

Travels, Dreams and Collecting of the Past:
A Study of “Qiantang Meng” (A Dream by Qiantang River) in Late Imperial Chinese

Literature

by

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ABSTRACT

My dissertation primarily investigates the vast literary corpus of “Qiantang meng” 錢塘夢 (A dream by Qiantang River, 1499, QTM hereafter), the earliest preserved specimen of the Chinese vernacular story of the “courtesan” 煙粉 category, which appears first in the mid-Hongzhi 弘治 period (1488-1505). The story treats a Song scholar Sima You 司馬樵 (?) who traveled in Qiantang and dreamed of a legendary Su Xiaoxiao 蘇小小, a well-educated and talented courtesan who supposedly lived during the Southern Qi 南齊 (479-520). Fundamentally, I am concerned with how and why an early medieval five-character Chinese poem, questionably attributed to Su Xiaoxiao herself, developed across the later period of pre-modern Chinese literary history into an extensive repertoire that retold the romantic stories in a variety of distinctive literary genres: poems, lyric songs, essays, dramas, ballads, vernacular stories, miscellaneous notes, biographical sketches, etc. The thematic interest of my research is to evaluate how travel and dream experiences interactively form a mode whose characteristics could help develop a clearer understanding of *biji* 筆記 (miscellaneous notes) as a genre which is representational and presentational, exhibiting a metadramatic textual pastiche that collects both fact and fiction. The timeless popularity of QTM storylines reflect and express the trope of the “travel and dream” experience. This is something of a “living” complex of elements through which a textual community in later generations can reconstruct their authorial and cultural identity by encountering, remembering and reproducing those elements in the form of autobiographical and biographical expression of a desiring subject. Travel and dream experiences are cross-referenced, internally

dialogical, mutually infiltrating, and even metaphorically interchangeable. They are intertwined to create a liminal realm of pastiches in which we can better examine how the literati in the Yuan (1271-1368), Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties formed their own views about a past which shapes and is shaped by both collective and individual memory. Such retellings both construct and challenge our understanding of the complex networks of lexical and thematic exchange in the colloquial literary landscape during the late imperial period.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“Qiantang Meng” as a Literary Heritage

My dissertation primarily investigates the vast literary corpus of “Qiantang meng” 錢塘夢 (A dream by Qiantang River, 1499, QTM hereafter), the earliest preserved specimen of the Chinese vernacular story of the “courtesan” 煙粉 category, which appears first in the mid-Hongzhi 弘治 period (1488-1505). The story treats a Song scholar Sima You 司馬樵 (?) who traveled in Qiantang and dreamed of a legendary Su Xiaoxiao 蘇小小, a well-educated and talented courtesan who supposedly lived during the Southern Qi 南齊 (479-520). Fundamentally, I am concerned with how and why an early medieval five-character Chinese poem, questionably attributed to Su Xiaoxiao herself, developed across the later period of pre-modern Chinese literary history into an extensive repertoire that retold the romantic stories in a variety of distinctive literary genres: poem, lyric song, prose, fiction, drama, ballads, vernacular story, miscellaneous notes, biographical sketches, etc. The thematic interest of my research is to evaluate how travel and dream experience interactively form a mode whose characteristics could help develop a clearer understanding of *biji* 筆記 (miscellaneous notes) as a genre which is representational and presentational, exhibiting a metadramatic textual pastiche that collects both fact and fiction. Methodologically, I will depend on close reading and historicized analysis of diverse texts, most of which have rarely been studied. This use of translation of the tale across genres provides a strong theoretical tool to use in the

dialogical reconstruction of interconnected textual communities. I will make use of a large number of studies of travels and dreams in vernacular and performative literature, as well as of interdisciplinary studies of woodblock illustrations, visual arts, and print culture.

QTM relates the story of a scholar Sima You who, after roaming around the natural wonders of Hangzhou 杭州 and West Lake 西湖, ventured to the banks of the Qiantang River. There, he found some bones and buried them. A female ghost then appeared in his dream to repay his act of kindness and offered to be his wife. Sima first refused, but later was deeply moved by the lady's enchanting singing of the first half of a lyric song. Unfortunately the scholar was startled awake as he was on the verge of questioning her further and, in a dejected state, he morosely completed the other half of the lyric. This short prosimetric story of early Ming (1368-1644) borrowed from an extremely broad range of print texts: classic poems, song lyrics, fiction, dramatic arias, performance narratives, gazetteers, travelogues and religious verses, among others. The pastiche of this textual body allows us get a glimpse of the breath and liveliness of editing practices of the Ming, and specifically how editors recollected their reading memories by synthesizing and organizing texts from different sources and in various genres to tell a good story.

“Travel” and “dream” may best exemplify the theme of QTM story. Travel entails physical dislocation, an experience in which one moves away from a fixed point that represents in one's life familiarity, regularity, and certainty. A journey can also be visual, spiritual, intellectual and even textual. By the same token, a dream is a contingent response to external stimuli, taking shape and disappearing only to be reconstructed by

remembrance. But this incorporeal state can be identified as a virtual roaming, a spiritual wandering, or an oneiric journey. Hence, the definitive boundary between travel and dream can become so blurred in literary field that a liminal realm is created for the literati to resist, negotiate with, and accept their physical and intellectual displacement when they encounter their inherited literary past. Particularly, it is both a meaningful and delusional realm that allows for discussion on place and space, site and scene, reality and illusion, boundaries and transcendence, experience and imagination, self identity and collective memory, etc. In a larger sense, traveling and dreaming experience share many features in common: tangible and insubstantial; personal and collective; private and public; autobiographical and biographical; retrospective and metadramatic; historical and fictive. The experiences of each frequently interact with each other to ensure cultural continuity by preserving collective and individual memory from one generation to the next. In this project, I attempt to offer a more nuanced dimension in which the features shared by both travel and dream texts can be applied to evaluate that of *biji*. It has been frequently noted that any totalizing view that organizes travel and dream writings as genres or subgenres remain somewhat problematic. Their commonalities are represented by a rhetoric of travel and dream, and it is this rhetorical feature that may allow us to better recognize the nature of a writing mode such as *biji* which is resistant to the definition under ready literary classification. And this perspective will significantly enlighten our readings of QTM stories in the late imperial Chinese literature.

The timeless popularity of QTM story-lines reflect and express the trope of the “travel and dream” experience. This is something of a “living” complex of organic elements through which a textual community in later generations can grow their own

authorial and cultural identity by encountering, remembering and reproducing those elements in the form of autobiographical and biographical representation of a desiring subject. Travel and dream are cross-referenced, internally dialogical, mutually infiltrating, and even metaphorically interchangeable. They are intertwined to create a liminal textual fabric of pastiches in which we can better examine how the literati in Yuan (1271-1368), Ming and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties formed their own views about a past that is dependent on both collective and individual memory.

This project will make an original and valuable contribution to the existing narrative structure of Chinese literature, not only because QTM, as the earliest preserved specimen of the vernacular short story, has never been a subject of detailed treatment, but also because one of its aims is to foreground the issue of genre. The literary lineage of QTM stories were largely preserved in the so-called *biji*. This category is to some extent a kind of miscellany, and its authors created webs of meanings through juxtaposition of diverse texts and their own commentaries. It is an extremely broad category that incorporates a variety of genres and defies readily classification under familiar literary rubrics. Therefore, what is ambiguous is that a *biji*, which has been classed both as “history” 史 (*shi*) and as “fiction” 子 (*zi*), can be either both, neither, or anything in between. My research reveals how a continuing community of authors has both constructed and challenged this ambiguity in their search for something akin to truth to human experience. These marginalized texts are alive to the possibilities of literature, but they explore the boundaries of the discipline (or at least ask us to consider the relationship between history and fiction). They are the material artifacts of a historical flow, through which we can understand why ancient literati looked to the past precisely

because generic instability mirrored the unstable nature of their own self-identity in their own time. The QTM stories thus become a historically continuous repository of accreted individual recollections of travels and dreams, cast in a metaphorical analog.

Su Xiaoxiao is a phantom that has haunted Chinese literature for more than 1500 years. In spite of the fact that she is mentioned as early as the Southern Qi period as the putative author of a five-character poem in the collection of poems entitled *Yutai xinyong* 玉臺新詠 (New odes from a jade terrace), there have never been any convincing biographical records in historical sources. From the Tang (618-907) to the Qing, a large number of literary works have fashioned a Su Xiaoxiao into a charming and talented prostitute out of sheer imagination, rumors, and misinformed accounts. This phantasm from the past became ever more real as texts about her proliferated; no wonder then, that Su Xiaoxiao was among the six famous prostitutes in Chinese history who were hailed for their beauty.¹ Two types of women, according to Susan Mann, were considered as the most appealing to scholars in ancient China: a strict teacher of female integrity like Ban Zhao 班昭 (ca.45-117) or a graceful and talented poetess like Xie Daoyun 謝道韞 (?). Women who fell into either of these two types were reminiscent of ancient goddesses that literati had read about in their books—perfect in appearance, talent and morality.² Other women, fictive and real, including Su Xiaoxiao, came to be shaped by this ideal image in scholars' minds. Along with the development of West Lake local culture and the rise of tourism since Song, men of letters could hardly resist the temptation to take Su Xiaoxiao

¹ Chongtianzi 蟲天子, *Xiangyan congshu* 香艷叢書 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1992), vol.1, 10.

² Susan Mann, *Precious Record: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 76.

into their creation of literary works in diverse genres. She was remembered and reconstructed as writers echoed poems, wrote epitaphs, made allusion to her in travelogues, and created a life story for her stories, resulting in a substantial repertoire of stories over the years.

As material remain in physical form, her tomb, said to exist from the Song (960-1279) and a relic site that will trigger a soul enchantment,³ still stands next to Xiling 西泠 Bridge by West Lake where it is thronged by visitors from across the country each day. Death is the ultimate destination for all human beings, and whether or not the tomb is original, its presence undeniably designates her eternal dwelling in the physical world. At the same time, the materiality of the tomb imbues West Lake with the haunted image of Su whose life story unfolded textually from that time onward. The silent grave seems to have opened up people's imagination about Su, providing a touchstone in reality for the unfolding textual process. Her tomb serves, in the words of Robert Harrison, as a "humic foundation," whose "contents have been buried so that they may be reclaimed by the future." And it "holds in its conserving element the unfinished story of what has come to pass."⁴ The tomb contains within it an unfilled space that spills outside into text, an arena for a pageant of personal idiosyncrasy in literary innovation: wishful imagination, perfectionist complex, suppressed libido, escapism and fatalism, lamentation for transient happiness and everlasting pain. Each version is but one more layer of color, another palimpsest of never-finished stories from the grave. Free from restraints of the historical

³ Other sites which is said to trigger a soul enchantment include: Yarn Washing Rock 浣紗石, Shoes Echo Corridor 響屐廊, Zither Platform 琴台, Green Tomb 青塚, Pu Dong 蒲東, Swallow Tower 燕子樓, Tomb of Zhenniāng 真娘墓. Chongtianzi, *Xiangyan congshu*, vol.1, 11.

⁴ Robert Harrison, *The Dominion of the Dead* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 1.

world, Su Xiaoxiao crosses spatial and temporal boundaries. Even to date, Su still appears in various stories of diverse performance genres including Peking opera, spoke drama, Hangzhou opera, Cantonese opera, movies and televisions series.

In terms of Su Xiaoxiao's romance, however, the earliest known written record is a narrative genre of a long-circulated ghost story between Sima You and Su Xiaoxiao, which can be traced back to Song dynasty, precisely at the same time as the appearance of Su's tomb. The unsettled phantom of Su Xiaoxiao compelled Sima You, as well as his contemporary and later literati alike, to peep into the tomb. This same haunting storyline was retold for the next five-hundred years. But, in considering the case of Su Xiaoxiao, the Ming and Qing literati, consciously or unconsciously, were left with something of a historical vacuum in places where concrete and convincing evidence might otherwise speak authoritatively. Thus, they did not merely repeat or continue their predecessors and contemporary narrative stories, but they also engaged with protracted and heated historical disputes about Su Xiaoxiao's identity, the authentic site of her tomb, and even her life experience as part of West Lake cultural heritage.

The textual landscape in Su Xiaoxiao's world was thus diversified and altered. Such alterations were partly a natural result brought by the uncertainties and instability of the texts, and partly a practical response to new demands for a sense of narrative closure as well as a formal historical grounding. The precise nature of their alterations mirrors as well the changing attitudes of literati about how the legacy of the past should be recast to explain the present. Scholarship on Su Xiaoxiao abounds in Chinese academia, most of which are focusing on poetry throughout ages, yet comprehensive studies on Su Xiaoxiao

are still very limited,⁵ to say nothing of a meticulous study on QTM itself in either English or Chinese world. Uchida Michio 内田道夫⁶ wrote a short article in 1971, entitled “Novel and genre” 小說與文體, in which he used QTM as his primary source. In his analysis of the text, several cliché couplets were identified and compared with similar *xiaoshuo* texts, but he seemed to limit his vision merely to that single genre. Considering the value of QTM, there is definitely more to be explored. Although one interesting way to examine the trajectory of textual accumulation would be in a chronological order, to trace the development of QTM stories over time would be meaningless and impractical, because textual production does not take place neatly. Moreover, the bloated corpus of QTM stories defies an exhaustive study. I will instead juxtapose texts that best exemplify the manner and method with which QTM’s textual community was established and complicated by distinctive but interwoven developments of travel and dream texts.

Travel Text

⁵ Li Shie 李世萼, “Wenxue zuopin zhogn de Qiantang Su Xiaoxiao” 文學作品中的錢塘蘇小小, *Hangzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao* 杭州師範學院學報 1 (1986): 68-73; Ma Xiaoguang 馬曉光, “Qianzai fangming liu guji, Liuchao yunshi zhu xiling: Su iaoxiao shiji de yanbian” 千載芳名留古跡, 六朝韻事著西泠: 蘇小小事跡的演變, *Wenshi zhishi* 文史知識 2 (1990): 76-79; Li Xiaohong 李曉紅, “Zhongguo gudai wenxue zhong Su Xiaoxiao de xingxiang yiwei” 中國古代文學中蘇小小的形象意味, *Zhongguo yuexue* 中國越學 3 (2011): 222-246; Peng Lamei 彭臘梅 in her dissertation studies Su Xiaoxiao in medieval Chinese poetic literature so as to further investigate the courtesan culture and its relationship with literature, see Peng Lamei 彭臘梅, “Prostitutes and Literature in Medieval China: A Study on Poetry Concerning Su Xiaoxiao” 中国中世の妓女と文学: 蘇小々に関連する詩歌を中心に (Ph.D. diss., Kumamoto University, 2013); Yao Ke 姚可, “Su Xiaoxiao xingxiang liubian yanjiu” 蘇小小形象流變研究 (M.A. thesis, Hebei Normal University, 2015).

⁶ Uchida Michio 内田道夫, “Shōsetu to buntai” 小説と文體, *Tokyo shinagaku ho* 16 (1971): 83-93.

It has frequently been brought to attention that the issue of travel writing or travel literature as a genre is always complicated. Jim Philip once defined travel writing as “text concerned with journeys and written by authors who are themselves frequent...travelers.”⁷ But in Chinese literature, there were travel accounts whose authors were never travelers themselves throughout the whole life. Richard E Strassberg, in a long introduction of his book *Inscribed landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China*, conducted a meticulous survey of Chinese travel writing from the first century onward. And he identified that “the pattern of shifting observations and responses to environment” are more important than “a logical employment of change in the writer’s status or personality as he proceeds from one point to another.”⁸ But Wang Liquan argued that Chinese travel writing can be defined only if it meets all three requirements: a description of scenery, an account of the course of a travel, and the internal emotional or mental change.⁹ In China, travel writing was not acknowledged as a literary genre until the Song, after which interest in travel writing markedly increased. It was no longer a privilege designed and enjoyed only by the official class.¹⁰ During Ming and Qing periods, tourism became a new trend in

⁷ Jim Philip, “Reading Travel Writing,” in *Recasting the World: Writing after Colonialism*, edited by Jonathan White (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1993), 241.

⁸ Richard E Strassberg, *Inscribed landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 26.

⁹ Wang Liqun 王立群, *Zhongguo gudai shanshui youji yanjiu* 中國古代山水遊記研究 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1996), 5.

¹⁰ For discussion on literati and non-literati travelers in Song dynasty, see Ellen Cong Zhang, *Transformative Journeys: Travel and Culture in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2011), 6-8.

society,¹¹ and it had a significant impact on Chinese politics, economy, social norms, and way of life.¹² It will not be a surprise that a diverse classification of travels can be seen from history, such as *xunshou* 巡狩 (an emperor's travel), *shuzhi* 述職 (minister's travel), *youshui* 遊說 (travel of the gentry class), *huanyou* 宦游 (travel as an official from post to post), *yunyou* 雲遊 (travel of a religious practitioner), and *youxue* 遊學 (travel to study), etc.¹³ Naturally, travel accounts not only increased in number but in many ways improved in quality. During the early Qing, traditional literati suffered from a severe suppression on speeches and publications, and in order to avoid potential political dangers, they had to embrace studies related to evidential authentication 考據學. This also greatly influenced the culture of tourism.¹⁴ Travel experience and tourism never failed to play a critical role in Chinese literature.¹⁵ Percy Adam asserts that there are certain types of materials into which travel literature will often find its way: letters, dairy, journals, and “simple narrative on the nature or advantages of travel.” Nonetheless, even those written in “atypical even surprising forms,” which “occurs more often than one think wholly or

¹¹ Teng Xincan 滕新才, “Ming chao zhonghouqi luyou re chutan” 明朝中後期旅遊熱初探, *Beifang luncong* 北方論叢 3 (1997): 17-21. There are also discussion on tourism, commercialization and consumption culture, see Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, “Wan Ming de luyou huodong yu xiaofei wenhua: yi Jiangnan wei taolun zhongxin” 晚明的旅遊活動與消費文化：以江南為討論中心, *Jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 近代史研究所集刊 41 (2003): 87-143.

¹² Gong Pengcheng 龔鵬程, *You de jingshen wenhua shilun* 遊的精神文化史論 (Hebei: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), 148-178.

¹³ Yu Xuecai 喻學才, *Zhongguo luyou wenhua chuantong* 中國旅遊文化傳統 (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 1995), 120; Ming tourism, Chen Baoliang 陳寶良, “Ming dai luyou wenhua chushi” 明代旅遊文化初識, *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化 2 (1992): 258-262.

¹⁴ Yu, *Zhongguo luyou wenhua chuantong*, 30.

¹⁵ See more discussion in Mei Xinlin 梅新林 and Yu Zhanghua 俞樟華, eds., *Zhongguo youji wenxue shi* 中國遊記文學史 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2004).

partly in dialogue form,” or “can be part of an autobiography or biography,”¹⁶ are not sufficiently a category that can best situate sources found in Chinese *biji*. In fact, it is by no means one of my goals in this project to give a definition for travel writing. For the travel-related materials treated in this dissertation, I would rather consider them “travel text” in general: text in various genres that involves fragmentary elements of travel experience, both historical and imaginative. In a larger sense, as Michel de Certeau pointed out, “every story is a travel story.”¹⁷ Considering the nature of QTM, most of the sources I use are more relevant to travel narratives. My goal is to employ the literary tropes of travel in order to form a narrative framework in which QTM stories can be more thoroughly investigated. I am more concerned with the rhetoric of travel text, and how that rhetoric may be related to that found in dream text.

Firstly, travel text is both autobiographical and biographical. In travel writing, a strong tradition is that objective accounts of traveling experience and subjective reflections of physical and emotional dislocation are intertwined. Travel texts are the records of physical movement through places that imply “an indication of stability” and situate in their “own proper and distant location.” Meanwhile, they help establish a space “composed of intersections of the mobile elements.”¹⁸ Travel texts are also symptoms of travelers’ constant desire to explore the unknown, unfamiliar and uncertain. Through each of these encounters, the traveler creates a new identity as a writing subject. The

¹⁶ Percy Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of Novel* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), 43-45.

¹⁷ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 115.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 117.

accounts of a group of travelers for a same trip can be very different from one to another. In this sense, a travel text is highly personal. In addition, the traveler in the journey and the narrator who recollects the traveling experience afterwards should not be regarded as the same person, because traveling is an act of participation onsite, whereas recounting is a retrospective act of recreation. In recreating his participation in a textual form, the author is compelled to construct an objective image of himself in the same way he would for any other traveler. Hence, autobiographical accounts are always tinted with the nature of otherness. A travel text is not so much about a pure form of individual recollection as about communicating in a way that renders personal experience empathetically accessible to others.

Secondly, travel text in nature carries a metadramatic potential. Travel text embodies a kind of quest, but this quest “is not merely a part of the content of travel accounts; it influences their very structure and it endures, because of its flexibility as metaphor.”¹⁹ A traveler’s quest revolves around returning physically, mentally and emotionally to an experience in the past. The physical journey that occurs in the material world is developed in a chronological manner, but the inner journey that is experienced at that time that is communicated at a later time depends on remembrance that is selective and non-sequential. To write an account of travel is a type of performance, a rehearsal or replay of an inner journey played out on the stage of an exterior journey.²⁰ Inner and outer journeys might be overlapping at a certain point in text, but they remain

¹⁹ Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 87-88.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 102-114.

distinguishable. Moreover, readers easily acquire a sense of role playing within the role in reading travel texts. A person narrates in the tone of an author about his experience as a traveler. This perspective “adds a third metadramatic layer to the audience’s experience: a character is playing a role, but the character himself is being played by an actor.”²¹ The following lines from Norman Douglas are extremely pertinent in understanding this dimension of travel text:

The reader of a good travel book is entitled not only to an exterior voyage, to descriptions of scenery and so forth, but to an interior, sentimental or temperamental voyage, which takes place side-by-side with an outer one... the ideal book of this kind offers us, indeed, a triple opportunity of exploration—abroad, into the author’s brain, and into our own.²²

Last but not the least; travel text combines fact and fiction. As Lars Ole Sauerberg asserted, “belief in an objectively founded difference between fact and fiction and in our ability to distinguish unproblematically between them is a commonly accepted premise of our sense of history.”²³ An author of travel text may play the same role a historian does in constructing a new text by using “both textual form and nontextual form of facts.” Yet no matter how neutral he regards his role in writing, “his very use of language and the very act of writing, understood as the continuous process of formulating and editing, will already have corrupted the assumed neutrality.”²⁴ Hence, a travel text is rather more humanized than historicized, however objectified it appears or claims to be. These

²¹ Richard Hornby, *Drama, Metadrama, and Perception* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1986), 68.

²² Paul Fussell, ed., *The Norton Book of Travel* (New York: Norton, 1987), 15.

²³ Sauerberg, Lars Ole, *Fact into Fiction: Documentary Realism in the Contemporary Novel* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1991), 58.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 59.

crisscrossing lines of agreement and disagreement between historical truth and literary imagination constitute a pastiche that allows for an inherent dialogue between fact and fiction. The above mentioned features in travel text more often than not occur together or blend into one another, and more importantly they reveal not only admirable powers of observation and recollection, but also wonderful similarities in relation to dream text.

Dream Text

The language and image of dream remain a constant trope in literature. And the content and form of dream are congruent with the nature of literature.²⁵ In fact, both journey and dream are among the basic elements in a production of a narrative, for they are extremely rich in allusions, analogies, metaphors, quotations, and description. And this is exactly true in Chinese literature. Undoubtedly, in ancient China, “across the ages and spanning social gaps, all dreamed, the highborn and the lowered alike, and the amazing thing is that many of them somehow managed to get their dreams recorded.”²⁶ A rich variety of dream categories were identified according to different criteria in history, literature, and religion throughout dynasties, and such record can be traced in a work *Zhou Li* 周禮 (Rituals of Zhou) composed more than two thousand years ago.²⁷ In ancient

²⁵ Fu Zhenggu 傅正谷, *Zhongguo meng wenxue shi* 中國夢文學史 (Beijing: Guangming ribao chubanshe, 1993), 12-21.

²⁶ Roberto K. Ong, *Interpretations of Dreams in Ancient China* (Bochum: Studienverlag Brockmeyer, 1985), 176.

²⁷ Liu Wenying 劉文英 and Cao Tianyu 曹田玉, *Meng yu zhongguo wenhua* 夢與中國文化 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2003), 341-366.

Chinese literature, there are works that record the dreams, works composed in dreams (completely finished in dream and recollected by dreamer afterwards, or partially finished in dream and completed by dreamer or others afterwards), and works that borrow dream as metaphor.²⁸ There are also accounts of repeated dreams (repeated many times during period of time, or a whole life) in *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive records of the Taiping era) and *Shuyi ji* 述異記 (Records of statement of strangeness), as well as of continued dreams during a night, across several days or even years.²⁹ Dream is such a universal and thought-provoking phenomenon that it did not merely served as a motif in voluminous works but also influenced the way ancient literati recognized the world and their place in it. For instance, a large number of examples show that the character “dream” 夢 appeared in the names, literary names, style names, and the studio titles of the literati.³⁰ Scholarship on Chinese dream literature and dream culture abound in both eastern and western academia,³¹ and it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to present a

²⁸ Fu, *Zhongguo meng wenxue shi*, 6-12.

²⁹ Liu and Cao, *Meng yu zhongguo wenhua*, 366.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 384-387.

³¹ In Roberto Ong’s research on Chinese dream, he identified two modes of dream interpretation. Except for the “iconic,” there is the symbolic mode of interpretation “as exemplified by the associative approach to dream interpretation, wherein the meaning of dreams was deciphered not in accordance with what their imageries ostensibly represented, but through the mediation of explicit or implicit language manifested as either speech or writing.” Ong, *Interpretations of Dreams in Ancient China*, 176; other studies on Chinese dream, dream literature and dream culture include: Carolyn T. Brown, ed., *Psychosinology the Universe of Dreams in Chinese Culture* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1988); Liu Wenying 劉文英, *Zhongguo gudai de mengshu* 中國古代的夢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), and this is a comprehensive survey on the nature, format, history and method of ancient Chinese dream books; Zhuo Songsheng 卓松盛, *Zhongguo mengwenhua* 中國夢文化 (Haikou: Sanhuan chubanshe, 1991), and this perhaps is the earliest monograph on Chinese dream culture in China, and there is introduction to major theories on dream in the world; Judith Zeitlin explored the Late Ming interest in and asserted that “one of the chief attractions of dream... was that it allowed them to explore their interest in the paradoxical nature of fiction.” See, Judith T. Zeitlin, *Historian of the Strange: Pu Songling and the Chinese Classical Tale* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1993), 132-181; Fu

systematic survey and analysis of pure dream narratives related to QTM stories. Instead, I will juxtapose travel text and dream text. Similar to my definition of travel text, dream text, in this project, refers to the sources concerning fictive and factual dream experience.

