Annual Meeting of the

American Oriental Society

Western Branch
established 1951

University of Colorado at Boulder
October 8–10, 2015

All Sessions will be held in Norlin Library.

Please note the concurrent morning sessions on Friday and Saturday.

With generous support of the following institutions at the University of Colorado at Boulder:

Department of Asian Languages and Civilization,
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General Information

- **Norlin Library**: 1720 Pleasant Street, Boulder, CO 80309, East of Norlin Quad
  
  **Room N401 & M549**: West entrance > elevator to left of circulation desk > 4th/5th floor

- **Koenig Alumni Center**: on southeast corner of University Ave. & Broadway


- **Hotel Boulderado**, 2115 13th Street, Boulder, CO 80302, 303-442-4344

- **Dushanbe Teahouse**, 1770 13th Street, Boulder, CO 80302, 303-442-4993 ★
PROGRAM

Note: 25 minutes are allotted for each paper. Presenters are asked to limit their remarks to 20 minutes or less, leaving at least 5 minutes for questions and discussion.

DAY 1: Thursday, Oct. 8 — Norlin Library, Room N401

1:00–1:30 Registration
1:30–1:45 Welcome

Session 1: Burial Culture
Chair: Paul W. Kroll (Univ. of Colorado)

1:45–2:10 Newell Ann Van Auken (Univ. of Iowa)
“Bēng 崩, bōng 彈, zú 死: Words for Death and Mourning and Systems of Graded Rank in Early China”

2:10–2:35 Mark Pitner (Elmira College)
“Corpses, Memory, and Text: The History of the Zāng shū and Guo Pu’s Authorship”

2:35–3:00 Timothy Davis (BYU)
“Contending Memories of the Prince of Nan’an: The Earliest Northern Wei muzhiming in Context”

3:00–3:25 Alexei Ditter (Reed College)
“Cited Speech in Late-Tang muzhiming”

3:25–3:50 Claire Yi Yang (Berkeley)
“Gravesite Selection in Late-Tang China: Regional Variety and Ritual Standardization”

3:50–4:10 Coffee & Tea Break

Session 2: Gender Questions
Chair: Michael Fuller (UC Irvine)

4:10–4:35 Yanping Lu (Stanford)
“Negotiation of Power: Images of Chinese Exemplary Women as Persuaders”

4:35–5:00 Qiulei Hu (Whitman College)
“‘Such Joy Cannot Endure’: Jian’an Discourse on qìng 情”

5:00–5:25 Maria Franca Sibau (Emory)
“Fathers and Sons in Late Ming Filial Quest Narratives”

5:25–5:50 Peng Liu (Columbia Univ.)
“When History Becomes Fiction: Rewriting a Ming Civil War in Unofficial History of Female Immortals”

5:50–6:15 Ye Han (ASU)
“Unwitting Femme Fatal or Heroine: Female Body and Space in Li Shishi waizhuan”
DAY 2:  Friday, Oct. 9 — Norlin Library, Rooms M549 & N401
(Please note concurrent morning sessions.)

8:30–9:00  Registration (Room M549)

**Session 3 A (Room M549): Early Chinese Literature**
Chair: Ding Xiang Warner (Cornell)

9:00–9:25  Lisa Indraccolo (Univ. of Zurich), “From Inside Out: Bodily Percepts, Cognitive Taxa, and the Phenomenology of Knowledge in Early China”


**Session 3 B (Room N401): Medieval Poetry**
Chair: Anna M. Shields (Princeton)

9:00–9:25  Ping Wang (Univ. of Washington), “Poetic Constructions of Ancestry and Identity by Lu Ji and Xie Lingyun”


9:50–10:15  Timothy Wai Keung Chan (Hong Kong Baptist Univ.), “Remembrance of the Grotto: The Romantic Poetics of Yuan Zhen and Bai Juyi”


10:40–11:00 Coffee & Tea Break

**Session 4 A (Room M549): Historiography**
Chair: Richard VanNess Simmons (Rutgers)

11:00–11:25  Pauli Tashima (Univ. of North Carolina, Greensboro), “Adaptations and Breakthroughs: Du Yu’s Commentarial Tradition of the Zuozhuan”

11:25–11:50  J. Michael Farmer (Univ. of Texas at Dallas), “Blind, Crippled, and Crazy: Calling In Sick During the Reign of Gongsun Shu”


12:15–12:40  Stephen Wadley (Portland State Univ.), “A Look at the Yargian kooli”
Session 4 B (Room N401): Cultural Encounters in China, Japan, and Korea
Chair: Timothy C. Wong (ASU)
11:50–12:15 Hyuk-chan Kwon (City Univ. of Hong Kong), “Rewriting the Classic: Romance of Three Kingdoms Digital Games and the Writing of Multiple Histories”
12:15–12:40 Minho Kim (Hallym Univ.), “Chosŏn Intellectuals Meet a Barbarian Monk: The Encounter between Pak Chiwŏn and the Sixth Panchen Lama at Rehe in 1780”

12:40–2:20 Lunch Break

Session 5 (Room M549): Early Medieval Culture
Chair: Matthias L. Richter (Univ. of Colorado)
2:20–2:45 Terry Kleeman (Univ. of Colorado), “Daoist Ethics: Defining the Good in Early Medieval Daoism”
2:45–3:10 Jon Felt (Virginia Tech), “Metageography of the Northern and Southern Dynasties”

4:00–4:20 Coffee & Tea Break

Session 6 (Room M549): Early Imperial and Medieval History
Chair: Timothy Wai Keung Chan (Hong Kong Baptist Univ.)
4:45–5:10 Mei Ah Tan (Hang Seng Management College, Hong Kong), “The Monetary System and Policies of Tang Dynasty China”
5:10–5:35 Anthony DeBlasi (Univ. at Albany), “Redeeming the Imperial Ancestors: The Political Use of the Concept of ‘Restoration’ (zhongxing) in Tang Dynasty Political Discourse”
5:35–6:00 Albert Hoffstädt (Brill, Leiden) and Paul W. Kroll (Univ. of Colorado), “Remarks on A Student’s Dictionary and Beyond”

6:30–9:00 Reception in Koenig Alumni Center & Presentation of the Inaugural “Graduate Student Travel Awards of the American Oriental Society, Western Branch”
DAY 3:  Saturday, Oct. 10 — Norlin Library, Rooms M549 & N401
(Please note concurrent morning sessions.)

9:30–10:00  Registration (Room M549)

Session 7 A (Room M549): Rhapsodies
Chair: David R. Knechtges (Univ. of Washington)
10:00–10:25  Qiulei Hu (Whitman College), “‘Such Joy Cannot Endure’: Jian’an Discourse on qing 情”
10:25–10:50  Jie Wu (Murray State Univ.), “Yang Jiong (650–ca. 694) and his ‘Laorenxing fu’ ”
10:50–11:15  Han Ding (NUS), “Imperial Examination, Old-style Prose Movement and Travelogues: Poetic Travelogue in the Mid-Tang Rhapsody (Fu)”

Session 7 B (Room N401): Canonical Studies
Chair: R. Joe Cutter (ASU)
10:00–10:25  Newell Ann Van Auken (Univ. of Iowa), “Bēng 崩, bōng 壓, zú 死: Words for Death and Mourning and Systems of Graded Rank in Early China”
10:25–10:50  Liang Cai (Univ. of Notre Dame), “The Master Kept A Distance from His Own Son: Is Confucian Morality based on Family Affection?”
10:50–11:15  Richard John Lynn (Univ. of Toronto), “Confucian Statecraft and Arcane Leaning (Xuanxue)”

11:15–11:30 Coffee & Tea Break

Session 8 A (Room M549): Buddhism and Poetry
Chair: Antje Richter (Univ. of Colorado)
11:55–12:20  Nicholas Morrow Williams (Hong Kong Baptist Univ.), “The Universe is a Single Flower: Wang Wei’s Poeticized Buddhism as Key to His Buddhist Poetics”
12:45–1:10  Jue Chen (Princeton), “Enlightenment Pressure or Literary Pleasure? Poetry and Daily Life in Song Dynasty Chan Community”
Session 8 B (Room N401): Late Imperial Literature and Culture I
Stephen Wadley (Portland State Univ.)

11:30–11:55 Thomas Jülich (Ghent Univ.), “The Representation of Buddhist Apologetic Thought in Song Dynasty Buddhist Historiographic Literature”


12:20–12:45 Yingying Sun (Univ. of Washington), “Manuscript Study and Book Collecting in the Ming and Qing”

12:45–1:10 Chengjuan Sun (Kenyon College), “Understanding the Hilarious and Playful Poems by the Qing Xingling Poets”

1:10–3:00 Lunch Break

3:00–3:30 Business Meeting (Room M549)

Session 9 (Room M549): Song Literature and Culture
Chair: Ronald Egan (Stanford)

3:30–3:55 Y. Edmund Lien (Univ. of Washington), “A Critical Study on Shao Yong’s Huangji jingshi shu”

3:55–4:20 Yunshuang Zhang (UCLA), “The Studio as A Social Space: Vimalakīrti’s Chamber or Wei Yingwu’s Couch?”


