fra passato e presente. Atti del X Convegno AISC (Venezia 10–12 marzo 2005)*, edited by Guido Samarani and Laura De Giorgi. Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 2007.

*La Cina e il mondo. Atti dell'XI Convegno AISC (Roma 22–24 febbraio 2007)*, edited by Paolo De Troia. Roma: Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2010.

*Cina. La centralità ritrovata. Atti del XII Convegno AISC* (Cagliari, 17–18 settembre 2009), edited by Francesca Congiu, Barbara Onnis, and Cristina Pinna. Cagliari: AIPSA Edizioni, 2012.

*Atti del XIII Convegno AISC* (Milano 22–24 settembre 2011), edited by Clara Bulfoni and Silvia Pozzi. Milano: Franco Angeli, 2014.

*Atti del XIV Convegno AISC* (Procida 19–21 settembre 2013), edited by Paola Paderni. Napoli: Il Torcoliere, 2014.

*Atti del XV Convegno AISC* (Macerata 24–26 settembre 2015), edited by Tommaso Pellin and Giorgio Trentin. Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 2017.

*Atti del XVI Convegno AISC* (Milano 21–23 settembre 2017), edited by Elisa Giunipero and Chiara Piccinini. Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 2019.

The 2013 AISC General Assembly voted to launch a different type of publication following the biennial conferences, namely a collection of papers written in English and selected through a double-blind review by international referees. In the beginning, *AISC Selected Papers* was an additional publication, but it has now replaced the traditional proceedings.

Italian Association for Chinese Studies, *Selected Papers 1*, edited by Paola Paderni. Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 2016.

Italian Association for Chinese Studies, *Selected Papers 2*, edited by Tommaso Pellin and Giorgio Trentin. Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 2018.

Italian Association for Chinese Studies, *Selected Papers 3*, edited by Chiara Piccinini and Elisa Giunipero. Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 2020.

As with the previous volumes in the series, the latest one not only offers an overview of Italian research on China and the Sinophone world (including linguistics, literature, history, and art, and addressing both imperial and contemporary periods) but also bears witness to its vitality and promise.

Venice, Summer 2022

*Attilio Andreini, Laura De Giorgi, Federica Passi*

VICTORIA ALMONTE

INVESTIGATION ON SOME ANIMALS AS MENTIONED  
BY ZHOU QUFEI IN THE *LINGWAI DAIDA* (1178):  
THE PERCEPTION OF EXOTIC FEATURES

*Introduction*

The purpose of this essay is to survey and examine references to two animals as presented in Zhou Qufei 周去非 (1133-1189)'s geographical work, *Lingwai Daida*, 岭外代答 (*Notes from the Lands beyond the Passes*, hereafter *LWDD*): the *huyang* 胡羊, a kind of sheep/goat, and the *tianma* 天馬, literally "heavenly horse". I have compared Zhou's terminology and descriptions with primary Chinese texts dating from the Han dynasty to the early years of the seventeenth century. I am most interested in identifying animal-related vocabulary and imagery, especially in cases where metaphor and/or symbolism is employed. The *LWDD*, written by imperial official Zhou Qufei during the Southern Song, *Nan Song* 南宋 (1127-1279) dynasty in 1178, can be associated with the *lishi dili* 歷史地理 literature, that is to say, historical geography work.<sup>1</sup> The *LWDD* is based on both original data (often second-hand information) and knowledge drawn from earlier sources.<sup>2</sup> Zhou Qufei, indeed, did not travel abroad and had probably never seen many of the animals he described. This is the reason why many of the passages mentioning animals in the *LWDD* (and in other ancient Chinese texts) are permeated with an aura of mystery and myth and reflect the author's taste for exoticism. So, it is essential to bear in mind that when Zhou and other ancient Chinese writers mention an animal not native to China, they may not always be talking about that animal *per se*. Finally, you must always remember that the writers and readers of ancient China did not command the same knowledge of animals as the well-informed modern reader, nor would they make the same kinds of associations when they encountered terms indicating some animals in a literary or historical text.

This paper should be inserted into a wider research field, related to the study of Chinese geographical knowledge during the Tang 唐 (618-907) and the Song 宋 (960-1279) dynasties, and to the investigation of the way in which contacts be-

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<sup>1</sup> Ptak, "Images", 51.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion on Zhou's sources see Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, 7, Almonte, *Lingwai Daida*, 38.

tween Chinese and non-Han people have led to an outstanding growth of the Chinese knowledge.<sup>3</sup>

The *LWDD* is divided into 10 volumes (*juan* 卷), 21 chapters (*men* 門) on various topics, organized into 294 sections (*tiao* 条).<sup>4</sup> The ninth volume contains the seventeenth chapter, entitled “Qinshou men” 禽獸門 (*Birds and Beasts*), it is one of the longest chapters of the work, since it includes 38 sections focused on as many animals.<sup>5</sup> In addition, we should bear in mind that throughout his work, Zhou mentions numerous terms linked to strange, foreign and animals which were quite unknown in China. In some cases, especially in the sections on the Foreign Countries (*Waiguo men shang* 外國門上 and *Waiguo men xia* 外國門下), Zhou provides a fairly accurate description of these animals. This choice demonstrates that Zhou’s knowledge of animals often depends on his geographical knowledge: the wider his geographical knowledge of the country he describes, the more detailed the description of the animals. It follows that in some cases, the further away the country he describes, the more exotic and the more mysterious the descriptions of the animals become. For example, the descriptions of the *luotuohe* 駱駝鶴 (literally camel - crane)<sup>6</sup> and of the *dapeng* 大鵬 (giant bird) in the section on Kunlun Cengqi country (Kunlun Cengqiguo 崑崙層期國), or *huyang* 胡羊 (a kind of goat or sheep) in the section on Mulanpi country (Mulanpiguo 木蘭皮國), all reflect a certain number of unconventional elements and undoubtedly deserve more investigation. Due to page restrictions, I will not discuss all the animal entries of *LWDD* one by one. In this preliminary work, I have chosen two animals with distinctive and unconventional characteristics, and thanks to certain descriptive elements stand out as the strangest and most exotic. Below, two descriptions will be presented and discussed at some length: 1) *huyang* 胡羊: a kind of sheep/goat, 2) *tianma* 天馬: the celestial horse.

In this article a diachronic approach has been used, along with a cross-cultural perspective, in order to analyze the development and evolution of a word through

<sup>3</sup> Schottenhammer, “Guangzhou”, 155–172.

<sup>4</sup> For a more accurate overview on *LWDD*’s content apparatus and structure see Almonte, *Lingwai Daida*, 58.

<sup>5</sup> The section entitled *Qinshou* 禽獸 (*Bird and Beasts*) contained 38 entries, as follows: 1. Xiang 象, 2. Hu 虎, 3. Tianma 天馬, 4. Manma 蠻馬, 5. Guoxiama 果下馬, 6. Manquan 蠻犬, 7. Yuan 猿, 8. Bailu 白鹿, 9. Wei 雉, 10. Renxiong 人熊, 11. Shanzhu 山猪, 12. Huayang 花羊, 13. Mianyang 綿羊, 14. Dali 大狸, 15. Fengli 風狸, 16. Yangshu 仰鼠, 17. Xiangshu 香鼠, 18. Shishu 石鼠, 19. Shexiang 麝香, 20. Lanfu 懶婦, 21. Shanta 山獺, 22. Shanfenghuang 山鳳凰, 23. Kongque 孔雀, 24. Yingwu 鸚鵡, 25. Wufeng 烏鳳, 26. Qinjiliao 秦吉了, 27. Feicui 翡翠, 28. Yan 鴈, 29. Lingwu 靈鷲, 30. Guzao 骨噪, 31. Zhen 鳩, 32. Chunzhong 春虫, 33. Chunzi 鶉子, 34. Douji 鬪雞, 35. Changmingji 長鳴雞, 36. Chaoji 潮雞, 37. Zhenji 枕雞, 38. Fanmaoji 翻毛雞.

<sup>6</sup> I do not deal with this animal in the present article. For references see Almonte, “The Arab influence”, 82. Here I dealt with some remarkable aspects that demonstrate how Zhou Qufei was influenced by the Arab geographical concept during the ancient times. See also Ptak, *Birds and Beast*, 38.

Chinese history and at the same time, in some cases, to compare its usage and meaning in other languages. This kind of study of a word (related to the animal field) can help scholars to better identify territories and to achieve a thorough geographical knowledge.<sup>7</sup> Few systematic researches have been carried out (Masini 1993, Bocci 2010, Ptak, 2011, Bocci and Ptak 2016, Sterckx 2018),<sup>8</sup> with few references to late middle Chinese. This gap of knowledge, together with my interest in ancient geographical works, led me to look into Chinese sources and, where possible, to check the influence of other languages over terms for animals not native to China.

### 1. *Huyang* 胡羊

Zhou mentions this animal three times in his work: the first time in section 41 when he talks about the country of Mulanpi 木蘭皮國 (northwestern coast of Africa), the second in section 87 (*Yongzhou Hengshangzhai bo Yichang* 邕州橫山寨博易場, Market in the village of Hengshangzhai), the third when describing the sheep *mianyang* 綿羊 (section 217).<sup>9</sup>

Zhou informs the readers that:

Mulanpi inhabitants raise very tall goats, with a (long) fan-like tail. In the spring, they usually open their stomachs to obtain the lard, (which is extracted) in abundance, about 10 *jin*, then they sew (their stomachs) up again and (the goats) continue to live. If their fat were not removed, they would swell up and die.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Although this is not the right place in which to discuss this topic, I believe that this kind of research could not fail to consider the investigation on animal terminology also from another perspective (other than the philological aspect): the cross-linguistic study of loanwords. In this context, we should take into consideration that according to Haspelmath, the animal field represents one of the most suitable semantic fields for linguistic loans (Haspelmath and Tadmor, *Loanwords* 109). He also states that: 1) lexical items are more likely to be borrowed than grammatical items (Moravcsik, “Reduplicative Constructions”, 297-334) 2) nouns (such as animal names) are borrowed more than any other grammatical form (Myers-Scotton *Contact Linguistics*, 202.) due to their greater referential power (Van Hout and Muysken, “Modeling Lexical Borrowability”, 39-62); 3) high-frequency items (known as basic vocabulary or core vocabulary) are resistant to other types of language change (Haspelmath, *Language Typology*, 20). The question arises as to why it is important to study the translations of the names of foreign animals for a language. Other systematic cross-linguistic study of loanwords, as that yielded by Brown for 292 Native American languages (Brown 1999) or the *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary* compiled by Tyron (Tyron 1995), highlighted that terms for animals tend to show greater loan scores compared to any other word.

<sup>8</sup> For bibliographical details see the bibliography of this article.

<sup>9</sup> Throughout the whole article I used the Chinese version edited by Yang Wuquan, 杨武泉, *Lingwai Daida jiaozhu* 岭外代答校注, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1999. See Yang, pp. 106 (section 41), 193 (section 87) and 359 (section 217).

<sup>10</sup> The Chinese extract reads as follows: 產胡羊高數尺，尾大如扇，春剖腹取脂數十斤，再縫而活，

The second occurrence of the term *huyang* in Zhou's work is in the chapter "Caiji men" 財計門 (Wealth), section 87 where Zhou describe how Chinese and foreign merchants were involved in the trade of some local products in the outpost of Hengshan, a strategic point for commercial exchange between Han people and the ethnic minorities of the southwestern territories.<sup>11</sup> The first two phrases of the section 87 read as follows:

The barbarian horses bring musk (in the Song territory), the sheep *huyang*, the chicken *changming*, coarse felt, Yunnan swords and all kinds of medicine.<sup>12</sup>

The third mention of the term *huyang* in the *LWDD* is in section 217, when Zhou compares the *mianyang* (*Capra angorensis* or Angora Goat),<sup>13</sup> raised in the Yongzhou territory<sup>14</sup> and in other barbarian countries, with the northern *huyang*.<sup>15</sup> He says that:

There is no difference between these two kinds of goat. Their fur may have two different colors: black and white. And it is like flock silk from the cocoon. Their coat is used to make felt, that surpasses the one made in the north.<sup>16</sup>

What we know from these few lines is that the *huyang* originated from barbarian countries, in particular from the country of Mulanpi (northwestern coast of Africa) and were bought at the Hengshan outpost. The Yongzhou *mianyang* does not differ

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不取則羊以肥死。 See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, 106. For the English translation see Almonte, *Lingwai Daida*, 153. It is quite interesting to note that Zhao Rukuo's description (in 1225) mainly quoted Zhou's description of section 41, regarding Mulanpi country.

<sup>11</sup> On the relevance of the outpost of Hengshan as a strategic place for trading, see Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, pp. 186-192 (scroll 5).

<sup>12</sup> The Chinese extract: 蠻馬之來，他貨亦至。蠻之所齋，麝香，胡羊，長鳴鷄，披氈，雲南刀及諸藥物。 See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, 193. The English translation is mine. Throughout the article, where not specified, the translation is mine.

<sup>13</sup> Or "Cotton sheep" as translated by Hargett, *The Supervisor*, 77.

<sup>14</sup> One of the most important passages for commercial and cultural exchanges between the southwestern ethnic minorities and the country of Jiaozhi. Yongzhou was indeed directly connected with Dali, Luodian, Ziqi and Temo.

<sup>15</sup> This statement seems to be a little misleading. The question arises why Zhou uses the term *shuofang* 朔方 together with the word *huyang*. The *huyang* comes from the northwestern coast of Africa, which in Zhou's conception of the world was a remote country, the far West. *Shuofang* indicates the north. We should consider the term *shuofang* as opposed to the term *man* 蠻, the barbarian people from the South of China. *Shuofang* is a Han dynasty name for a commandery established in 127 B.C.E., located in what is now Inner Mongolia. See Hargett, *The Supervisor*, 77 n. 47.

<sup>16</sup> The Chinese text reads as follows: 綿羊出邕州溪峒及諸蠻國。與朔方胡羊不異。有白黑二色，毛如氈(繭)織，剪毛作氈，尤勝朔方所出者。 See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, 359. Netolitsky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta*, 166.



from it. Additionally, it is very tall, with a long tail like a fan, and its fat is a remarkable product in the Mulanpi territories.

According to Hirth and Rockhill, who translated Zhao Rukuo's *Zhufan Zhi* (hereafter ZFZ),<sup>17</sup> we can assume that *huyang* was a kind of sheep with a big tail, the so called Ethiopian broad-tailed sheep, mentioned by classical and medieval writers in Arabia and Persia, and in parts of eastern Africa.<sup>18</sup>

However, in later Chinese sources, a different name frequently appears in addition to the term *huyang* and stands for the big (broad) tailed sheep: *daweiyang* 大尾羊.

We find the word *daweiyang* in the *Songshi* 宋史 (*History of the Song dynasty*),<sup>19</sup> when the author describes emissaries from Qiuci country (Qiuci guo 龟兹国, an important Tocharian town on the northern rim of the Taklamakan Desert in the Han-Tang period) who arrived at the Song empire and brought various products as gifts, among which the *daweiyang*.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, in chapter 47 emissaries from the same country came to China again to donate the *daweiyang*.<sup>21</sup>

The *Ben cao gang mu* 本草綱目 (*Compendium of Materia Medica*, hereafter BCGM)<sup>22</sup> in the first chapter dedicated to beasts, "Shou Zhiyi" 獸志一, quotes the *Fangguo zhi* 方國志<sup>23</sup> and states that the country of Dashi raises the *huyang*, three *chi* high,

<sup>17</sup> Zhao Rukuo 趙汝适 (1170-1231) an imperial official working in the *shiboguan* 市舶官 (the office for foreign trade) in the Fujian province, left a single two-chapter prose work, *Zhufan Zhi* (*Descriptions of Foreign Lands*), completed in 1225. As the title itself shows, the author studied the various foreign lands of the Song Empire, using the name Fan 蕃 to indicate the various non-Han people. For the annotated modern Chinese version of ZFZ, see Feng, *Zhufanzhi*, 2011. The first and until now, the only complete translation into English with annotations is Hirth's and Rockhill's.

<sup>18</sup> Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, 143.

<sup>19</sup> The *Songshi* is the official dynastic history of the Song dynasty (960-1279). It consists of 496 chapters (scrolls) and was compiled by a team headed by Tuotuo, from 1343 to 1345. It consists of 496 scrolls (volumes), the term *daweiyang* appears in the volume 249 (one of the collective biographies *Liezhuàn* 列傳), chapter 6, about the foreign countries (*Waiguo* 外國).

<sup>20</sup> The Chinese extract reads as follows: 三年,又遣左溫宰相,何居錄越樞密使,翟符守榮等來貢。是年,龜茲國王可汗遣使李延福,副使安福,監使翟進來進香藥,花蕊布,名馬,獨峰駝,大尾羊,玉鞍勒,琥珀,兪石等。See the Chinese text project at the following website: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=975976&remap=gb>.

<sup>21</sup> The Chinese text reads as follows: 天禧二年,夜落隔歸化遣都督安信等來朝。四年,又遣使同龜茲國可汗王智海使來獻大尾羊。See the Chinese text project at the following website: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=975976&searchu=%E5%A4%A7%E5%B0%BE%E7%BE%8A&remap=gb>.

<sup>22</sup> The *Ben cao gang mu* is the Chinese herbology canonical work written by Li Shizhen (1518-1593) over a period of 27 years. The first draft was completed in 1578 during the Ming dynasty. It can be considered the most complete and comprehensive medical book of traditional Chinese medicine.

<sup>23</sup> The *Fang guo zhi* 方國志 is an anonymous book, written before the Ming dynasty. The title can be translated "Records of all neighboring countries", further information is unavailable. There is one earlier reference in the Song dynasty *Jiang biao zhi* 江表志, "Records from the Jiang biao Area", but whether this is the same book as *Ben cao gang mu* is referring to is uncertain. See Zheng, Kirk, Buell, *Dictionary*, volume 3, 127.

with a tail like a fan.<sup>24</sup> In the same chapter Li Shizhen mentions the *daweiyang*, literally the broad-tail sheep, and says that:

Although all the sheep have a short tail, Dashi country and Hami country<sup>25</sup> raise the *daweiyang*, whose tails, covered with fine wool, weigh from ten to twenty *jin*, the people have to put carts under them to hold them up. In the Tang period they were also called *lingyang* 靈羊, it is said that this kind of sheep can remove poison from the human body.<sup>26</sup>

The same reference to the *Fangguo zhi* and the *huyang* and *daweiyang* also appears in the *Dong xi yang kao* 東西洋考 (*On the Countries in the Eastern and Western Oceans*) (hereafter *DXYK*).<sup>27</sup> In this text, the author Zhang Xie 變張 (1574-1640) uses almost the same words to describe both kinds of sheep but does not refer to the ability to remove poison.<sup>28</sup>

In earlier Chinese sources (*Beihulu* 北戶錄,<sup>29</sup> *Youyang Zazu* 酉陽雜俎,<sup>30</sup> *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書,<sup>31</sup> *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書<sup>32</sup>) there is no entry for the term *huyang*.

<sup>24</sup> The Chinese text reads as follows: 《方國志》云：大食國出胡羊。高三尺餘，其尾如扇。See the website: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=8&searchu=%E8%83%A1%E7%BE%8A>. The *BCGM* also mentions the *taoyang* 饜羊, the goat *tao*.

<sup>25</sup> From the Ming dynasty onwards, the toponym Hami, in Chinese sources, indicated the prefecture to eastern Xinjiang.

<sup>26</sup> The Chinese text: 大尾羊 時珍曰：羊尾皆短，而哈密及大食諸番有大尾羊。細毛薄皮，尾上旁廣，重一二十斤，行則以車載之。《唐書》謂之靈羊，云可療毒。See the following link: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=8&searchu=%E5%A4%A7%E5%B0%BE%E7%BE%8A>.

<sup>27</sup> The *Dong xi yang kao* is a geographical work of 12 volumes written by Zhang Xie (1574-1640), during the Ming dynasty. Its importance lies not only in his description of foreign countries but also in the precise information about taxes and tributes coming from these countries through overseas trade.

<sup>28</sup> The Chinese text of the *Dong Xi Yang Kao*: 大食國出胡羊，高三尺餘，其尾如扇。每歲春月，割取臘再縫合之，不取則脹死。見《方國志》。按大食有大尾羊，細毛薄皮，尾上旁廣，重一二十斤，行則以車載之。《唐書》謂之靈羊。See Zhang, *DXYK*, *Yishi kao* 逸事考, 248.

<sup>29</sup> The *Beihulu* (*Records of the Northern Seats*) is a description of plants, animals and local customs of Southern China, in particular the region called Lingnan 嶺南, written by Duan Gonglu in 871. It is 3 chapters (scrolls) long and contains information about more than 20 different plants and more than 20 animals, typical of the Beixianghu region 北嚮戶, the area of five mountains between the provinces of Hunan, Jiangxi, Guilin and Guangdong.

<sup>30</sup> The *Youyang Zazu* (hereafter *YYZZ*) was written in 850 ca by Duan Chengshi, an erudite scholar and traveler who lived during the Tang dynasty. The work includes over thirteen hundred entries about varied topics regarding the world that Duan had heard of, read about, or observed in first person. See Reed, "Motivation", 121-145. See also Reed, *A Tang Miscellany*, 2003.

<sup>31</sup> The *Jiu Tangshu* (hereafter *JTS*) is the first official dynastic history of the Tang dynasty (618-907), compiled during the rule of the Later Jin *Hou Jin* (936-946), one of the Five Dynasties *Wudai* (907-960). It is 200 chapters long. The name *Jiu Tangshu* was given after the publication of the *Xin Tangshu*, completed in 1060.

<sup>32</sup> The *Xin Tangshu* (hereafter *XTS*) is the second official dynastic history of the Tang dynasty. It was written in 17 years by a team under the supervision of Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072) and Song Qi (998-1061) and was submitted to the throne in 1060. It is 225 chapters long.



However, in the Tang dynasty *Youyang Zazu* (*Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang*), in chapter 16, *Guang Dong Zhi zhi yi* 廣動植之一, the last animal is actually the *dawei-yang* and the description proposed by Duan Chengshi is very remarkable because it differs in many aspects from those in later sources. The passage reads as follows:

The big tail goat comes from the Kangju country (an ancient country in Central Asia, whose territory covered the region of the Ferghana Valley and the area between the Amu Darya and Sya Darya rivers.) The top of the tail is very large, 10 jin in weight. When the monk Xuan Zang arrived in the Western Territories (Xi Yu), under the range of the Daxue mountains there was a village where goats were raised, (they were) big as donkeys. The wild green goat comes from the country of Qiubin, their tails had the same blue color of the kingfisher, natives (usually) eat them.<sup>33</sup>

In the *Xin Tangshu* (*New History of the Tang*) there is the graph *lingyang* 羚羊, maybe a variant of the term *lingyang* 靈羊,<sup>34</sup> quoted by Li Shizhen and Zhang Xie. This word in modern Chinese stands for antelope or gazelle. The passage of the *XTS* reads as follows:

In the year Kaiyuan (719 ca) the chief of the country of Tuhuoluo offers (as tributes) lions and antelopes.<sup>35</sup>

The second characteristic of the *huyang* mentioned by Zhou is its precious fat, extracted from its stomach. It brings to mind the *mosuoshi* 摩娑石, the stone extracted from goats' stomachs, quoted by Zhou in section 40, *Dashi* 大食 (Arab countries),<sup>36</sup> and by Giulio Aleni in his *Zhifang Waiji* 職方外紀 (*Records of the lands beyond the imperial territory*).<sup>37</sup> He cites this product when dealing with Libya (Northern Africa).<sup>38</sup>

The combination of these two characteristics (the large fan-like tail and the precious fat) is similar to an entry in Idrīsī's geographical work, *Nuzhat al Mustāq* (*The book of pleasant journeys into faraway lands*), compiled in 1154. He deals with the

<sup>33</sup> The Chinese text: 大尾羊, 康居出大尾羊, 尾上旁廣, 重十斤。又僧玄奘至西域, 大雪山高嶺下有一村養羊, 大如驢。賓國出野青羊, 尾如翠色, 土人食之。 See Duan, *Youyang Zazu*, 115.

<sup>34</sup> According to the *Hanyu Dacidian* the two characters are interchangeable. Under the entry *lingyang* 靈羊 you can read: namely *lingyang*. Their horn can be used as medicine. (即羚羊。角可入藥). If you search for *lingyang* 羚羊 the meaning is antelope and there is a reference to the *Shan Hai jing* 山海經, chapter *Xi Shang jing* 西山經 where the word *ling* 麕 occurs and stands for today's antelope.

<sup>35</sup> The Chinese text is: 開元七年, 因吐火羅大酋獻師子, 羚羊。 It has been extracted from the digital version at the following website of the Chinese Text Project: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=182378>.

<sup>36</sup> Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, 99.

<sup>37</sup> Giulio Aleni, in Chinese *Airulüè* 艾儒略, (1582-1649) was a Jesuit who lived in China during the seventeenth century for more than 30 years and wrote a geographical work, *Zhifang Waiji* in 1623. For a complete Italian translation see De Troia, *Geografia*, 2009.

<sup>38</sup> De Troia, *Geografia*, 135.

fat, and how it is considered a precious product (it was very useful to cure various kind of diseases),<sup>39</sup> when he describes Dar al Morabetin (the country of Morabetin, in northern Africa) and the presence of ostriches, in Arabic *naeama*.<sup>40</sup> The ostriches are known for their height and their wide tails, just like a fan.

In addition to these descriptive elements, the linguistic comparison with Arab sources (in particular with Idrīsī's work) also reveals interesting aspects. It makes sense to assume that there is a sound similarity between Zhou's toponym *Mulanpi* and Idrisi *Dar el Morabetin*.

Besides, it deserves to be considered that both these territories are located on the Northern African coast.<sup>41</sup>

The tail like a fan, the extraction of the fat, the height of the *huyang*, the sound similarity of the two toponyms, and the location on the northern African coast, all these common aspects reported in both Zhou's work and Idrīsī's work lead me to propose a new hypothesis: *huyang*, as described by Zhou, indicates the ostrich. Despite it undoubtedly deserving more investigation (the curious and unusual method of extraction of the fat must be better analyzed), it is however a fresh insight into this open field of research. Probably Zhou (and his informants) had deliberately chosen such a «technique»: the use of a familiar category – the sheep or goat (*yang*)- to define the unknown (ostrich). Ostriches, indeed, were rarely seen in China at the time, so the fact that Zhou uses the word *huyang* for this strange animal should not come as a surprise, and also, throughout the Almoravid territory, sheep, goats and rams were widespread (as extensively described by Idrīsī), this could then justify Zhou's misunderstanding. Zhou likely confuses two important animals living in this African territory and gives us a puzzled idea of what it was. This process is due to the cross-cultural exchange. From his segment it becomes clear that nevertheless the precise identification of this animal remains unclear.

## 2. *Tianma* 天馬

This term, literally the heavenly horse, is described by Zhou in section 207, the third section of the “Qinshou men”.<sup>42</sup> The description reads as follows:

At the county of Yong (Yongzhou) in the Creek Settlement (*Xidong*)<sup>43</sup> of the Qiyuan pre-

<sup>39</sup> Similar to the reference mentioned in the *BCGM: liaodu* 療毒. See above.

<sup>40</sup> Jaubert, *Edrisi*, vol. I, 201 and following.

<sup>41</sup> Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, 106.

<sup>42</sup> Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, 348.

<sup>43</sup> Hargett translates *xidong* as Creek Settlements, usually referring to the various settlements of non-Chinese people who lived along the Left and Right rivers in Yong County. Hargett, *The Supervisor*, 26.

fecture<sup>44</sup> is located the mountain called *Tianma*. On this mountain there are more than a dozen wild horses.<sup>45</sup> They are as fast as if they were flying, the people cannot catch them. During the Xining period (1174-1189), the head (*zhizhou*) of the Qiyuan prefecture took a mare to this mountain. Later a colt was born, an extremely good horse. From that moment, he led again (a mare) on this mountain (among the *tianma*), however, hitherto he has not been able to obtain (another colt).<sup>46</sup>

Although there is no mention in the *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 (hereafter *SWJZ*),<sup>47</sup> Sima Qian 司馬遷, in his *Shiji* 史記 (*Records of the grand Historian*), written during the Western Han (109 BCE-91 BCE) cites the term *tianma*, when he describes the diplomatic mission of Zhang Qian 張騫 (195 BCE-114 BCE), sent by the Han emperor Wudi as emissary to the west in 138 BCE. Zhang Qian was the first Chinese on record to have reached the state of Bactria, called *Daxia*.<sup>48</sup>

The emperor Wu was impressed by the description of the strong horses (*tianma*), owned by the people of Dayuan (a territory placed at the Ferghana Valley, at the easternmost end of the former Persian empire, now the easternmost part of Uzbekistan), reported by Zhang Qian, and intended to buy them in order to defeat the northern barbarians of Xiongnu. When the people of Dayuan refused his offer, he ordered the large scale punitive military campaigns conducted against the Central Asian territories. It was the so-called War of the Heavenly Horses, fought in

<sup>44</sup> Regarding the toponym Qiyuan, Yang claims that there were two different prefectures named Qiyuan and the *tianma shan* mentioned by Zhou belongs to the Qiyuan prefecture on the Right River. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, 349 n. 1. Hargett affirms that during the Song dynasty Yong County was in turn divided into two *dao* 道, or circuits: the Left River and the Right River. Each of these circuits was further subdivided into Bridle and Halter counties, *jimi* 羈糜. The Right rivers and the various towns along it fell under the jurisdiction of Yongzhou. Hargett, *The Supervisor, Introduction* XXVI, and 79 n. 58 and 149.

<sup>45</sup> For a useful overview of the Horse Administration in Guangxi during the Southern Song see Hargett, *The Supervisor*, 67-68. Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta*, 86-87. Zhou in section 84 titled *Jinglüesi maima*, described the administration of the horse trade during the Southern Song. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, 186. See also the Russian translation provided by Ulyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Da*, 188.

<sup>46</sup> Netolitsky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta*, 161. He translates stallion (*duma* 牡馬), instead of mare (*pinma* 牝馬), due to the wrong transcription in the Chinese text. I used the Chinese version from the *Siku Quanshu* as in Yang Wuquan. The Chinese text is: 邕州溪峒七源州有天馬山, 山上有野馬十餘疋, 疾迅若飛, 人不能邇。熙寧間, 七源知州縱牝馬于山, 後生駒, 駿甚。自後屢縱, 迄不可得矣。 See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, 348.

<sup>47</sup> The *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 is China's first comprehensive dictionary submitted to the throne in 121 CE by Xu Chong 許衝, son of its compiler Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 55 - ca. 149).

<sup>48</sup> Bactria was the toponym that indicated the territory between the Hindu Kush (to the south), Pamirs (to the east), Ferghana Valley (to the north) and western Tarim Basin to the east, in modern day Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. During the second century B.C., when Zhang Qian arrived there, this territory had been conquered by the Da Yuezhi, the Great Yuezhi. Zhang Qian was amazed to see there staves or walking sticks made of Qiong bamboo and Shu cloth, both from Sichuan. About the so-called silk-horse route see Yokkaichi, "Horses", 87-97. See also the entry "Heavenly horses" in the study of Zhong, Zhang, Ravni, *Across the Himalayan Gap*, 182.

104 and 102 BCE between the Han dynasty and the kingdom known to the Chinese as Dayuan.

The term *tianma* originally referred to the *wusun* 烏孫 horses. The emperor Wu later renamed them *xijima* 西極馬 or the westernmost horses, while the Dayuan horses were given the name *tianma*.<sup>49</sup>

In ancient times, before the Mongol rule, the North Asian nomads indeed used to pay for their transactions with sedentary people with their livestock such as cattle and horses.<sup>50</sup> And Chinese people started to appreciate this exchange.

In addition, the term *tianma* also occurs in many poems, including those written by the emperor Wu, entitled *Xi ji tian ma ge* 西極天馬歌 (Song of the westernmost heavenly horse) or the previous *Tian ma ge* 天馬歌 (Song of the Heavenly horse). They reflect once again the love and interest of the emperor Wu for this kind of horse.<sup>51</sup> Since horses were vital for military activities, the emperor gave the order to build multiple imperial horse-raising gardens in the western and northern border areas for breeding the high-quality warhorses.<sup>52</sup> *Tianma* became the symbol of the westward expansion of China empire and, more generally, of the interaction and the exchange between east and west.

The description reported by Zhang Qian of the noble and worthy horses from the Ferghana valley (in Chinese Dayuan) inspired a vivid mythology, linking this kind of horse to quasi-fantastical western realms, heaven, and even dragons, from which the best horses were imagined to have been sired.<sup>53</sup> In particular, the passage towards the mythological horses is evident from the poem written by Li Bai (701-762, Tang dynasty), *Tianma ge* 天馬歌 (Song of the Heaven Horse), in which in

<sup>49</sup> Hong, *The Sinitic*, 529. Netolizsky writes that the name *tianma* originally refers to the noble horses from Ferghana, Netolizsky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta*, 277. The Chinese text of the *Shiji*, *Dayuan Liezhuan* 宛列傳, section 21, reads as follows: (漢武帝) 得烏孫馬好, 名曰天馬。及得大宛汗血馬 (*han xue ma*: blood sweating horse), 益壯, 更名烏孫馬曰西極, 名大宛馬曰天馬云。 See the Chinese Text Project, at <https://ctext.org/shiji>. For a more detailed treatment about the relevance of the heavenly horses, see Stephen H. West, “The Gift of a Horse”, pp. 1-27, 2015.

<sup>50</sup> Mongols were no exception to this practice. The *Heida shiliu* 黑韃事略 (*Brief Report on the Black Tatars*) contains records showing that. Wang, vol. 12, 5052. They also used to pay the Chinese in horses and sheep in trade transactions. See Yokkaichi, “Horses”, 87-97.

<sup>51</sup> Zhong, Kapila, *Dunhuang Art*, 28. Here the authors highlighted the importance of Dunhuang as the gateway of ancient China’s contacts with the outside world, since it lies on the route of the outward journeys of Zhang Qian and other Chinese ambassadors towards foreign lands and the incoming journeys of *tianma* and people and objects entering China. See also Zhang, *Shilun Han Wudi* 試論漢武帝, 25-30. For the Chinese text of the poetries see the website [fanti.dugushici.com](https://fanti.dugushici.com), [https://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient\\_proses/71800](https://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/71800).

<sup>52</sup> Hong, *The Sinitic Civilization*, 418. The interesting episode recorded by Sima Qian in the *Yue Shu* (Book of Music) section *Shi Ji* demonstrates how much the emperor loved and was fascinated by these animals: Ji An dared to criticize the Emperor’s behavior and indulgence in horse raising. The emperor’s prime minister Gongsun Hong suggested him to punish Ji An with the penalty of clan extermination. See also Zhong, *Across the Himalayan Gap*, 182.

<sup>53</sup> Millward, *The Silk Road*, section “The horse and trans-Eurasian royal culture”.

the first verse the poet says that the horses of heaven come out of the caves of the Yuezhi, backs tiger/striped, bones like dragon wings.<sup>54</sup>

We also find the term *tianma* in the *Jiu Tangshu*, (*Benji* 本紀 11, section *Dai Zong* 代宗) and *Xin Tangshu* (*Benji* 本紀 6, section *Su Zong* 肅宗, *Dai Zong* 代宗) when the author deals with a particular kind of decoration on brocade and silk fabric. The heavenly horses also featured among the various images of mythological animals.<sup>55</sup>

In the *Shan hai jing* 山海經 (*Classic Itineraries of the Mountains and Seas*, hereafter *SHJ*),<sup>56</sup> chapter *Bei Shan jing*, on the mountain called Macheng the authors mention a very strange animal, with the white body of a dog and a black head, able to fly when it meets a person, it is called *tianma*. The author also cites its call.<sup>57</sup>

But there is no mention in the *Beihulu*, *Youyang Zazu* and in the nearest *Guihai Yuheng Zhi* 桂海虞衡志 (*Treatises of the Supervisor and Guardian of Cinnamon Sea*) (hereafter *GHYZ*) written by the friend and supervisor of Zhou, Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126-1193).<sup>58</sup> However Fan's work has the entries focused on horses (in general), *manma* 蠻馬 (horses from the various peoples in the southwest) and *guoxiama* 果下馬 (below the fruit-tree horses).<sup>59</sup>

The term *tianma* occurs in the later geographical work *Daoyi Zhilüe* 島夷志略 (hereafter *DYZL*), written by Wang Dayuan 汪大渊 (ca. 1311-ca. 1350) in 1349.<sup>60</sup> The passage reads as follows:

<sup>54</sup> For the Chinese text see <http://www.shiciku.cn/tangshi/libai/761.html>. It reads as follows: 天馬來出月支窟，背為虎文龍翼骨。

<sup>55</sup> The Chinese text is: 禁大綱，竭鑿六破錦及文紗吳綾為龍，鳳，麒麟，天馬，闢邪者。 See <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=182378&searchu=%E5%A4%A9%E9%A6%AC>.

<sup>56</sup> The *Shan hai jing* is a kind of mythological geography of ancient China, a sort of fabulous account of pre-Qin China, compiled during the Warring States (ca. 453/481 (you can use different years depending on your sources)– 221 BCE) and Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE). The author remains unclear, most likely it was the product of a long period of compilation by several authors. See Fracasso, *Libro dei monti e dei mari*, 48. For a newer study about the *Shan hai jing* see Richard E. Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary. Strange Creatures from the Guideways through Mountains and Seas*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2002.

<sup>57</sup> The Chinese text is 有獸焉，其狀如白犬而黑頭，見人則飛，其名曰天馬，其鳴自訕。 See <https://ctext.org/shan-hai-jing/zh>.

<sup>58</sup> Fan Chengda was a poet and a government official of the Song dynasty, he was considered an academic authority on geography, especially of China's southern provinces. For a detailed overview on Fan's life and work see Hargett, *The supervisor*, introduction, XV and XXX. This work had a strong influence on Zhou's work. For a comparison between Zhou's and Fan's geographical works see Almonte, *Lingwai Daida*, 72-82.

<sup>59</sup> See Hargett, *The Supervisor and Guardian*, 242.

<sup>60</sup> The *Daoyi Zhilüe* (*A short account on the islands of the barbarians*) is an account of foreign countries, especially Southeast Asia, compiled by Wang Dayuan (1311-1350), a government official in the harbor city of Qingquan (modern Quanzhou, in Fujian province). This work is 100 chapters long and mentions and describes geography, customs and products of about 200 foreign countries. In most cases he describes countries he saw first-hand, during his two voyages into the Indian Ocean onboard of merchants' fleets. For an annotated version see Wang Dayuan, Su Jiqing, *Daoyi Zhilüe*, 2011.

This country (Luoposi 羅婆斯) is connected with the mountain called Youshan 右山, its strange peaks are innumerable, (and they follow one another) like many heavenly horses that run fast (in the air).<sup>61</sup>

The identification of the toponym Luoposi 羅婆斯 is still under discussion. It may refer to the Berbera coast in Somaliland territory, or the Nicobar Islands.<sup>62</sup> Here the author uses the word *tianma* only for a simile: the mountain peaks as the running heavenly horses. He does not provide any description of this animal nor its origin. Hence, such a kind of imaginative simile, according to me, may suggest that Wang knew very well this kind of animal, he was very familiar with them because at that time the heavenly horses were a common animal along the Southern China and seems superfluous to add any kind of information.

The *Songshi* cites the same term, but it indicates the name of a star,<sup>63</sup> or an official title; in particular you find the term *tianma* in the chapter (scroll) 143, *Zhi* 96, section entitled “Yiwei yi” 儀衛一. This term indicated a ceremonial guard, a military unit assigned to each Princely Establishment headed by a Director.<sup>64</sup> The *BCGM* in the chapter “Chong Zhiyi” 蟲之一 also mentions this term, dealing with the mantis *lang* 螂.<sup>65</sup> The *DXYK* and the *Yuanshi* 元史<sup>66</sup> do not mention it.

From the above it becomes clear that the term *tianma* throughout history assumes different meanings, having been mentioned in several contexts and in different literary genres (dynastic histories, poems, geographical works, travel works).

Zhou’s description oscillates between historical data and mythological elements. His description reflects the greatness of this kind of horse, they were precious, esteemed (so much so as to require the intervention of the head of the prefecture) and quite rare in the China Song empire. Over the centuries, their rareness led them to be known as mythological creatures, renowned for their speed and agility. Zhou does not refer to their origins from territories far away in the West. We can assume that when Zhou wrote his work, this kind of horse, despite being very rare and not local to Chinese territories, were already quite common and

<sup>61</sup> The Chinese text is: 羅婆斯: 國與麻 (or 僧) 加那之右山聯屬, 奇峰磊磊, 如天馬奔馳。See Su Jing, *Daoyi Zhilüe*, 373.

<sup>62</sup> Su Jiqing, *Daoyi Zhilüe*, 225-226 and 373.

<sup>63</sup> For the Chinese extract see <http://www.guoxue123.com/shibu/0101/00songs/049.htm>. Chapter (scroll) 50, *Zhi* 志 3, *Tianwen* 天文 3, and Chapter (scroll) 51, *Zhi* 志 4, *Tianwen* 天文 4.

<sup>64</sup> See Hucker, 271, entry 3028. For the Chinese extract see <http://www.guoxue123.com/shibu/0101/00songs/142.htm>. Here the authors listed a series of titles, called *Tianma qi yi* 天馬旗一. The same expression occurs also in *Zhi* 96 志第九十六, *Yiwei san* 儀衛三 and *Yiwei si* 儀衛四.

<sup>65</sup> For the Chinese source see the Chinese Text Project at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=8>.

<sup>66</sup> The *Yuanshi* 元史 (*History of the Yuan*) is the first official dynastic history of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), it comprises 210 chapters (scrolls) and was compiled by Song Lian 宋濂 and Wang Yi 王禕.



well-established in Southern China, where the prefecture of Yongzhou played an important role in horses purchasing.<sup>67</sup>

While I am confident in claiming that I have consulted most of the primary Chinese sources available to me, the manner in which I have selected and presented this material has been arbitrary. In other words, I chose and arranged the material according to the level of “oddity” and “exoticism” level, as reported in Zhou’s descriptions. It is hoped that my contribution to this volume might also be read profitably by non-China specialists, who may wish to know something about the treatment of ‘strange’ (not only foreign) animals presented in Zhou’s work and in other ancient Chinese sources.

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<sup>67</sup> According to Hargett, during the Southern Song dynasty, the official bases for the horse trade were in Guangxi and Yunnan. Most of the horses coming from foreign lands came through Guangxi and Yunnan. In Guangxi the government official who supervised the activity of buying horses from non-Chinese states along or beyond the border was based in Yong County. See Hargett, *The Supervisor*, 67 n. 1. For a useful overview of the Horse Administration in Guangxi during the Southern Song see Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta*, 86-87.

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DEFINING CHINESE LEXICOGRAPHY.  
AN OVERVIEW OF THE 1990S DEBATE  
ON ITS TERMINOLOGY AND ACADEMIC STATUS

1. Introduction

Chinese lexicography has a very ancient history, with proto-lexicographical works dating back to pre-imperial times. After the blossoming of classical lexicography during the centuries of the Chinese Empire, the first decades of the XX century saw the emergence of modern lexicography. Following the founding of the PRC, lexicographical activities became an integral part of the project for language standardisation. Language dictionaries, in particular, were to be published and serve as tools in the definition and prescription of the linguistic norms of the common language.<sup>1</sup> However, due to the political turmoil of the 1960s and the 1970s, the lexicographical field also suffered a setback. Things rapidly changed in the post-Maoist era, when Chinese lexicography saw an unprecedented development: also in the wake of initiatives launched by government institutions to boost the compilation of new dictionaries,<sup>2</sup> thousands of different types of references works were compiled and published in the PRC, especially in the 1990s.<sup>3</sup>

It was during this new glorious phase of Chinese lexicography that, in 1990, the editors of the scholarly journal *Lexicographical Studies* (*Cishu yanjiu* 辞书研究)<sup>4</sup> issued a note launching a new column titled “The Academic Status of Lexicography” (*Cishuxue de xueke diwei* 辞书学的学科地位).<sup>5</sup> This was presented as a discussion forum through which scholars could contribute to the development of the theory of Chinese lexicography, defined in the note as an “emerging discipline”

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<sup>1</sup> On the history of Chinese lexicography up to 1911, see Yong Heming and Peng Jing,, *Chinese Lexicography. A History from 1046 BC to AD 1911* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> I refer to the Plans for the compilation and publication of lexicographical works, which I briefly discuss in the last paragraph in this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Wei Xiangqing 魏向清 et al. *Zhongguo cishu fazhan zhuangkuang baogao* 中国辞书发展状况报告: 1978-2008 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2014).

<sup>4</sup> Founded in 1979, it is the official journal of the Chinese Association of Lexicography (*Zhongguo cishu xuehui* 中国辞书学会), see <http://www.cishu.cc/CN/volumn/home.shtml#>, accessed August 29, 2021.

<sup>5</sup> *Cishu yanjiu*, “*Cishuxue de xueke diwei*” 辞书学的学科地位, *Cishu yanjiu* 辞书研究, no. 4 (1990): 5.

(*xinxing xueke* 新兴学科) with many unresolved theoretical issues.<sup>6</sup> In response to the editors' call, between 1990 and 1991, over twenty scholar-signed contributions on the topic were published in the issues of this journal alone.<sup>7</sup> More generally, between the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s, a debate took form around two distinct but closely connected issues. The first issue was of terminological nature: The coexistence in modern Chinese language of several terms that can designate reference or lexicographical works<sup>8</sup> and lexicography (i.e. *cishu* 辞书, *cidian* 辞典, *cidian* 词典, *cishuxue* 辞书学, *cidianxue* 辞典学, *cidianxue* 词典学) posed the need for scholars to achieve standardisation and homogenisation in their scholarly usage. The second issue was the academic status of lexicography, its relation to other disciplines and, specifically, to linguistics.

In this paper, I focus on these two issues, by relying primarily on Chinese contributions published between the second half of the 1980s and the early 1990s. The main objectives are to provide an overview of this academic debate, highlighting some of the key elements that most concerned Chinese scholars dealing with lexicography at the time, and to show how they were closely related to the common goal of consolidating this “emerging” discipline<sup>9</sup> (however defined), solving basic theoretical matters, improving the quality of lexicographical practice and research and, ultimately, of lexicographical works.

In the paragraphs that follow, I first discuss the issue of terminology, focusing on a specific set of terms. Further, I present selected Chinese perspectives regarding the status of lexicography, as emerged in the early 1990s. Finally, the terminological issue is briefly analysed further, though with a focus on translation.

## 2. The Terminological Issue

In the definition by Hartmann and James, the English word ‘lexicography’ refers to “[t]he professional activity and academic field concerned with dictionaries and

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> See issues 4-6 (1990) and issues 1-6 (1991) of the journal, <https://navi.cnki.net/knavi/JournalDetail?pcode=CJFD&pykm=CSYA>, accessed August 29, 2021.

<sup>8</sup> In English, I use ‘reference work’ and ‘lexicographical work’ synonymously, with reference to a wide range of resources, “used as consultation tools to meet punctual information needs”, Sven Tarp, “Reflections on the Academic Status of Lexicography”, *Lexikos*, no. 20 (2010): 459; *Dictionary of Lexicography*, R.R.K. Hartmann and Gregory James (London, New York: Routledge, 2001), s.v. “Reference work”. However, when referring to Chinese, I use ‘lexicographical work’ as a translation for *cishu* 辞书 and ‘reference work’ for *gongjushu* 工具书, the latter often being used as a hypernym of the former. See the *Cishuxue cidian* 辞书学辞典, which distinguished between ‘lexicographical reference works’ and ‘non-lexicographical reference works’, Yang Zuxi 杨祖希 and Xu Qingkai 徐庆凯. *Cishuxue cidian* 辞书学辞典. (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1992), s.v. “辞书型工具书”; “非辞书型工具书”.

<sup>9</sup> *Cishu yanjiu*, “*Cishuxue*”, 5.

other reference works”, which can be divided into “lexicographic practice, or dictionary-making, and lexicographic theory, or dictionary research”.<sup>10</sup> Being the only term commonly used to identify this discipline and research field, the English term ‘lexicography’ does not seem to pose any specific challenge in its usage – just as the Italian *lessicografia* or the German *lexicographie*.

This, however, is not the case for modern Chinese, where the coexistence of several terms designating lexicography and lexicographical works posed the need for scholars to examine the meaning of the discipline’s most basic terminology. Based on my research, it was from the 1980s and especially the 1990s that this terminological variation started to be systematically addressed by scholars in the field, in a context of consolidation of Chinese lexicography as a scientific discipline and of consistent growth in the number of reference works published annually in the PRC.<sup>11</sup> Specifically, the debate primarily concerns two sets of terms: a) Words that define (different typologies of) lexicographical or reference works, which are both the products of lexicographical activities and the objects of lexicographical research, and b) Words employed to identify lexicography itself, as the discipline concerned with (different typologies of) lexicographical or reference works.<sup>12</sup> More precisely, here I take into account the terms: a) *cishu* 辞书, *cidian* 辞典 and *cidian* 词典 ‘lexicographical work’ or ‘dictionary’,<sup>13</sup> and b) *cishuxue* 辞书学, *cidianxue* 辞典学 and *cidianxue* 词典学 ‘lexicography’, all being trisyllabic words formed by the addition of the suffix-like formative *-xue* -学 ‘branch of learning’<sup>14</sup> to the disyllabic terms in a). Clarifying the meaning and correct scope of use of the first group of terms has a direct influence on the understanding of the terms employed to designate the discipline of lexicography itself, depending on the specific term employed.

Below, I present some selected issues regarding this terminology, primarily relying on two essays by lexicographer Yang Zuxi.<sup>15</sup> His analysis provides a number

<sup>10</sup> Hartman, James, *Dictionary*, s.v. “lexicography”.

<sup>11</sup> Wei et. al. “*Zhongguo*”.

<sup>12</sup> Yang Zuxi 杨祖希, “*Cishuxue zui jiben shuyi de tongyi wenti*” 辞书学最基本术语的统一问, *Cishu yanjiu* 辞书研究, no. 4 (1987): 16-25, and “*Yi zhengming cu fazhan dui cishuxue sanda jiben wenti de tantao*” 以争鸣促发展—对辞书学三大基本问题的探讨, *Cishu yanjiu* 辞书研究, no. 6 (1990): 12-18; Lin Yijun 林贻俊, “*Cidian he cidian*” “词典”和“辞典”, *Cishu yanjiu* 辞书研究, no. 6 (1982), 122-123. Also see Yang and Xu, *Cishuxue cidian*, for a useful terminological resource.

<sup>13</sup> *Zidian* 字典 is also commonly employed to reference dictionaries, but its meaning is generally not the object of debate. It designates traditional dictionaries with single-character (*zi* 字) lemmas. Thomas B.I. Creamer, “Chinese lexicography”, in *Dictionaries. An international Encyclopedia of Lexicography. Third volume*, eds. Hugo Steger, Herbert E. Wiegand (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 2599.

<sup>14</sup> On the lexical phenomenon of *-xue* -学 as a suffix-like formative in trisyllabic words see Federico Masini, “The formation of modern Chinese lexicon and its evolution toward a national language: the period from 1840 to 1898”, *Journal of Chinese Linguistics monograph series* 6 (1993): 125-126; 149-150; Giorgio Arcodia, *Lexical Derivation in Mandarin Chinese* (Taipei: Crane, 2012), 123 ss.

<sup>15</sup> Yang, “*Cishuxue*” and “*Yi zhengming*”.

of insights that are crucial to reaching a broader understanding of what is discussed in this paper and useful to later address the matter of the status of lexicography, as discussed by Chinese scholars in the early 1990s. Based on the scholarly and non-scholarly usages of the time, Yang provides a thorough terminological analysis, which clearly shows the general lack of consistency among Chinese scholars regarding the use of the discipline's terminology. He defines the controversies regarding the meaning of the terms employed to designate lexicographical works (e.g. *cishu* 辞书, *cidian* 辞典, *cidian* 词典) as the most fundamental issue.<sup>16</sup> It is on this first set of terms that I focus in this section. First, a historical perspective is employed by Yang in tracing the meaning and usage of some of the terms. Among others, the differences between the two homophones *cidian* 辞典 and *cidian* 词典 (dictionary) – often used as synonyms or arbitrarily – are addressed.

In this respect, it should first be noted that among the many senses that compose the definition of the lemma *ci* 辞, the dictionary *Cihai* 辞海 includes “Same as *ci* 词, e.g. *cidian* 辞典” (通<sup>17</sup> “词”。如: 辞典”。)<sup>18</sup> Likewise, in the same dictionary, one of the senses in the definition of *ci* 词 is “Same as *ci* 辞 [...]” (通 “辞” [...]).<sup>19</sup> This source thus treats the two characters as interchangeable homophones, and consequently the two disyllabic homophones (*cidian* 辞典 and *cidian* 词典) as synonyms, i.e. ‘dictionary’.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, according to Yang, a difference in usage can be traced historically. Firstly, the word *cidian* 辞典 is defined as a borrowing from Japanese<sup>21</sup> in the modern period which, at least up to the late 1950s, was more frequently employed than its homophone *cidian* 词典 to designate dictionaries in Chinese. Since the end of the 1950s, with the start of the activities for the compilation of authoritative language dictionaries like the *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典,<sup>22</sup> the term *cidian* 词典 has acquired growing popularity when compared to its homophone to identify common Chinese language dictionaries based on the *ci* 词 ‘word’, as the fundamental unit of the entry list and lexicographical definitions. At the same time, given the development of Chinese lexicography

<sup>16</sup> Yang, “*Cishuxue*”, 16; 18, also includes *cishu* 词书 and *cishuxue* 词书学. However, he defines the former as an alternative spelling for *cishu* 辞书 and does not discuss it further.

<sup>17</sup> Refers to *tongjiazì* 通假字, literally ‘interchangeable Chinese characters’, i.e. ‘phonetic loan characters’.

<sup>18</sup> It is the eighth sense out of nine, while the second sense is “diction/language, word/utterance [...]” (文词; 言词 [...]), *Cihai* 辞海, (1979 [1982] *suoyinben* 缩印本 edition), s.v. “辞”.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. “词”. The first sense *ci* 词 listed is “In the structure of the language, the basic unit that can be used independently, with sound, meaning and grammatical function” (语言中结构中的基本单位, 能独立运用, 具有声音, 意义和语法功能).

<sup>20</sup> The expressions “*yizuo* 亦作” (also written as) and “*ji* 即” (that is) are found in the definitions. *Ibid.*, s.v. “辞”; “词”.