Firstly, dream text is both private and public. It is private simply because, in the words of Tina Lu, “a dream represents a point of view that can never be shared with another,” and “to anyone who is not the dreamer, experience is always secondhand.”³² As Jan Assmann stated, “knowledge about that passed acquires the properties in the functions of memory if it is related to a concept of identity.”³³ And dream text may be taken as a type of introspective knowledge that corresponds with the nature of an identity

Zhenggu 傅正谷, *Zhongguo meng wenhua* 中國夢文化 (Beijing: Zhongguo sheke chubanshe, 1993), and *Zhongguo meng wenxue shi* 中國夢文學史 (Beijing: Guangmi Guangming ribao chubanshe, 1993); Wai-yee Li studied the dream culture and *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Legend of Spring and Autumn periods by Zuo Qiuming), see Wai-yee Li, “Dream Cultures Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming,” in *Dream Cultures: Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming*, edited by David Shulman and Guy G. Stroumsa (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 17-42; Benjamin Elman wrote one chapter for his book to discuss the dream culture and ancient civil examination, see Chapter 6 “Emotional Anxiety, Dream of Success, and the Examination Life,” in Benjamin Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examination in Late Imperial China* (University of California Press, 2000), 295-370; Tina Lu dealt with dreams in parallel with trails in her discussion of Chinese drama, and she also focused on issues of knowledge subjectivities, and the relationship between theatre and dream, see Tina Lu, *Persons, Roles, and Minds: Identity in Peony Pavilion and Peach Blossom Fan* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001), 63-96; Liu Wenying worked with Cao Tianyu 曹田玉 to investigate dream issues from the cultural perspective, see Liu Wenying and Cao Tianyu, *Meng yu zhongguo wenhua* 夢與中國文化 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2003); other similar works on Chinese dreams and cultures are Wu Kang 吳康, *Zhongguo gudai menghuan* 中國古代夢幻 (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 1993); Wang Weidi 王維堤, *Shen you Huaxu: Zhongguo meng wen hua* 神游華胥: 中國夢文化 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994); Yang Jianmin 楊建民, *Zhongguo meng wenhua shi* 中國夢文化史 (Fujian: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), and *Zhongguo gudai meng wenhua shi* 中國古代夢文化史 (Beijing: Sheke wenxian chubanshe, 2015); Richard E. Strassberg translated the whole book *Mengzhan Yizhi* 夢占逸旨 (Lofty principles of dream interpretation, 1562) by Chen Shiyuan 陳士元 (1516-1595) into English, see Richard E. Strassberg, *Wandering spirits: Chen Shiyuan's encyclopedia of dreams* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

³² Lu, *Persons, Roles, and Minds*, 66.

³³ Jan Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by A. Erll and A. Nünning (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 113.

quest from within a dreamer. In most cases, the memory of a dream is so ephemeral and meaningless that it tends to be beyond capturing, remembering, and reconstructing. Besides, “the mystery of the dream was part of its meaning,” and “any effort at demystification would tamper with its meaningfulness.”³⁴ Yet, to reexamine the content of a dream along with the ways in which it makes sense to the readers as a literary form of representation is a prerequisite for fabricating a dream text. This existential expression of a meaningful dream thus carries a message that both conceals and reveals a private experience perceivable and sharable with the public.

In addition, a dream text is particularly suitable for us to explore a mode of a play performed within a play. Drama and dream are both metaphorical reflections of life,³⁵ and “rather than mirroring life passively, drama is instead a means of thinking about life, a way of organizing and categorizing it.”³⁶ This can also be said of a dream text. The author thinks about life by presenting a dream against a background of elements that lie outside the dream. This reinforces an association of a dream text with metadrama. According to Richard Hornby, there are two types of basic patterns in metadrama: “the ‘inset’ type, the inner play is secondary, a performance set apart from the main action,” and “the ‘framed’ type, the inner play is primary, with the outer play a framing device.”³⁷

³⁴ Ong, *Interpretations of Dreams in Ancient China*, 175.

³⁵ For studies on dream drama, see Wang I-chun, “Dream and Drama: In Late Sixteenth Century and Early Seventeenth Century: China, England and Spain,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1986); Liao Tengye 廖藤葉, *Zhongguo mengxi yanjiu* 中國夢戲研究 (Taipei: Xuesi chubanshe, 2000); Zhuang Qinghua 莊清華, *Zhongguo gudai mengxi yanjiu* 中國古代夢戲研究 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2016).

³⁶ Hornby, *Drama, Metadrama, and Perception*, 26.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

In either type, it is apparent that a dream text is dependent on the recall and the reporting of the dream experience. And the act of recollection differs from the dream experience in itself. Admittedly, in both travel and dream text, there are some texts that comprise only pure accounts. In other words, the outer play part lacks of “characters and plots.” Still, from the metatext embodied within the dream text, expressed in either subtle or overt manner, readers are able to tell the “distinguishable layers of performance.”³⁸ As Tina Lu argued, “Theater is all outer show, dreaming, in contrast, is all inner reality. A play about a dream is a creature of a paradox, wrestling at all points with the complex correspondence between the inner and the outer.”³⁹ If acts of writing and reading were to be regarded as performance, it would not be difficult for us to understand and agree that “all drama is metadramatic.”⁴⁰

Finally, dream text is also marked by the combination of fictional and factual elements. “A long intellectual tradition in China explores the difficulty of adjudicating between dreaming and waking states and accords an objective reality to dream experiences,”⁴¹ as Judith Zeitlin observed. Dream is a psychological, emotional, or even spiritual response to external stimuli rooted in real life, and to contextualize and conceptualize a dream is also dependent on the empirical experience. Furthermore, the act of dreaming per se, though a fact learnt by the dreamer afterwards, is by no means fictional. In this sense, dream text certainly incorporates elements of fact. Be that as it

³⁸ Ibid., 35.

³⁹ Lu, *Persons, Roles, and Minds*, 74.

⁴⁰ Hornby, *Drama, Metadrama, and Perception*, 31.

⁴¹ Zeitlin, *Historian of the Strange*, 151.

may, fictional elements in the most general sense spread through all texts however factual they appear to be. A dream text is fictional in that the restoration of a dream indeed occurred usually come into being through inaccurate recollection of some highlights that are actually not happening in reality at least during the dreaming period, let alone an imagined dream experience. Beyond a doubt, the fictive and historical features form sort of dialectic in dream text.

Art of Collection

The *biji* genre⁴² lures authors and readers with all the free-floating novelty of everyday life. In so many ways *biji* is the material form through which a textual community is tied. It appropriates in its text diverse passages from classics to anecdotes, from annotations to commentaries, from direct appropriations to allusive adaptations, from questions expecting for future responses to solutions addressing previous concerns. This reveals, in its inclusiveness, the range of interests of the textual community it binds together through textual communication. Discussion on the dialogical nature of the integral components within a *biji* shows the roles between author, editor, commentator

⁴² For studies related to *biji*, see Liu Yeqiu 劉葉秋 (1917-88), *Gudian xiaoshuo biji luncong* 古典小說筆記論叢 (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1985); Han Lihua 韓麗華, “Guanyu biji wenxue de fenlei wenti” 關於筆記文學的分類問題, *Liaoning daxue xuebao* 遼寧大學學報 5 (1992): 14-16; Cheng Yizhong 程毅中, “Biji yu yishi xiaoshuo” 筆記與軼事小說. *Chuantong wenhua yu xiandai wenhua* 傳統文化與現代文化 6 (1998): 29-32; I.A. Alimov, “Song Biji Authorial Collections: Preliminary Observations,” *Manuscripta Orientalia* 5.3 (1999): 39-48; Ellen Cong Zhang, “To Be ‘Erudite in Miscellaneous Knowledge’: A Study of Song (960-1279) *Biji* Writing,” *Asia Major* 2 (2012): 43-77, “Of Revelers and Witty Conversationalists: Song (960-1279) *Biji* Writing and the Rise of a New Literati Ideal,” *Chinese Historical Review* 23.2 (2016): 130-146, “Things Heard in the Past, Material for Future Use: A Study of Song (960-1279) *Biji* Prefaces,” *East Asian Publishing and Culture* 6.1 (2016): 22-53; Meghan Cai, “The Social Life of Texts: Reading Zhuang Chuo’s 莊綽(fl. 1126) *Jilei bian* 雞肋編 (Chicken Rib Chronicles),” (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 2015).

and reader are more or less interchangeable. And the diversity of the texts, placed with the miscellany categories of bibliographies, indicates the extent to which both the authorial and generic boundaries in the field of vernacular literature are broken down or crossed. In terms of its definition, Miao Zhuang outlined two general criteria by which materials with a non-*biji* nature can be excluded: *biji* is different from materials that are written in literary miscellaneous form, yet with insufficient features that meet the standards of a novel; *biji* is also different from materials whose features meet the standards of a novel, yet are not written in a literary miscellaneous form.⁴³ Philip Kafalas perceived *xiaopin* 小品, a literary form that fits fairly into *biji* category, as a mode that may include “extensive collections of a brief, rather in personal anecdotes and interesting gems from one’s readings, short prose composition characteristic of recent authors who avoided modeling their prose on that of ancient writers, short selections that could serve as an introduction to the ideas and a style of a particular author, and a perhaps simply abridgment of the person’s selected works, including poetry.”⁴⁴ A more accurate definition of *biji xiaoshuo* 筆記小說 (miscellaneous notes and trivial anecdotes) was given by Wu Liquan: *biji xiaoshuo* consists of a short literary story that concentrates on human activities with necessary plots, and it is a writing mode in classical Chinese featured by a casual and miscellaneous style.⁴⁵ I am not primarily interested in arriving at a definition of *biji* as a literary genre, instead, I would like to draw attention to the

⁴³ Miao Zhuang 苗壯, *Biji xiaoshuo shi* 筆記小說史 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1998), 3-5.

⁴⁴ Philip Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream: Nostalgia and Zhang Dai’s Reminiscences of the Ming* (Norwalk: East Bridge, 2007), 134.

⁴⁵ Wu, Liquan 吳禮權, *Zhongguo biji xiaoshuo shi* 中國筆記小說史 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1993), 3-4.

interplay of travel and dream text by which we can develop a fresh perspective in viewing some of the features of *biji*.

Differences indeed abound between travel and dream as literary trope, but notable analogies also exist. Along with the multi-dimensional connections and affinities discussed previously, they are both marvelous metaphors of various aspects in human life. No wonder motifs related to travel and dream are among the driving forces of literary creation. In the field of literature, there is a rich variety of representations that incorporate both travel and dream experiences: poetry and prose on dreams during a trip; accounts of travels in the dream to some places visited before; stories of spiritual journey to a site never seen in person; records of dream travel; notes on a real trip brought by dream travel to a scenic spot; echoing poems concerning dream travel, etc.⁴⁶ Considering the fact that romantic stories between Su Xiaoxiao and Sima You were mostly preserved in form of *biji*, the investigation of both travel and dream text becomes a point of departure for a fresh investigation of some of the characteristics of the a miscellaneous literary mode.

To illuminate the facets of *biji*, I will use the nodal points of travel and dream texts to discuss three key features. First and foremost, *biji* is both presentational and representational. It creates a perfect textual space to explore the identities of authorship and readership. Since memory “enables us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and on the connective level,”⁴⁷ a tension and transition is

⁴⁶ Fu, *Zhongguo meng wenhua*, 405-409.

⁴⁷ Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” 109.

demonstrated in *biji* from an individual reader/author to an “imagined community”⁴⁸ of *biji* readers, and from a personal recording of a private reading experience to a publicized observation that shapes or triggers collective memories. The authors of *Biji* often, consciously or unconsciously, include the readers in their categorization and interpretation of the texts, and the readers are called on to perform a role that the authors had assumed. Readers become another “self” of the authors, and text becomes a connection bridging the dynamic transition. Secondly, the way that text is represented and presented in *biji* is highly metadramatic. It might not be unsafe to liken reading *biji* to a theatre experience. *Biji* can be “a kind of identity laboratory,” and “the audience member can forget his own identity for a while, and identify with the characters he sees.” “Both performers and audience members are in a sense ‘actor’ in the theatrical experience, dropping their regular identities and trying our new ones.”⁴⁹ It is also reasonable because, after all, “all human roles are relative,” and “identities are learned rather than innate.”⁵⁰ To read a *biji* is more or less to see how the authors restage a reading performance and rearrange the texts that exhibit a certain community of authors and readers. Finally, *biji* provides an ideal literary mode in which the boundaries between history and fiction could be tested. The fact that Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805) had put “novel” 小說 into the category of “fiction” 子 in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete books from four repositories) may bespeak an affirmative attitude toward the fictional nature of the

⁴⁸ Daiwie Fu, “The Flourishing of *Biji* or Pen-Notes Texts and its Relations to History of Knowledge in Song China (960–1279),” *Extrême-Occident Hors série* (2007): 113-116.

⁴⁹ Hornby, *Drama, Metadrama, and Perception*, 71.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 72.

genre,⁵¹ yet this categorization may not be completely applicable to *biji* materials. As far as the QTM stories are concerned, Su Xiaoxiao and Sima You are actually figures crossing back and forth so frequently between history and fiction that readers may hardly decide which one of the sources is more authoritatively real than the other. To demonstrate how certain segments “relate to the rules of combination and association which are presumed to form the *langue* of narrative,”⁵² a text needs to be deconstructed. It is through this very deconstruction of text within such a textual pastiche that we can clearly investigate how history and fiction interactively play an important role in representing some of the events true to human experience as well as in exhibiting and obscuring the identities of authorship. It is my hope that this dissertation will help to bring the examination of Chinese travel and dream text into the much wider field of textual and interdisciplinary studies of *biji* materials.

Basic Structure of the Project

The main body of this dissertation is constituted of three parts. Chapter 2 is a meticulous study of QTM story that addresses various issues ranging from its date, origin, theme, to textual features, editions, circulation, acceptance, and influence in mid-and late-Ming and Qing literary works. The textual body of QTM presents a text-scape from which we can easily identify—like repeated landscape features—stereotyped phrases and

⁵¹ See more discussion on the nature of *xiaoshuo* 小說 in Chen, Wenxin 陳文新, *Zhongguo biji xiaoshuo shi* 中國筆記小說史 (Taipei: Zhiyi chubanshe, 1995), 19-30.

⁵² Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2011), 82.

lines from earlier or contemporary works. No written work exists in isolation and all texts are embedded in a rich variety of literary, historical and cultural contexts. To examine the manner that a text is appropriated or adapted is thus less significant than to illuminate the interdependence between a text, its predecessors, and its derivatives. QTM, with its body of pastiche that incorporates an extensive spectrum of texts, genres, and literary modes drawn from multiple origins, provides us a unique and pertinent textual space in which we can examine more clearly the interconnectedness of a text world “in the cross-section of a single moment”⁵³ during a prosperous and critical period of vernacular literature.

In this chapter, I also attempt to clarify QTM’s status. The Hongzhi edition of *Xixiang Ji* (XXJ hereafter), the earliest complete text available, distinguishes itself by being part of a collective format that includes many supplementary materials, among which QTM seems relevant to neither the drama plot nor the main characters. Tracing the textual lineage of QTM story, we discern that the Ming editors customarily and constantly attached it as a para-text to a plethora of XXJ editions. However, QTM also appeared in a late Ming collection entitled *Yanju biji* 燕居筆記 (Accounts in time of staying at ease). What might be the reasons for such an intimate relationship between QTM and XXJ? How do we account for its incorporation into an anthology of short stories? Could all these have to do with the book market and publishing environment in which the QTM texts and its contemporary works were produced, circulated, edited, accepted and remembered? Admittedly, QTM does reflect an editorial norm of textual assemblage, and the fact that adaptation and appropriation of QTM lines abounded in

⁵³ M. Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975), *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 28.

Qing novels further demonstrates that it may also impose a well-established editing rhetoric on later textual producers. Yet, the editors and consumers were not the passive acceptors of such a norm. My exploration will provide a solid base to evaluate the roles of the writers, editors and readers, allowing the uniqueness of QTM as a medium for identity formation to be considered, so that the analysis of QTM stories may then be situated in the broader intertextual context of printing culture.

Chapter 3 is an interdisciplinary study that concentrates on parallel analyses of both literary and artistic works relevant to travel- and dream-motif against the backdrop of Ming and Qing printing culture and book history. In particular, I will deal with the woodblock illustrations of QTM along with my quest for the relationship between text and illustration. The mid-and-late Ming period witnessed a boom in vernacular literature. It was also a period that almost no book was printed without illustrations. I will treat the QTM as an organic and whole object in the hope that this can illuminate neglected aspects of textual integrity. For thread-bound illustrated books, the physical features are equally significant as the information relayed in its text. Such features as the text-picture spatial layout on folio and across the whole book, the manner of binding, the reading order that results from leaf-turning patterns, along with pictorial composition, can illustrate how texts and illustrations are read, interpreted, and accepted in the reading process. I will also highlight the importance of a concerted effort brought by painters, engravers, print workers and publishers in the process of producing the illustrations.

Moreover, I will examine typical travel and dream motifs in popular stories and dramas, together with their woodblock illustrations in various editions, and apply a border-crossing and dialogic perspective throughout the analysis. Discussion will be

conducted in three levels: the spatial crossover on paper; the blurring demarcation between reality and illusion in terms of connoisseurship; and the pictorial interrelationship between contexts and their respective medium. The conventionalized yet dynamic relationship between the dream scenes and the dreaming scenes within the frame of a dream plot points to a metadramatic gesture of a play performed within a play. It also metaphorically demonstrates how illustrations might be relevant to their corresponding texts in various Ming and Qing vernacular stories and dramas. A printed illustrated drama or story turns out to be not so much about a profitable commodity as a packaged cultural product in which literary and artistic representation of a romance, a historical event, or a ghost story coexisted in such a way that they increased narrative and visual intensity by supplementing each other.

Chapter 4 will mainly focus on issues concerning the evaluation of *biji* as a unique literary genre. Specifically, I attempt to illuminate how Yuan, Ming, and Qing authors and editors, a particularly sophisticated group of text readers, memorized, rediscovered and recreated meanings and patterns of QTM stories from the past literary heritage. Materials treated in this chapter will be mostly those directly or indirectly relevant to QTM in *biji* forms. What makes texts a community, as far as the subject of this project is concerned, is that they share a common discourse in which the storylines of QTM are shaped through various readings and misreading, and are reproduced and consumed by the literati and a larger and more marginalized readership from one generation to the next. A textual community itself is emblematic of a pastiche world, where the boundaries that fragment and compartmentalize knowledge melt down, and where fluidity and the dynamism of texts prevail.

I hope to draw special attention to the concern about how authorial selfhood and self-knowledge not only construct one's view of fiction and fact, but simultaneously are fashioned by encounters with each. I will explore several complex issues involved in encountering, remembering, and recollecting the image and life of a legendary Su Xiaoxiao and a historical Sima You, with an aim to illustrating how literati through history attempted to deal with a literary heritage of imagination. Although the dynamic tension between historical fact and the cultural imagination was deliberately left unresolved by the literati, the construction of Su Xiaoxiao's tomb by West Lake symbolizes how the closure of a (presumably) real life may open up a space for legend. Hence, the preservation of the traveling and dreaming experience turns out to be a practice of recording the continuity and transformation of a long, unbroken cultural tradition. Literature is more than ever an act of discovering and constructing ideal self identity within the texts of others. The repository of QTM stories proffers a textual community to recognize the potential for both the influential literati and the marginalized mass to rewrite part of the cultural tradition as readers, writers, collectors from their own memory.

CHAPTER 2: “QIANTANG MENG”: A SCHOLAR’S TRAVEL AND DREAM

The Mystery of “Qiantang Meng”

The Hongzhi (1488-1505) 弘治 edition of *The Story of the Western Wing*⁵⁴ (1499⁵⁵), the earliest complete text available, came to light in late 1940s and distinguished itself by its format that includes many supplementary materials,⁵⁶ which are collected and attached before the main text: sets of poems in praise of the leading characters, suites of arias supplementing additional plots, and commentary on certain lines in the drama, to name but a few. The appendix mostly provides interpretation, commentary and recording of some related issues or notes. Yet in this collection, without exception materials before the text have direct relevance to either the drama plot or its

⁵⁴ It is so far the most complete XXJ version with illustration, which now has been preserved in Beijing University Library. This single copy is 39.7 cm in height and 24 cm in width. The *Wang Shifu XXJ* 王實甫西廂記 of Hongzhi edition has been edited and translated with an introduction by Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema. See more details in Stephen H. West, and Wilt L. Idema, *The Story of the Western Wing* (California: University of California Press, 1995), 7-8.

⁵⁵ According to the publisher’s advertisement, this collection was printed in the last month of winter of the year wuwu in the reigning period of Hongzhi 弘治戊午季冬. The last month of winter 季冬 is equivalent to the twelfth month in Chinese lunar calendar 夏曆十二月, thus the printing year was actually 1499.

⁵⁶ The materials attached before the first volume are: Suite Aria of “Cui Zhang prologue 崔張引首”, 4 poems of “Guiyuan changong” 閨怨蟾宮 (Sorrows in the chamber, toad palace), “Zengxiang Qiantang meng” 增相錢塘夢 (A dream by Qiantang River, augmented with illustrations), “Xinzeng qiubo yizhuan lun” 新增秋波一轉論 (The newly added ‘on one turn of autumn ripples’), 9 lyrics of “Flowers Full of Court” 滿庭芳, 141 poems under the title “Pearl and Jade Poem Anthology of Pudong Cui and Zhang” 浦東崔張珠玉詩集, 66 poems under the title “Sea Old Man Poem Anthology of Pudong Cui and Zhang” 浦東崔張海翁詩集, 46 poems under the title “Thorough Collection of Poems in Chanting Wind and Moon” 吟詠風月始終詩, 9 poems of “Eight Chants of the Western Wing” 西廂八詠, and the Suite Aria “Nanlü One Branch of Flower” 南呂一枝花. Wang Shifu, *Xinbian dazi kuiben quanxiang canzeng qimiao zhushi Xixiang ji* 新刊大字魁本全相參增奇妙注釋西廂記 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006), 1-56.

main characters—except for QTM, which only seems to be tangentially linked to Act Four of volume Four in the drama, entitled “Caoqiao jingmeng” 草橋驚夢 (Startled from a dream at strawbridge).

QTM, as a para-textual appendage, is actually the earliest known short story of the courtesan category 煙粉小說.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, it has long been ignored and underestimated due to its obscure identity. With very limited supporting material, we are not sure as to when and how QTM came into being. Neither can we easily confirm whether this extant Ming text was a Song vernacular story or a Yuan drama or inspired by an earlier piece. An observation held by most modern Chinese scholars⁵⁸ is that QTM was probably a Song story, a surviving text of the original “A Good Dream by Qiantang”

⁵⁷ Since Song dynasty (960-1279), story-teller has become one of the inevitable performers in the entertaining market due to the rise of urban culture and commercialism. According to *Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝 (Recording the splendors of the capital city), there were four schools of storytelling: one of them is “*xiaoshuo* (or stories)”, which is the so called *yinzier* (Silver character), and its categories include romantic stories, supernatural and ghost stories, literary tales 說話有四家: 一者小說, 謂之銀字兒, 如煙粉、靈怪、傳奇. Meng Yuanlao 孟元老, *Dongjing menghua lu wai sizhong* 東京夢華錄外四種 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1956), 98. In *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄 (Record of millet dream), the author also recorded almost the same information, see Wang Yunwu 王雲五, ed, *Meng liang lu ji qita yizhong* 夢梁錄及其他一種 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1940), 194. Similarly, in Zhou Mi’s 周密 (1232-1298) account, *xiaoshuo*, with the famous story-tellers at that time, has been listed under the subject of “All kinds of tricks and arts performers 諸色伎藝人,” see Zhou Mi 周密, *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 (Hangzhou: Xihu shushe, 1981), 105-14. A list of storytelling performers was documented in *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄 (Record of dreaming a dream of splendors past in the eastern capital), see Yi Yongwen 伊永文, *Dongjing menghua lu jianzhu* 東京夢華錄箋注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 461. The reason why it has been called “Silver character” is probably because of the silver characters marked on the musical instruments accompanied with the performance. See Ye Dejun 葉德均, *Song Yuan Ming jiangchang wenxue* 宋元明講唱文學 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), 8; Wilt Idema, *Chinese Vernacular Fiction: The Formative Period* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 15.

⁵⁸ Sun Kaidi 孫楷第 (1898-1986), *Zhongguo tongsu xiaoshuo shumu* 中國通俗小說書目 (Beijing: Zuoji chubanshe, 1957), 5-7; Cheng Yizhong 程毅中, *Song Yuan huaben* 宋元話本, (Taipei: Muduo chubanshe, 1988), 85; Tan Zhengbi 譚正璧 (1901-1991), *Huaben yu guju* 話本與古劇 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), 20; Hu Shiyong 胡士瑩 (1901-1979), *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun* 話本小說概論 (Beijing: Shangwu yinchuguan, 2011), 434; Chen Guisheng 陳桂聲, *Huaben xulu* 話本敘錄 (Zhuhai: Zhuhai chubanshe, 2001), 63.

錢塘佳夢.⁵⁹ However, Liu Shiheng 劉世珩 (1875-1926) argued it was not a *xiaoshuo*, but rather a drama composed by Bai Pu.⁶⁰ Wu Mei 吳梅 (1884-1939), on the contrary, thought it was a text merely in the genre of the *xiaoshuo*, instead of a Yuan *zaju* 雜劇.⁶¹ Even when we turn to Ming scholars for help, the answer is far from satisfactory. Min Qiji 閔齊伋 (?) brought together various editions of XXJ to complete a collection known as “Huizhen liuhuan” 會真六幻 (Six illusions in encountering an immortal) in 1640. He commented QTM as follows:

Qiantang and Boling⁶² have no relevance at all, and what is the reason to bury the jade⁶³ here? You also made the southern crossing?⁶⁴ It is unknown why editors in the past arranged it after Huizhen.⁶⁵ For its writing style is flowingly vivid, and

⁵⁹ We will discuss this story in detail later.