4:45–5:00 Coffee & Tea Break

Session 10 (Room M549): Late Imperial Literature and Culture II
Chair: Madeline Spring (Univ. of Hawai‘i at Mānoa)

5:00–5:25 Richard VanNess Simmons (Rutgers), “Lǐ Rūzhēn’s Discriminating Appraisal of Pronunciations and the Continuity of the Mixed Guānhuà Koiné in the Late Qīng”

5:25–5:50 Timothy C. Wong (ASU), “Old xiaoshuo as Performance: Another Look at the Shuibu zhuan”

5:50–6:15 Scott W. Gregory (ASU), “Before and After the Fire: Readings of Vernacular Fiction from the Center and the Margins of Empire”

7:30–10:00 Banquet in the Dushanbe Tea House, 1770 13th Street
With keynote address by Xiaofei Tian (Harvard): “Metal Bird and a Lost City”
Abstracts, Arranged by Panel

THURSDAY

Session 1: Burial Culture; Chair: Paul W. Kroll (Univ. of Colorado)
Thursday, Oct. 8, 2:10–3:50 PM — Norlin Library, Room N401

Mark Pitner (Elmira College), “Corpses, Memory, and Text: The History of the Zang shu and Guo Pu’s Authorship”

The Zang shu 葬書 (Book of burial) is regularly attributed to Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324) by the mainstream tradition while at the same time it has long been problematized by others. This tension between active attribution and assertive criticism is a continuous feature of Guo Pu’s reception history and not limited to just this text. By tracing the ebb and flow of these attributions and controversies, we have a means to map the readership and shifting hermeneutics surrounding the teaching of Guo Pu. Due to the active yet fragmented readership and attribution of these texts, the authorship of Guo Pu has become entangled with other often murky figures and texts such as Master Guo and his Qing nang zhong shu 青囊中書, Qingwu zi 青烏子 and his Zang jing 葬經 (Classic of burial). More striking are the number of well-known figures that became associated with Guo Pu due to these unstable texts and his teachings such as Dou Meng 窮蒙 (Tang), Cai Yuanding 蔡元定 (1135–1198), Wu Jingluan 吳景鸞 (Northern Song), Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249–1333). In this paper, I will untangle these narratives and outline the larger shifts in the textual history of a number of the more problematic yet influential works associated with Guo Pu.

Timothy Davis (BYU), “Contending Memories of the Prince of Nan’an: The Earliest Northern Wei muzhiming in Context”

This paper explores Wei shu historiography on the earliest Tuoba Xianbei, the ancestors of the Northern Wei founders. Specifically, it focuses on the Wei shu narrative of the Tuoba Xianbei from the moment of their emergence in a remote northern wilderness during the reign of a son of Huangdi through their successive southward migrations into a more defined territory by the early fourth century C.E. Broadly speaking, the move represents a shift from inhabiting a vaguely located wilderness region to occupying a state with clearly demarcated boundaries, through a process I describe as a kind of “coming into focus” of Tuoba territory.

I argue that Wei shu historiography presents a teleological narrative in which the early Tuoba first civilize the wild lands of their origin, and then, guided by spirit animals through a succession of journeys, move into a new space—one that is defined through the founding of capitals and also ritually constructed through the performance of sacrifices to heaven and earth. It is this narrative of the Tuoba pre-imperial historical past that then prompts the Wei shu historian’s commentary that “by the end…the Tuoba rulers came to expansively possess all the world,” thereby establishing the ground for the inevitable founding of the imperial Northern Wei state by Tuoba Gui toward the close of the fourth century.
Claire Yi Yang (Berkeley), “Gravesite Selection in Late-Tang China: Regional Variety and Ritual Standardization”

Based on a comprehensive study of the nearly 3,000 known 9th-century tomb epitaph inscriptions from China, this paper discusses how burial space was viewed and gravesites selected in the late Tang. A common way to record a gravesite in epitaph inscriptions was to list what was situated in each of its cardinal directions. In northern China, large-scale geographic features such as rivers and mountains, visible yet afar, dominate the descriptions and convey a sense of geomancy, while in the south, specific landmarks such as a neighbor’s fruit garden or a road bordering the gravesite were listed. These geographic descriptions in southern epitaphs, sometimes combined with information such as the exact location, size, and purchase record of a burial plot, are reminiscent of a Tang-era land deed. Thus, the regional variation suggests different mentalities regarding burial and space: one emphasizing the geomantic auspiciousness of a gravesite, and the other stressing property ownership. While the former demonstrates a traditional fengshui view, the latter reflects the burgeoning commercialization in the south.

Besides regional variety, my research also demonstrates empire-wide death ritual standardization. As epitaph inscriptions and Dunhuang manuscripts reveal, being buried in one’s family cemetery was considered unquestionably necessary, and in each cemetery, the arrangement of individual tombs reflects the generational hierarchy and follows the so-called “Five-Surname” principle, which integrates Chinese surnames by their pronunciations into the permutations of the Five Phases. This not only reflects a deeply ingrained respect toward elders and a strong sense of family, but also suggests the existence of a standardized Chinese way of commemorating death in the vast Tang empire.

I employ quantitative and qualitative approaches to analyze my data, which, in addition to tomb epitaph inscriptions, includes several hundred relevant archaeological reports. I also use Geographic Information System technologies to visualize regional variety and cultural standardization.

Session 2: Gender Questions; Chair: Michael Fuller (UC Irvine)
Thursday, Oct. 8, 4:10–5:50 PM — Norlin Library, Room N401

Wandi Wang (Washington Univ.), “Deciphering the Inner Logic of the ‘Pivot of Wen’ Chapters in Wenxin diaolong”

*Wenxin diaolong* is a masterpiece of literary criticism from sixth-century China, in which the author Liu Xie (?465–560) expounds his ideas concerning literary composition and evaluation. As a fifty-chapter work establishing a system of literary criticism with unprecedented scope and insights, studying the internal logic of the organization of *Wenxin diaolong* is the key to grasping the essence of Liu Xie’s literary thought. The first five chapters of *Wenxin diaolong*, which introduce Liu Xie’s basic literary ideas, are the core of the entire book. They are “Yuan dao”, “Zheng sheng”, “Zong jing”, “Zheng wei”, and “Bian sao”. These five chapters deal with the *shuniu* (literally ‘pivot’) of literature, a metaphor for the central point of his writing. In this paper, I argue that the “Pivot of Wen Chapters” chapters form a microcosm of the whole book. I also take issue with some previously offered explanations of the inner logic behind Liu Xie’s organization of the “Pivot of Wen
Chapters” by discussing three main questions: (1) The placement of the “Bian sao” chapter in Wenxin diaolong; (2) The inner coherence of the “Pivot of Wen Chapters”; (3) The connection between the “Pivot of Wen Statement” in the first chapter of Wenxin diaolong and the “Pivot of Wen Chapters.”

My conclusion is that Liu Xie canonizes Chu ci by including the “Bian sao” chapter in the first section of the book. The first five chapters also establish a dichotomy between orthodox and heterodox literary traditions. While the “Pivot of Wen Chapters” reflect Liu Xie’s methodology for dealing with classical texts, the “Pivot of Wen Statement” shows the inherited relation between Wenxin diaolong and early texts.

Maria Franca Sibau (Emory), “Fathers and Sons in Late Ming Filial Quest Narratives”

In the early sixteenth century, a young man named Wang Yuan 王原 left his mother and newly wedded wife to undertake a long and risky journey in search of his father—a father who had abandoned the family to escape corvée duties and whom Yuan had never really met. After several years of wandering through modern day Hebei, Shandong, and Henan provinces, Yuan was eventually able to discover his father in a temple, and convinced him to return back home. Wang Yuan was later celebrated as a resplendent exemplar of filial piety in local gazetteers, official and unofficial historical compilations, and his story was adapted multiple times into vernacular fiction. His was by no means an isolated case, but rather it may be seen as one of the most popular and representative instances of filial quest narratives (wanli xunqin 萬里尋親), which rose to particular prominence during the late Ming and early Qing dynasties.

Through an analysis of two different vernacular story (buaben 話本) versions of Wang Yuan’s tale—i.e. Story no. 9 in Exemplary Words for the World (Xingshi yan 型世言, 1632) and Story no. 3 in Nodding Rocks (Shi diantou 石點頭, 1627 ca.)—I will show how the compilers explore the cognitive dissonance between the son’s absolutistic understanding of filial duty and the moral responsibility of the father. I will also suggest that the fascination with filial quest narratives may be more broadly read as symptomatic of a deep anxiety over the absence of authority figures, the dismemberment of family units, and the complex interplay between ostensibly perennial moral values and rapidly transforming socio-political circumstances.

Peng Liu (Columbia Univ.), “When History Becomes Fiction: Rewriting a Ming Civil War in Unofficial History of Female Immortals”

Based on the civil war that culminates in the Ming Prince Zhu Di’s 朱棣 (1360–1424) usurpation of his nephew’s throne, the Qing novel Nüxian waishi (Unofficial History of Female Immortals 仙女外史) presents a counter-narrative that contradicts the historical fact and chastises the usurper for his disloyalty to the imperial court. In its unique fashion, the novel mobilizes a group of female immortals to defeat the insurgent prince, which not only rewrites the historical event, but also raises the following issues: What can the novel reveal that the official history does not? What new angles does the novel offer to help explain a dynastic change? By answering these questions, my paper attempts to see how the novel effectively uses gender and religion to interrogate the historical narratives of the time.
Ye Han (ASU), “Unwitting Femme Fatal or Heroine: Female Body and Space in Li Shishi waizhuan”
Many modern and contemporary studies of the chuanqi 傳奇 have viewed the Song chuanqi as plain and less creative. However, in some ways, many of the Song chuanqi texts that failed to grasp the attention of the scholars are elaborate and well written. By examining one of the most representative chuanqi texts of the era – the Informal Biography of Li Shishi (Li Shishi waizhuan 李師師外傳), this paper attempts to explore Song chuanqi’s historical thinking, which indicates a brave willingness to confront the brutal historical reality during the Jurchen Conquest. Moreover, throughout the text, in different details, the author draws a subtle link to the political chaos of the Song Empire with the gradual degeneration of Emperor Huizong. By a close reading of Huizong’s three visits to Li Shishi’s house, I endeavor to show the interaction between the courtesan space and imperial space in Bianjing. The female body in the courtesan space, as the object of sexual desire, serves as another focus of the writing. Li Shishi, is not only the courtesan over whom the Song imperial power and Jurchen forces contest, but also central China, who was being violated by the aggressors. By arguing for the importance of reading the sexual theme of this tale alongside the space, this study attempts to situate the text within the cultural milieu of Song society and further contributes to our understanding of the overall discourse of Song chuanqi.