<sup>21</sup> The author uses the term *wailaici* 外来词, Yang, “*Yi zhengming*”, 15.

<sup>22</sup> The project of the *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典 was first designed in the 1950s by the leadership of the PRC and explicitly intended as a tool that should contribute to the standardisation and the popularisation of Putonghua 普通话. See Chiara Bertulessi, *L'ideologia nel discorso lessicografico cinese. Analisi critica dello Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典 (Milano: LED, 2022), 39-67.

since the second half of the 20th century, the term *cidian* 辞典 has begun to be predominantly used to identify specialised dictionaries (*zhuanke cidian* 专科辞典), as well as dictionaries collecting linguistic units more extended than the *ci* 词, as fixed idiomatic expressions or proverbs (e.g. *chengyu* 成语, *yanyu* 谚语), for which the term *cidian* 词典 (centred on the *ci* 词) was not fully adequate. This is seen as a reflection of the diversification of the lexicographical field in the second half of the 20th century.<sup>23</sup> In this regard, it is worth noting that this distinction in usage has recently been acknowledged by the 6th edition of the *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典, in which, unlike in the previous editions, the definition of *cidian* 辞典 clarifies that, currently, the primary use for the word is for specialised or encyclopaedic dictionaries.<sup>24</sup>

According to Yang, the term *cishu* 辞书 is a word borrowed from Japanese<sup>25</sup> (supposedly around the late Qing and the early Republican period), although it was already used in Chinese during ancient times (*gudai* 古代) to designate reference works (*gongjushu* 工具书).<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the meaning attributed to the word *cishu* 辞书 is closely connected to one of the debated issues in the literature on the topic,<sup>27</sup> i.e. whether this term should only be used when referencing dictionaries (different types of *cidian* 辞典 or *cidian* 词典) or whether its meaning should also be extended to include encyclopaedias (*baike quanshu* 百科全书), and, therefore, whether or not the meaning of the term *cishuxue* 辞书学 ‘lexicography’ should include the compilation and the study of encyclopaedias.<sup>28</sup> In Yang’s view, a broad understanding of the term *cishu* 辞书 should be adopted, thus regarding it as an umbrella term, embracing a variety of reference works that range from general-purpose language dictionaries to encyclopaedias.<sup>29</sup> It should be noted that this broad understanding of the meaning of *cishu* 辞书 is also found in the abovementioned edition of the *Cihai* 辞海, which includes encyclopaedias (*baike quanshu* 百科全书) in the definition of the term, indicated as a general designation (*tongcheng* 统称).<sup>30</sup>

Finally, Yang’s essays also show that the different meanings attributed to the basic terms of Chinese lexicography often depend on the scholars’ choice to interpret them in their narrow (*xiayi* 狭义) or broad (*guangyi* 广义) sense.<sup>31</sup> As I will show below, these different understandings played a crucial role in the dis-

<sup>23</sup> Yang, “*Yi zhengming*”, 15-16.

<sup>24</sup> “词典 (现多指专科, 百科方面的)”, *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典, 2012 6th edition, s.v. “辞典”.

<sup>25</sup> Unlike above, Yang here uses the term “*jiejong hanzi* 借用汉字”. Yang, “*Yi zhengming*”, 12.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> See also Su Baorong 苏宝荣, “*Cishuxue de guangyi yu xiayi*” 辞书学的广义与狭义, *Cishu yanjiu* 辞书研究, no. 4 (1990): 7, 9; Xu Shiyi 徐时仪, “*Cishuxue xueke diwei kaotan*” 辞书学学科地位考探, *Cishuyanjiu* 辞书研究, no. 5 (1990): 12.

<sup>28</sup> Yang, “*Yi zhengming*”, 13-14, and “*Cishuxue*”, 23-25.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Cihai* 辞海, (1979 [1982] *suoyinben* 缩印本 edition), s.v. “辞书”.

<sup>31</sup> Yang, “*Cishuxue*”, 17-24.



tinctive ways Chinese scholars conceived the discipline of lexicography in the 1990s debate, in terms of its academic status, its subject field and theoretical apparatus.

### 3. *On the Academic Status of Chinese Lexicography*

As outlined above, the debate surrounding the basic terminology of Chinese lexicography cannot be divorced from that surrounding its academic status, or, in other words, the relationship it entertains with other disciplines, particularly with linguistics and, consequently, its subordination or independence from it. This is a topic that is certainly not unique to the Chinese academic context. Sven Tarp, in fact, defines the dispute on the status of lexicography and its independence as one that is “old and deep rooted” among scholars dealing with this subject.<sup>32</sup> In this regard, it should be mentioned that scholarly discussions on the subjects of the academic status of lexicography and the need for a theory of lexicography also took form in the 1980s and 1990s among non-Chinese scholars working within different linguistic traditions.<sup>33</sup>

Below, I discuss the perspectives adopted by some Chinese scholars on the issue, all published in *Lexicographical Studies* in the early 1990s.<sup>34</sup> In doing so, I intend to show how different, even diverging stances coexisted in the field of lexicography at the time, all of which contributed to construct a debate aiming to consolidate the theoretical foundations of lexicography and developing what was identified as an emerging discipline.<sup>35</sup>

#### 3.1. *Selected Chinese Perspectives*

The special column launched by the editors of *Lexicographical Studies* in 1990 opens with a paper by Su Baorong, who analyses the matter of the relationship between (Chinese) lexicography and other disciplines by adopting the distinction between the narrow and the broad senses of *cishu* 辞书 and *cishuxue* 辞书学.<sup>36</sup> In his view,

<sup>32</sup> Tarp, “Reflections”, 451.

<sup>33</sup> Henning Bergenholtz and Sven Tarp. “Two opposing theories. On HE Wiegand’s recent discovery of lexicographic functions”, *HERMES - Journal of Language and Communication in Business*, no. 31 (2003), 172.

<sup>34</sup> Although most papers on the topic were published on this journal, reference to these issues can also be found in other academic sources of the time, as in Huang Jianhua’s monograph, first published in 1983 and revised in 2001, cf. Huang Jianhua 黄建华. *Cidian lun* 词典论 (Shanghai, Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2001), 13-18. Also see the definitions of the discussed terminology in the dictionary of lexicography (1992), edited by Yang Zuxi and Xu Qingkai, mentioned above.

<sup>35</sup> Cishu yaniu, “*Cishuxue*”, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Su, “*Cishuxue*”, 5 ss.



when intended in its narrow sense, the word *cishu* 辞书 designates language dictionaries,<sup>37</sup> i.e. *yuwen cidian* 语文词典, hence *cidian* 词典 ‘word, character-combination dictionary’ and *zidian* 字典 ‘character dictionary’<sup>38</sup>. From this perspective, the term *cishuxue* 辞书学 refers to the discipline dealing with “the theory and the practice of compiling language dictionaries”.<sup>39</sup> If this “narrow” understanding is adopted, lexicography (*xiayi de cishuxue* 狭义的辞书学) should still be regarded as a part of linguistics.<sup>40</sup> Conversely, when *cishu* 辞书 is understood in its broad sense, it designates what Su refers to as “lexicographical works of informative nature” (*zhishixing cishu* 知识性辞书 – i.e. specialised dictionaries, encyclopaedias, etc.), and therefore *cishuxue* 辞书学 as the discipline concerned with these. The different object of the lexicographical definitions seems to be crucial in this distinction: these “informative” works do not define language itself, but rather the specialised or encyclopaedic knowledge conveyed by language. Consequently, to Su, this broad lexicography (*guangyi de cishuxue* 广义的辞书学) has gone so far beyond the scope of linguistics as to belong to the domain of the study of culture (*wenhuaixue* 文化学).<sup>41</sup>

Adopting a different perspective than Su, Lu Xixing maintains that, having historically developed from linguistics, lexicography (*cishuxue* 辞书学) should not be separated from it, and that it should continue to absorb the results of linguistics research, especially as far as the process of lexicographical compilation is concerned.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, he emphasises its intrinsic applied nature to argue that lexicography should be primarily seen as belonging to the field of applied linguistics (*yingyong yuyanxue* 应用语言学).<sup>43</sup> However, Lu also points out that this subordination in the classification of disciplines does not influence the independent character (*dulixing* 独立性) of lexicography. This is because, he argues, the independent character of a discipline depends on the ability to rely on its own theoretical system. For lexicography, this is a theoretical system of applied nature (*yingyongxing*

<sup>37</sup> Also ‘general purpose dictionaries’, as opposed to specialised dictionaries.

<sup>38</sup> The translation of *cidian* 词典 as ‘word dictionary’ can be problematic, as “it tends to leave the mistaken impression that the individual characters in a ‘zidian’ are not “words”, suggesting that they derive their meaning only as elements used in combination with other characters to form “words””. Creamer thus opts for “character-combination dictionaries”, Creamer, “Chinese lexicography”, 2600.

<sup>39</sup> “语文词典的编纂理论和编纂工艺”, Su, “*Cishuxue*”, 6-7.

<sup>40</sup> Although Su seems open to the possibility that, in the future, there might be a chance for it to become independent. Su, “*Cishuxue*”, 7.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Lu Xixing 陆锡兴, “*Cishuxue yu yuyanxue de guanxi lun*” 辞书学与语言学的关系论, *Cishu yanjiu* 辞书研究, no. 4 (1990): 29-30.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* See also Wang Dechun 王德春, “*Cidianxue shi yingyong yuwenxue de zhongyao fenke*” 词典学是应用语言学的重要分科, *Cishu yanjiu* 辞书研究, 1 (1991): 46. Among non-Chinese scholars, Meier is a supporter of this view, see Hans Meier H. “Lexicography as Applied Linguistics”, in *Lexicography. Critical Concepts* III, ed. Reinhard Hartmann (London/New York: Routledge, 2003), 307-318, quoted in Tarp, “Reflections”, 452.

应用性), which took form from the practice and the methodology of lexicographical compilation, i.e. the so-called compilation method or technique (*bianzuanfa* 编纂法).<sup>44</sup>

In this problematic debate, in the early 1990s, scholars like Xu Qingkai and Lin Yushan argued that lexicography was no longer a sub-discipline of linguistics, or that it was soon to become an independent discipline.<sup>45</sup> In his paper, Xu insists on the different research object of the two disciplines. While linguistics deals with language, lexicography (*cishuxue* 辞书学) deals with lexicographical works.<sup>46</sup> Notably, in refuting Su Baorong's view, he reaffirms the autonomy of lexicography from linguistics even when lexicography is intended in its "narrow" sense, as the discipline concerned with common language dictionaries (*yuwen cidianxue* 语文词典学). To Xu, this has to do with the future of the discipline. To continue to regard the discipline of language dictionaries as a sub-discipline of linguistics (and thus to only study these from the perspective of linguistics) harms the possible development of Chinese dictionary research and dictionary compilation, as well as the improvement in the quality of these works.<sup>47</sup>

In analysing this, Lin believes the status of the development of Chinese lexicography (*cishuxue* 辞书学), the results acquired in the field, and the experience gathered in the compilation of lexicographical works have created the conditions for it to become an independent discipline.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, similarly to Xu, he argues that the contemporary Chinese discipline referred to as *cidianxue* 词典学 can no longer be considered a subdiscipline of linguistics, although traditionally being so. Again, the focus is placed on the different subject field of the two. In Lin's words:

The research object of the discipline of language dictionaries [*cidianxue* 词典学] are the characteristics, objects, classification, structure, functions as well as the compilation principles, methods, and history of dictionaries. Yet, the research object of linguistics is language, and no subordinate relationship [*congshu guanxi* 从属关系] exists between the two.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Lu, "Cishuxue", 30.

<sup>45</sup> Among scholars working in the European context, this view is supported by researchers at the Center for Lexicography at the University of Aarhus, like Bergenholtz and Tarp, who since the early 1990s developed the lexicographical function theory. See Tarp, "Reflections", 463; Bergenholtz, Tarp, "Two", 172.

<sup>46</sup> Xu Qingkai 徐庆凯, "Cishuxue bu zai congshu yu yuyanxue" 辞书学不再从属于语言学, *Cishu yanjiu* 辞书研究 no. 1 (1991): 55.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 61; 8.

<sup>48</sup> Lin Yushan 林玉山, "Yuyanxue yu cidianxue: cidianxue: cishuxue" 语言学与词典学, 辞典学, 辞书学, *Cishu yanjiu* 辞书研究, no. 1 (1991): 66. Lin defines *cishuxue* 辞书学 as the discipline concerned with the theory, classification, methods, and compilation principles of lexicographical works, from language dictionaries to encyclopaedias. *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 64. Original in Chinese, my translation.

Finally, it should be observed that this is also part of the reason why Lin argues that once lexicography (*cishuxue* 辞书学) has become independent, the discipline of language dictionaries (*cidianxue* 词典学) should be subordinate to it, and not to linguistics.<sup>50</sup>

To conclude, the selected arguments presented in this section clearly show the problematic nature of the debate on the status and position of Chinese lexicography at the end of the 20th century. These represent a selection of the numerous positions supported in the pages of *Lexicographical studies* in the early 1990s. Moreover, a clear Chinese specificity emerges in this debate, which distinguishes it from that which developed in other linguistic and cultural contexts<sup>51</sup> – a specificity determined by the coexistence of different terms in modern Chinese, all commonly used in the academic and publishing sectors of the time, to designate the objects of study and the products of the discipline and, therefore, the discipline itself.

#### 4. Some Considerations on the Translation of Chinese Lexicographical Terminology

The coexistence in scholarly usage and the publishing sector of different Chinese terms to designate reference or lexicographical works and lexicography as a discipline also poses the problem of their translation into other languages – e.g. English or Italian – in which such terminological variation is not present. This is particularly important for scholars concerned with Chinese lexicography, working with and citing Chinese sources, especially when writing in a language other than Chinese (English in this specific case). To briefly discuss this issue, here I have chosen to reference two different Chinese bilingual sources: a national terminological standard and an authoritative Chinese bilingual dictionary.

In 2000, as part of the activities of the Standardisation Administration of the PRC,<sup>52</sup> the State Bureau of Quality and Technical Supervision (SBQTS) issued a terminological National Standard regarding the basic terminology of lexicography.<sup>53</sup> It provides a Chinese-English glossary composed of nearly eighty entries, including terms that range from those designating different typologies of lexicographical works, elements in their micro and macrostructure, to the terminology of lexicographical practice. In this source, *cishu* 辞书 and *cidian* 词典 are respectively translated as “dictionary and encyclop(a)edia” and “dictionary”. The broader understanding of *cishu* 辞书 (see section 2 above) is thus adopted by the Standard,

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>51</sup> See Tarp, “Reflections”.

<sup>52</sup> *Zhongguo guojia biaoqunhua guanli weiyuanhui* 中国国家标准化管理委员会, or SAC.

<sup>53</sup> *Guojia zhiliang jishu jiandu ju* 国家质量技术监督局 (SBQTS), *Shuyu gongzuo, cishu bianzuan jiben shuyu* 术语工作 辞书编纂基本术语 - *Terminology work Basic lexicographical terminology*, GB/T 15238-2000. Introduced as an update of a 1994 standard, it is a “recommended” (/T) national standard (GB).

which, however, does not provide a single English term as a translation. Further, *cidian* 辞典 does not form an independent entry in the glossary but is listed in the same entry as its homophone *cidian* 词典, therefore defined as its synonym, i.e. ‘dictionary’. However, the words commonly used to identify the discipline of lexicography (*cishuxue* 辞书学, *cidianxue* 辞典学, *cidianxue* 词典学) were not included in the Standard.<sup>54</sup>

A similar treatment of these words can be found in another authoritative source, the Chinese-English edition of the *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典. Again, the words that identify the discipline of lexicography were not included in the entry list and, therefore, no translation and/or English definition is provided. This source does, however, provide the following definitions for the lemmas *cidian* 词典 and *cidian* 辞典: (1) “[词典] *cídiǎn* 收集词汇加以解释提供人检查参考的工具书 dictionary; reference book that lists words and provides explanations for their meanings; also 辞典 *cídiǎn*”; and (2) “[辞典] *cídiǎn* same as 词典 *cídiǎn*”. As can be seen, the two terms are defined as synonyms, and, therefore, ‘dictionary’ is given as the English translation for both. Moreover, the Chinese-English definition of the lemma *cishu* 辞书 does not provide a single English term as its direct translation, that is: (3) [辞书] *císhū* 字典, 词典等工具书的统 general term for dictionaries and similar reference books.”<sup>55</sup>

In light of this, and of what has been discussed in this paper, some practical conclusions can be drawn on the English words that could be used to translate some the basic terminology of Chinese lexicography, as employed in specialised texts. First, when translating the word *cishu* 辞书, I suggest the English term ‘lexicographical work’ should be used, its meaning generally not being limited to common language dictionaries and therefore covering the broader understanding of the Chinese term, as discussed in section 2. Second, *cidian* 辞典 and *cidian* 词典, often presented as synonyms, can both be translated as ‘dictionary’. Of course, when preceded by modifiers which specify their typology or characteristics (e.g. *zhuanke* 专科 ‘specialised’; *baike* 百科 ‘encyclopaedic’, etc.), these should be translated accordingly, to convey their differences. Finally, with regards to *cishuxue* 辞书学, *cidianxue* 辞典学 and *cidianxue* 词典学, these can all be translated as ‘lexicography’ when their subtle distinctions in meaning are not relevant to the discussion. However, whenever a Chinese source text poses the need to convey the differences in meaning and understanding that, as covered in this paper, often exist, or when relevant to the discussion, other solutions should be adopted to make these differences explicit. This could, for example, be the case of a text distinguishing between the more specific *cidianxue* 词典学 and the more general *cishuxue* 辞书学.

<sup>54</sup> SBQTS, *Shuyu gongzuo*. See also Zhang Yihua 章宜华, Yong Heming 雍和明. *Dangdai cidianxue* 当代词典学 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2007): 15.

<sup>55</sup> *The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary, [Chinese-English Edition]*, 2002 [2003], s.v. “词典”, “辞典”, “辞书”.

In cases like these, a practical solution would be to translate *cidianxue* 词典学 not as ‘lexicography’ but rather making use of a periphrasis – such as ‘the discipline concerned with language dictionaries’ – which, in scholarly usage, can help ensure a higher degree of precision when required.

### 5. Final Remarks

In this paper, I have worked to highlight some of the key points of an academic and scientific debate that took form around the last decade of the 20th century among Chinese scholars working in the academic field of lexicography. As shown in these pages, the scholars’ analyses concerned several crucial matters for the discipline, both of terminological and theoretical nature. It can be argued that this debate not only shows the vitality of the discipline around the early 1990s, but, I believe, is important in that it reflects the common intention of those working within the Chinese lexicographical circle to contribute to the construction of a discipline which was perceived as needing a solid theoretical system and a shared specialised language capable of describing and supporting this theoretical system. As a look into the Chinese academic literature suggests, these goals seem to have been successfully achieved within the academic community: to my knowledge, very few academic contributions addressing the issues discussed in this paper have been published in China since the end of the 1990s.<sup>56</sup>

Moreover, the matter of the basic terminology of Chinese lexicography has proven to also be relevant in terms of translation. In this sense, a source like the National Standard on lexicographical terminology can be regarded as an example of the significance that not only academic but also governmental institutions have attributed to the development of lexicography in the PRC. This is especially interesting if the Standard is considered in terms of the discipline’s internationalisation. Among the objective stated in the Standard’s preface, we see that it was also intended to work as a useful tool in promoting exchanges with the international lexicographical circles.<sup>57</sup>

With regards to internationalisation, it is also worth mentioning that relevant government institutions of the PRC have, since the 1970s, launched three National Plans for the planning of the compilation and publication of lexicographical works.<sup>58</sup> Among these, the third and most recent Plan (2013-2025) has been wel-

<sup>56</sup> See Zhang and Yong, “*Dangdai*” (who address the topic of the academic status of lexicography by also making reference to the 1990s debate), and Zhang Chunxin 张春新, “*Xin shiqi cidianxue de xueke diwei* 新时期词典学的学科地位”, *Cishu yanjiu* 辞书研究, no. 2 (2006) (who also largely relies upon the contributions published in the 1990s but tries to assess the status of lexicography of the “new era”).

<sup>57</sup> SBQTS, *Shuyu gongzuo*.

<sup>58</sup> Wei et al., 23-173. *Zhongguo*; Wei Xiangqing 魏向清. “*Guojia cishu bianzuan chuban guihua de zhan-*

comed by several Chinese scholars as the one that could transform China into a “lexicographical power” (*cishu qianguo* 辞书强国), acquiring a growing relevance on the international lexicographical market and academic field.<sup>59</sup> Finally, it should be noted that, from a more general perspective, the implementation of the 2013 National Plan demonstrates the renewed importance that Chinese State institutions attribute to lexicography and, specifically, to the planning of lexicographical activities. In this respect, we should not overlook the fact that lexicographical planning constitutes an important component of language policy and planning in contemporary China, in that dictionaries are regarded as indispensable tools through which language norms and standards should be implemented.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Zhang Daosheng 张道生, “*Shixian cishu qianguo zhanlüe mubiao de celüe tanxi*” 实现辞书强国战略目标的策略探析, *Chuban faxing yanjiu* 出版发行研究, no. 6 (2016): 28-29; Wei, “*Guojia*”, 8.

<sup>60</sup> Wang Liying 王丽英, Wang Donghai 王东海, “*Xin cishu guihua de shishi yu yuyan wenxi gongzuo de genjin*” 新辞书规划的实施与语言文字工作的跟进, *Chuban kexue* 出版科学, 2013, 21(5): 47-48; “2013 nian Zhongguo yuyan shenghuo zhuangkuang baogao” 2013年中国语言生活状况报告, MOE, [http://www.moe.gov.cn/s78/A19/A19\\_ztzt/baogao/201412/t20141225\\_182361.html](http://www.moe.gov.cn/s78/A19/A19_ztzt/baogao/201412/t20141225_182361.html), accessed 29 August 2021.



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RAISSA DE GRUTTOLA

FRANCISCAN MISSIONARIES AND ISLAM IN CHINA:  
AN ANALYSIS OF THE *BREVIS APPARATUS* BY CARLO HORATII DA  
CASTORANO (BEIJING 1725)<sup>1</sup>

The life and missionary activity of the Franciscan Friar Carlo Horatii da Castorano is strictly connected to the Chinese Rites Controversy, however, among the numerous documents and volumes he edited, some also address different topics. In this paper, a Latin text with the title *Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum Mahumetanis, in duas partes divisus* will be presented. The booklet today is preserved in the Library of the Pontifical Antonianum University of Rome and was written in Beijing in 1725 by the Italian Father who, at the time, was the apostolic administrator of Beijing. The main topic of the document is the features of the Islamic and Catholic faith, however, many references to the presence of Muslims in China during the eighteenth century are found.

Before presenting the features and contents of the text, it is important to provide the historical and religious context during which the document was edited to constitute a background for the analysis. Therefore, the Islamic presence and the Franciscan missions in China will be presented and, subsequently, the mission of Carlo da Castorano and the specific text will be analyzed.

*Brief outline of Islam in China*

According to some sources in the Chinese language, Islam was already known in China between the seventh and eighth centuries, shortly after the death of the prophet Muhammad (632). Between the third and seventh centuries, there had

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is the revised English version of “Scrivere di Islam nella Cina del XVIII secolo: introduzione al testo di Carlo da Castorano,” in *Francesco d’Assisi e Al-Malik Al-Kamil. L’icona del dialogo tra storia e attualità* [Francis of Assisi and Al-Malik Al-Kamil. A dialogue icon between history and modernity], ed. Giuseppe Buffon and Sara Muzzi (Milano: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2020), 193-204. Any addition is the result of further research. Recently José Martínez Gázquez and Nàdia Petrus Pons edited the volume *Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum mahometanis et opuscula breviora*, Roma: Antonianum, 2021. Unfortunately, it could not be consulted before the editing of the present paper.

been trading contacts between China and Persia,<sup>2</sup> and between 455 and 651 some Chinese texts report the sending of thirty Persian embassies to China.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the first Muslims arrived in the Chinese empire during the Tang Dynasty 唐 (618-907), when Arab and Persian merchant ships went from the Persian Gulf to the Chinese coasts. According to an eighteenth-century text:

China's Muslim community was first established in 651, by a man named Sahabo Sahadi Wogesi – that is, by ṣaḥāba Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās, the Prophet Muḥammad's maternal uncle. Although this legend remains very prevalent amongst contemporary Hui, it has not found widespread acceptance elsewhere. Rather, mainstream scholarship prefers to date China's first Muslim settlements to ca.748, when the Japanese monk, Kanshin, noted Persian and Arab mercantile settlements at both Hainan and Guangzhou (in Guangdong province). Certainly, by the end of the Tang dynasty (618-907), China's Muslim population was both well-established and substantial.<sup>4</sup>

In the port cities of Canton, Quanzhou, and Hangzhou, during the Tang dynasty, other foreigners who practiced Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, or Nestorianism were also present, and they were all identified with the Chinese word *fanke* 番客 “foreign guests/visitors.” In particular, Muslims in Chinese sources are defined as *Dashi* 大食, and their land of origin is the *Dashi guo* 大食国 (“kingdom of the Dashi”). The arrival of these merchants to China can be dated back to the Umayyad (661-750) or Abbasid (750-1258) caliphates. During the Tang era, Muslims, as well as members of other foreign religious groups, obtained imperial permission to practice their rites, build their places of worship and translate sacred texts into the Chinese language; furthermore, some tombs of the same period, with inscriptions in Persian or Arabic language, are preserved in the Islamic cemetery of Quanzhou.<sup>5</sup> Despite these elements, the Islamic presence in China can be defined as peaceful and of limited impact for the absence of proselytizing intentions up to the ninth century.

Afterwards, under the Mongols' reign in the area, the presence of Muslims in China became more consistent. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Mongol leader Genghis Khan reached the Chinese empire in the South and the regions of Central Asia in the West, thus obtaining, between 1219 and 1220, the fall of the cities of Bukhara and Samarkand. Conquering Corasmia and Persia, Genghis Khan annexed the first Islamic territories to his kingdom, and after these victories, the Mongols imprisoned local people. They were enlisted in the Mongol army

<sup>2</sup> See: Michael Dillon, *China's Muslim Hui Community: Migration, Settlement and Sects* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1999), 12.

<sup>3</sup> See: Donald Daniel Leslie, *Islam in Traditional China: A Short History to 1800* (Canberra: College of Advanced Education, 1986), 16.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Wain, “Islam in China: The Han Kitab Tradition in the Writings of Wang Daiyu, Ma Zhu and Liu Zhi, with a Note on Their Relevance for Contemporary Islam,” *Islam and Civilisational Renewal* 7, no. 1 (2016): 28.

<sup>5</sup> See: Dillon, *China's Muslim Hui Community*, 12-13.

or brought to work as craftsmen to build the new Mongolian capital Karakorum (1235). In 1279 Khubilai Khan founded a dynasty, giving it the Chinese name Yuan 元 (“origin”), who would rule over the Great Khanate. The great extension of the Mongol Empire and the presence of different populations and religions within it favored the settlement of other Muslims in China. They could practice their religion in the empire as they were considered merchants more than preachers of a foreign religion and, during the Yuan dynasty, there are records of mosques built in Beijing, Canton, Xi’an, Quanzhou, and Hangzhou. During the reign of the Mongols, Muslims had good relations with their rulers because they belonged to the second of the four classes into which the whole society was divided<sup>6</sup> and, for this reason, they had a privileged treatment and easy access to high-ranking administrative and state positions. This situation allowed the Muslims to integrate themselves in the society and it was, in fact, during this period that they began to identify themselves as fully Chinese. Previato distinguishes the phases of “gestation” and “expansion” of Islam in China as follows:

That period of time lasting about 600 years, which goes from the Islamic penetration of Chinese soil (651 AD) to the rise of Mongol power and the consequent establishment of the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368), represents the “gestation period” for Islam in China. This period is characterized by a strong foreign Muslim presence dedicated to commercial activities and only indirectly involved in proselytizing. Chinese people believing in Islam occupy a marginal number at this stage, they are mostly women married to rich merchants, gendarmes and Arab, Persian, and Central Asian diplomats. The areas most affected are those of coastal China: Canton, Quanzhou, Yangzhou, Hangzhou, Shandong, and the whole north-eastern area. The inland areas were reached only subsequently, and among these, the most influential were Xi’an, Kaifeng, and Luoyang. During the Yuan and the early Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), what is called the “expansion phase”. It was characterized by an extraordinary speed of propagation that, despite the traumatic aspect of the elimination and forced deportation of over one million Central Asian Muslims, helped lay solid foundations for the birth of the first Chinese Islamic communities.<sup>7</sup>

Dillon also points out that:

In the history of Muslim communities in China, the Ming dynasty was a crucial turning point. During the Ming Dynasty Muslims gradually became an ethnic minority permanently settled in China rather than an immigrant community looking towards Central Asia as their homeland.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> On this topic see: Jonathan Lipman, *Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in North-west China* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1998) and Tommaso Previato, “La presenza musulmana in Cina: dinamiche storiche e problematiche attuali,” *Mondo Cinese* 147, XXIX, 3, (2011): 111.

<sup>7</sup> Previato, *La presenza musulmana in Cina*, 98-99, my translation.

<sup>8</sup> Dillon, *China’s Muslim Hui Community*, 27.

and quotes Leslie who underlines that “[Muslims] changed from being ‘Muslims in China’, to ‘Chinese Muslims’.<sup>9</sup> Chinese Muslims in that period began to adopt Chinese names and to use the local way of dressing, furthermore, the construction of places of worship followed the rules of Chinese architecture, as is evident in the Xi’an Mosque.<sup>10</sup>

During the reign of the first Ming emperor, Taizu 太祖 (r.1368-1398) marriages between the Mongols or *Semu* and the Han Chinese were encouraged with the aim of increasing the number of Han Chinese people through assimilation,<sup>11</sup> nevertheless, after these mixed marriages, it was generally the non-Muslim partner who converted to Islam, and the new family would usually educate its children to the same religion. During the sixteenth century the awareness that Chinese Muslims could not read or understand the Koran in the Arabic language was arising, and as a consequence, texts on Islam written in Chinese started to circulate in the same period.

From 1644 a new non-Han dynasty would rule the Chinese empire: the Qing Manchu (1644-1911). During this dynasty, the Islamic presence was well rooted in Chinese society and the emphasis continued on the translation or writing of texts in Chinese, mainly with the aim of demonstrating that Islam was not incompatible with Confucianism.

### *Franciscan missions in China*

Despite the arrival of the first Christians in China is identified in the establishment of some groups of the Eastern Syrian church (or Nestorians) in the area of Chang’an in the Tang period,<sup>12</sup> it was during the Yuan dynasty that the first official contacts with Catholicism were established.

In 1246, at the end of the *quriltai* that elected as Great Khan Guyuk, the Franciscan Giovanni da Pian del Carpine was received at court. The arrival of the friar in the capital of the Mongol Empire was the result of Pope Innocent IV’s intention to establish diplomatic contacts with the *khans*, therefore, his pres-

<sup>9</sup> Leslie, *Islam in Traditional China*, 105, also quoted in Dillon, *China’s Muslim Hui Community*, 27.

<sup>10</sup> The oldest part of the mosque was built during Tang Dynasty, but the main body of the building is of the Ming period. The mosque presents the typical features of Chinese architecture, and domes and minarets are missing. The typology of the building is identified only from its orientation towards Mecca and the Arabic calligraphy engraved on the walls.

<sup>11</sup> As the Ming emperors belonged to the Hans, they would promote again the primacy of this group in Chinese society.

<sup>12</sup> On this topic see: Yoshirō Saeki, *The Nestorian monument in China* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1928); Matteo Nicolini-Zani, *La via radiosa per l’Oriente: i testi e la storia del primo incontro del cristianesimo con il mondo culturale e religioso cinese (secoli VII-IX)* (Magnano, BI: Qiqajon Edizioni, 2006).

ence at court did not have preaching purposes.<sup>13</sup> On the contrary, the arrival of the Franciscan Giovanni da Montecorvino in 1294 already had a declared missionary aim and, as reported in his letters, he had no obstacles in his work of evangelization. It was the enthusiastic content and the high numbers of conversions reported in those same letters that led Pope Clement V to send seven suffragan bishops to China in 1307 who should have nominated Montecorvino the first bishop of Beijing and China. Only three of the seven Franciscans sent arrived at their destination and Giovanni da Montecorvino became bishop in 1313 and, in turn, appointed his three brothers bishops,<sup>14</sup> thus starting the creation of a Catholic church in China.

Following this first phase, the Franciscan missions in China experienced a new flowering period in the seventeenth century. After some failed attempts, in 1633 Father Antonio Caballero de Santa Maria (Li Andang 利安當 1602-1669) managed to arrive and start preaching in Fujian. Almost twenty years later, Caballero established a mission also in Shandong (1650) reaching, subsequently, the provinces of Jiangxi and Guangdong.<sup>15</sup>

When in 1622 Pope Gregory XV founded the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, the management of all missionary activities in the world was entrusted to this institute. Through this strategy, Chinese territories would be subtracted from the power of the Portuguese who had the “right of patronage” on them since the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1680 Propaganda Fide decided to send a new group of missionaries to China, and the period of the Italian Franciscan presence there would begin. In 1684 the Franciscan friars Bernardino Della Chiesa (1644-1721), Giovanni Francesco Nicolai da Leonessa (1656-1737), and Basilio Brollo da Gemona (1648-1704) arrived in Canton and in 1690 Della Chiesa was appointed bishop of Beijing. In 1700 Father Carlo da Castorano arrived in China (Xiamen) and in 1702 reached Della Chiesa in Linqing 临清 (Shandong), about 400 km from Beijing.

<sup>13</sup> On Giovanni da Pian del Carpine see: Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, *Storia dei mongoli*, ed. Enrico Menestò et al. (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1989).

<sup>14</sup> On Giovanni da Montecorvino see: Pacifico Sella, *Il Vangelo in Oriente: Giovanni da Montecorvino frate minore e primo vescovo in terra di Cina (1307-1328)* (S. Maria degli Angeli, Assisi, PG: Porziuncola, 2008).

<sup>15</sup> See: Arnulf Camps and Patrick McCloskey, *The Friars Minor in China (1294-1955): especially the years 1925-55, based on the research of Friars Bernward Willeke and Domenico Gandolfi, OFM* (New York and Rome: Franciscan Institute St. Bonaventure University and General Secretariate for Missionary Evangelization General Curia, 1995); *I francescani e la Cina 800 anni di storia*. Atti della Giornata di studio in preparazione alla canonizzazione dei martiri cinesi, Santa Maria degli Angeli-Assisi, 9 settembre 2000 (S. Maria degli Angeli, Assisi, PG: Porziuncola, 2001); Vincenza Cinzia Capristo, “Carlo Orazi da Castorano e la missione francescana in Cina,” in *Carlo da Castorano: un sinologo francescano tra Roma e Pechino*, ed. Isabella Doniselli Eramo (Milano: Luni, ICOO, 2017), 39-58.

### Carlo Horatii da Castorano

Antonio Horatii was born in Castorano in 1673 and joined the Friars Minor of the Observance in Teramo in 1690, taking the name of Carlo. In 1681 he asked to become a missionary and to reach China and both the Franciscan superiors and the members of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide gave him permission to leave. Castorano left Italy in 1698 and arrived in China in 1700, two years later he went to live in Linqing with the bishop and confrere Bernardino Della Chiesa (1644-1721). In 1706 the Franciscans, together with a Jesuit missionary, went to the Imperial Palace in Beijing to take the exam to obtain the *piao* 票. The *piao* was a document granted by the Chinese emperor to the foreign missionaries who passed a specific exam to obtain it. The exam included the testing of their level of fluency and comprehension of the Chinese language and the ascertained intentions of preaching only according to the Ricci method. The exam to obtain the *piao* was introduced at the end of 1706 by the Qing emperor Kangxi 康熙, as a reaction to the decree of the Holy See of November 1704 (*Cum Deus Optimus*) which declared the Chinese Rites as idolatry. Castorano and Della Chiesa passed the exam, and the same document allowed Castorano to remain in China until 1728 as the only Franciscan active in the missions of Propaganda Fide.

The condemnation of the Chinese Rites by the Holy See in 1704 and the institution of the exam to obtain the *piao* are two events that are part of the well-known Chinese Rites Controversy, on which missionaries and Church representatives debated for a long time. In particular, the question concerned some ritual practices honouring Confucius and family ancestors which by some Catholics were considered of civil nature, and by others were condemned as superstitious and idolatrous.<sup>16</sup> The initial openness of the emperor was not considered as such by the Catholic hierarchies and, in 1715, pope Clement XI issued the document *Ex illa die* confirming the contents of *Cum Deus Optimus* and requiring the strict obedience of the missionaries.<sup>17</sup> In 1724 the emperor Yongzheng 雍正 expelled all the missionaries without *piao* in Canton, allowing only scientists or mathematicians of the

<sup>16</sup> On the controversy see: David. E. Mungello, ed., *The Chinese Rites Controversy: Its History and Meaning* (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994); Gianni Criveller, *La controversia dei riti cinesi: storia di una lunga incomprendione* (Milano: Museo popoli e culture, 2012); Michela Catto, "Carlo Horatii da Castorano O.F.M. e le tabelle dei defunti: la condanna dei riti cinesi," in *Carlo da Castorano*, 59-102.

<sup>17</sup> On this document Stafutti recalls that: "The publication of the Constitution *Ex illa die* marks the beginning of a serious process of deterioration in relations between the Holy See and the Chinese government, which will culminate with the decision to expel all missionaries from China". See "Note sul manoscritto inedito *Brevis Narratio Itineris Ex Italia Usque Ad Chinam...* di Carlo Orazi da Castorano (1673-1755)," *Cina* 17 (1981): 76, my translation. Castorano opposed a following attempt to mitigate the 1715 document. They were the "eight permissions" issued by the papal legate Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba. On the permissions, the positive reaction of Kangxi and the opposition of Castorano see: Giacomo Di Fiore, "Carlo Orazi da Castorano e la soppressione delle otto permisioni di Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba," in *Carlo da Castorano*, 103-30.

emperor to stay in China. Having the *piao*, Castorano was able to stay and moved to Haidian, near Beijing. It was in Beijing that he wrote the text on Islam that is the subject of this study (1725). In 1734 the missionary returned to Rome and in 1741 he returned to his native town, Castorano, where he died in 1755. In 1742 the final document on the Rites Controversy was issued (*Ex quo singulari*) definitively condemning the Chinese rites and remaining in force until 1939.<sup>18</sup>

*Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum Mahumetanis*

*The Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum Mahumetanis, in duas partes divisus*<sup>19</sup> was written in Haidian in 1725 and seems to have the purpose of giving an outline of the Islamic and Catholic religions and to address the members of Islamic communities in Linqing (Lin Ring Ceu, Shandong). Father Arnulf Camps is the only author who makes reference to the text in his 2000 volume<sup>20</sup> where, thanks to his research, the journey of the manuscript is traced. Assuming that Castorano brought the booklet with him when back in Italy, Camps recalls that in 1798-1799 following the French occupation of Rome, the Library of the former Franciscan Generalate in Ara Coeli was closed and some of the books and documents were sold. No other information on the *Brevis apparatus* is available up to the first half of the twentieth century when it was found in a catalogue in a Paris library and was bought by the librarian of the Franciscan University Antonianum of Rome. The manuscript was stored in the University Library where, until now, has the collocation MS 150.

The booklet includes 254 pages, but only the sheets from 4 to 228 are numbered. On the fourth page, the place and year of writing are found: Beijing – Haidian 1725, together with the official stamp of Castorano; the same is found on page 228 after a short declaration of submitting the above-mentioned contents to the Roman Church.<sup>21</sup> These elements lead Camps to argue that the following pages (229-254) were not written by Castorano and have not coherent connection with the rest of the document.

As the title states, the 250 pages are divided into two parts, in turn, divided into chapters; the index is shown in the first two pages of the manuscript. It is interesting to present the introduction addressed by the author to a “benevolent reader”:

<sup>18</sup> In 1939, with the document *Plane compertum*, Propaganda Fide announced that the ritual practices honouring Confucius and the family ancestors had only civil nature and the Chinese Catholics could practice them.

<sup>19</sup> Carlo Horatii da Castorano, *Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum Mahumetanis, in duas partes divisus*, 1725, BPUA, MS 150. From here indicated as *Brevis apparatus*.

<sup>20</sup> Arnulf Camps, *Studies in Asian Mission History, 1956-1998*. Volume 25 of Studies in Christian Mission (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 191-204.

<sup>21</sup> Camps, *Studies in Asian Mission History*, 194.



However, this pest of the souls has already occupied nearly one third of the world, and – how painful! – it does not stop to occupy daily other parts, until it slowly introduces itself in the Far East, that is to say in the Kingdom of the Chinese people. They have children and grandchildren, they take many wives, they buy slaves and maids, and thus they grow and multiply in a miraculous way, so that already in many cities Chinese Muslims walk in public wearing a white cap. They build their mosques visible to everybody; they visit them and neither the Prefects nor the Mandarins contradict them and also the Emperor of China does not forbid it. In the province of Shandong there are many Muslims and in the main cities they multiply themselves daily, as in the metropolis Jinan, in the cities of Jingtuoqi, Tai'an, Jining, Tongjing, Linqing, and everywhere they have public mosques, which they call Li Bai Su, that is to say House of Worship. In the city of Linqing, where I normally resided, I had often a conversation on religion with the Muslims, and it happened that they themselves asked for it, but it was always in vain. A certain religious superior of them, a Mufti, in the city of Tongjing told my servants, that he wanted to discuss with me about religion, every time I went to that city. When I heard about this, I accepted it with pleasure, in order to sow the seed of God in earth, which offered itself so spontaneously.<sup>22</sup>

In the following pages, the reader learns that Castorano accepted to have the opportunity to convert the Mufti, showing him the falsity of the Koranic law and proposing instead the Christian scriptures. The Friar continues to report that the Mufti did not come to the appointment set for March 1724 in Dongchangfu 东昌府, however, he states that the opportunity to get prepared for this debate was precious, as he could have access to the volumes stored in the Jesuit Library of Beitang of the Jesuit Thyrso Gonzalez (1624- 1705) *Manuductio ad diffusionem Mahumetanorum* of 1680 and of the Carmelite Thomas De Jesu (1564-1627) *De procuranda salute omnium gentium* of 1613.<sup>23</sup> In the same paragraph, Castorano recalls that, shortly after the missed meeting, he had to move to Beijing, where he would later write the text in analysis, and that he was then prepared to participate in later disputes.

The first part of the booklet consists of eight chapters in the form of a dialogue with questions, answers, testimonies, and conclusions on the most important principles of Christian faith. The author states the divinity of Christ, and his identity as Messiah by presenting his divinity, his incarnation, passion, and death as the Son of God (chapters 2-3); he presents the divinity of Christ through the Gospels (in particular John) and through the words of apostles and disciples (chapters 4-5-6). Castorano uses these arguments to answer and oppose what a Muslim could propose (chapters 7-8) and concludes with some pages entitled “Muslims must follow

<sup>22</sup> *Brevis apparatus*, translated in: Camps, *Studies in Asian Mission History*, 203.

<sup>23</sup> According to Camps: “Castorano borrowed much from Thyrso Gonzalez, whose work consists of two volumes of 353 and 314 pages. Gonzalez himself collected in his work all the arguments against Islam which former authors had brought forward. However, Castorano’s work is an independent work, as the composition, choice of discussion points and use of Sacred Scripture are his own” (Camps, *Studies in Asian Mission History*, 202).

Christian law and reject the law of Muhammad and the Koran". The second part of the text consists of seventeen chapters that present information on Muhammad and the Koran (chapters 1-2) and underline their "contradictions and errors" (chapters 3-4-5). Some chapters include the miracles and visions of Muhammad (chap. 6-7), underlining their flaws (chapters 8-9), and analyzing the errors on God, the Virgin Mary, and the Sacred Scripture (chapters 10-11-12). Assuming that Muslims cannot reach the "*veram sanctitatem*" (chap. 13), Castorano states the superiority of the Bible over the Koran (chap. 14 -15-16). The last chapter concludes that "it is clearly proved that Muhammad was an impostor and his law was false" (chap. 17).

### Conclusions

The analysis of the contents of the *Brevis apparatus* seems to open new and wider research paths. The historical context provided for the analysis of the text, taking into account both the Islamic presence in China, and the history of Franciscan missions from the initial phases to the years when Castorano wrote the text, is useful to have a background for the words and attitude of Castorano towards Islam and religions in China. When analyzing the text, the adverse attitude emerging from the words of the author towards Muslim religion, while underlining that the Friar was coherent with the generally negative view of the Church when in contact with other religions, also shows that Castorano was surprised by the freedom of Muslims to profess their faith in China.<sup>24</sup> This aspect, in contrast with the difficulties experienced by the Catholics and the missionaries in China at the time, demonstrates the necessity for foreign religions to sinicize and, in addition, the resistance of Catholic doctrine to adapt to local traditions and accept external elements.

The reproachful comment that the missionary addresses to the Chinese officials and emperor who did nothing to oppose Islam reveals the Muslim presence in China as that of a group well integrated into the local social context, even maintaining the characteristics of a minority. On the contrary, the discussions on the Chinese rites generated tension in the relations between Catholic missionaries, the pope, representatives of the Holy See, and the Chinese emperor, showing the difficulties of Catholicism to integrate into Chinese society. This topic is addressed also in another manuscript written by Castorano in the first decades of the eighteenth century. In it, the Friar underlines the hostility of local people towards Chinese converts and the inclination of the authorities to prefer people belonging to Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist groups:

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<sup>24</sup> Camps defined the text as "an apology of Christianity and it showed all the characteristics of a centuries old intellectual fight against the Muslims in the West" (Camps, *Studies in Asian Mission History*, 210).

The Gentiles who, in many cases, not tolerating the adherence of some of them to that foreign religion, turn to the authorities to intervene against its followers. [...]

Episodes of hostility towards Christians multiply: other neophytes are captured, accused of being sectarians [...] officials of lower ranks did not respect the order not to persecute converts to the Christian religion, as established by the Edict of Tolerance (1692). [...]

And in this province, more than in others, it seems that, being the same viceroy and the Gan-cha-çu, enemies, they issue edicts against the Holy Law, although they do not declare that the Law of God is false, but only approve its three [laws]: Iu Kiao, Fo Kiao and Tao Kiao [*Rujiao*, *Fojiao*, *Daojiao*]; and consider the others all condemned and false. So the poor Christians are continually considered as enemies of their sects, seen in the whole China as the holiest things. And whoever does not follow them is barbaric, ugly, and bad, they are forced to say that the law of God is sie-kiao [*xie jiao*: bad religion, heretical religion].<sup>25</sup>

The position of Castorano in the Rites controversy and the tone used in his text on Islam are a good example of his unconditional defense of Christian doctrine against two different threats of idolatry. Using the words of Father Camps it can be added that:

It will be clear, that Castorano did not intend to start an open dialogue. He uses the then common way of discussing religious differences. Castorano was not someone who tried to innovate or to correct the relations between Christianity and Islam. On the contrary, he attacks both the life and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and the laws, customs and way of life of the Muslims. He never tries to formulate a benign interpretation. [...] Castorano despised Islam, but and this is for us today more important, it also reveals that he knew about the spread of Islam in Shandong and that he had a good number of contacts with Muslims.<sup>26</sup>

To conclude, despite the attitude of superiority and condemnation, it is important to underline the interest of a missionary with regard to another foreign religion in a mission land. New research on the topic could include the analysis of other texts addressing the relationship between Christianity and Islam in China from a diachronic perspective by analyzing, together with missionaries' documents, also Chinese and Muslim sources.

<sup>25</sup> Stafutti, "Note sul manoscritto inedito," 54, 65, 68, 69, my translation.

<sup>26</sup> Camps, *Studies in Asian Mission History*, 203.

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XINXIU YINGJING OR SHINSHŪ YŌKYŌ?  
PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ‘NEW  
REVISED GOSHAWK CANON’<sup>1</sup>

History is not only what is reflected in documents but also what was lost in the cracks between them. The role of the historian is not only to recover sources and to synthesize them into a coherent narrative but also to take a bold step in attempting to recover what was lost in the cracks between the documents. Deductive logic and intelligent deductions fill in the cracks and bring about a thicker historical narrative.

Ben Zaken, 2010, 6

*Introduction*

The practice of falconry is a very ancient form of hunting that sees the interaction between humans and animals, probably born among nomadic cultures of Central Asia in the Neolithic period and diffused towards the East and West at the time in different forms, according to local natural features and human habits. It has been present in Chinese culture since ancient times and was practiced among emperors and noble people for centuries. According to Edward Schafer’s scholarly work,<sup>2</sup> the first texts on falconry in China date back to the Medieval period. However, as per Schafer, other texts existed before but are now lost, as evidenced from quotations of a “Goshawk Canon” (*Yingjing* 鷹經) during the Han period; a later edition of this book could be a manuscript stored in Japan, *Shinshū yōkyō* 新修鷹經 (also read *Shinshū takakyō*) or by the Chinese reading, *Xinxiu yingjing*, “New revised Goshawk Canon,” included in the “Collection of numerous books” (*Gunsho ruijū* 群書類從), compiled by the scholar and Buddhist monk Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 (1746–1821) in 1819.

<sup>1</sup> Paolo De Troia wrote the introduction of the article and paragraph 1; Gabriele Tola wrote paragraph 2 and the conclusion to the article. The authors would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their suggestions for the improvement of the article.

<sup>2</sup> Edward H. Schafer, “Falconry in T’ang Times,” *T’oung-pao* 46, (1958): 293–338. “When, in the future, the general history of falconry in the Far East is written, its author will be obliged to consult a considerable literature in Japanese. Texts of various date are reprinted in the *Gunsho Ruijū* 群書類從, 12, 440–517, and in *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*, 19, 590–907. The former of these contains the text of *Shinshū yōkyō* 新修鷹經 ‘Newly Revised Goshawk Canon’, written in the Chinese language and bearing the date A.D. 818. Possibly this derives from the lamented ‘Goshawk Canon’ written in Han China, and seemingly lost in that country during T’ang.” Schafer, “Falconry in T’ang Times,” *T’oung-pao* 46, (1958): 318.

The most common interpretation today on the origin of this manuscript, written exclusively in Chinese characters, attributes it to the Emperor Saga (Saga Tennō 嵯峨天皇, 786–842); the *Shinshū yōkyō* was allegedly composed in 818. Even though it is possible that the literary talent expressed by Emperor Saga,<sup>3</sup> author of literary compositions, and supporter and promoter of literary collections, might have led scholars to believe he was the author of the *Shinshū yōkyō*, indications on the origin of the *Shinshū yōkyō* are still today extremely discordant. The hypothesis is that this manuscript may have been partially copied, or inspired by, an original Han dynasty copy during the Tang dynasty. Since the question of the origin of the *Shinshū yōkyō* is strictly connected to Japanese sources, the authors analysed secondary literature in Japanese to get a better understanding of the relevant state of the art; they considered one of the most comprehensive works, compiled by Akiyoshi Masahiro 秋吉正博, which organises and sums up the historical role of the *Shinshū yōkyō*.

In this article, the authors, who give an account in the English language about this unique book for the first time, present the contents and structure of the *Shinshū yōkyō*, with the relevant background of related knowledge on falconry. Secondly, through an analysis of the sources indicated by Schafer, Akiyoshi, and other texts, the authors expand on the primary and secondary sources presented, pointing out possible further research perspectives to locate the origin of the *Shinshū yōkyō*, and, in a broader perspective, the text it is based on. The article concludes that, even though the *Shinshū yōkyō* should be considered as originating in Japan, there are indications it might be connected to lost Chinese texts or other documents quoting and reporting such missing works. The preliminary information presented in the article tries to clarify these hypotheses and indicate new perspectives of research on the *Shinshū yōkyō*.

### 1. Contents and structure of the *Xinxiu yingjing*

The *Shinshū yōkyō* / *Xinxiu yingjing* 新修鷹經 (“New revised Goshawk Canon”)<sup>4</sup> consists of 62 pages, 27x19, of beautiful handwritten Chinese characters.<sup>5</sup> The book has no index, but its content may be summarised as follows:

<sup>3</sup> See Kristopher L. Reeves, “Of Poetry, Patronage, and Politics: From Saga to Michizane, Sinitic Poetry in the Early Heian Court” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2018), 45 and following.

<sup>4</sup> The edition of the book here described is the copy kept in Waseda University Library (*Waseda daigaku toshokan* 早稲田大学図書館), titled according to the catalogue as *Shinshū takakyō* (*jōchūge*) 新修鷹經 (上, 中, 下) (New revised Goshawk Canon, three volumes); images at p. 56 of this article are from this edition. The compiler is indicated as the Emperor Saga, with unknown publishing year and place.

<sup>5</sup> It is well known that from Nara and Heian times, Japan adopted Chinese characters as the official writing system. Chinese writing in Japan is called *kanbun* 漢文, lit.: “Han writing,” also known as



Preface (*Shinshū yōkyō jo / Xinxiu yingjing xu* 新修鷹經序): pp. 1–2

First part (*Shinshū yōkyō jō / Xinxiu yingjing shang* 新修鷹經上): pp. 3–24.

Appearance (形相); general assessment (相鷹大體法); differences (相別體法); gyrfalcon? (相隼鵠法).

Second part (*Shinshū yōkyō chū / Xinxiu yingjing zhong* 新修鷹經中): pp. 27–46.

Adapt the breeding (調養); general rules of breeding (養鷹法); release the falcon in the open fields (入田放鷹法); breeding the falcon in the summer (夏養鷹法); breeding the young falcon (養雛鷹法); tying the falcon's legs (著腳絆法); tying the falcon (係鷹法); taming the falcon (僵鷹法); putting the bell on the falcon (著鈴係法); cutting the beak (攻喙法); cutting the claws (攻爪法); ? (禁忘法);<sup>6</sup> avoid beating (擊格禁); falcon room care (鷹屋禁); rules of release (放鷹禁); regurgitate hairs (吐毛禁); polishing the beak (拭喙禁); avoid carrying the falcon on horseback (走馬禁); avoid soiled utensil (穢器禁); keep hands clean (汗手禁); avoid drinking (飲酒禁).

Third part (*Shinshū yōkyō ge / Xinxiu yingjing xia* 新修鷹經下): pp. 49–62.