⁶⁰ “[The publishers] did not know that it matches the title of the drama in the work by Zhong. This story has been attached to various editions of XXJ, such as the Xu Shifan edition, Chen Meigong edition, and Luo Maodeng edition, etc. It is thus also preserved in the present edition. It is indeed a work of Yuan 不知正與鐘目合，而諸家所刻西廂如徐士范、陳眉公、羅懋登本又都附此種，今亦並存，然終是元人之作也。” See item ten *Yuan Bai Taisu Qiantang meng yizhe* 元白太素錢塘夢一折 in the appendix, Liu Shiheng 劉世珩 (1875-1926), *Nuanhong shi huike Xixiang ji* 暖紅室匯刻西廂記 (Yangzhou: Guangling guji keyinshe, 1973).

⁶¹ “QTM was in the novel genre, not *zaju*. It is seen attached after the XXJ with Li Zhuowu’s comments, and it seems inappropriate to be in the category of drama. Thus, there might be a *huaben* QTM, for it is not the *zaju* by Bai Pu. Lost 錢塘夢係小說體，非雜劇，今附見李卓吾批評西廂記后，似不應入戲劇目中，據此，或另有話本錢塘夢，非白氏雜劇。佚。” Zhuang Yifu 莊一拂 (1907-2001), *Gudian xiqu cunmu huikao* 古典戲曲存目彙考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1979), 177.

⁶² Quite a number of rich, noble and influential people were from Cui families 崔氏 in Boling area, now Ding county 定縣 region in Hebei Province 河北省. Cui Yingying 崔鶯鶯 in XXJ was also referred as a young girl from Boling 博陵幼女. Here it implies XXJ.

⁶³ It is the indirect way to express the burial of a lady or talented person.

⁶⁴ This line hints the history of Southern Song, and it also shows Min believed the background in which the hero was set might be after the Northern Song’s fall.

⁶⁵ It is the Tang classical tale “Huizhen ji” 會真記, original story of the Yuan drama XXJ.

ink flowers are ancient and beautiful, I have kept it. Since the story is already dreamlike and fantastic, how could it be apprehended and commented?⁶⁶

錢塘博陵風馬牛也，何緣埋玉與此？君亦渡南耶？不知昔人何以置諸會真後也，以其筆機流動，墨花蒼豔，姑乃存之。既已夢幻，豈容思議？

With so many contradictory views and so few accessible materials, it is extremely difficult to tell which, if any opinion, is correct. There were also those who held negative opinions toward the story. Unlike the traditionally well-accepted literary genres such as rhapsody, poems, or even song lyrics, one of the features of vernacular story is that it is extremely hospitable to the use of colloquial, and sometimes vulgar, language, which explains to some extent why QTM becomes so easily a target to be condemned by the highbrow literati and artists. Naturally, QTM, together with other so-called coarse and obscene poems and song lyrics, have been criticized due to their nature of low taste.⁶⁷ In the “General Statement” 凡例 of Yuan Edition with Illustrations: *Yuanben chuxiang XXJ* 元本出相北西廂記 (The illustrated Yuan edition of northern XXJ, 1610), harsh criticism has been levied on these conventionally supplementary materials including QTM:

In various printed editions, always added are the materials such as “Qiubo yizhuan lun,” “Jinchuan yuji lun,” “Qiantang meng,” “Lintang wumeng,” “Ying Hong yiqi,” “Pudong zhuyu ji,” etc, all of which are made by local-yokel scholars. The stories are not related, and the language is not refined or elegant,

⁶⁶ Min Qiji 閔齊伋 (?), *Huizhen liuhuan* 會真六幻, late Ming edition, facsimile.

⁶⁷ For example, He Bi 何璧 wrote in the “General Statement” of an edition of XXJ: “Various editions of XXJ in the market are all attached with poems, such the ‘Questions and answers between Yingying and Hongniang.’ Its taste is vulgar and language style pedantic. They are not merely like the legs added to the serpent, but also the dog’s tail added to a ferret. Hence, except for the “Huizhen ji” exclusively attached to this edition, all other poems are removed, even if it is the “Huizhen poems” by Yuan Zhen (779-831) and Bai Juyi (772-846)” 市刻皆有詩在后，如鶯紅問答諸句，調俚語腐，非唯添蛇，真是續狗，茲并去之，只附會真記而已，即元白會真詩，亦不贅入。Yu Weimin 俞為民 and Sun Rongrong 孫蓉蓉, eds., *Lidai quhua huibian: xinbian Zhongguo gudian xiqu lunzhu jicheng. Ming dai bian* 歷代曲話彙編：新編中國古典戲曲論著集成明代編 (Hefei shi: Huangshan shushe, 2009), vol.1, 736.

and they are merely sufficient to make people throw up. Thus they are all deleted, and not recorded.⁶⁸

諸本所刊，率續以《秋波一轉論》、《金釧玉肌論》、《錢塘夢》、《林塘午夢》、《鶯紅弈棋》、《蒲東珠玉集》等語。此皆村學究所作，事不相涉，詞不雅馴，徒足令人嘔噁，今皆刪去不錄。

From the standpoint of the criticism of low-brow literature, we should not be surprised that the attitudes of modern scholars tend to be cut from the same cloth. A piece of supporting evidence could be found in the preface of *Guben Xixiang ji huiji chubian* 古本西廂記彙集初編 (Collection of XXJ of ancient editions, series one): “The appendices in Hongzhi edition mainly cater to the marketplace readers whose cultural taste is not high 弘治本的附錄主要出於迎合文化品位不高的市井讀者.”⁶⁹ One of the modern publishers of Hongzhi XXJ, Du Enlong 杜恩龍, also noted: “It is puzzling that ‘A Dream by Qiantang River Augmented with Illustrations’ seems to be irrelevant to this collection 令人不解的是，《增相錢塘夢》似與本書無關.”⁷⁰ And even Jiang Xingyu 蔣星煜 regarded the story as a sort of unnecessary triviality, whenever QTM was mentioned in his articles: “A great number of appendices have been included in Hongzhi Yue family printed edition, among which are found some vulgar poems and song lyrics, as well as the QTM that was totally unrelated to XXJ... 弘治岳刻本雖然收錄了大量附

⁶⁸ Chen Xuyao 陳旭耀, *Xiancun Mingkan Xixiangji zonglu* 現存明刊西廂記綜錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 102.

⁶⁹ Guojia tushuguan guji guan 國家圖書館古籍館, comps., *Guben Xixiangji huiji chubian* 古本西廂記彙集初編 (Beijing: Guojia tushu guan chubanshe, 2011), vol.1, 2.

⁷⁰ Du Enlong 杜恩龍, “Tuwen huiying de Mingke zhenben *Xinkan dazi kuiben quanxiang canzeng qimiao zhushi Xixiang ji jieshao*” 圖文輝映的明刻珍本新刊大字魁本全相參增奇妙注釋西廂記介紹, *Zhonghua dushu bao* 中華讀書報, 2007, April, 4.

錄，其中包括某些比較庸俗的詩詞以及與《西廂記》漠不相關的《錢塘夢》
.....”⁷¹ Therefore, QTM to the scholars, ancient and modern, seems to be an afterthought
that is readily dismissed.

In spite of these severe criticisms and biased opinions, QTM’s aesthetic quality,
literary value, intriguing organization and fine format still make it an essential
supplement to most influential XXJ editions. In a succinct remark at the end of QTM in
the edition attributed (probably incorrectly) to the famous Ming scholar Li Zhuowu 李卓
吾 (1527-1602) we find: “Extremely illusory and extremely interesting 幻甚趣甚!”⁷² And
another contemporary connoisseur on belle-lettres and arts, Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558-
1639) also wrote a comment in another edition: “It is but a fantastic story and
extraordinary commentary 都是異說奇詮.”⁷³ Admittedly, the criteria on whether to
preserve or delete certain paratexts vary from one editor to another. It is also likely that
later publishers of XXJ simply followed suit, either preserving or deleting the story. But
as long as a component is present in the entirety, it more or less implies that a constituent
element possesses something meaningful and valuable, if not indispensable, to the whole.
Additionally, the status of QTM as the earliest known vernacular story of a courtesan
category alone would be a sufficiently good reason for a meticulous study. There are still
many issues remaining unresolved. What evidence can substantiate an approximate date

⁷¹ Jiang Xingyu 蔣星煜, *Xixiangji de wenxianxue yanjiu* 西廂記的文獻學研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), 71.

⁷² Original Version with Li Zhuowu’s Comments: *Xixiang ji* 李卓吾先生批點西廂記真本 (1640), from Microfilm: Rare Books National Library Peiping, Roll 1031.

⁷³ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 444.

for the story's composition? What might be its origins? How does its theme relate to similar stories? What can we know from information about its circulation and acceptance? In terms of its status as a paratext, is the fact that the dreams in both XXJ and QTM share some similarities enough of a reason to justify the preservation of these seemingly discardable pages? To answer these questions, this chapter will trace the possible origins of the story and discuss its themes. I will then conduct verbatim comparison of corresponding lines between the possible source works and their intertextualized lines from QTM, so as to further confirm the composition date through textual evidence. Discussion on the circulation and acceptance will also reveal how the story was read, remembered and regarded. Finally, I will attempt to explore the reasons why QTM serves exclusively as the appendix of XXJ.

Its Date, Origin, and Theme

QTM will immediately greet the readers' eyes if one simply turns over the first several pages of XXJ of Hongzhi edition. Its text was laid out vertically without punctuation, yet a number of quoted poems distinguished themselves by presenting each couplet with space left on top and bottom. Unlike most other attached paratexts, QTM is graced by a set of successive illustrations on the upper register of each page, a feature represented along with the main text. This is also echoed in its title "A Dream by Qiantang River, Augmented with Illustrations" 增相錢塘夢. One antithetical couplet 對

聯 from the illustration⁷⁴ found in Liu Longtian's 劉龍田 (1560-1625) edition of QTM

could probably best summarize the story:

A stone case inters the orphaned bones;
Beneath the moon far off one hears approaching jade pendants;
A night dream hangs over Qiantang;
Startled awake before the window, I continue the gem verses.⁷⁵

石匣葬孤骸，月下遙聞來玉珮；
錢塘懸夜夢，窗前驚醒續瑤篇。

The story is about a scholar's travel and dream. It begins with the Song literatus Sima You⁷⁶ who claimed to be a resident of Bianliang 汴梁 who had traveled to Qiantang River for sightseeing. He then roamed around Hangzhou and West Lake. After appreciating both the natural wonders and the cultural landscape, he finally ventured to Qiantang River at dusk. There, the scholar was so fascinated by the beautiful scenery that he decided to construct his own garden. As his servant dug up the ground he found some human bones. The scholar was moved to sympathy and prepared a stone case in which he placed the bones. Before night arrived, he buried the case on a high hill. That night, he was in a good mood, so he drank some wine, while plucking the zither and chanting a poem. All of a sudden, there came three gusts of wind. He then heard someone speaking

⁷⁴ See Fig.88 in Chapter 3.

⁷⁵ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuji*, vol.3, 336.

⁷⁶ Sima You 司馬樞 (?), whose literary name is Caizhong 才仲, is from Xia County of Shan Prefecture 陝州夏縣, now Shanxi 山西 province. He is the grandson of Sima Guang's brother. In the sixth year during Yuanyou 元佑 period (1091), he had achieved the degree title of "Jinshi" 進士 after taking the imperial examination. He first served as the assistant administrator in Guanzhong (now central Shan'xi plain) 關中幕官, and moved to different places throughout his life. He died at the position of the Prefect of Hang Prefecture 知杭州. See Chang Bide 昌彼得 (1921-2011) et al., comps, *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 宋人傳記資料索引 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1986), 447. Other biographical and related materials about him could be found in "Shouji" 手記 in *juan 55 of Fan Taishi ji* 范太史集, *juan 2 of Songshi jishi xiaozhuan buzheng* 宋詩紀事小傳補正, *juan 32 of Songshi jishi* 宋詩紀事, and *juan 2 of Quan Song ci* 全宋詞. More discussions on Sima will be in Chapter 4.

outside the window, so he opened the door and found a graceful lady appearing in front of him. The lady explained that she would be willing to serve him as a wife in order to repay his kind act of reburial. Upon hearing this, Sima You felt somewhat insulted and chided the lady in a way that a man of moral integrity would repudiate an attempted seduction by a female ghost. Just then, the lady kept silent for a bit and then sang an enchanting lyric song. When the song was finished, Sima seemed to be moved by the singing. Unfortunately the scholar was startled awake as he was on the verge of questioning her for more information. He rose up from his bed and walked to the yard. It was approaching the dawn. The scholar ordered his boy servant to prepare brush, ink and paper. The story ends with the other half of the lyric song the scholar completed.

To study this story, the first and main task is to certify the date of its composition⁷⁷ with concrete and sufficient textual evidence. One of the major aims of Patrick Hanan's book *The Chinese Short Story* is to determine the approximate date of early vernacular stories. He addressed the problem by establishing the "language style" as the criteria of the date. Depending on the stylistic analysis, he asserted QTM was probably a story completed in early Ming. It is reasonable that the author must leave some traces of distinctive features in language of a certain time however obscure the story's identity might be. But, as Hanan himself noted, there were no textual sources discovered,⁷⁸ and thus only when more textual evidence is provided could any conclusion

⁷⁷ "The main scholarly problem in the study of early Chinese vernacular fiction is the dating of texts." Patrick Hanan, "Sung and Yuan Vernacular Fiction: A Critique of Modern Methods of Dating," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 30 (1970): 159.

⁷⁸ Patrick Hanan, *The Chinese Short Story: Studies in Dating, Authorship, and Composition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 234.

be more convincing. In the following section, I will focus on textual analysis through verbatim comparison between the lines in QTM and its similar counterparts from other works, or possible sources, in order to further confirm the composition date of QTM. But before that, let us investigate the origin and theme of the story.

A well accepted vernacular story like QTM is usually a result of textual accumulation through dynasties. It is originally a long circulated romantic ghost story between Sima You and Su Xiaoxiao,⁷⁹ whose version can be traced back to Song (960-1279) dynasty. Zhang Lei 張耒 (1054-1114) was probably the first person who recorded the tale entitled “Shu Sima You Shi” 書司馬樛事 (An account of Sima You’s story) in his anthology:

Sima You, originally from Shan, was the nephew of Grand Preceptor Wenzheng.⁸⁰ He passed the imperial examination and achieved the degree, and later served as the chief assistant administrator in Guanzhong.⁸¹ Once in an inn on his trip, he took a daytime nap. In a trance, he dreamed of a beautiful lady dressed in extremely ancient manner. She entered the curtains, holding the clappers, and sang: “My home is on Qiantang River. Flowers bloom and flowers fall; they do not mark how the years pass. Swallows once again carry the colors of spring away. Outside the silk screen windows is a passing moment of dusky rain.” Then she left after the song was finished. Sima You thus wrote second stanza and completed the song: “Inserted aslant, the rhinoceros comb is half spewed from

⁷⁹ Although the name of the female ghost was not mentioned in the QTM, she was no other than Su Xiaoxiao herself, considering the clear statements in the source which will be discussed in the following parts. It is said that Su was a famous prostitute during the period of Southern Qi 南齊 (479-502). See, Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風 et al., comps., *Hanyu da zidian* 漢語大詞典 (Hongkong: Hongkong sanlian shudian, 1987), vol.9, 618. There are other opinions that a second Su Xiaoxiao lived in Song, though sufficient evidence is not available. For more details, see Yu Xia 余霞, “Su Xiaoxiao kao” 蘇小小考, *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu* (2011, summer edition): 114-121; and Li Yongqing 李永青, “‘Su Guzi’ ji ‘Su Xiaoxiao’ kao” 蘇姑子即蘇小小考, *Modern Chinese* 7 (2007): 107-8. More discussions will be in Chapter 4.

⁸⁰ Sima Guang was granted with the title “Grand Preceptor” 太師, and “Literary Righteousness” 文正 after his death.

⁸¹ Now it refers to the central Shan’xi 陝西 plain area.

the clouds;⁸² sandalwood boards and a clear song; she sings to the end ‘Golden Threads.’⁸³ Far away I gaze at the movement of the clouds until they disappear. As I come back from my dream, the bright moon rises over spring riverside.”⁸⁴ Later he was appointed to be the assistant administrator of Hangzhou. Some said that his residence was located at the grave of Su Xiaoxiao, and that he finally died at his post.⁸⁵

司馬標，陝人，太師文正之侄也，制舉中第，調關中第一幕官。行次里中，一日晝寐，恍惚間見一美婦人，衣裳甚古。入幌中，執版歌曰：“家在錢塘江上住。花落花開，不管年華度。燕子又將春色去，紗窗一陣黃昏雨。”歌闕而去。標因續成一曲：“斜插犀梳雲半吐，檀板清歌，唱徹《黃金縷》。望斷雲行無去處，夢回明月生春浦。”後易杭州幕官，或云其官舍下乃蘇小墓，而標竟卒于官。

Obviously, this is no more than an ordinary ghost dream that one would expect in a story about a scholar’s journey. There seems to be nothing particularly special except for the song lyrics. It may be partly because of the complex harbored by most ancient scholars who desired to have love affairs with talented courtesans, and partly because the song helped generate a fantasy that is irresistible, comforting and transcendental, compared with the harsh reality in the mundane world. Literati in various dynasties were so obsessed with this storyline that they either collected it in their anthologies or enriched it by adding more to the plot and story. Even to date, it has been adapted and performed

⁸² In ancient China, female hair was always likened to black clouds, and the comb, thus, was described as the crescent moon whose shape resembled the sickle.

⁸³ “Yellow Gold Thread” 黃金縷, like “Butterflies Linger over Flowers” 蝶戀花, is also a tune name of Song lyric song. Its alternative names include: “Butterfly in Love with Flowers”, “Phoenix Perching on Parasol Tree” 鳳棲梧, “Magpie Treading on Branches” 鵲踏枝, etc. See Wu Qiong 吳瓊, “Research on ‘Die Lian Hua’ Names of the Tunes,” *Journal of Xiangfan Vocational and Technical College* 9 (2010): 75-77.

⁸⁴ The southern side of the river usually refers to a place for departure. Luo, *Hanyu da cidian*, vol.9, 316.

⁸⁵ Zhang Lei 張耒 (1054-1114), *Zhang Lei ji* 張耒集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 814.

on stage in various dramatic forms, such as Hangzhou local drama 杭劇, Yue opera 越劇, and Yue opera 粵劇, etc.

The theme of a male protagonist dreaming of a non-human female was in itself a cliché feature of earlier Chinese literature. Famous and influential progenitors include the “Gaotang fu” 高唐賦 (Rhapsody on the Gaotang shrine) and “Shennü fu” 神女賦 (Rhapsody on the goddess).⁸⁶ Composed by a scholar named Song Yu 宋玉 (298-222 B.C.), these two pieces recorded the dreams in which the king of Chu 楚 encounters the goddess of Wu Mountain 巫山 in his journey. The illusory realm of a dream set within a realistic tour constructs a mysterious space for the interaction of the king and the goddess. Essentially, this trope of using a dream as a way to reflect on oneself and recollect one’s experience has been recognized and highlighted in vernacular literature as well.

Another important theme is about the scholarly travel. In ancient China, travelers and travel-writing authors and readers were in the majority of cases either students on the way to the imperial examinations or governmental officials. Their travel accounts are both representational and presentational. Recollected experience of a journey in the past preserves private memories that may trigger a public resonance. Sima You could not resist building his own garden after he travelled in and around the Hangzhou, West Lake and Qiantang River. From those meticulous descriptions of natural and cultural landscapes, readers could get a sense of, in the words of Gaston Bachelard, a

⁸⁶ David R. Knechtges and Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531), *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature, Volume III. Rhapsodies on Natural Phenomena, Birds and Animals, Aspirations and Feelings, Sorrowful Laments, Literature, Music, and Passions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 325-349.

“miniaturizing imagination,” for “one must love space to describe it as minutely as though there were world molecules, to enclose an entire spectacle in a molecule of drawing.”⁸⁷ The garden is emblematic of the scholar’s vision in building the cosmos into his own world, a space that allows for movements through real places that hold metaphorical significance in cosmic terms. In the beginning of another early Ming vernacular story entitled “Jiangmiao nishen ji” 江廟泥神記 (The story of clay goddesses in a river temple),⁸⁸ the protagonist built a luxurious garden in his backyard. One day, four fine ladies appeared out of nowhere in his garden when he came back from a trip. That night, one of the ladies knocked at his door and recommended herself for a conjugal union with him. In QTM, the scholar finds the bones of such a woman in the process of constructing his own garden. This discovery in a place built for the physical movement of the body in the future is clearly a variant version of a romantic encounter during a sightseeing tour typically seen in many stories. It is interesting that Sima merely located the bones, not the coffin. He placed them in a stone case and reburied it in another place on a high hill. Ancient Chinese, it seems, held a negative feeling toward the exposed coffin. In particular, they disliked episodes in which sex dreams are triggered by the encountering of unburied coffins. In contrast, imagined romantic affairs around a tomb site, especially those belonging to talented beauties and prostitutes, were greatly encouraged. Unlike an exposed coffin, a tomb site more or less drives out the fear of death, for it is a secure place that bears the memories of the past and settles the souls

⁸⁷ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (New York: Orion Press, 1958), 159.

⁸⁸ Qu You 瞿佑 (1341-1427), *Jiandeng xinhua* 翦燈新話 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1967), 64.

down in peace.⁸⁹ In later discussion we will see that, as a consequence, in many other early version of the romance between Sima You and Suxiaoxiao, a tomb become the destination point for a trip as well as the departure point for a dream. The travel theme in QTM is a rather mixed one since it is a combination of both traveling and dreaming experiences.

Perhaps the most apposite theme of QTM is that of “repaying the favor.” In the story, the female ghost appears in front of the protagonist’s door and offered herself by way of self-recommendation. Interestingly, scenes concerning self-recommendation on the part of female ghosts could be seen in many stories composed as early as Wei and Jin dynasties (220-420). For instance, among the twenty eight romance stories between a male human and a female ghost dated at that time, there are eleven relevant to nighttime self-recommendation at the door.⁹⁰ Yet from all other versions⁹¹ of QTM, in various genres across different dynasties, there is not a single version in which returning favor for the bone reburial occurs. As is well known, many Ming and Qing vernacular stories were in fact expanded from Tang tales and Song stories recorded in form of scholarly notes, and most of the widely known ghost *xiaoshuo* can find their origins in two most important and influential collections of stories for early story-tellers:⁹² *Taiping guangji* 太

⁸⁹ For more examples, see Lu Ying, *Zhongguo meng wenhua*, 246-253.

⁹⁰ Huang Haiyan 黄海艳, “Wei Jin nanbeichao rengui lian xiaoshuo yanjiu” 魏晋南北朝人鬼婚恋小说研究 (M.A. thesis, Dongbei Normal University, 2008), 35-36. Also see, Zhong Linbin 钟林斌, “Lun Wei Jin Liuchao zhiguai zhong de rengui zhilian xiaoshuo” 论魏晋六朝志怪中的人鬼之戀小说, *Shehui kexue jikan* 社會科學輯刊 3 (1997): 141-148.

⁹¹ We will discuss them in detail in chapter 4.

⁹² See more in Hu, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun*, 198-9.

平廣記 (Extensive records of the Taiping era) and *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Record of the listener).

As expected, there are at least three stories with a very similar theme in *Taiping guangji*. The first relevant story is “Shang Zhongkan” 商仲堪,⁹³ a simplified story of “Showing Gratitude in a Dream for Saving Coffin” 夢謝拯棺⁹⁴ collected in *Yi yuan* 異苑 by Liu Jingshu 劉敬叔(?) during Liu Song in Southern Dynasty 南朝劉宋 (420-479). For the convenience of discussion and comparison, I translated the source story below:

While in Dantu, Shang Zhongkan dreamed of a person who said, “You are a person always ready for helping others. If you can move me to a dry and high spot, your favor would even extend to my dry bones.” The next day, there was indeed a coffin flowing along the water. Zhongkan seized it and buried it on a high hill. He also offered the food and wine. That evening, he dreamed that the person came to express gratitude. There is another version: Zhongkan traveled to the riverside, and saw a flowing coffin. He caught it and buried it. Within ten days, the ditch in front of his door rose to form a bank. On that evening, someone, who claimed to be Xu Boxuan, contacted Zhongkan and said, “I am grateful for your favor, and there is nothing else I could pay you as a reward.” Zhongkan therefore asked, “Is the bank in front of my door some sort of auspicious sign?” The person replied, “The bank in the water is called an ‘islet,’ so you will be appointed as a head of a prefecture.” He disappeared as soon as he finished speaking.⁹⁵

商仲堪在丹徒，夢一人曰：“君有濟物之心，如能移我在高燥處，則恩及枯骨矣。”明日，果有一棺逐水流下。仲堪取而葬之於高岡，酌以酒食。其夕，夢見其人來拜謝。一云：仲堪遊於江濱，見流棺，接而葬焉。旬日間，門前之溝忽起為岸。其夕，有人通仲堪，自稱徐伯玄，云：“感君之惠，無以報也。”仲堪因問：“門前之岸，是何祥乎？”對曰：“水中有岸，其名為洲。君將為州。”言終而沒。

⁹³ Li Fang 李昉 (925-996) et al., comps., *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), vol.276, 2182.

⁹⁴ Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, ed, *Han Wei Liuchao biji xiaoshuo daguan* 漢魏六朝筆記小說大觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), 662.

⁹⁵ “Zhou” 洲 (an islet) is the homophone of “prefect” or “prefecture” in Chinese.

The second one is entitled “Liu Ke” 劉軻⁹⁶, which is an abridged version of “A burial of a student” 葬書生 compiled in *Yunxi youyi* 雲溪友議 by a Tang scholar Fan Shu 範攄 (?). The original story is as follows:

The imperial attendant Liu Ke of the Tang was from Shaoyou. When he was young, he went to Luo Mountain, Fu Mountain and Jiuyi Mountain. There he read books of Daoist school and desired to learn the method of transcendence. He also explored the precepts of Buddhism at Caoxi and then dressed in a Buddhist robe and named himself Haina [an understanding capable of receiving the ocean]. [He] went northward to temples in Junchuan and Fangshan, and also lived in Donglin temple on Lu Mountain. [He] studied *The Account of South Mountain* as well as *The Theory of A Hundred Dharma*, and completely acquired their essential meaning. Living by himself in a single room, he dreamed several times of a person who was in coarse cloth jacket who said, “I was a student, and died in this room while in the process of travel. Because the monk in charge of the temple did not know my hometown, [he] just buried me underneath the windows, but my skeleton feels constrained in such a narrow place. This dead person had always been following what is true, and how could he rest in peace like this? If you can move me and rebury my skeleton in another place, there will definitely be a reward for this.” He therefore asked about this from the monks, and it turned out to be true. Liu took off the clothes he wore and covered the skeleton. He prepared the coffin and reburied it in a place around the upstream of Huxi. That night, he dreamed that the student came to express gratitude. The student brought three eggs and urged Ke to eat them immediately. Ke chewed one and swallowed the rest two. After that, he became proficient in Confucianism and good at writing. Therefore, he attained the degree in the imperial exam and served several times in the Institute of History. He desired to record the story of his dream, but was not appropriate to write his own biography. Han Yu, the ministry assistant of Ministry of Official Personnel, had known the story, and once said [to Ke], “Wait until I have free time, and I will write an article to praise you.” Since Yu was later demoted, the article was never done.⁹⁷

唐侍禦劉軻者，韶右人也。幼之羅浮九疑，讀黃老書，欲學輕舉之道。又於曹溪探釋氏關戒，遂被僧服，故釋名海納。北之筠川方山等寺，又居廬嶽東林寺，習南山鈔及百法論，咸得宗旨焉。獨處一室，數夢一人衣短褐曰：“

⁹⁶ Li, *Taiping guangji*, vol.117, 817-8.