FRIDAY

Session 3 A: Early Chinese Literature; Chair: Ding Xiang Warner (Cornell)
Friday, Oct. 9, 9:00–10:40 AM — Norlin Library, Room M549

Lisa Indraccolo (Univ. of Zurich), “From Inside Out: Bodily Percepts, Cognitive Taxa, and the Phenomenology of Knowledge in Early China”
Classical Chinese texts associated with the Daoist trend of thought are widely acknowledged to deal with bodily percepts and mental categories, their main focus being the overcoming of such illusory mental boundaries and the achievement of a holistic integrated whole that reconciles the human versus nature dichotomy (Kohn 2014; Sommer 2010). However, a broader analysis shows that also other apparently quite unrelated early Chinese texts provide rather detailed information about how the mind collects sensory data, and subsequently processes and filters these percepts through cognitive categories into classification systems. Most importantly, there seemingly exist a more or less consistent, cross-textual underlying understanding of how the mind works.
The present paper aims at providing an overview of the narrative of cognition as described in understudied “Masters Texts” (ziūshū) traditionally associated with the so-called “School of Names” (müngjìa), Gōngsùn Lóngzǐ, Yīnwénzǐ, and Dēngxìzī. Despite their heterogeneous nature and dubious authenticity as Warring States texts (475-221 B.C.) (Forke 1901; Graham 1986), these works still convey valuable information about and shed light on conscious and unconscious processes of knowledge construction as conceptualized in early Chinese literature. In particular, these texts take a decidedly pragmatic perspective, lucidly describing the functioning of the mind and its relationship with the outer world in terms of cognitive and behavioral responses, though with subtle but
significant differences in respect to the Daoist approach. Emphasis is given especially to the mind’s ability to operate significant distinctions dissecting reality into meaningful, manageable units, and to categorize such perceived units according to appropriate categories (Dan 1974). As it will be shown, such ability is not only necessary for the individual to cognize the world, but also sufficient to ensure univocal correspondence between names and their respective actualities, a fundamental precondition in the broader socio-political project of enacting an integrated harmonious society.


The phenomenon of courage is of fundamental anthropological significance. Displays of courageous behaviour and ascriptions of courage as well as allegations of cowardice relate to such issues as violence, conscience, morality, family obligations as opposed to public duties, self-preservation and self-sacrifice, collective solidarity and struggles for dominance within and between groups, pressures to conform to social norms and expectations, and the desire to hold one’s ground in the face of adversity. Whenever an individual is confronted with a decision between conformity and conflict in his interactions with the surrounding society, the issue of courage comes to the fore. At the same time, courage can be potentially disruptive and, hence, in need of control. The social and moral complexity of courage makes it an excellent instrument to plumb the collective value system and ethical convictions of a society.

On the basis of selected sources from the Warring States and Western Han periods, this talk will explore some of the issues surrounding the concept of courage in early China. Among the questions to be addressed will be the following. How was one of the most frequent terms for courage, yong 勇, used and glossed in early texts? Were there physiological accounts of courage? Was there a tension between martial and civil, concepts of courage? What role did courage play in military thought? Was it supposed to be an invariant quality, or was it thought to be open to fluctuation, or even deliberate manipulation? Given their inevitably violent nature, was there a sense of moral ambivalence about valorous acts? Was it possible to show too much courage?

**Heng Du (Harvard), “Why Do Authors and Persuaders Suffer Alike? Reading Sima Qian in the Context of Masters Texts”**

Sima Qian’s postface to The Records of the Grand Historian is often seen as one of the earliest statements of authorial intent in Chinese history. It is also a highly influential text, whose notion of “venting frustration” (fafen 發憤) became an often-cited model of authorship. Scholars have read Sima Qian’s author statement as evidence for the emerging concept of authorship in the Western Han, in contrast to the at best ambiguous presence of the author in pre-Han texts. Rather than emphasizing discontinuity, my paper reexamines Sima Qian’s postface by placing it in the contexts of texts likely to have been composed earlier. Sima Qian’s postface contains, for instance, a list of aggrieved authors who have “vented frustrations.” But this “genealogy of suffering authors” – to borrow Stephen Durrant’s term – is an likely kin of the “genealogy of suffering persuaders” found in the “Nanyan” 難言 chapter of Hanfeizi. In Mencius 3B, we encounter another parallel to Sima Qian’s discussion of authorship, also in the context of justifying rhetoric and speech. What is the relationship between Sima Qian’s self-conception as an author and the pre-Han discussions of rhetoric and persuasion? How do we read the motif of victimization in these various contexts?
Through a close reading of these related texts, I hope to explore such questions, and read Sima Qian’s postface as part of the transition in textual culture that took between the Warring States and Western Han periods.


When dealing with early Chinese texts one frequently asks when a text was written or compiled, who the author is, how reliable a text is, and whether a text is a forgery or not. These questions are pertinent to the issue of authenticity, of which the understanding of the concept has gone through numerous changes beginning with the Han scholars (e.g. Liu Xiang 劉向, 77–6 B.C.E) who endeavored to sort out massive numbers of early texts preserved in the imperial library. This tradition continues today when manuscripts are discovered after being concealed for nearly two millennia.

The process of establishing, revising, and redefining the concept of, and the criteria for, inauthenticity has generated a great deal of theorization in the field of “Discerning Inauthenticity Studies” (bianwei xue 辨偽學). For example, the three most influential works of the Ming and Qing bianwei school are Song Lian’s 宋濂 (1310–1381) Zhong bian 中子辯 諸子辯, Hu Yinglin’s 胡應麟 (1551–1602) Sibu zheng’e 四部證説, and Yao Jiheng’s 姚際恆 (1647–?) Gujin weishu kao 古今偽書考, among which more than half of the early Chinese texts that have been discussed were labeled as forgeries. Such conclusions were then disputed, and some were even to be proved false in light of newly excavated materials.

However, scholars tend to oversimplify the issue of authenticity into an all-or-nothing dichotomy. On many occasions, due to its complicated textual history, an early text cannot be categorized strictly as authentic or inauthentic. Henceforth, this study attempts to re-examine and evaluate the criteria for discerning inauthenticity that have been employed by Chinese and Western scholars, and to reconsider the very concept of authenticity itself.

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**Session 3 B: Medieval Poetry; Chair: Anna M. Shields (Princeton)**

Friday, Oct. 9, 9:00–10:40 AM — Norlin Library, Room N401

Ping Wang (Univ. of Washington), “Poetic Constructions of Ancestry and Identity by Lu Ji and Xie Lingyun”

What is identity? How is identity constructed? Who needs identity? These are questions that concern each and every one of us. The word “identity” emerged in the late 16th century and has the Latin root that means “same.” This origin suggests the meaning of the word “identity” to be “qualities of being identical.” Identical to what and whom evoke further questions about where we came from, who are our forbearers, and what is the journey of the family of which the individual self cannot but be an extension of? The quest into one’s identity can essentially be summed up in two questions: how did you come to this? What is your story? This paper examines the “relating ancestors” poems of Lu Ji and Xie Lingyun, two famous medieval poets who, in some point of their lives, felt the urge to explain who they were. They did so by presenting a poetic narrative about their ancestors.
The verbs *ying* 映 (“to illuminate”, “to reflect”) and *dai* 帶 (“to belt”, “to carry”) appear nearly seventy times in the work of the eighth-century poet Liu Zhangqing 刘长卿. The basis of this paper is a careful examination of the poet’s use of these two words. What range of meaning can be identified? What common collocations do the words appear in, and how can those be explained? What are the syntactic features of these words? What nuances does the poet exploit? On this basis, I endeavor to establish a conceptual relationship between the two words, delineating their shared ground and exposing the ways they contrast. I then utilize this pair to explore the use of other “poetic verbs” by this poet and consider the role of the poetic verb in his poetry as a whole. My approach should also help clarify past critical appraisals of Liu Zhangqing. To this end, I also survey some recent scholarship on this poet.

Timothy Wai Keung Chan (Hong Kong Baptist Univ.), “Remembrance of the Grotto: The Romantic Poetics of Yuan Zhen and Bai Juyi”
Chen Yinke’s (1890–1969) autobiographic reading of Yuan Zhen’s (779–831) Story of Yingying” and other relevant writings by Yuan and his friend Bai Juyi (772–846) has had a great impact, but this reading has also sparked skepticism on the euhemeristic treatment of the narrative and, when the same theme is presented in poetry, the apparent incongruity of motifs.