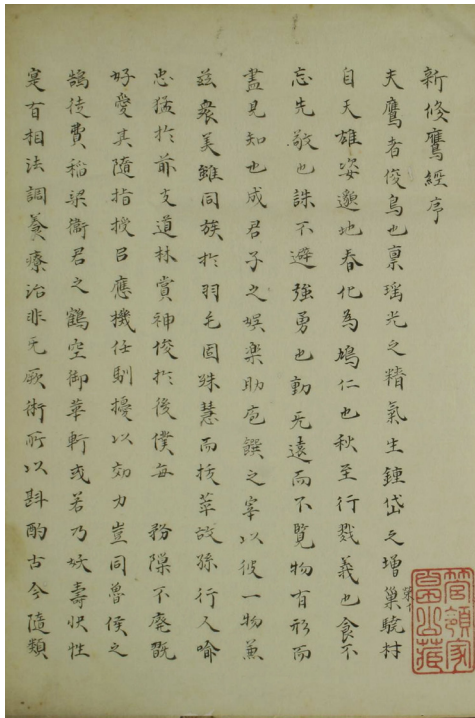
Treatments (療治); runny nose (治鼻塞方); constipation (治臀塞方); swollen feet (治腳腫方); feet warts (治腳疣方); abdominal plumage itch (治嚙腹股毛方); plumage itch (治嚙拔羽方); itch treatment (治癢方); dysentery with blood (治血痢方); dog bites (治被犬噬鷹執方); viscera (治內症方); broken leg (治腳折傷); internal sickness (治內瘵方).

At the end of the book, there is one clause that states: *Kōnin kyū nen go gatsu nijūni nichi* 弘仁九年五月廿二日, “Twenty-second day of the fifth month of the ninth year of Kōnin era,” which transposed into the Gregorian system means one day of the month of February of the year 818 when the Emperor Saga was ruling Japan. This is one of the elements that led scholars to say that the Emperor Saga himself is the author of the book. It was quite the norm to attribute some of the anonymous texts that were prepared by the court scribes and inserted in official collections to the ruling Emperor.<sup>7</sup>

“Chinese writing,” as indicated in Peter Francis Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 53; this is the main term indicating the orthodox Sinitic Japanese writing system. See Shibatani Masayoshi, *The Languages of Japan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 125–28. “To all appearances, writing as such, in the form of Chinese Classics, was introduced into Japan early in the fifth century as part of the great cultural influx from Paekche. [...] For some time, writing remained in the hands of hereditary professional scribes (*fubito*) who were of continental heritage. Through the sixth and seventh centuries Sinitic culture, including Chinese Buddhism, flowed into Japan through Paekche. In the course of this, written Chinese assumed enormous importance in matters of state, philosophy, and religion. Any serious engagement with such matters required knowledge of written Chinese and for some time writing was equivalent with writing in Chinese.” See Frellesvig Bjarke, *A History of the Japanese Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 11.

<sup>6</sup> The translation of the title of this part is still uncertain. According to the content it may be related to recommendations on avoiding taking the falcon hunting during mourning, but this is a preliminary theory and the captioned part needs further analysis.

<sup>7</sup> For the life of the Emperor Saga and his link to the history of Chinese calligraphy in Japan, see



*Shinshū yōkyō / Xinxiu yingjing* testifies the importance of falconry in Japan in the ninth century, although some sources recorded the use of falcons for hunting as far back as 650 B.C.: *Kojiki* 古事記, an early chronicle, mentioned falconry already in seventh century B.C. but this source was written in 712 A.D.<sup>8</sup> Archaeological evidence shows early signs of falconry activities in Japan: in Gunma Prefecture a falconer *haniwa* 埴輪 (clay model) was discovered, excavated from Okuman-yama Kofun Mound at Wakiya, Ōta City; another falconer *haniwa* figurine, very similar to

Donald H. Shively and William McCullough (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan: Volume 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 416: "Although Chinese writing styles had been competently copied earlier, Japanese study of calligraphy as an art began with the great religious leader Kūkai (or Kobo Daishi, 774–835), who absorbed the major T'ang styles during his fourteen months in China. The square (*kaisho*), running (*gyōsho*), grass (*sōsho*), and other styles sponsored or introduced by Kūkai after his return were essentially those perfected by the legendary Wang Hsi-chih (321?–71?) and his son Wang Hsien-chih (344–88). They provided the foundation for what was later known as the Chinese style (*karayō*); Kūkai and two of his contemporaries, Emperor Saga (786–842) and Tachibana no Hayanari (d. 842) — the so-called Three Brushes (*sampitsu*) — were recognized as the style's best early practitioners. Meanwhile, the Japanese were continuing the experimentation that was to lead ultimately to the modern *hiragana* syllabary."

<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the *Kojiki* is not considered historically reliable, thus we must be cautious in taking this information as proof for the philological reconstruction presented here.

the first one, was found in Fuchina, Sakai-cho, Sawa-gun, also in Gunma Prefecture. A falconer *haniwa* model from an unknown excavation site is kept in a collection at the Museum of Shitennojōji, showing quite similar manufacturing characteristics to those mentioned above. Finally, a falconer model's left arm was unearthed at Imashirozuka Burial Mound at Takatsuki, Osaka Prefecture. All of these archaeological finds date back from the end of the sixth century.<sup>9</sup>

Other literary sources indicate that falconry was introduced in Japan at the time of Emperor Ōjin (Ōjin Tennō 応神天皇, 270–313 A.D.).<sup>10</sup> In the chronicle *Harima no kuni fudoki* 播磨国風土記 (Record of the customs and land of Harima province) there is a description of a hill called *Suzukupi-woka* 鈴喫岡, which says that Prince Homuda<sup>11</sup> used to enjoy falcon hunting there. One day, one of his falcons lost its bell on this hill. The bell was never found again, thus the name “Suzukupi-woka” (bell-eating hill).<sup>12</sup> Thus, trained birds were used for hunting at least around the end of the third century, beginning of the fourth.

The first reliable account of falconry in Japan, especially in the governmental context, seems to be from the third century. In *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (The Chronicles of Japan) it is noted that under the 43<sup>rd</sup> year of the reign of the Emperor Nintoku (Nintoku Tennō 仁徳天皇, 355 A.D.) a strange bird was given to the emperor by a courtier named Tsuchigura Yosami of Ahiko, and in the entire court, only a man from Kudara was able to recognise the bird; he said that the bird was common in Paekche, was called “falcon” and was used to hunt. Nintoku charged this man with training the bird, then started to take the falcon hunting and established a Hawker's Guild (*takakaibe* 鷹甘部), starting the tradition of hawk training.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> As for archaeological falconry evidence in Old Japan, see Takuya Soma, “Ethnoarchaeology of Ancient Falconry in East Asia,” *Asian Conference on Asian Studies, International Academic Forum* (Osaka, 2013), 7–10. As Soma explains, “a bell is clearly detected on the tail of bird. This is one of the oldest pieces of evidence representing a bell installation in falconry culture.”

<sup>10</sup> Hans J. Epstein, “The Origin and Earliest History of Falconry,” *Isis* 34, n.6, (Autumn, 1943), 500; E. W. Jameson, *The Hawking of Japan: The History and Development of Japanese Falconry* (California: University of California Davis, 1962), 21–23. The authors of the present research are aware of the publication of a monograph in the Japanese language about falconry, namely Akiyoshi Masahiro, *Nihon kodai yōyō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2004). Unfortunately, at the time of the final draft of this article, they were not able to consult this book.

<sup>11</sup> Homuda, or Homuta, is one of the names indicating the Emperor Ōjin, also known as Hondawake no Mikoto (誉田別尊) or Homuta no Sumeramikoto (譽田天皇). He is considered the fifteenth Emperor of Japan. The time and chronicle of his reign are much debated by historians who define him as a possible legendary figure, but he is considered to have ruled from 270 to 310.

<sup>12</sup> Michiko Yamaguchi Aoki, *Records of Wind and Earth: A Translation of Fudoki with Introduction and Commentaries* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Association for Asian Studies, 1997), 200. See also Edwina Palmer, *Harima fudoki: A Record of Ancient Japan Reinterpreted, Translated, Annotated, and with Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 155, and Uegaki Setsuya, *Fudoki* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1997), 68–69.

<sup>13</sup> Noriko Otsuka, “Falconry: Tradition and Acculturation,” *International Journal of Sport and Health Science* 4, 2006, 199. The English translation of the original passage of *Nihon shoki* is as follows: “43<sup>rd</sup> year, Autumn, 9<sup>th</sup> month, 1<sup>st</sup> day. Abiko, of the Yosami no miyake, caught a strange bird and presented it to the Emperor, saying: ‘I am constantly spreading nets and catching birds in

According to Otsuka, “Nintoku, in order to keep an immigrant falconer named Kanemitsu, gave him a beautiful woman from the court, named Kochiku. Kanemitsu and Kochiku had one child, a daughter named Shukou. When Shukou was 15, they adopted Minamoto Seirai as her husband and family heir. It is said that Seirai was taught 18 secrets and 36 oral traditions. As a result, the first school [of falconry] is known variously as the Sakenokimi school, the Kochiku School, or the Seirai School.”<sup>14</sup>

Starting from the time of Emperor Saga and in the following century, falconry became a very popular form of hunting among noble people in Japan: “The usual winter objective was falconry, the only form of hunting sanctioned by the court, which was apparently prompted by the sport’s popularity to disregard the Buddhist prohibition against the taking of life. Falconry was a favourite pastime of at least eleven emperors, from Kammu in the ninth century to Shirakawa in the twelfth and there are many records of festive outings at which royal spectators and their courtiers watched the activities of falconers and dog handlers, who gradually came to be members of specialist families, versed in secret traditions and masters of elaborately ritualized techniques.”<sup>15</sup>

It is reasonable to say that falconry was imported from China through Korea. The possibility that *Shinshū yōkyō* / *Xinxiu yingjing* contains Chinese falconry knowledge from the Han dynasty (202 B.C.–220 A.D.) led us to investigate if falconry in China was popular in the Han period.

Falconry in China has a long history, as testified by many written and material sources. If we exclude a falcon feather image that is said to be depicted on the banner of the legendary Yellow Emperor (2698 B.C.), the earliest representations of falconry date back to the third century B.C.<sup>16</sup> Falconer images appeared again during

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them, but never before have I caught a bird of this kind. I therefore thought it curious, and offer it to His Majesty.’ The Emperor sent for Sake no kimi and, pointing to the bird, said: ‘What bird is this?’ Sake no kimi answered and said: ‘Birds of this kind are numerous in Baekje. They can be tamed so as to be quite obedient to man. Moreover they are swift of flight and prey upon all kinds of birds. The common people in Baekje call them Kuchi.’ So it was given to Sake no kimi to be fed and tamed. In no long time he succeeded in taming it. Sake no kimi accordingly fastened to its leg a soft leather strap and attached to its tail a small bell. Then, placing it on his forearm, he presented it to the Emperor. On this day he went to the moor of Mozu and hunted. At this time a large number of hen pheasants got up, and the falcon was let loose and made to catch them. It speedily caught several tens of pheasants. In this month the Be of Takakahi (falcon-sweet) was first established. Therefore, the men of that time called the place where the falcon was brought up the village of Takakahi.” See *Nihon shoki*, 709, at JHTI (Japanese Historical Text Initiative, University of California at Berkeley). The English edition is adapted from William George Aston, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, first published in Proceedings of Japan Society in 1896 (retrieved at <https://jhti.berkeley.edu/cgi-bin/jhti/print.cgi>, June 2020), using the critical edition of Kojima Noriyuki *et al.*, *Nihon shoki*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1996), 60–63.

<sup>14</sup> Otsuka, “Falconry,” 199.

<sup>15</sup> Shively and McCullough, *The Cambridge History of Japan*, 401–402.

<sup>16</sup> As for the falcon on the banner of the Yellow Emperor, see Epstein, “The Origin,” 499: “[...] the Yun



the Han dynasty period in high-class grave bas-reliefs, as seen in the famous Xiao Tang Shan 孝堂山 bas-relief (second century A.D.) in Shandong.<sup>17</sup> Other research also points out different grave's stone walls, such as the ones excavated from Shandong and Shaanxi, dating back to the period between the first and third centuries, showing again different images of falconry activities specifically during the Han period. For instance, a stone excavated in Zoucheng, Shandong shows falconers with raptors on their arms, releasing them in order to fetch rabbits.<sup>18</sup>



Shoulie, Gongniu-Didou Huaxiang (狩獵, 公牛抵鬥畫像)” (circa. A.D. 89–146), Zoucheng, Shandong province (山東省鄒城市郭里鄉黃路屯村). Soma, “Ethnoarchaeology,” 2013, 5.

*Chi Ch'i Ch'ien* records that the banner of the Yellow Emperor bore a falcon feather. Aside from the fact that a feather is in no way an indication of falconry, it must be noted that the Yellow Emperor is an entirely mythical figure, who is supposed to have ascended the throne in 2698 B.C. But the *Yun Chi Ch'i Ch'ien* was compiled by Chang Chun-fang only as late as the Sun dynasty (960–1279 A.D.)” Concerning the earliest visual representation of a falconer, Takuya Soma says, “a figure of early falconer was firstly seen in the bronze belt buckle casted in northwestern China around 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.” Takuya Soma, “Ethnoarchaeology of Ancient Falconry in East Asia,” *Asian Conference on Asian Studies, International Academic Forum*, Osaka, 2013, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Édouard Chavannes, *La sculpture sur pierre en Chine au temps des deux dynasties Han* (Paris: Leroux, 1893) (<http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001531500000000>), 77.

<sup>18</sup> See “Shoulie, gongniu didou huaxiang 狩獵公牛抵鬥畫像 (circa. A.D. 89–146), Zoucheng, Shandong,” in *Zhongguo Huaxiangshi-Quanji* 中國畫像石全集, 2, 2000, 78–79, cited in Soma, “Ethnoarchaeology,” 6–8. For a detailed description of this archaeological evidence, see the above article.

As for written evidence, there are frequent references to falconry in China, testifying its popularity in the Han dynasty with descriptions of emperors and noblemen practicing hawking.<sup>19</sup> One famous image comes from *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (c. A.D. 220–80), Section of Wei, I, chapter 1, where it is stated in his biography that the general Cao Cao (c. A.D. 200) was very fond of the practice of *feiyong zougou* 飛鷹走狗, “to let hounds run and falcons fly.”<sup>20</sup>

After the Han dynasty, there is a lack of signs of hawking practice in China for almost four centuries.<sup>21</sup> Then, in the Tang dynasty (seventh century), we again find some evidence. For example, reading *Beishi* 北史 we know that in the year 608 more than 10,000 professional falconers gathered in Luoyang.<sup>22</sup> There is also evidence that there were vendors of hunting hawks in the markets of great cities in Song times.<sup>23</sup>

The above synoptic account chronologically suits the theory that this book may have originated in China. We acknowledge that: 1) Falconry was present in Japan probably since the third century; in the same period, its great diffusion in China was testified by both literary and archaeological sources. In Han times, when the lamented *Ying jing* was composed, falconry was practiced diffusely in China; 2) According to written evidence in the same period, falconry probably entered Japan through Korea.

Another point that could reinforce the idea that the book may have been copied or inspired by a Chinese ancient version could be that it mentions, in the veterinary section, some ingredients not present or known in Japanese veterinary medicine at the time of Emperor Saga. For instance, on page 53 of the manuscript, in the section *Zhi sao fang* 治瘙方 (itch treatment), there is mention of *xionghuang* 雄黃. This mineral is known in the West by the name realgar, or by the scientific name arsenic sulfide. Realgar was largely used in Chinese alchemy and medicine since very ancient times. It was present in Japan in the seventh century but was so rare and precious that it seems strange to find it in a recipe to cure a raptor. For example, an egg-shaped object of Chinese origin, made with realgar, is kept in

<sup>19</sup> Epstein, “The Origin,” 500.

<sup>20</sup> For this and other quotations related to falconry in Chinese written documents, see: Hans J. Epstein, “The Origin and Earliest History of Falconry,” *Isis* 34, n.6, (Autumn, 1943): 499–500; Paolo De Troia, “Ludovico Buglio’s *Jincheng yingshuo* 進呈鷹說 (Treatise on Hawks),” in *Falconry in the Mediterranean Context During the Pre-Modern Era*, ed. Charles Burnett and Baudouin Van den Abeele (Paris: Librairie Droz, 2021), 153–69.

<sup>21</sup> Despite the lack of information, during this period falconry may have been quite popular in China, because of the presence of Tatar rulers.

<sup>22</sup> *Beishi*, 12, 2782, cited in Schafer, “Falconry,” 297.

<sup>23</sup> In *Menghua lu* we can read a description of the street in the city of Kaifeng where we find a *ying dian* 鷹店 or “goshawk bazaar” managed by foreign merchants, where people used to go to buy “eagles and hawks, precious pearls, silks and fragrant spices.” Meng Yuanlao 孟元老, *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄 (The Eastern Capital: A Dream of Splendour), 1147, 2, p. 41, as in Schafer, “Falconry,” 298.

the Shōsō-in 正倉院, the Imperial Treasury in Nara. It was probably brought from China to Japan during the eighth century “as a great medicinal treasure.”<sup>24</sup> At the time of writing of this article, this is only a hypothesis and further research needs to be done in order to collect more material and evidence, but nonetheless these kinds of clues may be relevant in the *Shinshū yōkyō* / *Xinxiu yingjing* analysis. For the sake of the topic and space of the present article, the authors must focus on these data in future works on this book.

## 2. Japanese scholars and the theories on the origin of the Xinxiu yingjing

After the hypotheses presented in the first chapter, we will now proceed to analyse the secondary literature on the *Xinxiu yingjing* in Japan. One of the most important sources to get a better understanding of it, and to propose new relevant hypotheses, is the work by Akiyoshi Masahiro 秋吉正博.<sup>25</sup> Akiyoshi organised and summed up the historical role of the *Xinxiu yingjing*, read in Japanese as *Shinshū yōkyō* or *Shinshū takakyō*, which is generally considered the first treatise of falconry in Japan.

The most common interpretation today on the origin of the text attributes it to the Emperor Saga (Saga Tennō 嵯峨天皇, 786–842; regnal years: 809–823); the *Shinshū yōkyō* was allegedly composed in 818. Even though it is possible that the literary talent expressed by Emperor Saga might have led scholars to believe he was the author of the *Shinshū yōkyō*, the indications on the origin of the *Shinshū yōkyō* are still extremely discordant today.<sup>26</sup> From a historical perspective, Akiyoshi presents the five most representative theories, advanced by the physician Kurokawa Dōyū 黒川道祐 (1622?–1691), scholar Ban Nobutomo 伴信友 (1773–1846), historian and philologist Wada Hidematsu 和田英松 (1865–1937), Japanese literature scholar Fukui Kyūzō 福井久藏 (1867–1951), and historian Iwahashi Koyata 岩橋小弥太 (1885–1978). Nevertheless, it should be noted that not all five scholars mentioned by Akiyoshi have followed the version of the *Shinshū yōkyō* included in the *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 (Collection of numerous books), compiled by Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 (1746–1821), a scholar and Buddhist monk of the Edo period (江戸, 1603–1868).<sup>27</sup> Even more importantly, their opinions are to be read in

<sup>24</sup> Edward H. Schafer, “Orpiment and Realgar in Chinese Technology and Tradition,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75, no. 2 (1955): 79.

<sup>25</sup> If not otherwise specified, the theories by Akiyoshi presented in this paragraph are drawn from Akiyoshi Masahiro, “*Shinshū yōkyō* no kōsei — Yō fu to no kankei,” *Yashima gakuen kiyō — The bulletin of Yashima Gakuen University*, no. 1 (2005): 1–11.

<sup>26</sup> Some scholars maintain the text might originate from India or the “Western regions,” *Xiyu* 西域, or at least be a product of the cultural contacts within the area, as stated in Chen Zhutong, “Han Wei Nanbei chao wailai de yishu yu yaowu de kaozheng,” *Zhong-xi yiyao* 6, no. 2, (1935): 21.

<sup>27</sup> The *Shinshū yōkyō* can be read in its full text in *juan* number 356 of the *Gunsho ruijū*.



the framework and background of the *Kokugaku* 国学 (Japan studies), a revival of scholarly interest that put focus on the local Japanese culture in contrast to the predominance given to China until the time.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, although these scholars have produced relevant textual studies of ancient works, their philology is presumably biased, particularly in the case of Ban Nobutomo, by an interest and a focus on stating the “indigenous” predominance in the Japanese cultural system. Therefore, we consider their conclusions useful in the reconstruction of the reception of the *Xinxiu yingjing*, but should always be regarded with caution as far as the actual history of the text is concerned.

According to Kurokawa, the author of the *Shinshū yōkyō* is Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu 藤原冬嗣 (775–826), a statesman of the Heian period (平安, 794–1185), also known as Kan’in daijin 関院大臣. Similarly, Ban Nobutomo and Iwahashi are inclined to follow the most common attribution, which is to the Emperor Saga. On the contrary, Wada and Fukui believe that the author was not Japanese, but instead a Chinese emperor of the Sui 隋 (581–618) or Tang 唐 (618–907) dynasties.

Among the five scholars presented by Akiyoshi, Kurokawa is the only one to consider the possible attribution of the *Shinshū yōkyō* to Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu. In the text he consulted, a signature by Kose no Notari 巨勢野足 (749?–817), a courtier during the Heian period, was presumably included. Kose no Notari’s connection with the Emperor Saga is highlighted by his appointment, together precisely with Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu, as the first *kurōdo no tō* 藏人頭 (Chief imperial chancellor);<sup>29</sup> the institution they led, the *Kurōdo dokoro* 藏人所, was expressly created by Emperor Saga in 810. Nevertheless, in the edition included in the *Gunsho ruijū*, such a signature cannot be seen; therefore, according to Akiyoshi, there are no concrete indications to support Kurokawa’s theory. The supposition is that the personal and temporal proximity of Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu and Kose no Notari, quoted in the preface to the text (“巨勢朝臣,” Ason Kose<sup>30</sup>), might have led Kurokawa to believe the author was the latter.

On the other hand, Ban Nobutomo considered the *Shinshū yōkyō* to be a *gyosei* 御製; the term refers to a text composed by the emperor personally. In order to support his theory, Ban affirms that the second character of the passage at the foot of the *Shinshū yōkyō* in which “賜拳” (something given as a gift) can be read, should be actually interpreted not as 拳 (present), but instead as 奉 (dedicate) and that some characters are missing. The passage should be read as “賜自内裏奉 [...]” The *Shinshū yōkyō* would be therefore a work provided by the *dairi* 内裏 – indicating the imperial palace of the imperial capital of that time, Heian – and by the emperor in person, to the *Shuyōshi* 主鷹司, the department responsible for falconry and

<sup>28</sup> Richard Rubinger, *Private Academies of the Tokugawa Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 158.

<sup>29</sup> See Reeves, “Of Poetry, Patronage, and Politics,” 71 and following.

<sup>30</sup> Ason or *asomi* was a high-ranking title under the Japanese system of *kabane* 姓; the latter was used to denote the political and social status of different clans.

hunting dogs. This theory is corroborated by Wada when he quotes the passage on page 5 of the *Sagano monogatari* 嵯峨野物語 (The tale of Sagano), a text in which the *Shinshū yōkyō* is mentioned. The passage reads: “新修鷹經も，弘仁に鷹所に出されたる文也” (‘The new revised edition of the classic on falconry has been presented to the office responsible for falconry in the Kōnin 弘仁 era’ – namely, 810–824). However, Wada did not interpret this passage as confirmation of the text being personally composed by Emperor Saga.

As for Iwahashi, on the other hand, Akiyoshi states that it is impossible to know the source he consulted. However, in the “Old book of the Tang” (*Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書), in the section on classics and canons (*jingjizhi* 經籍志), and the “New book of the Tang” (*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書), in the section on books (*yiwenzhi* 藝文志), there is a reference to a “Goshawk Canon, one *juan*” (“鷹經一卷”) that might be connected to the *Shinshū yōkyō*. According to Iwahashi, this is the reason why in the *Shinshū yōkyō* two characters have been added, 新修 (*xinxiu*, or *shinshū*, newly revised), the latter representing a revised edition of the text.

The authors of the article indeed found traces of this canon in one volume in the “General catalogue of lofty writings” (*Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目), a bibliography compiled during the Northern Song dynasty (*Bei Song* 北宋, 960–1127) by Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 (1003–1058), Song Xiang 宋庠 (996–1066), Lü Gongchuo 呂公綽 (999–1055), Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), and Wang Zhu 王洙 (997–1057), among others. More specifically, in the catalogue, the text is quoted within the sixth *juan*, p. 24A, as “東川白氏鷹經一卷” (‘Goshawk Canon, one *juan*, by Mr. Bai, of Dongchuan’); the work is signalled as *que* 闕 (missing, lost) and the text suggests referring to the copy stored in the Tianyi ge 天一閣.<sup>31</sup>

In consideration of the hypothesis advanced in the first chapter of the article and pertaining to the origin and diffusion of the *Shinshū yōkyō*, it should be noted that the text was already quoted in the *Nihonkoku genzai shomokuroku* 日本国見在書目録 (Index of the books available in the country of Japan), in which the *kanseki* 漢籍 (Chinese texts) are divided and classified.<sup>32</sup> Compiled by the medieval scholar Fujiwara no Sukeyo 藤原佐世 (847–897), the *Nihonkoku genzai shomokuroku* can be considered an authoritative source on the extent of Chinese knowledge spread in Japan at that time.<sup>33</sup> In the text, within the section on the school of naturalists (*gōkyōka* 五行家), the *Shinshū yōkyō* is quoted as “新修鷹經三” (‘New revised Goshawk Canon, three’); the reference is to the three *juan* composing it. Nevertheless, similarly to other textual information presented in this article, the fact that the *Shinshū yōkyō* is included in the *Nihonkoku genzai shomokuroku* is not a clear indication in order to locate where it was composed.

<sup>31</sup> The original text reads: “東川白氏鷹經一卷原釋闕。(見天一閣鈔本)”

<sup>32</sup> Akiyoshi, “*Shinshū yōkyō* no *kōsei*,” 4.

<sup>33</sup> Shively and McCullough, *The Cambridge History of Japan*, 345.

Other references to reconstruct the history and dating of the *Shinshū yōkyō* are contained in the *Sagano monogatari* 嵯峨野物語 (The tale of Sagano). In the latter there are indications pertaining to the writing of the *Shinshū yōkyō* by the *Bettō* (別当),<sup>34</sup> the imperial prince and other ministers; such indications are therefore similar to those of the *Gunsho ruijū*. Analogously, in the *Yōyōki* 養鷹記 (Notes for raising falcons), composed during the Sengoku period (戦国, 1467–1568), it is possible to read that the *Shinshū yōkyō* was spread in the “whole country in the second year of the Kōnin era by the Emperor Saga” (“嵯峨天皇弘仁二年以新修鷹經施行海内”); such an indication cannot be found in the *Gunsho ruijū*.<sup>35</sup>

Today, there are various editions available in Japan related to the *Shinshū yōkyō* to different degrees. One, *Shinshū yōkyō sankan* 新修鷹經3卷 (New revised Goshawk Canon, three *juan*), is stored in the Kyoto Institute, Library and Archives (*Kyōto furitsu Kyōtōgaku – Rekisaikan* 京都府立京都学 – 歴彩館); the compiler is indicated as the Emperor Saga, with unknown publishing year and place. Another volume is stored in the Waseda University Library (*Waseda daigaku toshokan – 早稲田大学図書館*), titled *Takakyō* 鷹經 (Goshawk Canon); author and publishing year and place are not indicated. Finally, other similar volumes, reporting unknown author or indicating him as Emperor Saga, all without printing year and place, are also accessible in the National Diet Library (*Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan* 国立国会図書館).

The works based or derived from the *Shinshū yōkyō* are basically three. The first is the *Takakyō bengiron* 鷹經弁疑論 (Discussions on the Goshawk Canon), which is signalled as composed by Jimyōin Motoharu 持明院基春 (1453–1535), a renowned calligrapher, courtier, and member of the falconry school Jimyōin during the Sengoku period (publishing year and editor unknown). The second is the *Shinshū yōkyō wakai* 新修鷹經和解 (Explanation in Japanese of the New revised Goshawk Canon), composed by the Confucian official Hayashi Nobuyuki 林信如 (n.d.), also known by his pen name Hayashi Katsuro 林葛廬; the text was presumably printed in the third year of Kyōhō 享保 era (1716–1736), corresponding to 1718. Finally, it is possible to mention the *Shinshū yōkyō genkai* 新修鷹經諺解 (Simple explanation of the New revised Goshawk Canon), composed by Hayashi Ryūkō 林榴岡 (1681–1758), a famous Confucian also known by his real name (*imina* 諱), Hayashi Nobumitsu 林信充, and by his pseudonym (*kemyō* 仮名), Shichisaburō 七三郎, with the help of Hayashi Momosuke 林百助 (n.d.), also known as Hayashi Nobutomo 林信智. The

<sup>34</sup> *Bettō* was a position that, in the old centralised system of governance in Japan, could temporarily perform the position of another; it can be here interpreted as a general official, presumably in charge of falconry.

<sup>35</sup> Akiyoshi, “*Shinshū yōkyō no kōsei*,” 4. As indicated in the latter, other references to the *Shinshū yōkyō* can be found in the *Yōhishō* (o *Takahishō*) 鷹秘抄 (Secret annotations on falcons), the *Takakyō bengiron* 鷹經弁疑論 (Discussions on the Goshawk Canon), which represents the translated and annotated version of the *Shinshū yōkyō*, and the *Mōgyū hiyō ōrai* 蒙求臂鷹往来 (Primer for resting the falcons on the arm and letting them go and come back).

*Shinshū yōkyō genkai*, analogously to the *Shinshū yōkyō wakai*, was allegedly printed in the third year of the Kyōhō era.<sup>36</sup>

In any case, according to Akiyoshi, as well as suggested in this article, there are still no certain indications whether the *Shinshū yōkyō* was composed directly in Japan or imported from China; also, if the first hypothesis is valid, if it was the Emperor Saga or his subordinates who composed it. Akiyoshi, therefore, suggests consulting the *Ying fu* 鷹賦 (*Fu* on falconry), compiled in China starting from the Han dynasty (漢, 206 B.C.–220 A.D.), in order to get a better outlook on the *Shinshū yōkyō*. More specifically, during the Tang dynasty, three *fu* can be found in the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Classified collection of books) and in the *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (Notes on elementary instruction), composed by the official of the Western Jin dynasty (*Xi Jin* 西晉, 266–316) Sun Chu 孫楚 (?–293), the scholar Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217–278) of the Jin dynasty (晉, 266–420), and Wei Yanshen 魏彥深 (n.d.), literatus of the Northern Qi (*Bei Qi* 北齊, 550–577) and Sui dynasties. The three authors are all quoted in the *Shinshū yōkyō*.

In the *Shinshū yōkyō*, “晉孫楚鷹賦” (‘a *fu* on falconry by Sun Chu, of the Jin dynasty’) and the generic “鷹賦” (‘*fu* on falconry’) by Fu Xuan are indeed specifically mentioned. On the other hand, the “隨魏彥深鷹賦” (‘*fu* on falconry by Wei Yanshen, of the Sui dynasty’), one of the best-preserved texts on falconry, quoted in the *Chuxue ji* and the *Taiping yulan*, is not mentioned but it is indirectly referred to as “魏收之經” (‘a classic by Wei Shou’). According to Akiyoshi, it is highly probable that the compiler of the *Shinshū yōkyō* in the ninth century consulted the “*fu* on falconry” included in the *Yiwen leiju* and the *Chuxue ji*. On the other hand, it is extremely unlikely that he did not notice the quotation about the “*fu* on falconry” by Wei Yanshen. Quoted as “a classic by Wei Shou,” it is possible that the compiler confused Wei Yanshen of the Sui dynasty with Wei Shou of the Northern Qi dynasty. Actually, Wei Shou is the name of different historical figures, for example, an official of the Later Zhou (*Hou Zhou* 後周, 907–960), quoted in the *Shinshū yōkyō*, and a homonym of the Northern Qi and Sui dynasty literatus mentioned before.

From the analysis of these and other texts, people quoted in the *Sui shu* 隋書 (The book of Sui), the authorship of the *Wei shu* 魏書 (The book of Wei) and the *Hou Wei shu* 後魏書 (The book of the later Wei), and a comparison of the structure of “*fu* on falconry by Wei Yanshen, of the Sui dynasty” with the content of *Shinshū yōkyō*, for Akiyoshi it is a plausible theory that the *Shinshū yōkyō* was edited in Japan and not in China.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, Ban’s theory, in which the *Shinshū yōkyō* is based on a Han dynasty text, is groundless. Even in this case, it would be hard to identify the name of such a work. He concludes that the *Shinshū yōkyō* was most likely composed in Japan; further research should pay attention to the joint signature and perhaps also

<sup>36</sup> The last two texts are stored in the National Archives of Japan (*Kokuritsu kōbunshokan* 国立公文書館).

<sup>37</sup> Akiyoshi, “*Shinshū yōkyō* no kōsei,” 4–10.

on the knowledge about acupuncture of traditional Chinese medicine included in the work.

While the considerations proposed by Akiyoshi are worth considering, as suggested in the first paragraph of this article, a deeper analysis of the knowledge presented in the text, and perhaps of the relevant nomenclature adopted, could indeed cast a brighter light on the origin of the *Shinshū yōkyō*.

### Conclusions

As evidenced from the historical, textual, and archaeological materials presented in the first paragraph of the article, as well as the analysis put forward by Akiyoshi, the authors agree with many of the conclusions on the origin of the *Shinshū yōkyō* and that the latter should be considered for all intents and purposes a Japanese text. Nevertheless, other factors need to be taken into account, such as those presented in the article, to cast a brighter light on this work.

Other than the study of its structure, of the knowledge presented in the *Shinshū yōkyō*, and relevant terminological questions, further research may include the analysis of other historical and textual materials. For example, according to the above-cited historical text *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (The Chronicles of Japan),<sup>38</sup> falconry was introduced in Japan in the fourth century thanks to prince Sake no kimi 酒君, grandson of the King of Kudara, the Japanese name for the Korean kingdom of Baekje or Paekche (百濟, 18 B.C.–660 A.D.).<sup>39</sup> Therefore, Korean falconers should have brought relevant knowledge with them that might be of Chinese origin.<sup>40</sup> The advanced hypothesis, according to which the *Shinshū yōkyō* was copied, or based on a similar edition, composed in Chinese before the fourth century, is therefore plausible. Other than those presented in the article, one possible research perspective that we plan to investigate further, which can lead to major results, is the one

<sup>38</sup> The original text, eleventh volume, reads: “四十一年春三月。遣紀角宿禰於百濟[...]是時百濟王之族酒君無禮。由是紀角宿禰責百濟王。時百濟王懼之。以鐵鎖縛酒君。附襲津彥而進上。爰酒君來之。” (‘On the third month of the forty-first year [of the reign of Nintoku Emperor, Nintoku Tennō 仁德天皇, regnal years traditionally considered from 313 to 399], Kinotsuno no Sukune was dispatched to Baekje [...] At that time a member of the King of Baekje, Sake no kimi, did not observe proper formalities. For this reason, Kinotsuno no Sukune accused the King of Baekje, who in turn was worried about this. For this reason, the King bound Sake no Kimi with iron chains and put him in front of Sotsuhiko. Thus, Sake no kimi arrived [in Japan...].’) The scene is followed by the Emperor asking Sake no Kimi for information on a strange bird captured, and his reply starts as indicated in footnote 13: “此鳥之類多在百濟。得馴而能從人。亦捷飛之掠諸鳥 [...]” (‘There are many birds like this in Baekje. If you tame them, they can follow people, flying fast to capture all kinds of birds [...].’)

<sup>39</sup> See also Takekoshi Yosaburō, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan* (London, New York: Routledge, 2003), 270.

<sup>40</sup> The hypothesis of a Korean mediation is also a typical process in the Japanese reception of Chinese texts: see also Kornicki, *Languages*, 133–39.



indicated in the *Chongwen zongmu*: the text that the *Xinxiu yingjing* or *Shinshū yōkyō* is based on could be connected to the *fu* on falconry by “Mr. Li” of Dongchuan, or to another version as well, or possibly even a combination of the two. When such a source is found, we will be able to better clarify the complicated interactions between the works presented in this article and the transmission of falconry knowledge between Japan and China in different historical periods.

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MARCO MECCARELLI

PAINTING WITH LIGHT AND SHADOW.  
THEORETICAL AND TECHNICAL ASSUMPTIONS  
OF PICTORIAL LANDSCAPE IN CHINESE PHOTOGRAPHY

In this article, I would like to place the focus on certain issues related to Chinese photography, because the process of the composition reveals many aspects in common with the theoretical and technical assumptions of traditional ink landscape painting.

Two characters are used predominantly to say ‘photography’: *zhao* 照 and *ying* 影, or ‘brightness (or reflex)’ and ‘shadow’. All expressions that include *zhao*, such as *zhaopian* 照片, seem to approach the Greek definition of ‘writing the light’ (φως, ‘light, and γραφή, ‘writing’). On the other hand, all the expressions with *ying* have the opposite semantic value: *sheying* 攝影, or ‘photography art’, can be translated to ‘catch the shadow’. Every photography is the combination of light and shadow, and in Chinese philosophy *yin-yang* 陰陽 goes back to natural observations of *yin* – the shady side of the hill; darkness – and *yang*, the sunny side of the hill; brightness: together they form an integrated whole.<sup>1</sup> This concept and the idea that change is the only constant provide the basis for Chinese cosmology, worldview, and logic. *Yin* and *yang* describe how seemingly opposite or contrary elements may actually be complementary, interconnected, and interdependent in the natural world, and how they may rise to each other as they interrelate to one another.<sup>2</sup> Shadow cannot exist without light, and the Chinese etymology of ‘photography’, such as *zhaopian* and *sheying*, is a ‘combination of opposites’.

Photography in China is the result of combining several different technical discoveries<sup>3</sup>: the study of optics (the invention of the camera obscura), the development of modern chemistry (photosensitive substances), and the diffusion and

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<sup>1</sup> Justin Tiwald, Bryan W. Van Norden, *Readings in Later Chinese Philosophy: Han to the 20th Century* (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2014), 30–31.

<sup>2</sup> Jiang, Xinyan, “Chinese Dialectical Thinking—the Yin Yang Model”, *Philosophy Compass* 8/5 (2013): 438–46.

<sup>3</sup> Meccarelli, Marco, “New Perspectives about the Origins of Chinese Photography and Western Research in China”, in *Arte dal Mediterraneo al Mar della Cina: Genesi ed incontri di scuole e stili. Scritti in onore di Paola Mortari Vergara Caffarelli*, ed. P. Fedi-M. Paolillo (Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievali, 2015), 587–98.

settlement of Western medicine (especially anatomy). Furthermore, we should never forget that being an art and a science, photography derives above all from the theoretical and technical assumptions of painting and printing traditions. Photography is not only a new technique or a new code that could be ‘read’, just like that of writing but especially an extension of painting in the field of vision. I would like to point out some paradigms in the art of painting in order to confirm their validity in the art of photography.

### 1. Chinese pictorial aesthetic in photography<sup>4</sup>

In Chinese traditional thought, the universe consists of energy – *qi* 氣, an always moving source of life – of various densities. To reproduce this energy means to give life to the image and establish a direct link between three components: the universe, the painting, and the human being.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the act of painting or contemplating a painting makes it possible to find unity with the cosmos. Consequently, it is more than a simple aesthetic work: it is an art of living.

Chinese painting is not considered an independent form of art, but it is part of the ‘brush art’, which included poetry, calligraphy, and painting in one single discipline, in that order of importance. Many paintings are inscribed with poems, either by the original artist or by later artists or owners of the painting. The landscapes and sentiments that are expressed by these poems want to amplify whatever meaning the image is attempting to communicate, as well as to shape the viewer’s experience of the image.<sup>6</sup> The overall effect of the Chinese brush paintings, which are sometimes known as voiceless poems, should maintain its original freshness and spontaneity. The sought qualities are the vitality of spirit, the intensity of realisation, and the freshness of perception. These principles are related to the nature of the painting materials. Before setting the brush on the paper, every artist must hold a well-conceived draft in the mind’s eye, as once the painting is started it is normally not possible to modify a stroke.

<sup>4</sup> Strictly speaking, the term ‘Chinese aesthetics’, usually translated as *meixue* 美学 (the study of beauty), did not exist in pre-20th-century Chinese texts. The term has been adopted to denote a theoretical study of general principles and ideals that govern the production, transmission, and reception of all forms of Chinese literature and arts, including poetry, calligraphy, painting, sculpture, architecture, gardening, and music, among others. See Marco Meccarelli, “L’estetica del paesaggio nell’arte contemporanea cinese”, in *Alla maniera di...Convegno in ricordo di Maria Teresa Lucidi*, ed. P. Fedi et al. (Roma: Casa Editrice Università La Sapienza, 2010), 469-490.

<sup>5</sup> Although Soper (1949: 418) said that *qi* only resides in sentient beings, Acker (1954: XXIX) recognised that *qi* might exist in any animate and inanimate thing as ‘life-spirit.’

<sup>6</sup> See Jonathan Chaves, “‘Meaning Beyond the Painting’: The Chinese Painter as Poet”, in *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting*, ed. Alfreda Murck and Wen C. Fong (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

### 1.1 The *liufa* 六法 (Six Criteria) in painting

Among the most important concepts in the history of Chinese aesthetics, there are the *liufa* of painting listed by Xie He 謝赫<sup>7</sup> (d. after 532) in the preface to his *Gu huapinlu* 古畫品錄.<sup>8</sup>

In the first Canon (氣韻, 生動是也), *qiyun* 氣韻 seems to refer to the internal reality of the object, that is, the essential character of the object. A painter should cultivate the image with a sense of life and naturalness in his mind rather than seek formal likeness first. He should wait until the completed image suddenly appears in his mind, and then use his hand to respond to his mind and control the brush, so as to release the image and lodge the conception on paper or silk.<sup>9</sup>

The last Canon of Xie He (六, 傳移, 模寫是也) focusses on transmitting and conveying earlier models through copying and transcribing. Like artists from many other different cultures, Chinese painters would often copy the works of their masters to learn and further develop their painting skills, as well as to form their own ideas on painting.

Chinese people have understood their relationship with the past by using the term *fugu* 復古, which can be translated in various ways that reflect different understandings of how the present age related with (or should relate with) the

<sup>7</sup> For Xie He's dates, see Chen Chuanxi 陈传席, *Liuchao hualun yanjiu* 六朝画论研究, rev. ed. (Taipei: Xueshengshuju, 1991), 184–85; Li Zehou 李泽厚, and Liu Gangji 刘纲纪, *Zhongguo meixueshi: Wei Jin nanbei chaobian* 中国美学史: 魏晋南北朝编 (Hefei: Anhui wenyichubanshe, 1999), vol. 2, 769–75.

<sup>8</sup> “The Record of the Classification of Old Painting” or, according to Acker (1974: 1), “Old Record of the Classifications of Painters”. The *liufa* are: “(1) *Qiyun*; this is engendering a sense of movement. (2) Bone method; this is using the brush. (3) Responding to objects; this is making images of their shape. (4) Complying with categories; this is applying colors. (5) Arrangement; this is composition. (6) Transmitting and reproducing; this is copying from a model”. Paul Goldin. “Two Notes on Xie He's 謝赫 ‘Six Criteria’ (*liufa* 六法)” *T'oung Pao*, 104 (2018): 497. Maurizio Paolillo, “I principi estetici nella teoria pittorica della Cina antica: per un superamento del tabù comparativo”, in 文心 *Wenxin. L'essenza della scrittura. Contributi in onore di Alessandra Cristina Lavagnino*, ed. C. Bulfoni, Z.G. Jin, E. Lupano, B. Mottura (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2017): 205–17. The Six Criteria have been translated over the years by a succession of sinologists with very varying translations, and the problem lies, of course, in the terseness of the original Chinese, where each principle is stated in but four characters. See Chen Chuanxi 陈传席, *Liuchaohualunyanjiu* 六朝画论研究, rev. ed. (Taipei: Xueshengshuju, 1991), 194; Victor H. Mair, “Xie He's ‘Six Laws’ of Painting and Their Indian Parallels,” in *Chinese Aesthetics: The Ordering of Literature, the Arts, and the Universe in the Six Dynasties*, ed. Zong-qi Cai (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 94–95; Yolaine Escande, *Traité chinois de peinture et de calligraphie* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2003–10), vol. 1, 297–98; James F. Cahill, “The Six Laws and How to Read Them”, *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961): 380; W. B. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, (London: Brill, 1954) vol. 1, 4; Alexander C. Soper, “The First Two Laws of Hsieh Ho”, *Far Eastern Quarterly* 8 (1949): 423; and Osvald Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting: Translations and Comments* (Peiping: Henri Vetch, 1936), 219. (This is only a small selection.)

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Wang Shixiang 王世襄, *Zhongguohualunyanjiu* 中国画论研究 (Beijing: Sanlianshudian, 2013), vol. 1, 24–26.

past.<sup>10</sup> The ‘manner of the ancients’ (*guyi* 古意) is usually associated with ‘simplicity’ (*gupu* 古樸), ‘elegance’ (*guya* 古雅), and ‘eccentricity’ (*guguai* 古怪). The more the master reveals himself as a custodian of tradition, the more acknowledgment he receives.

## 1.2 Representation of distance(s) in landscape scroll painting

One of the most original Chinese formats is the painted scroll. It is neither strictly chronological nor tied to a geographical order. The subject of each segment also varies, from actual events to specific eras, to key personalities.

Looking at the poetry, painting, and calligraphy on a scroll is like reading a chapter in a book. A Chinese hand scroll, for example, is ‘read’ from right to left, the same way classical Chinese writing is read. In fact, the act of viewing a Chinese painting is called *duhua* 讀畫, to ‘read a painting’, and in Chinese theory, the character *xie* 寫 (to write) is used to refer to both calligraphy and painting.<sup>11</sup>

Chinese painters have used specific ways of emphasising spatial information in a vertical scroll (i.e., far objects appear in the upper part while close objects appear in the lower part of a painting), but perspective, where parallel diagonal lines strike off from the plane of the picture, was perhaps the most common method for suggesting distance.<sup>12</sup> Traditional Chinese art theory had no exact name, character, or combination of characters that precisely corresponded to the art-theory term ‘perspectiva’ in western culture.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, ancient Chinese artists and theorists had methods and theories concerning the depiction and the visualisation of scenery whereby four-dimensional experiences would appear on two-dimensional platforms. One of these traditional Chinese concepts is *yuan* 遠, meaning ‘distance’. In his treatise *Linquan*

<sup>10</sup> Wu Hung, “Introduction: Patterns of Returning to the Ancients in Chinese Art and Visual Culture”, in *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago, 2010), 16.

<sup>11</sup> For the understanding of the meaning of *du* in the context of Chinese painting and art history, see Clunas, Craig, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 119–20.

<sup>12</sup> Tyler C. W., Chen C. C. “Chinese perspective as a rational system: relationship to Panofsky’s symbolic form”. *Chin. J. Psychol.* 53 (2011): 371–391 and Paolillo Maurizio, “Paesaggio ‘misurato’ o ‘qualificato’? Lo spazio prospettico occidentale, lo ‘spazio psico-fisiologico’ di Florenskij e la percezione dello spazio nella tradizione cinese”, in *La Cina e l’Altro*, ed. A. Palermo (Napoli: Il Torcoliere, 2007), 435–60.

<sup>13</sup> The term *perspectiva* was used exclusively in optics, which since the ancient Greeks had been considered a branch of mathematics. *Perspectiva artificialis* or linear perspective is a system of creating an illusion of depth on a flat surface. All parallel lines (orthogonals) in a painting or drawing using this system converge in a single vanishing point on the composition’s horizon line. The *perspectiva artificialis* was originally proposed by Filippo Brunelleschi in 1413, and later developed and codified in Leon Battista Alberti’s treatise *De pictura* (1435–36), the first theoretical work of the visual arts.

*gaozhi* 林泉高致 (Lofty Ambition in Forests and Streams), the artist Guo Xi 郭熙 (ca. 1020-1090), of the Northern Song dynasty described landscape painting in terms of *huayi* 畫意 – a state of suggested ideas and meanings, and landscape painting represented a cosmic vision of the natural and the human world.

Guo Xi used the concept of *yuan* to perceive and interpret the correlation between the painters/viewers and the scenery in landscape painting. The painter identified *san yuan* 三遠 (three distances), namely three ways of applying the concept of *yuan* to landscape painting: (1) *gao yuan* 高遠 (higher distance), looking up to the top from below, (2) *shen yuan* 深遠 (deeper distance), looking towards the back from the front, and (3) *ping yuan* 平遠 (level distance, fig. 1), looking across a mountain from an opposite height.<sup>14</sup>

In the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, three different perspective types were added by Han Zhuo 韓拙 (ca. 1095-ca. 1125). He wrote the *Shanshui chunquanji* 山水純全集 (Complete and Pure Theories of Landscape Painting) and described new dimensions called *liu yuan* 六遠 (six distances) of Chinese landscape ink painting. The new three perspective types are as follows: (1) *kuo yuan* 闊遠 (broad distance): generally a wide stretch of water with a shore in the foreground and a spacious sweep to distant mountains; (2) *mi yuan* 迷遠 (hidden distance): thick mists and fogs that interrupt streams and plains and cause them to disappear; (3) *you yuan* 幽遠 (obscure distance): scenery that becomes obliterated in vagueness and mistiness.<sup>15</sup>

The meaning of perspective or distance is different. Chinese landscape painting is usually composed along a diagonal axis, from top to bottom and from left to right or vice versa. The scrolls built on diagonals give depth by a vanishing angle, or complement the movement by creating an upward spiral, or give an upward movement.

In Chinese handscroll and hanging-scroll painting, scenes are supposed to be seen section by section. When the artists create the sections, they seem to use multiple vanishing points in generating a sense of perspective, since the imaginary viewer was assumed not to be stationary.

A characteristic of all landscape painting, constituting the aesthetic basis on which the long handscroll would be designed, is the presence of multiple perspectives, which are not necessarily related to a single focal point (the vanishing point) but work as a “continuous shifting perspective (or rather point of view, because there is no attempt at true perspective).”<sup>16</sup> Each multiple perspective is a sort of memory or rather an image derived from the painter’s memory. The viewer becomes a traveler in these paintings, which offer the experience of moving through

<sup>14</sup> Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting. Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636)*, (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University press, 1971), 151; Susan Bush - Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University press, 1985), 152.

<sup>15</sup> Susan Bush - Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, 173-76.

<sup>16</sup> Michael Sullivan, *The Birth of Landscape Painting in China*, vol. I, (Oakland, CA: University of California Press. 1962), 19.

space and time. The depiction of roads or paths seems to lead the viewer's eye into the work. Traditional Chinese paintings skillfully blend the awareness of time into the static spatial image.

The painter's aesthetic path always begins with the internalisation of the external world (natural landscape) and ends with the symbolic representation of the internal world of the painter (painted landscape). Chinese landscape painting is seen as a 'cosmogram' and the elements of classical Chinese painting provide representations of what the artist takes to be the most important and significant features of the natural environment.

### 1.3 *Painting with light and shadow*

Chinese photography, as well as Chinese painting, is able to share the same artistic conventions. The result of the compositional method is not a faithful imitation of reality or *mimesis* (*si* 似 or *xingsi* 形似), but it is better described as a symbolic and functional verisimilitude or *chuanshenxiezhao* 傳神寫照 (to convey the spirit and capture the person) and *yixing xieshen* 以形寫神 (expressing the spirit through appearance).<sup>17</sup>

Even if photography was originally considered a way to objectively represent reality, totally untouched by the photographer's perspective, we should not forget that photographers at the very same time manipulated their images in various ways.<sup>18</sup> In the analogue era, when a photographic film was being used and developed in a darkroom, the possible alterations were endless and difficult to notice and not only during post-production: the choice of a type of film rather than another or of a lens filter was also meant to obtain a certain aesthetic. All photographs of any kind are always distorted relative to reality, because the photography will never capture reality, even in genres like photojournalism or travel photography. Alterations can be applied to the negatives or during printing (in the darkroom or using brushes then, and with Photoshop nowadays); or you could alter reality before taking the photograph to then produce an image which is not in itself manipulated. Even if a photo did capture everything exactly as it is, it would always be an analogue or digital representation of reality. The technology of photography is used to convey the presumption of realistic accuracy, yet with the artistic license of painting tradition.

<sup>17</sup> See Yu Jian Hua 俞剑华, *Zhongguo gudai hualun jingdu* 中国古代画论精读 (In-depth study of ancient Chinese pictorial theories), (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2010), 12.

<sup>18</sup> Even if Roland Barthes has come to write that photography generates itself, "Photography has something to do with resurrection: might we not say of it what the Byzantines said of the image of Christ which impregnated St. Veronica's napkin: that it was not made by the hand of man, *acheiropoietos* [made without hands]". See Roland Barthes *La chambre claire. Note sur la photographie*, (Paris: Cahiers du Cinéma, Gallimard, Seuil, 1980), 82.



The link between painting and photography can also be observed in Chinese scrolls, where scenes with different perspectives appear together in one painting and communicate a sense of temporal sequence. Time is depicted as the fourth dimension because the painting pictures different stages of the painter's path. It is normal practice to unroll a handscroll a section at a time in order to read it – pausing, enlarging, and narrowing the portion being viewed, going forward and backward when needed. The scrolls are remarkable for their vitality, the lyrical representation of atmospheric space, and for the rising and dipping viewpoints that seem to anticipate the zooming motion-picture camera.

Chinese artists sought to bring to photography the aesthetic qualities of traditional painting medium because each frame used to compose the final image corresponds to the multiple perspectives used in landscape painting.

The lyrical aspirations of Chinese photography, on the one hand, and the technical process for making landscape photography, on the other hand, are the same as the landscape painter. Each painted landscape seems to represent the assemblage of a series of artist experiences, in fact, each multiple perspective is an image derived from the painter's remembrance. Landscape painting is therefore a 'painting of memory' rather than a simple visual description of a specific scenery.

Just like a painting, landscape photography is conceived as a composite image. Each landscape photography seems to represent the assemblage of a series of artist experiences. There is therefore a shift from 'painting of memory' to 'photography of memory'. The technical process is a sort of photoshop *anteliteram*, and the visual result is a sort of cinematic set that enhances the pictorial quality.

The production of landscape photography indicates a devotion to principles of art directly related to painting and the graphic arts. According to the first Canon of Xie He, a landscape photograph, like a painting, drawing, or engraving, is a way of projecting the emotional intent of an artist into the viewer's realm of imagination. According to the last Canon of Xie He, Chinese photographers, like landscape painters, drawers, or engravers, have understood their relationship with the past (*fugu*) and the 'manner of the ancients' (*guyi*).