⁹⁷ Qian Yong 錢泳 and Huang Han 黃漢, comps., *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀 (Jiangsu: Guangling guji keyinshe, 1983), 69.

我書生也，頃因遊學，逝於此室，以主寺僧不聞郡邑，乃瘞於牖下，而屍骸局促。死者從真，何以安也，君能遷葬，必有酬謝。”乃訪於緇屬，果然。劉解所著之衣，覆其骸骨。具棺改窆於虎溪之上。是夜夢書生來謝，將三雞子，勸軻立食之，軻嚼一而吞其二焉。後乃精於儒學，而善屬文章，因策名第，歷任史館。欲書夢中之事，不可自為傳記，吏部侍郎韓愈素知焉，曰：“待余餘暇，當為一文贊焉。”愈左遷，其文不就也。

The third possible source is “Mu Ying”牟穎,⁹⁸ collected as the first story in *Guidong* 鬼董 (Records of ghost by Dong Hu).⁹⁹ Its plot is different, but from the opening part we may conclude that it is also a story developed around the same theme. The story tells of a young man named Mu Ying from Luoyang. He once got drunk and unconsciously traveled to the wild field. When he woke up at midnight, he found some bones exposed by the path. He then buried them. At night, he dreamed of a young man who came to pay the favor of reburial. Likewise, one of the three commonly found themes in ghost stories from *Yijian zhi* is similar: “In his dream, a man is visited by a woman’s ghost, who asks him to give her bones proper burial.”¹⁰⁰ Therefore, it is highly probable that the compiler of QTM might have known all of these stories well, or at least some of the similar ones. Around the same theme, the above three examples share one thing in common: the dream occurred in the process of or was brought by a physical dislocation. Shang had the dream either “in Dantu” or at home after his travel to the riverside. Similarly, Mu Ying, after getting drunk, traveled to a “wild field.” And in the second story, Liu Ke traveled constantly from one place to another before he dreamt

⁹⁸ Li, *Taiping guangji*, vol.352, 2784-5.

⁹⁹ Sun Kaidi 孙楷第, *Xiqu xiaoshuo shulu jieti* 戲曲小說書錄解題 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1990), 4-5.

¹⁰⁰ Hanan, *The Chinese Short Story*, 196.

about the student. To a certain degree, the dream realm functions as a space to which all physical movements are directed. It is a space that implies events that demand the dreamer to carry out physical activities within a specified place. However, this is by no means to suggest that “repaying the favor” should be considered less important. In fact, it is this theme that enables QTM stand out as a unique story among all other versions of romance between Sima and Su. I hope that this emphasis on the interaction of travel and dream themes brings out another dimension in which we could better evaluate the theme of “repaying the favor” and thus reinforce one of the important notions concerning the continuum of certain narrative frameworks from its literary past.

Its Text and Intertextuality

In order to find the certain date of a QTM, we need to set the earlier and later limits.¹⁰¹ It is the Song dynasty when “A Good Dream by Qiantang River” was recorded and circulated, but it is not until early Ming that the earliest known QTM was discovered. This hiatus creates more difficulties to the identification of QTM since there is no material evidence. In general, this means that it is extremely difficult to confirm a direct source or a lineal tradition when one encounters two similar passages in different works in the field of vernacular literature. It could be that they copied each other or adapted a story that circulated orally or in a written form that is no longer extant. Thus, the shared themes of the textual corpus are hopelessly intertwined. In most cases, a story is rather a

¹⁰¹ Hanan, “Sung and Yuan Vernacular Fiction: A Critique of Modern Methods of Dating”, 160.

mixture of ingredients collected from both earlier and contemporary works and even the date of the assumed source works is still in doubt. It is equally possible that all sources of a certain work are no longer extant. Just one example will demonstrate how confusing a result could be brought by the verbatim comparison. There is an impressive couplet in QTM: “Open one small point of scarlet lips, and show two lines of bright white teeth” 啓一點朱唇，露兩行皓齒。 But it may turn out to be something as cliché after you found that a similar version “The vermillion lips are like one small point of cherry; the bright white teeth resemble two lines of connected jades” 朱唇綴一顆櫻桃，皓齒排兩行碎玉 had been appeared nine times in seven Song and Yuan stories preserved in Ming collections.¹⁰² What’s more frustrating is that one could almost never tell who copied who from where or when, not even in approximate terms. Even though a number of similar passages can be discovered in works earlier or contemporary with QTM, it seems impossible to set any limits, because the composition dates of most of these other works are still unclear. However, I have located, after meticulous comparison, a regular pattern permeating the text, and, together with other hard evidence, that allows us to set relatively reasonable limits. And the confirmation of the date can therefore be verified against the quality, quantity and consistency of the collected evidence.

Vernacular stories composed in Song and Yuan are typically only several thousand characters in length; even longer ones are no more than ten thousand. It is

¹⁰² See “Nian yu Guanyin” 碾玉觀音, “Xishan yiku gui” 西山一窟鬼, “Zhicheng Zhang zhuguan” 志誠張主管, in Miao Quansun 繆荃孫 (1844-1919), *Jingben tongsu xiaoshuo* 京本通俗小說 (Shanghai: Zhongguo gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1954), 3, 35, 47. And also see “Liu Shiqing shijiu wan jianglou ji” 柳耆卿詩酒翫江樓記, “Yang Wen lanlu hu zhuan” 楊溫攔路虎傳, “Dong Yong yuxian zhuan” 董永遇仙傳, “Jiezhier ji” 戒指兒記, in Hong Pian 洪楗(?), *Qingping shantang huaben* 清平山堂話本 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), 3, 182, 170, 239, 247, 253.

characterized by a set of stereotyped components¹⁰³: Title 題目, Introduction 篇首, Transitional Remarks 入話, Pre-Story 頭回, Story 正話, and End 結尾. In a way that is different from most conventionally organized stories in a prosimetric (說唱) format, the verse sections in QTM are so grossly disproportionate that the prose lines sometimes seem completely dispensable. Large quantities of verse dominate the pages and account for ninety percent of a story consisting of about two thousand and four hundred characters. Yet an organization manner is still discernible: one or two narrative sentences followed by lengthy and detailed poetic lines, a style that is repeated appeared even in the dialogue between the protagonist and the ghost. Naturally, our comparisons can therefore not avoid dealing with the bulk of the verse throughout the story. For the convenience of discussion, I have arranged the text, according to the subject matter, into nine sections: Prologue 引首, Introductory Poem 開場詩, Hangzhou 杭州, West Lake 西湖, Bone-Burial by Qiantang 錢塘埋骨, Three Gusts of Wind 三陣風, Appearance 外貌, Dialogue 對話, and Startled Dream 驚夢 (Appendix A).

The traditional method of introducing the main body of the text presents is either a five-or seven-character poem, or a *ci* lyric with a specific tune title. But in our case, there are quite a few lines before the five-character introduction poem. The first sight of the opening passage may leave the readers with the feeling that the poetic lines lack of any form of meticulous arrangement, for they are neither *shi* poems nor *ci* lyrics, but a group of rhyming phrases and sentences that seemed randomly piled up. However, a common practice was that early vernacular stories borrowed widely from various popular

¹⁰³ Hu, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun*, 174.

works of contemporary performing literary works. It is highly possible that this part may be a combination of some popular parts from certain well-circulated works of its time.

In December, 1975, a Ming tomb was discovered in Guangdong, and among the unearthed antiquities is a Ming version of a famous, yet once lost, southern drama *Jinchai ji* 金釵記 (A story of gold hairpin), and it was a transcript almost seventy years earlier than QTM.¹⁰⁴ The opening remarks, though some characters were no longer recognizable, were surprisingly similar to that in QTM:

Prologue 引首:

Jinchai ji:

...place, it indifferently flows eastward through the night, incessantly surging, mindless of the sorrows either in past or at present. The spray of the waves¹⁰⁵ is like the flying snow; the new moon like a silver sickle. Reminiscing about those years, when Emperor Suiyang drove the brocade sails... The time favorite people ... for several thousand autumns, but two lines of golden thread willows still tie up the dragon boat ... The blue mountains are without [number?] and the green waters..., and above that, how can I bear the bear

QTM:

May I inquire where the water goes? It indifferently flows eastward all night long, incessantly surging, mindless of the sorrows either in past or at present. The spray of the waves seems to puff out snow; the new moon resembles a silver sickle. Reminiscing those prime years of wealth, raising the brocade sails and reaching directly Jiangzhou. The time favorite people had gone for several thousand autumns, but two lines of golden thread willows are still there, tying up the skiff. Endless are the blue mountains, the green waters, let alone how I can look at the white clouds. On the bridge of Ba Mausoleum, look afar at Xichuan, no matter what, always an eight-thousand-*li* road. When departing, it was the late spring, when returning, it

¹⁰⁴From the edition information recorded before and after the drama text, this transcript was for actual stage performance and finished between 1431 and 1432. See Wu Guoqin 吳國欽, "Lun Ming ben Chaozhou xiwen Liu Bixi *Jinchai ji*" 論明本潮州戲文劉希必金釵記, *Journal of Zhongshan University* 5 (1997): 113-23, and Liu Nianzi 劉念茲, "Xuande xieben *Jinchai ji jiaohou ji*" 宣德寫本金釵記校后記 *Xueshu yanjiu* 4 (1982): 98-105.

¹⁰⁵The character "讓" actually could be identified as "浪", considering about the pronunciation and context.

the innumerable white clouds. From the Bridge of Ba Tomb, I look afar the western prefectures, move ... late spring ... late spring, late spring when he departed, but in just a [turn] of the head as always and it is again winter ... covering old age, how many times could be dispelled?¹⁰⁶

金釵記：

□□□□□處，無明徹夜東流，滔滔不管古今愁。讓花如飛雪，新月似銀鉤。暗想當年隋暘帝，駕錦帆□□□，風流人□幾千秋。兩行金線柳，依舊纜龍舟。青山無□，綠水□□，更那堪白雲無數。霸陵橋上望西州，動□□□春暮。□□春暮，去時春暮，總□頭又是冬□。……遮老亦能消幾度。

was the late autumn, abruptly turning the head, and it is already the late winter. Consider that parting always outnumber reunion in life. Sigh that how many time can we have?¹⁰⁷

錢塘夢：

試問水歸何處？無明徹夜東流，滔滔不管古今愁。浪花如噴雪，新月似銀鉤。暗想當年富貴，掛錦帆直至江州。風流人去幾千秋，兩行金線柳，依舊纜扁舟。青山無數，綠水無數，更那看白雲無數。霸陵橋上望西川，動不動八千里路。去時節春暮，來時節秋暮，急回頭，又早冬暮。想人生，會少離多，歎光陰，能有幾度。

Opening remarks in performing literature often involve the passage of time and changes of seasons, as was vividly represented in both *Jinchai ji* and QTM. These are highly conventionalized descriptions, common phrases that trigger a general sense of time passing as one is separated from a lover. It is easy to assume that the scribe of *Jinchai ji* was poorly educated because of the variant and wrong characters as opposed to the correct ones in QTM. Besides the rhyming words shared by both, there is one line in

¹⁰⁶ Liu Nianzi 劉念茲, ed., *Xuande xieben jinchai ji* 宣德寫本金釵記 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1985), 3.

¹⁰⁷ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 7.

QTM that is thought-provoking: “Reminiscing those prime years of wealth, raising the brocade sails and going straight to Jiangzhou” 暗想當年富貴，掛錦帆直至江州. It should have been relevant to either the story itself or some well-known celebrities or anecdotes. Yet the whole story does not provide any clue, whereas the equivalent lines in *Jinchai ji* help us find one of the possible answers: it was Yangzhou where Emperor Suiyang 隋煬帝 (569-618) traveled for pleasure. The assumption that the author might deliberately chose to deemphasize the emperor was understandable, and because of its irrelevance to QTM, the name does not necessarily have to be as cited. No wonder the “dragon boat” 龍舟 was changed into “small boat” 扁舟. Since this edition was not the very original version of *Jinchai ji*, we have no idea how specifically QTM author adapted each line, but that the QTM might have referred to the prologue from *Jinchai ji* is highly possible. To our surprise, the prologue of *Shuihu zhuan*¹⁰⁸ 水滸傳引首 is found to be a similar passage too:

Try to look at the hidden areas of book forests, and there are many smart recluses and Confucian personages. Empty fame and meager profit are not relevant to their concerns. Trim the ice and cut the snow; watch the sickle-sword of Wu while chatting and laughing. Judge and comment on the previous kings and later emperors. Distinguish the true from the false who took possession of the Middle Prefectures. The seven heroic kingdoms stirred things up and made the Spring and Autumn period chaotic. Rise and fall are like brittle willows and human life is like an empty boat. Seeing the countless people who achieved fame, but many also plotted for fame,¹⁰⁹ and there were even many who escaped fame. In a twinkling, the new moon falls on the below the long river, and rivers and lakes change into mulberry fields and ancient roads. I marvel anyone would climb a tree to look for

¹⁰⁸ This version of *Shuihu zhuan* is with 100 chapters, composed by Shi Naian 施耐庵 (ca.1296-1370) and Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 (ca.1330-ca.1400), commented by Li Zhi 李贄 (1527-1602), and the earliest extant text was Rongyu tang 容與堂 edition during Wanli 萬曆 period (1573-1620).

¹⁰⁹ The character “形” is highly possible a wrongly transcribed character of “名”, since these three kinds of people were supposed to be relevant to the fame.

a fish; it is similar that a gibbon in distress picking a tree at hand; fearful of being injured by a bow, it keeps its distance from the crooked trees. It is better just to empty the cup in hands, and then listen to the tune of novel music and the rhythm of melody.¹¹⁰

試看書林隱處，幾多俊逸儒流。虛名薄利不關愁。裁冰及剪雪，談笑看吳鉤。評議前王並後帝。分真偽佔據中州，七雄擾擾亂春秋。興亡如脆柳，身世類虛舟。見成名無數，圖名無數，更有那逃名無數。霎時新月下長川，江湖變桑田古路。訝求魚緣木，擬窮猿擇木，恐傷弓遠之曲木。不如且覆掌中杯，再聽取新聲曲度。

Unexpectedly, one will notice that there are fewer lines identical with that in both *Jincha ji* and QTM. A Qing scholar Cheng Muheng 程穆衡 (?) in his *Shuihu zhuan zhulue* 水滸傳注略 disclosed the rhyming words and the song patterns: “The first tune is with “Immortal Approaching River”,¹¹¹ and the second tune is with “Walking on Sedge Grass”,¹¹² both of which slightly changed in the beginning of the starting lines 第一調寄《臨江仙》，第二調寄《踏莎行》也，皆於起句微換。”¹¹³ With that in mind, we might find a blood tie among the three. For the convenience of comparison, I arranged each line with the song pattern as follows:

Table 1. “Linjiangxian” patterns from *Shuihu zhuan*, *Jinchai ji* and QTM

“Linjiangxian” Pattern:	<i>Shuihu zhuan</i> :	<i>Jinchai ji</i> :	QTM:
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¹¹⁰ Shi Naian 施耐庵 (1296-1370), *Li Zhuowu xiansheng piping zhongyi Shuihu zhuan* 李卓吾先生批評忠義水滸傳, Rongyu tang 容與堂 edition, Wanli 萬曆 period (1573-1620), 1a, facsimile.

¹¹¹ It fits the category of “*shuangdiao xiaoling*” 雙調小令, a tune from the Tang Entertainment Bureau 唐教坊曲. See Long Yusheng 龍榆生 (1902-1966), *Tang Song ci gelü* 唐宋詞格律 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 26-27.

¹¹² It also fits “*shuangdiao xiaoling*”, which usually are fifty-eight characters. See Long, *Tang Song ci gelü*, 86.

¹¹³ Zhu Yixuan 朱一玄, *Shuihu zhuan ziliao huibian* 水滸傳資料彙編 (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2002), 378.

+ +-- , +--+ --, (Rhyme) +--+ --。(Rhyme) +-- , + --。(Rhyme)	試看書林隱處 幾多俊逸儒流 虛名薄利不關愁 裁冰及剪雪 談笑看吳鉤	□□□□□處 無明徹夜東流 滔滔不管古今愁 讓花如飛雪 新月似銀鉤	試問水歸何處 無明徹夜東流 滔滔不管古今愁 浪花如噴雪 新月似銀鉤
+ +-- , +--+ --, (Rhyme) +--+ --,(Rhyme) +-- , + --。(Rhyme)	評議前王並後帝 分真偽佔據中州 七雄擾擾亂春秋 興亡如脆柳 身世類虛舟	暗想當年隋暘帝 駕錦帆□□□ 風流人□幾千秋 兩行金線柳 依舊纜龍舟	暗想當年富貴 掛錦帆直至江州 風流人去幾千秋 兩行金線柳 依舊纜扁舟

According to the requirements of the pattern, the line “Try to look at the hidden areas of book forests” 試看書林隱處 should have added with one more character, and one character should be moved away from the line “Distinguish the true from the false who took possession of the Middle Prefectures” 分真偽佔據中州. Contrarily, the rules were strictly observed in *Jinchai ji*'s prologue, whose author might be more aware of the lyric principles. Both latter works preserved all the rhyming words “liu” 流, “chou” 愁, “gou” 鉤, “zhou” 州, “qiu” 秋, “zhou” 舟, let alone other endings such as “chu” 處, “xue” 雪, “liu” 柳. Even though they all treated significant matters, the aesthetic value in *Shuihu zhuan* prologue may be much higher than any of the others, because the broader issues, for instance, fame and profits, vicissitudes of history, fate, etc., represented in *Shuihu zhuan* contribute to extending a more philosophical and existential realm; whereas the subjects dealt in the latter two were, in lower linguistic register, no more than the specific cases derived from a general truth.

Table 2. “Tasuoxing” patterns from *Shuihu zhuan*, *Jinchai ji* and QTM

“Tasuoxing” Pattern:	<i>Shuihu zhuan</i> :	<i>Jinchai ji</i> :	QTM:
+ -- + - + (Rhyme) + - + -- (Rhyme) + - + -- + - + -- (Rhyme)	[見]成名無數 圖形無數 更有那逃名無數 霎時新月下長川 江湖變桑田古路	青山無□ 綠水□□ 更那堪白雲無數 霸陵橋上望西州 動□□□春暮	青山無數 綠水無數 更那看白雲無數 霸陵橋上望西川 動不動八千里路
+ -- + - + (Rhyme) + - + -- (Rhyme) + - + -- + - + -- (Rhyme)	訝求魚緣木 擬窮猿擇木 恐傷弓遠之曲木 不如且覆掌中杯 再聽取新聲曲度	□□春暮 去時春暮 總□頭又是冬□ 遮老亦能消幾度	去時節春暮 來時節秋暮 急回頭又早冬暮 想人生會少離多 歎光陰能有幾度

As Cheng noted, one more character was irregularly added in the beginning of the starting lines in *Shuihu zhuan*: “jian” 見, “ya” 訝, and “ni” 擬. The way to adopt the rhyming words and adapt the lines was exactly the same seen in those two previously discussed songs. The three “wushu” 無數 and other rhyming endings were completely kept, and the “mu” 木 shared the same pronunciation with “mu” 暮 in two latter versions.

The two songs in *Shuihu zhuan* were indeed “slightly changed” in light of the pattern requirements, but the location of the right tunes further proves that prologues in latter works were both heavily influenced by that in *Shuihu zhuan*. Though we could almost ignore the verbal difference in prologues between *Jinchai ji* and QTM, the clear logic in borrowing direction and the successive subjects were sufficient to establish *Shuihu zhuan* prologue as the possible origin to that of *Jinchai ji*. One of the possible origins of QTM’s opening remarks could thus been assured too. The earliest available complete *Shuihu zhuan* (1610) is the one from which we have drawn the prologue for the comparison: *Li Zhuowu xiansheng piping zhongyi Shuihu zhuan* 李卓吾先生批評忠義水滸傳 (Rongyu tang edition with Li Zhuowu’s commentary: the royal and righteous

Shuihu zhuan). There are numerous opinions toward the composition date of the original novel, among which the view that it was finished during the period of late Yuan and early Ming is widely accepted¹¹⁴. The exposure of this textual predecessor not only reveals how popular songs during Ming were typically adapted in vernacular literature, but also helps confirm that the prologue of *Shuihu zhuan* was composed earlier than Xuande 宣德 (1426-1435) period. This is not the whole picture. Due to the popularity of XXJ, it is reasonable to believe that, together with the drama itself, QTM must have been widely circulated among Ming and Qing literati. Thus it is not surprising that the opening remarks became somewhat a model prevalently borrowed in numerous vernacular stories as introductory poem¹¹⁵.

The possible textual appropriation and adaptation of the prologue from *Shuihu zhuan*, to *Jinchai ji* and QTM provides a glimpse of inter-borrowing relationship widely existed in performance literature in the early Ming. And we have more supporting materials to show that the QTM editorial author might have referred to lines from *Jinchai ji* in the following discussion. Still with only one piece of evidence we could not refute

¹¹⁴ Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962) argues that the original *Shuihu zhuan* of the 100 chapters was composed in early Ming. Hu Shi, “Shuihu zhuan kaozheng” 水滸傳考證, in *Zhongguo zhanghui xiaoshuo kaozheng* 中國章回小說考證 (Taipei: Fengyun shuju, 1976), 1-63. Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936) also contributed one chapter to discuss the editions in one of his most widely-cited books on Chinese novel. See Lu Xun, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilue* 中國小說史略 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), 94-103. Readers could also refer to, Yuan Shishuo 袁世碩, “Shuihu zhuan zuozhe Shi Naian wenti” 水滸傳作者施耐庵問題, *Dongyue luncong* 3 (1983): 40-41. There are those believing the novel was written in Yuan. Wang Liqi 王利器 (1911-1998), “Shuihu quanzhuan shi zenyang zuanxiu de” 水滸全傳是怎樣纂修的, *Wenxue pinglun* 3 (1982): 88-103; Shimizu Shigeru 清水茂, *Shimizu Shigeru's Collection on Sinology* 清水茂漢學論集 (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 290. As for the survey of the research on author, composition and editions, see He Hongmei 何紅梅, “Xinshiji Shuihu zhuan zuozhe chengshu yu banben yanjiu zongshu” 新世紀水滸傳作者成書與版本研究綜述, *Academic Journal of Suzhou University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)* 6 (2006): 56-59.

¹¹⁵ More examples will be provided in the following section.

those who maintain QTM was a Song text because *Jinchai ji* might be originally adapted from a Southern Song drama.¹¹⁶ However, when we combine the first evidence with the second listed below, such an argument will be somewhat unfounded.

Introductory Poem 入場詩:

Dong Jieyuan XXJ:

To relieve depression, three stanzas of the zither,
To eliminate sorrow, one beaker of wine.
At this time having nothing to express my love longing.
My brush of many colors transmits my feelings,
As I casually pen the “Poem on Encountering an Immortal.”¹¹⁷

QTM:

A spring wind, one flagon of wine;
The night moon, three stanzas of the zither.
Rarely heard either present or past:
Try and listen to A Dream by Qiantang River.¹¹⁸

董解元西廂記:

釋悶琴三弄，消愁酒一卮，此時無以說相思，彩筆傳情，聊賦會真詩。

錢塘夢:

春風酒一壺，夜月琴三弄，今古罕曾聞，試聽錢塘夢。

Both poems were rhymed and served to introduce the main text, but a more subjective experience in the poems from *Dong Jieyuan XXJ* was changed into an easy employment of two ordinary images in QTM poem (spring wind and night moon) and this replaces specific depression that comes with the prospect of frustrated anticipation by a casual ennui. Interestingly enough, the structural transference is inverted, and this is also surprisingly a marked pattern running through the whole story. When all examples are listed, a hidden clue for the date of composition will appear:

¹¹⁶ Wu, “Lun Ming ben Chaozhou xiwen Liu Bixi Jinchai ji”, 113-23.

¹¹⁷ Huo Songlin 霍松林, *Xixiang huibian* 西廂彙編 (Jinan: Shandong wenyi chubanshe, 1987), 92.

¹¹⁸ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuji*, vol.1, 7.

Table 3. Examples of Inverted Structural Transference in QTM

Possible Sources:	QTM:
<i>Dong Jieyuan XXJ</i> 釋悶琴三弄，消愁酒一卮	Introductory Poem 春風酒一壺，夜月琴三弄
“Zhang Yuhu zhuan” 腹中背記五車書，胸內包藏千古史。 因戀新婚，不赴科第	Hangzhou 年方弱冠，早赴科場。 腹中背記五車書，胸內包藏千古史
“Chen Xunjian meiling shiqi ji” 風穿朱戶透簾櫳，滅燭能交蔣氏雄。 吹折地獄門前樹，刮起風都頂上塵。	Three Gusts of Wind 那風真個是吹折地獄門前樹， 卷起鄴都頂上塵。更有第三陣風， 入紗窗，滅銀紅，穿畫閣，透羅裳
“Yang Wen lanluhu zhuan” 冷氣侵人，寒風撲面	Three Gusts of Wind 卒律律寒風撲面，清零零冷氣侵人
XXJ 蘭麝香仍在，佩環聲漸遠	Three Gusts of Wind 環佩鏗鏘，麝蘭縹緲
<i>Jingchai ji</i> 眉薄新月，髻挽烏雲	Appearance 髻挽烏雲，眉彎新月
<i>Jingchai ji</i> 臉襯朝霞，肌凝瑞雪	Appearance 肌凝瑞雪，臉襯朝霞
<i>Pipa ji</i> 珠翠叢中長大，倒欣着雅淡梳粧； 綺羅陣裏生來，卻厭他繁華氣象	Appearance 綺羅隊裡生來，卻厭繁華氣象； 珠翠叢中長大，那堪雅淡梳妝

The list of possible source-works displays a micro-database concerning various genres in performance literature by different authors of different times. It may also point to a conventional set of tropes that were frequently adopted for use in the field of vernacular literature by both storytellers and textual producers. A closer look will reveal that the intertextualized lines in QTM unexceptionally represent an editorial logic of an inverted structure. It is quite clear that QTM author relied greatly on his experience in the accumulative practice of reading and writing. Moreover, the editorial logic defies the possibility that authors, one after another, of different works unanimously inverted the lines copied from QTM, to say nothing of some works that are certainly much earlier than QTM. This regular pattern is the hard evidence that the author consistently employed

formal changes to cover the possible borrowing traces, that is to say, the story was probably composed by one person.