The present paper reexamines this circle of literary works written by Yuan and Bai in the early 800s on Yuan’s romance in his early years. The discussion relies crucially on a reconstructed stemma of Yuan’s narrative and poetic representations of this theme. One paradoxical “provenance” of these works is a fifth-century narrative on Liu Chen and Ruan Zhao’s accidental discovery and entry to a grotto where the two fellows experienced romance with two fairies. This tale enjoyed popularity in the Tang and became one major repertoire of Tang erotic literature. Despite its plausible atavistic relationship with the “Story of Yingying,” the avatar-like Liu and Ruan come on the stage when Yuan’s romance takes the form of poetry. In their respective (auto)biographical representations, the two poets each have distinct objectives: Yuan expresses his nostalgia while Bai turns the discourse into a lesson on Buddhist enlightenment.

Yue Hong (City Univ. of Hong Kong), “How Gossip Became History: Poetry, Anecdote and the Making of a fengliu Ideal”
Du Mu (803–852) has been celebrated as a *fengliu* ideal in Chinese history, and his *fengliu* image is very much related to frequent visits to courtesan quarters and love affairs. However, neither his biographies nor literary works provides evidence to support the idea that Du Mu has more affairs than his contemporaries. His *fengliu* reputation, as scholars have noted, was mainly shaped by three anecdotes featuring his sexual adventures. What is interesting about these anecdotes is their power to influence formal historical narrative. While most of the ninth century anecdotes concerning elite men’ sexual adventures have been dismissed as groundless gossip or simply forgotten, those concerning Du Mu have been integrated into his biography and affected our understanding of him as a historical person in significant ways. What made the anecdotes about Du Mu credible and influential? Under what circumstances did anecdotes shape historical narrative? How did gossip become history? I will answer these questions in this paper.
Pauli Tashima (Univ. of North Carolina, Greensboro), “Adaptations and Breakthroughs: Du Yu’s Commentarial Tradition of the Zuozhuan”

In the trajectory of scholarship on the Zuozhuan 左傳, the early Tang period marked the triumph of Du Yu’s 杜預 (222–284) commentary, whereas the Qing dynasty marked the nadir of respect for Du. His champions praised his faithfulness to the Zuozhuan’s interpretations, while detractors criticized his contorted defense of the Zuo’s illogic. The modern debate about Du Yu’s contributions is dichotomous in a different way, as it mostly focuses on his commentary’s value in terms of either the helpfulness or inaccuracies of his comments. Thus both traditional and modern arguments are premised on some ‘objective’ criteria by which his commentary can be judged. Missing in this intellectual terrain is the association of the larger ideological trends of his time with the innovative aspects of his thought and commentarial technique. My paper contextualizes Du Yu’s continuities and breaks with tradition against the political, cultural, and intellectual landscapes of the Wei-Jin period, tying this historical background to an analysis of several works from his oeuvre: the “Preface” for his Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie 春秋經傳集解 (Collected explanations of the [Annals] Classic and [Zuo] Tradition); comments in his Jijie, and remarks in his Chunqiu shili 春秋釋例 (Explications of norms in the Annals). In particular, I argue that Du Yu’s division of the Annals into a primary stratum attributed to the Duke of Zhou, and a secondary stratum to Confucius, builds the scaffolding for his argument about the Zuo Tradition as the only purveyor of insight for distinguishing between the strata. Proven successful in the Tang, Du Yu’s attempt to privilege the Zuo over rival exegetical traditions of the Annals thus not only grows out of historical developments up to his time, but also rests upon the ingenuity and elaboration of a sophisticated mind.

J. Michael Farmer (Univ. of Texas at Dallas), “Blind, Crippled, and Crazy: Calling In Sick During the Reign of Gongsun Shu”

Calling in sick to work is a time-honored practice, and somewhat of an art form in and of itself. Early and medieval Chinese texts are full of instances of individuals claiming various ailments to either excuse themselves from current positions, or to avoid appointments to office. This paper focuses several cases in Chang Qu’s Huayang guo zhi of men who made medical excuses to reject appointments offered by Gongsun Shu (d. 36 CE), the self-proclaimed King, and later, emperor, of Shu. Of particular interest are men who claimed blindness and steadfastly held to those claims in daily life until the Gongsun regime was toppled. I will examine these anecdotes with an eye toward understanding the implicit judgement of Gongsun Shu by Chang Qu, and the role that these men play in Chang’s overall rhetorical project.

Nina Duthie (UCLA), “Origins and Journeys in Wei shu Historiography of the Early Tuoba”

This paper explores Wei shu historiography on the earliest Tuoba Xianbei, the ancestors of the Northern Wei founders. Specifically, it focuses on the Wei shu narrative of the Tuoba Xianbei from the moment of their emergence in a remote northern wilderness during the reign of a son of Huangdi through their successive southward migrations into a more defined territory by the early
fourth century C.E. Broadly speaking, the move represents a shift from inhabiting a vaguely located wilderness region to occupying a state with clearly demarcated boundaries, through a process I describe as a kind of “coming into focus” of Tuoba territory.

I argue that *Wei shu* historiography presents a teleological narrative in which the early Tuoba first civilize the wild lands of their origin, and then, guided by spirit animals through a succession of journeys, move into a new space—one that is defined through the founding of capitals and also ritually constructed through the performance of sacrifices to heaven and earth. It is this narrative of the Tuoba pre-imperial historical past that then prompts the *Wei shu* historian’s commentary that “by the end...[the Tuoba rulers] came to expansively possess all the world,” thereby establishing the ground for the inevitable founding of the imperial Northern Wei state by Tuoba Gui toward the close of the fourth century.

**Stephen Wadley (Portland State Univ.), “A Look at the *Yargian kooli*”**

The *Yargian kooli* (i.e. the *Manzhou shilu*) is a work that first appears during Qianlong times (1779, 1781), though a version of it may have been written earlier. It was produced somewhat along the lines, not official histories of the Chinese dynasties, but rather of the *shilu* tradition. *Shilu* appeared as early as the Six Dynasties period in China but none earlier than the Tang have survived, and both Tang and Song *shilu* remain only in fragments. But many of the *shilu* produced in the Ming dynasty appear to have survived intact. *Shilu* generally represent the day-to-day doings of a particular emperor. They are based on court reportings, private diaries, correspondence, etc. The succeeding emperor generally commissions the work and they remain as manuscripts, not for public consumption.

The *Yargian kooli* departs from the general pattern of *shilu* in a couple of respects. In the first place it is called the *manju i yargian kooli*, ‘the veritable records of the Manchus’ being a history not of a particular emperor but of a people. Secondly, although it essentially covers the time period of Nurhaci’s reign, it was not commissioned until the time of the Qian Long emperor, three emperors and more than a century and a half later. But in other ways it very much resembles *shilu* in both form and substance. It has been criticized as simply a propaganda piece for the Manchu ruling class and its historical value has been denigrated, though some say it was based on earlier works and so is an important historical document.

This paper will take a look at the Manchu *yargian kooli* in terms of its probable origin, the nature of the text and its value as a historical document.

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**Session 4 B: Cultural Encounters in China, Japan, and Korea; Chair: Timothy C. Wong (ASU)**

Friday, Oct. 9, 11:00 AM –12:40 PM — Norlin Library, Room N401


Linked verse is a poetic form in which a series of verses, usually composed by multiple poets, are joined in sequence. In medieval (1185–1600) Japan, on the one hand, aristocrats and the military frequently composed Japanese linked verse (*renga* 连歌), and on the other hand, Zen monks
modeled Chinese linked verse (lianju 聯句) and composed linked verse in classical Chinese (renku 聯句). This paper examines a hybrid of renga and renku – linked verse in Japanese and Chinese (wakan renku 和漢聯句), in which Japanese and Chinese verses are alternated, usually at gatherings of the elites and Zen monks. It focuses on a sequence that includes participation of Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320–1388), a central figure in the development of Japanese linked verse, and Zen monks including Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–1388) and Zekkai Chūshin 絶海中津 (1336-1405), both of whom are famous for being skillful in Chinese poetry. Not only is this sequence a precious record of interactions between Nijō Yoshimoto and the Zen monks, but it also provides valuable materials for us to investigate the juxtaposition, interplay, and integration of the two distinctive literary traditions – renga and renku. Since renku is closely associated with Chinese poetry, this paper further discusses how Chinese poetry indirectly impacted Japanese linked verse, through mediation of Zen monks.

Wook-Jin Jeong (Univ. of Washington), “Poetry Battle between Ming Envoys and Chosŏn Officials: Making a Tradition of Exchanging Poems in the Hwanghwajip”
This paper examines a few collections of Hwanghwajip 皇華集 that were published in Chosŏn in the fifteenth century. The Hwanghwajip was a collection of poetry and prose among Ming envoys to Chosŏn, and Chosŏn Escort Commissioners. From 1450 to 1633, such collections were published for twenty four times by the Chosŏn court influencing diplomatic relationship, literary trends, and perspectives of viewing the other country. This paper focuses on motives of each participant engaged in the creation of the Hwanghwajip: the Ming envoys, the Chosŏn Escort Commissioners, and the Chosŏn court. Analyzing motives of expressing poets’ intentions, this paper argues that the poets exchanged poems for public profits on surface but for individual profits at the same time. By exploring poems by Ming envoys such as Ni Qian 倪謙 (1415–1479) and Qi Shun 祈順, and Chosŏn Escort Commissioners such as Chŏng Inji 鄭麟趾 (1396–1478), Sŏ Kŏjŏng 徐居正 (1420–1488), this paper suggests that they purport to write poems in order to promote goodwill, but simultaneously to show off one’s literary skills. The participant poets were standing for their country, and their literary excellence was identified as their countries’ cultural excellence. By winning over opponents, one could not only dedicate oneself to his country’s benefit, but also promote his reputation. As a result, it became regarded as a great honor to appear in the Hwanghwajip both for Ming and Chosŏn scholar officials. This paper also argues that in this circumstance, one of the reasons that the Chosŏn court continued to publish the Hwanghwajip was to promote pro-Chosŏn understanding among Ming intellectuals.