## 2. From traditional painting to pictorial photography

During the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), the canons of classical Chinese painting mainly derived from the criteria set out by two different schools: the *beizonghua* 北宗畫 (Northern School of Painting) and the *nanzonghua*, 南宗畫 (Southern School of Painting), better known as *wenrenhua* 文人畫 (Literati Painting).

The Northern School included professional court painters, who focused their works on exterior reality with a tendency towards decorative art, the so-called naturalistic style (*xiesheng*, 寫生 'sketch life', or lifelike painting). The *wenrenhua* included scholar-bureaucrat artists, who used art as a means of self-



expression. Their aim was to overcome purely decorative expressions, promoting inner reality (*xieyi* 寫意 ‘writing ideas’) by the means of their monochrome ink and calligraphic skill in application to painting.

During the last dynasty, the practice of the *fanggu* 仿古 (following the ancient masters’ styles) method was related to inherited literati tradition, not only in terms of artistic styles but also in the spirit of scholar-artists.

According to early research on Chinese photography, many photographers maintained the lyrical aspirations of Chinese scholar-artists. The works of Lai Afong 賴阿芳 (Lai Afang, active 1859-1900) showed the same predilection of the Chinese painters for representing mountains with rounded peaks, covered by low misty clouds.

As in Northern Song paintings, the profundity is usually represented by rows of trees that rebuild the peculiar sense of space. While Northern Song painters rebuilt many sceneries of China, Lai Afong, by showing an impressive artistic sensibility, often gives a ‘dreamy’ or pictorial glimpse of the landscapes. Lai’s experience was totally born within the Western photography scene<sup>19</sup>, but his work still revealed the same sensibility of the Chinese painters which embodied both references to the styles of ancient masters and the inner spirit of the artist.

If Lai Afong recalls the atmosphere of traditional Chinese paintings, other photographers have even adopted the same compositional process of traditional Chinese painting.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *huayi sheying* 畫意攝影 (Pictorial Photography) incorporated the real essence of Chinese ink landscape theory into photography, combining them to great effect.<sup>20</sup> *Huayi* was originally developed and codified in Guo Xi’s treatise *Linquangaozhi*, and especially Long Chin-san (Lang Jingshan 郎靜山, 1892-1995) recalls Guo Xi’s own theory of the Three Distances to the photographic support (fig. 2). The photograph is usually - but not always - done in ‘*san yuan*’ style, referred to a form that shifts the focus from a mountainous area to a low-lying riverscape or plain. Further, in respect to the unique use of space in the painting, Long’s use of light and dark alters the viewer’s perception of distance when it comes to the objects in the painting, creating the illusion that it is all one image connected by different sections. He achieved these effects by superimposing several images onto one print and by using a brush with ink on the print. Starting in 1934, Lang created his ‘composite photography’ (*jijin sheying* 集錦攝影), a unique technique in which the photographer combines images into a photographic work through darkroom skills.

Just like a painting, pictorial photography is conceived as a composite image

<sup>19</sup> Marien Mary Warner, “Small Wars: Colonial Expansion and Photography”, in *Photography: A Cultural History*, ed. M. W. Marien (London: Laurence King, 2002), 118–23.

<sup>20</sup> Zhang Pinxing 张品兴, Yin Dengxiang 殷登祥 ed., *Zhonghua dangdai wenhua mingren dacidian* 中华当代文化名人大辞典 (Dictionary of Chinese Cultural Celebrities), (Beijing: Zhongguo guangbodian shi chubanshe, 1992), 210.

and is mounted by assembling several frames taken in earlier times. As a sort of great mosaic of memory, every frame is a 'piece' of the past that composes the present (fig. 2). Long Chin-san successfully made photos that were in line with the fundamental principles of Chinese paintings and the conception of harmony between man and nature, creating composite photographs as alternate processing to create truly 'unique pieces' of fine art.

Long, with a solid aesthetic taste, incorporated elements from traditional ink painting into his works, which stood out in exhibitions for their special charm. He evokes aspects of Chinese painting in photographic form, whether in the expressive way of literati painting (*xieyi*) or the more detailed naturalism associated with court and professional painters.

The purpose of evoking the Chinese pictorial tradition is also visible in the use of the inscriptions, painted on the photograph, including the title, the name of the author, and his seal. All calligraphy is in different styles according to what the artist wants to express. The life of the painting and of this kind of photography depends on the choice of the inscriptions and their positions. Without them, painting and pictorial photography are only one body without life.

Spatial structure in Chinese ink painting is traditionally formed by the modeling of light and shadow, and the spatial effect is stimulated by the gesture and rhythmic indications of line. It is a sort of calligraphy-created space.

In Chinese art-historical studies *moxi* 墨戲 or 'ink play' is a free style with an uninhibited or 'exhilarating spontaneity' stroke commonly used to designate a literati spirit and mood. Long Chin-san renovated the *moxi* mood and incorporated Chinese traditional techniques in photography. In the landscapes, the vigorous fog effect is made by interposing, in a free style (measured in fractions of seconds), the hand between the beam of light and the emulsified glass plate. The light filtered by slight hand movements and impressed by the silver halides then reintegrates into the final image (fig. 3).

Today Long is acclaimed as the father of Chinese photography, and his *huayi sheying* is the most significant contribution by Chinese civilisation to worldwide photographic art. Photography at its best can capture the surface image while traditional Chinese painting at its best can reveal the inner beauty. Long Chin-san with his art can combine both aspects into one.

In turn, he and his style influenced such photographers as Tchan Fou-li (Chen Fuli 陳複禮, 1916-2018), who worked in Hong Kong.

Tchan followed Long's example when creating his montage works, printing several negatives to make a single image in order to evoke a Chinese painting (fig. 4). In a 1962 essay, *Lun Zhongguo huayi yufengjing sheying* 論中國畫意與風景攝影 (Chinese Pictorial Painting and Landscape Photography), Chen argued that limiting himself to black-and-white was similar to having the three-dimensional textures and forms of Chinese paintings and that his use of space simplified the structures and enhanced the viewer's sense of solidity and emptiness, in order to develop

peculiar Chinese forms of photography and to establish photography as a serious art form in Hong Kong.<sup>21</sup>

Don Hong-Oai (Dan Xiongwei 單雄威 1929-2004)<sup>22</sup> is another photographer who followed the *huayi sheying*. His style was heavily influenced by Long Chin-san's technique of layering negatives. By taking three negatives, foreground, middle ground, and far ground, and selecting a subject from each negative, Don would form one composite image of a serene landscape (fig. 5). All the various scenes in the image existed in reality, but each uniquely handcrafted photograph in its entirety is a mixture of the artist's imagination. Each photograph was assembled only by the artist himself, without having an assistant or master printer ever helping him.

Many other photographers recalled the aesthetic principles of Chinese painting although they did not adhere to the movement of Pictorial Photography. Li Zhensheng 李振盛 (1940-2020), for example, the Chinese photojournalist who captured some of the most telling images from the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), made several pictures with the diagonal axis, or the same Chinese painters' technique of isometric perspective based on diagonal lines that are either parallel to each other or fan out, without converging towards a vanishing point (fig. 6). A characteristic feature of many pictures by Li Zhensheng is the so-called 'one-corner' composition, in which the actual subjects of the painting were pushed to a corner or a side, leaving the other part of the painting more or less empty. In keeping the distinctive 'one-corner Ma' (*Ma yijiao* 馬一角, fig. 7) compositions of the Southern Song painter Ma Yuan 馬遠 (c. 1160 - 1225), most of the photographic elements by Li Zhensheng are massed behind the diagonal, enveloping his subject in an aura of feeling, sometimes with an extreme economy of means. He relies upon the emotional associations of his images and the evocative power of the emptiness surrounding them.

In recent times, Hong Lei 洪磊 (b. 1960) was one of the leading artists in the era of China's New Photography movement in the 1990s.<sup>23</sup> Apart from his success in digital photos, he started to photograph black and white *shanshui* landscapes as an ongoing experimental project in 2000 to rethink Chinese traditional aesthetics. He has also explored the various boundaries and possibilities of photography by painting his own photos on silk, as well as creating video and installation works. He specialises in subverting images by careful editing and retouching. In doing so, he subverts the rule of reason, using eerie juxtapositions to appeal directly to the viewer's unconscious thoughts. Early in his career, he used photography to

<sup>21</sup> PanYatun 潘亚墩 - Wang Yisheng 汪义生, *Rushangliezhuan* 儒商列传 (Biography of a Businessman), (Jinan: Jinan daxuechubanshe, 1996, 58.

<sup>22</sup> Don was born in Canton, in 1929 as the youngest son to a business family and was raised and educated in Saigon, Vietnam. At age thirteen he began an apprenticeship at a Chinese photo and portrait shop. In 1979 he immigrated to the United States and settled in Chinatown of San Francisco.

<sup>23</sup> Wu Hung, *Between Past and Future: New Photography and Video from China* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2004).

recreate classical Chinese paintings, then added bizarre twists. After applying the colour, or after adding or removing different elements in the first photograph, he ends up immortalising the same photograph, as if it was an installation (fig. 8).

Hong Lei uses new techniques and materials to reformulate the traditions of the past and critically examines Chinese culture and history in his conceptual photo-based works. He ‘remade’ Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322)’s famous *Autumn Colors of Qiao and Hua Mountains* (Qiao hua qiuse 鵲華秋色, fig. 9) with photographs taken from a mining town, replacing the iconic mountains with a gigantic pile of coal and a steam factory. He reconstructed traditional Chinese paintings in his studio while adding a twist of surreality and uncanniness by removing people and adding bold and saturated lighting. The classic landscape was instantly destroyed by the symbol of modernization and the artist lamented the disappearing Chinese spirit. Zhao Mengfu emphasized the importance of understanding *guyi*, or archaic meaning, by ancient painters and calligraphers. Hong Lei emphasized the importance of understanding *guyi* by Zhao Mengfu.

### Conclusion

Photography and painting have equal potential for iconographic representation. Beyond style, the core of both codes of expression lies in the aesthetic assumptions, in the compositional process of displaying the image, and in the shared ultimate goal of representing reality through art, society, science, and culture.

The practice of photography in China often offered the possibility to perceive the fundamental ‘reality’ of ‘composite photography’, which uses combination printing and other darkroom or digital methods to assemble photographic fragments into seamless landscapes, following the tropes of composition and style from Chinese ink painting.

Chinese photographers always used to evoke associations with memory and subjective experience. Each of these photographers showed a variety of compositional and stylistic procedures of visual communication, with which they stressed a close link with the canons of ink painting. Ethereal shots that took after the lyricism and vintage composition of Chinese landscape painting well illustrated the pursuit of traditional Chinese art and culture. Like twin sisters but more so, photography received from painting its historical heritage, ancestral aesthetic, and composition as a visual tool. Chinese photographers injected their own sensibility into our perception of the image—thereby imbuing it with pictorial meaning.

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Fig. 1. Guo Xi, *Old Trees, Level Distance*, 1080, ink and light colors on silk, Met museum

Fig. 2. Long Chin-san, *Spring on the bank of the river*, 1934-1942, pictorial photography, private collection







Fig. 3. Long Chin-san, *Ancient Pavilion among the Mountains*, 1936, and *Pavilion Fairyland*, 1955, pictorial photography, private collection

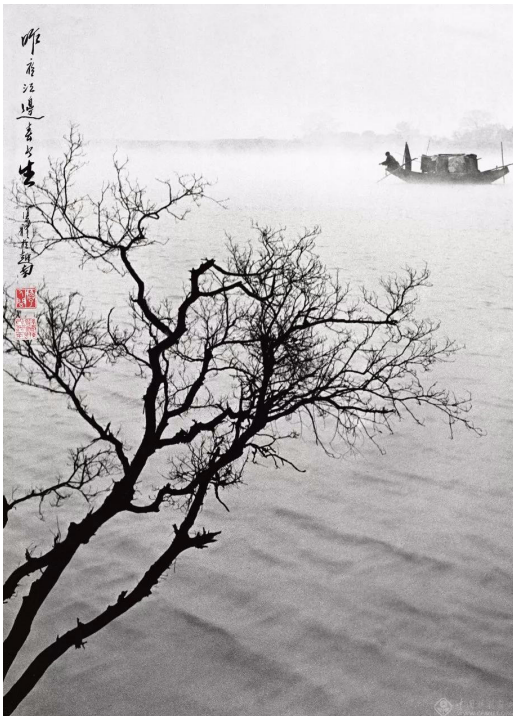


Fig. 4. Tchan Fou-li, *Harbinger of spring*, Hong Kong Heritage Museum



Fig. 5. Don Hong-Oai, *Spring Lights the Fishing Boat*, 1995, private collection



Fig. 6. Li Zhensheng, *Wuchang County, Heilongjiang, 18th august 1968*, photography, private collection



Fig. 7. Ma Yuan, *A Mountain Path in Spring*, album leaf, ink and color on silk, National Palace Museum, Taipei



Fig. 8. Hong Lei, *After Zhao Mengfu's The Autumn Colours on the Que and Hua Mountains*, 2003, photography, private collection



Fig. 9. Zhao Mengfu, *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains*, handscroll, ink and colours on paper, National Palace Museum, Taipei



PAOLA PADERNI

## WHEN HISTORY SERVES THE PRESENT: TEACHING HISTORY AT SCHOOL UNDER XI JINPING

There is unanimous consensus that the study of history and more generally an emphasis on the Chinese cultural tradition have taken on unusual preeminence under the leadership of Xi Jinping. Both current observers - journalists, China watchers - and scholars agree that, with Xi Jinping, the topic of history as a source of legitimacy for the party and the Regime has undergone significant acceleration<sup>1</sup>. The American historian Pamela Kyle Crossley interprets (using military language) China's current situation as one of the most historically disruptive<sup>2</sup>.

Certainly, attention to history and especially to the orthodox narrative of China's modern history is not a prerogative of the new party secretary. The expression 'historical nihilism', for example, used today with strongly ideological implications<sup>3</sup>, is not new. It has indeed been present in the political discourse for some time, albeit with a neutral meaning or in any case different from the present one. Yet it was with Hu Jintao that the term took on the value of an erroneous point of view (*guandian* 观点) because it was intended to deny part or all of the history of the Revolution and its results. Already in 2006, some Chinese academics had indicated a need to review the teaching programs of modern and contemporary history to avoid the spread of historical nihilism among students<sup>4</sup>. In the same year, the weekly supplement *Bingdian* 冰点 (*Freezing Point*) of the newspaper *Zhongguo Qingnian bao* 中国青年报 (*Chinese Youth*) was shut down because the historian Yuan Weishi in his article "Modernization and history textbooks" (*Xiandaihua yu lishi*

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<sup>1</sup> Ian Johnson, "China's Memory Manipulators," *The Guardian*, June 8, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/08/chinas-memory-manipulators>, accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>2</sup> Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Xi's China is Streamrolling Its Own History. The Chinese Communist Party sees the past as a resource to be plundered by the Present," *Foreign Policy*, January 1, 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/01/29/xis-china-is-streamrolling-its-own-history/>, accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>3</sup> See for example Qin Xiaoying, "Buxin qingshi jin cheng hui. Qian xi lishi xuwuzhuyi," *Zhongguo Qingnian bao*, February 26, 2018, [www.chinawriter.com.cn/n1/2018/0226/c404036-29835510.html](http://www.chinawriter.com.cn/n1/2018/0226/c404036-29835510.html), accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>4</sup> Flora Sapio, *Lo Spirito del Cavallo Mongolo. 99 Parole per comprendere meglio la Cina* (Napoli: Unior-Press, 2022).

*jiaokeshu* 现代化与历史教科书) criticized the excessive nationalism present in school textbooks and therefore accused of having “seriously distorted historical facts”<sup>5</sup>. But it is with Xi Jinping that “historical nihilism”<sup>6</sup> is interpreted as expressing an anti-party and anti-regime stance, and for this reason included among the “Seven points not to be discussed” (*qige bujiang* 七个不讲) issued in 2013 by the General Office of the Central Committee<sup>7</sup>.

As the result of a more ideological control over higher education, and a general trend toward centralization, in recent years there have also been transformations in the field of academic institutions in charge of historical studies. In January 2019, the Chinese History Academy (*Yuan* 院) of the Academy of Social Sciences was inaugurated, which brought together under a single institution the previous institutes (*suo* 所) of Modern History, Ancient History, Global History (World History), Borderlands History and Historiography and Historical theory. Commenting on Xi Jinping’s speech on the occasion of the birth of the new Academy, *People’s net - People’s Daily* stated that the new Academy is the unified guide (*tongchou* 统筹) of national historiographic research work, by combining resources and finances. It formulates the research plans of Chinese history of the new era, organizes and implements nationally relevant projects, and is responsible for narrating Chinese history (*jiang hao Zhongguo lishi* 讲好中国历史) and disseminating Chinese culture<sup>8</sup>.

This greater ideological control over higher education has been accompanied by similar attention to the curricula of middle schools. This article specifically examines the guidelines for teaching history in middle schools, as developed in recent years in response to this renewed emphasis on ideological orthodoxy. His-

<sup>5</sup> Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, “In Search of a Master Narrative for 20th-Century Chinese History,” *China Quarterly* 188, (2006): 1073; Jude D. Blanchette, *China’s New Red Guards. The Return of Radicalism and the Rebirth of Mao Zedong* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 121. It is interesting to note that the focus was on the issue of textbooks.

<sup>6</sup> Xi Jinping, “Lishi buke xuwu,” *Dangjian wang*, October 22, 2020, <http://www.dswxyjy.org.cn/n1/2020/1022/c434104-31902609.html>. This web page collects all Xi’s quotes on historical nihilism, accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>7</sup> Chris Buckley, “China Takes Aim at Western Ideas,” *New York Times*, August 19, 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/20/world/asia/chinas-new-leadership-takes-hard-line-in-secret-memo.html>, accessed August 31, 2021. In 2016, the term was first used in the verdict of a trial against historian Hong Zhenkuai and editor Huang Zhong of the *Yanhuang Chunqiu* 炎黄春秋 magazine, who questioned the official narrative about a famous episode in the war against Japan. A law has been in force since 2018 to defend martyrs and heroes. “Cracking down on Dissenting Versions of History,” *Duihua Human Rights Journal*, February 27, 2019. <https://www.duihuahrjournal.org/2019/02/cracking-down-on-dissenting-versions-of.html>. accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>8</sup> “Zongjie lishi jingyan jieshi lishi guilu bawo lishi qushi jiakuai goujian zhongguo tese lishi xue xueke tixi xueshu tixi huayu tixi.” *Renmin wang* 人民网, January 1, 2019, <http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2019/0104/c1024-30502604.html> accessed August 31, 2021. See also Gao Xiang, “Tuidong xin shidai zhongguo shixue fanrong fazhan.” *Renmin Ribao* 人民日报, January 15, 2019, 5; [http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2019-01/15/nw.D110000renmrb\\_20190115\\_2-05.htm](http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2019-01/15/nw.D110000renmrb_20190115_2-05.htm) accessed August 31, 2021. Gao Xiang is the director of the Academy.

tory and control over the narrative that the leadership at any time believes to be “correct” have been sources of legitimacy for the party since its founding. Over time, with the waning of ideological hold, nationalism became an equally important source of legitimacy. Although the trend started earlier, under Xi Jinping the promotion of nationalism was accompanied by a revival of traditional culture of which the party feels heir and interpreter<sup>9</sup>. This day, teaching history following precise dictates has become a primary goal to train young people to be proud of their country and confident in the work of the party. Furthermore, they must be able to reject the dangers of Western liberal values and become testimonials of China’s newfound greatness.

In the years immediately following the 1989’s tragic events of Tian’anmen Square, with the Patriotic Education Campaign launched by the Chinese government to exalt a nationalist identity on which to re-establish its legitimacy, much emphasis was given to the study of history in school textbooks, in particular the history of the so-called century of humiliation<sup>10</sup>. Since the early 2000s, however, history textbooks have undergone some changes in response to new circumstances, challenges, and perhaps even greater relaxation from an ideological point of view<sup>11</sup>. One of the most significant changes occurred in 2003 when the new textbooks were organized by topics rather than the more traditional periodization. The historical content of the war against Japan, for example, was reduced in favor of topics related to culture, society, and technology. For this reason, many educators complained about the loss of relevance and the diminished effectiveness of the historical training offered to high school students. Furthermore, in the early 2000s, as a consequence of the reform of the printing and publishing industries<sup>12</sup>, the People’s Education Press lost its monopoly over publishing school textbooks, and had to compete with other publishers for the adoption of their own texts by the Provincial Education Offices. The academic benchmarks of 2003 still highlight “promoting patriotism” as one of the “basic ideas” (*jiben linian* 基本理念) of the Teaching Outlines (*Jiaoxue Dagang* 教学大纲), but not with the same emphasis as the old textbooks. The 2003 benchmarks rather placed emphasis on “cultivation of people” (*tigao guomin suzhi* 提高国民素质)<sup>13</sup>. However almost a decade and half later, in 2017, the Ministry published a new version of the criteria for general

<sup>9</sup> Tony Saich, *From Rebel to Ruler. One Hundred Years of Chinese Communist Party*. (Cambridge Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 2021).

<sup>10</sup> Wang Zheng, “National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China,” *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (December 2008): 783-806.

<sup>11</sup> “The period between 2004 and 2006 was marked by an explosion of open intellectual and ideological debate.” Jude D. Blanchette, *China’s New Red Guards. The Return of Radicalism and the Rebirth of Mao Zedong* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 81.

<sup>12</sup> Susan L. Shirk, *Changing Media, Changing China*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>13</sup> Licheng Qian, Bin Xu and Dingding Chen, “Does History Education promote nationalism in China? A ‘limited effect’ explanation,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 26, Issue 104 (2017): 9 note 36.

high school history courses<sup>14</sup>. While the study of history and the construction of a shared memory are nothing new, with Xi Jinping the phenomenon has taken on wholly unprecedented importance. Before analyzing the new criteria for examining how and why the changes are attributable to the new political course opened up by Xi Jinping, it is useful to refer to the numerous interventions that he has made on the subject since taking power.

### *Xi and History*

Xi Jinping attributed distinct but inter-related dimensions to history: the role of history in framing and understanding the present, China's soft power, ideology, research methodology marked by ubiquitous and vague "Chinese Characteristics", a shorthand for shaping knowledge in ways coherent with the political goals of the party.

History as a textbook. As soon as Xi Jinping became Party Secretary and President of the Republic, on June 25 of 2013, on the occasion of the seventh meeting of the Politburo's collective study on socialism with Chinese characteristics and its achievements, and on the eve on the ninety-second anniversary of the founding of the CCP, he pointed to history as the most effective subject, indeed the most effective format of indoctrination in manual form (*jiaokeshu* 教科书), for supporting and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics. According to Xi Jinping, to complete the work done and face the future, it was necessary to continue studying the history of the party and of the nation, and to reflect in depth on that history<sup>15</sup>.

History and soft power. At the end of 2013, on December 30th, Xi Jinping reaffirmed the importance of historical research on the occasion, once again, of a collective study meeting of the Politburo. The meeting, this time, dealt with soft power and the strategic measures to pursue to gain greater international clout. The focus was on the need to achieve international discursive power (*huayu quan* 话语权), to build an external discursive system (*duiwai huayu tixi* 对外话语体系) which could also, thanks to the new media, narrate 'China's story' (*Zhongguo gushi* 中国故事) and make China's voice heard (*Zhongguo shengyin* 中国声音). All this "to expand the positive propaganda force towards the glorious history and splendid culture of the Chinese people (*Zhongguo renmin* 中国人民) and ethnic groups (*Zhonghua minzu* 中华民族) of the PRC". While teaching, theoretical research, historical research, literary works and videos must serve "to guide the people of our country to establish and adhere to the correct outlook on history (*zhengque de lishi*

<sup>14</sup> *Putong gaozhong lishi kecheng biao zhun: 2017nian ban. Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Jiaoyubu zhiding* (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2018).

<sup>15</sup> Xi Jinping, "Zai dui lishi de shenru sikao geng hao zou xiang weilai jiaochu fazhan zhongguo tese shehuizhuyi hege dajuan." *Renmin wang - Renmin Ribao*, June 27, 2013. <http://jhsjk.people.cn/article/21986620> accessed August 31, 2021.



guan 正确的历史观), nationality, country, and culture, and strengthen their morality and confidence”<sup>16</sup>.

History and ideology. In 2014, but made public in 2015, the General Office of the Central Party Committee and the Council of State issued an Opinion on Strengthening Ideological Education in Higher Education that emphasizes both socialism and ‘traditional culture’. The Opinion also dealt with the adoption of specific measures that included, among other things, political sessions, great attention to social sciences modeled according to politically acceptable criteria, and standardization of manuals<sup>17</sup>.

History and methodology. In 2015, Xi Jinping spoke once again on the topic of history at a Politburo study meeting devoted to the memory of and reflection on the war against Japan. Xi stated that this war, which ended with the first complete victory of the modern era, had washed away the shame of repeated defeats by foreigners, but he also believes that research on the role and great contribution (*weida gongxian* 伟大贡献) of China and the CCP in the worldwide anti-fascist war should be amplified. According to him, it was this war that had allowed China to win the respect of peoples, and to undertake a new path of rebirth of the ancient Chinese Phoenix Nirvana (*kaiqile gulao fenghuang niepan yuhuo chongsheng de xin zhengcheng* 开启了古老凤凰涅槃浴火重生的新征程). But Xi Jinping did not just encourage new research, yet provided historiographic methodologies, stating that it was necessary to employ historical materialism as a framework within which to formulate the conclusions (*lishi jielun* 历史结论) on an accurate and complete support of historiographic materials (*xiangshi zhunque de shiliao shizheng* 翔实准确的史料实证), to mark out the right path (*fangxiang* 方向) and orientation (*daoxiang* 导向) for better grasping (*bawo* 把握) the historical process (*lishi jincheng* 历史进程)<sup>18</sup>. Still in August 2015, President Xi took the opportunity to speak about history to an international audience in his greetings at the 22nd Congress of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (ICHS) held for the first time in China in the city of Jinan, Shandong Province. In his congratulatory letter<sup>19</sup> with quotations by the Tang poet Meng Haoran and from the *Shi Ji* by Sima Qian, Xi maintained that

<sup>16</sup> Xi Jinping, “Jianshe shehuizhuyi wenhua qianguo zhuoli tigao guojia wenhua ruan shili.” *Renmin wang - Renmin Ribao*, January 1, 2014. <http://jhsjk.people.cn/article/23995307> accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>17</sup> Carl Minzner, “Intelligentsia in the Crosshairs: Xi Jinping’s Ideological Rectification of Higher Education in China,” *China Leadership Monitor*, (December 1, 2019), <https://www.prcleader.org/carl-minzner>, accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>18</sup> Xi Jinping, “Rang lishi shuohua yong shishi fayan shenru kaizhan zhongguo renmin kangzhan yanjiu,” *Renmin wang - Renmin Ribao*, August 1, 2015. <http://jhsjk.people.cn/article/27395212> accessed August 31, 2021. On new research trends in this field, see Laura De Giorgi, “Verso una riscrittura della seconda guerra mondiale in Cina,” *Il Mestiere di storico* IX, no1, (2017): 5-20.

<sup>19</sup> On Xi’s language style see Beatrice Gallelli, “Doing Things with Metaphors in Contemporary China. Analysing the Use of Creative Metaphors in the Discourse on the Chinese Dream,” *Annali di Ca’ Foscari. Serie Orientale* 54, Supplemento (2018): 595-618.

history is the basis of the social sciences and mirror (*jingjian* 镜鉴) of the present. “Paying attention to history, doing historical research, taking lessons from history, brings humanity knowledge of the past, understanding of the present, wisdom for the future”. “The struggle of the Chinese people to realize the dream of the rejuvenating the Chinese nation must draw wisdom from history by collecting the best from the civilizations of each country<sup>20</sup>.”

History and social sciences with Chinese characteristics. The importance of shaping the social sciences and especially History according to the needs of the party was reaffirmed on the occasion of a symposium held on 17 May 2016, in which Xi Jinping once again took part. In his speech, Xi argued that a large country should advance not only in the natural sciences but also in the philosophical and social sciences. China, which had gone through the most extensive and profound social reform, could generate great theories and great minds capable of responding to the needs of the party and the people. For this reason, “Chinese characteristics”<sup>21</sup> should be incorporated into the guiding ideology, discourses and education systems of these fields. “After all, confidence in our culture should be strengthened, which is a power that is more basic, deeper and more lasting”.<sup>22</sup> The comment by Zhou Wen, Vice President of Fudan University’s China Institute, present at the symposium, was even more explicit: We should deconstruct the Western discourse system with high theoretical confidence, thus building a contemporary Chinese academic discourse and empowering Chinese theories to serve the times and benefit the future<sup>23</sup>.

The following year, in 2017, the Central Committee issued an Opinion on Building the Social Sciences with Chinese Characteristics, which, according to Minzner, among other effects, produced shifts even in academic research funding for all the social sciences throughout China<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> “Xi Jinping zhi di ershi'er jie guoji lishi kexue dahui de hexin,” *Renmin Ribao*, August 24, 2015: 1. <http://jhsjk.people.cn/article/27504654> accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>21</sup> During the leadership of Hu Jintao, ‘Chinese characteristics’ were understood mostly as leadership by the Chinese Communist Party and adherence to the socialist system. “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics” The meaning of this expression has been in part enriched under Xi Jinping, who has established conceptual links between ‘Chinese characteristics’, the centenary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and of the People’s Republic of China. “Zhongguo tese shehuizhuyi jinru xin shidai,” *Zhongguo Gongchandang xinwen wang*, <http://theory.people.com.cn/n1/2019/0723/c40531-31250161.html> accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>22</sup> Xinhua, “Xi stresses Chinese characteristics in philosophy, social sciences,” *China Daily*, May 17, 2016, [https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2016-05/17/content\\_25331875.htm](https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2016-05/17/content_25331875.htm) accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>23</sup> Ren Zhong, “Building philosophy, social sciences with Chinese characteristics,” *Chinese social sciences today*, May 26, 2016, <http://www.csstoday.com/Item/3472.aspx> accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>24</sup> Carl Minzner, “Intelligentsia in the Crosshairs: Xi Jinping’s Ideological Rectification of Higher Education in China,” *China Leadership Monitor*, December 1, 2019, <https://www.prclleader.org/carlminzner> accessed August 31, 2021.

*The General High School History Standard Curriculum of 2017*

Again in 2017, when the Thirteenth Five-Year Plan for Cultural Development and for National Education Development was announced, the Ministry of Education issued a new version of the criteria for the history courses of general high schools (*General High School History Standard Curriculum*, henceforth abbreviated as *Standard Curriculum*). “Comparing it with the 2003 version, - writes Xu Lan, professor at Capital Normal University (*Shoudu Shifan daxue* 首都师范大学), as well as chief editor of the ministerial document, - the new version of 2017 “presents itself with new requests (*yaoqiu* 要求) and many changes. The changes overall reflect the new way of conceiving history teaching in ordinary high schools, and therefore realizing the objective of the party and the country to “instill virtue and educate (young) people (*lide shuren* 立德树人)”<sup>25</sup> in high school history courses”<sup>26</sup>.

The innovative and most important aspect of the 2017 version of the *Standard Curriculum* is, according to Xu Lan, the core literacy (*hexin suyang* 核心素养) of history. The fundamental literacy of History as a discipline, Xu Lan explains, are the correct values, the necessary qualities and the key skills that are gradually acquired by students in the process of learning historical knowledge and used when solving problems in real situations; knowing how to express oneself with generalizations, with professional and concise language represents the value of learning the historical discipline. History does not only serve to know the past, to teach young people to read and face the present, but also to be able to express themselves clearly.

The 2017 revision of the *Standard Curriculum* presents and explains the five fundamental aspects of literacy of the historical discipline, and for each of them it offers its definition, importance for the study of history, as well as the educational objectives (*peiyang mubiao* 培养目标). The *Standard Curriculum* also establishes a compulsory course module (*mokuai* 模块) and some elective ones. The topic of the compulsory module is “Outlines of Chinese and Foreign History”, divided into History of Ancient China, History of Modern China and History of Contemporary China and of the World.

The five aspects are: historical materialism *weiwushi guan* 唯物史观, the concepts of time and space *shikong guannian* 时空观念, historical evidence *shiliao*

<sup>25</sup> “Instill virtue and educate young people” was one of the basic principles (*jiben yuanze* 基本原则) of the Thirteenth Five Year Plan for National Education Development. This principle was introduced in 2000 and for several years it operated exclusively within the education sector. In 2012, however, it became one of the goals to be achieved by the educational policies summarized by the Report at the 18th CCP congress. The mention of this principle by the congress report signals the increasing importance attributed to education. See Sapio, *Lo Spirito del Cavallo Mongolo*.

<sup>26</sup> Xu Lan, “Jiyu lishi xueke hexin suyang de kecheng jiegou yu neirong sheji. *Renmin Jiaoyu* 8, (2018): 44-52.

*shizheng* 史料实证, the interpretation of history *lishi jieshi* 历史解释, and love for the Nation *guojia qinghuai* 国家情怀.

#### *Five aspects of the literacy of history courses*

Of the five aspects, historical materialism as a theoretical research method reaffirms one of the typical characteristics of the study of official Chinese history<sup>27</sup>. The fifth, love for the Nation *guojia qinghuai*, is believed to be the ultimate destination (*genben guisu* 根本归宿) of teaching the values of history. The other literacy segments are more closely related to the intrinsic nature of historical research as a discipline.

Historical materialism is defined as “a scientific historical concept and methodology that reveals the objective foundation and developmental law of human social history”, i.e., on the one hand, the transformation of different ways of production and the transition from lower to higher social forms; on the other hand, from primitive, isolated, dispersed peoples to a process whereby the whole world has become an increasingly connected and highly integrated entity. This definition, which fairly faithfully reflects the classical doctrine inspired by Marx and Engels, implies the idea of historical progress due to the change in the relationships of production and productive forces. It has been used uninterruptedly by official historiography since 1949 even though not all historiographical currents in China have accepted this viewpoint. Even since the Reform and Opening-up, when there was a gradual change in the methodological approach and historiographic narrative, and the Marxist method shifted to a paradigm based on theories of modernization<sup>28</sup>, the middle school and university manuals continued to apply the viewpoints of dialectical and historical materialism. There is not much difference between general history and party history manuals. The manuals that cover the period of modern history (*jindaishi* 近代史1840 - 1945) are written on the basis of the Party History Resolution of 1945<sup>29</sup>, while for the history of the Revolution the manuals follow the interpretive line of the “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party since the Founding of the PRC”, adopted in 1981<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> As Arif Dirlik writes, official in the sense of “officially-produced works that establish those official limits to interpretation that then provide a guide for permissible interpretation for society at large but most importantly for the party”. Textbooks must follow the official line. Arif Dirlik, “Mao Zedong in Contemporary Chinese Official Discourse and History,” *China Perspectives* 2 (2012): 17, note 2.

<sup>28</sup> Li Huaiyin, “From Revolution to Modernization: The paradigmatic Transition in Chinese Historiography in the Reform Era,” *History and Theory* 49, no 3 (October 2010): 336-360.

<sup>29</sup> Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, “In Search of a Master Narrative for 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Chinese History,” *China Quarterly* 188, (2006): 1071.

<sup>30</sup> Dirlik, “Mao Zedong in Contemporary Chinese Official,” 21-22.

The importance of the concept of time and space for the study of history is thus explained: any historical matter (*lishi shiwu* 历史事物) occurs under specific and precise temporal and spatial conditions, and only by framing it in a certain time and space can an accurate understanding of historical events be possible. The exercise of knowing how to place past events in time and space serves both to interpret the past in a reasonable way (*heli jieshi* 合理解释) and to be capable of conducting inquiries (*jinxing kaocha* 进行考察) in order to know the present. In explaining the concept of time and space, the importance of illustrating the concept of historical series *lishi shixu guannian* 历史时序观念 and historical geography is not overlooked. In the first case it is a matter of understanding the historical facts in the long historical process by distinguishing the new characteristics that emerge in the various stages of development; in the second it is about understanding places, the breadth (*fanwei* 范围) of historical events (*shishi* 史实) and, with a precise spatial and temporal positioning (*juti de kongjian diwei* 具体的空间地位), understanding and interpreting changes and continuities *yanxu* 延续, the part and the whole *jubu yu zhengti* 局部与整体.

The third aspect of literacy of discipline concerns historical evidence, defined as follows: “Historical evidence refers to the analysis of acquired historical data, and the use of credible historical data to strive to reproduce the authentic attitudes and methods of history (*chongxian lishi zhenshi de taidu yu fangfa* 重现历史真实的态度与方法). In order to form a correct and objective understanding of history, we must pay attention to the collection, sorting, and analysis of historical materials, and to its authenticity (*quweicunzhen* 去伪存真)”. It is interesting to note that the factual analysis method is placed in great relief here. “What needs to be further explained is that the narrative and judgement of history should be based on the evidence of historical data. Having an empirical awareness and learning to use evidence is an important way to form historical thinking. Empirical research (*shizheng* 实证) is one of the basic methods used by historians to study historical issues. The work of examining (*kaoding* 考订) historical materials is a special skill different from other disciplines”. But this section also points to methods and approaches that have marked the history of Chinese historiography since the 1950s. In particular the debate on *shi* 史 and *lun* 论 that has seen the positions of famous historians such as Jian Bozan and Wu Han rejected during the Cultural Revolution but reevaluated after the Opening and Reform era<sup>31</sup>. The manuals therefore seem to reaffirm a historiography that seeks to relate historical data to historical theories or interpretation. “On the other hand, history, as an empirical humanities discipline that emphasizes logical reasoning and rigorous argumentation requires induction and deduction, analysis, and synthesis in the process of empirical evidence”. But above all it is important either to combine data and theory *shilun jiehe*

<sup>31</sup> Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, “On *shi* and *lun*: Toward a typology of Historiography in the PRC,” *History and Theory* 35, no 4 (1996): 74-95.

史论结合, or to follow the method of interpretation emerging from data (*lun cong shi chu* 论从史出)<sup>32</sup>.

The fourth aspect, interpretation of history, *lishi jieshi* 历史解释, is described as “the attitude (*taidu* 态度), ability (*nengli* 能力) and method (*fangfa* 方法) of rational analysis (*lixing fengxi* 理性分析) and objective judgment (*keguan pingpan* 客观评判) of historical matters (*lishi shiwu* 历史事物) based on historical data”. The manual here affirms the concept that every historical narrative is the result of interpretations and that the goal of the history course would be precisely to learn to distinguish between historical facts and interpretations in historical narratives, to know that there will be different interpretations of the same historical matters, and to be able to distinguish and value various historical interpretations. Interpretation and knowledge of history are closely connected. Both historical understanding and historical interpretation involve subjective factors (*zhuguan yinsuo* 主观因素). The basis of historical epistemology (*lishi renshilun* 历史认识论) is understanding by placing yourself in somebody else’s position (*sheshen chude* 设身处地), but a prerequisite of historical interpretation is also to raise the narrative of historical events to rational understanding and emotional orientation (*lixing renshi he qinggan quxiang* 理性认识和情感取向) in order to understand its meaning. It is indicated here, that the uncertainty of interpretation must and can be overcome by combining rational and emotional factors.

The emotional orientation introduces us to the fifth aspect of literacy, love for the Nation (*jiaguo qinghuai* 家国情怀), the aspect, together with historical materialism, which is most politically connoted.

The phrase is of recent origin and was used for the first time during a visit by Xi Jinping to the Eight Democratic Parties in 2012. The following year, “love for the Nation” was understood also as a personal quality, and it was attributed to Xi Jinping’s on the occasion of publishing a collection of his writings<sup>33</sup>. In the *Standard Curriculum* love for the Nation it is explained as “a humanistic pursuit that should be learned and explored in history. It embodies the feeling of prosperity and happiness of the country, as well as a high degree of identity, belonging, responsibility and mission to the country”. The educational objectives provide the reason why this fifth and final literacy factor is considered the most significant for the study of history. Attending history’s courses, students “can understand China’s national conditions (*guoqing* 国情) from a historical perspective on the basis of establishing a correct historical view and forming a sense of identity (*rentonggan* 认同感) with the motherland (*zuguo* 祖国) and a correct (*zhengque* 正确) national outlook (*guojiaguan* 国家观); be able to understand the historical development trend of integration into plurality (*duoyuan yiti* 多元一体) of the Chinese nation.

<sup>32</sup> The more orthodox approach, *yi lun dai shi* 以论带史, “theory has to take the lead over historical data”, seems to be rejected. Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, “On *shi* and *lun*,” 80.

<sup>33</sup> Sapio, *Lo spirito del cavallo mongolo*.



To form a sense of identity and a correct national outlook for the Chinese nation (ethnos) (*zhongguo minzu* 中国民族), with national self-confidence (*zixinxin* 自信心) and pride (*zihagan* 自豪感); understand and recognize China's excellent traditional culture, revolutionary culture and advanced socialist culture; understand the historical value and practical significance of Chinese civilization; understand the diversity of the historical development of the world; understand and respect the cultural traditions of countries and nations of the world; recognize the core values (*hexin jiazhi* 核心价值) of socialism and recognize that the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics is a historical necessity (*lishi de biran* 历史的必然); build theoretical, institutional, cultural self-confidence on the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics; establish a positive attitude toward life; create a sound personality; establish a correct outlook on world, life and value".

Love for the Nation is therefore the compendium of everything the party-state requires of its citizens. While the use of the typical tools of the discipline (space/time, use of sources, etc.) also serve pragmatically - following a Maoist legacy<sup>34</sup> - to teach young people how to carry out investigations to face the present, the point of view and positioning are decided by the party. After all, in an article published in *Hongqi Wengao*, entitled "Study Comrade Xi Jinping's Methodological Principles on Historical Research", the authors believe that "integrating the party's spirit and the scientific character" (*dangxing he kexuexing xiang tongyi* 党性和科学性相统一) is Xi Jinping's theoretical contribution to historical methodology<sup>35</sup>. As we are told, party's spirit means following the authority of the Central Committee, implementing the party line, opposing liberalism (*ziyouzhuyi* 自由主义) and independence (*dulizhuyi* 独立主义)<sup>36</sup>.

## Conclusion

The importance of studying history, starting from school age, confirms the role that the party has always attributed to it as a legitimizing tool in the eyes of its people. Even in the imperial past, China's power to legitimize itself relied on intellectuals who often had to rewrite history<sup>37</sup>. The tradition of the PRC historiography

<sup>34</sup> Sebastian Heilman and Elizabeth J. Perry, eds., *Mao's Invisible Hand. The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China* (Cambridge Mass and London: Harvard University Press, 2011).

<sup>35</sup> Hu Zhanjun and Guo Jiwei, "Xuexi Xi Jinping tongzhi guanyu lishi yanjiu de fangfalun yuanze," *Hongqi Wengao*, December 25, 2017, [http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/hqw/g/2017-12/25/c\\_1122162184.htm](http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/hqw/g/2017-12/25/c_1122162184.htm) accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>36</sup> A key political expression since the 'Decision' taken on the occasion of the party's 20th anniversary in 1941, *dangxing* has taken a renewed emphasis under Xi Jinping. Wang Chengqing, "Guangyu zengqiang *dangxing* xiuyang de lishi kaocha jiqi xianshi yiyi," *Lilun Zhongguo wang*, June 6, 2021, <https://www.dswxyjy.org.cn/n1/2021/0623/c244516-32138551.html> accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>37</sup> Elizabeth J. Perry, "Is the Chinese Communist Regime Legitimate?" in *The China Questions. Critical Insights into a Rising Power*, eds Jennifer Rudolph and Michael Szony (Cambridge Mass: Harvard



shows that even in times of greater ideological openness, and despite having to adapt the interpretation to the changed scenarios of domestic politics before and after Mao, the party has always maintained control of the official narrative. Today, attention to history as one of the most important social sciences is greater also because it has taken on a value that goes beyond national borders. For the purposes of CCP propaganda, studying history is useful for supporting an effective hegemonic discourse both internally and externally. The expression *huayuquan* 话语权, discursive power, which came into use in the early 1990s, took on a political meaning, indicating the willingness and ability that China has to tell its story (*jiang hao Zhongguo gushi* 讲好中国故事), of which Chinese history and tradition are fundamental components<sup>38</sup>. But increasing its discursive power is not enough. The fields of information, media, education and culture in general must also meet ideological security criteria *yishixingtai anquan* 意识形态安全<sup>39</sup>. With Xi Jinping the concept of cultural security, as well ideological security and cultural infiltration has animated the whole Party and ideological thought elaboration, and has come to be seen as critical to the CCP's survival, because there is still a persistent fear of the negative influence of western values for the Chinese political system<sup>40</sup>. For this reason, history courses starting from school age have the essential task of shaping the minds of young people to adhere to the party's line.

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<sup>38</sup> Fu Ying, "Zai jiang hao Zhongguo gushi zhong tisheng huayu quan," *Renmin Ribao*, April 2, 2020, 9, [http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2020-04/02/nw.D110000renmrb\\_20200402\\_1-09.htm](http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2020-04/02/nw.D110000renmrb_20200402_1-09.htm) accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>39</sup> Matthew D. Johnson, "Securitizing Culture in post-Deng China: An Evolving National Strategic Paradigm, 1994–2014," *Propaganda in the World and Local Conflicts* 4, no 1, (2017): 62–80.

<sup>40</sup> Matthew D. Johnson, "Safeguarding socialism," *Sinopsis. China in context and perspective*, June 16, 2020, <https://sinopsis.cz/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/safeguarding-socialism.pdf> accessed August 31, 2021.

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LUCA PISANO

RIVER OF DARKNESS: DANSHUI REPRESENTATIONS  
FROM COLONIAL TO POST-COLONIAL TAIWAN

«Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au »  
[I'm the river, the river is me]

Māori saying

This essay intends to offer a spatial examination of fictional narratives related to the Danshui river during a distinctive period of the 20th century in Taiwan.

Since the publication of Lefebvre's *Production de l'espace* (1974), spatiality has gained a primary role in the theoretical and ideological speculations of the human experience of space, with a wide range of interdisciplinary developments stretching from Yi-Fu Tuan's and Derek Gregory's cultural geographies to Augé's social anthropology. In literary theory, the hegemony of time as scientific focal point has been long challenged by the emerging of practices putting forward spatial conceptions from different perspectives, starting from Pageaux's imagology and Brandt's geopoetics, to the more recent Westphal's geocriticism and Garrard's ecocriticism. Spatially oriented literary criticism is therefore connoted by eclecticism and the heterogeneity of argumentative stances, mainly referring to a comparative mode of analysis aimed at disclosing the inner significances of the positions taken into consideration, from the abstractions related to the notion of "space" to the connotative naming generated by the perception of a "place".<sup>1</sup>

My analysis will take advantage of some key concepts of geocriticism, namely "referentiality" and "transgressivity". The former highlights an identifiable place in its adaptation of the narrative production, while the decoding of the fictional space can lead to the detection and to an improvement of the understanding of the actual location; starting from the Aristotelian assumption of the mimetic relation between fiction and reality, I will try to point out how various perceptions could shape different fictional reproduction of the Danshui river space, embracing the multifaced insights emerged from such a distinctive environment. "Transgressivity", related with the previous concept, emphasizes the often blurred margin between the real and its representation, underlining the zone of the border as site of musings, with the dynamism as well as the instability of the notion resulted from the diversification of the postmodern aesthetics of space.<sup>2</sup> Derived from Latin

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<sup>1</sup> Tim Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction*. (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 15.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the concepts of "transgressivity" and "referentiality" see Bertrand Westphal, *Geocriti-*

*transgressus*, transgressivity points not just to the meaning of “passing over” but it involves the (intentional or unintentional) wish to cross an accepted boundary, therefore committing an act that could go against conventional experiences. From this perspective, transgressivity could apply to fictional spaces with a much wider scope of implications, often beyond predictable extents. The river itself is the epitomization of a space inducing to the act of crossing in both factual and allegorical narratives. In the wake of the transgressivity, most crucial is the theorization of the “thirdplace”,<sup>3</sup> stemming from the intersection of macroscopic and heterotopic representations, as “it allows for the synthesis of all differences, the reduction of certain fractures”.<sup>4</sup> It’s an “in-between” that opposes to any kind of irreducible bipolarism and evolves to a “borderline culture of hybridity”.<sup>5</sup>

My examination will take into consideration the relation between place and landscape, as the result of the tensions amidst “visual ideas”<sup>6</sup> and “something intriguing, creative and productive”,<sup>7</sup> encompassing the dualist rhetoric of the (apparent) authenticity and inauthenticity towards the perspectives of the observer and the consciousness of self, both at the root of the literary landscape.<sup>8</sup> The river here has thus a role in the formation of a contemporary landscape narrative reflecting both local environmental issues as well as socio-economical stances through the lens of visual perception and the process of fictional creativity.<sup>9</sup>

### *The Mother River*

The *Danshui he* 淡水河 (also romanized as Tansui ho, Tamsui ho) is a river that flows north-westward across northern Taiwan. The headwaters of the Danshui River are located on the Pintian 品田 Mountain, a peak in the Shei-Pa National Park in central Taiwan; with its total length of nearly 160 km, it’s the third longest river of the island.<sup>10</sup> The Danshui River system includes three main tributar-

*cism. Real and Fictional Spaces* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), ch. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 55.

<sup>4</sup> Westphal, *Geocriticism*, 69.

<sup>5</sup> Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 322.

<sup>6</sup> Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction*, 17.

<sup>7</sup> John Wylie, *Landscape* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2007), 9.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Jakob, *Paesaggio e letteratura* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2005), 41.

<sup>9</sup> Apart from the narratives of the natural environment in the so-called eco-literature and ecocriticism whose purposes are beyond the scope of this article, further proof of the increasing interest toward the fictional representation of landscapes in the sinophone context can be seen in the anthology of short stories in English translation by Jiang Yun, Xu Zechen, Han Shaogong, Chi Zijian, Fang Fang, Li Tie, Wang Anyi, edited by Charles A. Laughlin, Liu Hongtao and Jonathan Stalling titled *By the River. Seven Contemporary Chinese Novellas*, all sharing river spaces as common thread.

<sup>10</sup> Liu Huanyue 劉還月, *Ni wen, Danshui he you duo chang? Daodu muqin de he* 你問, 淡水河有多長? 導讀母親的河 [You ask how long is the Danshui river? Reading guide to the mother river]. In Lin, Wenyi 林文義. *Muqin de he: Danshui he de jishi* 母親的河: 淡水河的紀事 [The Mother River:



ies (Jilong 基隆 River, Dahan 大漢 Creek, Xindian 新店 Creek) while the drainage area along their courses consists of over 2700 km<sup>2</sup> through three adjacent counties (Xinzhu, Taoyuan, New Taipei City). The natural resources offered by the Danshui River system and its environment have been the main livelihood of the former settlements of both the Ketagalan aboriginal tribes in the area today known as the “Taipei basin” and the Atayal 泰雅 tribes living in the northern regions of the Xue 雪 Mount.<sup>11</sup> The estuary of the Danshui River has been one the earliest doorways of the island to colonial powers: in 1628 the Spanish occupied the village town that today shares the same name of the river but formerly referred as Hobe 滬尾; the Spanish were soon replaced in 1640 by the Dutch until their final withdrawn in 1668.<sup>12</sup> Danshui has been used for the first time as toponym in 1723 when the Qing government instituted the Danshui county (Danshui ting 淡水廳), indicating the whole territories north of the earliest urban townships of Dadaocheng 大稻埕 and Mengjia 艋舺.<sup>13</sup> The Japanese colonial period saw a development of the coastal regions along the Danshui River, resulting in an increasing accumulation of silt sediments impeding the upstream course of merchant vessels. The concomitant expansion of both the Kee-lung (Jilong) port and the railway line from the river estuary to the urban areas, dealt a severe blow to the trade and economy related to the Danshui River: in its flourishing period, the handling capacity of the Danshui port was the 63% of the whole island, then shrank in the following decades to a mere 0.9%. The denomination of Danshui River today indicates specifically the watercourse resulted from the convergence of the Dahan Creek and the Xindian Creek in the Jiangzicui 江子翠 area, north of the Banqiao district, thus referring just to the lower section of the Danshui River system. Since the river fostered a various and diversified ecosystem along its course and during its whole history, it therefore earned the informal name as Mother River.<sup>14</sup>

Chronicles of the Danshui River] (Taipei: Tai Yuan, 1993), 11-20.

- <sup>11</sup> Lin Wenyi, *Muqin de he*, 119, 141. The scholar José Eugenio Borao Mateo asserts that the common vulgate about the Ketagalan is highly questionable, stating that “Ketagalan seems more like a ‘Japanese construction’ that had been popularized at the end of the XX century.” According to the available records, the earliest written reference to the Ketagalan tribe date back to 1897 in the reports of the Japanese anthropologist Ino Kanori but from the “Spanish and the Dutch sources of the seventeenth century [...] no Ketagalan tribe or Ketagalan language is mentioned at all, therefore is risky to use this term to define a tribe characterized by a common language spoken in northern Taiwan, or in the Taipei basin” (José E. Borao Mateo, *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan 1626-1642: The Baroque Ending of a Renaissance Endeavour* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 54. In regards to the ‘Japanese construction’ claimed by Borao Mateo, it should be noted that the most prominent work on aboriginal people in Taiwan written by the Japanese anthropologist Suzuki Tadasu 鈴木實 in 1932 makes no mention of the Ketagalan.
- <sup>12</sup> John R. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier 1600-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 95.
- <sup>13</sup> Henry Shih-Shan Tsai, *Maritime Taiwan. Historical Encounters with the East and the West* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 214 fn. 40.
- <sup>14</sup> Hao Guohua 郝國華, “Jinxi Danshui he” 今昔淡水河 [Past and present of the Danshui river],

The gradual state of neglect of the Danshui River increased in the post-colonial years mainly for two reasons: 1) the construction of the Shimen Reservoir dam (Shimen shuiku 石門水庫) completed in the mid-'60s: while providing hydroelectric power and water supply to the northern part of the island reducing the impact of flooding, it had a major effect on the turbidity and the quality of water following the large amount of sediments sinking at the base of the reservoir,<sup>15</sup> thus affecting periodically the downstream watercourses, their capacity and the supply of domestic water. 2) The heavy pollution of the river waters due to raw sewage, industrial and agriculture waste, untreated garbage dumping. The earliest phase of the environmental pollution dates back to the Japanese colonial period when the embankments of the Danshui River have been the location of an increasing number of brickyards, from the Beitou 北投 area up to the Jilong River, and pottery kilns, especially along the Da'an 大安 Creek near the Yingge 鶯歌 district.<sup>16</sup> According to the records, because of the growing demand of wall bricks and tiles, in 1912 there were already more than forty brickyards just along the Jilong River banks.<sup>17</sup> The frequent earthquakes that, from time to time, shook the island required a quick shift to a safer construction technology, therefore reinforced concrete soon replaced bricks later used mainly as decorative elements. The reduced necessity of bricks production leads to a progressive decline of the brickyards, and their distinctive chimneys became part of the landscape heritage along the rivers. Unfortunately, this phenomenon was not followed by any reduction of environment pollution: on the contrary, the Taiwan Economic Miracle starting in the second half of the sixties' of the XX century caused an uncontrolled growth of pervasive pollution making the Danshui River, in the span of barely thirty years, one of the sacrificial victim of the island's fast socio-economic development.<sup>18</sup> The severe contamination of the waters in the Danshui river system irremediably affected the freshwater fishing industry in the area as well as the raw water intake facilities that needed to be relocated in the upper courses. The foul miasma spreading over most part of the watercourse clearly denoted that the mother river has been harmed close to the point of no return. Following the global awareness on environmental issues, the local government in the last thirty years showed a rising concern on the situation of the Danshui River: besides the further implementation of sewerage treatment plants, focused policies have been promoted to safeguard the ecology of the river system. The overall condition nowadays indicates clear

*Liang'an guanxi* 兩岸關係 10 (2007): 60.