Considering the main text that QTM was attached, it is natural that the author might borrow lines from *Dong Jieyuan XXJ* on which Wang Shifu XXJ was based. The accurate date of *Dong Jieyuan XXJ* is still in the darkness, but it should be certainly completed before Ming, therefore this work could not be set as the later limit. Though the original *Pipa ji* 琵琶記 (A story of *pipa*) was thought to be composed by late Yuan and early Ming, the surviving copies were all Ming editions, among which the earliest Jiajing 嘉靖 (1522-1566) edition was actually transcribed by Qing scholar Lu Yidian 陸貽典 (1617-1686).¹¹⁹ The six extant versions of *Jingchai ji* were all made in Ming, and the earliest one was also completed during Jiajing period.¹²⁰ So these two dramas alone could probably prove QTM was not composed in Song. As for “Zhang Yuhu zhuan” 張于湖傳 (A story of Zhang Yuhu)¹²¹, “Chen Xunjian meiling shiqi ji” 陳巡檢梅嶺失妻記 (Inspector Chen lost his wife at Plum Mountain) and “Yang Wen lanluhu zhuan” 楊溫攔路虎傳 (A story of Yang Wen, the road-blocking tiger)¹²², they were regarded as Song

¹¹⁹ For more research on *Pipa ji*, see Li Shunhua 李舜華, “Fenfen pipa shei shi zhu Yuanben *Pipa ji* de fanxian yu yanjiu” 紛紛琵琶誰是主元本琵琶記的發現與研究, *Yishu baiji* 4 (2001): 40-44.

¹²⁰ See more research on *Jingchai ji* in Yu Weimin 俞為民, “*Jingchai ji* de zuozhe yu banben kaoshu” 荊釵記的作者與版本考述, *Gudian wenxian yanjiu* (2003): 384-401.

¹²¹ The title of the story is included in the catalogue *Baowentang* 寶文堂書目 of Chao Li 晁璣 (?). As for the original story and its evolution, see Hu, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun*, 658-71. It has been collected in many Ming anthologies including *Wanjin qinglin* 萬錦情林, *Guose tianxiang* 國色天香, *Yanju biji* 燕居筆記. See Sun Kaidi 孫楷第 (1898-1986), *Riben Dongjing suojian Zhongguo xiaoshuo shumu* 日本東京所見中國小說書目 (Shanghai: Shangza chubanshe, 1953), 171-185.

¹²² See more information on the editions and date in Hu, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun*, 621-624.

novels, but the earliest collections of vernacular stories, including *Qingpingshan tang huaben* 清平山堂話本,¹²³ *Jingben tongsu xiaoshuo* 京本通俗小說¹²⁴ and *Xiong Longfeng xiaoshuo sizhong* 熊龍峰小說四種,¹²⁵ in which the novels were contained were much later than QTM. Still it is highly possible that QTM author did refer to most of them in early Ming. Wang Shifu XXJ came after *Dong Jieyuan XXJ* and this is not the only place where lines from Wang XXJ were adapted. It is noteworthy that Kang Baocheng 康保成 proved that *Jinchai ji* was heavily influenced by both *Jingchai ji* and *Pipa ji*.¹²⁶ And this intertwined borrowing relationship indirectly demonstrates that *Jinchai ji* was one of the essential works of reference that QTM author perhaps depended on. Examined in isolation, any single line from the chart is far from sufficient to confirm a source relation; yet when we juxtapose them for comparison, these works manifest a consistent period of time during which these works were well circulated and accepted.

In the following, we will explore more evidence that contribute to revealing a possible repertoire from which the author appropriated and adapted the stuff-materials, a process that the composition date will be further confirmed and the practice of textual production will also be clearly understood.

Hangzhou 杭州:

Group 1:

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 619-621.

¹²⁵ About more information on the date and editions, see Sun, *Riben Dongjing suojian Zhongguo xiaoshuo shumu*, 19-23.

¹²⁶ Kang Baocheng 康保成, “Chaozhou chutu Liu Xibi *Jinchai ji* shukao” 潮州出土劉希必金釵記述考, *Wenxian* 3 (1992): 56-58.

“Zhang Yuhu zhuan”:
Within his stomach, he preserves his recitation of five carts of books; in his bosom, he harbors his storage of histories through all ages. Because of his indulgence in new marriage, he does not go to take the imperial examinations.¹²⁷

張于湖傳：
腹中背記五車書，胸內包藏千古史。因戀新婚，不赴科第。

QTM:
(He) has just reached the age of twenty and is going already to take the imperial examinations. Within his stomach, he has memorized five carts of books; in his bosom, he has stored histories through all ages.¹²⁸

錢塘夢：
年方弱冠，早赴科場。腹中背記五車書，胸內包藏千古史。

Group 2:

Xianchun Lin'an zhi:¹²⁹ *Mengliang lu*:¹³⁰

咸淳臨安志/夢梁錄：

There are vegetables in the east, water in the west, firewood in the south, and rice in the north.

東菜西水，南柴北米。

Group 3:

Sui Tang liangchao zhizhuan:
(Yangzhou) is the place where most pleasures are gathered under the heaven, and where the famous worthiness hides traces. There are unfading flowers in each of four seasons, and lasting spring sceneries in all eight solar periods.¹³¹

Sansui pingyao zhuan:

QTM:
It is since ancient times the place where capitals were constructed, and where the famous worthiness hides traces. There are unfading flowers in each of four seasons, and lasting spring sceneries in all eight solar periods. Wine shops are in the north and south where guests are meeting; brothels are in the south and north where locate the

¹²⁷ Chen Huachang 陳華昌, ed, *Guose tianxiang baduan ji* 國色天香八段錦 (Xi'an: Taibai wenyi chubanshe, 1998), 398.

¹²⁸ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 7.

¹²⁹ Qian Shuoyou 潛說友 (1216-1288), *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2012), vol.6, 2069.

¹³⁰ Wang, *Meng liang lu ji qita yizhong*, 161.

¹³¹ *Sui Tang langchao shizhuan*, vol.1, 10.

There are thirty-six lanes of flowers and willows, seventy-two towers of flute and strings. If there is a plot of idle field, people either plant flowers, or kick air ball.¹³²

隋唐兩朝志傳：
...是天下最樂之地，名賢隱跡之鄉。
四時有不謝之花，八節如長春之景。
三遂平妖傳：
有三十六條花柳巷，七十二座管絃樓，若還有苔閑田地，不是栽花蹴氣毬

misty moon markets. There are thirty-six lanes of flowers and willows, seventy-two towers of flute and strings. Additionally, wherever there is a plot of idle field, people either plant flowers, or kick air ball.¹³³

錢塘夢：
自古建都之地，名賢隱跡之鄉。
四時有不謝之花，八節有長春之景。
東西酒肆會佳賓，南北歌樓煙月市。
有三十六條花柳巷，七十二座管絃樓，更有一苔閑田地，不是栽花蹴氣毬

Reading through the Hangzhou section, one will find the verse lines dominate the pages so overwhelmingly that there would almost be nothing left if they were all removed. In Group 1, the interesting resemblance between the two comparable cases not only involves the inverted structure discussed earlier, but also lies in the changing images, from a talented yet marriage-indulgent student to a diligent and thus potentially eminent scholar. The reversed structure presents a reasonable logic and functions smoothly as a transition to the sightseeing part. The intertextual line in Group 2 can also be found in two Hangzhou-related works. Judging from the intertextualized lines alone, we could not say for sure that *Lin'an zhi* must be the exact reference book, for the line is so terse and easily became one of those pet-phrases with which native Hangzhou residents may adopt to boast. But readers can see how a common phrase was removed

¹³² Guoli zhengzhi daxue gudian xiaoshuo yanjiu zhongxin 國立政治大學古典小說研究中心, ed, *Sansui pingyao zhuan* 三遂平妖傳 (Taipei: Tianyi chuban she, 1985), vol.1, 1a-1b.

¹³³ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 8.

and relocated among the works around a similar topic. In Group 3, lines from QTM can be located in *Sui Tang liangchao zhizhuan* as well as *Sansui pingyao zhuan* whose earliest preserved copy entitled *Pingyao zhuan* 平妖傳¹³⁴ was finished around the late years of Wanli period.¹³⁵ These two parts together were to some extent metaphorically woven into the QTM passage, but what set in-between was, again, a parallel of seven-character lines: “東西酒肆會佳賓，南北歌樓煙月市。”

It should be noted that a seven-character poem anonymously cited at the beginning of “Kong Shufang shuangyu shanzhui zhuan” 孔淑芳雙魚扇墜傳¹³⁶ also appeared with the poet name as Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) right before the Hangzhou section. On a second look, it is easy to find an error. This poem with the original title as “On Mansions in Linan” 題臨安邸 was actually composed by Lin Sheng 林昇 (?), a poet who supposedly lived in Southern Song period. This famous poem, together with Lin Sheng, have been collected frequently in various works during the late period of imperial China.¹³⁷ It indicates that the author, who may have possibly lived in a

¹³⁴ Sun, *Zhongguo tongsu xiaoshuo shumu*, 163.

¹³⁵ Patrick Hanan asserted the novel was composed at some time between 1400 and 1550. Patrick Hanan, “The Composition of P’ing Yao Chuan”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 31 (1971): 206-207. More information on the novel and its editions, see Hu Wanchuan 胡萬川, *Pingyao zhuan yanjiu* 平妖傳研究 (Taipei: Huanzheng shuju, 1983); Ou Yangjian 歐陽健, “*Sansui pingyao zhuan yuanben kaobian*” 三遂平妖傳原本考辨, in *Ming Qing xiaoshuo xinkao* 明清小說新考 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chuban gongsi, 1992), 144-170.

¹³⁶ Guoli zhengzhi daxue gudian xiaoshuo yanjiu zhongxin 國立政治大學古典小說研究中心, ed, “Kong Shufang shuangyu shanzhui zhuan” 孔淑芳雙魚扇墜傳 in *Xiong Longfeng xiaoshuo sizhong* 熊龍峰小說四種 (Taipei: Tianyi chuban she, 1985), 1a.

¹³⁷ It also appears with Lin Sheng as the poet in *Hangzhou zhi* 杭州志, chapter 1 of *Xihu erji* 西湖二集, chapter 3 of *Qian jia shi* 千家詩, chapter 57 of *Yaoshantang waiji* 堯山堂外紀, chapter 56 of *Songshi jishi* 宋詩紀事, chapter 2 of *Xihu youlan zhiyu* 西湖遊覽志餘, chapter 13 of *Guzhang juechen* 鼓

dynasty much later than Southern Song, was not so familiar with the poem, which indirectly proved that QTM was not composed in Song. In QTM there are two poems from Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), but one of them was quoted anonymously. The author could have adopted the same practice if the name Lin Sheng escaped from his memory. Or is there another good reason for such a deliberate alteration? It will be further discussed after we finish the comparisons.

West Lake 西湖:

Group 1:

“Xihu santa ji”:

You¹³⁸ see a thousand *qing* of transparently blue rippling waves of glass, surrounded by thirty miles of graciously green halcyon hills and peaks. On the fields in the spring breeze, light peach and dark apricot resemble makeup; on the lake during summer days, green leaves and red flowers look like a painting. When the light of autumn has aged, tender chrysanthemums by the fences amass gold, and when the winter snow has melted, sparse plum trees on the hilltops open their jade. Flower nurseries border on wine shops; banner pavilions encircle fishing villages. At the quays of willow islands,

QTM:

Deep underneath Broken Bridge, what drift peach blossom, flow red leaves, bathe mandarin ducks, float gulls and egrets, so warm, are the three thousand *qing* of rippling waves of green jade; before the cavern of water curtain, what lock the blue cliffs, hang the root of rain, pile spiral-shape hair-buns, line painting screens, so green, are the three hundred *li* of mountains with green halcyon. On the field in the spring breeze, hear the singing orioles in shades of green poplars; in gardens and groves during the summer days, horses can be tied before wine sale tower. Mountain landscapes are different, and travelers in four seasons are happy. When the light of autumn has aged, watch the buds of chrysanthemums by eastern fences

掌絕塵, chapter 4 of *Song yan* 宋豔, chapter 10 in *Qihong ting* 泣紅亭, chapter 3 of *Siyitang shiji jiaojian* 四憶堂詩集校箋.

¹³⁸ Wilt Idema has rendered the whole story into English, so this part is taken from his translation. Wilt Idema, trans, *The White Snake and Her Son* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009), 122.

painted boats halt their oars
 and call for passengers; in
 front of Prosperity Tower,
 blue linen flutters high to
 advertise the sale of wine. The
 lofty pines for nine miles are
 dark green as they soar up; the
 flowing water under the six
 bridges is blue as it ripples.
 The distant sunset glow shines
 on the three Tianzhu
 Monasteries; at night the
 moon rises high above the
 southern and northern hills.
 Clouds arise at the entrance to
 the grotto for calling the
 gibbons, and birds fly across
 the top of the mountain of the
 Dragon Well. Before the Hall
 of the Three Braves a
 thousand fathoms of blue; in
 front of the Shrine of the Four
 Sages one mirror that floats.
 Observe the ancient traces of
 Dongbo on Su Shi's dike, and
 see the old dwelling of Hejing
 on Orphan Island. The monk
 with his tin staff has gone off
 to Lingyin Monastery, and the
 flower seller arrives to sell his
 wares on Willow Bank.¹³⁹

西湖三塔記：

有一千頃碧澄澄波漾琉璃，
 有三十裡青娜娜峰巒翡翠。
 春風郊野，淺桃深杏如妝；
 夏日湖中，綠蓋紅蕖似畫；

contain gold. When the winter snow
 has melted, plum trees by warm
 riverside break their jade. Below the
 pavilions of willow islets painted
 boats halt their oars and call for
 passengers; in front of Prosperity
 Bridge wine banners swing in the
 wind to attract passers-by. The green
 pines for nine miles are surrounded by
 light and dim mist; the golden
 willows under the six bridges are
 green, tender, and supple. The
 morning rosy clouds distantly shine
 on the three Tianzhu Monasteries; the
 evening clouds deeply lock two high
 peaks. Wind arises at the entrance to
 the grotto for calling the gibbons, and
 rain fly across the top of the Dragon
 Well Mountain. Below the cold
 fountain pavilion, clear and cold,
 green and clean, what flow the bright
 moon, and immerse the cold stars, are
 thousands *zhang* of waterfalls that
 suspend flying dragons; before Spirit
 Hidden Temple, steaming and
 seething, gleaming and glistening,
 what resemble the gushing lucky air,
 and the falling celestial blossoms, are
 myriads of auspicious clouds covering
 Buddhist hall. Walk along the
 Dongpo's dike and in willow and
 poplar yards, and visit the old plum
 residence of Hejing on Orphan
 Island.¹⁴⁰

錢塘夢：

斷橋深處，有泛桃花，流紅葉，浴
 鴛鴦，浮鷗鷺，暖溶溶，三千頃波
 漾琉璃，水簾洞前，有瑣蒼崖，懸
 雨脚，堆螺髻，列畫屏，青巒巒，

¹³⁹ Hong, *Qingping shantang huaben*, 22.

¹⁴⁰ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 8-10.

秋光老後，籬邊嫩菊堆金；
臘雪消時，嶺畔疏梅破玉。
花塢相連酒市，旗亭縈繞漁
村。柳洲岸口，畫船停棹喚
遊人，豐樂樓前，青布高懸
沽酒簾。九裡喬松青挺挺，
六橋流水綠粼粼。晚霞遙映
三天竺，夜月高升南北嶺。
雲生在呼猿洞口，鳥飛在龍
井山頭。三賢堂下千澗碧，
四聖祠前一鏡浮。觀蘇堤東
坡古跡，看孤山和靖舊居。
仗錫僧投靈隱去，賣花人向
柳洲來。

三百里山橫翡翠，春風郊野，綠楊
影裡聽啼鶯，夏日園林，沽酒樓前
堪繫馬，秋光將暮，看東籬菊蕊包
金，臘雪纔消，向暖處江梅破玉。
山中景致不同，四季遊人快樂。柳
洲亭下，畫船舉棹喚遊人，豐樂橋
前，酒旗搖風招過客，九里青松烟
淡淡，六橋金柳翠依依，曉霞遙映
三天竺，暮雲深鎖二高峯。風起處
猿呼洞口，雨飛來龍井山頭。冷泉
亭下，有清泠泠，碧澄澄，流浩月
，浸寒星，千千丈瀑布掛飛龍，靈
隱寺前，有炎騰騰，光爍爍，瑞氣
沖，天花落，有萬萬朵祥雲籠佛殿
。步蘇堤東坡楊柳院，訪孤山和靖
老梅軒。

Group 2:

Xianchun Lin'an zhi:

Patterned attic stands against mountains and
the mountains project onto the attic, fish in
the shadow of glaze; the blue sky joins the
water and the water links the sky, wild geese
across the embroidery painting.¹⁴¹

“Xihu santa ji”:

Each and every household prohibits fire now
the flowers contain flames. Each and every
place hides smoke as willows spit out mist.
Horses with golden bridles whinny on the
fragrant grasses fields. On jade towers,
people are intoxicated under the apricot-
blossom sky.¹⁴³

QTM:

Patterned attic stands
against mountains and the
mountains project onto the
attic. The blue sky joins
the water and the water
links the sky. Horses with
golden bridles whinny on
the fragrant grasses fields.
On jade towers, people are
intoxicated under the
apricot-blossom sky.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Qian, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, vol.4, 1246.

¹⁴² *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 10.

¹⁴³ Hong, *Qingping shantang huaben*, 29. The second couplet also appeared in a dialogue between Su Shi and one prostitute from a story found in *Bozhai pian* 泊宅篇 by Fang Shao 方勺 (?) in Northern Song.

咸淳臨安志：

碧天連水水連天，魚在琉璃影里；畫閣映
山山映閣，雁橫錦障圖中。

西湖三塔記：

家家禁火花含火，處處藏煙柳吐煙。
金勒馬嘶芳草地，玉樓人醉杏花天。

錢塘夢：

畫閣映山山映閣，
碧天連水水連天。

金勒馬嘶芳草地，
玉樓人醉杏花天。

The first group shows lines in QTM that are striking similar to parts *Xihu santaji*. Except occasional alteration in phrase collocations, the sentence structures, word choice and images are of no great difference. The insertions both in beginning and end display the same pattern: a parallel of verse lines, each of which breaks into segments of four characters, a three-character chain, and a seven-character poetic line, and this pattern will repeat two more times in the following discussion. Group 2 has to do with the concluding poem of this section. Obviously, this poem was seemingly a collection of lines from both, again, *Xihu santa ji*, and *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*. Just as the first example from *Lin'an zhi* in the Hangzhou section, this couplet could also have been from other Qiantang-related books that the author could have access to, since it was a parallel too easily becoming popular among literati and in the contemporary works, because of its common images involving mountains and water, and the enchanting state established by witty formation of words.

For the section of Bone-Burial by Qiantang, it begins with a transitional sentence and it leads the protagonist from West Lake to Qiantang River. Following closely are the expected verse whose images and wording are too commonplace to be assumed as copied from somewhere else. Yet the two lines after that are extremely interesting:

The sun falls on the mountain waist: holding golden plate, hanging jade mirror,
shining the Three Light, brightening the universe, thickly and tightly, ten

thousand *li* of sea clouds pile above the moon; the wind produces from the ferry point: walking the silver mountain, collapsing the grand Huan mount, shouting thousand troops, galloping ten thousand horses, hurriedly and rapidly, one river of spring water send the tide to come.¹⁴⁴

日落山腰，捧金盤，懸玉鏡，曜三光，明六合，濃靄靄，萬裡海雲堆月上；
風生渡口，走銀山，崩太華，喊千軍，奔萬馬，骨碌碌，一江春水送潮來。

This is the third time we see the three-character chain, and the continuous verb-noun formations as well as the repetition after the adjectives added more dynamic rhythms to the verse flow. In fact, readers who are familiar with early prosimetric modes of performing literature such as “Wugeng zhuan” 五更轉 and “Shier shi” 十二時¹⁴⁵ during the Tang and the *Five Dynasties* 五代 (907-960) will not find this pattern a big surprise. I thus personally propose that the author must have at least borrowed lines from works in certain performance genre, if he were not an aficionado or even a performer in that field.¹⁴⁶

Coming next is a long poem from Su Shi but quoted anonymously in the text. In this section, we see a great variety of physical presentations, from four-character phrases formation, conventional seven-character poem, to a parallel of three-character chain.

¹⁴⁴ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 10.

¹⁴⁵ Wang Kunwu 王昆吾, *Sui Tang Wudai yanyue zayan geci yanjiu* 隋唐五代燕樂雜言歌辭研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 420-427.

¹⁴⁶ This three-character-chain pattern is not unusually seen in performance literature such as *xiaoling* 小令, *santao* 散套, and *zaju* 雜劇. For instance, in the tune entitled “Guisantai” 鬼三台, there are fourteen lines with three characters in each: “You and him, staring from the beginning, pass on the message, along the way, encounter whom, after hearing the word out, depression gradually disappear, add happiness and pleasure, this lawsuit, indeed is the truth, calling left and right, inquire the details, this physician, with who he was familiar 你和他，從頭裏，傳消息，沿路上，撞著誰，聽言罷，悶漸消，添歡喜，這官司，纔是實，呼左右，問端的，這醫人，與誰相識,” the seemingly redundant character “與” in the last line is a filler 襯字. Zheng Qian 鄭騫, *Beiqu xinpu* 北曲新譜 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1973), 165. The pattern of “Sikuaiyu 四塊玉”, a kind of *xiaoling* or *santao*, is also filled with three-character-chain: three-three-seven-seven-three-three-three. Zheng, *Beiqu xinpu*, 132.

Scattered in-between are the loose narrative lines. This highly prosimetric form of textual organization reveals both a performance nature of the story and the author's professionalism in dealing with the stuff-materials either borrowed or created. In the end of the bone-burial scene, a concluding poem is located with the possible source as follows:

“Xishan yiku gui”:
While looking at the sky color,
it is already: red wheel
descends westward, and jade
rabbit ascends eastward. A
fine lady holding candles
returns to the chamber, and
fishermen on river stop
angling.¹⁴⁷

西山一窟鬼：
看那天色時，早已：
紅輪西墜，玉兔東生。
佳人秉燭歸房，江上漁人罷
釣。

QTM:
Without noticing the time, it is already
getting dark: the golden crow is
gradually descends toward the
western mountains, and the jade rabbit
is slowly rising above the halcyon
railings. A fine lady frequently reports
in deep yard; when the moon moves
flowers, the shadow become even
more incomplete.¹⁴⁸

錢塘夢：
不覺的天色已晚，
金烏漸漸墜西山，玉兔看看上翠欄
，
深院佳人頻報道，月移花影又更殘
。

The images, like the sun, the moon, and the fine lady, were all preserved in both works, albeit with the change from a fisherman to a natural scene of flowers shadow. The “red wheel” 紅輪 was altered as “golden crow” 金烏, a more matching phrase with “jade rabbit” 玉兔. Obviously, the adding of repetitive adverbial fillers “*jianjian*” 漸漸 and

¹⁴⁷ Miao, *Jingben tongsu xiaoshuo*, 37.

¹⁴⁸ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuji*, vol.1, 10.

“*kankan*” 看看 make a traditional seven-character poem more formally qualified and visually agreeable.

Three Gusts of Wind 三陣風:

Group 1 The First Gust of Wind:

“Xishan yiku gui”:

“Chen xunjian meiling shiqi ji”:

Without form and shadow, it penetrates people’s bosom. Peach blossoms of February are blown open. Along the ground, it gathers the yellow leaves and takes them away. Entering the mountains, it embraces the white clouds, and brings them out.¹⁴⁹

Luoyang sanguai ji:

Without form and shadow, it penetrates people’s bosom, In four seasons, it could blow myriads of things open. Along the ground, it gathers the yellow leaves and takes them away. Entering the mountains, it embraces the white clouds, and brings them out.¹⁵¹

西山一窟鬼，陳巡檢梅嶺失妻記：
無形無影透人懷，二月桃花被綽開，
就地撮將黃葉去，入山擁出白雲來。
洛陽三怪記：
無形無影透人懷，四季能吹萬物開，
就地撮將黃葉去，入山擁出白雲來。

QTM:

After the student finishes his song, there suddenly rises a gust of fierce wind, which is strong yet not that strong. It could be proved with a poem: Without form and shadow, it penetrates people’s bosom. In four seasons, it could blow myriads of things open. Along the ground, it gathers the yellow leaves and takes them away. Entering the mountains, it pushes out the white clouds, and brings them out.¹⁵⁰

錢塘夢：
那秀才歌罷，驀然起一陣狂風，
那風是大不大，有詩為証，詩曰
：
無形無影透人懷，四季能吹萬物
開，
就地撮將黃葉去，入山推出白雲
來。

Group 2 The Second Gust of Wind:

¹⁴⁹ Miao, *Jingben tongsu xiaoshuo*, 42; Hong, *Qingping shantang huaben*, 133.

¹⁵⁰ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chujì*, vol.1, 11-12.

¹⁵¹ Hong, *Qingping shantang huaben*, 77.