Hyuk-chan Kwon (City Univ. of Hong Kong), “Rewriting the Classic: Romance of Three Kingdoms Digital Games and the Writing of Multiple Histories”
The ever-increasing popularity of Three Kingdoms (Sanguozhi yanyi 三國志演義) today can be attributed, in part, to the relentless modification and re-creation of its contents by various authors and consumers of digital games. Formerly, traditional readers had their hands tied when it came to intervening in the story plot of Three Kingdoms. With digital games, traditional readers can now write alternative histories that they wished had been in the book. Game players can even reconstruct historical justice by re-creating key events in Asian history and through re-living the lives of hundreds of historical personages from the later Han empire.
Such interaction with the text marks a critical change for the authorship/readership of the original work. Not only has game players’ authorship been expanding, feedback from players has also contributed to a collaborative authorship between developers and game players. This can be interpreted as a critical change for the authorship/readership of the original work. In this way, interactive media might be said to manifest, in a greatly exaggerated and accelerated form, the same impulse already evident in the earliest retellings of the *Three Kingdoms* story.

In this way, I endeavor to show how something as seemingly frivolous and ephemeral as a video game can facilitate exploration of the deeper currents of literary and cultural history.

**Minho Kim (Hallym Univ.), “Chosŏn Intellectuals Meet a Barbarian Monk: The Encounter between Pak Chiwŏn and the Sixth Panchen Lama at Rehe in 1780”**

In August 1780, the Sixth Panchen Lama (1738-80) and his attendant Purangir (1743–1795) from Tibet, envoys from Chosŏn, and a number of Chinese people gathered at Rehe 熱河 to celebrate Emperor Qianlong’s seventieth birthday. This study explores an interesting contrast between the Qing Chinese and Chosŏn Korean’s view of Panchen Lama: Chinese intellectuals deified Panchen Lama, while Chosŏn envoys despised him because they regarded him as a Buddhist monk from a “barbarian” region. Pak Chiwŏn 朴趾源 (1737-1805), a Korean scholar official, recorded this encounter in detail in his *Yŏrhalgi 熱河日記*. Purangir, who accompanied Panchen Lama, also recorded a report about Panchen Lama on behalf of the East India Company. In addition, the Tibetan wrote about Panchen Lama’s visit to China too. The Qing government recorded interactions with him as well. If we compare records from Chosŏn, Purangir, and the Qing Government, we notice both similarities and discrepancies about their descriptions of the Sixth Panchen Lama. This study is an attempt to compare their receptions of Panchen Lama and to examine their perspectives of understanding the Sixth Panchen Lama.

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**Session 5: Early Medieval Culture;**

**Chair: Matthias L. Richter (Univ. of Colorado)**

**Friday, Oct. 9, 2:20–4:00 PM — Norlin Library, Room M549**

**Terry Kleeman (Univ. of Colorado), “Daoist Ethics: Defining the Good in Early Medieval Daoism”**

Most Daoist texts dealing with morality consist of negative statements, lists of prohibitions and taboos, rather than as positive exhortations to good conduct. In the form of precepts, these rules defined Daoist society, since each rank in the Daoist hierarchy observed a different set of precepts, increasing in number and complexity with rank in the church and social status. Such lists give us a good idea of what Daoists of the day considered evil or perverse. We are considerably less well informed about Daoist conceptions of virtuous behavior, as represented in codes that exhort Daoists to positive moral conduct, to acts of goodness. The *Protocol of the Outer Registers (Zhengyi fawen taishang wailu yi)* preserves one list of Five Virtues and two lists of the Nine Merits, which are recorded in connection with one seeking to accumulate merit for the purposes of promotion. The recommended conduct includes both ascetic elements like dietary restrictions as well as thaumaturgical endeavors involving the harnessing of local spirits. These lists will serve as a
point of departure to consider just what was considered worthy and commendable conduct in the early Daoist church, then assess the import of these values in a comparative perspective.

**Jon Felt (Virginia Tech), “Metageography of the Northern and Southern Dynasties”**

In this paper, I examine the complicated construction of the North/South geographical paradigm during the fifth through seventh centuries. I will argue that the idea of China being divided into two equal and complementary Northern and Southern halves is a development of Sui and early Tang literati who sought to legitimate their imperial conquests, claiming “unification” because the two pieces naturally belonged together. This geopolitical construct did not develop during the period actually labeled the Northern and Southern Dynasties. What we see in the fifth and sixth centuries instead is a variety of geographical constructs that make contradictory claims. On the one hand, Yellow and Yangzi River Basin states each tried to appropriate Han imperial geography to assert their own centrality in the world as the only legitimate imperial state, and to dismiss the other as barbarian. On the other hand, these states also made legitimizing claims based upon the superiority of their own local customs to those of their rival. This line of argument accepted the geopolitical notion of a multistate system, but asserted the foreignness of the other state. The goal of both of these geographical paradigms was to assert superiority over the state’s primary political rival, although they employed antithetical geographical concepts to accomplish this. But neither of these dominant metageographies accepted the idea that the two “regional” states were halves of “China” and would inevitably be reunited. This notion was the work of Sui and early-Tang literati.

**Fletcher Coleman (Harvard), “Ascetic Aesthetics: On the Role of the Brahman Ascetic in Early Medieval Buddhist Visual Programs”**

One of the most pervasive yet largely unexamined aspects of early Buddhist art in China is the use of Brahman ascetic imagery. These emaciated ascetics are depicted with the coiled hair, long beards, and garb of an Indian ascetic. First emerging in the decades immediately prior to the establishment of the Northern Wei, these ascetic figures make an appearance in virtually all of the various categories of Buddhist art during the early medieval period.

Despite a near ubiquitous presence and prominent positioning within the visual programs of the period, almost no scholarly attention has been paid to these Brahman ascetics. My investigations into examples of these figures have yielded a rich web of visual precursors whose evolution can be charted back through the preceding centuries into Gandhara and Northern India. It is no secret that the religious works of the early medieval period reveal a strong awareness of Central Asian and Indian art. Yet, the question of why artisans coopted the motif of the Brahman ascetic figure and what exact purpose it served in the visual programming of early medieval China remains virtually untouched.

Taking second-phase cave construction at the Yungang caves as my primary site of exploration, I explore the manner in which the Brahman ascetic is integrated into the visual programs of the early medieval period. Inside the framework of the Buddha’s life story, the ascetic figure reveals points of contact with and co-option of non-Buddhist praxis and reflects the increasingly complex development of Buddhist penitential rituals. Ultimately, the Brahman ascetic represents a liminal figure situated on the borders of religious, physical, and narrative space. This newfound understanding of the role of the Brahman ascetic carries widespread implications: it
requires a reevaluation of the iconographic programs at Yungang and a rethinking of the boundaries between narrative, icon, and ritual.


Medieval Chinese manuscripts, the overwhelming majority of which were excavated in the two Silk Road towns of Turfan and Dunhuang, have been significant primary sources for medievalists in Chinese studies. Researchers have focused primarily on “what the texts say,” and the excavated texts have yielded a wealth of historical data largely absent from the records produced by officials and the elite class. But beyond the textual content, what else can these manuscripts tell us about medieval China?

The fast growing field of Chinese manuscript studies impels researchers to pay attention to the “extra-textual” features of excavated texts from medieval Turfan and Dunhuang. For example, in his book on Tang literary culture Christopher M. B. Nugent, a pioneer in approaching medieval Chinese manuscripts from the angle of manuscript studies, reminds us that in an era when oral transmission and hand-copied texts coexisted, poems were not simply literary works; they were also material objects with distinct physical attributes, and were subject to a continuous process of alteration as they were circulated. Other scholars, sometimes while doing work not recognized as falling under the rubric of manuscript studies, have also made considerable contributions to the field of medieval Chinese studies.

In this presentation, I propose to give a brief introduction to the development of manuscript studies in the field of medieval Chinese studies, illustrate methodologies of reading Turfan and Dunhuang manuscripts, and find in those manuscripts stories that the traditional method of reading “what the characters say” cannot help but miss. I hope this survey of medieval Chinese manuscript studies will bring attention to this growing field, inspire new ideas, and offer a new perspective for scholars working in related fields.

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Session 6: Early Imperial and Medieval History;
Chair: Timothy Wai Keung Chan (Hong Kong Baptist Univ.)
Friday, Oct. 9, 4:20–6:00 PM — Norlin Library, Room M549


Inspired by the works of John Fairbanks and Yü Ying-shih, the common understanding of early imperial Chinese diplomacy is equaled with the ‘tributary system’ concept. This is to say that foreign entities had contact with both Han (and later) empires mainly to secure economic profit. This assessment rests on the assumption that renditions of tribute (gong 領) generally were copiously reciprocated with so-called ‘counter-gifts’ by the imperial court. To the minds of all foreigners, then, delivering tribute was only a ‘cloak for trade’ (Fairbanks, Yü) devoid of any notion of actual submission. On the other hand, both Han courts are believed to have silently tolerated such ‘economic exchanges’ because receiving tribute was identified with at least nominal acceptance of
Chinese suzerainty. More importantly, though, early Chinese emperors came to view tribute as confirmation of their claim to universal power.