<sup>15</sup> Danielle DuMont, "Monitoring Reservoir Water Quality in Taiwan Tames Turbidity after Typhoon," *Water & Wastewater International*, 22 (2007): 12.

<sup>16</sup> Lin Hongyao 林鴻堯, and Yu Xing 俞衍, *Taiwan hechuan zhi mei - Danshui he* 台灣河川之美 - 淡水河 [The beauty of Taiwan rivers - Danshui River] (Taipei: Lianjing, 2007): n.p.

<sup>17</sup> Xu Yihong 徐逸鴻, *Tushuo rizhi Taipei cheng* 圖說日治台北城 [Illustrated Taipei city during the Japanese rule] (Taipei: Maotouying, 2013): 150.

<sup>18</sup> Hao Guohua, "Jinxi Danshui he": 61.

signs of improvements from the increase of the number of biological species, the advancement of river ecological conservation function and the reduction of river pollution index.<sup>19</sup>

From the literary perspective, many single places located along the Danshui river system have been used as background of fictional works, but they have been seldom seen as diversified parts of broader whole in a cohesive ecosystem. One of the most successful work is Lin Wenyi's *Muqin de he: Danshui he de jishi* where the author, as inferred by the title, in the literary form of the *sanwen* crafts an historical account of the events according to the different locations that, in various time and ages, have gained their distinctive traits, shaping an overall view of the region crossed by the Danshui river system. Lin Wenyi's narrative is not strictly diachronic but flows like a recollection of pastime remembrances, constantly lingering between private reminiscences and collective memory.

### *On the verge of ineluctable changes*

The descriptions of the landscapes related to the Danshui River date back to the first accesses to the island by western colonizers and merchants from mainland China and Southeast Asia. Even from these early accounts, it clearly emerges the liminal nature of the Danshui river as a threshold between spaces where referentiality still prevails over any fictional attempts, through sketches of the naturalistic and climatic traits close to the mouth of the river, unfolding the contiguity between landscape beauty and tangled wilderness of the surrounding area.<sup>20</sup> The situation improved in the following centuries and in the mid-nineteenth century

<sup>19</sup> Wang, Hsiao-Lin, Ho Yu-Feng, and Wu Ching-I, "Dynamics Model of Eco-Security Surveillance System for the Tamsui River in Taipei City", in *29th International Conference of the System Dynamics Society 2011*, eds. James M. Lyneis, George P. Richardson, vol.5 (Albany: System Dynamics Society, 2011): 3922.

<sup>20</sup> See Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004): 85. Between the end of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the Qing dynasty (in the era immediately following that of the events of the famous Koxinga) the town of Danshui and its neighbouring places were considered land of exile for criminals precisely because of the unhealthy environment (Koxinga himself died of malaria at 37). The increase of commercial activities (and of the people needing to live there for extended periods) led to the improvement of the living conditions along the coastal areas, mainly between the towns of Danshui and Guandu, and near Dadaocheng and Mengjia where dockyards were built after the reclamation of the swampy areas. See Xu Junya 許俊雅, "Shikong jiaohu xia de teshu zunzai: Taiwan wenxue zhong de Danshui dijing" 時空交互下的特殊存在: 台灣文學中的淡水地景 [Extraordinary existences between space and time: the Danshui landscape in Taiwanese literature], in *Shikong shiyu de jiaorong* 時空視域的交融, eds. Shi Yilin 施懿琳 and Yang Yahui 楊雅惠 (Gaoxiong: Guoli Zhongshan daxue renwen yanjiu zhongxin, 2011): 35. Xu Junya's essay extensively explores the literary representations of Danshui township landscape during the Japanese colonial era.

the Danshui river was one of the busiest areas of the island. However, starting from the period of Japanese colonial rule, the overall situation on the river saw a steep decline due to the rapid development of infrastructures in the capital's nearby settlements. In the second half of the colonial period (particularly during the war-time era), the Danshui river appears like a sort of discarded harbour: in its fictional representation it becomes a space gradually shifting from *limen* to *limes*, from threshold to border, with both implicit and disclosed references.

The college student, main character of Nakamura Jihei's 中村地平 (1908-1963) *Sutareta minato 廃れた港* (Abandoned harbours, 1932), is the author himself that fled Japan to live in Taiwan, searching for pristine landscapes and displaying his attraction towards the decaying beauty of the Danshui river, revealing the socio-anthropological implications of such a real space as juxtaposed representation of the way the Japanese dealt with the ethnic issues on the island. From another perspective, the narrator's travel to the Danshui area is the last step of an intimate journey of self-enlightenment that was preceded by a journey in the south of Taiwan, almost like a metonymic reference to his subconscious, a breakthrough experience even underlined by the quotation of Guy de Maupassant's impressions from his southern travels on the Mediterranean coasts.<sup>21</sup> Apart from such overt intertextuality, it's possible to detect interfaces<sup>22</sup> in the character of the student's travel companion to Danshui, that is a local painter. Danshui river's landscape has always been a favourite theme for painters and Danshui's space since colonial era became one of the most preferred dwelling for artists and painters as Ishikawa Kinichiro 石川欽一郎 (1871-1945), Kinoshita Seigai 木下靜涯 (1887-1988), Tan Ting-pho 陳澄波 (Chen Chengbo, 1895-1947), Liao Jichun 廖繼春 (1902-1976), Chen Zhiqi 陳植棋 (1906-1931), Chen Huikun 陳慧坤 (1907-2011). Beside visual representations, Ishikawa also left a written sketch of Danshui's environment:

The transparent waters of the Danshui River reflect the clear sky; as long as one observes them and their glitter becomes so alluring that one would jump in them. A vermilion schooner moves slowly, drawing the profile of Mount Guanyin on the water. Few are the leaves on the poplars along the shore, the early winter wind blows from the mountains, gently brushing the algae floating on the river surface. The ripples that disappear in the distance are like light swirls of smoke shrouding the port of Danshui, you

<sup>21</sup> "En somme, j'ai vu de l'eau, du soleil, des nuages et des roches — je ne puis raconter autre chose — et j'ai pensé simplement, comme on pense quand le flot vous berce, vous engourdit et vous promène." This quotation comes from the *incipit* of Guy de Maupassant's (1850-1893) *Sur l'eau*, first published in 1888. See Xu Junya, "'Shikong jiaohu xia de teshu zunzai...'", 41; Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003): 254, n32.

<sup>22</sup> The concept of 'interface' was formerly by Ted Nelson and recapped by Westphal in relation with referentiality: "The representation of the referential world (...) in fiction engages in a process of interactivity between instances of heterogeneous nature brought together in the same world through an interface." Westphal, *Geocriticism*, 99.

can even see the usual junks near the port ... In recent years there has been talk of the progressive desolation of the port, but for us it could not be better, yes it can almost say that it is the will of Heaven, only in this way can we avoid any vulgarization and return to the imponderable origin of nature.<sup>23</sup>

Ishikawa's lyrical account uses the plainness of a spatial description to express a kind of appropriation that goes beyond the cultural matter to reveal the colonial framework he belongs to. Water ripples could be indeed far from being just the idyllic detail of a serene landscape: as clearly pointed out by scholar Lin Pei-yin, in the earliest work by Wang Changxiong 王昶雄 (1916-2000) "Tansui kawa no sazanami" 淡水河の漣 (Ripples of the Danshui river, 1939), the ripples remind the failures of the main characters of his story, giving up their dreams because of the contingent circumstances of the military expansion of Japan, an issue that Ishikawa failed (or did not even bother) to consider.<sup>24</sup> The Danshui River is no more a threshold but is indeed a border between the colonizer and the colonized, the boundary between those standing on the side of imperial-subject identification and those who were not concerned with (or not willing to take a stand against) it. It was a boundary that still could as well be crossed, but it was merely a one-way ride toward the adherence to the *kōminka* 皇民化 policy.

### *River of darkness*

Following the surrender of Japan and the end of the WWII, the territory of the island was placed under the administration of the government of the Republic of China. Within less than two years, the tensions between the new government and local people broke out in the February 28th Incident and in the following decades of the so-called white terror. In a short lapse of time, the Danshui river becomes a sealed border, marking the separation between local people and the ruthless rule of the newcomers, or even turning into a threshold to the netherworld. Shortly

<sup>23</sup> Ishikawa Kinichiro 石川欽一郎, "Shotō sozoro aruki" 初冬漫ろ歩き (Early winter stroll), *Taiwan Jihō* 臺灣時報, 12, 1926, 87-92. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the author.

<sup>24</sup> "Wang's interest in individuals' reactions to reality is traceable in his first fictional work "Tansui kawa no sazanami" (Ripples of River Tamsui). He explained that ripples are 'unpleasant stuff' for him, because 'underneath the ripples in a windless condition, there exist countless hidden big waves or crises,' and life 'is like a repeated alternation between ripples and big waves.'" Lin Pei-yin, *Colonial Taiwan: Negotiating Identities and Modernity Through Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 209. It should be noted that Wang never felt at ease to talk about this very work and did not agree to the reprint even in later years because of the outspoken urgency of the main character to enlist in the Japanese army. See Xu Junya 許俊雅, "Formosa 的心窗" [Window on Formosa's heart], in *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編. 59, *Wang Changxiong* 王昶雄 [Collected research materials of Taiwan contemporary writers. 59, Wang Changxiong], ed. Xu Junya (Tainan: Tainan wenxueguan, 2014), 89.

after the February 28th Incident, the corpses of numerous people who disappeared after the violent retaliation of the military police began to appear almost on a daily basis in the Danshui River, in particular in the area around the former Taipei Bridge (Taibei daqiao 台北大橋).<sup>25</sup> It seems that the waters of the river established an indissoluble relation with the world of the afterlife ever since, emerging with disturbing frequency also in subsequent fictional works. Lü Heruo's 呂赫若 (1914-1951) "Dongye" 冬夜 (Wintry nights) published just few weeks before that 28th February 1947 is probably the most representative narration depicting with gloomy foresight the social injustices of the painful takeover of the island.<sup>26</sup> In the darkness shrouding the whole story, the Danshui River becomes the border splitting the population on the two shores, with the wealthy continentals living in the premises left by the Japanese in the Danshui township, and the poverty-stricken islanders dwelling in wretched hovels without electricity on the opposite side of the river. The political implications of the story are clearly epitomized by the three men the main character Caifeng - a local woman compelled to work in a brothel in order to support her family - met along the narration. From a spatial standpoint, the place where the mainlander Guo Qingming (Caifeng's second husband that will blame and abandon her after the discovery of a venereal disease) lives, a Japanese-style house, is a further element of the landscape signalling the social position of the mainlanders, now occupying the same spaces of the former colonizers. Even the author Tao Jingsun 陶晶孫 (1897-1952) pointed out the fate of Taiwanese people from one of the earliest aerial view of the landscape around the Danshui river mouth:

Mount Datun on the left and Mount Guanyin on the right are the symbols of Taiwan while approaching from the sky, the Danshui River looks like an airport runway squeezed in the middle, the entrance of Taiwan; after a turn over the city of Taipei, the airplane lands at Songshan airport: this is the flight route from Shanghai to Taipei. Watching

<sup>25</sup> "I had heard from neighbours that several corpses had appeared in the Danshui River [...] We ran to see and near the Taipei Bridge, close to the floodgate n.16, it was full of floating bodies; there were many every day, all with their hands tied by wire, and a stone or brick hanging from the neck. They were not dressed, they just wore underwear or underpants; they were all swollen being in the water for a long time, and clearly about to decompose. For a week, nameless bodies surfaced on the banks of the Danshui River, they were all young. The boatmen helped bringing them up to the shore. It seemed that nobody could identify those bodies that were eventually taken away on carts, and who knows how many others had not been recovered, pushed by the current to the sea [...] I remember that there were even more near the Taipei Bridge, and I heard that many also surfaced in the Jilong River near the Songshan area. The elders said that all of them surely died being tied by wire and with a stone around their neck." In *Danshui heyu er er ba* 淡水水域二二八 [February 28 Incident in the Danshui area], eds. Zhang Yanxian 張炎憲, Hu Huilin 胡慧玲, Li Denggui 黎澄貴 (Taipei: Wusanlian jijinhui, 1996), 92.

<sup>26</sup> Lü Heruo 呂赫若, "Dongye" 冬夜 [Wintry nights], *Taiwan Bunka* 台灣文化, 2, 1947. Reprinted in *Lü Heruo xiaoshuo ji xia* 呂赫若小說全集(下) [Lü Heruo collected tales (vol.2)], ed. Lin Zhijie 林至潔 (Taipei: INK 印刻, 2006), 637-50.



the terrain, you can see an old castle that seems emerging from a European children's story, it has been erected by the Dutch but now there's the Union Jack fluttering, on the lower side are the crisscrossed paths left by the Japanese artillery base. It would be appropriate to say that Taiwanese people have been the slaves of all nations in the shifting of rulers over the ages.<sup>27</sup>

In “Tansui kawa shinjū” 淡水河心中 (Double suicide in the Danshui river, 1951), inspired by real event that shocked the island, Tao narrates the tragic romance between a mainlander and a local girl that should have ended in a double suicide in the Danshui river; the girl died while the man seems to accidentally save himself. It eventually emerged that he conceived the suicide plan to deceive the young woman with the idea of a double suicide. The Danshui river landscape then becomes the background of the whole story revealing the settler mindset of the man towards the islander, and the hypocrisy of his fellows when his true intentions were discovered and made public. While in Lü Heruo's “Dongye” the darkness is the setting of the narration that gives no way out to its main character, in “Tansui kawa shinjū” it becomes the fantasy of the narrator (“a formation of planes covering the sky and earth”) while watching the still scenery on the opposite bank of the river, over the Guanyin Mount and the Taoyuan plain. The narrator's claim (“then the Danshui waters would be limpid”) seems to leave open different possibilities: on one hand the darkness would represent a sort of redemption, the pathway for the dawn after the sunset; on the other the darkness would hide the river and the sorrowful stories of those who ended their life in its waters, as a shelter covering the tragedies beneath the sober beauty of the landscape.

The river then assumes metaphorical implications; as displacement, it embodies the projections of the narrator's stances toward the consequences of the social upheaval following the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident. The fate of the Danshui seems therefore doomed, becoming the Styx of the island. During the following decades of the so-called white terror and martial law, the representation of the river is focused mainly on its state of neglect (even increasing during the age of booming economy) displaying slight shifts within writers' perception and according to specific contexts.

<sup>27</sup> Tō Shōson 陶晶孫 [Tao Jingsun], “Tansui kawa shinjū” 淡水河心中 [Double suicide in the Danshui river], *Tenbō* 展望, 7, 1951, 95-99. Reprinted in *Nihon e no isho* 日本への遺書 [Testament for Japan] (Tōkyō: Tōhō Shoten, 1995, 107-16). In both Chinese translations of *Nihon e no isho* included in *Tao Jingsun xuanji* 陶晶孫選集 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1995) and *Tao Jingsun daibiaozuo* 陶晶孫代表作 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1999) “Tansui kawa shinjū” has been omitted without any explanation, most probably because of the sensitive topic. See Huang Yingzhe 黃英哲, “Kuajie zhe de kuajie yu xugou: Tao Jingsun xiaoshuo ‘Danshui he xin zhong’ xianxian de zhanhou Taiwan shehui xiang” 跨界者的跨界與虛構：陶晶孫小說〈淡水河心中〉顯現的戰後臺灣社會像 [Transboundary and fictionality of the boundary spanner: the image of post-war Taiwan society in Tao Jingsun's ‘Danshui he xin zhong’], *Taiwan shi yanjiu* 臺灣史研究 18, n.1 (2011): 103-32.

Danshui muddy and filthy waters then appears in Zheng Qingwen's 鄭清文 (1932-2017) "Shui shang zuqu" 水上組曲 (River Suite): while not being explicated, the river landscape resembles clearly the Danshui area with an old town "like a huge moss-covered rock" and the chimneys of the brickyards along the shores.<sup>28</sup> With a style resembling an oral narration, Zheng describes the untold love of a boatman for a woman living on the opposite side of the river and his epic fight against the natural forces of the river waters, being the only *savoir* who can snatch people's lives from the jaws of death. Zheng's descriptions are within the same pattern of the river seen as a threshold to the Underworld, but Zheng does not rule out the possibility of salvation through the romantic archetype of the hero's damnation.

The rapid economic growth of the island led to a rising number of families migrating from the south to the capital in search for better work opportunities during the '70s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The consequences of this phenomenon resulted in the re-emergence of the social disparities once described by Lü Heruo with the Danshui river becoming again the boundary between the wealthy middle class living on the right side of the river and the migrants living on the left side. Zhong Wenyin's 鍾文音 (1966-) *Zai he de zuo an* 在河的左岸 (On the river's left side) describes the vicissitudes of a southern family who migrated to Taipei and settled on the left side of the Danshui river, in the area of Sanchong 三重.<sup>29</sup> The frequent floods and numerous suicides in the river marked the adolescence of the main character who sees in the towering buildings on the right side a chance for redemption; however, the destructive force of the water seems leaving no room for alternatives, swallowing everything, the hopes of the present time and the hardship of the past in the countryside. The symbolic reference to the netherworld of the Danshui river lasts even in the following decades when the scenery and ecosystem of the river steeply worsened in the exploitation of the natural resources of the island; the whole landscape surrounding the Danshui river course turned out to be the quintessence of Virilio's aesthetics of the disappearance. Lin Wenyi's *Muqin de he* is the river's "swan-song" in a recollection of its past magnificence followed by the merciless devastation stemming from years of rampant economic development: the river is the silent witness of the disappearance of the Atayal tribes' native lands (submerged by the waters of the Shimen dam), the disappearance of the architecture of the last Qing era in the Sanxia district, of the camphor woods in the Zhongli area, of the old railway to the Danshui township, and of many other spaces in a sort of ineluctable memory-erasure process.

<sup>28</sup> Zheng Qingwen 鄭清文, "Shui shang zuqu" 水上組曲 (River Suite), *Taiwan wenyi* 台灣文藝, n.2 (5/1964).

<sup>29</sup> Zhong Wenyin 鍾文音, *Zai he de zuo an* 在河左岸 [On the river's left side] (Taipei: Datian, 2003).

## Conclusions

The experience of the Danshui river landscape holds a high degree of iconicity whose verbal depiction seems often influenced by the portrayals of its earlier settlers. During the colonial era, the semantic of the landscape gains an increasing ideologized connotation. Within the framework of the transgressivity, the river further emphasizes the dynamic feature of the landscape as literary outcome of the heterogeneous views of the narrators. Besides, the river itself is the epitome of the transgression as a space that needs to be crossed both literally and figuratively. However, as time goes by, the river's sides seem to be more and more far away, the river resembling a sealed border that obliterate any attempt of redemption, leaving dichotomies unsolved and pointing out the overlapping roles of the newcomers (*hospes*) as enemies (*hostis*). This kind of realisation should not be dismissed as part of plain anticolonial rhetoric: the Danshui river landscape became the representation of the narrators' consciousness, going beyond mere descriptivism, in order to transcend literacy and achieve a condition reminding Soja's 'thirdspace' inclusiveness, in a process of appropriation of the spatial, historical and social dimensions of this peculiar scenery. From such a perspective, the apparent irresoluteness marked by the symbolic values of the opposite shores can find a space of negotiation in the act of transgression; not matter if performed or just imagined, it allows a reduction of the *hiatus* between fictional and referential spaces, evaluating the metaphorical displacement of the Danshui river landscape within the scope of subjective narrations and genuine awareness, thus leading to an assessment of the experienced present through the lens of waning memories.

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Fig. 1. Aerial view of the Danshui river mouth with Mount Datun on the left and Mount Guanyin on the right



Fig. 2. Aerial view of the lower course of the Danshui river



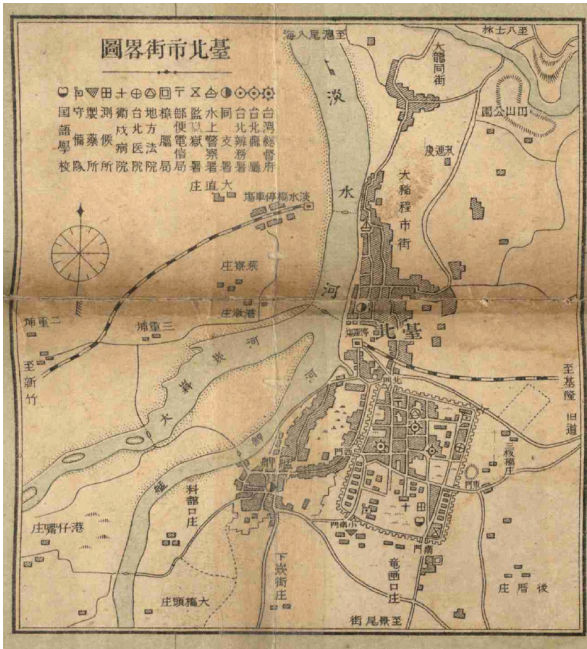


Fig. 3. 1901 map displaying the early urban settlements of the capital Taipei along the Danshui river

Fig. 4. Taipei Iron Bridge over the Danshui river during the Japanese colonial era



MARTINA RENATA PROSPERI

ECOLITERATURE AND ECOCRITICISM  
IN THE SINOPHONE FIELD:  
A SELECTION OF VIEWPOINTS FROM BOTH SIDES  
OF THE TAIWAN STRAIT

The unstoppable and undeniable aggravation of the environmental crisis of the last decades has stimulated debates and reflections in every scientific and artistic sphere, including the field of literature and literary criticism. Starting from the 1980s and 1990s, scholars began trying to define what ecoliterature and ecocriticism are or should be. Although ASLE (Association for the Study of Literature and Environment), one of the main associations for international scholars of environmental humanities, was born in America in 1992, literary and critical works dealing with the relationship between man and the environment are not the mere preserve of western writers and scholars. By briefly tracing the birth and developments of ecocriticism and ecoliterature in China and in Taiwan, this article aims at demonstrating how sinophone ecocriticism and ecoliterature do not profile themselves as a response to western inputs, but rather weaving a non-hierarchical relationship and mutual exchange with them.

To speak of “ecoliterature” in the sinophone field, one must first define the meaning of this term. There are various interpretations and ongoing debates about the significance of this word. This paper will consider ecoliterature as any literary work which might be the subject of or liable to ecocriticism. Therefore, within the boundaries of this article, “ecoliterature” does not describe a particular genre or a literary movement, but rather a potentially infinite corpus of works that can be studied through the lens of ecocriticism, or, by analyzing the human-environment relationships and dynamics underlying their plots and rhetoric devices.

Unlike “nature writing,” for which one can propose definitions, characteristics, and canons, ecoliterature is not anchored to prose as a literary form, nor to any first-person narration, and much less to any scientific claim. A number of analytical works, such as Wei Qingqi 韦清琦’s *Towards a “Green Canon,”* for the Chinese context, or Wu Mingyi 吴明益’s *Freeing Nature Through Writing*, for the Taiwanese sinosphere, effectively show how sinophone ecoliterature ranges from reportage writing and *sanwen* prose to magical realistic novels, science fiction and poetry.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Wei Qingqi 韦清琦, “Zou xiang yi zhong lüse jingdian - xin shidai wenxue de shengtai yanjiu 走

Examples of non-fiction prose that might be analyzed through the lens of ecocriticism are offered by very different authors, such as Wei An 苇岸 (e.g. “Thoreau and I”), Zhou Xiaofeng 周晓枫 (e.g. “The Great Whale Sings”) and Wu Mingyi (e.g. “Death is a Tiger Butterfly”). Whereas examples of sinophone poetry that can be regarded as ecoliterature are collected in the Spring 2015 issue of *Pathlight*, which was entirely devoted to the theme of nature. Moreover, an example of ecocritical analysis applied to sinophone poetry, and namely the works of the migrant worker and poet Zheng Xiaoqiong 郑小琼, is offered by an essay by Gong Haomin 龚浩敏, titled “Toward a New Leftist Ecocriticism in Postsocialist China: Reading the ‘Poetry of Migrant Workers’ as Eco-poetry.”<sup>2</sup>

Evidently, sinophone ecoliterature does not limit itself to texts of naturalistic interest. On the contrary, as scholars like Lawrence Buell and Serenella Iovino would argue, it contemplates any kind of environmental context and opens itself upon to criticism regarding the relationship between human beings and their living environment.<sup>3</sup> In fact, Acheng 阿城’s *The King of Trees* (1985) can be considered ecoliterature, but Wei An’s poetic prose *Life on Earth* (1995) or Liu Cixin 刘慈欣’s sci-fi trilogy *The Three Bodies Problem* (2008) actually meet the terms of this definition as well. Some ecocritical analysis of these works are respectively presented by Karen Thornber (“Chinese Literature and Environmental Crises”), Wei Qingqi and Kyhl Lyndgaard (“Wei An [1960-1999]: A Storyteller of Mother Earth”), and Dave Haysom (“Hermits and butterflies: the resurgence of nature writing in China”).<sup>4</sup>

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向一种绿色 经典-新时期文学的生态学研究 / Towards a Green Canon: An Ecological Study of ‘New Period’ Literature”, (PhD diss., Beijing University of Chinese Language and Culture, 2004); Wu Mingyi 吴明益, *Taiwan xiandai ziran shuxie de tansuo 1980-2002: yi shuxie jiefang ziran* BOOK 1 臺灣現代自然書寫的探索 1980-2002: 以書寫解放自然 BOOK 1 (Exploring nature writing in Taiwan 1980-2002, Freeing nature through writing Vol. 1); - *Taiwan ziran shuxie de zuojia lun 1980-2002: yi shuxie jiefang ziran* BOOK 2 臺灣自然書寫的作家論 1980 2002 以書寫解放自然 BOOK 2 (Taiwanese writers of nature writing, 1980-2002, Freeing nature through writing Vol. 2); - *Ziran zhi xin - cong ziran shuxie dao shengtai piping: yi shuxie jiefang ziran* BOOK 3 自然之心-從自然書寫到生態批評: 以書寫解放自然 BOOK 3 (The heart of nature - from nature writing to ecocriticism: Freeing nature through writing Vol. 3), (New Taipei: Xiari, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Wei An, “Thoreau and I”, *Pathlight*, Spring 2015: 86-91; Zhou Xiaofeng, “The Great Whale Sings”, *Pathlight*, Spring 2015: 111-21; Wu Mingyi, “Death is a Tiger Butterfly”, *Pathlight*, Spring 2015: 9-17; Gong Haomin, “Toward a New Leftist Ecocriticism in Postsocialist China: Reading the ‘Poetry of Migrant Workers’ as Eco-poetry”, in Lu Jie and Wang Ban, *China and New Left Visions: Political and Cultural Interventions* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2012), 139-57.

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence Buell, “La critica letteraria diventa eco” (Literary Criticism Becomes ‘Eco-’), in *Ecocritica. La letteratura e la crisi del pianeta* (Ecocriticism. Literature and the Crisis of the Planet), ed. Caterina Salabè (Rome: Donzelli editore, 2013), 4; Serenella Iovino, *Ecologia letteraria. Una strategia di sopravvivenza* (Literary Ecology. A Survival Strategy) (Milan: Edizioni Ambiente, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> Karen Thornber, “Chinese Literature and Environmental Crises”, in *Ecoambiguity, Community, and Development: Toward a Politicized Ecocriticism*, eds. Slovic S., Rangarajan S. and Sarveswaran V. (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2014), 1-11; Wei Qingqi and Kyhl Lyndgaard, “Wei An (1960-1999): A Storyteller of Mother Earth”, *ISLE*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 189-94; Dave Haysom, “Hermits and butterflies: the resurgence of nature writing in China”, *Chinadialogue*, accessed July 8,

Beyond this, the autobiographical prose written by the Tao indigenous writer Syaman Rapongan 夏曼·蓝波安, as well as renowned fictional works such as *The Man with the Compound Eyes* (2011) by Taiwanese writer Wu Mingyi, are equally subject to ecocritical analysis. Examples of Syaman Rapongan's short stories that are liable to an ecocritical interpretation are "The Ocean Pilgrim" and "The Wanderer Shen-Fish," where the author tells of his own underwater fishing experiences and of his close relationship with the oceanic environment of the Orchid Island. Whereas an ecocritical analysis of the novel *The Man with the Compound Eyes* is offered by Shiuuhuah Serena Chou in her essay "Wu's *The Man with the Compound Eyes* and the Worlding of Environmental Literature."<sup>5</sup>

Since ecoliterature is neither a genre nor a literary movement, but any text that can be subjected to ecocritical analysis, it is useful to retrace the beginning of the ecocritical debate in the sinophone context. From that point, one can distinguish between texts created prior to the emergence of the Chinese and Taiwanese ecocritical debates, and those created during a later literary production period, that have possibly become conscious of, and occasionally influenced by, the ecocritical debates, as well as by the acceleration of environmental degradation and climate crisis.

The emergence of sinophone ecocritical debates can be traced back to the late 1980s and early 1990s. In this period journalistic environmental literature began to proliferate in China, and scholars such as Lu Shuyuan 鲁枢元 and Zeng Fanren 曾繁仁 began to study the relationships between human beings and the environment, and between the environment and its representation.<sup>6</sup> Between the late 1990s and the beginning of the new century, a first wave of milestones of anglophone ecocriticism, such as *Going Away to Think* by Scott Slovic, became available in Chinese translation. By this time, however, as Wei Qingqi 韦清琦 observes, Chinese scholars had already determined their own conclusions in the field of the ecological cultural studies, and several years had already passed since the publication of their first pieces of journalistic ecoliterature and philosophical reflections.<sup>7</sup> In his

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2022, <https://www.chinadialogue.net/culture/8386-Hermits-and-butterflies-the-resurgence-of-nature-writing-in-China/en>.

<sup>5</sup> Syaman Rapongan, "The Ocean Pilgrim", *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series*, no. 17 (2005): 43-68, and "The Wanderer Shen-Fish", *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series*, no. 8 (2007): 101-6; Shiuuhuah Serena Chou, "Wu's *The Man with the Compound Eyes* and the Worlding of Environmental Literature", *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture*, vol. 16, no. 4 (2014).

<sup>6</sup> Wei, "Towards a Green Canon", 16-21. It is the phase that Wei Qingqi calls "of the superficial green" (*qian lüse*), that is, of the "environmentalist literature" (*huanjing wenxue*), in which, despite the persistence of an anthropocentric perspective, the environmental crisis begins to be interpreted as linked to a human crisis.

<sup>7</sup> Wei Qingqi, "Chinese Ecocriticism in the Last Ten Years", in *The Oxford Handbook of Ecocriticism*, ed. G. Garrard (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 538-9: "When ecocriticism became established in China in the 1990s, it did not find itself alone [...], as contemporary Chinese scholars had already been on their own way to ecological cultural studies [...]. The 'spiritual ecology' posed



monograph titled *Towards a "Green Canon": An Ecological Study of "New Period" Literature*, Wei analyzes the various influences that molded Chinese ecoliterature. Wei identifies its premises both in the ecological culture of ancient China, like *tian ren he yi*, 天人合一, the concept of unity and reciprocity between the sky and human beings, and in modern Chinese literature, such as in works by Feng Zikai 丰子恺 (1898-1975), Shen Congwen 沈从文 (1902-1988) and Fei Ming 废名 (1901-1967). Wei does not deny the influence of foreign nature writing in translation (H.D. Thoreau, Rachel Carson, John Muir), but he accounts this kind of stimulus as a later input. In fact, the stimulus offered by these translations, together with the worsening of the environmental crisis, was an additional incentive to develop the already-started debates and organize them around more specific groups of research.

Among the most relevant of these groups are the eco-aesthetics group of Shandong University, the researchers of spiritual ecology at Suzhou University and the ecoliterature team at Xiamen University. Today, these scholars continue to develop the Chinese ecocritical debate by including both local and international stimuli, and by analyzing both Chinese and foreign literature.

Several studies already describe the developments of the ecocritical and ecoliterary discourse in China. They stress the heterogeneity of its origins, its peculiar characteristics and its strong will to address – and work within – a global context. Two relevant examples in this regard are offered by Yang Jincai and Wei Qingqi, whose respective contributions, “Environmental Dimensions in Contemporary Chinese Literature and Criticism” and “Chinese Ecocriticism in the Last Ten Years,” were recently published in two collections of international ecocriticism.<sup>8</sup> These two articles and other similar studies consider the relative scarcity of translations (from and into Chinese) as a limit to the development of Chinese ecocriticism. Moreover, they affirm the need to emancipate the ecocritical debate from a purely theoretical and literary level and make it a transdisciplinary discourse.<sup>9</sup> Rare, however, if not completely absent, is the mention of the Taiwanese counterpart: that is, both Yang and Wei fail to mention the parallel developments that ecoliterature and ecocriticism have actually been witnessing on the Island of Formosa.

In order to explore the developments of ecoliterature and ecocriticism in Taiwan, it is therefore necessary to carry out parallel research. A clear, albeit short, presentation of this literature is offered by Du Guoqing within his essay “Taiwan Literature, Nature, and Environment.” In this article, Du ascribes the beginning

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by Lu Shuyuan and Xia Zhongyi in the mid-90s marked the green perspective emerging in literary studies.”

<sup>8</sup> Yang Jincai, “Environmental Dimensions in Contemporary Chinese Literature and Criticism”, in *East Asian Ecocriticism: A Critical Reader*, eds. Simon C. Estok and Kim Won-Chung (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 187-204. Wei Qingqi, see note above.

<sup>9</sup> Li Cheng, “Echoes from the Opposite Shore: Chinese Ecocritical Studies as a Transpacific Dialogue Delayed”, *ISLE 21*, No. 4 (Autumn 2014): 830; Yang Jincai, “Environmental Dimensions in Contemporary Chinese Literature and Criticism”, 200.

of Taiwanese literature that “shows an interest in the ecological environment” to the second half of the 1980s, and detects a growing attention towards this topic in the fields of periodicals and specialized publishing, as well as in the academic environment.<sup>10</sup> On the contrary, the previously mentioned work by Wu Mingyi, *Freeing Nature Through Writing*, is a three-volume publication providing a much more detailed account.<sup>11</sup>

Wu’s work starts by illustrating the historical influences and textual milestones that marked the emergence of nature writing in Taiwan: classical Chinese literature, travel reports compiled by Chinese officials and travelers of the Ming and Qing periods, scientific notes written by Japanese biologists, and reportage literature denouncing the damage caused by industrialization. Wu’s study also explores the multiplication of the environmental protection movements and the progressive diversification of environmentalism-related literature between the late 1980s and early 1990s. Subsequently, it touches upon the topic of the translation – starting in the 1990s – of English nature writing masterpieces, and describes the gradual emergence of an ecological “new ethic.” An interesting aspect of this trilogy is that Wu himself defines his own conception – and therefore his own canon – of nature writing in the first book, but then takes a step back and makes his original definition problematic in the third book, where he consequently decides to extend his ecocritical analysis to genres and writers that were previously excluded, such as literary fiction and indigenous authors.

Corroborating the impossibility of fixing a “green canon,” Taiwanese ecocriticism appears as an open debate featuring a plurality of visions. In addition to the examples of Du Guoqing and Wu Mingyi, it is necessary to point out the existence of monographic courses of Taiwanese ecoliterature, whose respective bibliographies might once more vary from the canons proposed by these two authors. In this regard, a perfect example is offered by the course “Introducing Taiwan Ecoliterature: Writing Mountains, Forests and the Ocean,” held at the National Taiwan University of Taipei by Professor Chen Rongbin 陈荣彬. In its 2015-2016 edition, its bibliography included very different typologies of texts and authors, such as Zhong Zhaozheng 钟肇政, “The Bear Hunters” (1982); Yang Mu 杨牧, “Close to Xiuguluan” and “Water Strider” from *Memories of Mount Qilai* (1987); Chen Lie 陈列, “All about Patungkuang” and “Mount Morrison Journeys” (1991); Chen Huang 陈煌, “Tory the Rock Dove” (1994); Syaman Rapongan, “Cold Sea, Deep Feeling” and “The Ocean Pilgrim” (1997); Topas Tamapima, “The Last Hunter” (1987); Itih a taoS, “The Pilgrimage to the Mountains” (2001); Liu Kexiang 刘克襄, “Going to the Ends of the Earth with the Birds” (1989); Liao Hongji 廖鸿基, “Iron Fish” (1998); Sakinu,

<sup>10</sup> Kuo Ch’ing Tu (Du Guoqing), “Taiwan Literature, Nature, and Environment”, *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series*, no. 8 (January 2007): XIII-XVIII.

<sup>11</sup> See note 1.



“The Mountains and My Father” (1997); and Wu Mingyi, *The Man with the Compound Eyes* (2011).<sup>12</sup>

The lack of interaction and comparison between the ecocritical and ecoliterary discourses which have been developing respectively in mainland China and in Taiwan constitutes, at the current stage of research, both an obvious limit and a fertile opportunity for future studies. As already mentioned, Chinese scholars who deal with ecocritics and eco-aesthetics hardly take into consideration the counterpoint offered by their Taiwanese colleagues and vice versa. Nonetheless, the intimate historical bond as well as the obvious geographical and cultural proximity between the two shores of the Strait would make their dialogue in the ecocritical sphere an interesting area of confrontation. A joint ecocritical study would make it possible to compare and investigate the effects that ecocritical phenomena affecting both sides of the Strait have had on the literature produced respectively in China and Taiwan. For example, the flows of people that accompanied the separation between the two Chinas (PRC and ROC), the sudden industrialization in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the coexistence of ethnic minorities each having their own culture and their own specific relationship with the territory, are just some of the numerous circumstances of ecocritical interest that the two sides have in common, and that could find in this field of study a comprehensive overview.

This article, however, focuses on another kind of problematic interaction, and namely on the relationship between the international ecocritical discourse and its sinophone counterpart. In his introduction to *East Asian Ecocriticisms*, Simon Estok explains how the international symposia of ASLE themselves have shown a growing openness towards their Asian speakers since 2005.<sup>13</sup> This openness, Estok says, “has to do less with a rejection of western environmental theory, ethics, and approaches than with addressing the one-sidedness of information flows, a one-sidedness that predictably and dangerously reiterates colonialist dynamics and structures.”<sup>14</sup> As already said, Estok’s observations are particularly true in the sinophone field, where the West-centered narrative of an ecocriticism born in the West can be refuted for at least three reasons, which this article will now illustrate.

The first reason consists of the simple observation that ideas concerning ecological thinking, ecoliterature and the ecocritical debate have always been circulating from east to west as well. As Karen Thornber argues, East Asia has long been the cradle of “belief systems advocating reverence for nature,” such as Buddhism,

<sup>12</sup> Authors whose names have not been reported in Chinese are from ethnic minorities and are known by their names in their native language.

<sup>13</sup> ASLE is currently made up of many international scholars, including Cheng Hong from Beijing College of Economics, Lin Yaofu from Tamkang University and Alex Liou from National Cheng Kung University (ASLE Website, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.asle.org/join-our-community/asle-around-the-world/international-scholars>).

<sup>14</sup> Estok, “Partial Views, An Introduction to East Asian Ecocriticisms”, in *East Asian Ecocriticisms: A Critical Reader*, eds. S.C. Estok and W. Kim, 1-2.

Confucianism, Taoism and Shintoism, “that have inspired the environmentality of numerous Asian as well as American and European intellectuals.”<sup>15</sup> Whereas shifting the focus on the contemporary age, it is noticeable that several western scholars are actually using their ecocritical lenses to analyze sinophone literature. For instance, Thornber herself has investigated the concept of “ecoambiguity” in novels such as Acheng’s *The King of Trees* and Jiang Rong 姜戎’s *Wolf Totem*.<sup>16</sup> Two other examples are provided by the recent ecocritical studies carried out respectively by Cara Healey and Ben Holgate. By analyzing Chen Qiufan 陈楸帆’s sci-fi novel *Waste Tide* (2013), Healey demonstrates how its mixture of literary genres – a hybrid of realism and cyberpunk – proves to be a successful tool of expression. This hybrid novel form fully recounts a contemporaneity that Chen, quoting Baudrillard, defines as “hyperreal,” and an environmental degradation that is objective correlative of its alienating paradigm.<sup>17</sup> As for Ben Holgate, he convincingly highlights the strong “eco-cosmopolitan awareness” of the aforementioned novel by Wu Mingyi, *The Man with Compound Eyes*. Holgate’s ecocritical review of Wu’s work is part of a recent publication of his regarding the relationship between magical realism and the environmental theme. In its dedicated chapter he explains:

The book’s [*The Man with the Compound Eyes*] planetary message is reinforced by constant references to climate change, [...] thereby inducing a sense of urgency among readers, so they overcome their ecoambiguity and do something about it. [...] The message is unambiguous: reverse the toxic environmental damage caused by industrialization [...] or face extinction.<sup>18</sup>

The firmness and seriousness of this novel’s message are particularly striking, especially if compared to the indulgent ambiguity of Daniel Pennac’s play *The Sixth Continent* (2012). Niccolò Scaffai observes that Pennac’s work, in which an island of waste is turned into a tourist destination, “moves the focus from the object (the environmental risk), to its representation.” In this way, it takes the reader away from the alienating and thus alarming heart of these slags, straight into a farce for its own sake, which denies the degradation of reality and paradoxically transforms

<sup>15</sup> Thornber, “Afterword. Ecocritical and Literary Futures”, in *East Asian Ecocriticisms: A Critical Reader*, eds. S.C. Estok and W. Kim, 240.

<sup>16</sup> Thornber, “Chinese Literature and Environmental Crises”, 1-11.

<sup>17</sup> C. Healey, “Estranging Realism in Chinese Science Fiction: Hybridity and Environmentalism in Chen Qiufan’s *The Waste Tide*”, *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, vol. 29, no. 2 (2017): 1-33; Alessandro Scarano, “‘Waste is changing our society and living.’ A chat with the Chinese novelist, who argues that science fiction is the most powerful cognitive framework to perceive reality nowadays”, Domusweb, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.domusweb.it/en/opinion/2019/05/17/chen-qiufan-waste-is-changing-our-society-and-living.html>.

<sup>18</sup> Ben Holgate, “Introduction: A Crisis of Imagination”, in Ben Holgate, *Climate and Crises: Magical Realism as Environmental Discourse* (London: Routledge, 2019).

it into a place of escape and pleasure.<sup>19</sup> In conclusion, it is evident that, if Thoreau's works struck the poet Wei An to the point of pushing him to abandon poetry for prose, the same might be said of that sinophone ecoliterature that shook the above-mentioned western scholars, to the point of gaining their attention and enriching their pioneering studies.<sup>20</sup>

The second reason why sinophone literary ecology cannot be considered an imported product has already been mentioned and is based on a few historical assumptions. In fact, both in China and in Taiwan, the arrival – around the 1990s – of ecocriticism and foreign ecoliterature in translation was not the starting point of sinophone ecocriticism and ecoliterature. Rather, it was a late input that – along with many others – influenced their successive developments. The ecological-environmental theme had already emerged in the literature of both sides of the Taiwan Strait from the second half of the 1980s (at this stage, mostly non-fiction and reportage literature). Since the beginning, moreover, this literature presented very unique characteristics, which resulted from environmental, socio-political and historical conditions that were undeniably different from those informing the anglophone ecocritical context. In mainland China, for example, the second half of the 1980s was a period of crisis in the countryside, which led to the beginning of an exodus from rural areas to cities, as well as – in the literary field – to the proposal (Han Shaogong 韩少功, 1985) of a “search for roots” (*xungen wenxue* 寻根文学). The *xungen* literary movement, which also involved the aforementioned author Acheng, came after the Cultural Revolution had largely destroyed any traditional relationship between the Chinese people and their living environment. Therefore, it was deeply related to a re-sought relationship between the individual and the territory, providing an example of sinophone ecoliterature ante litteram. To inspire this literary movement was a prose that Wang Zengqi 汪曾祺 (1920-1997) wrote in the 80s, after thirty years of forced silence, recounting the landscapes and customs of his native province, as well as his own related memories. Following his example, each root-seeking writer specialized in a specific region of China, which could be his birthplace or one where he had lived for a long time. Acheng, for example, was born in Beijing, but he describes Shaanxi, Inner Mongolia and Yunnan, because he was sent to these regions during the Cultural Revolution as an “educated youth.”<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, in Taiwan, the second half of the 80s was a period in which literature, though gradually turning into a commercial product, continued to resume the settings of that “nativist literature” (*xiangtu wenxue* 乡土文学) that had

<sup>19</sup> Niccolò Scaffai, *Letteratura e ecologia: forme e temi di una relazione narrativa* (Literature and Ecology: Forms and Topics of a Narrative Relationship) (Rome: Carocci editore, 2017), 140-42. Both Wu's novel and Pennac's play were probably inspired by the “Pacific Trash Vortex” news, which in 2009 especially attracted the interest of the media.

<sup>20</sup> Wei An, *Thoreau and I*, 86-87.

<sup>21</sup> Noël Dutrait, *Leggere la Cina* (To read China) (Isola del Liri: Editrice Pisani, 2005), 59-62.

developed in the late 1970s.<sup>22</sup> *Xiangtu* literature is often compared to mainland *xungen* literature for its purpose of narrating local realities, daily life, traditions and ordinary people, as well as for its rejection of western modernism as the epitome of any foreign influence. But what we want to underline here is that *xiangtu* literature, like *xungen* literature, was born in a situation of crisis in the relationship between the individual and the environment. In fact, it was born in response to a situation of strong upheaval of the relationship between the Taiwanese and their territory, both from a practical and a more conceptual point of view. On a practical level, the strong industrialization of that period, and the related urbanization, had emptied the countryside, transforming the habits of many people and their relationship with their living environment. While on a more conceptual level, the Diaoyutai dispute was interpreted as the symbol of a foreign imperialism that prevented Taiwanese from being masters of their own land. Therefore, regardless of the political and instrumental significance that this literary movement then assumed, we can affirm that – as already noted in regard to *xungen* literature – at the basis of *xiangtu* literature there are reasons and claims, that can be seen as ecocritical ante litteram.

As a result, considering the sinophone literary ecology as a mere reworking of western inputs is a chronological error. Rather, as Professor Wang Ning 王宁 proposes, it is certainly more accurate to say that the sinophone ecocriticism, both in mainland China and in Taiwan, has continued to develop as a result of ideas coming from and going in several directions, socio-historical contingencies and disciplinary areas.<sup>23</sup>

Thirdly and finally, sinophone ecocriticism and ecoliterature are not a mere derivative of western ecocriticism precisely because they arise from and reflect upon different environmental conditions and human-environment relationships. If ecoliterature is any product that intentionally or unintentionally arises from, and tells of, any critical issue regarding the relationship between humans and the environment, it's not necessary to wait for Mao Zedong's war against nature, which is narrated, for example, in Acheng's *The King of the Trees*, nor for Deng Xiaoping's campaigns for cultivation and technologization, which, according to Wei An's notes in *Life on Earth*, transformed both the habits of magpies and those

<sup>22</sup> Federica Passi, *Letteratura taiwanese: un profilo storico* (Taiwanese Literature: an Historical Outline) (Venice: Cafoscarina, 2007), 115-128.

<sup>23</sup> Wang Ning 王宁, "Wenxue de huanjing lunlixue shengtai piping de yiyi" 文学的环境伦理学: 生态批评的意义 (The ethics of the environment in literature: the meaning of ecocriticism), Aisixiang, accessed July 8, 2022, <http://www.aisixiang.com/data/15377.html>. Professor Wang Ning also suggests that some relevant ecocritical studies, such as Lu Shuyuan's and Zeng Fanren's, which were carried out "in a context free from foreign influences", should be translated into English and presented abroad, since their originality would certainly help "to break those western-centric borders" which still largely inform and limit the panorama of the international ecocriticism.

of children.<sup>24</sup> In fact, both Mao's war against nature and the environmental impact of Deng's policies are rather recent phenomena. As Thornber observes by quoting the historian Mark Elvin, "through more than three thousand years, the Chinese refashioned China" to the point that as early as "by late-imperial times there was little that could be called 'natural' left untouched by this process of exploitation and adaptation." Besides, this ante-litteram ecological crisis already had its own literary counterpart. Thornber interestingly quotes Han Yu 韩愈 (768-824), a poet and essayist of the Tang era, who declared that human beings are more harmful than parasites, as they arbitrarily exploit resources and spoil those relationships between Yin and Yang which normally balance ecosystems.<sup>25</sup> This means that not only can sinophone ecoliterature be traced back to before the arrival of Thoreau's, Muir's and Carson's works in China, but even prior to the age of modernity.

Furthermore, sinophone ecoliterature is deeply and undeniably linked to the particular context in which it originates. Circumstances such as Mao Zedong's war against nature, the *hukou* system, the practice of forced demolitions and the rampant technological development affecting both human-environment and inter-human relationships in contemporary China hardly have any exact counterpart in any other country. These phenomena have deeply influenced the way in which the Chinese inhabit their territory and the symbolic and emotional value they bind to it.

For instance, the *hukou* system, started in 1958 and still in place today, establishes that people's social and health care, as well as their access to education, are closely linked to their place of birth. This has many effects of ecocritical interest, especially for the many migrant workers and their children and family members. An example of these effects is the individual's sense of being uprooted, a topos of migrant workers' poetry, which, as already said by mentioning Gong Haomin's article, is therefore considered to be ecoliterature.

The sense of disorientation and nostalgia reported – when not in writing, in interviews and public speeches – by writers such as Mo Yan 莫言, Yan Lianke 阎连科, Yu Hua 余华, etc., is also of great ecocritical interest. In their testimonies the theme of China's sudden and radical transformations is noticeably a recurrent one. The places of their memories no longer exist, they no longer appear as such, but have been transformed and replaced by other landscapes. These environmental experiences, along with their emotional and literary impacts, are closely bound to the Chinese context. It is then evident that they are not inspired by western models, nor will they find an exact equivalent in any other ecoliterature.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Wei An, "Life on Earth", NER, accessed July 8, 2022, <http://www.nereview.com/vol-36-no-2-2015/wei-an/>.

<sup>25</sup> Thornber, "Chinese Literature and Environmental Crises", 1.

<sup>26</sup> Here are a few examples of Chinese ecoliterature whose main topics are strictly related to and peculiar of the Chinese environment: regarding the *hukou* system and an ecocritical analysis of *dagong* poetry, see Zhou Xiaojing, "Scenes from the Global South in China: Zheng Xiaoqiong's Po-

The Taiwanese context also presents its own circumstances of ecocritical interest that are unique in their kind and in the way in which they have influenced the life and literature of the island. Among these, one cannot avoid mentioning the *kominka* period (1937-1945), that is, the cultural assimilation imposed by Japan, which included the transformation of the domestic environment and adopting a Japanese-style furniture, among other things. As the house is part of people's living environment, the Japanization of its demeanor did obviously impact on the Taiwanese's perception of their most intimate places, constituting a topic of ecocritical interest.

Similarly, the military dependents' villages (*juancun*), in which many mainlanders moved after the government of ROC retreated to Taiwan (1949), and lived for several years awaiting a recovery of the continent that would never happen, offer another universe of ecocritical interest. These enclaves were places inhabited by a sense of temporariness, of impermanence: by people who initially felt they were only in transit, belonging to other places and destined to live elsewhere, and namely in mainland China. This sense of impermanence and of not belonging to the place obviously influenced the relationship that these people had with the military village itself and with its surrounding environment, or, with Taiwanese cities. This peculiar environmental experience and its related feelings have importantly shaped a certain kind of autobiographical literature, which is undeniably liable to ecocritical analysis.<sup>27</sup>

Moreover, as already mentioned, the Formosan literary landscape also includes renowned indigenous authors, such as Syaman Rapongan (Tao), Topas Tamapima (Bunun), Walis Nokan (Atayal) and Yalonglong Sakinu (Paiwan). Much like a large counterpart of mainland authors belonging to ethnic minorities, these writers reflect upon the most recent transformations undergone by their respective communities, witnessing a still ongoing example of "ecological imperialism," along with the side effects of the incessant race for consumption and economic growth representing the dominant trend of Taiwan's society, and, more generally, of our contemporary world.<sup>28</sup> These indigenous writers' literary works, often divided between two different languages and cultural codes – the Han language and their mother tongue –, successfully reflect the duplicity of their ecological identity:

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etic Agency for Labor and Environmental Justice", in *Ecocriticism of the Global South*, eds. S. Slovic, S. Rangarajan and V. Sarveswaran (London: Lexington Books, 2015), 82-119; regarding the issue of forced demolitions, see Yu Hua, *China in Ten Words* (2010); the Chinese Silicon Valley of Guiyu and its desert of electronic waste is the background of Chen Qiufan's *Waste Tide* (2013); while China's contemporary hypertechnologization is the background of Xia Jia 夏笳's "Heat Island" (*Pathlight*, Spring 2015: 93-103).

<sup>27</sup> Passi, *Taiwanese Literature: An Historical Outline*, 22-23 and 124-127.