“Xishan yiku gui”:
(The wind) is not related to tiger roar, nor is it dragon’s chant. It could not open flowers and fade willows, and it secretly conceals water monsters and mountain demons. It could blow open the dirt in front of the hell entrance, and stir and draw the dust at the foot of mountains in Feng capital.¹⁵²

“Yangwen lanluhu zhuan”:
The cool air disturbs people, and the cold wind strike faces.¹⁵⁴

“Chen xunjian meiling shiqi ji”:
The wind penetrates the red entrance and goes through the window curtains, blowing out candles it could present Jiang Xiong. It blows broken the trees in front of the hell entrance, and blows up the dust on top of wind capital.¹⁵⁵

西山一窟鬼：
非干虎嘯，不是龍吟，
明不能謝柳開花，暗藏著山妖水恠，
吹開地獄門前土，惹引酆都山下塵。
楊溫攔路虎傳：
冷氣侵人，寒風撲面。
陳巡檢梅嶺失妻記：
風穿朱戶透簾櫳，滅燭能交蔣氏雄。
吹折地獄門前樹，刮起風都頂上塵。

QTM:
The wind is not so strong, and there is a second gust. The wind is not related to tiger roar, how could it be dragon’s chant? Fast and fiercely, the cold wind strike faces; clear and cold, the cool air disturbs people. It could not wait to open flowers and fade willows, and it secretly conceals water monsters and mountain demons. That wind indeed could blow broken the trees in front of the hell entrance, and roll up the dust on top of Feng capital.¹⁵³

錢塘夢：
這風不大，有第二陣風，
那風非幹虎嘯，豈是龍吟，
卒律律寒風撲面，清零零冷氣侵人，
急不能開花謝柳，暗藏著水恠山妖，
那風真箇是
吹折地獄門前樹，捲起酆都頂上塵。

Group 3 The Third Gust of Wind:

“Luoyang sanguai ji”:
The wind: When it comes, it

QTM:
There is even a third gust of wind: [it was]

¹⁵² Miao, *Jingben tongsu xiaoshuo*, 40.

¹⁵³ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 12.

¹⁵⁴ Hong, *Qingping shantang huaben*, 182.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 125.

penetrates shabby lanes, going through jade palace. When happy, it blows the flowers and fades the willows; when angry, it breaks the trees and destroys the pines.¹⁵⁶

洛陽三怪記：
那風：風來穿陋巷、透玉宮。
喜則吹花謝柳，怒則折木摧松。
。

entering screen windows, decreasing silver red, penetrating patterned attic, going through silk garments. Dancing on and on, it was blowing flowers and swaying willows. Everywhere is dim and dark, and it causes stones to move and sands to fly.¹⁵⁷

錢塘夢：
更有第三陣風，入紗窗，滅銀紅，穿畫閣，透羅裳，舞飄飄吹花擺柳，昏慘慘走石颺砂。

The three gusts of wind bear an interesting resemblance to a collage of diversified “wind” descriptions in vernacular stories. The arrangement for such a comprehensive collection seems redundant, for conventionally a single gust of wind will be sufficient to introduce a fantastic scene. Perhaps it is where the literary uniqueness of QTM lies, while flaunting the scope of his reading, the author deluged readers’ vision field with intriguing verses which are elaborately selected and skillfully adapted. The potential source-works are unexceptionally Ming editions of Song and Yuan vernacular stories. As what has been shown in this section, obvious are the similar sentence structures and inserted parallels and repetitive characters. “Synthesis” is the key word for QTM lines in the first and second groups. A familiar three-character chain appears once more in the third group.

Appearance 外貌:

Group 1:

Jingchai ji:
Watch that her eyebrow is as thin as the crescent moon, hair bun

QTM:
(Her) hair bun, coiling up, resembles the black clouds, eyebrows looks like

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 75.

¹⁵⁷ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuji*, vol.1, 12.

coils up the black clouds, face brings out the morning rosy clouds, and skin condenses the auspicious snow: she has the look that causes fish sink out of sight, and flying geese drop down; she has the appearance that could shut down the moon and put flowers to shame. The autumn ripples are dripping, the cloudy locks are light and graceful, and the moth-like eyebrows are lightly painted, rouge and powder are thinly worn. Extend the jade fingers, and expose the spring sprouts; descend the fragrant stairs softly, showing the golden lotuses that are so narrow.¹⁵⁸

荊釵記：

看他眉薄新月，譬挽烏雲，臉襯朝霞，肌凝瑞雪：有沉魚落雁之容，閉月羞花之貌。秋波滴瀝，雲鬢輕盈，淡掃蛾眉，薄施脂粉。舒玉指，露春筍，輕步下香階，顯金蓮窄窄。

the crescent moon, skin condenses the auspicious snow, and face brings out the morning rosy clouds. She has the look that causes fish sink out of sight, and flying geese drop down; she has the appearance that could shut down the moon and put flowers to shame. The autumn ripples are dripping, the cloudy locks are light and graceful, and the moth-like eyebrows are lightly painted, rouge and powder are thinly worn. Extend the jade fingers, and expose the spring sprouts that are slim and long; descend the fragrant stairs, and show the pace of golden lotuses which is steady.¹⁵⁹

錢塘夢：

髻挽烏雲，眉彎新月，肌凝瑞雪，臉襯朝霞，有沉魚落雁之容，閉月羞花之貌，秋波滴瀝，雲鬢輕盈，淡掃蛾眉，薄施朱粉。舒玉指，露春筍纖長，下香階，顯金蓮步穩。

Group 2:

Pipa ji:

Watch that her appearance is sweet and charming. An impeccable pretty face looks like the beautiful jade without flaws. The way she moves is lithely and graceful. Half point of fragrant heart that is difficult to attract resembles several *cu* of clear pool whose bottom is limpid. Grown up among the clusters of pearls

QTM:

Indeed, her appearance is sweet and charming, the way she moves is lithely and graceful. Born out of the groups of fine silk, she dislikes flouting and luxuriant air; grown up among the clusters of pearls and jades, let alone her elegant and light

¹⁵⁸ Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378-1448), *Newly Cut Yuan Edition: Wang zhuangyuan Jingchai ji* 新刻元本王狀元荊釵記, 12b, Changle Zheng shi 長樂鄭氏 edition, facsimile.

¹⁵⁹ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chujì*, vol.1, 12.

and jades, but she is fond of elegant and light make-up; born out of the clusters of fine silk, she dislikes flouring and luxuriant air...Flowering crabapples blossom everywhere, do not ask how many nights are coming; willow floss flow around remnant bank, do not speak what will be like when spring passes. One could only know her true mind even for half a bit unless one imitates the bright moon that could penetrate patterned windows; one can only cast toward her a charming leer once unless one simulates the clear wind that could stir the halcyon curtain.¹⁶⁰

琵琶記：

看他儀容嬌媚。一個沒包彈的俊臉，似一片美玉無瑕。體態幽閒。半點難勾引的芳心，如幾寸清水徹底。珠翠叢中長大，倒欣着雅淡梳粧。綺羅陣裏生來，卻厭他繁華氣象。...開遍海棠花，也不問夜來多少。飛殘楊柳絮，並不道春去如何。要知他半點真心，惟有穿瑣窗的皓月。能使他一雙嬌眼，除非翻翠帳的清風。

make-up. Flowering crabapples blossom everywhere, do not ask how many nights are coming; willow floss flow around remnant bank, do not know what will be like when spring passes. One could know her true emotion even for half a bit unless one imitates the bright moon that could penetrate patterned windows; one can only cast toward her a charming leer once unless one resembles the clear wind that could stir the embroidery curtain.¹⁶¹

錢塘夢：

端的是儀容嬌媚，體態輕盈，綺羅隊裡生來，卻厭繁華氣象，珠翠叢中長大，那堪雅淡梳粧，開遍海棠，也不問夜來多少，飄殘柳絮，竟不知春去如何，要知他半點真情，除非是穿瑣窗皓月，能施他一回嬌眼，卻便似翻綉晃清風。

Group 3:

“Chen xunjian meiling shiqi ji”:
Likened to a flower, this flower can speak;
likened to a jade, this jade produces
fragrance.¹⁶²

陳巡檢梅嶺失妻記：
比花花解語，比玉玉生香。

Group 4:

¹⁶⁰ Gao Ming 高明(?), *Newly Printed Yuan Edition: Cai Bojie Pipa ji* 新刊元本蔡伯喈琵琶記, 2b, Lu Yidian 陸貽典 edition, facsimile.

¹⁶¹ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 13.

¹⁶² Hong, *Qingping shantang huaben*, 122.

“Fengyue ruixian ting”:
Approaching the stream, there are double
Luo goddesses; facing the moon, there are
two Chang’e.¹⁶³

風月瑞仙亭：
臨溪雙洛浦，對月兩嫦娥。

In this section, except a loose sentence in the beginning, the rest are all verses that fall under the terminological heading of “soliloquy introduction of appearance”¹⁶⁴ 開相, meaning a story-teller’s montage-like presentation of a character’s appearance and adornments. For the descriptions, it can never be too much and too long especially for a lady with breath-taking beauty. But they customarily go with a certain order: either top-down or bottom-up, or from general to specific. In contrast, readers will from those exquisite lines sense a lack of clear sequence and the whole passage seemed to be indiscriminately piled up with flowery expressions. The lines from QTM in Group 1 were perhaps completely borrowed from *Jingchai ji* with ignorable changes in wording. Maybe the author felt ashamed in taking another gratuitous piece from *Pipa ji*, so in Group 2 he merely plucked the blossom parts of the passage and then sewed them into his own embroidery cloth. As for the last two short couplets, they came from the vernacular stories in which clichés like those couplets were already widely appropriated for long. A phrase that best illustrate the feature of this section is also a good fit for the whole QTM story: a pageant of beautiful words.

Dialogue 對話:

Group 1:

¹⁶³ Ibid., 41.

¹⁶⁴ Cheng, *Song Yuan huaben*, 94.

XXJ:
Share with the pleasure of fish in
water; fulfill the wish of being in
flight together.¹⁶⁵
“Kong Shufang shuangyu shanzhui
zhuan”:
Share with the pleasure on pillow and
mat; fulfill the joy of being in flight
together.¹⁶⁷

王實甫西廂記：
同諧魚水之歡，共效於飛之願。
孔淑芳雙魚扇墜傳：
與生枕席之歡，共效於飛之樂。

QTM:
Willing to accompany the pleasure
on pillow and mat, fulfill the joy of
being in flight together.¹⁶⁶

錢塘夢：
願陪枕席之歡，共效於飛之樂。

Group 2:

XXJ:
The fine verses have feelings and
pity the night moon, the falling
flowers do not have words to
complain the eastern breeze.¹⁶⁸

王實甫西廂記：
好句有情憐夜月，落花無語怨
東風。

QTM:
The fine verses having feelings
associate with the night moon; the
falling flowers do not have words to
complain the eastern breeze.¹⁶⁹

錢塘夢：
好句有情聯夜月，落花無語怨東風
。

This part deals with the dream dialogue exchanged between the protagonist and the female ghost. Besides the first half of the lyric entitled “Butterflies Linger over Flowers” which was contained in almost all versions of QTM story, we discovered some lines may be derived from XXJ. Deciding from the verbatim comparison in Group 1, a

¹⁶⁵ Huo, *Xixiang huibian*, 161.

¹⁶⁶ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 13.

¹⁶⁷ *Xiong Longfeng xiaoshuo sizhong*, 4b.

¹⁶⁸ Huo, *Xixiang huibian*, 149.

¹⁶⁹ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 13.

closer relationship could be established between QTM and a Ming story, yet no one can verify XXJ was not a reference book, especially when we concern the lines in Group 2. Copying the word by using its homophone is a common practice in performing literature, thus, although “*lian* 聯” (associate) is a not bad choice in QTM, its homophone “*lian*” 憐 (pity) may be more fitting in contrast with the verb “*yuan*” 怨 (complain) in the latter part of the XXJ couplet.

The fact that the ultimate textual appearance is brought by collective hands is one of the features in performance literature. After the main body was finished, a number of sentences could presumably added by later editors or even performers. Hence, the prerequisite for the assumption that a single person may create the story at a certain date is that the prevalent textual evidence must be intrinsically coherent. Albeit with the structural consistency in many phrases throughout the whole text, it can be more convincing with one more case in proof to conclude that QTM is neither a Song nor a Yuan work. It is related to the end of the story:

Startled Dream 驚夢:

Sui Tang liangchao zhizhuan:
That person transforms into cool gentle breeze and could not be seen. All of a sudden, he wakes up with a start and finds it is but a dream in Nanke. Shichong slightly moves his body and rises up. With three crows of rooster, the eastern sky is slowly brightening. He hastens to call his family servants and

QTM:
The maiden transforms into cool gentle breeze and could not be seen. All of a sudden, he wakes up with a start and finds it is but a dream in Nanke. The student slightly moves his body and rises up, then throws on a coat and walks out of the entrance. He sees that the blossom shade covers the ground, and the moon shines brightly upon half of the window. With three crows of rooster, the eastern sky is slowly brightening. He regrets that it is too

speaks to them...¹⁷⁰

隋唐兩朝志傳：
那人化清風而不見。霎然
驚覺，乃是南柯一夢。世
充欠身而起，三唱雞聲，
東方漸白，忙喚左右而謂
之曰……

late, and then hastens to call his family
servants and urgently summons the family
lad-servant...¹⁷¹

錢塘夢：
那女子化清風而不見。霎然驚覺，乃是
南柯一夢，那秀才欠身而起，披衣出戶
，見滿地花陰，半窗明月，三唱雞聲，
東方漸白，悔之不及，於是忙呼左右，
急喚家童……

In order to clear up, or at least hide, the borrowing traces, the author seemed extremely fond of two similar techniques in his adaptation: creation of two-character repetition or a three-character chain; and insertion of paralleled phrases or poetic couplets. And they appeared excessively throughout the text, especially in those intertextualized passages. From the chart discussed in the beginning part of this section, for example, the line “冷氣侵人，寒風撲面” was added with two repetitive characters to describe the adjectives: “卒律律寒風撲面，清零零冷氣侵人。” And a symmetric form of two seven-character lines “風穿朱戶透簾櫳，滅燭能交蔣氏雄” was altered into a chain of three-character verb-noun phrases “入紗窗，滅銀紅，穿畫閣，透羅裳.” The second technique fits best to illustrate the adaptation of QTM’s end, for the casual narrative sentences, after being inserted with paralleled phrases “欠身而起，披衣出戶，見滿地花陰，半窗明月” and “忙呼左右，急喚家童,” became richer in details and rhythmically chantable. Even if the date of earliest existent copy is 1619, it is more

¹⁷⁰ The earliest found *Sui Tang zhizhuan* 隋唐志傳, or *Sui Tang liangchao shizhuan* 隋唐兩朝史傳 was written in the forty-seventh year of Wanli period (1619). It has been preserved in Tokyo, Japan. Guben xiaoshuo jicheng bianweihui 古本小說集成編委會, ed, *Sui Tang langchao shizhuan* 隋唐兩朝史傳 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), vol.1, 410-411.

¹⁷¹ *Guben Xixiangji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 14.

probable that *Sui Tang zhizhuan* 隋唐志傳 (Recorded stories of Sui and Tang dynasties) was circulated widely in the form of manuscript around the time when QTM was composed.¹⁷² However, this is only one possibility, and the real situation is definitely more complicated. In order to establish the earlier limit for QTM, we must find out the work which was written later than any of the possible sources. Consequently, it is not unsafe to regard both *Pipa ji* and *Sui Tang zhizhuan* as the earlier limit of QTM's composition.

In short, QTM is a vernacular short story composed in early Ming. The vernacular stories in Ming editions, though the extant versions were later than QTM, were highly possible, at least some of them, the reference books for the author. The location of intertextualized lines from *Pingyao zhuan* may support our conclusion with one more evidence, and the author lived in a much later time than Song was even proved by the error in his mismatching Ouyang Xiu for Lin Sheng. As a result, we could now safely say with textual evidence that QTM is neither a Song nor a Yuan story. Furthermore, to set the later limit, to best evidence will be “external,” “by which is meant primarily the evidence of editions and bibliographical references.”¹⁷³ The title “A Dream by Qiantang River, Augmented with Illustrations” hints that there must be an earlier story version in

¹⁷² Sun Kaidi thought “the novel was composed around a period as early as Zhengde (1506-1521)” 書成遠在正德之際, see Sun, *Riben Dongjing suojian Zhongguo xiaoshuo shumu*, 61. Liu Cunren 柳存仁 (1917-2009) also assumed that the whole work was completed before 1522, see Liu Cunren, “Luo Guanzhong jiangshi xiaoshuo zhi zhenwei xingzhi” 羅貫中講史小說之真偽性質, in Liu Shide 劉世德, *Zhongguo gudai xiaoshuo yanjiu* 中國古代小說研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 103. Peng Zhihui 彭知輝 provided some evidence for Sun's statement. Peng Zhihui, “Sui Tang zhizhuan chengshu niandai kao” 隋唐志傳成書年代考, *Journal of Southeast University (Philosophy and Social Science)* 9 (2004): 116-118.

¹⁷³ Hanan, “Sung and Yuan Vernacular Fiction: A Critique of Modern Methods of Dating”, 160.

various editions; otherwise it is unnecessary to stress “Augmented with illustrations” 增相 as its main distinction. And a sentence found in the colophon of Hongzhi XXJ could illustrate this point: “Now the editions circulated in the urban market are printed with errors and are in terrible condition” 今市井刊印錯綜無倫.¹⁷⁴ Consequently, the later limit of the composition date should be at least set before 1499.

Examining the full list, we are immediately struck by the variety of the possible source-works or works that share similar lines and passages. There were three drama-related works: *Jingchai ji*, *Dong Jieyuan XXJ*, *XXJ*, *Pipa ji* and *Jingchai ji*; one historical novel, *Sui Tang zhizhuan*; one full-length demon novel, *SanSui pingyao zhuan*; one chorography, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*; seven Song and Yuan short stories, two poems from Su Shi, one poem from Lin Sheng, and one *ci* lyric from Sima You. Popular vernacular literary works at that time must have greatly influenced QTM author's choice for the structure, theme and stuff-materials, but is there another reason, except for his own literary interest and aesthetic preference, that may drive the author to consider certain kinds of works? A piece of information recorded in *Zuiweng tanlu* 醉翁談錄 (Record of the conversations of a *drunken* old *Man*) may cast some light:

[The story-tellers] study *Taiping guagnji* since young, and research many years on history books of various dynasties. ‘Mist and powder’ (romance) and legendary tales are always restored in their minds, and the must-know ‘wind and moon’ (love stories) are ready on their lips and mouths. There is nothing they do not read in *Yijian zhi*, and they know all the accounts thoroughly in *Xiuying ji*... The talented *ci*-lyrics they comment on are the fine lines from Ouyang Xiu, Su Shi, Huang Tingjian and Chen Shidao; the ancient poems they discuss about are the from Li Bai, Du Fu, Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ *Guben Xixiang ji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 316.

¹⁷⁵ Luo Ye 羅燁 (?), *Zuiweng tanlu* 醉翁談錄 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), 3.

幼習《太平廣記》，長功歷代史書。煙粉奇傳，素蘊胸次之間；風月須知，只在唇吻之上。《夷堅志》無有不覽，《琇瑩集》所載皆通……論才詞有歐、蘇、黃、陳佳句；說古詩是李、杜、韓、柳篇章。

Books dealing with theories and practices of fictional creation were very rare during the Yuan and Ming dynasties, so it is not unreasonable to assume the both the storytellers and the editorial-authors of short stories, including the QTM author, were more or less familiar with these lines: the theme can be found in *Tangping guangji* and *Yijian zhi*; *Sui Tang liangchao zhizhuan* involves history subject; the vernacular stories are rich in romantic elements; even the reason why Lin Sheng was mistaken for Ouyang Xiu was somewhat located. It is natural that the author had observed the conventions accumulated in the field of vernacular literature, for the external standards in the author's eyes were equally significant in judging whether a story is like what it should be. The author not merely took his readers to heart, but cared about his peer professionals and future commentators as well. It is apparent that the QTM author borrowed ingredients extensively and intensively from popular vernacular literary works of its time. As a consequence, we are able to regard QTM as a literary pastiche which carries the reading memories of the author who himself was one of the readers in the community of intertextualized texts, and the editorial rhetoric of the producer that collect and adapt texts.

Its Edition, Circulation and Influence

Quite different from any of its precursors and derivatives, QTM has a unique history of circulation which deserves our due weight. A list¹⁷⁶ of QTM in different editions of works in pre-modern Chinese literature can be seen in Appendix B.

What have been offered from this list proved that QTM lived a double life: one is dependent with that of XXJ, and the other is independent in parallel with other materials as seen in a *leishu* 類書,¹⁷⁷ *Yanju biji* 燕居筆記 (Accounts in time of staying at ease).¹⁷⁸ QTM was reproduced almost exclusively as the appendix among the above listed 20 editions out of around 60 Ming editions of XXJ, with merely one exception in item 11. Lin Jinyang 林近陽 (?) during the mid Wanli period compiled the *Xinke zengbu quanxiang yanju biji* 新刻增補全相燕居筆記, and QTM, together with a great variety of materials from multiple sources, was incorporated into this encyclopedic form of textual database which, as Shang Wei pointed out, “served as a means for ordering otherwise disorganized texts,” and “allowed unrelated texts to coexist on the same page.”¹⁷⁹ It should also be pointed out that QTM did not find its way into the other two available later editions of the same *leishu*, namely *Chongke zengbu yanju biji* 重刻增補燕居筆記

¹⁷⁶ To work out a complete list of QTM’s editions, I referred to the following materials: Denda Akira 傳田彰, *Min kan gen zoeki Seisho ki moku roku* 明刊元雜劇西廂記目錄, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Kyuko shoin, 1979); Jiang Xingyu 蔣星煜, *Ming kanben Xixiang ji yanjiu* 明刊本西廂記研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 1982); Chen Xuyao 陳旭耀, *Xiancun Mingkan Xixiangji zonglu* 現存明刊西廂記綜錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007).

¹⁷⁷ Benjamin Elman, “Collecting and Classifying: Ming Dynasty Compendia and Encyclopedias (Leishu),” *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* 1 (2007): 131-157.

¹⁷⁸ Chen Xiaojiao 陳曉嬌, “*Yanju biji yanjiu*” 燕居筆記研究 (M.A. thesis, East China Normal University, 2012).

¹⁷⁹ Shang Wei, “*Jin Ping Mei* and Late Ming Print Culture,” in *Writing and Materiality in China*, eds. Judith Zeitlin and Lydia Liu (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 204.

compiled by He Dalun 何大掄 (?) probably in 1633 and *Zengbu pingdian tuxiang yanju biji* 增補評點圖像燕居筆記 compiled by Yu Gongren 余公仁(?) in late Ming and early Qing. And this coincidentally echoes the fact that QTM was also not included in two third of Ming editions of XXJ. A textual movement in whatever manner is more than simply an appropriation from one source to another. Text produces meaning, and the way a text is removed and relocated equally produces meaning. The fact that QTM was cut off from a drama appendix and incorporated in another work reminds and reinforces an editorial mode in which QTM was formed into being. In this sense, QTM added more complexity and richness to the ways in which texts like this were accepted, circulated, and consumed.

The text of QTM was born with a paradoxical fate of instability and immobility. On the one hand, no matter how many later versions may derive from QTM, “every copy is alteration,” and the differences in texts are not merely resulted from a “treacherous” process seldom devoid of “careless mistakes,”¹⁸⁰ or from the fact that, as Jan Assmann put it, “writing always implies the danger of dissemination, of giving away a secret tradition to the profane and uninitiated,”¹⁸¹ but also from “deliberate revision”¹⁸² that bears the thoughts, memories and imaginations of the editorial authors. In the cases of QTM and its adapted stories, “no early variant has a more privileged position over the others,” since “we do not now and never will have access to the original version of the

¹⁸⁰ Bernard Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*, trans. Betsy Wing (Baltimore, Md.; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 2.

¹⁸¹ Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” 115.

¹⁸² Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant*, 2.

text.”¹⁸³ The pastiche literary bodies they constitute altogether displays a textual community in which we may better recognize how the dual identities of the author as both a reader and an editor can be redefined. The same can also be said of the borrowed passages from QTM to other later literary works. But on the other hand, QTM text, or at least part of its text, is more stable than it was thought to be. These texts tend to stay in a safe corner in a way that QTM was preserved as a paratext of XXJ. As Gaston Bachelard pointed out, “the corner is a haven that ensures us one of the things we prize most highly—immobility.”¹⁸⁴ QTM and its text seems never a literary ingredient moving from the periphery into the center, and, ironically, the movement of text from some places to others in turn guarantee its secured presence in a more general textual space. But it offers an alternative way to understand the editorial rhetoric connect to the print culture in late imperial China. To examine QTM’s potential circulation and influence in the late imperial Chinese literature, we need to take into account the chart (Appendix C) that shows how the text, or part of the text in many examples, from the QTM prologue might be kept stably in a marginal place of many later vernacular stories.

Except for the first two, the rest examples are all from vernacular short stories and novels composed in Qing dynasty. The borrowed passages are mainly concerning the prologue in QTM, most of which are the adapted versions of the first half of the prologue, and also served as the opening remarks under a chapter title in each novel. But the example in “Yu Zhongju tishi yu shanghuang” 俞仲舉題詩遇上皇 (Yu Zhongju writes

¹⁸³ Tian Xiaofei, *Tao Yuanming & Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 221.

¹⁸⁴ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 137.

poems and wins recognition from the emperor) merely presented a reproduced latter half of the prologue with a song tune “Immortal at the Magpie Bridge” 鵲橋仙 instead of “Walking on Sedge Grass” 踏莎行. It is probably because both *Yongqing shengping quanzhuan* 永慶升平全傳 (A complete story of a everlasting celebration for a time of peace and prosperity) and *Yongqing shengping houzhuan* 永慶升平後傳 (A sequel of a everlasting celebration for a time of peace and prosperity) were composed by the same author, the borrowed lines are of no difference. In the example from *Jierenyi* 解人頤, we could tell its author must have copied the whole prologue from QTM, for the only difference in “Yangzhou” 揚州 as opposed to “Jiangzhou” 江州 in QTM also appeared in other later QTM versions. The last example even copied the introductory poem. A growth in quantity printing during the late Ming and early Qing brought a number of changes, along with which, as Shang Wei argued, “the power of editors relative to that of authors rose dramatically.”¹⁸⁵ The editorial authors more or less held an ambiguous and revisionist attitude toward the text they tended to borrow for textual reproduction, for the adapted text need to be appearing more pertinent and fitting to its new context. Text borrowed and reproduced from QTM formed into other potential sources for further appropriation and adaptation. We could see two more examples in another late Ming famous fictional work *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 (The plum in the golden vase):¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Shang, “*Jin Ping Mei* and Late Ming Print Culture,” 190.