However, the situation as it is depicted in received literature is far more complex than past scholarship has led us to believe. By retracing different methods of diplomatic interaction to Chunqiu and Zhanguo times, I shall demonstrate that Han diplomacy was anything but an ideological exercise. I am also going to show that the courts of both Han dynasties continued to apply strategies of diplomatic interaction that had been established in the preceding centuries. They simply adapted such strategies to the necessities of the time.

Mei Ah Tan (Hang Seng Management College, Hong Kong), “The Monetary System and Policies of Tang Dynasty China”

The Tang Dynasty monetary system and policies established various measures to increase the monetary supply and to control the monetary market; some of these features and policies demonstrated features of modern society. To increase monetary supply, the court tried to secure a source of copper for minting, to inflate the face value of coins, to forbid the melting and large storage of coins, and to restrict the use of coins for large transactions. At one point, there were even proposals to condone private minting. To control the monetary market, the imperial court made multiple attempts to combat counterfeiting, which included imposing severe punishment on offenders, educating commoners about forged coins, and reminting and destroying forged coins either through mandatory exchange or confiscation. In addition to these measures, additional innovations were implemented during the Tang Dynasty, which included coin inscriptions that focused on the function of copper coins rather than its intrinsic value, the operation of “flying money,” and the use of copper coins as a measure of unit for state payment in the Two-Tax System.

This paper reviews the monetary system and policies of Tang Dynasty China from the two perspectives mentioned above: monetary supply and the control of the monetary market. It examines the problems of counterfeiting and the melting of coins that were believed to be closely related to the shortage of coins. Ultimately, it illuminates the clash between the market system based on democratic principles and the tributary system based on aristocratic power.

Anthony DeBlasi (Univ. at Albany), “Redeeming the Imperial Ancestors: The Political Use of the Concept of ‘Restoration’ (zhongxing 中興) in Tang Dynasty Political Discourse”

The notion that the rise and fall of dynasties (xingwang 興亡) was a complex process, the phases of which were signaled in various ways by the state of the realm, was already an old one by the time the Tang dynasty was founded in A.D. 618. One of the most important of these phases was the mid-dynastic “restoration” of glory (the so-called zhongxing 中興). It presumed that if a dynasty had endured for more than a few reigns, then it was possible for a gifted emperor to emerge to respond to troublesome signs to arrest the slide to moral decay and collapse. Thus, Han Guangwudi 漢光武帝 received credit for restoring the Han after the usurpation of Wang Mang 王莽 in A.D. 23.

In historical hindsight, this analysis was both relatively straightforward and politically safe. Dynasties of the past were, by definition, no longer politically relevant. Recognizing their temporary restoration simply acknowledged the values that the earlier dynasty had ultimately abandoned, leading to its overthrow. When applied to the current dynasty, the rhetoric of restoration could be politically powerful (as it drew on imperial ambitions to match the achievements of the founders).
However, that very power made it a dangerous tool in an official’s arsenal since it implicitly called into question the actions of immediate imperial predecessors. This essay examines the deployment of “restoration” in the writings of Tang officials to identify the moments it became productive and to trace the way the credit for “restoration” shifted as the fortunes of the Tang dynasty changed over time.

SATURDAY

Session 7 A: Rhapsodies; Chair: David R. Knechtges (Univ. of Washington)
Saturday, Oct. 10, 10:00–11:15 AM — Norlin Library, Room M549

Qiulei Hu (Whitman College), “‘Such Joy Cannot Endure’: Jian’an Discourse on qing 情”

Jian’an literati’s representations of women pay much more attention to the expression of emotions (qing 情) than the description of external appearances. Their writings of qing, however, often focus on its negative or even dark side, such as its impermanency and inconsistency. One of the common themes across different literary genres is the loss of love or lament for abandonment. Why is Jian’an literati’s writing about qing often overshadowed by its betrayal and loss? What did they show such interest in the portrayal of abandoned women and widowed wives? This paper discusses a common recognition of the transient nature of qing, or human emotions/relations, seen in Jian’an literary works, including fu, shi poems and prose. This common attitude toward qing has much to do with the prevalent perception of the brevity of human life and is probably the reason behind the popularity of the literary trope of “abandoned women” in the Jian’an period.

Jie Wu (Murray State Univ.), “Yang Jiong 楊炯 (650–ca. 694) and his ‘Laorenxing fu’ 老人星賦”

Canopus, known in China as the “Old Man Star” (laorenxing 老人星), is the second brightest star in the sky after Sirius. Canopus is not visible to those living above latitude 37 degrees north. Chinese capital cities from the Qin to the Song dynasties were located very close to Canopus’ northern limit of visibility, and therefore the star became an auspicious omen in pre-modern China. It was believed that once Canopus was visible, the realm would be blessed with peace and prosperity, and the ruler would enjoy longevity.

In this paper I will explain the influence of astrology on political legitimacy and the use of astrological omens in politics in China. I will then discuss Yang Jiong’s 楊炯 (650–ca. 694) “Laorenxing fu” 老人星賦, which was written in the 690’s after Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (624–705, r. 690–705) ascended the throne. I point out that this fu demonstrates the role of literature in the creation and justification of legitimacy. In this laudatory poem, Yang Jiong, a court poet and astrologer, tried to provide astrological and historical proof of legitimacy for Empress Wu and gain personal recognition from the imperial court.
Han Ding (NUS), “Imperial Examination, Old-style Prose Movement and Travelogues: Poetic Travelogue in the Mid-Tang Rhapsody (Fu)”

Mid-Tang literature can never be fully separated from the social and literary activities. The imperial examination system reached an unprecedented height in the Mid-Tang Dynasty, coinciding with the emergence of old-style prose movement. During this period, perhaps one of the most interesting phenomena was the close connections amongst poetic travelogue in rhapsodies, imperial examination and old-style prose movement. On one level the rhapsodies mainly recounted the authors’ journey not long before or after taking imperial examination. On another level these authors were all loyal advocates of the old-style prose movement. This paper is an attempt to address the profound changes in the way which the rhapsodies were written under the influence of these two factors.

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Newell Ann Van Auken (Univ. of Iowa), “Bēng, bōng, zú: Words for Death and Mourning and Systems of Graded Rank in Early China”

Eminent British art historian Jessica Rawson has proposed that the rituals of early China “enable the family structure and the political order to be seen.” Archaeological evidence from tombs indicates that wealth and material objects were deployed in prescribed ways to display rank, and ritual handbooks contain instructions for rigidly choreographed ceremonies in which hierarchy was displayed by means of movement across space. Historical accounts, too, bear witness to a complex hierarchy that governed kinship, political, and social interactions. But this system of rank was not monolithic; it certainly evolved over time and also varied geographically. In this paper, I compare ways in which two early textual traditions, the Spring and Autumn (Chūnqū 春秋) and the “Qū lǐ” 曲禮 section of the Record of Rites (Lǐjì 礼記), employed terminology to indicate graded rank. I examine words and phrases used in reference to death and mourning rites, starting with the graded set of verbs meaning “die”: bēng 崩, bōng 崩, and zú 卒 and also explore naming conventions and forms of address. I show that although much of the terminology was similar, differences in usage indicate that the underlying hierarchical systems set forth in these two texts diverged in fundamental ways. In exploring possible reasons for these differences, one question I seek to answer is whether either represented a retrospective idealization of past hierarchy, or whether they represented two actual but different hierarchical systems, which perhaps dated to different eras.

Liang Cai (Univ. of Notre Dame), “The Master Kept A Distance from His Own Son: Is Confucian Morality based on Family Affection?”

Consanguineous affections and filial piety have been heated topics in the study of Confucianism. Scholars have asked if xiao (filial piety) is the root of Confucian morality and if it leads to moral corruption. Despite different answers to those questions, xiao is generally reduced to family affection, and loving one’s parents, in turn, is said to be the most fundamental human emotion praised by Confucians. During the debate over the filial piety, one passage—Analects 16.13—has drawn little attention from scholars. Cheng Kang 陳亢, a disciple of Confucius, asked the master’s
son Boyu if he had received anything different from what other students received. Cheng was pleased to find out that Confucius not only taught the same teachings to his own son but also kept a distance from him.

Attempting to explore the apparent tension between devotion to the master and devotion to the parents, I point out that the family lives of both Confucius and his disciples were absolutely overshadowed by their communal life together. Xiao in the Analects refers to affections beyond parent-child love and is used to prescribe the relationship between teacher and disciples. Although graded love—prioritizing the love of one’s family—has been characterized as one of the most prominent ethical doctrines of Confucianism, it finds no place in Confucius’ learning community. Furthermore, according to Confucius and Mencius, young children are emotionally attached to their parents; but adults’ love of their parents, while still spontaneous and natural, is sporadic and inconsistent. That love needs to be constantly reawakened by appealing to specific circumstances and by the moral action of xiao. Equating family love with xiao and regarding consanguineous affections as primary moral resources of Confucian ethics is a misreading of early Confucianism.