<sup>28</sup> Chi Chun-chieh, "From the Last Hunter to Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Taiwan Indigenous People's Mountain and Forest Literature", *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series* 18 (2006): 139-157.



individuals do not define themselves only in response to the *natural environment* surrounding them, but also in response to the *human environment*, that is, to the other people inhabiting that same place. As a result, this reveals the relationship of interdependence and mutual legitimization, which always exists between the human-environment relationship and the inter-human relationship. For example, one cannot be a Tao man without knowing how to fish underwater, and one cannot fish underwater without being a Tao man, because, according to Tao beliefs, the demons of the sea near the Orchid Island recognize fishermen by their body odor. “If they can’t smell your Yami (Tao) scent,” Syaman Rapongan’s father says, “they will hurt you.”<sup>29</sup> However, this balance is broken if the water is contaminated, or if blast fishing leaves the sea deserted, because in that case men will have no more fish to catch, consequently, they will inevitably miss the chance to prove that they are real Tao men. Environmental changes alter the relationship between people and the environment, and the change in the relationship between people and the environment consequently transforms the mechanisms of social legitimation, as well as the social dynamics, and the relationships among people themselves.

This last example of Taiwanese indigenous literature clearly demonstrates how environmental culture and social culture, including all its forms of expression, are inseparable structures. Therefore, if a western writer of ecoliterature might draw inspiration from a certain kind of natural or urban landscape, as well as from a certain kind of literary heritage, in the same way, sinophone authors might surely be able to transcend, enrich, hybridize, but not ignore, their own environmental and literary heritage. This heritage, as effectively illustrated by Wei Qingqi and Wu Mingyi, respectively regarding China’s and Taiwan’s ecoliteratures, constitutes the very unique repertoire of the sinophone literary ecologies, definitely discrediting the possibility of their foreign origin.

As this article has explained, sinophone literary ecologies historically had and still have much to say to their western interlocutors. To conclude with the effectiveness of images, just think of ancient Chinese and Western art. While in Europe the obsession of artists, from the ancient Greeks to the geniuses of Renaissance, has always been to reproduce the exact features of the human body, in Chinese paintings the human element, when it exists, is simply one element among many: part of a landscape or a narrative. Thus, in this other landscape – that of ecocriticism – those “perfect” humans and these “discreet” humans might finally have a good chance to converse.

<sup>29</sup> Syaman Rapongan, “The Ocean Pilgrim”, *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series*, no. 17 (2005): 67.

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NATALIA RIVA

A GLASS OF TWO LANGUAGES:  
TRANSLATING SPECIALIZED TERMINOLOGY  
OF ITALIAN WINE IN CHINESE

*Introduction*

Italian oenology is an example of “made in Italy” in which tradition and variety are strong advantages. The ancient origins and territorial specificities of its wine production have made Italy unique in the world and given the country a leading place in the global wine export ranking. As happened before with overseas consumers, nowadays the Chinese market is showing growing interest in the Italian wine culture. This makes it a crucial target for the commercial strategies of Italian wineries: in 2019, China was Italy’s eleventh market with a value of 134 million euros.<sup>1</sup> The export of Italian labels to China has outlined a promising trend over the years but also suffers from fluctuations and generates moderate results compared to other countries. Italy is arguably still ill-equipped to take full advantage of the potential of the rapidly developing wine consumption in China. This is an area that can benefit from the development of linguistic tools, as shown by recent advancements in research on Mandarin for wine tasting, within the field of studies on Chinese for specific and professional purposes.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the discipline of food terminology translation is still overlooked, despite the vital role of texts in the global food trade sector, food studies, and communication across cultures and languages.<sup>3</sup>

The *Dictionary of Italian wines and grape varieties*, originally titled *Dizionario dei vini e dei vitigni d’Italia* (hereafter the Dictionary),<sup>4</sup> was compiled by the Confucius

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<sup>1</sup> “Esportazioni di vino italiano – aggiornamento 2019”, *I numeri del vino*, March 20, 2020, <http://www.inumeridelvino.it/2020/03/esportazioni-di-vino-italiano-aggiornamento-2019.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Chiara Romagnoli, “Mandarin for Wine Tasting: Terminology and a Pedagogical Application,” in *Chinese for Specific and Professional Purposes*, eds. Hongyin Tao and Howard H.J. Chen (Singapore: Springer, 2019), 355–72.

<sup>3</sup> Delia Chiaro and Linda Rossato, “Food and translation, translation and food,” *The Translator* 21, no. 3 (2015): 237–43.

<sup>4</sup> Franca Bosc, Osvaldo Failla, Roberto Foschino, Natalia Riva, and Marta Valentini, eds., *Dizionario dei vini e vitigni d’Italia (italiano-cinese) - Yidali putaojiu he putao pinzhong cidian 意大利葡萄酒和葡萄品种词典* (Roma: Gambero Rosso, 2019).

Institute at the University of Milan<sup>5</sup> and published by Gambero Rosso in 2019 with the belief that, despite some weaknesses, the wine sector is a promising ground for the cultural and economic encounter between Italy and China.

The inspiration behind the *Dictionary*'s editorial project stemmed from the desire to participate in the dissemination of knowledge on Italian wine production among Chinese wine experts and lovers by means of an Italian-Chinese bilingual "technical" or "terminological dictionary".<sup>6</sup> Following the example of the Italian-English-Chinese *Dictionary of Food* (original title *Dizionario dell'alimentazione*), a terminographic product published in 2015 within the project "Parole per mangiare/ Words for food",<sup>7</sup> the *Dictionary* can also be considered the product of a terminographic activity.<sup>8</sup>

This paper illustrates the methods and strategies used for the compilation of the *Dictionary*'s Chinese text, providing examples useful to reflect on the difficulties encountered and the solutions adopted throughout the translation process. The first part briefly describes the *Dictionary*, including information on the overall approach, choice of terms, structural elaboration, and organization of the bilingual entries, while also introducing sector-specific source language (SL) features. The focus then switches to the target language (TL), describing the transposition of the text into Chinese. Specifically, the second part of the paper discusses the standardisation in Chinese of names of Italian wines and grape varieties, while the third analyses the development of models for the translation of the definitions associated to the wine entries from Italian into Chinese.<sup>9</sup> Finally, the closing remarks discuss the value of the experimental work behind the *Dictionary*.

### 1. Compiling the *Dictionary* in Italian and Chinese

The compilers of the *Dictionary*'s Italian text are experts in lexicography, oenology, viticulture, and sinologists, whereas those of the Chinese text are Italian and Chinese sinologists and Chinese language experts and translators. These "professors and disseminators" and "communication mediators" dealt with terminology

<sup>5</sup> The *Dictionary* was compiled with the Department of Studies in Language Mediation and Intercultural Communication, the Department of Food, Environmental and Nutritional Sciences, the Department of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences - Production, Landscape, Agroenergy, the Contemporary Asia Research Centre at the University of Milan, and Liaoning Normal University.

<sup>6</sup> Mariëtta Alberts, "Lexicography versus Terminography," *Lexikos* 11 (2001): 76, <https://doi.org/10.5788/11-0-840>.

<sup>7</sup> Giuliana Garzone, Franca Bosc, and Clara Bulfoni, eds., *Dizionario dell'alimentazione: italiano-inglese-cinese* (Milano: Academia Universa Press, 2015).

<sup>8</sup> M. Teresa Cabré, "La terminologia tra lessicologia e documentazione: aspetti storici e importanza sociale", (2000), accessed July 12, 2021, <http://web.tiscali.it/assiterm91/cabreita.htm>.

<sup>9</sup> For the purpose of this paper, an English translation of the terms and expressions has been provided.



with a target in mind: transmitting specialized knowledge by tackling cognitive differences and overcoming linguistic gaps.<sup>10</sup> As a practical yet basic aspect of the dissemination of knowledge on Italian wine culture among the Chinese public, their focus was on a specific instance of the specialized language of Italian wine production: the names of wines and grape varieties and their definitions. A specialized language is a variety of language used within a certain sector of the linguistic community and characterized by somewhat specialized terminology and specific morphosyntactic structures.<sup>11</sup> In other words, terminology refers to a collection of specialized words used for a specialized field<sup>12</sup> or to terms as linguistic units conveying conceptual meaning within the framework of specialized knowledge texts.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, specialized information can be communicated just among specialists or “popularized”, that is addressed to non-specialists.<sup>14</sup> The *Dictionary* contains a wide selection of DOCG (Controlled and Guaranteed Designation of Origin, *youzhi fadng chanqu putaojiu* 优质法定产区葡萄酒), DOC (Controlled Designation of Origin, *fadng chanqu putaojiu* 法定产区葡萄酒), and IGT (Typical Geographical Indication, *diqu putaojiu* 地区葡萄酒) wines as well as grape varieties (*putao pinzhong* 葡萄品种) and targets experts and non-experts alike. The compilers of the Italian text were responsible for selecting the names of the wines and grape varieties to be included and create the lexicographical entries in Italian.<sup>15</sup> This entailed choosing terms, elaborating standard definition models, and collecting a glossary necessary to complete the definitions. Invariable parts and segments that vary according to the wine or grape variety being defined make up the definition of each lexicographical entry. For instance, each wine is defined based on typology (sensory qualities such as colour, residual sugar, and presence of bubbles), version (vinification and oenological techniques), and specification (more limited geographical indications).

This systematic approach was maintained in the translation process. Translators dealing with specialized languages cannot stop at the level of the individual terms and must “establish interlinguistic references to entire knowledge structures” in order to create an equivalent text in the TL.<sup>16</sup> In other words, they have to

<sup>10</sup> Cabré, “La terminologia”.

<sup>11</sup> Michele Cortellazzo, *Lingue speciali. La dimensione verticale* (Padova: Unipress, 1994), 8.

<sup>12</sup> Saihong Li, “Translating food terminology as cultural and communicative processes: a corpus-based approach,” in *Terminology Translation in Chinese Contexts. Theory and Practice*, eds. Saihong Li and William Hope (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2021), 81-97.

<sup>13</sup> Pamela Faber and Clara Inés Lopez-Rodriguez, “Terminology and Specialized Language,” in *A Cognitive Linguistics View of Terminology and Specialized Language*, ed. Pamela Faber (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012), 9-31.

<sup>14</sup> Mariana Coancă, “Common Language Versus Specialized Language,” *Journal of Information Systems and Operations Management* 5 (2011): 195-99.

<sup>15</sup> For a detailed description of the sources and process see Bosc et al., *Dizionario*.

<sup>16</sup> Faber and Lopez-Rodriguez, “Terminology and Specialized Language”.

constantly consider the “cultural nature” of the translation process.<sup>17</sup> The transmission of Italian wine culture to China may indeed be hampered by the difficulty of translating into Chinese its specialized terminology, given its strong ties with the tradition, culture, and geography of the country of origin. “Culturally determined terms”<sup>18</sup> add to the challenge of translating between Italian and Chinese, and vice versa, and even more so in the case of a specialized language. For example, toponyms and terms with dialectal influences characterizing Italian labels (e.g., Colli Bolognesi, Sfursat di Valtellina) show how tradition and variety can be a linguistic double-edged sword. Innovative ways to tackle this challenge must be explored to facilitate communication between Italian and Chinese speakers and allow the two sides to interact with increased awareness.

For these reasons, the product has been designed as a collection of definitions, provided first in Italian and then in Chinese, which are specular in the two languages and vary in length and content only in relation to the specific characteristics of the DOCGs, DOCs, IGTs, and grape varieties. The lexicographical entries are organized in alphabetical order based on the SL. Each of them presents the Italian headword – the name of the wine or grape variety – followed by the transcription in Chinese characters and their transliteration in *pinyin*. The wine entries include the indication of the region of production in Italian and Chinese. Each item is also accompanied by a symbol indicating the corresponding category: a bottle preceded by the acronyms DOCG, DOC, and IGT for the wines and a grape for the grape varieties. This structure, together with a short Italian-Chinese bilingual glossary with definitions and an alphabetical index based on the Chinese *pinyin* of the headwords, facilitates the consultation of the *Dictionary* in both SL and TL.

The work of the translators involved in compiling the *Dictionary*'s Chinese text included two related processes: the standardisation in Chinese of names of Italian wines and grape varieties and the translation from Italian into Chinese of the definitions associated to these lexicographical entries. The first process directly touches upon the field of lexicon and word formation, which is a key aspect in the study of specialized languages and an often-debated topic in the study of the Chinese language;<sup>19</sup> the second also required a preliminary phase

<sup>17</sup> Franco Crevatin, “Terminologia, traduzione, cultura,” in *Manuale di terminologia. Aspetti teorici, metodologici e applicativi*, eds. Marella Magris, Maria Teresa Musacchio, Lorenza Rega, and Federica Scarpa (Milano: Hoepli, 2002), 1.

<sup>18</sup> Crevatin, “Terminologia”, 1.

<sup>19</sup> Jerome Packard, “Lexical Word Formation,” in *A Reference Grammar of Chinese*, eds. Chu-Ren Huang and Dingxu Shi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 67-80; Viviane Alleton, “Chinese Terminologies: On preconceptions,” in *New Terms for New Ideas: Western Knowledge and Lexical Change in Late Imperial China*, eds. Michael Lackner, Iwo Amelung, and Joachim Kurtz (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), 15-34.

focused on lexicon as well as a second phase focused on syntax<sup>20</sup> and punctuation.<sup>21</sup>

## 2. Standardising names of Italian wines and grape varieties in Chinese

The need for standardisation of names of wines and grape varieties in Chinese arises from an objective problem linked to the different linguistic characteristics of the SL and TL. When it comes to these proper nouns, it is not uncommon to find different Chinese translations for the same item. For example, for the Nero d'Avola grape variety two different corresponding names exist: *hei dawola* 黑达沃拉 and *hei zhenzhu* 黑珍珠. The former is partly a translation of the meaning and partly a phonetic transcription as *hei* 黑 means “black” and *dawola* 达沃拉 reproduces the Italian pronunciation of the toponym according to Chinese phonology. The latter is the translation of the meaning as *zhenzhu* 珍珠 means “pearl”, referring perhaps to the shape of the grape but with little reference to the Italian name.

In a translation process of this kind, phonetic calque and semantic calque are the two main methods. Yet, choosing one or the other does not ensure the existence of a unique translation. The phonetic calque is achieved by dividing the Italian word into syllables. To transpose every syllable into Chinese, a sinogram is chosen based on its Chinese pronunciation, which must be as similar as possible to that of its associated Italian syllable. However, since many sinograms are homophones, the choice can vary, once again giving birth to multiple Chinese versions of the same name (e.g., Brunello: *bulunailuo* 布鲁耐罗 or 布鲁奈罗).

Compiling the *Dictionary* consisted firstly in standardising the transcription in Chinese characters of the Italian proper nouns. To do so, the literary review allowed for the identification of a select number of Chinese materials on Italian oenology and official documents aimed at terminology standardisation in international wine trade. In particular, a sample of primary sources were selected as authoritative: two State documents for terminological standardisation,<sup>22</sup> a geograph-

<sup>20</sup> Dingxu Tim Shi, “Modern Mandarin Syntax,” in *Encyclopedia of Chinese Language and Linguistics*, ed. Rint Sybesma (2015), accessed August 23, 2019, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2210-7363\\_ecll\\_COM\\_00000279](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2210-7363_ecll_COM_00000279); Dingxu Shi and Chu-Ren Huang, “Syntactic Overview,” in *A Reference Grammar of Chinese*, eds. Chu-Ren Huang and Dingxu Shi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 14-66.

<sup>21</sup> Anna Stryjewska, “Punctuation, Modern,” in *Encyclopedia of Chinese Language and Linguistics*, ed. Rint Sybesma (2016), accessed July 28, 2020, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2210-7363\\_ecll\\_COM\\_000285](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2210-7363_ecll_COM_000285).

<sup>22</sup> AQSIQ and SAC, *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guojia Biaojun - Putaojiu* 中华人民共和国国家标准—葡萄酒 GB 15037—2005 [The National Standard of the People's Republic of China: Wines], (2005); MOFCOM, *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo guonei maoyi hangye biao zhun - Jinkou putaojiu xiangguan shuyu fanyi guifan* 中华人民共和国国内贸易行业标准—进口葡萄酒相关术语翻译规范 SB/T11122—2015 [Norm on terminology of imported wine], (2015).

ical map of Italy in Chinese,<sup>23</sup> and specialized online dictionaries and databanks.<sup>24</sup> Their preliminary consultation facilitated the development of principles to be followed in the standardisation process with the aim of embedding the translations proposed in the linguistic context already established in China. Based on the principle of consistency, when the names of wines and grape varieties were found to be already standardised in these sources or crystallized in use,<sup>25</sup> the standards were kept. In the case of Ramandolo, for example, *lamanduoluo* 拉曼多罗 appeared consistent across the document *Norm on terminology of imported wines* and *D. Wine*, and was therefore maintained.

Two problems regarding these standards arose. First, their proportion was rather small, leaving many headwords in the volume without a corresponding Chinese translation. Secondly, the phonological characteristics of the character string chosen revealed that English must have been the language on which the compilers of the primary sources based the search for the corresponding Chinese syllables. Therefore, in addition to filling the gaps, other steps were taken: when the findings appeared discordant, a choice was made between the various translations proposed, if suitable; on the contrary, when the findings appeared consistent but inadequate to the standards set by the research team (i.e. Italian as basic phonology, length of the character string suitable to the TL, segmentation by adding a hyphen to make the headword more readable, etc.), the necessary corrections were made. For Aglianico del Taburno, for instance, *tabunuo—aliyanike* 塔布诺—阿里亚尼科 was preferred to *Aliyanikao* 阿里亚尼考, *tabunuo—aliannike* 塔布诺—阿里安尼科, and *tabuernuo aigenike* 塔布尔诺艾格尼科 found respectively in *Norm on terminology of imported wines*, *D. Wine*, and *Wine World*.

In line with the primary sources consulted, phonetic calque constituted the main method used to create translations both corresponding to the authentic pronunciation in the SL and appropriate to the Chinese cultural traditions embedded in the logographic language. Therefore, the bilingual translators selected the most appropriate sinograms to adequately express each proper noun from a phonological, graphic, and symbolic point of view (e.g., *Serenissima - se-re-nis-si-ma: sailainixima* 塞莱尼西马).

<sup>23</sup> *Zhongguo ditu chubanshe* 中国地图出版社, *Yidali Ditu* 意大利地图 (Beijing: Sinomaps Press, 2015).

<sup>24</sup> Specifically, *Yi Xiang Putaojiu Cidian* 逸香葡萄酒词典 v.1.0.0.(2004-2012), <http://d.wine.cn>, and *Hongjiu Shijie Wang* 红酒世界网, <https://www.wine-world.com/>. In particular, the former is sponsored by international organizations involved in wine trade and marketing, such as the Italian Institute of Foreign Trade.

<sup>25</sup> For instance, while the *Dictionary* was being elaborated, the Chianti consortium registered the Chinese version of its brand as *shiandi* 施安蒂. This transcription was then adopted in the *Dictionary* as opposed to *jiandi* 基安蒂 found in <http://d.wine.cn/>. See: Giovanni Corato, “Il Chianti diventa cinese. E ora si chiama ‘Shiandi’,” *Il Giornale*, September 25, 2018, <https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/chianti-diventa-cinese-e-ora-si-chiama-shiandi-1580292.html>.

Furthermore, particular cases related to lexical elements that are often present in names of wines and grape varieties, such as toponyms and adjectives derived from them and the colour indication (white, pink, red), emerged in the standardisation process. The first case was dealt with through the mechanism described above – looking for standards already consolidated in the authoritative Chinese-language sources or developing suitable translations through phonetic or semantic calque. The toponym was then placed before the noun in which it is contained (e.g., Bonarda Novarese: *nuowala—bonada* 诺瓦拉—伯纳达). In the second case, the phonetic calque was replaced as a translation strategy by the semantic calque – the transposition of the meaning into Chinese. In the character string, the colour generally appears in the first position (e.g., Pinot bianco: *bai pinuo* 白皮诺).

As a sensorial characteristic of the product, the colour is not only part of the proper nouns but also one of the criteria determining the wine typology classification reported in the definitions. The next paragraph introduces the glossary translated in Chinese, containing examples of the specific terminology related to typologies and versions, and the mechanism for integrating these terms within the DOCG, DOC, and IGT definitions.

### 3. Translating DOCG, DOC, and IGT definitions

Two phases were involved in the process of translating DOCG, DOC, and IGT definitions: the translation in Chinese of the items collected in the Italian glossary of technical terms of viticulture and oenology and the adaptation of the form of the definitions in the SL to the logical characteristics of the TL.

#### 3.1 First phase: the glossary

The standardised DOCG, DOC, and IGT definitions in Italian contain recurring terms referring to the typology, version, specification, and other important information distinguishing the wines. Following the identification of these elements by the compilers of the Italian text, the translators drafted the glossary in Chinese based on the consultation of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, the selected authoritative sources in Chinese,<sup>26</sup> and materials and suggestions provided by viticulture and oenology experts in Italy and China who cooperated with the Confucius Institute at the University of Milan and the other academic units involved in the project. Relying on experts' advice is indispensable because they constitute valuable sources of information for the terminologist/translator, being able to indicate reli-

<sup>26</sup> See Footnotes 22 to 24.

able documentation and clarify and define concepts related to their discipline.<sup>27</sup> Establishing translations for the terms referring to different wine typologies and versions played a particularly important role in the creation of the glossary. Table 1 shows the lexicon, in Italian and Chinese, indicating the typology in which a wine can be produced (based on the production specifications).

Table 1

	TIPOLOGIA (typology)	<i>leixing</i> 类型
COLORE (colour)	bianco (white)	<i>bai putaojiu</i> 白葡萄酒
	rosato (pink)	<i>taohong putaojiu</i> 桃红葡萄酒
	rosso (red)	<i>hong putaojiu</i> 红葡萄酒
RESIDUO ZUCCHERINO (residual sugar)	amabile (semi-sweet)	<i>bantian putaojiu</i> 半甜葡萄酒
	dolce (sweet)	<i>tian putaojiu</i> 甜葡萄酒
	passito (concentrated sweet)	<i>fenggan tian putaojiu</i> 风干甜葡萄酒
	liquoroso (fortified)	<i>likou putaojiu</i> 利口葡萄酒
PRESENZA DI SPUMA (presence of bubbles)	frizzante (lightly sparkling)	<i>wei qipao putaojiu</i> 微起泡葡萄酒
	spumante (sparkling)	<i>qipao putaojiu</i> 起泡葡萄酒

To ensure coherence with the source text and cohesion throughout the definitions, recurrent syntagmas were identified in Italian and rules were established to be applied to the basic terminology. For instance, since the colour is the most important sensory quality, it was decided to always keep the adjective translating it close to the noun it defines (*putaojiu* 葡萄酒, “wine”), creating syntagmas such as: *tian bai putaojiu* 甜白葡萄酒 (vino bianco dolce - sweet white wine), where *tian* 甜 means “sweet” and *bai* 白 means “white”; *likou hong putaojiu* 利口红葡萄酒 (vino rosso liquoroso - fortified red wine), where *likou* 利口 means “fortified” and *hong* 红 means “red”; and *wei qipao bai putaojiu* 微起泡白葡萄酒 (vino bianco frizzante - lightly sparkling white wine), where *wei qipao* 微起泡 means “lightly sparkling”. Table 2 shows the terms relating to the version.

In the definitions, the pseudo-affix *kuan*, meaning “type” or “form”, was add-

<sup>27</sup> Hellmut Riediger, *Cosa è la terminologia e come si fa un glossario*, (2012), 14. [http://www.term-minator.it/corso/doc/mod3\\_termino\\_glossa.pdf](http://www.term-minator.it/corso/doc/mod3_termino_glossa.pdf).



ed to each term pertaining to this category, creating syntagmas such as: *jingdian kuan* 经典款, *texuan kuan* 特选款, *zhencang kuan* 珍藏款, etc. The only exception is the term “metodo classico” (traditional method): its Chinese translation contains the suffix forming non-predicative adjectives *shi* 式, “style” or “manner”,<sup>28</sup> which makes it necessary to use the syntagma *wei qipao jiu* 微起泡酒 (vino frizzante - lightly sparkling wine) or *qipao jiu* 起泡酒 (spumante - sparkling wine) immediately after it, in these two combinations: *chuantongshi wei qipao jiu* 传统式微起泡酒 (vino frizzante versione metodo classico - lightly sparkling wine traditional method style) and *chuantongshi qipao jiu* 传统式起泡酒 (spumante versione metodo classico - sparkling wine traditional method style).

Table 2

VERSIONE (version)	<i>kuan</i> 款
classico (classic)	<i>jingdian</i> 经典
gran selezione (selection)	<i>texuan</i> 特选
riserva (reserve)	<i>zhencang</i> 珍藏
superiore (superior)	<i>chaoji</i> 超级
vendemmia tardiva (late harvest)	<i>wanshou</i> 晚收
metodo classico (traditional method)	<i>chuantongshi</i> 传统式
novello (young)	<i>xinjiu</i> 新酒
Vin Santo	<i>shengjiu</i> 圣酒
Occhio di Pernice	<i>zhegu zhi yan</i> 鸱鸢之眼

### 3.2 Second phase: the definitions

The second phase of the translation process focused on the structure of the definitions. Syntactic, semantic, lexical, and orthographic elements, as well as layout and structure are part of the formal schema of the text to be translated.<sup>29</sup> In addition to terminology and lexicon, the translators working on the definitions had to adapt their structure, syntax, and punctuation to the characteristics of the TL, while mediating between the goal of remaining faithful to the Italian text and the specificity of the editorial product.

Given the lexicographical nature of the *Dictionary*, coherence, both between the source and target texts as well as throughout the target text, was an essential prerequisite. To ensure that the definitions would fulfil their function, attention

<sup>28</sup> Giorgio Arcodia, *La derivazione lessicale in cinese mandarino* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2008), 211.

<sup>29</sup> Valerie Pellat and Eric T. Liu, *Thinking Chinese Translation* (Oxon/New York: Routledge, 2010), 12.

was paid to their length, immediacy, and compactness, and above all standardisation: recurrent substructures were identified in every domain. For example, in the DCOG, DOC, and IGT definitions, the following units were identified: wine typology and version; production area; composition; other specific characteristics.

On a syntactic level, there is a substantial difference between the Italian text and the Chinese translation: where the SL uses a single complex sentence, in Chinese this is broken into simple or complex sentences. To facilitate the reflection on the translation strategies adopted when dealing with the definition as a whole and its units, a selection of examples concerning wine typology and version, production area, and composition in DCOG, DOC, and IGT entries is provided and commented here, highlighting some of the most salient aspects of the work.

### 3.2.1 Wine typology and version

As can be seen in Example 1, all wine definitions start with the subject *ci kuan jiu* 此款酒 (this kind of wine) followed by the predicate introduced by the verbs *wei* 为 (to be), when the wine is produced in only one type, or *you* 有 (there is, to exist), when the wine is produced in different types.

#### Example 1

a)

Vino prodotto nella tipologia rosso, anche nella versione riserva, [...]  
此款酒为红葡萄酒（也有珍藏款）。 [...]

b)

Vino prodotto nelle tipologie bianco, anche nella versione superiore/spumante bianco/passito bianco, [...]  
此款酒有白葡萄酒（也有超级款），起泡白葡萄酒，风干甜白葡萄酒三种类型。 [...]

The first simple sentence in Chinese translates only a part of the complex Italian sentence. In addition to typologies, this block of information also contains the indication of the version(s) pertaining to every typology. Based on the characteristics of the Chinese syntax, the incidental “anche nella versione” (also in the version) is transformed into an optional simple sentence in round brackets. According to the official document *General Rules for Punctuation*,<sup>30</sup> which regulates the use of

<sup>30</sup> AQSIQ and SAC, *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guojia Biaozhun: Biaodian fuhao yongfa* 中华人民共和国国家标准：标点符号用法 GB/T 15834 – 2011 [The National Standard of the People’s Republic of China: General rules for punctuation], (2011), accessed August 23, 2019. <http://www.moe.gov>.

punctuation marks in the People's Republic of China, the round brackets (*yuan kuohao* 圆括号) are part of the category of "indicators" (*biaohao* 标号) and are used when adding a comment or a complementary explanation. In Example 1 a), the typology is followed by the indication of a version (*ye you zhencang kuan* 也有珍藏款) in brackets after which the sentence ends and is closed by the full stop (*juhao* 句号), an "end of sentence delimiter" (*juwei dianhao* 句末点号).<sup>31</sup> But in b) three typologies are listed: to systematically deal with wines presenting multiple typologies and versions, a punctuation and conjunction scheme was developed. Example 2 shows part of a definition containing multiple typologies and versions:

### Example 2

Vino prodotto nelle tipologie bianco, anche nella versione vendemmia tardiva/abboccato bianco/dolce bianco/passito bianco/frizzante bianco/rosato/frizzante rosato/rosso, anche nelle versioni novello e vendemmia tardiva/abboccato rosso/passito rosso, [...]

此款酒有白葡萄酒（也有晚收款），半干白葡萄酒，甜白葡萄酒，风干甜白葡萄酒，微起泡白葡萄酒，桃红葡萄酒，微起泡桃红葡萄酒，红葡萄酒（也有新酒，晚收款）和半干红葡萄酒，以及风干甜红葡萄酒十种类型。[...]

The inverted comma (*dunhao* 顿号), or sequence comma, was chosen in this scheme as basic punctuation mark: it is unique to Chinese and acts as a "mid-sentence delimiter" separating parallel items (noun phrases or verb phrases, including a sequence of two) within a list.<sup>32</sup>

### 3.2.2 Production area

The typology and version block of information is linked differently to the production area in Italian and Chinese: while the SL uses a single complex sentence including both units, in Chinese these are separate. In all DOCG, DOC, and IGT definitions, the second sentence of the Chinese translation starts with the expression *gai jiu chan yu* 该酒产于 (this wine is produced in) followed by the Italian province and region of production. The syntactic rules of Chinese, however, made it necessary to reverse the order, placing the region (*daqu* 大区) before the province (*sheng* 省). Thanks to the properties of the Chinese language, which allows listing words indi-

cn/ewebeditor/uploadfile/2015/01/13/20150113091548267.pdf.

<sup>31</sup> AQSIIQ and SAC, *Biaodian fuhao yongfa*.

<sup>32</sup> AQSIIQ and SAC, *Biaodian fuhao yongfa*; Pellat and Liu, *Thinking Chinese Translation*, 31.

cating place in a single sequence in a decreasing size order, the use of parentheses to indicate the region, found in the Italian text, is no longer necessary.

Moreover, in the Chinese text, the production area and the wine composition units can either belong to the same complex sentence, as shown in Example 3 a) and b), or be separated by a full stop, as shown in c).

### Example 3

a)

Vino prodotto nella tipologia rosso, anche nella versione riserva, in provincia di Foggia (regione Puglia), ottenuto da uve provenienti dai vitigni Uva di Troia (min. 55%), Negroamaro (dal 15% al 30%), Barbera e/o Malbech e/o Montepulciano e/o Sangiovese e/o Trebbiano Toscano (max. 15%).

此款酒为红葡萄酒（也有珍藏款）。该酒产于普利亚大区福贾省，由特洛伊葡萄（至少55%），尼格马罗（15%至30%），巴贝拉，马尔贝克，蒙特布洽诺，桑娇维赛，托斯卡纳—塔比安诺（可选择任意品种或搭配，最多15%）葡萄品种酿造而成。

b)

Vino prodotto nelle tipologie bianco, anche nelle versioni superiore e vendemmia tardiva/frizzante bianco/spumante bianco/passito bianco, in provincia di Sassari (regione Sardegna), ottenuto da uve provenienti dal vitigno Vermentino (min. 95%).

此款酒有白葡萄酒(也有超级,晚收款),微起泡白葡萄酒,起泡白葡萄酒和风干甜白葡萄酒四种类型。该酒产于撒丁岛大区萨萨里省,由维蒙蒂诺(至少95%)葡萄品种酿造而成。

c)

Vino prodotto nelle tipologie bianco/frizzante bianco/rosato/frizzante rosato/rosso, anche nella versione novello, in provincia di Roma (regione Lazio), ottenuto da uve provenienti dai vitigni Bellone (dal 30% al 70%), Trebbiano Toscano (dal 30% al 50%) per le tipologie bianco e frizzante bianco; dai vitigni Sangiovese (min. 40%), Trebbiano Toscano (min. 40%) per le tipologie rosato e frizzante rosato; dai vitigni Merlot (dal 30% al 70%), Sangiovese (dal 30% al 50%) per la tipologia rosso.

此款酒有白葡萄酒,微起泡白葡萄酒,桃红葡萄酒和微起泡桃红葡萄酒,以及红葡萄酒(也有新酒款)五种类型。该酒产于拉齐奥大区罗马省。白葡萄酒,微起泡白葡萄酒由贝朗尼(30%至70%),托斯卡纳—塔比安诺(30%至50%)

葡萄品种酿造而成；桃红葡萄酒，微起泡桃红葡萄酒由桑娇维赛（至少40%），托斯卡纳—塔比安诺（至少40%）葡萄品种酿造而成；红葡萄酒由美乐（30%至70%），桑娇维赛（30%至50%）葡萄品种酿造而成。

The production area and wine composition units are part of the same sentence when the wine is produced in one typology, as in Example 3 a), or when the wine is produced in various typologies with the same ampelographic base, as in Example 3 b). To separate the two phrases containing the indication of the region and province of production and the ampelographic base, the subject of which is *gai jiu* 该酒, is the comma (*douhao* 逗号), in its function as “mid-sentence delimiter” (*junei dianhao* 句内点号).<sup>33</sup> Also called “clause comma”, this punctuation mark signals short sentences (*duan ju* 短句) which may: behave as clauses or full sentences, have coordinate or cause-effect status, indicate summing up or generalisation, indicate purpose, mark a topic or subject, demarcates ideas or sense groups and link them, etc.<sup>34</sup>

In Example 3 c), the wine is produced in five typologies, listed in the first sentence. As expected, the second sentence indicates the production area. In this case, to separate the two phrases containing region and province of production and ampelographic base is the full stop. The third sentence starts with the typology for which the ampelographic base is given. A division in sub-units is carried out through the use of the semicolon (*fenhao* 分号), on the basis of the typologies to which lists of grape varieties correspond. The semicolon was chosen because this punctuation mark is a “mid-sentence delimiter” which marks two parallel phrases, especially containing commas.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.2.3 Wine composition

As introduced above, the wine composition unit indicates the ampelographic base – the grape variety, or varieties, with related quantities and proportions, used to produce the wine and its typologies. The information is introduced in a fixed structure clarifying which grape varieties are the base for the wine production: *you* 由 + *putao pinzhong niangzao er cheng* 葡萄品种酿造而成. This structure comes after the comma, when the production area and the wine composition units are part of the same sentence, or after the indication of the specific typology or typologies as subject of the new sentence, when the definition lists various typologies plus the corresponding grapes. In this case, the structure is repeated after the semicolon, for every typology or group of typologies, and as many times as necessary.

<sup>33</sup> AQSIS and SAC, *Biaodian fuhao yongfa*.

<sup>34</sup> Pellat and Liu, *Thinking Chinese Translation*, 32-33.

<sup>35</sup> AQSIS and SAC, *Biaodian fuhao yongfa*.

One critical aspect was the development of structures suitable to express in Chinese the same linguistic relationships indicated in Italian. In the SL, a comma appears between single grape varieties but there are also grape groups within which the structure “e/o” (and/or) is used to combine grapes. These grape groups are in turn combined with single grape varieties and each base component has its own percentage of use. Therefore, as can be seen in Example 3 a), the inverted comma was kept as the basic punctuation to be used in a list, separating single grapes. In addition to Uva di Troia and Negroamaro, the ampelographic base continues with a grape group. The list is thus integrated with the use of the comma in its function as a marker of a pause inside a proposition.<sup>36</sup> Through its use, the grape group is structurally and visually separated from the list of juxtaposed grapes, while the inverted comma is used within the grape group to separate its components, followed by the phrase in round brackets *ke xuanze renyi pinzhong huo dapei* 可选择任意品种或搭配 which substitutes the structure “e/o”, making it clear that those grape varieties can be used together or exclusively. The brackets are also used to indicate the percentages of use for each grape or grape group. Figure 1 shows a complete wine entry in the *Dictionary – Montecarlo (DOC)*<sup>37</sup> – and summarizes the process:

### 5. Concluding remarks

Combining two languages and cultures and using various sectoral skills, the *Dictionary* is a tangible example of the potential of linguistic and cultural mediation as well as interdisciplinary collaboration. This paper has illustrated some fundamental steps in the elaboration of the *Dictionary*'s Chinese text, highlighting how the transposition of lexicographical entries from Italian to Chinese brought the problem of translatability of “the Italian language of wine” to the forefront. An attempt was made to solve it by pondering the possibility, or lack thereof, to find a suitable Chinese translation for all the numerous typologies, versions, and specifications defining Italian wines. For this reason, the process of standardisation in Chinese of names of Italian wines and grape varieties and the translation of the associated definitions were conducted through continuous reflections on the characteristics of both the language and culture of origin and the target language and culture. The linguistic choices made were generally guided by the desire to produce a bilingual lexicographical tool clear for Italian native speakers and truly usable by their Chinese counterparts. At the same time, although maintaining the view of guaranteeing communicative effectiveness, the translators also considered it essential to reproduce the systematic nature of the definitions developed in Italian in order to guarantee content accuracy and consistency. All the solutions adopted, both

<sup>36</sup> AQSIQ and SAC, *Biaodian fuhao yongfa*.

<sup>37</sup> Bosc et al., *Dizionario*, 144.




in terms of standardisation and translation, were discussed with native Chinese speakers qualified in oenology or Chinese didactics. Nevertheless, the *Dictionary's* Chinese text constitutes the result of an experimental process and some of its solutions and models may benefit from further refinement. The practical examples proposed here as representative cases of a set of strategies that the translators needed to implement in various linguistic areas testify to the challenging nature of the work behind the *Dictionary*. The analysis, however, has highlighted the value of the volume in terms of the contribution it can offer to studies on the specialized languages of Chinese. Finally, it is hoped that the *Dictionary* can outline a potential operational model based on which other similar terminological products can be developed.

Fig. 1

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**Montecarlo**  
 蒙特卡洛  
 méngtèkǎluò



TOSCANA 托斯卡纳大区

Vino prodotto nelle tipologie bianco / passito bianco, nella versione Vin Santo / passito rosato, nella versione Occhio di Pernice / rosso, anche nella versione riserva, in provincia di Lucca (regione Toscana), ottenuto da uve provenienti dai vitigni Trebbiano Toscano (dal 30% al 60%), Pinot Bianco e/o Pinot Grigio e/o Roussanne e/o Sauvignon e/o Sémillon e/o Vermentino (dal 40% al 70%) per le tipologie bianco e passito bianco; dai vitigni Sangiovese (dal 50% al 75%), Canaiolo Nero e/o Merlot e/o Syrah (dal 15% al 40%), Cabernet Sauvignon e/o Cabernet Franc e/o Ciliegiole e/o Colorino e/o Malvasia Nera di Lecce e/o Malvasia Nera di Brindisi (dal 10% al 30%) per le tipologie passito rosato e rosso. Il disciplinare prevede anche la produzione di vini monovarietali a base di Cabernet Sauvignon, Merlot, Sauvignon, Syrah, Vermentino.

此款酒有白葡萄酒、风干甜白葡萄酒（圣酒款）、风干甜桃红葡萄酒（鸱鸒之眼款）和红葡萄酒（也有珍藏款）四种类型。该酒产于托斯卡纳大区卢卡省。白葡萄酒、风干甜白葡萄酒由托斯卡纳—塔比安诺（30%至60%），白皮诺、灰皮诺、瑚珊、长相思、赛美蓉、维蒙蒂诺（可选择任意品种或搭配，40%至70%）葡萄品种酿造而成；风干甜桃红葡萄酒、红葡萄酒由桑娇维赛（50%至75%），黑卡纳奥罗、美乐、西拉（可选择任意品种或搭配，15%至40%），赤霞珠、品丽珠、绮丽叶骄罗、科罗里诺、莱切—黑玛尔维萨、布林迪西—黑玛尔维萨（可选择任意品种或搭配，10%至30%）葡萄品种酿造而成。根据葡萄酒法定条例，该酒也可由赤霞珠、美乐、长相思、西拉、维蒙蒂诺等单一葡萄品种酿造而成。

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SILVIA SCHIAVI

FROM TOKYO TO SHANGHAI:  
LIU NA'OU AND THE INTRODUCTION OF MODERNISM TO CHINA

*Introduction*

Although forgotten and banned for almost forty years, Liu Na'ou 劉呐鷗 (1905-1940) is among the most representative authors of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. During his short existence, Liu emerged as a prolific writer, publisher, and director who made a significant contribution to the diffusion of modern Western and Japanese literature in China. Born in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation of the island (1895-1945), Liu Na'ou experienced the hardships of colonization and chose to move abroad to pursue his studies and literary career. After graduating in Japan in 1926, he decided to settle in China, where he successfully entered the literary circles of the time. Nonetheless, after the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), he decided to collaborate with the Wang Jingwei (1889-1944) regime, and, as a result, he was considered a traitor (*hanjian* 漢奸). His works were censored and forgotten until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the first studies on the author emerged both in China and Taiwan along with the discovery of Liu Na'ou's Diary and a documentary film he directed in the 1930s.

Once rediscovered, the studies on the author highlighted the pivotal role played by Liu Na'ou as a literary and cultural bridge in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Rebecca Leung, for instance, examined Liu's translations and introduction of Japanese and Western literature to China,<sup>1</sup> while Peng Hsiao-yen described Liu Na'ou as a "perpetual traveller" carrying travelling knowledge to Shanghai,<sup>2</sup> namely the modern Western literary trends Liu learned in Japan through the mediation of

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<sup>1</sup> Rebecca Mo-ling Leung 梁慕靈, "Hunzhong wenhua fanyizhe de ningshi: lun Liu Na'ou dui zhiminzhuyi wenxue de yinru he zhuanhua 混種文化翻譯者的凝視——論劉呐鷗對殖民主義文學的引入和轉化 (The Gaze of a Hybrid-cultural Translator: A Discussion of Liu Na'ou's Introduction to and Transformation of Colonial Literature)," *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 44, no. 3 (2014): 459-502, DOI: 10.6503/THJCS.2014.44(3).04.

<sup>2</sup> Peng Hsiao-yen, *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity: The Dandy, the Flaneur, and the Translator in 1930s Shanghai, Tokyo, and Paris* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 22.

Japanese intellectuals who had appropriated and reproduced Western knowledge since the Meiji Era (1868-1912).

Sharing the focus of these scholars on the importance of Liu Na'ou as a knowledge transmitter and cultural translator, the present study aims to analyse Liu's introduction of Western and Japanese modernism to China, adopting a transnational and transcultural approach based upon the studies of Christopher Hill on the circulation and appropriation of literary knowledge and ideas in the world.<sup>3</sup> The paper will discuss the way Liu Na'ou became a transmitter of knowledge and, in particular, the methods he employed to introduce the modernist Japanese School of the New Sensibilities (*Shinkankaku-ha*) to Shanghai in the late 1920s.

The School of the New Sensibilities, also known as New Sensationism, Neo-Sensation or New Sensationalist School, presents a literary production featured by sensory descriptions, urban milieu, and portrayals of the urban culture of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with its new entertainments –dance halls, cafés, movie theatres– and its modern population –*Dandies*, *Flâneurs*, and *Femme Fatales*. Its language and style are the results of deep experimentation aimed at creating new literary forms to depict the various nuances of modernity and to convey the loneliness and alienation felt by the inhabitants of the modern metropolis.<sup>4</sup> For this purpose, it also draws new techniques from modern Western literature and cinema, such as interior monologue, stream of consciousness, and montage. The name of the trend, *New Sensibilities*, refers to the engagement of the five senses in writing to evoke the authors' personal experience within modern cities. Detailed descriptions of the sounds, images, or smells perceived in the urban context populate the New Sensibilities' literature and are transmitted to the readers through an evocative language rich in symbols, onomatopoeias, and visual effects.

As Peng Hsiao-yen suggested, the New Sensibilities might be considered a “travelling genre” that combines elements of Western and Eastern literature.<sup>5</sup> In fact, its origin could be traced back to the sensory and urban literature of the French writer Paul Morand (1888-1976). It would appear that the trend originated in France and moved to Japan in the 1920s where a group of young modernists from Tokyo translated Morand's works considering the author as the founder of a new literary and aesthetic sensibility. The group also established the first School of the New Sensibilities in 1924.<sup>6</sup> Later on, owing to Liu Na'ou's interest in Japanese modernism and his decision to move to China, the trend reached Shanghai and was introduced to the literary circles of the time through Liu's translations, publishing

<sup>3</sup> See Christopher L. Hill, “Conceptual Universalization in the Transnational Nineteenth Century,” in *Global Intellectual History*, eds. Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 134-58.

<sup>4</sup> Zhu Ping, *Gender and Subjectivities in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Literature and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 106-8.

<sup>5</sup> Peng, *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity*, x.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

and literary activities, which led to the appearance of a local modernist group that the critics would later label “Chinese School of the New Sensibilities” (*Zhongguo Xin ganjue pai* 中國新感覺派).<sup>7</sup>

*Liu Na’ou: a transmitter of modern knowledge between Japan and China*

Three main factors enabled Liu Na’ou to assume the role of a transmitter of knowledge between Japan and China. First, the political, cultural, and social context where the author was born and raised in. He indeed decided to travel continuously between Taiwan, Japan, and China to escape from the colonial impositions young Taiwanese writers had to face since the island had been ceded to Japan in 1895. Secondly, the multicultural and multilingual education Liu Na’ou received due to his status as a Japanese colonial subject and to his academic education in English and French. Finally, the personal interest of the author towards modern Western literature that had been spreading through Japan and China since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Liu’s linguistic skills and interest in modern literature are best revealed in his 1927 Diary. The work, rediscovered in 1997 by Peng Hsiao-yen and published in 2001,<sup>8</sup> illustrates Liu’s life in Shanghai, his literary and editorial projects, and his journeys between China, Japan, and Taiwan. The Diary presents a hybrid language that mixes Chinese with Japanese, French, English, and Taiwanese expressions. Chinese, the language Liu started learning when he moved to China in 1926,<sup>9</sup> is employed to describe the author’s daily activities; while the other languages, that he fully mastered, are used to express his feelings and thoughts. The Diary also sheds new light on the literary interest of the author as he mentions his monthly readings including comments on the style, contents, and authors of the texts he read.<sup>10</sup> For instance, Liu mentions reading Paul Valéry (1871-1945), Paul Morand, Goethe (1749-1832), the Japanese writers Saneatsu Mushanokōji (1885-1976), and Satō Ha-

<sup>7</sup> The name *Xin ganjue pai* 新感覺派 appeared for the first time in a paper written by Lou Shiyi 樓適夷 (1905-2001) which focused on the short stories of one of the group’s most prominent writers, Shi Zhecun 施蛰存 (1905-2003). Later on, Guo Jianying 郭建英 (1907-1979), editor of the *Furen huabao* 婦人畫報 (Women’s Pictorial), used the term to refer to Hei Ying 黑嬰 (1915-1992), another associate of the modernist school. See Peng, *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity*, 25.

<sup>8</sup> Peng Hsiao-yen 彭小妍 and Huang Yingzhe 黃英哲, *Liu Na’ou quanji: riji* 劉呐鷗全集:日記集 (Complete Works of Liu Na’ou - Diary) (Tainan: Tainanxian Wenhuaaju, 2001).

<sup>9</sup> Liu started learning *baihua* 白話 (vernacular Chinese) by reading famous Chinese magazines such as the *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報 (Fiction Monthly). In the Diary, he also mentions teaching *baihua* to his younger brother and to other Taiwanese writers who moved to Shanghai. In the March 30 entry, for instance, he tells he subscribed to the *Fiction Monthly* with his brother to help him study Chinese. See Peng and Huang, *Liu Na’ou quanji*, 216.

<sup>10</sup> Peng and Huang, *Liu Na’ou quanji*, 92.



ruo (1892-1964), as well as contemporary Chinese authors such as Zhang Ziping 張資平 (1893-1959) and Yu Dafu 郁達夫 (1896-1945).

In order to understand how the above-mentioned factors –Liu’s life background, his multilingual and multicultural education and his interest in modern foreign literature– interacted to make Liu Na’ou a transmitter of knowledge, it is necessary to take a closer look at his biography and journeys.

Liu Na’ou, the pen name of Liu Canbo 劉燦波,<sup>11</sup> was born in Tainan in 1905. In 1912 he started primary school at the Tainan Yanshui Guoxiao 台南鹽水國小 and, as a colonial subject, received a Japanese education. He learnt Japanese language and culture, as planned by the compulsory education system of the colonial government to civilize and assimilate the population of the island into the Japanese Empire.<sup>12</sup> Owing to the wealth of his family, Liu Na’ou was one of the few young Taiwanese students who could continue his education. In 1920, his mother sent him to Aoyama College in Tokyo, where he enrolled in French and English courses.<sup>13</sup> Once in Japan, Liu was deeply influenced by and attracted to the modernity of the country, resulting from the Meiji Restoration and the democratic atmosphere of the Taishō era (1912-1926). Due to its opening to the West, Japan provided young students with new ideas regarding literature, art, and cinema as well as politics and science.<sup>14</sup> As a result, many Chinese and Taiwanese students decided to visit Japan, where they established modern literary societies such as the Chinese *Chuangzao she* 創造社 (Creation Society), and the Taiwanese *Xinmin hui* 新民會 (New People’s Society). Within this context, Liu Na’ou was exposed to modern Western ideas that would deeply influence his future literary and film production. In particular, he enjoyed reading the Japanese translations of modern foreign literature such as the works of Paul Morand, whose urban and sensory descriptions deeply fascinated Liu Na’ou. However, what truly caught the attention of the author was the 1920s fiction of the Japanese School of the New Sensibilities, whose founders Yokomitsu Riichi (1898-1947), Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972) and Kataoka Teppei (1894-1944) encouraged the stylistic imitation of modern literary and artistic trends from the West, such as Surrealism, Dadaism, and Futurism, to oppose the traditional style of the Naturalist and Realist Schools of the previous decades.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Anthony Wan-hoi Pak, “The School of New Sensibilities (Xin ganjue pai) in the 1930s: A study of Liu Na’ou and Mu Shiyong’s fiction” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1995), 1.

<sup>12</sup> See Patricia E. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).

<sup>13</sup> Sakina Cutivet, “Liu Na’ou 劉訥鷗 (1905–1940): Un caméléon aux couleurs du Modernisme” (MA diss., Tamkang University, 2005), 40.

<sup>14</sup> Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 131-42.

<sup>15</sup> Dennis Washburn, *Translating Mount Fuji: Modern Japanese Fiction and the Ethics of Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 147.

In 1926, Liu Na'ou left Japan to pursue his studies in French language and literature in China at the Aurora University, a religious institute located in the French Concession of Shanghai.<sup>16</sup> There, Liu Na'ou had the chance to meet the symbolist poet Dai Wangshu 戴望舒 (1905-1950) who introduced him to Shi Zhecun 施蛰存 (1905-2003) and Du Heng 杜衡 (1907-1964) who, along with Dai, would later become prominent writers in the literary circles of Shanghai.<sup>17</sup> When Liu Na'ou moved to China, the country was passing through a critical phase, because of the internal conflicts between the Communist and the Nationalist Party, and the growing threat of Japanese imperialism. The complex situation of China had led to a heavy politicization of literature, which resulted in the transformation of the 1917 *Wenxue geming* 文學革命 (Literary Revolution) into a *Geming wenxue* 革命文學 (Revolutionary Literature) supported by leftist writers like Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936), Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1879-1942), Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白 (1899-1935), Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981) and Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978). It is in this framework that Liu Na'ou introduced Western and Japanese modernism into the literary circles of the time, paving the way for the development of Chinese modernism. In addition, to enter the Chinese literary circles, he pretended to be Chinese and started writing in *baihua* 白話 (vernacular Chinese), a language he barely mastered at the time.<sup>18</sup>

It does not seem far-fetched to suggest that both historical factors –the colonial background of Liu's life– and the personal contribution of the author –Liu's interest and study of foreign languages and literature– eventually interplayed in making Liu Na'ou a transmitter of knowledge between Tokyo and Shanghai. Moreover, the author emerges as a modern cosmopolitan man who decided to exploit his colonial status and education to gain Western and Japanese knowledge on literature and cinema and start his modernist career. Clearly, this is not to say that the author was not affected by the Japanese occupation or that he did not condemn colonialism or reflect on identity issues within his writings as other Taiwanese writers of his generation, such as the famous Wu Zhuoliu 吳濁流 (1900-1976), did. In fact, his literary production is permeated with a sense of non-belonging and nostalgia and populated by lonely and rootless characters, whereas his 1927 Diary subtly reveals Liu's quest for identity. Written when the author was about to decide whether to return to Taiwan or to settle in Japan or China, the Diary mirrors a man who never

<sup>16</sup> Xu Qinzen 許秦蓁, *Modeng, Shanghai. Xin ganjue: Liu Na'ou (1905-1940)* 摩登, 上海. 新感覺·劉吶鷗 (1905-1940) (Modernity, Shanghai. New Sensibilities: Liu Na'ou 1905-1940) (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun, 2010), 47-49.

<sup>17</sup> Randolph Trumbull, *The Shanghai Modernists* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 11.

<sup>18</sup> Liu pretended to be Chinese also to conceal his identity because, at that time, a Taiwanese in China would likely be considered a Japanese spy. As Shi Zhecun stated, Liu said he was Fujianese to justify his Taiwanese accent. Taiwanese language indeed derives from the *Minnan* dialects (*Minnan hua* 閩南話) spoken in the Fujian province. See Shi Zhecun 施蛰存, "Zhendan ernian 震旦二年 (Two Years at the Aurora University)," *Long teng shiji shuku* 龍騰世紀書庫, accessed July 7, 2022, <http://www.millionbook.net/xd/s/shizhecun/szcw/046.htm>.

felt represented by his double Taiwanese-Japanese identity and who eventually chose to settle in China where he tried to hide his Taiwanese origin in order to develop his literary career.<sup>19</sup>

### *Transmission and appropriation of modern ideas*

As Hill pointed out, “concepts moving in the world” experience several mediation processes that eventually transform the original concept to facilitate its localization and appropriation in the arrival cultures.<sup>20</sup> The analysis of these processes, namely translation, reproduction, distortion, and adaptation –just to mention a few– is pivotal to understand how concepts circulate around the world. Moreover, it provides an alternative pattern to those studies of conceptual transfer and translation that explain the diffusion of ideas employing binary structure –source and target cultures, departure and arrival, centre and periphery– rather than analyzing the movement of ideas itself and the transformations occurring to original concepts.<sup>21</sup> Hill also highlights the agency and engagement of local figures on the so-called “periphery” whose performances in the transmission and appropriation of ideas cannot be neglected or reduced to mere imitation of universal concepts.<sup>22</sup> Late 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan and China provide an example of a dynamic appropriation of foreign knowledge. The opening of these countries to the West, resulting from the Meiji Restoration in Japan and the Opium Wars in China (1839-1842; 1856-1860), fostered the introduction of modern ideas of science, politics, culture, and literature within the intellectual circles and had a deep impact on the scholars of the time. Local intellectuals did not merely duplicate modern foreign knowledge, but they actively exploited and appropriated Western ideas to fulfill the domestic, cultural, and political projects of modernization of their countries. Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837-1909)’s famous expression *Zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong* 中學為體，西學為用 (Chinese learning for moral principles, Western learning for practical application) is certainly a representative example of this appropriation process.