¹⁸⁶ Patrick Hanan, “The Sources of the *Chin P’ing Mei*,” *Asia Major* 10 (1963): 23-67, “The Text of the *Chin P’ing Mei*,” *Asia Major* 9 (1962): 1-57; Shang Wei, “The Making of the Everyday World: *Jin Ping Mei* and Encyclopedias for Daily Use,” in *Dynastic Decline and Cultural Innovation: From the Late Ming to the Late Qing*, eds. David Der-wei Wang and Shang Wei (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 63-92, “*Jin Ping Mei* and Late Ming Print Culture,” in *Writing and Materiality in*

Group 1:

QTM:

The wind is not so strong, and there is a second gust. The wind is not related to tiger roar, how could it be dragon's chant? Fast and fiercely, the cold wind strike faces; clear and cold, the cool air disturbs people. It could not wait to open flowers and fade willows, and it secretly conceals water monsters and mountain demons. That wind indeed could blow broken the trees in front of the hell entrance, and roll up the dust on top of Feng capital. There is even a third gust of wind: [it was] entering screen windows, decreasing silver red, penetrating patterned attic, going through silk garments. Dancing on and on, it was blowing flowers and swaying willows; everywhere is dim and dark, it causes stones to move and sands to fly.

錢塘夢：

這風不大，有第二陣風，那風非干虎嘯，豈是龍吟，卒律律寒風撲面，清零零冷氣侵人，急不能開花謝柳，暗藏著水恠山妖，那風真箇是吹折地獄門前樹，捲起艷都頂上塵，更有第三陣風，入紗窗，滅銀紅，穿畫閣，透羅裳，舞飄飄吹花擺柳，昏慘慘走石颺砂。

Jin Ping Mei:

It is not related to tiger roar, how could it be dragon's chant? Fast and fiercely, the cold gale strike faces; swiftly and constantly, the cool air disturbs people. It could not fade willows, and it secretly conceals water demons and mountain monsters... One could only see: [it was] entering screen windows, suppressing silver candles, penetrating patterned attic, going through silk garments, and dancing crazily on and on... Isn't a strong wind? Indeed, that wind could blow broken the trees in front of the hell entrance, and blow up the dust on top of Feng capital.¹⁸⁷

金瓶梅：

非干虎嘯，豈是龍吟。卒律律寒颺撲面，急颺颺冷氣侵人。既不能卸柳，暗藏著水妖山怪。……則見那入紗窗，撲銀燈，穿畫閣，透羅裳，亂舞飄。吹花擺柳昏慘慘，走石揚砂白茫茫。……這風大不大，真個是，吹拆地獄門前樹，刮起艷都頂上塵。

Group 2:

QTM:

Indeed, her appearance was sweet and

Jin Ping Mei:

Her appearance was sweet and

China, eds. Judith Zeitlin and Lydia Liu (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 187-238.

¹⁸⁷ Lanling xiaoxiaosheng 蘭陵笑笑生, *Jin Ping Mei cihua* 金瓶梅詞話, ed. Dai Hongsen 戴鴻森 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1992), 694.

charming, the way she moved was lithely and graceful. Born out of piles of fine silk, she disliked flowering and luxuriant air; grown up among the clusters of pearls and jades, how could an elegant and light manner of making up be sufficient? Flowering crabapples blossomed everywhere, and they did not ask how many nights were coming; willow floss flowed around remnant bank, and they did not know what would be like when spring passed. One could not know her true emotion even for half a bit unless one imitated the bright moon that could penetrate patterned windows; one could only cast toward her a charming leer once unless one resembles the clear wind that could stir the embroidery curtain. Likened to a flower, this flower could speak; likened to a jade, this jade produced fragrance. Approaching the stream, she could be taken as another Luo river goddess; facing the moon, she might be regarded as a second moon goddess Chang'e. That lady slightly moved her lotus pace, resembling the elegance of fairy beauty in Stamen Pearl Palace; her skirt made of Xiang silk was slowly wrinkled, like the manner of Guanyin.

錢塘夢：

端的是儀容嬌媚，體態輕盈，綺羅隊裡生來，卻厭繁華氣象，珠翠叢中長大，那堪雅淡梳粧，開遍海棠，也不問夜來多少，飄殘柳絮，竟不知春去如何，要知他半點真情，除非是穿瑣窗皓月，能施他一回嬌眼，卻便似翻綉幌清風。比花花解語，比玉玉生香。臨溪雙洛

charming, the way she moved was lithely and graceful... Indeed, born out of piles of fine silk, she disliked flowering and luxuriant air; grown up among the clusters of pearls and jades, how could an elegant and light manner of making up be sufficient? Flowering crabapples blossomed everywhere, and they did not ask how many nights were coming; poplar and willow floss flowed around remnant bank, and they did not know what the spring color would be like. One could not know her true emotion even for half a bit unless one imitated the bright moon that could penetrate brocade windows; one could only know all her concerns cast unless one resembles the clear wind that could stir the embroidery curtain. That lady slightly moved her lotus pace, resembling the elegance and charm of fairy beauty in Stamen Pearl Palace; her skirt made of Xiang silk was slowly wrinkled, like the manner and conduct of Guanyin. It is indeed that: likened to a flower, this flower could speak; likened to a jade, this jade produced fragrance.¹⁸⁸

金瓶梅：

儀容嬌媚，體態輕盈。……端的是綺羅隊里生來，卻厭豪華氣象；珠翠叢中長大，那堪雅淡梳粧。開遍海棠花，也不問夜來多少；飄殘楊柳絮，竟不知春色如何。要知他半點真情，除非是穿綺窗皓月；能曉他一腔心事，都便似翻綉幌清風。輕移蓮步，有蕊珠仙子之風流；款蹙湘裙，似水

¹⁸⁸ Lanling xiaoxiaosheng, *Jin Ping Mei cihua*, 811.

浦，對月兩嫦娥。那女子輕移蓮
步，有蕊珠宮仙子之風，緩蹙湘
裙，似水月觀音之態。

月觀音之態度。正是：比花花解語，
比玉玉生香。

These two examples are from chapter 71 and 78 respectively in *Jin Ping Mei*.

Admittedly, there are few very similar lines or couplets interspersed throughout the whole novel that resemble those in QTM, but it is extremely difficult to certify a source relationship considering the interborrowing tendency in textual production of vernacular literature. Since we have QTM as the exclusive source materials, these two passages sufficiently testify the editing technique we deciphered previously: switching the positions of two language blocks, be it a couplet, or several lines. In the first group, we notice that the author of *Jin Ping Mei* carefully preserved the descriptions of the second and third gusts of wind in QTM, but deliberately removed the phrases indicating the sequence number. The conclusive couplet for the second gust of wind in QTM was taken out and relocated in the very end of the wind description passage in *Jin Ping Mei*. If QTM were not available, we probably would never have had the chance to verify the technique in *Jin Ping Mei*. The second group equally provides convincing evidence. On the first sight, readers familiar with popular dramatic texts may argue the passage could have borrowed from *Jingchai ji* instead of QTM. Once again, the same technique undoubtedly proved the source relationship. The QTM passage differs from that of *Jingchai ji* in one cliché couplet: “比花花解語，比玉玉生香。” And it is apparent that the author of *Jin Ping Mei* referred to QTM and had this exact couplet removed to the end as a sort of passage summary. Thanks to the preservation of both QTM and *Jin Ping Mei*, these two passages acquired a sense of metatext in the fact that the way they were

collected and adapted in *Jin Ping Mei* reflects exactly the same way these original texts were borrowed and reproduced in QTM. This very logic has a significant application to another case in the following. Perhaps no example can be more convincing in demonstrating the commonly employed strategies in textual appropriation and adaptation than a prologue from a late Ming novel, especially considering its close textual relationship with QTM. The work is entitled *Da Tang Qinwang cihua* 大唐秦王詞話 (The king of Qin in great Tang, a story interspersed with songs and ballads) by Zhushenglin 諸聖鄰(?), probably composed between the Wanli and Tianqi periods. It is acknowledged as the sole copy of a prosimetric work of history in complete form during the Ming.¹⁸⁹ In chapter 25, its prologue goes as follows in Appendix D.

I have outlined previously about fundamental characteristics of an editorial rhetoric when we analyzed the text of QTM. And the resultant patterns include “two-character repetition or a three-character chain; and the inserted paralleled phrases or poetic couplets.” This last example will exhibit more convincingly a same editing logic. For the convenience of our analysis, I divided the whole prologue into 8 sections. Between section 2 and 3, 3 and 4, 7 and 8, several new poetic lines new were added, but the rest are all from QTM. Compared with the West Lake section in QTM, we could firstly find that this opening passage begins with a five-character poem which resembles that in QTM. From section 2 and 8, we also notice that the author switched the positions of two seven-character poems between which the West Lake section in QTM is originally set. In section 3, paralleled phrases and couplets were inserted among the borrowed lines.

¹⁸⁹ Hou Hongxia 侯虹霞, “‘Da Tang Qinwang cihua’ kaolun” 大唐秦王詞話考論 (M.A. thesis, Shanxi University, 2007).

Moreover, in section 5 and 7, impressive are the three-character chains. Perhaps these chains also seemed appealing to the author of this prologue, and this probably explained why they were totally preserved albeit with almost unnoticeable changes. It then may not be a surprise when newly appeared three-character chains were inserted after the four-character phrases concerning four seasons in section 4. In short, we are confirmed with all the above examples in this part that the features of the commonly accepted editorial practice reflected and were defined by a print culture in late imperial China.

A Text or Paratext?

In this section, I attempt to explore the possible reasons for QTM's presence as a paratext to XXJ. It is understandable that the variety of the appendix to a certain popular drama was usually a result brought by market devise for sale promotion. But why did the author specifically choose QTM as one of the important paratextual materials to a work that is seemingly irrelevant? There is one opinion that QTM falls into the category of comprised narrative works inspired by XXJ.¹⁹⁰ Yet for this assumption more concrete evidence need to be provided. Along with the rise of tourist culture in China since Song, the West Lake, as one of the most famous scenic spot in an ancient city of Hangzhou, has naturally received constant and intense attention. Considering the whole sheets of woodblock illustrations on the panorama of West Lake scenery were added to QTM found in several editions of XXJ published after mid-Ming, Hiroyuki Takimoto 瀧本弘

¹⁹⁰ Ma Mengjing 馬孟晶, "Fragmentation and Framing of the Text: Visuality and Narrativity in Late-Ming Illustrations to *The Story of the Western Wing*" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2006), 40-41.

之 believed that tourism and local culture of West Lake may explain why QTM was attached.¹⁹¹ In chapter 3 and 4, we will investigate the issues concerning the thriving of literary works around West Lake culture in late Ming and early Qing. But here what I am most concerned with is the reason why this story appeared as a parent text in such an early Ming dramatic work. Generally speaking, I assume it is perhaps because the text of QTM, bearing more or less certain features of an introductory nature, preserves in a written form the opening part before the performance of the main drama, and it thus existed in a way that may reflect the sequence or mode of earlier theatrical traditions of XXJ on stage.¹⁹² It is also probably because the story is actually highly associated with XXJ, in particular the dream episode in the drama.

Firstly, it is perhaps all relevant to the ending song lyric. As Wilt Idema observed, “closing a text with a poem or poems spoken or exchanged by characters in the story is a very rare procedure in a *huaben*.”¹⁹³ Structurally, this short story, a mixture of prose and verse culminating in an exchange of lyric song, is unique for it lacks a distinct beginning, clear-cut developments, and the dream scene served as both the climax and the ending. In earlier versions of Sima and Su’s story, a haunted image in dream and a superstitious predication resulted in Sima You’s rise and fall in life. Besides, the poem exchange was

¹⁹¹ Hiroyuki Takimoto 瀧本弘之, “Zhongguo mingsheng banhua shi” 中國名勝版畫史, trans. Pan Fan 潘潘, *Yishujia* 藝術家 324 (2002):374-381.

¹⁹² Peng Yu-hsin also proposed that the way QTM was attached may reflect a performance sequence and mode on stage. Peng Yu-hsin 彭喻歆, “Beijing fangke banhua zhi qipa: Ming Hongzhi *Xinkan dazi kuiben quanxiang canzeng qimiao zhushi Xixiang Ji* banhua yanjiu” 北京坊刻版畫之奇葩—明弘治《新刊大字魁本全相參增奇妙註釋西廂記》版畫研究 (M.A. thesis, Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue, 2011), 47.

¹⁹³ Idema, *Chinese Vernacular Fiction*, 16.

always embedded in the middle place of the narrative frame, because there was an ending part seen in almost all other versions of the stories in which Sima You died after he moved to Hangzhou due to his political promotion. But QTM ends suddenly after Sima You finished completing the song lyric. A real enchanting story will, by the setting of unexpected plots and hints, as well as the employment of foreshadowing, catch the curious eyes and win the novelty-thirst hearts.¹⁹⁴ And from the existent early stories, we could see other shared characteristics such as “foreshadowing and echoing sections, clearly-established logic, and well-organized structures.”¹⁹⁵ Yet in QTM there was neither a predicting plot which Su Xiaoxiao would foretell his fortune in political career, nor a resultant death of a ghost haunting found in all other versions. It seems that the author did not care at all what would happen after the dream, let alone the pre-dream episodes recorded in other accounts. On the surface, the text presented another perspective in displaying the long circulated love story, but on the latent level, the physical construction was seemingly targeted on the lyric.

On the language level, we find QTM a diversified presentation in both prose and rhymed verses. The basic function of the rhymed lines is to describe, as opposed to narrate, in vernacular stories. There will be extension and abridgement, but both the description and narration should build the story into completeness, details of person, time, and place, etc., for, in the words of Hanan, a vernacular story is “anxious to provide causes, even to the extent of finding supernatural cause in predestination.”¹⁹⁶ Whereas

¹⁹⁴ Cheng, *Song Yuan huaben*, 115.

¹⁹⁵ Hu, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun*, 417.

¹⁹⁶ Hanan, *The Chinese Short Story*, 96.

from the limited narrative lines that are sparsely dispersed among a plethora of verse passages in QTM, readers hardly sense sufficient details. For example, a book lad came from nowhere in the bone-burial scene and the three gusts of wind did not bring three ghosts as expected. While judging the ghost from a moralist perspective, the author had employed a famous couplet from XXJ as romantic seasonings to dress up the speech of an orthodox scholar, and the rest routine lines out of his mouth were either paralleled or rhymed. Clearly, what stands on top of the piled verse-layers is the famous song co-composed by the female ghost and the protagonist in and out of the dream. Only when they both finished their lyrics did the story come to an end. The presence of the song seemed to reveal the ultimate purpose for such an extravagant parade of rhyme and verse. We shall search more on the song to find out why the author highlighted the lyrical lines to such a degree that the completeness of the story could be less regarded.

A Yuan scholar named Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀¹⁹⁷ indicated that in *Yannan Zhian xiansheng Changlun* 燕南芝庵先生唱論 (Theory of singing by Mr. Yannan zhian) there recorded a list of the “Ten Grand Melodies” 十大曲 which gained great popularity during the Song and Yuan periods. Surprisingly, “Su Xiaoxiao’s Butterflies Linger over Flowers” 蘇小小蝶戀花 ranks first among other songs that were well accepted of their time. What’s more, the same lyric also was listed among the “Ten Grand Songs” 十大樂 in Yang Zhaoying’s 楊朝英 *Yuefu xinbian yangchun baixue* 樂府新編陽春白雪 (Sunny

¹⁹⁷ Tang, *Nancun chuogeng lu*, 336.

spring and snow white: newly edited melodies).¹⁹⁸ Entitled “Butterflies Linger over Flowers in Shang Mode”商調蝶戀花, it anonymously occupied the second place. *Changlun* was the famous monograph on theory of theatrical performance, manner and skills of Yuan *qu* 元曲, and it provided the scenarios and practice in the performance circle of its time. The second book was a collection of popular songs and lyrics well accepted for performance. Topping all other songs, the list suggested that the “Ten Grand Songs” were exemplars of excellence.¹⁹⁹ We may naturally assume that the ten most popular songs might be customarily performed before a drama or a story-telling performance on stage, and one sentence from a Yuan drama *Zhugongdiao fengyue ziyunting* 諸宮調風月紫雲庭 (Wind and moon in the purple cloud courtyard) substantiated our guess: “What I sing is ‘Records of Three Kingdoms,’ but before that I perform the ‘Ten Grand Melodies’ first” 我唱的是三國志先饒十大曲。²⁰⁰

Without a doubt, this song had become a household name in Song and Yuan, but was it still popular in Ming? Fortunately, there is another piece of information showing the undying charm of this song:

During the Chinghua period (1465-1487) in Ming, Ding Chengzhai, whose courtesy name is Wenfu, named himself ‘The Hermit Fisherman in Qin Huai’. He composed ‘Naturally-Composed Music to Lyrics’ in scores of volumes, in which songs such as Li Taibai’s ‘Flute sound is sad’, Sima Caizhong’s ‘I originally live

¹⁹⁸ Yang Zhaoying 楊朝英, *Yuefu xinbian yangchun baixue* 樂府新編陽春白雪, 3a, Yuan edition, in Nanjing Library, facsimile.

¹⁹⁹ Zhang Ming 張鳴, “Song Jin shidaqu jianshuo” 宋金十大曲箋說, *Wenxue yichan* 1 (2004): 83-96. There is another article on “Changlun” 唱論, see Bai Ning 白寧, “Yannan Zhian Changlun jin chu suowei dayue kao” 燕南芝庵唱論近世所謂大樂考, *Yuefu xinsheng* 4 (2011): 125-132.

²⁰⁰ Xu Zheng 徐征, comps., *Quan Yuanqu* 全元曲 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998), vol.4, 2604.

on Qiantang river’, Su Zizhan’s ‘The great river flows eastward’, and Li Yi’an’s ‘Court in desolate’, were all noted with key and mode, as well as the sixteen-character-pattern, in a way that is fully annotated.²⁰¹

明成化年間，丁誠齋文類自號秦淮漁隱。編《歌詞自得譜》數十卷，如李太白“蕭聲咽”，司馬才仲“妾本錢塘江上住”，蘇子瞻“大江東去”，李易安“蕭條庭院”，皆注明某宮某調，及十六字法，足備考訂。

The “Chenghua” was a reigning period right before the “Hongzhi,” the time when the earliest known XXJ in complete form was published. Besides, in the “Dialogue” part of QTM, the first half of the song is preceded by the tune title “Butterflies Linger over Flowers” 蝶戀花 printed inside a black “fishtail” cartouche, and there is another one with the same title before the second half in the “Startled Dream” section. Consequently, it seems to indicate that the author was well aware of the popularity of the song. It is also interesting to note that Zhao Lingchou 趙令時 (1061-1134) during the time of Song composed a prosimetric work of “*Guzi ci*” 鼓子詞, “Yuan Weizhi Cui Yingying Shangdiao dieliahua” 元微之崔鶯鶯商調蝶戀花詞 (Butterflies linger over flowers in Shang mode, Cui Yingying by Yuan Weizhi),²⁰² in which twelve lyric songs are interspersed among a brief account of the love story. And all the lyrics are in the tune of “Butterflies Linger over Flowers.””

As a sort of convention in performance literature, this song was preserved in form of a prologue in some early vernacular stories. For instance, in the poem-chain prologue

²⁰¹ Wu Zhaoheng 吳照衡 (?), *Lianziju cihua* 蓮子居詞話, in Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋 (1901-1990), *Cihua congbian* 詞話叢編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), vol.3, 2431.

²⁰² Zhao Lingchou 趙令時 (1061-1134), *Houqing lu* 候鯖錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 135-148.

of “Nian yu guanyin” 碾玉觀音,²⁰³ a Song and Yuan short story collected in a Ming anthology, the exact song together with other famous verses was found with Su Xiaomei 蘇小妹 as the author. It also found its way in the prologue of a story entitled “Cui daizhao shengsi yuanjia” 崔待詔生死冤家 (Artisan Cui’s love is cursed in life and death)²⁰⁴ in Feng Menglong’s *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言 (Ordinary words to caution the world), but the author was changed to Su Xiaoxiao. The above examples may be seen as something that mirrors the pre-performance activities which aim at warming up the audiences and also postponing the performance so as to wait for more audiences to come. According to Xu Wei 徐渭 (1521-1593), the opening part in a drama text is to some extent a written form of an introductory part on stage:

Opening: In Song dynasty, while the main performance is still not on, an old person would appear first, and talk about the general idea in a boastful manner, so as to solicit tips from audiences. This is called “opening remarks.” The first act in today’s drama text is called “opening,” and this is what has been left from the past.

開場 宋人凡句欄未出，一老者先作，誇說大意，以求賞，謂之“開呵”。今戲文首一出，謂之“開場”，亦遺意也。²⁰⁵

Hence, this opening part, often referred to as “*xiezi*” 楔子 (wedge),²⁰⁶ serves to introduce the following main drama or story performance, and the theme or gist of the

²⁰³ Li Liewen 黎烈文, ed., *Jingben tongsu xiaoshuo* 京本通俗小說 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1937), 3.

²⁰⁴ Feng Menglong, *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言 (Hongkong: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), 91.

²⁰⁵ Xu Wei 徐渭 (1521-1593), *Nanci xulu zhushi* 南詞敘錄注釋, eds. Li Fubo 李復波 and Xiong Chengyu 熊澄宇 (Beijing: Zhongguo xiqu chubanshe, 1989), 92.

²⁰⁶ For the discussion on the wedge of drama, see Liao Ben 廖奔, *Zhongguo xiqu shi* 中國戲曲史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2004), 52. And for the wedge in vernacular story, see Zhuang Yin 莊因, *Hua ben xie zi hui shuo* 話本楔子彙說 (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue wenxue yuan, 1965).

wedge is customarily associated more or less with that of the performance. A wedge is perhaps dispensable section in a story; whereas it is an integral part of the whole dramatic structure.²⁰⁷ In the very beginning of *Dong Jieyuan XXJ*, there is an introductory suite of arias: “Boshe diao shaobian” 般涉調哨遍²⁰⁸ and “Shuai haier” 耍孩兒 succinctly describe the scenery in four seasons; “Taiping zhuan” 太平賺 aims to urge people to find happiness wherever possible; and “Qiangtou hua” 牆頭花 is the synopsis of the story. Its structure and content resembles essentially that of QTM prologue. Although QTM was not incorporated as a textual part of XXJ, it functions to a great extent in a way that a wedge does in a story. Moreover, we should not underestimate the possibility that the story may have been designed specifically for the warming-up activities. We even have good reasons to believe, considering the case of QTM, that more impromptu lines must have been increased upon audience response in actual performance. One statement, regarding practice in the early story-telling performance, found in *Zuiweng tanlu* could support this point:

When it comes to the comments, there is no tediousness and garrulousness; when it comes to the details, it is well-planned and elaborately-organized; when it comes to the boring part, it is addressed with great expertise; when it comes to the interesting part, the details are extended in full scale.²⁰⁹

講論處，不滯搭，不絮煩。敷衍處，有規模，有收拾。冷淡處，提掇得有家數。熱鬧處，敷衍得越久長。

²⁰⁷ Shen Xinlin 沈新林, *Tongyuan er yipai: Zhongguo gudai xiaoshuo xiqu bijiao yanjiu* 同源而異派：中國古代小說戲曲比較研究 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2007), 50.

²⁰⁸ Under “shaobian,” there is a four-character note: “斷送引辭,” which means “presenting as a free gift of introductory remarks.” Zhang Xiang 張相, *Shici quyu cihui shi* 詩詞曲語辭匯釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955), vol.2, 689.

²⁰⁹ Luo, *Zuiweng tanlu*, 16.

The excessive rhymed lines in QTM may result from the convention that the verse passages are what tend to be preserved. So long as the story frame is fixed, performers can either add or detract any minute ingredients in order to channel his narration into the right mood on site, thus prose narratives probably often underwent the hard fate of being cut off, and not written down. Therefore we are unable to examine the performance nature of a text based merely on its physical features, for it is impossible to have access to the complete version of the authentic text on stage. Fortunately, QTM was preserved in a written form, and it provided us a unique and precious opportunity to imagine what the authentic performance might or might not be at that time.

Secondly, QTM must have been highly associated with the act of “Caoqiao jingmeng” in XXJ. In this act, student Zhang has left his beloved Yingying to take the imperial examination in the capital. In the journey, he and a boy servant spend the night in a hostel where he dreams about Yingying pursuing him. Unexpectedly, several bandits jump in and threaten to snatch away Yingying from Zhang. It is at that moment that the dream is interrupted. This famous act presents a travel-and dream-episode that many ancient XXJ critics regarded as the opposite ending of the whole play.²¹⁰ A representative commentary from *San xiansheng heping yuanben Xixiang ji* 三先生合評元本西廂記 (A Yuan edition with commentary by three masters: XXJ) can be seen as follows:

All affairs under the heaven are originally dreams. The “Story of Encountering an Immortal” is indeed marvelous. Since Shifu had preserved its marvelous storyline, it is extremely apposite to end it with a dream.²¹¹

²¹⁰ Xu Shifan 徐士範 (1701-1788) Wang Jide 王驥德 (?-1623), Xu Fenpeng 徐奮鵬 (1560-1642), Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590), and Ling Mengchu 凌濛初 (1580-1644); see Yu and Sun, *Lidai quhua huibian*, vol.1, 558; vol.2, 153; 248; vol.3., 323.

²¹¹ Chen, *Xiancun Ming kan Xixiang ji zonglu*, 253.