Richard John Lynn (Univ. of Toronto), “Confucian Statecraft and Arcane Leaning”

Arcane leaning (xuanxue), which developed during the period of disunity after the collapse of the Han in 220 A.D., shifted attention from external and formulaic rules of social and individual thought, applied “wisdom” associated with Confucian sagehood, to spontaneous and unselfconscious behavior associated with “original human nature” and the great, natural Dao. The proponents of arcane learning, principally Wang Bi (226–249) and Guo Xiang (253–312), through Wang’s commentaries on the Classic of Changes and the Daode jing (Classic of the Way and Virtue) and Guo’s on the Zhuangzi (Sayings of Master Zhuang) fostered this new trend by redefining the concept of the sage-ruler in Daoist terms, a move they hoped would serve as catalyst for the regeneration of self and society and the foundation of a worldly utopia. Daoist foundational texts were thus read as treatises of statecraft, “advice to the prince,” blurring the Confucian-Daoist sectarian divide insisted on by so many later Chinese thinkers. This presentation will focus on Guo Xiang’s Lunyu tilue (Essentials of the Analects), a little studied text that exists only in fragments. Nine short passages are collected in Ma Guohan 馬國瀚 (1794–1857), Yuban shanfang jiyi shu 玉函山房輯佚書 (Fragments of Lost Works Gathered at the Jade Casket Studio), all gleaned from Huang Kan 皇侃 (488–545) Lunyu jijie yishu (Collected Explications and Expository Commentary to the Analects). All these original passages, with translations, will be presented with annotation and analysis.

Session 8 A: Buddhism and Poetry; Chair: Antje Richter (Univ. of Colorado)


In the context of recent scholarly endeavors to reassess the value of so-called “verse on the mystery” (xuanyan shi 玄言詩), a prevalent poetic mode of early medieval China, the collected writings of the poet-monk Zhi Dun 支遁 (314–366) are particularly inviting as specimens. These include a series of
poems that are labelled “encomia” (zan 贊) on paintings of buddhas and bodhisattvas. In my paper, I adopt a notion of genre as an unfixed, adaptive form of writing and reexamine Zhi Dun’s “Preface and Encomium on a Painting of Śākyamuni Buddha” (Shijiawenfo xiangzan bing xu 釋迦文佛像讚并序) as a fu-like versification of the historical Buddha’s life. Although the religious historian Eric Zürcher long ago produced an annotated translation of the preface, he was interested in extracting its religious content rather than assessing its significance in Chinese literary history. Indeed, Zürcher claimed that Zhi Dun’s extant encomia were “rhetorical products with little content and even less inspiration,” and due to their “extreme artificiality and intentional obscurity,” he considered his own translation of the preface to be “at times hypothetical.” However, even a great scholar such as Zürcher could be sometimes blinded by disciplinary divisions between “religious” and “literary” studies. Here by attending to the literary qualities of Zhi Dun’s writings I argue that the poet-monk uses formal conventions associated with the “epideictic” or “grand fu” (dafu 大賦) in an attempt to elevate the status of Buddhism in the mid-fourth century. The implications of reading Zhi Dun’s “Preface and Poems” thus connect him not only to other contemporary Chinese representations of the Buddha, but also to the past and present uses of the fu to exalt the metropolises, architecture, and geography of Chinese empire.

Nicholas Morrow Williams (Hong Kong Baptist Univ.), “The Universe is a Single Flower: Wang Wei’s Poeticized Buddhism as Key to His Buddhist Poetics”
The Buddhist content and orientations of Wang Wei’s poetry are well-known, to the extent that Wang Wei’s Buddhism has become something of a scholarly cliché. Yet there is also in English-language scholarship a contrarian tendency to de-emphasize the importance of Buddhism in his poetry. For instance, in her insightful analysis of Wang Wei’s style, Eva Shan Chou argues that our interpretation of Wang Wei’s poetic language should take precedence to any correlation with Buddhist doctrines. In response to the kind of argument encapsulated so vividly therein, this paper asserts the counter-contrarian argument that Buddhism is fundamental to Wang Wei’s poetics. One way to reorient our understanding of Wang Wei’s poetry is to consider his scandalously overlooked writings that explicitly present Buddhist doctrines. In luminous prose and verse, Wang Wei discusses his own appreciation of Buddhist doctrine and presents Buddhism-informed cosmology and aesthetics. The “Stele Epitaph for the Sixth Patriarch, Chan Master Huineng,” for instance, apart from its central importance as a document of early Chan, is also a stylistically refined composition that concludes with tetrasyllabic verse. More than the doctrinal content of Wang Wei’s Buddhist writings, it is their visual symbolism and formal structure that offer new insight into the spiritual meaning of his poetic oeuvre.

Although Buddhist monks had been writing poetry in Chinese since at least the early fourth century, the term “poet-monk” (shiseng 詩僧) was not coined until the High Tang, over four hundred years later. But what exactly does this term mean? In this paper, I read a variety of poems and prefaces to trace the historical transformations of this term from its coinage until the founding of the Song dynasty in 960. What began as a highly localized designation of Jiaoran’s circle in Jiangnan spread to the capital region and then the rest of the Tang empire over the next two centuries, with later centers of poet-monk activity in Lushan and Chengdu. At the same time, the history of the term
“poet-monk” serves as an index of the changing relationship between Buddhist and poetic practices. In the High and Mid Tang, Buddhism and poetry were conceived of as distinct spheres of activity; by the Five Dynasties, they are considered to be fully harmonizable. I argue that these two phenomena are directly related: with the collapse of the Tang empire which began in the 880s, a black hole emerged at the cultural center of Chang’an, and two supra-political institutions gained new importance as the common touchstones which bound the various kingdoms together: Buddhism and literature. A number of poet-monks, dispersed throughout the Tang’s former territory, reconstructed their own sub-tradition at this crucial time, thus painting themselves as the inheritors of both binding cultural forces.

Jue Chen (Princeton), “Enlightenment Pressure or Literary Pleasure? Poetry and Daily Life in Song Dynasty Chan Community”

Although in the first place Chan Buddhism in China claimed to not rely on language for transmission, the practice known as wenzi Chan 文字禪, in which words and texts played a crucial role in transmitting Chan teachings, was warmly embraced in the Song 宋 (960–1279), and in this context many monks composed poetry. While mainstream materials in China, such as recorded sayings and lamp records, mainly preserve poems concerning dharma teaching or enlightenment, other sources, exemplified by the anthology Jōwa shū 貞和集 compiled by Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–1388) in Japan, provide a broader picture of how poetry used to permeate through almost every aspect of daily life in Song dynasty Chan community. This paper examines a variety of daily issues that have become topics of poetic composition by Chan monks. While in theory poetry functioned to boost enlightenment, it was actually also an enjoyable lifestyle for monks in the Song. Occasions for poetic composition in Chan community were often similar to those in secular society, though monks had their preferred themes and genres, and showed unique taste for styles. The poetic tradition in Chan community was well inherited in Japan, but in China it was gradually lost after the fall of the Song dynasty. Investigation of it today could not only improve our understanding of Song poetry in general but also shed light on the social-historical research of Chan Buddhism in Song China.

Session 8 B: Late Imperial Literature and Culture I;
Chair: Stephen Wadley (Portland State Univ.)
Saturday, Oct. 10, 11:30 AM –1:10 PM — Norlin Library, Room N401

Thomas Jülch (Ghent Univ.), “The Representation of Buddhist Apologetic Thought in Song Dynasty Buddhist Historiographic Literature”

In Nanbeichao, Sui, and early Tang times, Chinese Buddhist apologists composed a great variety of works designed to justify the presence of Buddhism in China. The apogee of this apologetic tradition was the work of the early Tang monk Falin (572–640), which I studied and semi-translated in my monograph Bodhisattva der Apologetik: die Mission des buddhistischen Tang-Mönchs Falin, 3 vols. (Munich: Utz, 2014). With the emergence of Neoconfucianism the self-presentation of Buddhism in China changed. However, as this talk will show, much of Buddhist apologetic thought still reappears in the Buddhist historiographic literature of the Song dynasty. As a basis for my discussion of this
matter I have chosen one exemplary text of Song dynasty Buddhist historiography, the “Fayun tongsai zhi” 法運通塞志, an annalistic history of Buddhism in China, which occupies j. 34 to 48 of the Fozi tongji 佛祖統紀 (T 2035).

Hin Ming Frankie Chik (ASU), “The Emperor and the Interpretation on Confucian Canons: The Destiny of Mencius and that of Mencius during the Hongwu period (1368–98)”
The issue of how emperors in ancient China influenced the development of thought, in particular the interpretation of the Confucian Canons (or Classics) has been a controversy for a long time. As an autocrat, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, the First Emperor of the Ming dynasty, had attempted to control the right of interpreting Mencius, one of the Confucian Canons since the Song dynasty, twice in order to securing his sovereignty. These attempts included: removing Mencius from the Confucian temple and the composition of Mengzi jiwen 孟子節文 [Selected Text of Mencius]. However, lack of information has caused scholars to ignore the importance of these attempts. Although scholars have tried to focus their attentions on the Hongwu 洪武 emperor’s attitude to Mencius and his text, in my view, there are two drawbacks in their research. Firstly, most of them have paid particular attention to his second attempt yet they have always tended to depreciate the significance of his first attempt. Secondly, many scholars have lopsidedly argued that the actions of the First Emperor represented the case that imperial power overwhelmed the authority of the Confucian Canons. This paper, therefore, aims to seek a reassessment of the Hongwu emperor interpretation of the Confucian Canons. By closely reading the received historical documents, the present writer discovered that the Hongwu emperor had never intended, as scholars said previously, to suppress Confucianism, but endeavored to strike a balance between imperial power and the authority of Confucian Canons.