Hill’s alternative approach to the diffusion of knowledge encourages the creation of a World Literature and could be adopted in the present study. In transmitting modern literary theories and trends from Japan to China, Liu Na’ou carried out many of the previously mentioned processes of mediation, such as translation, reproduction, appropriation, and localization.

<sup>19</sup> The July 12 entry is a representative example of Liu’s identity issue. The author decides to settle in Shanghai, “the land of his future” (*wo jianglai de di* 我將來的地), but he still seems uncertain about leaving Japan and Taiwan. See Peng and Huang, *Liu Na’ou quanji*, 446.

<sup>20</sup> Hill, “Conceptual Universalization”, 134.

<sup>21</sup> Op. cit., 135.

<sup>22</sup> Op. cit., 146.

First of all, to introduce Western and Japanese modernism to China, Liu Na'ou engaged in intense activities of translation from French and Japanese. He translated French studies on Paul Morand and published the first modernist anthology on the Japanese School of the New Sensibilities, *Seqing Wenhua* 色情文化 (Erotic Culture), which collected the translations of seven novels of the most prominent Japanese modernists of the 1920s: Kawabata Ysunari, Yokomitsu Riichi, and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886-1965).<sup>23</sup> These works were translated and diffused through the publishing houses and magazines established and funded by Liu Na'ou between 1928 and 1930. Along with Shi Zhecun, Dai Wangshu, Du Heng and the young modernist Mu Shiyong 穆時英 (1912-1940), Liu engaged in several publishing activities producing modern magazines, which also included the first modernist experiments of the group. In 1928, Liu issued his first journal, *Wugui Lieche* 無軌列車 (Trackless train), which introduced the works of the Japanese School of New Sensibilities, along with his first short stories "Youxi 遊戲" (Games), "Fengjing 風景" (Landscape) and "Liu 流" (Flow). Dai Wangshu's translations of Paul Morand and Paul Fort (1872-1970) were also published in the journal that closed after eight issues due to the censorship imposed by the Nationalist government that blamed the group for leftist activities.<sup>24</sup> In 1929, Liu Na'ou and his colleagues tried to publish another magazine, which was given both a Chinese and a French name: *Xin wenyi* 新文藝, *La Nouvelle Littérature*. The journal included Liu Na'ou's short story "Canliu 殘留" (Ruin) and Mu Shiyong's prominent debut work "Zamen de shijie 咱們的世界" (Our World).<sup>25</sup> However, once again, the Nationalist government ordered the closure of the journal in 1930.<sup>26</sup> Finally, in 1932, Shi Zhecun involved Liu Na'ou in the publication of *Xiandai* 現代 (Les Contemporains), a modern magazine that achieved enormous success within the literary circles of the time, owing to Shi Zhecun's introduction of the journal as an apolitical tribute to World Literature.<sup>27</sup>

Along with the translation and diffusion of modern works in China, Liu Na'ou and his group also started to reproduce the style, language, contents, and techniques employed by the Japanese modernists who, in turn, had drawn inspiration from Futurism, Dadaism and Surrealism as well as from modern cinema. Liu's first and only anthology of short stories, *Dushi fengjingxian* 都市風景線 (Urban Landscape), reveals the linguistic experimentation and cinematographic style of the Japanese school as well as the fascination for the speed of modern life of the futurists, and the search of new literary forms to portray modernity. Eventually, Liu found new expressive methods and techniques in the modern Soviet Cinema of the

<sup>23</sup> Cutivet, "Liu Na'ou 劉訥鷗 (1905-1940)," 106.

<sup>24</sup> Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities (Xin ganjue pai) in the 1930s," 52.

<sup>25</sup> Op. cit., 2.

<sup>26</sup> Zhu, *Gender and Subjectivities*, 101.

<sup>27</sup> Trumbull, *The Shanghai Modernists*, 253-54.

1920s, transferring and adapting Sergei Mikhailovich Eisenstein's new montage technique and Dziga Vertov's film theories to fiction.<sup>28</sup>

Like the Japanese modernists, Liu and his coterie were also deeply fascinated by Freud's theories of psychoanalysis, which they studied to create introspective fiction. Within their works, particularly Shi Zhecun's short stories, they often reproduced the Western techniques of the interior monologue and stream of consciousness to investigate their characters' inner world and reveal their desires and fears.

The translation and reproduction of Western and Japanese modern literary forms, techniques, and theories finally led to the appropriation and localization –i.e. sinicization– of foreign knowledge within the Chinese context. In 1928, the publication of *Trackless Train* also marked the beginning of a local School of the New Sensibilities that included Shi Zhecun, Dai Wangshu, Du Heng, Mu Shiying, Ye Lingfeng 葉靈鳳 (1905-1975), Xu Xiacun 徐霞村 (1907-1986) and Hei Ying 黑嬰 (1915-1992). As Pak mentioned,<sup>29</sup> Shi Zhecun clarified that it was not a real school, but rather a group of young writers based in Shanghai who shared the same interests in Western literary trends, Japanese literature, and modern cinema.<sup>30</sup>

The group carried out a sinicization process of Japanese modernism adapting the New Sensibilities literary trend to reflect the local Shanghainese context. For instance, the urban allure and the description of the city and its modern inhabitants, although present –yet not pivotal– in Japanese modernist fiction, became a core element in the narrative of the Chinese School, which took the name of *Yangchang wenxue* 洋場文學 (Literature of the Settlements) after the semi-colonized status of Shanghai.<sup>31</sup> At that time, the city was a modern semi-occupied metropolis that resembled Paris, London, and New York. Since the end of the Opium Wars, it had been divided into three sectors, the French Concession, the International Settlement, and the Chinese area, and it had undergone a process of modernization and Westernization.<sup>32</sup> The foreigners who lived in Shanghai had also provided the city with modern entertainments, such as movie theatres, cafés, and dance halls, which

<sup>28</sup> Cutivet, "Liu Na'ou 劉呐鷗 (1905–1940)," 98–100. See also Xu Qinzen 許秦綦 and Kang Laixin 康來新, *Liu Na'ou quanji: dianying ji* 劉呐鷗全集·電影集 (Complete Works of Liu Na'ou - On Cinema) (Tainan: Tainanxian Wenhua ju, 2001).

<sup>29</sup> Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities (Xin ganjue pai) in the 1930s," 1.

<sup>30</sup> On Shi Zhecun's definition of the school see also Peng, *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity*, 10; Zheng Mingli 鄭明嫻 and Lin Yaode 林耀德, "Zhongguo xiandai zhuyi de shuguang: yu Xin ganjue pai dashi Shi Zhecun xiansheng duitan 中國現代主義的曙光——與新感覺派大師施蟄存先生對談 (The Dawn of Chinese Modernism: A Dialogue with the Master of the School of the New Sensibilities, Shi Zhecun)," *Unitas Literature* 6, no. 9 (1990): 131–40.

<sup>31</sup> Guo Huizhen 郭惠珍, "Xiandai yu chuantong: Zhong-Ri Xin ganjue pai xiaoshuo chuanguo taicai chayi jiexi 現代與傳統 中一日新感覺派小說創作題材差異解析 (Analysing the Difference in Subject Matters between Chinese and Japanese Novels of New Sensationism)," *Journal of Huaqiao University*, no. 4 (2004): 84.

<sup>32</sup> Samuel Liang, *Mapping Modernity in Shanghai: Space, Gender, and Visual Culture in the Sojourners' City, 1853–98* (London: Routledge, 2010), 11.

contributed to the creation of an exotic imaginary and had a considerable impact on the literary production of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup>

On the other hand, the fiction of the Japanese school was defined *Zhenzai wenxue* 震災文學 (Literature of the Earthquake) since it emerged after the 1923 Kantō earthquake. Affected by this terrible disaster, Japanese modernists often deal with the subjects of death, illness, and destruction trying to find a sense of beauty even in the most catastrophic stages of human life. Conversely, the themes of death and destruction are rather absent in the Chinese modernist production whose authors mainly focused on the cosmopolitan and exotic features of Shanghai as well as on the alienation felt in the modern metropolis.<sup>34</sup>

The analyses and representation of the city by the Chinese School of the New Sensibilities is a subject that deserves special attention. It is no coincidence that the modernist production of the group is known as one of the first examples of *dushi wenxue* 都市文學 (Urban fiction) in the history of Chinese literature, as stated by the 1980s Taiwanese writer Lin Yaode 林耀德 (1962-1996).<sup>35</sup> The School's attraction toward Shanghai resulted in the representation of the city and its modern dance halls, cafés, and movie theatres both as the setting and as the protagonists of their fiction. For instance, Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiying's short stories "Games"<sup>36</sup> and "Yezonghui li de wugeren" 夜總會裡的五個人 (Five in a Nightclub)<sup>37</sup> are set in the dance halls of Shanghai, the *Tango Palace* and the *Empress Nightclub*. Besides illustrating the details of these modern places, both authors analyze the influence exerted by the dance halls on the citizens. The *Tango Palace* and the *Empress Nightclub* are described as enchanted places that lure their customers with loud music, alcohol, beautiful dancers, and frenetic rhythms encouraging them to behave irresponsibly and improperly. Within Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiying's literary production, Shanghai is also often personified in a modern, charming and emancipated woman, who resembles Western girls for her attitude, way of living, and dressing. She has an intoxicating power on men, and, like the city, she causes both attraction and repulsion.<sup>38</sup>

The personification of the city in a modern woman is a specific feature of Chinese modernism. Lee and Shih pointed out that Liu Na'ou's modern woman, though inspired by French and Japanese modernism, is mostly a product of the

<sup>33</sup> Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 23-38.

<sup>34</sup> Guo, "Xiandai yu chuantong," 85.

<sup>35</sup> Lin Yaode 林耀德, *Chongzu de xingkong* 重組的星空 (Reorganizing the Starry Sky) (Taipei: Yeh-Chiang, 1991), 189-200.

<sup>36</sup> Liu Na'ou 劉訥鷗, *Dushi fengjingxian* 都市風景線 *Scène* (Urban Landscape) (Shanghai: Shuimo Shudian, 1930), 1-19.

<sup>37</sup> Yan Jiayan 嚴家炎, *Xin ganjue pai xiaoshuo xuan* 新感觉派小说选 (A Selection of Short Stories of the School of the New Sensibilities) (Beijing: Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, 2011), 187-209.

<sup>38</sup> See Zhu, *Gender and Subjectivities*, 99-129.



multicultural and cosmopolitan context of Shanghai.<sup>39</sup> Liu's female characters are often depicted as half Western-half Chinese hybrids to mirror the semi-colonial reality of Shanghai and its Westernization, like the protagonist of "Games" whose big eyes, short hair and Greek nose are direct references to a Western appearance.<sup>40</sup> The topic of the modern woman is therefore adapted to the Chinese context to embody the allure, modernity, and even the semi-colonial status of the city.

It appears clear that Liu Na'ou and his colleagues' project of sinicization involved the selection, adaptation, or removal of some features of Japanese modernism. Some subjects, such as the city or the modern woman, were selected and adapted to the local context to the point that they became representative of the Chinese School, whereas others, such as the previously mentioned themes of death and destruction, were removed because they did not fit the Chinese context and appeared specifically related to the Japanese circumstances.

Furthermore, if we analyse the above processes of mediation of modern Japanese and Western knowledge, the agency of Liu Na'ou and his group cannot be denied. These young writers actively appropriated and adapted foreign literary trends to fulfill their aim of witnessing the modernization and Westernization of Shanghai and its consequences on the inhabitants of the city. They also believed that introducing modern literary ideas and techniques could benefit the intellectual circles of the time and stimulate the development and spread of a modern Chinese literature that could compete internationally. Finally, they also wanted to establish an apolitical literary field detached from the political turmoil of the time and based on the "art for the art's sake" principle.

Liu Na'ou certainly shared the group's intentions, but I would believe that the author's introduction of modernism to China and global knowledge dissemination plan not only served the purpose of the making of modern Chinese literature and the creation of an apolitical literary field. As Peng Hsiao-yen also suggested, Liu's embarking on modernism could also be read as a strategy to avoid dealing with his colonial status and identity, or at least, to address these topics in a subtler way than other Taiwanese authors of the time, such as Yang Kui 楊逵 (1905-1985).<sup>41</sup>

## Conclusions

Due to the historical and political circumstances of his birth, the education received, and the studies pursued in French and English language and literature, Liu Na'ou emerged as a transmitter of knowledge between Japan and China in the first

<sup>39</sup> Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 194; Shih, *The Lure of the Modern*, 292-99.

<sup>40</sup> Liu, *Dushi fengjingxian*, 7.

<sup>41</sup> Peng Hsiao-yen, "Colonialism and the Predicament of Identity: Liu Na'ou and Yang Kui as Men of the World," in *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1885-1945: History, Culture, Memory*, eds. Ping-hui Liao and David Der-wei Wang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 210-47.

half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Once in the modern and cosmopolitan late 1920s Shanghai, the author found a place where he could develop his literary career and started introducing Japanese and Western modernism. He mainly focused on the works of the Japanese School of the New Sensibilities, inspired by the forms and contents of Paul Morand's literary production and the 20<sup>th</sup> century Western vanguards. Eventually, he met a group of young Chinese modernists who helped him introduce, adapt, and sinicize foreign knowledge in China. These authors engaged in several activities, which included translation, the publication of modern magazines, the production of local modernist fiction, and the establishment of a Chinese School of the New Sensibilities.

As Hill noticed, the study of processes of mediation is pivotal in the understanding of how concepts circulate in the world and the paths and transformations they eventually experience before being localized in the final contexts. The study of Liu Na'ou's introduction of modernism to China could enhance the understanding of this approach and shed new light on the agency of local figures who appropriate and exploit foreign knowledge for domestic or personal purposes.

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ALESSANDRO TOSCO

## LITIGATING MOTHERS AND WISE JUDGES: BIBLICAL ECHOES IN A YUAN DYNASTY DRAMA

All happy families are alike;  
each unhappy family, however, is unhappy in its own way.

*Anna Karenina*, Lev Tolstoj

(屠岸賈領卒子上，云) [...] 怎生是好？眉頭一皺，計上心來。我如今不免詐傳靈公的命，把晉國內但是半歲之下，一月之上，新添的小廝，都與我拘刷將來，見一個剝三劍，其中必然有趙氏孤兒。可不除了我這腹心之害？令人，與我張掛榜文，著晉國內但是半歲之下，一月之上，新添的小廝，都拘刷到我帥府中來聽令。違者全家處斬，九族不留。 [...]

[...] What to do now? “One wrinkle at the tip of the brow and a new scheme arises in the heart”: I now have no other way but to counterfeit an edict by Duke Ling, according to which all newborn babies in the state of Jin younger than six months but older than one month will be rounded up and brought to me. Every single one I see I will chop to pieces with three strokes of my sword! The Orphan of Zhao will surely be among them. This will do away with any future harm to me. Runner, post announcements ordering that all newborn babies in the state of Jin who are younger half a year and older than one month must be rounded up and taken to my marshal’s office to await further orders. Anyone who disobeys will be decapitated along with his whole family and no one in the nine mourning grades will be left. [...]<sup>1</sup>

In these lines, quoted from the second act of the famous libretto *The Orphan of Zhao* (*Zhaoshi gu'er* 趙氏孤兒) by Ji Junxiang 紀君祥 (1234?-1279?), the perfidious marshal Tu’an Gu 屠岸賈, the antagonist, devises his impious stratagem to find the last survivor of the Zhao, a noble house by now almost annihilated: to have all the infants under six months in the Jin 晉 kingdom killed. To the sensibility of a “Western” audience – using a term so generic as to be almost empty of meaning – the expedient of the capture and extermination of newborn babies recalls the biblical account of the “Massacre of the Innocents” by King Herod, reported in the *Gospel of Matthew* (2: 1-16).

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<sup>1</sup> The analysis was conducted on the text contained in Zang Maoxun 藏懋循, *Yuanqu xuan* 元曲選 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju chubanshan, 1958) vol. II, 1476-98; 1482. Hereafter the collection will be shortened to YQX. The translation of the analysed quote is taken from: Stephen West, Wilt Idema, *The Orphan of Zhao and Other Yuan Plays: The Earliest Known Versions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 49-111; 85.

A narrative element with such a marked tradition in a specific cultural system that is found to be similar in another very distant one in space and time may well deserve reflection. The interesting fact is that this reference to the Holy Scriptures appears to be no isolated case in the theatre of the Yuan 元 dynasty (1279-1368), in the so-called “variety dramas” (*zaju* 雜劇). In fact, classical Chinese theatre has often been compared, in form and content, to Western theatre, primarily Greek tragedy or Shakespeare. Relatively little attention, however, has been paid to the analysis of some Chinese plays which, due to themes and intertwining plots, seem to evoke stories of a biblical hue. This paper, the first step in a broader research project, aims to investigate a libretto of the Yuan dynasty echoing narrative choices also found in Holy Scriptures. We propose an analysis of the drama *The Record of the Chalk Circle* (*Huilan ji* 灰闌記) by Li Xingdao 李行道 (XIV sec.), which seems to evoke, for narrative plot, the biblical account of the Judgement of King Solomon.

In this context, we do not want to search for possible external or foreign sources that confirm the thesis of the passage of Eastern narrative elements into the Western cultural world<sup>2</sup> or vice versa, or even less so of the presence of explicit biblical references in Chinese dramas. We want, however, to offer food for thought on some narrative elements which, regardless of the various distinctions by the cultural and the social context in which they were generated and developed, are found to be similar in very different cultures. Therefore, we do not want to look for possible references to a particular culture present in another one, even very geographically distant, and to establish which culture may have influenced the other. On the contrary, we deem it more interesting to analyse how the development of a model in a similar or analogous “narrative architecture” reaches its climax and then dissolves the plot, on the one hand, through the Judeo-Christian culture and, on the other one, through the Chinese one, based on Confucian morality and Daoist and Buddhist religiosity.

We will proceed first of all to the analysis of the libretto object of this study, presenting the main themes. The Chinese sources from which the drama drew inspiration will then be identified, in order to ascertain how the work was composed in a specific cultural and value system. Finally, we will proceed with the analysis of the narrative, from a comparative point of view, with respect to the account reported in the Holy Scriptures.

<sup>2</sup> On this topic much has already been written, starting with the works of pioneering German scholars at the beginning of the last century. Cf. Hugo Gressmann, “Sage und Geschichte in den Patriarchenerzählungen”, in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XXX, (1910): 1-34. Hermann Gunkel, *Das Märchen im Alten Testament* (Tübingen, 1917).

*The Record of the Chalk Circle:*<sup>3</sup> content of the work

The drama of Li Xingdao is contained in the work *Collection of Sung Dramas of the Yuan* (*Yuanqu xuan* 元曲選), published by Zang Maoxun 藏懋循 in 1616.<sup>4</sup> The libretto belongs to the category of “procedural dramas” (*gong’an ju* 公案劇), where the figure of the upright judge Bao (Bao daizhi 包待制), who lived during the Song dynasty (960-1279), is exalted.<sup>5</sup> He, with his wit and sagacity imbued with Confucian morality, manages to do justice in a case of intentional murder for which an innocent woman was sentenced to death. The plot is very intricate and involves several characters, a brief summary of which is now provided in order to understand the background of the analysis that will be proposed.

The story is set in the Song dynasty. In the prologue, the patriarch of the Zhang 張 passes away and the family falls into disgrace. Zhang Haitang 張海棠, the daughter, agrees to become the second wife to Magnate Ma 馬員外 (Ma Junqing 馬均卿) in order to help his beloved relatives. Zhang Lin 張林, the brother, deplors his sister who discredits the honor of the family. In the first act, Haitang became a concubine of Magnate Ma and had a son, Shoulang 壽郎, who is now five years old. One day Zhang Lin, reduced to poverty, asks his sister for money to seek fortune, but she refuses. The perfidious Primary Wife, by deception, convinces Haitang to accept her brother’s request, not only taking credit for it, but also telling her husband that the second wife has a lover. So Magnate Ma, consumed by anger (and jealousy), falls ill. Then the Primary Wife asks the concubine to prepare a soup, to which, however, she secretly adds poison, and the husband dies. The Primary Wife blames Haitang for the murder, but the concubine declares that she is not afraid to appear in court as she is not guilty. Thus begins a heated quarrel between the two women, in which the first wife wants to chase the second one away, without even leaving the child, saying instead that Shoulang is her natural son. Haitang, however, replies that she will never be able to prove this falsehood, as it is clear to

<sup>3</sup> The “true” or complete title (*zhengming* 正名) of the drama is: *Rescriptor-in-Waiting Bao’s Clever Trick: the Record of the Chalk Circle* (*Bao daizhi zhikan huilan ji* 包待制智勘灰欄記).

<sup>4</sup> Refers to the YQX collection mentioned above (see n. 1). The location of the work is not an irrelevant fact; the publication of the YQX, indeed, took place at the end of the Ming 明 dynasty (1368-1644). This implies that the libretto coming down to us may not be perfectly consistent with that composed by Li Xingdao in the fourteenth century, by virtue or because of the possible intervention made by Zang Maoxun, even if the author of this paper believes that the latter intended merely to edit, not to create or rewrite. On this topic, cf. Wilt L. Idema, “Why You Have Never Read a Yuan Drama: The Transformation of *Zaju* at the Ming Court”, in *Studi in Onore di Lionello Lanciotti*, ed. by Sandra Maria Carletti, Maurizia Sacchetti, Paolo Santangelo (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dip. di Studi Asiatici, 1996) vol. II, 765-91.

<sup>5</sup> On the role and value of Judge Bao in the Chinese theatre, cf. George A. Hayden, *Crime and Punishment in Medieval Chinese Drama: Three Judge Pao Plays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978). Wilt L. Idema, *Judge Bao and the Rule of Law: Eight Ballad-Stories from the Period 1250-1450* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2009).



everyone that the child is hers. So the Primary Wife bribes relatives and neighbors, makes an agreement with Clerk Zhao 趙令史, her lover, and together they plot to bribe the court as well.

In the second act, the Primary Wife and Haitang go to court. The inept and corrupt official Su Shun 蘇順 delegates Clerk Zhao to solve the case. This latter wants to make the concubine confess that she killed her husband and conspired against the first wife to take her son away from her. Haitang begins her defense, but she is not believed, not even when she calls her son to testify and he clearly states that she is his real mother. Since the woman still does not confess, Clerk Zhao has her tortured. Exhausted by the pain, but also in order not to perish without having the possibility in the future to defend herself, she confesses the crime she did not commit. So Clerk Zhao arranges for her to be chained and escorted to Kaifeng Prefecture 開封府 for trial. In the third act, on the way to Kaifeng, Haitang meets Zhang Lin, who in the meantime has become the attendant at that prefecture, who must meet Judge Bao. Haitang tells Zhang Lin how things really went, so brother and sister are reconciled.

In the fourth act, the trial takes place at the court of Kaifeng prefecture, presided by Judge Bao, who devises a clever trick to resolve the intricate case. After Haitang recounted in detail what happened in the first trial, to prove who the real mother of the child is, the judge asks attendant Zhang Qian 張千 to draw a circle on the ground and place the child inside it. In the words of the judge, the woman who manages to deliver the child from the circle will prove to be the real mother:

(包待制云) 張千，取石灰來，在階下畫個欄兒。著這孩兒在欄內，著他兩個女人，拽這孩兒出灰欄外來。若是他親養的孩兒，便拽得出來；不是他親養的孩兒，便拽不出來。

(JUDGE BAO *speaks*;) Zhang Qian, bring some chalk and draw out a circle below the steps. Put the child in the circle and have the two women pull him out. The one who is really his mother will pull him out of the circle. The one who is'nt won't be able to pull him out.<sup>6</sup>

So the Primary Wife starts to pull hard, while Haitang doesn't pull at all. Judge Bao, apparently, becomes impatient:

(包待制云) 可知道不是他所生的孩兒，就拽不出灰欄外來。張千，與我采那張海棠下去，打著者。

(JUDGE BAO *speaks*;) How can I understand who gave birth to the child if you don't try to drag him out of the chalk circle. Zhang Qian, go to Haitang and beat her!

<sup>6</sup> The analysis was conducted on the text contained in YQX, vol. II, 1107-29; 1127-28. The translation (still incomplete) of the analysed quotes is taken, with some modifications, from: Stephen H. West, Wilt L. Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers and Immortals. Eleven Early Chinese Plays* (Indianapolis, Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2010) 243-82; 278-79.

So Zhang Qian beats the real mother and Judge Bao again orders the two women to pull the child out of the circle, but Haitang again refuses. The judge questions her and then asks the attendant to beat her again:

(包待制云) 兀那婦人，我看你兩次三番，不用一些氣力拽那孩兒。張千，選大棒子與我打著。

(JUDGE BAO *speaks*:) Woman, I observe that each time you don't exert all of your energy to pull the child out. Zhang Qian, beat her with the large cruel.

Thus Haitang, addressing in paternalistic tones, begins a heartfelt invocation in prose and verse to the judge – who she calls *yeye* 爺爺, “Dad” – explaining the reasons for which she does not consent to pull the child out. The woman also shows that she would sooner be beaten than make an impious and unnatural gesture like that of a mother who punishes her own son:

(正旦云) 望爺爺息雷霆之怒，罷虎狼之威。妾身自嫁馬員外，生下這孩兒，十月懷胎，三年乳哺，咽苦吐甜，煨幹避濕，不知受了多少辛苦，方才抬舉的他五歲。不爭為這孩兒，兩家硬奪，中間必有損傷。孩兒幼小，倘或扭折他胳膊，爺爺就打死婦人，也不敢用力拽他出這灰欄外來，只望爺爺可憐見咱。(唱)【掛玉鉤】則這個有疼熱親娘怎下得！(帶云) 爺爺，你試覷波。(唱) 孩兒也這臂膊似麻秸細。他是個無情分堯婆管甚的，你可怎生來參不透其中意？他使著僥倖心，咱受著醜賸氣。不爭俺倆硬相奪，使孩兒損骨傷肌。

(ZHANG HAITANG *speaks*:) I beseech you, Dad, hold your thunderlike anger, and stop your tiger- and wolf-like power. From the time I married Magante Ma and gave birth to this child, I bore him ten months in the womb and nursed him for three years. I swallowed the bitter to spit out the sweet for him, and don't know how much I've suffered over the years to care for him. The five years I've raised him were spent for his sake only. “When two people contest violently, anyone in the middle will be harmed.” This child is so young and small. If I were to wrench or break one of his arms, then you would beat me to death. So, I dared not use all of my force to drag him. I hope you will have pity of me. (*Sings*:)

(*Gua yugou*) How could a real and feeling mother do this?/(*Continues in speech*:) Dad, just try and see this:/(*Sings*:) The arms of this child are as thin as dried hemp stalks,/ She's a heartless old woman, what does she care?/ How come you cannot see through her wiles?/ She has plied her crafty mind,/ And I've suffered this filthy humiliation./ Don't let a contest of our two hard hearts/ Cause harm to this child's bones or tear his skin.

Haitang's touching monologue, stemming from the very roots of maternal affection, allows Judge Bao to understand who the real mother is without having to inflict any pain at all, and thereby to solve the case:

(包待制云) 律意雖遠，人情可推。古人有言：視其所以，觀其所由，察其所安，人焉廋哉！人焉廋哉！你看這一個灰欄，倒也包藏著十分利害。那婦人本意要圖

占馬均卿的家私，所以要強奪這孩兒，豈知其中真假，早已不辨自明瞭也。(詩云) 本為家私賴子孫，灰欄辨出假和真。外相溫柔心毒狠，親者原來則是親。

(JUDGE BAO speaks:) “The intent of the law may be distant, but the feelings of the person can be deduced.” The ancient one said, “Look at what a man does; observe the source of his action; investigate wherein he ceases – can a man hide his character? Can a man hide his character?” Observe how formidably this chalk circle holds all secrets within it. That woman’s original intent was to monopolize the family wealth of Ma Junqing, so she wanted to seize that child as her own. She never suspected that the truth and falsehood of it all would come clear by itself, with no help. (*Recites in verse:*)

She wanted to swindle her sons and grandsons out of their family fortune,/ But the chalk circle was able to bring out what was false and true./ Her outer appearance was mild and soft, her heart evil and venomous/ It was the real parent, all along, who was acting as the parent.

Thus the child is returned to its real mother, and both are entrusted to the protection of her brother Zhang Lin while all the guilty parties are punished in accordance to their degree of guilt. In this way, the rigged trial is clarified, the erroneous sentence rectified and the case resolved: justice is done.

#### *Narrative plot, sources and textual manipulations*

The last act allows us to analyse the figure of the two protagonists of this drama: Zhang Haitang and Judge Bao.

Haitang, heroine and main role (*zhengdan* 正旦) of the work, is the positive character who embodies the Confucian virtues in its entirety. She is a daughter steeped in filial devotion (*xiao* 孝), who at the death of the *pater familias* accepts to become second wife, therefore concubine, of a rich merchant, just to increase the fortune of her relatives. Although she comes from a family of scholars-functionaries (*shi* 士) – therefore of Confucian tradition (*ru* 儒) – she accepts her destiny for a question connected more with social duty than with personal will. Furthermore, the woman demonstrates her honesty also in the resolute trust she places in the institutions. She is not afraid of legal judgement because she is convinced that the court (*yamen* 衙門) – chaired by Confucian scholars – will be able to discern truth from falsehood, right from wrong, therefore will proclaim her ultimate innocence. However, Haitang confirms the high moral value of her character when she does not agree to implement the deliberately impious expedient devised by Judge Bao to discover the identity of the real mother, even if this means she will be tortured. Expressing her fear of hurting and causing physical pain to the child – a thought that doesn’t even come close to the Primary Wife, greedy as she is for wealth – Haitang proves to be Shoulang’s birth mother. From this point of view, the woman conforms perfectly to the positive maternal models reported in the first section

(*muyi* 母儀) of Liu Xiang's 劉向 (77-6 BC) didactic *Biographies of Exemplary Women* (*Lienü zhuan* 列女傳).<sup>7</sup>

Although Judge Bao is not the main role of the drama, but the secondary or assistant role (*chongmo* 沖末), he is the character who overturns the previous sentence with which Haitang was sentenced, and restores order. Like in other court cases,<sup>8</sup> the judge shows that he relies more on his own wit and sagacity, as well as personal sensitivity, than on the mere application of the law to solve the case.

The expedient devised by Judge Bao to clarify the quarrel between the two women is reminiscent, from many points of view, of that devised by King Solomon in the Old Testament account reported in the *First Book of Kings* (3: 16-28).

The account of the Holy Scriptures is more truculent than that of the Chinese libretto. After two women, two prostitutes, both give birth and one of the two babies dies involuntarily crushed by its mother, both women claim they had given birth to the one child remaining. Then the King of Israel decides: "(25) [...] Cut the living child in two, [...] and give half to one, half to the other."<sup>9</sup> The real mother cannot bear the thought that her child might be dismembered ("she felt acutely for her son"), and with these words addresses Solomon: "(26) [...] I beg you, my lord, [...] let them give her the live child; on no account let them kill him!" But the other said, "He shall belong to neither of us. Cut him in half!". The King of Israel understands that the words spoken by the first of the two women are those of the real mother, whose heart's torn at the thought of her dismembered son, and so he passes sentence: "(27) [...] Give the live child to the first woman", [...] and do not kill him. She is his mother." This psychological procedure, aimed at discovering the truth in a judicial matter through maternal love, made an enormous impression on the people who spoke of it as a very wise stratagem.

As can be seen, the narrative proposed in the Chinese drama presents a less bloody plot than that attested in the biblical account. Without resorting to the dismemberment of the child, the recognition of the real mother is filtered through the expedient of the chalk circle<sup>10</sup> from which both should try to deliver the child. This stratagem does not appear to be a literary and scenic invention by Li Xingdao, since it is found in previous sources in the Chinese tradition and elsewhere.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Anne Behnke Kinney, *Exemplary Women of Early China. The Lienü zhuan of Liu Xiang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014) 1-24.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, the plays *The Butterfly Dream* (*Hudie meng* 蝴蝶夢) and *The Execution of Lu Zhailang* (*Lu Zhailang* 魯齋郎), both by Guan Hanqing 關漢卿 (1220?-1307?) and similar to the genre of "procedural dramas" (*gong'an ju*).

<sup>9</sup> All quotes of the Holy Scriptures come from the site <https://www.catholic.org/bible/> (Holy Bible – Jerusalem Version). The numbers in brackets fit the verses of the text.

<sup>10</sup> The expression *huilan* 灰闌 is translated by "chalk circle", in which *lan* 闌 indicates a perimeter or a contour, without specifying its shape. However, the analysis of the woodcut image accompanying the libretto reported in YQX shows that it is a circle. Cf. Zang Maoxun 藏懋循, *Yuanqu xuan tu* 元曲選圖, (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 2013), 142.

The first reference, indeed, is in a Buddhist text, or in the *Mahosadha Jātaka*,<sup>11</sup> in which Mahosadha, the “Clever Sage”, decides to trigger a dispute between two women (a real woman and a Yakshini,<sup>12</sup> who has assumed human features) to prove their degree of maternal affection. The Yakshini takes the child away from the real mother and so a quarrel arises. The dispute can only be resolved by the future Buddha who draws a line on the ground and asks the two litigating parties to pull the child to the own sides. The Yakshini grabs the child’s arms wherein the woman grabs its legs. The latter obviously does not want to hurt her child, so does not pull. The future Buddha thus understands who the real mother is and gives it back to her. He also tells the Yakshini to show her true identity and chases her away with stern rebuke.<sup>13</sup>

It is not surprising to find Buddhist references in Yuan dynasty plays. Consider that the *Jātaka*, introduced from India for the proselytising work of Buddhist monks in China, were over time adapted, almost emptying them of their original content, and merged into the *bianwen* 變文 or “transformation texts”, religious or secular psalms composed by the alternation of prose parts in the vernacular language and sung arias. As is well known, this is the formal structure of classical Chinese theatre. In fact, it seems that, as various studies have already demonstrated, Indian theatre has influenced the formation of the Chinese one in terms of form but also of content.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The *Mahosadha Jātaka* is a section of the *Ummaga Jātaka*. The *Jātaka* or *Tale of the Buddha’s Former Births* are a Pāli language collection of 547 tales that narrate the previous lives of Shakyamuni, the founder of the Buddhist religion.

<sup>12</sup> The Yakshinis are a category of supernatural beings found in Hindu, Buddhist and Jain religious mythologies. They, and their male counterpart, the Yakshas, are one of the many nature spirits associated with India’s centuries-old sacred groves.

<sup>13</sup> For a English translation of the Indian tale, cf. V. Fausbøll (edited by), T. W. Rhys Davids (translated by), *Buddhist Birth-Stories; or, Jātaka Tales* (London: Trübner and Company, 1880), XIV-XVI. E. B. Cowell (edited by), E. B. Cowell and W. H. D. Rouse (translated by), *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha’s Former Births* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), vol. VI, 163. For an analysis of this tale, cf. Paul G. Brewster, “Solomon’s Judgment, Mahosadha, and the Hoi-kan-li”, *Folklore Studies* 21, (1962): 236-40. Some scholars have argued that this Indian tale originates from the biblical account: Hugh George Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916), 11-12. Other scholars, instead, have argued that both the biblical and Indian accounts derive from an Egyptian text of wise judgements: Moriz Winternitz, *Some Problems of Indian Literature* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1925), 74-75.

<sup>14</sup> Some scholars have argued that various elements of Indian theatre have penetrated into the Chinese one, where Buddhism and the cosmopolitanism of the Tang 唐 dynasty (618-907) played a fundamental role in establishing contact. The references between Indian and Chinese theatre can be found under various aspects: in the formal one, or in the facial expressions and gestures of the body. In the conventional one, as in the deliberately exaggerated make-up of the face. In the content, in the saving and edifying stories of many librettos inspired by the *bianwen*, as argued by Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958). Think for example of the Indian-inspired Buddhist drama *Mulian descends into hell to save his mother* (*Mulian jiu mu* 目連救母). Finally, the contamination oc-

The expedient of the child pulled by two litigating women is also found in an indigenous source of the Chinese tradition, or in a collection of the Song dynasty, in the fourth section of a work entitled *Wood of Ideas* (*Yilin* 意林), specifically in the thirty-first chapter (*juan* 卷) of *Comprehensive Meanings of Customs and Mores* (*Fengsu tong* 風俗通). This source tells about two women, wives of two brothers, who become pregnant in the same period. After a few months, however, the wife of the older brother suffers a miscarriage, so her husband hides her in the house so as not to reveal the loss of the unborn child. On the same night that the younger brother's wife gives birth, the newborn is kidnapped. The result is a dispute that has not yet found a solution after three years. At this point in the story, the figure of the Councilor-in-chief Huang Ba (chengxiang Huang Ba 丞相黃霸) is introduced, who solves the case with the same stratagem:

[...] 丞相黃霸，殿前令以兒去兩母各十步，叱兩婦，令爭取之。長婦抱持甚急，兒大啼。弟婦恐傷，放之。長婦色喜，弟婦愴然。霸曰：「此弟婦子也。」即劾長婦，果然伏罪。

[...] Councilor-in-chief Huang Ba emerged and took his seat in front of the hall and had soldiers hold the child. He then separated the two women by more than ten paces, and then yelled at the women, "You go and take him yourself." The wife of the elder gathered up the child in a very hurried way and the child began to cry out loudly. The wife of the younger was afraid of injuring or harming him, and consequently released him and turned him over. Yet her heart was clearly miserable and broken while the wife of the elder was overjoyed. [Huang] Ba said: "This is the son of the younger brother's wife." Only after he interrogated the senior wife did she confess to [the theft of the child].<sup>15</sup>

Like in the biblical account, this source too regards two children, one of whom, due to different circumstances (crushing or abortion), is missing, and this leads to the consequent kidnapping of the live newborn. Instead, unlike the plot reported in the *Jātaka* tale, the stratagem devised by Huang Ba does not imply that a line be drawn on the ground over which to pull the child, but simply the two women are separated at a distance of "ten paces" (*shipu* 十步).

Four narratives are, therefore, attested which, while showing some variations between them, especially for the cultural background, present a very similar plot. Through the quarrel between the two women, the narrative scheme wants to emphasise the wisdom of King Solomon, the enlightened conscience of the future

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curred on a stylistic level, that is, in the alternation of sung and declaimed parts and even in the metrics and prosody of the verses, as argued by Xu Dishan 許地山 (1894-1941). On this topic, cf. William Dolby, "Early Chinese Plays and Theater", in *Chinese Theater: From Its Origins to the Present Day*, ed. Colin Mackerras (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 7-31; 15-18. Jacques Pimpaneau, *Chine: L'opéra classique. Promenade au jardin des poiriers* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014), 36-39.

<sup>15</sup> The analysis was conducted on the text reported on the site <https://ctext.org/all-texts/zh?filter=423698> (中國哲學書電子化計劃). The translation of the analysed quote is taken, with some modifications, from: West, Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers and Immortals*, 238.



Buddha and the sagacity of the Councilor-in-chief Huang Ba first and then of Judge Bao.

On the basis of these considerations, it is possible to suppose, but not to prove, that Li Xingdao, composing the drama *The Record of the Chalk Circle*, was inspired by the figure of Huang Ba – on which we have few sources – to end the plot. At the same time, it is possible to suppose that he also has referred to the story contained in the *Jātaka* tale regarding the expedient of the chalk circle drawn on the ground.<sup>16</sup>

Reasoning in the light of the dichotomy “Western culture” and “Eastern culture”,<sup>17</sup> it is interesting to reflect on the different philosophical and religious assumptions in which the verdicts pronounced by King Solomon and Judge Bao result strikingly similar. Through these verdicts, the reader and the audience learn not only about the wisdom of the two characters called in to settle the dispute, but also of their high moral value. Indeed, the biblical account ends with this verse:

“(28) All Israel came to hear of the judgement which the king had pronounced and held the king in awe, recognising that he possessed divine wisdom for dispensing justice.”

The quote shows that the wisdom with which Solomon acts is divine, that it is God himself who manifested, through the king’s judgement, the sense of justice towards the people of Israel. In fact, Solomon’s true moral fortitude is discernment, which he asked of God through the gift of wisdom. He, indeed, believes this natural virtue is necessary to govern. Not surprisingly, in the *First Book of Kings* (5: 10-14) it is reported that:

(10) The wisdom of Solomon surpassed the wisdom of all the sons of the East and all the wisdom of Egypt. [...] (14) Men from all nations came to hear Solomon’s wisdom, and he received gifts from all the kings in the world, who had heard of his wisdom.

This made him a *Zaddik*,<sup>18</sup> an honorary title conferred in the Jewish and biblical cultural world to those who are considered righteous and upright. Very distant from the idea of applying the law, in the juridical sense, the restored order and the

<sup>16</sup> While the purpose of this paper is not to identify possible external or foreign sources, it can, however, be deduced that the Chinese drama underwent no direct contamination with the Old Testament account.

<sup>17</sup> Considering the study proposed by Sun Longji 孙隆基 (1945), it is possible to analyse the drama through the dichotomy of the categories of “shame” and “guilt”. According to the Chinese anthropologist, in fact, China has a culture based on the concept of shame (*chigan wenhua* 耻感文化), given above all by Confucian thought. On the contrary, Western culture is based on the concept of guilt (*zuigan wenhua* 罪感文化). This is mainly due to Greek philosophy and Judeo-Christian religiosity. Cf. Sun Longji, *Zhongguo wenhua de shengceng jiegou* 中国文化的深层结构, (Guilin: Guangxi Shifan Daxue chubanshe, 2011[1983]).

<sup>18</sup> On the concept of *Zaddik*, cf. Immanuel Etkes, “The Zaddik: The Interrelationship between Religious Doctrine and Social Organization”, in *Hasidism Reappraised*, ed. Ada Rapoport-Albert (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), 159-67.

system of justice used by King Solomon have their roots in religious belief, in the highest sense of the term.

The verdict issued by Judge Bao, instead, adheres perfectly to Confucian morality. Not surprisingly, in his judgement, hiding it behind the expression “The ancient one said” (*guren youyan* 古人有言), he faithfully reports the quote II.10 from *The Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語) of Confucius.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, at the end of his verdict, Judge Bao, referring to Haitang, states: “She was the real parent, all along, who was acting as the parent.” (*qin zhe yuan lai ze shi qin* 親者原來則是親) This judgement seems to be a reference to Confucius’s theory of the “rectification of names” (*zhengming* 正名). According to this theory, the Master invited to adapt the names to the reality they are called to designate, so that each one behaves according to the role that it represents (*The Analects*, XII.11).<sup>20</sup> Only Haitang, who agrees to be tortured rather than her son’s body torn apart, can be the real mother.

Judge Bao, who acts not only with wit and sagacity (very similar to the wisdom of King Solomon), but also with a sense of righteousness (*yi* 義), another Confucian virtue, therefore applies the law relying more on the natural component inherent in itself than on the legal one. All this earned him the fame of the most representative upright “pure official” (*qingguan* 清官),<sup>21</sup> of Chinese popular literature, a concept very similar to the *Zaddik* mentioned above. Obviously, this does not imply that he does not refer to actions based on the application of the criminal law. This can be deduced from the severe penalties that he inflicts on the various guilty parties: from beatings and exile to death sentences.

Judge Bao’s way of passing judgement and issuing the verdicts is reminiscent of a quote of *The Analects* in which Confucius argues about the sovereign who rules by relying on *de* 德, the intrinsic moral virtue or the natural charisma, rather than on *fa* 法 or *zheng* 政, the written law, the criminal code to which, instead, the supporters of the Legalism or School of Law (*fajia* 法家) appealed:

子曰：道之以政，齊之以刑，民免而無恥。道之以德，齊之以禮，有恥且格。

The Master said, “If you guide the people with ordinances and statutes and keep them in line with [threats of] punishment, they will try to stay out of trouble but will have no sense of shame. If you guide them with exemplary virtue and keep them in line with the practice of the rites, they will have a sense of shame and will know how to reform themselves.” (II.3)<sup>22</sup>

In this quote, Confucius argues about the art of good governance. *Mutatis mutandis*, the proposed theory is also applicable to the way in which Judge Bao issues the verdict and restores order. As in the biblical account, in which the people of

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Confucius, *The Analects* ed. by Annping Chin (New York: Penguin Books, 2014), 16-17.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Confucius, *The Analects*, 186-87.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Idema, *Judge Bao and the Rule of Law*, X.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Confucius, *The Analects*, 13. For the reference to the concept of shame, see n. 17.

Israel could see the justice of God made manifest through the judgement of wise King Solomon, so too could the Chinese spectator of the Yuan drama believe in the sense of justice proposed by the imperial court, of Confucian origin,<sup>23</sup> which acted through the wisdom of Judge Bao.

In might of these considerations, it seems that the narrative model proposed in Li Xingdao's drama is reflected in sources ascribable to Confucian morality. The narrative architecture of the libretto, indeed, appears to be a re-write, an example of textual manipulation, rather than a mere translation and metatextual practice. The analysis of the sources, therefore, has sought to demonstrate how some literary *topoi* and narrative structures seem to be similar in very distant cultural systems. Though based on different philosophical and religious premises, they reach rather similar conclusions where, however, it is possible to see overriding values more pertinently definable, perhaps, as "universal".

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<sup>23</sup> It should be remembered that the success of the *zaju* plays, of a popular nature, is also explained as a veiled act of denunciation against the current political system. The Mongol rulers, of "barbarian" nationality, in fact, held the highest degrees of power. Li Xingdao's work, as mentioned above, is set in the Song dynasty, in the period of revival and renewal of Confucian thought: the so-called Neo-Confucianism, set aside during the Yuan dynasty. Affirming Confucian values on the scene therefore had a very strong ideological value of social denunciation. On this topic, cf. Richard F. S. Yang, "The Social Background of the Yüan Drama", *Monumenta Serica* 17, (1958): 331-52.

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RENATA VINCI

A NEW EXTRAORDINARY DREAM:  
A STUDY OF LATE-QING FOREIGN FICTION TRANSLATIONS  
FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF TITOLOGY

*Introduction: Problems on the identification of late-Qing translations*

During the late-Qing era, a thriving transcultural activity across China and the West composed by a mosaic of imported scientific knowledge, traditional ideas and innovative literature produced a new social space. For those engaged in research on the said space, it is not easy (perhaps, nor significant to its investigation) to set borders that distinguish foreign from indigenous, Western from Chinese, or external from local, being that a global interaction determined the formation of a burgeoning cultural environment in which different theories and forms of appreciation and critique contributed to the developed sense of modernity in the literary landscape.

In particular, scholars gradually generated awareness of the effect of fiction and its place within social context. This path was inaugurated in 1897 by Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854–1921) and Xia Zengyou 夏曾佑 (1863–1924), who believed that fiction could preserve memory of heroic and romantic deeds and thus lead readers to better moral conduct.<sup>1</sup> The following year, Kang Youwei's 康有為 (1858–1927) thought expanded this belief on the basis of fiction's wide popularity and its ability to reach a multitude of recipients.<sup>2</sup> This also contributed to Liang Qichao's 梁啟超 (1873–1929) fiction theory contained in his famous essay *Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi* 論小說與群治之關係 (On the Relation between Fiction and Social Order) of 1902, in which he asserted that “to transform people of a country, the only way was to transform the country's fiction”.<sup>3</sup> To him, popular Chinese fiction had

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<sup>1</sup> Their article titled “Ben guan fuyin shuobu yuanqi” 本館附印說部緣起 (Why Our Newspaper Will Print a Fiction Supplement) was serialised from October 16 to November 18, 1897 in *Guowen bao* 國聞報.

<sup>2</sup> Kang Youwei 康有為, “*Riben shumu zhi shiyu*” 《日本書目誌》識語 (Preface to *A Bibliography of Japanese Books*), reprinted in Chen Pingyuan 陳平原 and Xia Xiaohong 夏曉虹, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo xiaoshuo lilun ziliao* 二十世紀中國小說理論資料 (Materials on Twentieth-century Chinese Popular Fiction Theory), vol. 1, (Beijing: Beijing Daxue chubanshe, 1989), 13–14.

<sup>3</sup> Liang Qichao 梁啟超, “*Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi*” 論小說與群治之關係 (On the Relation between Fiction and Social Order), *Xin xiaoshuo* 新小說, no. 1 (November 14, 1902): 1–8.

always exerted a strong influence on the masses. Rather, though, it was not for the public's benefit, as it popularised violence and sex. Instead, Liang wanted fiction in his country to develop as it did in the West, where novelists were not just venal scribblers producing low quality novels for the sake of profit. They were instead respectable men of letters whose novels encompassed social and political issues, and therefore were able to influence and improve society.

However, a few decades earlier, there was already proof of a pioneering acknowledgment of the prestige of fiction in the West and a desire for a similar outcome in China. This came in the form of a 1873 advertisement in *Shenbao* of the freshly translated *Xinxi xiantan* 昕夕閒談 (Idle Talk Morning to Evening), a Chinese serialisation of Edward Bulwer Lytton's novel *Night and Morning* that appeared in its literary supplement *Yinghuan suoji* 瀛環瑣記 (Jade Splinters from the Universe):

According to Westerners, their novels are to both delight and cultivate the spirit, as well as to warn and regulate social behaviour. Now [as you have a chance to] read it, [you] can find out whether what they say is right or not. However, until now no Chinese has seen an English novel, or heard of it.<sup>4</sup>

*Shenbao's* engagement with literature actually began one year earlier, when its first fiction column was inaugurated with three translated short stories: *Tan ying xiaolu* 談瀛小錄 (A Voyage to Lilliput from Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*), *Yi shui qishi nian* 一睡七十年 (*Rip Van Winkle* from Washington Irving's *The Sketchbook of Geoffrey Crayon*), and *Naisuguo qiwen* 乃蘇國奇聞 (*Story of the Greek Slave* from Frederick Marryat's *The Pacha of Many Tales*). This launch was the first step towards a wider inclusion of literary content that would later become a major feature of Chinese periodical publications from the 1900's. Despite this early ground-breaking initiative, times were perhaps too premature for a smooth reception of leisure readings that were so unusual in regards to topic and narrative structure, thus *Shenbaoguan* decided to shift instead to reprinting Chinese classics. Fiction columns were reintroduced only in 1907, when they had then become popular sections in many competitor magazines.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> "Xin yi Yingguo xiaoshuo" 新譯英國小說 (A Newly Translated British Novel), *Shenbao* 申報, no. 214 (January 4, 1873): 1, translated in Catherine Vance Yeh, "Recasting the Chinese Novel: Ernest Major's *Shenbao* Publishing House (1872–1890)," *Transcultural Studies*, no. 1 (2015): 209–10.

<sup>5</sup> There might have been more than one reason for this suspension. To Chen Dakang, at that time *Shenbao* was still a small publication and translated literature resulted in not being as advantageous as news columns or advertisements. Chen Dakang 陈大康, "Dapo jiu pingheng de chushi huanjie: Lun Shenbaoguan zai jindai xiaoshuoshi shang de diwei" 打破旧平衡的初始环节——论申报馆在近代小说史上的地位 (The First Link in Smashing the Old Equilibrium: On the Position of the *Shenbaoguan* in the History of the Modern Novel), *Wenxue yichan* 文学遗产, vol. 2 (2009): 118. However, as early as the 1870s, not only were average Chinese newspaper readers not ready to appreciate the works of literature that did not match their traditional taste as for style and



Nevertheless, *Shenbao* fiction represents a rich basin for research on the emergence of modern fiction in the late-Qing era. In 1998, Tarumoto Teruo enlarged A Ying's *Wan Qing xiaoshuo mu* 晚清小說目 (Catalogue of Late Qing Fiction) corpus and identified 2,304 fiction titles published between 1840 and 1911, which he divided into 1,288 original and 1,016 translated pieces. In the same time frame, *Shenbao* alone published 235 fiction works (novels and short stories with more than 2,000 instalments), which equals roughly a tenth of Tarumoto's total.<sup>6</sup>

Tarumoto affirmed that until 1911, translations accounted for 44% of overall published literature.<sup>7</sup> However, he also admitted that for most translations, sources are still unclear, as only 70% of the 2,504 titles translated between 1840 and 1920 mentioned the original author's nationality. If we take into account *Shenbao*'s fiction corpus of 235 fiction works from 1872 to 1911, only 27 of these works are tagged with the character *yi* 譯 (translation), meaning that only 11.49% of them were openly proposed as non-original. Unfortunately, this number is far from realistic, as the undergoing research has brought to light a significant lacuna of submerge translated fiction. In other words, among the remaining 208 titles, a meaningful portion are "unmarked translations" (without *yi* label, nor original author or title). This lacuna can only be filled through time-intensive investigative work based primarily on plot analysis. However, it represents an important phenomenon that could allow the opening of unprecedented perspectives on early translation practices.

Before continuing, it is crucial for the sake of this article to define more precise terminology to address the object of this study, as what we refer to as "translations" were actually hybrid productions in which external stimuli and indigenous features coexisted due to the strongly assimilating techniques shared by late-Qing early fiction translators. In search for a better word, we cannot even refer to "adaptation", as it would require explicit reference to the work being adapted and preferably involve readers' remembrance of the original piece.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, I hereby propose to address this peculiar form of cultural relocation of foreign literature as "creative rewritings", as the undergoing investigation has shown a wide intervention on textual content, literary form and length. Nevertheless, any reference to "translations" throughout this article is purely for sake of brevity and clarity.

In a deeper text analysis, the strong intertextual relation established by creative rewritings with both the source text and the literary heritage of the receiving

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content, but it was even more difficult to find valuable translators and source texts to grant daily publication.