Yingying Sun (Univ. of Washington), “Manuscript Study and Book Collecting in the Ming and Qing”
Before the discovery of Dunhuang manuscripts from the Mogao Grottoes, was there a field in the scholarly world that can be designated as manuscript study? To answer this question, this paper focuses on the role that manuscripts played among the book collector-scholars during the Ming and Qing. Although collectors also sought and acquired rare or calligraphically well-executed manuscripts, their appreciation of manuscripts was more artistic than scholarly. The obsession with fine printed Song and Yuan versions was common and thus demoted the status of manuscripts as a subject of interest among literati elites. The phenomenon that hand-copying fine printed Song and Yuan versions with precision to make manuscripts and printed versions look exactly the same also reflected collectors’ preference of printed version over manuscript.

Chengjuan Sun (Kenyon College), “Understanding the Hilarious and Playful Poems by the Qing Xingling Poets”
Humorous poems first flourished in the Song dynasty at the hands of Huang Tingjian, Su Shi, Xin Qiji, and Yang Wanli, and proliferated again among the Xingling poets such as Yuan Mei, Zhao Yi, and Zhang Wentao in the mid-Qing. The renewed interest in spicing quotidian trivia with jokes and aestheticizing the mundane minutiae was closely related to the Xingling ideal, which may be loosely translated as inborn sensibility or native inspiration. The charm of wit was hailed by Yuan Mei and
his friends and followers as the touchstone of a poet’s true talent and constituted the core of Xingling. This paper will examine some of their hilarious, humorous, and playful verses to discuss how such works serve to assert their shared position on what good poetry is, and how wit is employed as a form of rebellion against convention and authority. In perceiving incongruity and debunking pretensions at various levels, the pursuit of humor renders their works defiantly populist and decidedly idiosyncratic.

Session 9: Song Literature and Culture; Chair: Ronald Egan (Stanford)
Saturday, Oct. 10, 3:30–4:45 PM — Norlin Library, Room M549

Y. Edmund Lien (Univ. of Washington), “A Critical Study on Shao Yong’s Huangji jingshi shu”

Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011–1077) in his Huangji jingshi shu 皇極經世書 manages to establish a correlation among items from a long list: hexagrams in the Book of Changes, the binary number system, the calendric structure of days, months, years, generations, and beyond, reign calendars and major events in the dynastic history, an enumeration scheme based on alternating radices of 12 and 30, the celestial stems and terrestrial branches, solar terms (節氣, jieqi), the creation theory based on Dao and yin-yang, and a philosophy that cosmological and worldly events are cyclic. This report reviews briefly his correlative system, presents key assumptions in his approach, and identifies a few problematic or controversial areas. For example, his view on the philosophy of Heaven-Man resonance reflects a sun-earth-centered bias. His work can be viewed as historiography with bao-bian 褒贬 based on traditional moral values but extended into the cosmological realm.

Yunshuang Zhang (UCLA), “The Studio as A Social Space: Vimalakīrti’s 維摩詰 Chamber or Wei Yingwu’s 韋應物 Couch?”

Simply speaking, the studio (shuzhai 書齋) is an enclosed site specifically used for reading, writing and art creating. Although a few studios are recorded in pre-Song texts, during the Song dynasty the studio becomes an indispensable cultural space for literati. In the Song, it is frequently celebrated in literature as a private space, which excludes political and even domestic lives, being primarily enjoyed by the individual self. The gesture of “being alone in the studio” is represented as the epitome of literati daily life.

However, private spaces are, after all, never completely private. The studio is represented in Song literary writings as a mostly private space in the sense that it also allows for limited interactions and is used for display. In other words, it is also a space for social exchange, but this exchange is greatly different from those in other meeting spaces since the studio only opens to a very small group of invited friends. Thus, this paper will explore this highly selective attribute of the studio space, and how Song literati manipulate certain tropes or allusions to define the studio as a meeting space exclusively for the studio owner and his closest friend.

This paper examines Buddhist monks’ individualized viewpoints preserved in their biji (miscellaneous notes), idiosyncratic collections composed for varied personal motives. Among the approximate five hundred titles in the Quan Song biji 全宋筆記, only six were composed by Buddhist monks. Despite their rarity in the whole biji repertoire in the Song, these collections stand out as an alternative source to explore the dynamic social world in which Buddhist monks and literati compete, negotiate, and associate. By looking closely at the six biji collections, I discuss how Buddhist monks defended their independence against political pressure, how they socialized with prominent literary figures, and how they competed politically with the Confucian scholars in court. Examining this group of collections also sheds light upon generic questions regarding the biji. In particular, does an author’s identity as a Buddhist monk make his biji automatically Buddhist? What is the value of biji for studying Buddhism in the Song? This study shows that the author’s personal motives play a more important role than the author’s Buddhist identity in the composition of a biji. Moreover, the value of these materials lies not only in what they reveal explicitly, but also in what they may imply. In this study, I pay special attention to textual materials preserved exclusively in the biji collections by Buddhist monks, and later incorporated into the official records. From these materials, I attempt to demonstrate the value of biji in studying the social history of Buddhism: they present an alternative image of the historical figures, and provide details that are intriguing to these Buddhist monks but ignored by contemporary compilers of standard histories.

Session 10: Late Imperial Literature and Culture II;
Chair: Madeline Spring (Univ. of Hawai’i at Mānoa)
Saturday, Oct. 10, 5:00 –6:40 PM — Norlin Library, Room M549

Richard VanNess Simmons (Rutgers), “Lǐ Rǔzhēn’s Discriminating Appraisal of Pronunciations and the Continuity of the Mixed Guānhuà Koiné in the Late Qing”

The late Qing scholar Lǐ Rǔzhēn 李汝珍 (c. 1763–1830) [字作松石松石 東人], is perhaps best known for his novel Jīng huā yuán 鏡花緣 [Romance of Flowers in the Mirror]. But mention of him usually includes at least passing reference to his innovative rime table Lǐ Shī Yīnjiān 李氏音鑑 [Mr. Lǐ’s Discriminating Appraisal of Pronunciations]. As Lǐ Rǔzhēn was a native of Dàxīng 大興 in Zhīlì 直隸 (now encompassed within the territory of modern Běijīng), his rime table is thought by some to be a record of the Běijīng dialect of his time. But in fact Lǐ Shī Yīnjiān presents a mixed phonology that incorporates the commonly accepted contemporary norms of both northern and southern forms of Guānhuà 官話, nán yīn 南音 and běi yīn 北音. This mixed form is cause for critical dismissal of the work by scholars of Chinese language history, who note that it thus does not purely represent a single historical dialect. However the koiné phonology that Lǐ Shī Yīnjiān outlines shares a great deal in common with the mixed standard for the first version of the National Pronunciation (Guóyīn 國音) established in 1913 that came to be known as Lǎngqīng Guānhuà 藍青官話. Hence, from a sociolinguistic perspective Lǐ Rǔzhēn’s system is quite instructive concerning attitudes toward the spoken language varieties used by educated literati in the late
imperial era. The present study undertakes a thorough comparison of the *Li Shì Yìngjiàn* and 1913 *Guóyīn* phonologies and investigates the details of the sociolinguistic issues uncovered by the shared features of the two systems.

**Timothy C. Wong (ASU), “Old *xiaoshuo* as Performance: Another Look at the *Shuibu zhuan*”**

The paper considers the spoken-narrative style of the *Shuibu zhuan* (*The Water Margin*), one the best-known of the extended Chinese vernacular fictional narratives (*xiaoshuo*) that appeared in the Ming dynasty. It tries to answer a question still largely unexamined: Why were the various texts set down in the vernacular at a time and place when all other writings were rendered in the deeply-respected “classical” language (*wenyan*)?

The answer points to the fundamental difference between old *xiaoshuo* and modern novels. In contrast to modern novelistic texts, which are “created” and set down permanently in writing, the *Shuibu zhuan* and extended *xiaoshuo* it helped establish “evolved,” with differing editions changing, sometimes significantly, through time—like a story told and retold orally by different story-tellers. This is why the *Shuibu zhuan*, which features a host of “heroes” who eventually gather together in a Shandong marsh, consist of episodic plots with dramatic surface details, appears lacking as a work with a consistent “point of view” and “wholly planned by a master intelligence,” as a modern and westernized critic like T. C. Hsia would expect.

In analyzing the *Shuibu zhuan* therefore, we need to take into account its evolutionary character, which fits the spontaneous vernacular language it employs. Rather than a “consistent” work done once to express one major point of view, the *Shuibu zhuan* gathers together performances of many storytellers before hundreds of audiences, literally through centuries. The focus has to be on the immediate and the dramatic, even the sensational—not what is unchanging and even thematic. As different from *wenyan* as it was the vernacular language these oral storytellers employed became so much a part of their art that it was eventually preserved in writing.

**Scott W. Gregory (ASU), “Before and After the Fire: Readings of Vernacular Fiction from the Center and the Margins of Empire”**

Despite the reputation it earned due to its linguistic register, its audiences, and its evergreen popularity, the long-form vernacular fiction of the Ming dynasty first took shape as a printed phenomenon among the elite. Early editions of masterworks such as the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and *The Water Margin* were printed and read by courtiers. Later editions, however, were published by for-profit printers for consumption by wider audiences. With this move, they were infused with new and even subversive meanings that would seem in opposition to the earlier milieu.

To triangulate this point where vernacular fiction traversed from the center to the margins, this paper examines two possible readings of *The Water Margin* by a single reader at different points in his life. The official, poet, and playwright Li Kaixian (1502–1568) was among the early literati admirers of the work in the capital. Later, after he was removed from office and exiled, he rewrote an episode from the novel as a play expressing his frustrations with official life. From these two positions vis-à-vis *The Water Margin*, we can see two distinct, yet reconcilable, possibilities for the reception of vernacular fiction.