<sup>6</sup> Tarumoto Teruo, "A Statistical Survey of Translated Fiction 1840–1920," in *Translation and Creation: Readings of Western Literature in Early Modern China, 1840–1918*, ed. David E. Pollard (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1998), 39–40.

<sup>7</sup> According to A Ying, it was instead 58%. A Ying 阿英, *Wan Qing xiaoshuo shi* 晚清小说史 (History of Late Qing Fiction) (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1996), 274.

<sup>8</sup> Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (London-New York, Routledge, 2006), 6, 120–21.

culture appears evident. However, for the purpose of this study, this preliminary step of a wider investigation focuses on paratexts rather than strictly texts. In particular, on a specific paratext with whom readers (and scholars) interact first: title.

To Claude Duchet, a title is a “metonymy or metaphor of the text, depending on whether it updates an element of the diegesis or presents a symbolic equivalent of the novel, it is meaning in suspense”.<sup>9</sup> Its relations with the whole text and its relevance for the reception of a literary work have been the object of a discipline known as “titology”. Seemingly, the different modes in which editors and translators deal with titles were addressed by a specific branch of translation studies.

By taking the *Shenbao* fiction corpus as main source of reference,<sup>10</sup> this article provides an overview of the phenomena of the early introduction of foreign literature in late-Qing China. Specifically, the article points out the way editors and translators dealt with fiction titles, and the strategies they adopted to foster readers’ reception and acceptance of foreign literature. To identify and analyse translated titles, classifications and terminology proposed by scholars of titology and translation studies will be adopted to shed light on the reasons and strategies behind the translation choices undertaken by *Shenbao* in the early stage of the development of awareness towards the social utility of fiction.

### *Title functions and translation strategies in the Shenbao fiction column*

To Gérard Genette, paratext is “what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers”.<sup>11</sup> To him, paratexts are “thresholds” for readers to cross and choose whether to read a book or not. Among those many thresholds,

<sup>9</sup> Claude Duchet, “«La fille abandonnée» et «La bête humaine»: éléments de titrologie romanesque,” *Littérature*, no. 12 (1973): 52.

<sup>10</sup> The most complete index of *Shenbao* fiction is Chen Dakang 陈大康, *Zhongguo jindai xiaoshuo shiliao - «Shenbao» xiaoshuo shiliao biannian* 中国近代小说史料——《申报》小说史料编年 (Historical Reference Materials on the Modern Chinese Novel - Chronology of Historical Materials on the Novel from the *Shenbao*), which is a digital excerpt provided to the online edition of *Wenxue yichan* 文学遗产 of his larger work *Zhongguo jindai xiaoshuo biannian shi* 中国近代小说编年史 (A Chronological History of the Modern Chinese Novel) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2014). Furthermore, Liu Yongwen 刘永文, *Wanqing xiaoshuo shumu* 晚清小说书目 (An Index of Late-Qing Novels) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 112–25 and Yang Kai 杨凯, “Zhongguo jindai baokan zhong de fanyi xiaoshuo yanjiu 中国近代报刊中的翻译小说研究” (Review of the Translated Novels Published in Modern Chinese Newspapers and Magazines) (PhD diss., East China Normal University, 2006), 125–7, both contain a section dedicated to *Shenbao*. However, neither of them attempt to address the problem of unmarked translations or translation sources, therefore I am currently working on building an ad hoc digital index by supplementing the above indexes with a direct consultation of *Shenbao* digital and microfilm reproductions.

<sup>11</sup> Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.

which also include dedications, epigraphs, editorial information, prefaces and so on, title is perhaps the most symbolic complement to a literary text.

The study of book titles began in 1954 with Maurice Hélin's lecture *Les livres et leur titres* at University of Liège,<sup>12</sup> which set a starting point for the development of a discipline that is mostly known by its French name *titrologie*. Fundamental thoughts also include Claude Duchet, Charles Grivel and Leo H. Hoek's studies of 1973,<sup>13</sup> which all detect three main functions of book titles: to name a work of literature and differentiate it from others (naming, appellative or distinctive function), to describe its content (designative or informative function) and to attract readers' interest (advertising function). These three main functions work together with a series of secondary functions (Christiane Nord calls them optional or specific),<sup>14</sup> which titles may or may not perform. For example, titles may hold an anticipatory or a dramatic function, briefly mentioned by Malingret;<sup>15</sup> or they may hold Nord's expressive function when they convey evaluations or emotions usually by means of diminutives, superlatives, or through the use of first person to express feelings or personal involvement (e.g. Queneau's *Pierrot mon petit* or De Beauvoir's *Mémoires d'une fille rangée*).<sup>16</sup> Besides, titles may also chase a poetic effect by means of alliteration or euphony, as in Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* or *Sense and Sensibility*.<sup>17</sup>

Additionally, with respect to their form, components and historical evolution, we might observe a large variety of title classifications. For the purpose of this study, we will assume the main binary classification adopted by Jiří Levý in 1963, which distinguished descriptive from symbolic titles. The former are merely informative and contain a description of the content. Likewise, they often name protagonist and occasionally literary form, as in *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*, *Poema del Cid* or *Anna Karenina*. Such titles historically belong to an older variety, as at some point publications began to favour symbolic titles, which are instead concise and figurative transpositions of the work's theme, subjects or atmosphere.

<sup>12</sup> Maurice Hélin, *Les Livres et leurs titres* (Liège: DUP, 1957).

<sup>13</sup> Duchet, "«La fille abandonnée»"; Charles Grivel, *Production de l'intérêt romanesque. Volume complémentaire* (Hoofddorp-Amstelveen: Hoekstra, 1973); Leo H. Hoek, *Pour une sémiotique du titre* (Urbino: Centro Internazionale di Semiotica e di Linguistica, Università di Urbino, 1973).

<sup>14</sup> The German scholar addresses this topic in three main studies: Christiane Nord, "Funcionalismo y lealtad: algunas consideraciones en torno a la traducción de títulos," in *II Encuentros Complutenses en torno a la traducción*, ed. Margit Raders and Juan Conesa (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1990), 153–62; Christiane Nord, "Translation as a Process of Linguistic and Cultural Adaptation," in *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 2. Insights, Aims, Visions*, ed. Cay Dollerup and Anne Lindgaard (Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1994), 59–67; Christiane Nord, "Text-Functions in Translation: Titles and Headings as a Case Point," *Target* 7, no. 2 (1995): 261–84.

<sup>15</sup> Laurence Malingret, "Les titre en traduction," in *Les chemins du texte*, ed. Teresa García-Sabell et al. (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1998), 397.

<sup>16</sup> Nord, "Text-Functions in Translation," 276–77.

<sup>17</sup> Maurizio Viezzi, "The Translation of Book Titles. Theoretical and Practical Aspects," in *Beyond Borders - Translation Moving Languages, Literatures and Cultures*, ed. Pekka Kujamäki et al. (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011), 187.

This kind generally avoids any sort of direct description, such as in *Pride and Prejudice* or *Utopia*. Being more similar to an aphorism or a maxim for their ability to design a unique and symbolic image, these titles are easy to remember and therefore better fit capitalism and the need to advertise literature as a commodity to be sold and consumed.<sup>18</sup>

Like other components of a literary work, the form of the title is also culture-specific, building on the fact that its formal regulating principles depend on a specific set of linguistic material and formal conventions.<sup>19</sup> Due to all of these subtle balances, translating a book title is an extremely delicate task, which is even more true for those milestones of world literature that are able to enrich the linguistic repertoire of the recipient culture with new connotations. Therefore, in regards to the study of book titles, there is a necessary branch of translation studies focused on choices, strategies, efficacies and failures related to the translation of this peculiar paratext.

In the past as well as presently, it is common for publishers to interfere in the wording of titles,<sup>20</sup> and even more so with their translation. As for late-Qing China and *Shenbao* printing activities in particular, we already mentioned the adoption of domesticating techniques to fit the needs, interests and customs of the local audience. This audience was generally pleased by means of strategic rewritings, omissions, insertion of paratexts and intertextual comments. As stated earlier in this article, this also meant a direct intervention on original titles, which were rarely preserved, especially when they were symbolic, as they were not a transparent option that could grant readership's acceptance and avoid any sort of discomfort or rejection. Consequently, *Shenbao*-translated titles mostly belonged to the descriptive kind, with content of the story explicitly presented without any sort of metaphor, symbolism or imaginative device. This sometimes also coincided with eliminating any kind of estranging alien words, especially proper names and toponyms, in favour of a more exemplifying element of the plot. This was the case with *Yi bang rou* 一磅肉 (A Pound of Flesh) coined as a translation of Shakespeare's play *The Merchant of Venice* (transposed into short story form),<sup>21</sup> and *Yi shui qishi nian* 一睡七十年 (Asleep for Seventy Years), a translation of Irving's *Rip Van Winkle*.<sup>22</sup> Sometimes editors went even further in their descriptive intent, by juxtaposing the literary form according to the indigenous literary canon, as in *Tan ying xiaolu* 談瀛小錄 (Notes on Countries Overseas), the Chinese title chosen for Jonathan Swift's tale

<sup>18</sup> Jiří Levý, *The Art of Translation* (Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1983), 122–23

<sup>19</sup> Levý, *The Art of Translation*, 123.

<sup>20</sup> Levý, *The Art of Translation*, 126.

<sup>21</sup> “Yi bang rou” 一磅肉 (A Pound of Flesh), *Shenbao* 申報, January 13 to 17, 1872.

<sup>22</sup> Originally, the protagonist slept only for twenty years. “Yi shui qishi nian” 一睡七十年 (Asleep for Seventy Years), *Shenbao* 申報, May 28, 1872.

A *Voyage to Lilliput* from *Gulliver's Travels*,<sup>23</sup> or *Beijing Bali jian jingche riji* 北京巴黎間競車日記 (Diary of the Beijing-Paris Car Race), the translation of *Le raid Pékin-Paris: 4000 lieues en automobile* by Georges Cormier.<sup>24</sup> This was likely an attempt to build a tie with the local cultural background and literary production in order to make imported literature sound more recognisable, while legitimising a work of fiction that was still considered of less value compared to essays or poetry.

In general, on a scale from a faithful adherence to the source title towards more culture-specific outputs, except for Cormier's diary which can be described as a case of near-literal translation,<sup>25</sup> the majority of *Shenbao* titles opted for liberal or free translation.<sup>26</sup> As mentioned earlier, late-Qing translations were defined as strongly assimilating and more comparable to rewriting than to translations or adaptations. This is true in particular for *Shenbao* early translations from the 1870s, which according to Patrick Hanan sometimes even made Lin Shu's translations sound preservationist.<sup>27</sup>

Domestication was performed on titles by massively making use of free translation to introduce a selection of some of the most representative and modern Western works of that time. This was possible by accomplishing a series of specific title functions strictly interrelated with literary consumption patterns. As a matter of fact, next to a title's ability to name and inform (explicitly or symbolically), it can also perform what is known as advertising function (also called appellative, commercial or seductive). As we know, to tell a story or convey a message, there must be a recipient. Therefore, titles also serve to attract readers' and incite them to read (but also buy) a book. This was even more true for newspapers and magazines, which not only received most of their income from readers' curiosity towards news and editorials, but at some point also started to rely on their growing fascination for leisure reading.

When concerning fiction genres and topics, *Shenbao* followed the trends that were most appreciated by local readers. Fantasy and extraordinary stories (*xinqi* 新奇) were part of the assortment, as long as they were treated as realistic writing and involved contemporary issues (*jishi* 紀實).<sup>28</sup> Such attraction for out-of-this-

<sup>23</sup> "Tan ying xiaolu" 談瀛小錄 (Notes on Countries Overseas), *Shenbao* 申報, May 18 to 21, 1872.

<sup>24</sup> This is included in the corpus because it was originally inserted in the *xiaoshuo* section. "Beijing Bali jian jingche riji" 北京巴黎間競車日記 (Diary of the Beijing-Paris Car Race), *Shenbao* 申報, December 7, 1908, to January 1, 1909.

<sup>25</sup> It is to say word by word. Michael S. Doyle, "Contemporary Spanish and Spanish American Fiction in English: Tropes of Fidelity in the Creation of Translation Titles," *Translation Review*, no. 31 (1989): 41–43. Others refer to this technique as "literal translation" as opposed to "non-translation", which is what Doyle calls instead "literal translation". Anyways, this last option is not possible for Western titles translated into Chinese. Malingret, "Les titre en traduction," 400–45.

<sup>26</sup> This is again Doyle's terminology, while Malingret uses the word "adaptation".

<sup>27</sup> Patrick Hanan, *Chinese Fiction of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: Essays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 110–11.

<sup>28</sup> Vance Yeh, "Recasting the Chinese Novel," 200, 231–32.

world experiences is confirmed by the use of recurring keywords in titles, such as *qi* 奇 (extraordinary) and *meng* 夢 (dream), which reflect a set of extravagant topics from fantasy literature that were strongly appreciated by readers of that time. This is the case of *Naisuguo qiwen* 乃蘇國奇聞 (A Strange Tale of the Country of Naisu),<sup>29</sup> a translation of Frederick Marryat's *Story of the Greek Slave* from *The Patcha of Many Tales*, of *Xin diemeng si mu* 新蝶夢四幕 (New Dream of a Butterfly in Four Acts),<sup>30</sup> a synopsis of Marie Corelli's novel *Vendetta! or The Story of One Forgotten*, and of *Huanbang qiyu lu* 幻邦奇遇錄 (Records of the Fortuitous Discovery of the Enchanted City), which condensed two short stories from the popular detective series of Nick Carter, *The Index of Seven Stars or Nick Carter Finds the Hidden City* and *An Amazonian Queen or Nick Carter Becomes a Gladiator*.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, often the attribute *xin* 新 (new) was added to present literature and lure newspaper readers into innovative fiction. Being presented as “new” allowed the media to describe Western works as a prolongation of the indigenous literary tradition while performing a gradual transformation of the Chinese literary landscape, both in terms of production and reception. This was one of the main strategies that *Shenbao* shared with other authors and translators of late-Imperial time, which belongs to the practices of imitations and sequels. This time, however, it was with the precise intent to attract readers into appraising foreign fiction and thus legitimating works that originated from a different cultural system by proposing them as alternative, but consistent, versions of Chinese classics or traditional fiction. An example of this strategy is Corelli's *Vendetta!*, whose translation contains an explicit reference to the popular story of Zhuangzi and his wife, made famous also thanks to the Beijing opera *Hudie meng* 蝴蝶夢 (The Butterfly Dream) or *Da piguan* 大劈棺 (Break Open the Coffin). Likewise, Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (again transposed into a serialised short story) became *Xin qingshi* 新情史 (A New Love Story),<sup>32</sup> which was more than likely intended as an alternative version of Feng Menglong's *Qingshi leilue* 情史類略. Additionally, *Lama xiyou ji* 喇嘛西遊記 (A Lama's Journey to the West),<sup>33</sup> the Chinese title for Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*, also suggests an association with Wu Cheng'en's 吳承恩 novel without need to resort to the idea of newness. Moreover, an alternative use of *xin* is performed

<sup>29</sup> “Naisuguo qiwen” 乃蘇國奇聞 (A Strange Tale of the Country of Naisu), *Shenbao* 申報, June, 6 to 15, 1872.

<sup>30</sup> “Xin diemeng si mu” 新蝶夢四幕 (New Dream of a Butterfly in Four Acts), *Shenbao* 申報, May 13, 1908.

<sup>31</sup> The character of detective Nick Carter was first conceived by John R. Coryell (1848–1924) in 1886, but it later became the protagonist of a huge number of novels and short stories (even movies) published under pseudonyms by several different authors. The two short stories by the author Meiguo Qigelin 美國企格林 (Chickering Carter, pseudonym of Frederick Van Rensselaer Dey) published by *Shenbao* originally appeared respectively on *New Nick Carter Weekly* no. 529 and 530 (February 16 and 23, 1907).

<sup>32</sup> “Xin qingshi” 新情史 (A New Love Story), *Shenbao* 申報, January 1 to 5, 1910.

<sup>33</sup> “Lama xiyou ji” 喇嘛西遊記 (A Lama's Journey to the West), *Shenbao* 申報, October 23 to 24, 1909.



in *Xin lixiangguo* 新理想國 (The New Ideal Nation),<sup>34</sup> translation of Thomas More's *Utopia*, where perhaps we might identify the attempt to trace the utopian novel's link with the ancient version of Plato's *The Republic*, as was the original author's intention. Such strategy in the choice of titles translation can be related to what Hoek first addressed as "intertitularité" (intertextual or intertitular function), or a dialogic relation between the title of a text with another (consider Joyce's *Ulysses*). These titles are intended as "differentiated imitation",<sup>35</sup> aimed at making a work immediately recognisable by linking it to a prestigious antecessor.

While most *Shenbao* translated titles reflect a domesticating strategy, some rare cases of foreignisation approach may be noted. Validation of this choice might be found in the key role of translations in establishing a new literary tradition that gradually gained authority and recognition. This strategy generally contrasts with what Levý described as a common "reluctance to keep unknown foreign names in titles [that] sometimes leads the translator to adopt more expressive titles"<sup>36</sup> that we largely observed in the *Shenbao* when it came to titles containing foreign proper names (*Rip Van Winkle*, *Kim*) or toponyms that were either real (*The Merchant of Venice*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*) or fictional (*A Voyage to Lilliput*, *Utopia*). Nevertheless, one might observe that, in some circumstances, assimilating techniques might have inefficiently inconsistent results that generated confusion. Thus, translators (or editors) opted for descriptive titles that, even though they were not exactly reflecting the originals, inserted some alien elements that adhered somehow to an acknowledged tradition.<sup>37</sup> This is the case for two of Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes short stories, which are translated as *Sha fu qi yuan. Huasheng biji* 殺婦奇冤——華生筆記 (The Strange Case of the Murder of a Woman. A Diary by Watson),<sup>38</sup> and *San pu Aimusheng ju'an. Fuermosi zaisheng hou zhi tan'an xuchu* 三捕愛姆生巨案——福爾摩斯再生後之探案續出 (The Sensational Case of the Three Arrests of Emerson. The Return of Sherlock Holmes).<sup>39</sup> Although these are clearly denotative titles that explicitly show the main elements of the plot,<sup>40</sup> it appears unconventional to maintain a reference to the names of the protagonists Watson (Huasheng 華生) and Sherlock Holmes (Fuermosi 福爾摩斯) in their subtitles. As a matter of fact, since its first appearance in China in 1899 with the adaptation of *The Memoirs*

<sup>34</sup> "Xin lixiangguo" 新理想國 (The New Ideal Nation), *Shenbao* 申報, March 11 to April 13, 1908.

<sup>35</sup> Leo H. Hoek, *La marque du titre: Dispositifs sémiotiques d'une pratique textuelle* (La Haye-Paris-New York: Mouton, 1981), 299.

<sup>36</sup> Levý, *The Art of Translation*, 123.

<sup>37</sup> Levý, *The Art of Translation*, 124.

<sup>38</sup> "Sha fu qi yuan. Huasheng biji" 殺婦奇冤——華生筆記 (The Strange Case of the Murder of a Woman. A Diary by Watson), *Shenbao* 申報, April 10 to June 28, 1907.

<sup>39</sup> *San pu Aimusheng ju'an. Fuermosi zaisheng hou zhi tan'an xuchu* 三捕愛姆生巨案——福爾摩斯再生後之探案續出 (The Sensational Case of the Three Arrests of Emerson. The Return of Sherlock Holmes), *Shenbao* 申報, May 1 to June 21, 1908.

<sup>40</sup> At the moment of writing this article, it was still not possible to identify which tales of the vast Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes production served as original sources of the two translations.

of *Sherlock Holmes* (which had just been republished in 1906 by Shangwu Publishing House),<sup>41</sup> the British investigative saga was already abundantly familiar to local readership, as it had acquired prestige as a famous foreign literary work. Therefore, these translations represented a valid compromise to both assure a thorough comprehension of the story's content and theme to new readers, and guarantee that the prestige of the narrative series was fully recognisable to more accustomed readers.

By maintaining a direct connection to a foreign (although already familiar) literary tradition, this translation put into practice an enriching form of intertextuality, which gradually contributed to enlarging the cultural baggage of the local readership. These intertextual "allusive titles",<sup>42</sup> as with all titles, "form part of the text corpus of a culture community with which they are linked by intertextual relations: they quote other texts (and titles), and are quoted in turn".<sup>43</sup> Translated *Shenbao* titles managed to amplify this cultural community across the borders of national literature and extend the limit of intertextuality in order to eventually contribute to a global community that shares a common literary knowledge.

### *Conclusions: Titles as a threshold between preservation and innovation*

Throughout the history of book printing, titles have had the power to influence how literary works are received and, in a global literary framework, led editors and translators to adopt case-to-case strategies to manage their translations. This is because, although translation is mainly considered a process of linguistic migration, it is also shaped by several extra-textual and extra-linguistic factors of a socio-economic and political nature. Therefore, being a transcultural practice, translation is not just a matter of creating equivalences, but it is generally moulded on specific intentions and needs of translators, editors, readers and society in general.

The aforementioned titles embody some of the most relevant cases extracted from the *Shenbao* late-Qing corpus, which are nevertheless representative of the main techniques and strategies adopted by translators and editors of that time to foster the acceptance and circulation of new and unusual works of literature. Still, they represent only a partial selection of works that deserve to be expanded in forthcoming studies. This is especially true considering that examinations of early book title translations are not common in Chinese literary studies on this period, and those existing studies tend to label analogous outcomes as misleading or inadequate in respect to the whole plot of the novel. Frederick Tsai, for example, con-

<sup>41</sup> Hu Ying, *Tales of Translation: Composing the New Woman in China, 1899-1918* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 77; A Ying, *Wan Qing xiqu xiaoshuo mu* 晚清戲曲小說目 (A Catalogue of Late-Qing Fiction and Drama) (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi lianhe chubanshe, 1954), 150.

<sup>42</sup> Jerrold Levinson, "Titles," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 44 (1985): 37.

<sup>43</sup> Nord, "Text-Functions in Translation," 281.

siders Lin Shu's *Kuai rou yusheng lu* 塊肉餘生錄 (A Narration of the Survival of an Orphan) title translation of Charles Dickens' *David Copperfield* to be misleading, as although the protagonist is an orphan, the plot is not limited only to his survival, but it rather focuses on his entire life from childhood to his success as a writer.<sup>44</sup>

Instead, one should acknowledge that no Chinese reader of that time would have been attracted to or even able to comprehend a literal translation that maintained the foreign name of the protagonist like the phonetic loan *Dawei Kebofeier* 大卫科波菲尔 adopted by contemporaries. This is because, when dealing with the early stages of the reception of Western literary works, specifically in the case of title translations, there is a variety of factors coming into play that prevent us from discussing this phenomenon in terms of faithfulness. Some of them are receiving readers' cultural background and level of acceptance, editorial needs and modes of publication, and the authority of the foreign literary tradition as related to the indigenous canon.

This problem was very clear in the eyes of *Shenbao* editors, although they often leaned towards domesticating or acculturating options. As for title translations, this resulted in a recurrent explication of symbolic titles that was also observed by Levy.<sup>45</sup> Such choices are the result of a precise cultural, commercial and social strategy, whose contribution to the early diffusion of Western literature and to the creation of a new sensibility and acceptance toward the *xiaoshuo* genre cannot be neglected. This is why the literary activity of Major's printing industry – including *Shenbao* newspaper, its magazines and supplements, and Shenbaoguan publishing house – has been defined as a classic case of “transcultural interaction” and “localisation of concepts”, as “recalibration of the cultural standing of the novel was realised through a carefully designed negotiation with the Chinese cultural context”.<sup>46</sup>

As Grivel wrote, a “title is a text about another text”.<sup>47</sup> From the very first analysis of this threshold to *Shenbao* translated novels and short stories, we have observed the transcultural practice of translation shaped around choices motivated by the goals and necessities of translators, editors, readers and society in general, as well as *Shenbao*'s intentions to maintain a subtle balance between preservation and innovation, which ultimately contributed to a spread of fiction and reassessment of its social value.

<sup>44</sup> Frederick Tsai, “Books Titles,” in *An Encyclopaedia of Translation: Chinese-English, English-Chinese*, ed. Chan Sin-wai, David E. Pollard (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1995), 80.

<sup>45</sup> Levý, *The Art of Translation*, 125.

<sup>46</sup> Vance Yeh, “Recasting the Chinese Novel,” 193–94.

<sup>47</sup> Grivel, *Production de l'intérêt romanesque*, 173.

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## *Appendix*





REPERTORIO N. 200

RACCOLTA N. 38

00021

----- ATTO COSTITUTIVO -----  
 DELLA: "ASSOCIAZIONE ITALIANA PER GLI STUDI CINESI -  
 (A. I. S. C.). -----

----- REPUBBLICA ITALIANA -----

L'anno millenovecentosettantanove, il giorno quindi-  
 ci del mese di gennaio - 15 gennaio 1979  
 in Roma, nel mio studio sito in Via Fregene n. 41; - -  
 avanti a me Dr. GIUSEPPE PODAGROSI, Notaio in Roma, i-  
 scritto nel ruolo dei Distretti Notarili Riuniti di  
 Roma, Velletri e Civitavecchia, senza l'assistenza dei  
 testimoni, per espressa e concorde rinuncia fattavi  
 dai comparenti, sono presenti: -----

il prof. LIONELLO LANCIOTTI, docente  
 universitario, nato a Roma il 12 marzo 1925  
 e residente a Roma in via Giacomo Bonini 1,  
 il prof. PIERO CORRADINI, docente universi-  
 tario, nato a Roma il 30 gennaio 1933 e residente  
 a Belforte del Chienti (Macerata) in via S. Lucia 2/A,  
 la prof. ANNA-MARIA PALERMO, docente uni-  
 versitaria, nata a Cesa (Caserta) il 26 gennaio 1943  
 e residente a Napoli in Pietrarsca 141/I,  
 la prof. MAURIZIA SACCHETTI, docente uni-  
 versitaria, nata a Tucuman (Argentina) il  
 19 giugno 1940 e residente a Napoli in via

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Petresce n. 39; \_\_\_\_\_  
 il prof. MARIO SABATTINI, docente universitario,  
 nato a Roma il 6 luglio 1944 e residente a Pa-  
 dova in via Sirecuse n. 36. \_\_\_\_\_

I comparenti, della cui identità personale io Notaio  
 sono certo, mi hanno richiesto di ricevere questo at-  
 to con il quale convengono e stipulano quanto segue:

ARTICOLO 1)-E' costituita fra i comparenti la:"ASSO-  
 CIAZIONE ITALIANA PER GLI STUDI CINESI(A.I.S.C.), ai  
 sensi degli Artt.36 e seguenti del Codice Civile.--

ARTICOLO 2)-L'Associazione ha gli scopi ed é retta  
 dalle norme di cui allo Statuto che, omessane la let-  
 tura per espressa e concorde dispensa dei comparenti,  
 che dichiarano di conoscerne il contenuto, si allega  
 al presente atto sotto la lettera "A", per formarne par-  
 te integrante e sostanziale.-----

ARTICOLO 3)-I comparenti convengono che fino alla con-  
 vocazione della prima assemblea generale dei Soci, la  
 A.I.S.C. sarà retta da un Consiglio Direttivo prov-  
 visorio e composto il quale vengono chiama-  
 ti i professori Lionello Lencioffi, Piero Cor-  
 radini, Annamaria Palermo, Maurizio  
 Sacchetti e Mario Sabatini che presenti  
 accettano la carica loro conferita \_\_\_\_\_  
 la rappresentanza legale dell'associazione vie-

ne temporaneamente attribuite al prof. Rio,  
nello Scacchiotti -

00022

ARTICOLO 4) - Le spese del presente atto e sue <sup>3</sup>/dipen-  
denti sono a carico della A.I.S.C. - - - - -

Richiesto io Notaio, ho ricevuto questo atto, che ho  
letto ai comparenti, i quali su mia domanda, l'hanno  
approvato e riconosciuto conforme alla loro volontà  
e lo sottoscrivono insieme con me Notaio. - - - - -

L'atto é stato in parte dattiloscritto, da persona di  
mia fiducia, scritto in parte da me Notaio, su questo  
unico foglio di carta, per intiere le prime due pagine  
e parte della terza. - - - - -

1) Leggesi: "me"

Una postilla scritta da me Notaio che l'ho  
letta alle parti che l'hanno approvato.

Luigi Scacchiotti  
Dier Bonaduris

Anna Maria Pe Ferrus

Maurizia Scacchiotti

Luigi Scacchiotti

Giuseppe Scacchiotti









Allegato <sup>A</sup> all'atto  
N. 200/38 di Rep.

STATUTO

00023

DELLA

ASSOCIAZIONE ITALIANA PER GLI STUDI CINESI(A.I.S.C.)

Denominazione, Durata e Finalità

ART.1)-E' costituita l'Associazione Italiana per gli Studi Cinesi(A.I.S.C.).-L'Associazione si prefigge scopi culturali e non ha fini di lucro.

ART.2)-La sua sede sociale è fissata in Venezia; presso la Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore. Potrà essere trasferita, per decisione del Consiglio

Direttivo, presso centri sinologici universitari o di alta ricerca sinologica.

ART.3)-La sua durata è fissata al 31.12.2029 e potrà essere prorogata con deliberazione dell'Assemblea Generale dei Soci.

ART.4)-L'Associazione è creata per promuovere e favorire con ogni mezzo l'attività scientifica relativa agli studi sulla Cina e la sua civiltà.-L'Associazione non svolgerà alcuna attività politica.

Soci:

ART.5)-I Soci si distinguono in Soci ordinari<sup>(1)</sup> e Soci d'onore.- Per diventare Soci ordinari occorre:-

a)-Svolgere o aver svolto attività didattica o di ricerca a livello universitario nel campo degli studi di cinesi.

b)-Essere presentati da due Soci ed accettati dal Consiglio Direttivo che decide inappellabilmente in merito. Esso non è tenuto a far conoscere i motivi della sua decisione. - - - - - <sup>2</sup>

c)-Versare la quota associativa annuale. - - - - -

Soci d'onore sono personalità nel campo degli studi sinologici, in numero non superiore a 5; a cui l'Assemblea, su proposta del Consiglio Direttivo, conferisce tale qualifica per acclamazione. - - - - -

Il pagamento delle quote sociali sarà effettuato dai Soci ordinari <sup>(7)</sup> prima dell'Assemblea ordinaria annuale.

La decadenza da Socio ordinario può avvenire: a) per dimissioni; b) per morosità; c) per delibera dell'assemblea dei soci in seguito a comportamento contrario alle finalità dell'Associazione, con la maggioranza di due terzi dei votanti. - - - - -

Organi Sociali: - - - - -

ART.6)-Gli organi dell'Associazione sono: - - - - -

a)-l'Assemblea Generale dei Soci - - - - -

b)-il Consiglio Direttivo - - - - -

c)-il Segretario Generale - - - - -

d)-il Collegio dei Revisori dei Conti - - - - -

e)-il Collegio dei Probiviri. <sup>3</sup>

ART.7)-L'Assemblea Generale dei Soci è convocata dal Segretario Generale almeno una volta l'anno.

te il primo sabato di marzo e, comunque, entro lo stesso mese, o, in caso di urgenza dal Consiglio Direttivo o sua <sup>4</sup> richiesta di almeno un terzo dei Soci. - La convocazione sarà fatta dal Segretario Generale con lettera raccomandata a mezzo posta o a mano inviata con almeno 15 giorni d'anticipo. - È ammessa la partecipazione per delega; ogni Socio potrà avere una sola delega. - In prima convocazione l'Assemblea potrà svolgersi con la presenza di 2/3 dei Soci; in seconda convocazione, qualunque sia il numero dei Soci presenti. - L'Assemblea delibera a maggioranza semplice dei presenti; è aperta dal Segretario Generale ed elegge il Presidente della riunione; discute e decide sul programma di attività dell'Associazione; approva i bilanci; elegge il Consiglio Direttivo <sup>5</sup> ed i Proviviri; stabilisce l'importo della quota associativa annuale; delibera l'eventuale espulsione dei Soci. - - - - -

ART. 6) - Il Consiglio Direttivo è composto da cinque membri eletti dall'Assemblea Generale fra i Soci Ordinari. - Dura in carica per tre anni; si riunisce almeno due volte l'anno; le sue riunioni sono valide con la presenza di almeno tre membri; le deliberazioni sono prese a maggioranza semplice dei presenti; in caso di parità prevale il voto del Segretario Generale. - Il Consiglio Direttivo è eletto a scrutinio segreto. - Ogni

30024



Socio non potrà votare più di 4 nominativi. Il Consiglio Direttivo provvede a: - - - - -

- a)-Eleggere il Segretario Generale- - - - -
- b)-Eseguire le delibere dell'Assemblea dei Soci - - -
- c)-Accettare i nuovi Soci- - - - -
- d)-Operare per il conseguimento delle finalità associative - - - - -
- e)-Amministrare il bilancio dell'Associazione e a tal fine nomina nel suo seno un tesoriere - - - - -
- f)-Preparare il bilancio preventivo e consuntivo che saranno approvati dall'Assemblea dei Soci. - - - - -

ART.9)-La prima riunione del Consiglio Direttivo si svolge entro un mese dall'elezione ed è convocata e presieduta, sino all'elezione del Segretario Generale, dal Consigliere che ha ottenuto il maggior numero di voti. - - - - -

ART.10)-Il Segretario Generale è eletto, a scrutinio segreto, dal Consiglio Direttivo. - - - - -

Il Segretario Generale è il rappresentante legale dell'Associazione.-Egli convoca e presiede il Consiglio Direttivo, convoca l'assemblea ordinaria e, su incarico del Consiglio stesso o di un terzo dei Soci ordinari, l'assemblea straordinaria.-Dà esecuzione alle delibere dell'Assemblea e del Consiglio.-Adotta provvedimenti di particolare urgenza, che saranno sottopo-

sti a ratifica nella prima riunione del Consiglio Di  
rettivo, - - - - -

00025



ART.11)-Il Collegio dei Revisori dei Conti é costituito da due revisori effettivi e da un supplente, che non abbiano rapporto d'impiego con l'Associazione, né facciano parte del Consiglio Direttivo. Provvede a controllare gli atti di gestione, accerta la regolare tenuta dei libri e delle scritture contabili, esamina i bilanci preventivo e consuntivo, redigendo le relative relazioni. - - - - -

ART.12-) Qualunque controversie dovesse insorgere fra i Soci, o fra Soci e l'Associazione, dovrà essere rimessa alla decisione di un Collegio di tre Provisori, nominati dall'Assemblea ordinaria ogni tre anni. Essi giudicano quali amichevoli compositori, con dispensa da ogni formalità di procedura. - Il loro lodo sarà inappellabile. - - - - -

Disposizioni finali e transitorie - - - - -

ART.12)- Il presente Statuto può essere modificato dall'Assemblea Generale con la maggioranza dei 2/3 dei Soci. - L'Assemblea può, altresì, deliberare lo scioglimento dell'Associazione con la maggioranza dei 2/3 dei Soci. - In caso di scioglimento, l'Assemblea nominerà uno o più liquidatori determinandone i poteri. - Per quanto non previsto nel presente Statuto si fa

6

  
 L'On.le  
 Lucia  
 Maurizio Sacchetti  
 Riformatori  
 Alessandro  
 Giuseppe  
 Amadori  
 Stefano  
  
 Stefano

riferimento alle norme di legge vigenti. - - - - -

ART. 13) - I partecipanti alla prima Assemblea, che si svolgerà a Venezia presso la Fondazione Giorgio Cini, il 22 febbraio 1979, e che interverranno su invito del Consiglio Direttivo provvisorio, avranno diritto, adempiendo agli obblighi sociali, alla qualifica di Socio Ordinario. La quota sociale é fissata, in via provvisoria, in Lit. 10.000= annue. Il Consiglio Direttivo provvisorio si presenterà dimissionario all'Assemblea di Venezia. - - - - -

- 1) dele: "e"; \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) dele le dodici parole interlineate da: "Essò" e: "decisione"; \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) dele le cinque parole interlineate da: "e)" e: "Proibiti"; \_\_\_\_\_
- 4) dele: "a"; \_\_\_\_\_
- 5) dele: "ed i Proibiti"; \_\_\_\_\_
- 6) dele le cinquante (50) parole interlineate da: "ART. 12" e: "ineppellebile"; \_\_\_\_\_
- 7) dele: "a" - \_\_\_\_\_

Sette postille lette ed approvate dai sottoscritti.



00026

Lionello Luzzi  
 Pierobonadini  
 Annamaria R. Ferrero  
 Maurizia Gauthier  
 Maria Isabella  
 Giuseppe Solapron



Specifica	
Carta e Bollo	L. 6000
Scritturazione	> 3000
Onorario	> 2000
Cassa Notariale	> 2000
Repertorio	> 500
Tassa Archivio	> 4000
Copia per Notifica	>
Copia per Registro	>
Copia per Catasto	>
Copia per le Ipoteche	>
Copia Esecutiva	>

Totale L.

## Abstracts

VICTORIA ALMONTE

This article deals with selected references to two foreign animals in early Chinese works: the *huyang* 胡羊, a kind of sheep/goat, and the *tianma* 天馬, literally “heavenly horse”. The author first focuses on their description as presented in Zhou Qufei 周去非 (1133-1189)’s geographical work, *Lingwai Daida*, 岭外代答 (*Notes from the Lands beyond the Passes*). Then a comparison with primary Chinese texts dating from the Han dynasty to the early years of the seventeenth century has been carried out in order to highlight distinctive and unconventional characteristics. This kind of analysis led to some reflections about what could be considered strange and exotic in ancient Chinese sources. References often oscillate between historical data and mythological elements. Hence, it is essential to bear in mind that when Zhou and other ancient Chinese writers mention an animal not native to China, they may not always be talking about that animal *per se*.

CHIARA BERTULESSI

In 1990, in the context of an unprecedented growth for lexicography in China, the authoritative academic journal *Lexicographical Studies* (*Cishu yanjiu* 辞书研究) launched a special column, intended as a discussion forum through which lexicographers and scholars on the subject could contribute to the development of the theory of Chinese lexicography. In response to the editors’ call, in the following years, many contributions were published on the topic, giving rise to an academic debate centered on some unresolved fundamental theoretical and terminological issues which needed to be tackled to ensure the development of the discipline in China.

Mainly relying on contributions written by Chinese scholars in the 1990s, the present paper focuses on this debate and provides an overview of the most representative views and positions. Specifically, two fundamental and interwoven issues are addressed: the need for scholars to standardise the basic terminology of Chinese lexicography and achieve consistency in its scholarly usage, and the relationship that lexicography entertains with linguistics as a discipline. Moreover, the paper discusses the matter of lexicographical terminology from the perspective of translation.

RAISSA DE GRUTTOLA

In 1725 Carlo Horatii of Castorano was in Beijing and wrote about two hundred pages in Latin on the way of behaving and debating with Muslims. Castorano was an Italian Franciscan missionary who arrived in China in 1700 and was actively involved in the Chinese Rites controversy. The text, whose title is “Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum Mahumetanis, in duas partes divisus”, is currently preserved in the Library of the Pontifical University Antonianum and was probably written before meeting a Chinese Muslim.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the attitude toward Muslim religion of a Catholic missionary in China at the beginning of the eighteenth century, while he was debating the acceptability of Chinese rites and questioning the peaceful presence of Islam in China.

The introductory paragraph will give an outline of the Muslim presence in China since Tang dynasty and will underline the change of definition from “Muslims in China” to “Chinese Muslims” during the Ming dynasty, providing the information needed to understand the context in which Castorano wrote. A paragraph will address the Franciscan presence in China since the thirteenth century, to explore its missionary history and methods and to consider the attitudes and activities of the Friars involved in the Rites controversy. The paragraph focusing on the life of Carlo Horatii of Castorano will present a short biography of the author of the text and the analysis of the Latin text, with a particular focus on the introductory paragraph, showing the features of the document and exploring its content.

PAOLO DE TROIA, GABRIELE TOLA

According to previous research, the first texts on falconry in China date back to the Medieval period. However, it is believed that other texts existed before but are now lost, as evidenced in quotations from a ‘Goshawk Canon’ (*Ying jing* 鷹經) during the Han period; a later edition of this book could be a manuscript stored in Japan, *Shinshū yōkyō* 新修鷹經 or in Chinese, *Xinxiu yingjing*, ‘New revised Goshawk Canon’.

The most common interpretation today on the origin of this manuscript attributes it to the emperor Saga (Saga tennō 嵯峨天皇, 786–842). The *Shinshū yōkyō* was allegedly composed in 818, however, indications on the origin of the *Shinshū yōkyō* are still today extremely discordant. The hypothesis is that this manuscript may have been partially copied, or inspired by, an original Han dynasty copy during the Tang dynasty.

In the article, the authors first present the contents and structure of the *Shinshū yōkyō*, with the relevant background of related knowledge on falconry. Secondly, through an analysis of the sources indicated in Japanese and Western secondary literature, the authors expand on the primary and secondary sources presented, pointing out possible further research perspectives to locate the text *Shinshū yōkyō* is based on. The article concludes that, even though the *Shinshū yōkyō* should be considered as having originated in Japan, there are indications it might be tightly connected to lost Chinese texts, or other documents quoting and reporting such missing works. The information presented in the article clarifies these hypotheses and indicates new perspectives of research on the *Shinshū yōkyō*.

MARCO MECCARELLI

The aim of this paper tries to place the focus on certain issues related to Chinese photography. The process of composition reveals many aspects in common with the theoretical and technical assumptions of traditional landscape painting.

During the 19th century some Chinese photographers maintained the lyric aspirations of Chinese painters. Many landscape subjects revealed the same sensibility of the Literati painting (*wenren hua* 文人画) which embodied both references to the ancient masters' styles and the inner spirit of the artist. The works of many famous photographers in Hong Kong, such as Lai Afong 赖阿芳 (Lai Afang, active 1859-1900) reveal their intimate connection with Chinese painting tradition. During the 20th century, especially Lang Jingshan 郎静山 (also romanized as Long Chin-san 1892 – 1995) successfully made photos that were in line with the fundamental principles of Chinese paintings and the conception of harmony between man and nature, by creating composite photographs as an alternate processing to create truly “unique pieces” of fine art. Many other photographers showed the variety of compositional and stylistic procedures of visual communication, and they attested a close link with the canons of ink painting. Like twin sisters but more so, photography received from painting its historical heritage, ancestral aesthetic, and composition as a visual tool.

PAOLA PADERNI

History and control over the narrative that the leadership at any time believes to be “correct” have been sources of legitimacy for the party since its founding. There is unanimous consensus that the study of history has taken on unusual preeminence under the leadership of Xi Jinping. For the purposes of CCP propaganda, studying history is useful for supporting an effective hegemonic discourse both internally and externally. Greater ideological control over higher education has been accompanied by similar attention to the curricula of middle schools. This article specifically examines the guidelines for teaching history in middle schools, i.e., the *General High School History Standard Curriculum* published in 2017. This day, teaching history following precise dictates has become a primary goal to train young people to be proud of their country and confident in the work of the party. Furthermore, they must be able to reject the dangers of Western liberal values and become testimonials of China's newfound greatness.

LUCA PISANO

The Danshui River, together with its branched tributary system, constitutes the most important hydrographic network in the northern part of Taiwan, one of the main cradles of civilization on the island since ancient times. Its peculiar ecosystem has been an essential source of livelihood for the Aboriginal groups settled along its course, the main access route for the earliest Spanish and Dutch colonial powers since the seventeenth century, as well as commercial harbour for the mainland Chinese who began to exploit the resources of the territory, developing the first urban settlements in the area later known as the capital Taipei. This paper is focused on the literary representations of the Danshui River during a crucial historical period, the transition from the last years of the Japanese rule over the island to the first stage of the post-colonial epoch. The Danshui River area was formerly known as one of the busiest places of the island but after the arrival of the Japanese in 1895, and in a relatively short period of time, the Danshui River was almost abandoned. Then landscape around the river became the reflection of the feeling of the age, displaying the complex sensitivity of authors such as Lü Heruo and Tao Jingsun representing their disillusion and disenchant soon after the beginning of the post-colonial period, culminating in the tragic events of the 28th February Incident.

RENATA PROSPERI MARTINA

The term “ecoliterature” problematizes any kind of environmental context and any critical issue concerning the relationship between man and the environment. As regards to the sinophone context, several studies exhaustively describe the developments of the ecocritical discourse in China, but they mostly fail to mention its Taiwanese counterpart. This article brings together a selection of viewpoints from both China and Taiwan and aims at demonstrating how sinophone ecocriticism has had its own origins and particular articulations. China has been the cradle of belief systems such as Confucianism, Taoism, and partly Buddhism, which have inspired the environmental sensibility of many western intellectuals. In fact, examples of sinophone ante-litteram ecoliterature already appeared not only before western nature writing and ecocritical works were translated into Chinese, but even before modernity. Furthermore, the different environmental contexts that can be found in the history and in the territories in which sinophone writers and scholars have been living have no equal in western ecocriticism and ecoliterature. This corroborates the idea that sinophone ecocriticism and ecoliterature are not to be considered as readaptations of western inputs, and that a careful analysis of their particular contribution should be part of the international ecocritical debate.

NATALIA RIVA

Following the growing demand for wine in China in recent years, the export of Italian labels to the Chinese market has also outlined a promising trend. Boosting Chinese customers’ engagement with oenology is an endeavor that can benefit from the development of linguistic tools. The bilingual (Italian-Chinese) *Dictionary of Italian wines and grape varieties*, compiled by the Confucius Institute at the University of Milan and published by Gambero Rosso in 2019, is such an example. This paper illustrates the methods and strategies used for the compilation of the *Dictionary’s* Chinese text. After a brief description of the volume as a whole in the first part, the focus switches to the transposition of the text into Chinese: the second part discusses the standardisation in Chinese of names of Italian wines and grape varieties, while the third analyses the development of models for the translation of the definitions associated to the wine entries from Italian into Chinese. Finally, the closing remarks discuss the value of this experimental work.

SILVIA SCHIAVI

Liu Na’ou 劉吶鷗 (1905-1940) is among the most representative authors of the 20th century, although he was banned and forgotten for almost forty years due to his collaboration with the Wang Jingwei regime in the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). Born in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation (1895-1945), Liu Na’ou spent his life traveling between Taiwan, Japan, and China in search of a country where developing his career in modern literature and cinema. In 1926, he decided to settle in Shanghai, where he emerged as a prolific writer, editor, and director and made a significant contribution to the diffusion of Western and Japanese Modernism to China. Nevertheless, Liu’s pivotal role in the introduction of Modernism to China remained largely unknown until the end of the 20th century, when the first studies on the author emerged. The paper aims at analyzing Liu Na’ou’s role in the transmission of Japanese and Western Modernism to China with a particular focus on the mediation processes carried out by the author to adapt and localize Modernism to the Shanghainese context. Christopher Hill’s studies on the circulation of concepts

and literary trends in the world will be taken as a reference to demonstrate that Liu's case could be considered as a representative example of localization and sinicization of foreign knowledge.

ALESSANDRO TOSCO

This paper analyses, from a narrative point of view and in a contrastive perspective, the work *The Record of the Chalk Circle* (*Huilan ji* 灰闌記) by Li Xingdao 李行道 (XIV century), a "variety drama" (*zaju* 雜劇) of the Yuan dynasty, in which it is possible to hear echoes of narrative from the Holy Scriptures. In the work, the famous Judge Bao (Bao daizhi 包待製) must settle the intricate case of two women claiming the maternity of a child. The sources of this drama seem to derive from a *jataka* tale, of Indian origin and Buddhist inspiration, and from an account contained in a work of the Song dynasty. The wise judge brilliantly solves the case through the clever trick of the chalk circle. In this way, he manages to do justice by appealing to Confucius' words and teachings. The dispute and, above all, the stratagem implemented by Judge Bao echo the account of wise King Solomon, reported in the *First Book of Kings* (3: 16-28). The Chinese judge, therefore, recalls the figure of the biblical king where, however, moral qualities such as perspicacity, acumen, fairness, and sense of rightness are filtered through the prism of Confucian values. Furthermore, the Chinese drama presents a more intricate and complex plot, which can be analysed on different levels, where narrative elements typical of the Yuan librettos recur. Comparing Li Xingdao's drama and the biblical account, the narrative proposed in the Chinese libretto seems reflected in sources ascribable to Confucian morality, and as such shows a process of re-writing and textual manipulation rather than translation and metatextual practice. The ultimate goal of this paper is, therefore, to show how some literary *topoi* and narrative structures are quite similar in very distant cultural systems.

RENATA VINCI

In the early stage of the introduction of foreign fiction to Chinese readers, newspapers and magazines played a pioneering role in the development of the discourse on the social role of fiction in modern Chinese society. This is particularly true for Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao*, which introduced a large number of Western novels, trying to fuel readers' curiosity while avoiding any possible discomfort caused by foreignising or destabilising content. As a privileged type of paratext and the first element with whom readers came into contact, titles and their translations were key elements for promoting the new literary section and increasing daily sales. By adopting the theoretical framework of *titrologie* (titology) – the study of book titles – and of its resulting branch of translation studies, this article analyses the most common strategies adopted in titles translation by *Shenbao* editors through the analysis of a selection of early novels and short stories translated in the Chinese press. Marketing and aesthetic purposes, the phenomenon of intertextuality, and readers' literary taste that influenced such choices will also be explored.

The purpose of this study is not to apply a Western theoretical approach to describe the *Shenbao* initiative, but rather to show how editors' choices were the result of a precise cultural, commercial and social strategy. The long-term effects of such an approach resulted in the rise of a new sensibility toward the genre of *xiaoshuo*.



## Contributors

VICTORIA ALMONTE got her Ph.D. in East Asian Civilization in 2016 at Sapienza University. From 2017 to 2021 she worked as temporary research fellow at Sapienza University, in the Italian Institute of Oriental Studies (IISO). Now she is Postdoctoral Researcher at Tuscia University in Viterbo. In 2020 she was awarded the national scientific qualification as Associate Professor of Chinese Language and Literature. Her research field is ancient Chinese language, in last years she focused on the history of Chinese lexicon (geographical lexicon and toponyms) and on the history of contacts between the Song China and foreigners.

CHIARA BERTULESSI is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Milan, where she is currently conducting research on the contemporary Chinese political discourse regarding the topic of education. She obtained her PhD at the University of Milan with a thesis on the *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典 (*Modern Chinese Dictionary*), investigating the relationship between Chinese lexicography, political discourse, and ideology. Her research interests revolve around contemporary Chinese lexicography, critical lexicographical studies, lexicology, as well as the analysis of Chinese political discourse.

RAISSA DE GRUTTOLA holds a PhD in Asian and African Studies (Chinese) at the Department of Asian and North African Studies of the Ca' Foscari University of Venice (2017). Her PhD dissertation is on Gabriele Allegra and the first complete translation of the Catholic Bible in Chinese, and covers historical and translating issues. She did extensive research at the Archive Gabriele Allegra in Sicily and at the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Hong Kong. A deep analysis was made on the translations of the Gospel of John and the specifically Christian terminology. De Gruttola's field of research also includes the presence of Christians and Franciscan missionaries in China and the various versions of the Bible in Chinese. It was recently extended to the references to Chinese thought in Simon Weils's writings. She presented the first results of her research in international conferences and published articles in academic journals on the topic. She is currently an Adjunct Professor of Chinese Language at the University of Perugia (Italy).

PAOLO DE TROIA, Ph.D. in East Asian Civilization, is Associate Professor of Chinese Language and Chinese Philology at the Department of Oriental Studies of Sapienza Università di Roma. His area of expertise focuses on Chinese language and literature, History of Sino-European cultural and scientific contacts, and History of Chinese lexicon.

In the last years, his research focused on the cultural and linguistic contacts between China and Europe: after a decade of cross-comparative research, he translated the 17th century's Atlas of Giulio Aleni (published 2009), outlining Western sources and his reception in the Chinese geographical world. He especially dealt with toponyms, studying the ways of Chinese to translate and develop terms coming from Western languages. Recently is engaged in the translation and related research of the "Treatise on Falcons" by Ludovico Buglio, one of the books which first introduced Western zoology into China.

From September 2014 to July 2015, he has been appointed as Visiting Scholar at Peking University, Department of Chinese Language and Literature. From September to December 2005, Visiting Scholar at the Center for Western Sinology of Beijing Foreign Studies University. He is a member of the European Association of Chinese Studies, the Italian Association of Chinese Studies.

GABRIELE TOLA is a researcher at the Italian Institute of Oriental Studies department of Sapienza University of Rome. He has been a JSPS (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science 日本学術振興会) postdoctoral fellow at the Graduate School of East Asian Cultures of Kansai University and a research associate in Chinese NLP at the Department of Computer Science of Sapienza University of Rome. Tola's specialisation is Chinese studies; the focus of his research is lexicography, lexicology, and missionary linguistics. His first monograph, *John Fryer and The Translator's Vade-mecum: New Perspectives on the History of Modern Chinese Scientific and Technical Lexicon*, is published by Brill. He has also published numerous articles on the compilation of bilingual glossaries and linguistic materials by foreign missionaries and scholars in late Qing China, and on the mutual exchanges between Chinese and Italian literature in international journals, such as *Monumenta Serica*, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, and *Journal of East Asian Cultural Interaction Studies*. He has also published on the subject of Chinese classifiers in late Qing China and on Nanjing Mandarin as recorded by foreign missionaries and scholars in nineteenth-century China.

MARCO MECCARELLI is adjunct professor at the Universities of Catania, Macerata and Urbino. He obtained in 2005 a Postgraduate Diploma from the School of Specialization in Oriental Archaeology at La Sapienza University of Rome where he completed his PhD in 2010 in History and Civilization of Oriental Asia. His research interests lie in the broad field of Chinese art and international relations. He is co-author of the first Italian monograph on the history of Chinese photography (*Storia della fotografia in Cina. Le opera di artisti cinesi e occidentali*. Aprilia, Novalogos, 2011). He is the author of a monograph on the ancient road of China (*Le antiche vie della Cina. Un'indagine archeologica e artistica*. Imola, Manfredi, 2020).

PAOLA PADERNI is Associate Professor of History and Institutions of China at the Department of Asia Africa and Mediterranean of the University of Napoli 'L'Orientale'. From 2003 to 2011 she worked as Press Counselor at the Italian Embassy in Beijing. Her research interests mainly cover social, gender and political history of late imperial and contemporary China. She has been President of the Italian Association of Chinese Studies from 2015 to 2019.

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