天下事原是夢，會真敘事固奇，實甫既傳其奇，而以夢結之，甚當。

Previously, we have located through textual comparison an interborrowing relationship between *Dong Jieyuan XXJ*, *Wang Shifu XXJ* and *QTM*. Additionally, there are more intriguing connections among these texts. From a general perspective, the characters in all three dream episodes are almost the same: a student travelling on a way to take imperial exams, a fine lady coming to his dream at night, and a book lad follower. It was a ghost that traveled into Sima You's dream. But in his sub-consciousness or at least in the eyes of the author, Su Xiaoxiao was none other than an immortal goddess and this can be proved by the word choice in *QTM* such as “*chang'e*” 嫦娥, and “*guanyin*” 觀音, etc. Though originally a Daoist term, “encountering an immortal” 會真 is commonly an allusion for a romantic experience. It interestingly echoes the title of a Tang tale, *XXJ*'s origin: “A Story of Encountering an Immortal” 會真記. Plots related to dreaming about having sex with a girl or female ghost were commonly seen in vernacular fiction. In “*Renshi zhuan*” 任氏傳 (A story of Miss Ren), perhaps the earliest known story concerning a romance between a man and a fox spirit, the student did not at all show any despise toward the self-recommendation of the female ghost, but rather threw himself totally at her.²¹² Furthermore, in an early Tang tale “*You xianku*” 遊仙窟 (The dwelling of playful goddesses), a young scholar encountered two ladies while he was traveling. He stayed with them in a fairy cave. Interestingly, about nine tenth of the story consists of

²¹² Hidetaka Otsuka 大塚秀高, “*Cong Lüchuang xinhua kan Songdai xiaoshuo huaben de tezheng: yi 'yu' weizhongxin*” 從綠窗新話看宋代小說話本的特征——以“遇”為中心, trans. Ke Lingxu, *Journal of Baoding Teachers College* 3 (2002): 26-36.

verses exchanged by them. But in the end there was the brief description of sexual union that to a large degree explained why the story enjoyed great popularity.²¹³ Likewise, a vivid and detailed passage of erotic description highlighted another vernacular story entitled “Chunmeng suoyan” 春夢瑣言 (Trifling tale of a spring dream).²¹⁴ This Ming story also tells about a scholar’s romantic encountering of female spirits. Either during a travel in a fairy cave or in a spring dream, to end up a romance encountering with a sexual union seems to be a convention in these types of stories. There can be various reasons that justify the appearance and trend of such a conventional practice. But one of them may best explain away the sense of vulgarity in the story, and it is wisely summarized in the title of the first chapter of an influential work of erotic literature, *Rou putuan* 肉蒲團 (The carnal prayer mat): “Make use of lechery in putting a stop to lechery; start off with sex in treating the subject of sex” 止淫風借淫事說法，談色事就色慾開端。²¹⁵

In vivid contrast, Sima You was created within this context as a figure of paradox. Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) once announced in his *biji* notes, “When I was in Huangzhou, I dreamed that I was on West Lake. In the dream, [I] also knew that it was a dream” 予在

²¹³ A Tang scholar Zhang Wencheng (circa 660–740) wrote the story that was long lost in China, until rediscovered in Japan by the Chinese bibliophile and geographer 楊守敬 (1839-1915) and republished it in 1897. See, Robert van Gulik (1910-1967), *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period: With an Essay on Chinese Sex Life from the Han to the Ching Dynasty* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 88; Howard S. Levy, *China’s First Novelette: The Dwelling of Playful Goddesses by Chang Wen-ch’eng* (Tokyo: Dai Nippon Insatsu, 1965).

²¹⁴ Robert van Gulik accidentally found this Ming vernacular short story in Japan, and republished it in 1950.

²¹⁵ Chen Qinghao 陳慶浩 and Wang Qiugui 王秋桂, comps., *Siwuxie huibao* 思無邪匯寶 (Taipei Shi: Taiwan da Ying baike gufen youxian kongsi, 1994), 135.

黃州，夢至西湖上，夢中亦知其為夢也。²¹⁶ Similarly, Sima You seemed to have a sober consciousness in his dream. The following is Sima You's response to the female ghost:

After hearing this, the student, with serious countenance, became angry, and replied with the courage boosted by drink, "Since we have not met even for once in previous life, how could we seize the pleasure for one night? There was no shared experience between us that the fine verses having feelings associated with the night moon, the falling flowers did not have words to complain the eastern breeze; [nor were we] exposing secrets in our minds around the brows and eye-corners, or taking an oath under the moon and before the stars. Who are you, a ghost, or a spirit, and where are you from? Why are you coming late at night to confuse and seduce me, a book-learning gentleman?"²¹⁷

那秀才聽罷，正色而怒，帶酒而言：“非前生半面之交，卻怎生取一宵之樂？又不曾好句有情聯夜月，落花無語怨東風，眉間眼角傳心事，月下星前說誓盟。你是何方鬼怪，甚處精靈？為甚寅夜前來，迷惑俺讀書君子？”

Had the latter half of the lyric not recorded by Sima You, the story could not have been complete considering the conventional poem-exchange scene preserved in all other versions. It seems awkwardly inconsistent when we compare what he said in the dream with what he did after he was awake. He got drunk and fell asleep, but still maintained his sober conscience so as to fend off the seduction. In contrast, when he woke up, he immediately completed the second half of the lyrics. Dreams in general can be very different. Some of them appear like a recapitulation of the dreamers' everyday experience; others may be compensatory fantasy, in which fulfillment of wishes have not been adequately addressed in reality. In most cases, dream expresses mixed feelings true to life

²¹⁶ Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), *Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林, ed., Wang Songling 王松齡 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 18.

²¹⁷ *Guben Xixiang ji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 13.

experience. And it may apply best to the dream in QTM which carries the paradoxical sentiment between anxieties and pleasure, on the part of the dreamer, the narrator, the author and the reader. Perhaps this is where the uniqueness of artistic representation of QTM's dream lies: a realistic dream set within a dreamlike reality. The somewhat inside-out or upside-down mode adopted by the author to interpret a dream offers a fresh perspective in viewing an otherwise stereotype of a romantic episode.

Furthermore, I believe the dream leads us most interestingly to the underlying concern on the readership. As Patrick Hanan observed, the courtesan novels have something in common: “unprecedented degree of explicit contemporary reference” and “a highly self-conscious authorial stance.”²¹⁸ The author of QTM was first and foremost a reader. Like all other readers, he would consciously or unconsciously read QTM into a textual space where reading memories of its intertextualized works could be triggered. In chapter 4, we will discuss more about the earlier versions of Su and Sima's romance. In those stories, the identification of Su Xiaoxiao as a female ghost in Sima's dream resulted in his death in the end. Though its sexual union sounded alluring, it ultimately brought karmic retribution on the scholar, a result that most of the like-minded readers would rather not expect to occur. Maybe that explained why the name of the singing lady was not declared anywhere in QTM and why the dream episode was setting without a sexual union. It seems that karmic retribution could be foretold in certain ways in a dream, and thus dream becomes an important means in spreading the theory of Buddhist cause-and-

²¹⁸ Patrick Hanan, “Fengyue Meng and Courtesan Novel”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 58 (1998): 345.

effect relationship.²¹⁹ One of the features found in Chinese erotic literature, according to Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981), is the emphasis on karmic retribution. It is morally inappropriate for the authors to write and for the readers to read anything that may lead to licentious behaviors or encourage evil erotic desires. Hence, those who indulge in lechery must be punished in various ways brought by karmic retribution. But once karmic retribution loses its power among the readers, a licentious work that initially advises people to stay away from lechery will in turn bring evil result out of good intention.²²⁰ QTM author might not necessarily in a strict sense be a moralist who tended to conceptualize a certain stereotype in a narrative framework, yet the way we see in his treatment for Sima You in the end reinforces a notion that the dream was a result of a compromise and balance between readership and authorship. It grants an alternative way for us to understand that QTM is not so much a simplistic account of a dream within the reality as a reevaluation of factual experience within a fictional medium. Given the different and more complete plot in XXJ, it can also be said of the “Caoqiao jingmeng.” To illustrate this point, the dream illustration from the 1639 Zhang Shenchi 張深之 (?) edition of XXJ is a typical case in point.

²¹⁹ Fu, *Zhongguo meng wenhua*, 371.

²²⁰ Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981), “Zhongguo wenxue nei de xingyu miaoxie” 中國文學內的性欲描寫, in Zhang Guoxing 張國星, ed., *Zhongguo gudai xiaoshuo zhong de xin miaoxie* 中國古代小說中的性描寫 (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1993), 28-29.

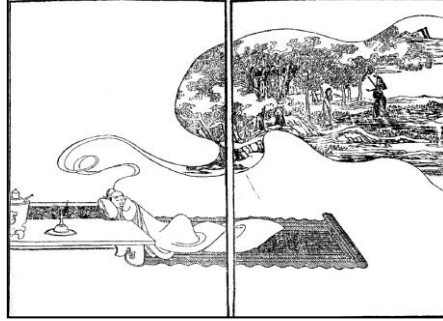


Fig 1. “A Startled Dream by Straw Bridge,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Zhang Shenzhi 張深之 edition, 1639

Painted by 陳洪綬 (1599-1652), and carved by Xiang Nanzhou 項南洲 (ca.1615-1670), all the attached illustrations surpass other versions for their ingenious design and exquisite style. What is strikingly characteristic in the dream plot illustration seems to be the background contrast between the dream scene and dreaming scene. The backdrop of the dreamer is a sheer blank, whereas within the cloud frame human figures are surrounded by more realistic settings. The contrast helps mimic a potential movement of diffusion, and pose a gesture of defiance toward the demarcation between dream and reality, for “the dream world should be so much more tangible and detailed than the real world.”²²¹ Thus, it may suggest an alternative access to perceive a latent and abstract level of dream representation.

What’s more, the theme of “repaying the favor” is embodied in both stories. In the ending part of the last volume of *Dong Jieyuan XXJ*, there are few lines revealing the purport, among which one pronounced couplet can be taken as the best summary for the whole drama: “While expressing that the talented scholar has granted the favor, it can be

²²¹ Wai-yee Li, “Dream Visions of Transcendence in Chinese Literature and Paintings,” *Asian Art* 4.3 (1990): 73.

easily seen that the beautiful maiden will return the virtue 方表才子施恩，足見佳人報德。²²² Similarly, the female ghost in QTM merely said one sentence except for the singing lyrics; she expresses nothing but her exact indebtedness toward student's benevolent favor: "I have already been indebted to your favor of burying the bones, and dare not to forget, so tonight I come in particular to express my gratitude 早蒙葬骨之恩，未敢有忘，今夜特來拜謝。²²³ In XXJ, Cui Yingying and her mother were delayed in the temple, because they had to wait for an appropriate time to bury Cui's father. Had student Zhang not reached a helping hand, Yingying would have been grabbed by robber Sun Feihu 孫飛虎. Thus Yingying expressed her gratitude not only for being saved, but, in a larger sense, for the chance to complete her father's funeral as well. No wonder student Zhang thought to himself the following lines at the night he and Yingying spent together, an interpretation for Yingying's self-recommendation: "To think that my favor [to her] several days ago was not insignificant. Tonight she should excuse me [for my request] 思量俺，日前恩非小，今夕是他不錯。²²⁴ In contrast to the play, QTM saw a clear weakness in logical and coherent plot-setting as well as structural organization. Nonetheless, it shares with XXJ in many ways that defies a partial observation that the two stories are irrelevant.

²²² Ling Jingyan 凌景埏, ed., *Dong Jieyuan Xixiang ji* (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1980), 167.

²²³ *Guben Xixiang ji huiji chuj*, vol.1, 13.

²²⁴ Ling, *Dong Jieyuan Xixiang ji*, 111.

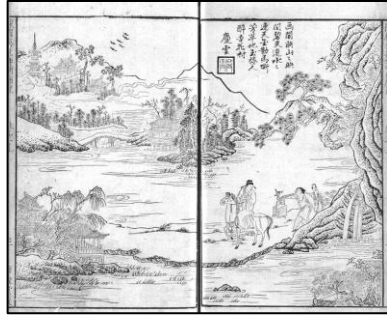


Fig 2. “A travel scene,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Shijian tang 師儉堂 edition, 1618



Fig 3. “A travel scene,” from Zhuding 硃訂 XXJ, woodblock illustration, Ming Chongzhen (1628-1644)

Two more examples represented in a visualized form also demonstrate the interconnection between QTM and XXJ. A whole sheet of woodblock illustration (Fig 2.) found in Shijian tang 師儉堂 edition of XXJ depicts a typical opening scene of a scholar’s travel that commonly seen in other Ming and Qing editions. The inscriptions on the upper register of the page are not surprising, for it is also a common practice in the painting tradition. To inscribe verses on paintings may help interpret the meanings embodied in the images, and this is actually one of the features in Chinese paintings.²²⁵ However, a second look on the inscribed verses may reveal how QTM was conceived in a space contextualized by XXJ, or vice versa:

Patterned attic stands against mountains and the mountains project onto the attic.
 The blue sky joins the water and the water links the sky.
 Horses with golden bridles whinny on the fragrant grasses fields.
 On jade towers, people are intoxicated under the apricot-blossom sky.

畫閣映山山映閣，碧天連水水連天。
 金勒馬嘶芳草地，玉樓人醉杏花天。

²²⁵ Zong Baihu 宗白華, *Meixue sanbu* 美學散步 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1981), 102.

As was analyzed previously, these lines were possibly synthesized from other texts. And that the two couplets join together as one poetic unity could only be found in QTM. Likewise, another illustration (Fig 3.) displayed the same scene, and only the second couplet was left on the upper right corner of the page. It should be noted that the inscriber assumed the voice of visual viewers as well as textual readers. The reading experience of QTM turns to be a kind of collective memory that can be shared through some process of permeable consciousness in reading XXJ as an extended version of QTM. The verses may function as a verbal metaphor that appears to be contextualizing how a scholar's travel story can be imagined in dream framework. Perhaps this attempt to combine the traveling and dreaming motifs is sketchy and cannot at this point be completely convincing, but we will return to the aspects of critical functioning later in chapter two.

Evaluation: A Landscape of Text

QTM deserves our attention not merely because it is the earliest known specimen of a vernacular short story of a courtesan category, but also because it is an excellent example that provides a marvelous opportunity to investigate the rhetoric of textual production in vernacular literary during the early period of Ming. It helps us better understand how a certain text might be read, shared, appropriated and adapted by like-minded readers, writers, editors and publishers within a community of intertextualized texts.

Firstly, to read and study QTM is to travel in a textual community. The story carries both personal and public experiences of reading and writing. There are a great number of passages found similar to those in QTM. But it is difficult to confirm certain texts as the exclusive sources due to the mutual-borrowing tendency in the process of textual production, especially in the field of vernacular and performance literature. Notwithstanding these difficulties, we have revealed, through careful comparison between possible sources and the intertextual lines in QTM, a reversal structure and certain patterns repeatedly appeared in the physical body of the story, and they help delineate an outline of editorial rhetoric for a source relationship. Particularly, we found an inverted structure frequently employed in the author's textual adaptation and appropriation. In addition, two similar patterns, namely, the creation of two-character repetition or a three-character chain, and the insertion of paralleled phrases or poetic couplets, could also be discerned excessively from beginning to end, particularly in those borrowed passages. With textual evidence taking from the beginning, the end and throughout the story, we have consequently proved that QTM was composed neither in Song nor in Yuan, and it is but a vernacular novel possibly completed by a single editorial author in early Ming. The possible source-works are all indicative of a potential textual repertoire on which the editorial author relied for his construction of the story. The diversity of QTM's sources demonstrates that textual borrowing and adaptation were widely and customarily accepted in fields of fiction and drama during the Yuan and Ming dynasties. It is the basic nature of QTM's text and also one of the fundamental characteristics of vernacular literature.

Secondly, the dream in QTM carries the potential of a self-referential stance and a metadramatic sense of recollection. We have discern that the stylistic feature of its language as well as the important position of the ending song lyric highlighted in its way of textual organization suggest a performance nature commonly seen in other stage scripts. To understand it as an adapted record of a somewhat script for earlier stage performance is thus not unreasonable. In addition, living in the shadow of a shiny play such as XXJ, QTM's exclusive trajectory of its circulation also requires convincing explanation. Considering its overall focus on a dream theme shares with the important, if not concluding, dream episode of XXJ, I am, therefore, inclined to propose that QTM was probably a paratext specifically designed for XXJ. Moreover, the dream itself in QTM is both factual and fictional. It is factual in a sense that what the readers read, first and foremost, is an account of a "real" dream. By "real," I mean it is a true act of "dreaming" that indeed occurred, at least from the perspective of Sima You as well as the story narrator. Meanwhile, to record the dream is a retrospective action, a subjective process of recalling a memory. QTM dream thus serves to function in a way that a commemorative structure seeks to memorialize the significance of someone, some event, or some experience of the past. Within an actual place as a dream site, an imaginative space is established, and it is where the editorial author reveals and conceals his self-reflection and self-fashioning motives. The dream is a performance within the drama of human life. Metaphorically, writing and editing is to a great extent collecting from what had been read in the past, and it is also a performative act within a performance.

Lastly, QTM is a landscape of text. What is more significant is not the exposure of the processed stuff-materials, but in what manner they were incorporated in a milieu

that a like-minded community of readers, writers and editors collectively recollect and record their cultural memories. More credit should be given to those possible reference works the author has put to use in his production, yet QTM, a mosaic of ingredients extracting from numerous well-circulated literary works, indeed manifests a type of ingenuity in its way of synthetic organization, and serves as the earliest known exemplar in viewing how a popular short story could be produced in the early phase of a printing boom for vernacular literature. Moreover, the story provides us with a unique glimpse of a creative era during which the origins of many masterpieces of full-length novels were gradually formed into being in a similar editorial rhetoric that seen in our analysis of QTM. To some extent, our deconstruction of the text in turn contributed in constructing a dimension in which QTM could be regarded as a pastiche. By the same token, QTM and other supplementary materials routinely attached to XXJ also form a picture of pastiche that preserves the memories, objective and subjective, of reading, writing and editing of a past.

CHAPTER 3: PICTORIAL JOURNEYS AND VISUALIZED DREAMS

The Polemic of Text-Illustration Relationship

The earliest specimen of the courtesan story QTM preserved in the 1499 edition of XXJ provides a noteworthy example for the study of woodblock illustration. The eight-page text body begins with a title “Zengxiang Qiantang meng” 增相錢塘夢 (A dream by Qiantang River, augmented with illustrations) which possibly implies other versions were circulating around the same period, but without illustrations obviously. A four-character caption “Qiantang mengjing” 錢塘夢景 (The dream scene of Qiantang) was set correspondingly above the textual title and followed by the pictures in exquisite pattern and detail. The common “picture-above/text-below” 上圖下文 layout foreshadows a conventional relationship in which image matches text as dual narrative forms. However, if we compare the textual lines and their illustration on the same page, it is not difficult to find what appear on the page space are images and characters that are incongruously juxtaposed. All texts are accounts of traveling and landscape depiction, yet what corresponds to the last three pages are the illustrations about the dream.



Fig 4. “QTM,” from *Xinbian dazi kuiben quanxiang canzeng qimiao zhushi XXJ* 新刊大字魁本全相參增奇妙注釋西廂記, woodblock illustration, 1499

Designed as “an independent unit,”²²⁶ the illustrated folios set before the text seem to serve as the visual summary or commentary to verbal counterparts. We notice that the title of QTM appeared in the 1499 edition of XXJ had been accentuated with “Augmented with Illustrations”增相. According to the publishers’ colophon, it was their intention that the newly printed XXJ could possibly provide a text for both reading and singing, that is to say, readers could personally perform the songs based on the text. More importantly, “picture” was highly emphasized:

Whether making a play or performing one, it is absolutely necessary that the words and sentences be authentic and exact; only after the songs match the pictures will a text do...Our bookstore, based on a classic edition, has had the text rewritten and new pictures drawn for the woodblock prints. Precise in our collation, we have arranged pictures and text into a custom edition in large type. Now the songs and the pictures match, so people lodged in inns or traveling on boats-whether they be roaming for pleasure or sitting in some distant place-can get a copy of this text, look it over, and sing it correctly from beginning to end and thereby refresh their hearts.²²⁷

做戲搬演，切須字句真正，唱與圖應然後可……本坊謹依經書，重寫繪圖，參訂編次大字魁本，唱與圖合。便寓於客邸，行於舟中，閑遊坐客得此，一覽始終，歌唱了然，爽人心意。

Nonetheless, do the pictures necessarily have to match the narrative flow of texts in vernacular literature? What relationship, then, should be expected between text and picture in “picture-above/text-below” format? Could a mismatched text-and-picture correspondence suggest other perspectives in reexamining the status of illustration and its embodied function and value? A certain motif can be represented in one single-page

²²⁶ Anne Burkus-Chasson, “Visual Hermeneutics and the Act of Turning the Leaf a Genealogy of Liu Yuan’s *Lingyan ge*,” in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, eds. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 374-375.

²²⁷ West and Idema, *The Story of the Western Wing*, 287.

illustration or a modern comic-style sequence, but do they convey the same visual manifestation? What does it imply if a half-page illustration extends to a full page picture?

The format that pictures were attached to the text poses a challenge to a hierarchical relationship between text and illustration. It raises questions such as by what standard could we define a reading matter primary or secondary? After all, a picture is not merely a subject for sheer visual entertainment, and to juxtapose it with text adds richer levels in complexity as to how its status should be viewed. Could different ways of layout for materials yield discrete meanings to readers? After all, no evaluation of Ming and Qing vernacular literature can possibly proceed without a solid understanding of the print culture and book history in the late imperial period.

This chapter mainly deals with the issue of the relationship between the woodblock illustration and the text in the interconnected textual community of late imperial vernacular literature. I will further delineate the contour of a publishing environment in which textual and artistic representations of QTM were produced, circulated and consumed. It is an interdisciplinary study that focuses on parallel analyses of both literary and artistic works relevant to travel- and dream-plots against the backdrop of Ming and Qing print culture.

Printing Boom of Ming and Illustration Production

The mid-and-late Ming witnessed a boom in vernacular literature, and it was also a period in which almost no book was printed without illustrations. Yet this phenomenon, like any other influential and enduring cultural trends in ancient China, did not appear

overnight. As early as Han (B.C.202-220)²²⁸ dynasty, the notion that a book should be attached with pictures has been wide spread in the circle of literati, and the literary and aesthetic importance of the latter had never been regarded less than that of the former. The woodblock illustration boasts of a history over 1100 years,²²⁹ and along with the flourish of vernacular literature such as fiction and drama in Ming and Qing, new stories suitable for illustration came up and a tremendous number of illustrated books flooded the market. Woodblock illustrations in vernacular literature are rich in number and artistic style. Those passed down to our generation have, to some extent, are significant in that they not merely stand for the visual accompaniments to their verbal counterparts, but also function as an independent category of art. These vivid graphic materials mirror various aspects of ancient Chinese life, and provide precious evidence to the studies on book edition, book history, art history, history of woodblock printing, etc.²³⁰

There are several reasons for the thriving situation of woodblock illustration. Printing in its very earliest phase was intended mostly for generating and accumulating moral merit through the spreading of texts and images in the religious context. Yet in the late imperial period, publishers tended to regard it as a means for gaining profits. The

²²⁸ Since Han, there was a trend in writing and publishing books, “ancient scholars attached equal importance to pictures and books, and all books were unexceptionally with illustrations” 古人以圖書並稱，凡有書必有圖。Ye Dehui 葉德輝 (1864-1927), *Shulin qinghua* 書林清話 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 218.

²²⁹ Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, *Zhongguo gudai banhua shilue* 中國古代木刻版畫史略 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2006), 1.

²³⁰ Zhou Xinhui 周心慧, “Guben xiaoshuo banhua shilue 古本小說版畫史略” (A Survey of Chinese Ancient Novel Woodblock Illustrations), in Shoudu tushuguan 首都圖書館, ed., *Guben xiaoshuo banhua tulu* 古本小說版畫圖錄 (A Collection of Chinese Ancient Novel Woodblock Illustration) (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2006), 1. For studies on Chinese woodblock illustration and literature, see Hiroyuki takimoto 瀧本弘之, Hidetaka ōtsuka 大塚秀高, *Chūgoku koten bungaku to sōga bunka* 中国古典文学と挿画文化 (Tōkyō: Benseishuppan, 2014).

historical view of illustrations is that they were merely visual accompaniments to texts, which has led many to regard pictures as something ancillary and dispensable to text.²³¹ Publishers added pictures to dramas and novels understandably for sale promotion, and this indicated how appealing a book with pictures could be to the Ming and Qing common readers. Though woodblock imprints were taken a low regard in the Chinese traditional artistic hierarchy, it is true that delicate pictures were effective advertisements in promoting book sales,²³² and were instrumental in bringing out a visual charm that might be beyond what words could exert.²³³ Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-1897) once stated in the preface to *Xinshuo Xiyou ji* 新說西遊記 (A new account of journey to the west):

The old editions of this novel lack of illustrations and thus fail to please the eyes of the viewers. Now my friend Wenqian zhuren who is fond of antiquity and novel things stated that this book must be published in a new manner and with an innovative feature. He in particular invited famous illustrators to draw one hundred designs for one hundred chapters. Additionally, twenty portraits were added, and the vividness of the figures matches the charm brought by paintings. As soon as it was published, the book was rapidly accepted without a doubt and its price has been increased.²³⁴

此書舊有刊本而少圖像，不能動閱者之目。今余友味潛主人嗜古好奇，謂必使此書別開生面，花樣一新。特請名手為之繪圖，計書百回為圖百幅，更益

²³¹ In particular, the invention and application of overlapping color printing technology changes the conventional view on how to evaluate illustrations to some extent. *Shizhu zhai qianpu* 十竹齋箋, *Jieziyuan huapu* 芥子園畫譜, Min Qiji edition of *XXJ Color Album Illustration*, etc., all of which, from a certain angle, were less regarded as auxiliary materials for their characteristics in artistic value. For details, see Wang Bomin 王伯敏, *Zhongguobanhuashi* 中國版畫史 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1961), 71.

²³² Xu Xiaoman 徐小蠻 and Wang Fukang 王福康, *Zhongguo gudai chatu shi* 中國古代插圖史 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 78.

²³³ Lu Xun 魯迅, *Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1981), vol.4, 446.

²³⁴ Wang Tao 王韜, “*Xinshuo Xiyou ji tuxiang xu* 新說西遊記圖像序,” in Wu Cheng’en 吳承恩, *Xinshuo Xiyou ji tuxiang* 新說西遊記圖像, 1888 edition, facsimile.

以像二十幅，意態生動，須眉躍然紙上，固足以盡丹青之能事矣。此書一出，宜乎不脛而走，洛陽為之紙貴。

Not surprisingly, most book titles intentionally began with phrases such as “*quanxiang*” 全相 (fully illustrated), “*xinhui*” 新繪 (newly illustrated), “*zengxiang*” 增相 (augmented with illustrations), or “*xiuxiang*” 繡相 (delicately illustrated), etc. Thus vernacular literary products of this kind attracted more and more readers belonging to the emerging urban class who at that time constituted the majority of the book consumers.

Another reason is definitely because of the wide dissemination and relatively easy access of printing techniques, besides the cheap cost of paper.²³⁵ It required little skill and short apprenticeship to produce a book with texts and images, and this cheap practice expectedly led to the problem of piracy. Yu Xiangdou 余象斗 in the “Baxian zhuan yin” 八仙傳引 (Preface to legend of eight immortals) read:

[This book was] frequently published by profit makers. They even pirated the illustration patterns from those published by our studio, stepping in the footsteps of others and following in others’ tracks.²³⁶

乃多為射利者刊，甚諸傳照本堂樣式，踐人轍跡而逐人塵後也。

²³⁵ “The whole apparatus of a printer, in that country, consists of his gravers, blocks, and brushes; these he may shoulder and travel with, from place to place, purchasing paper and lamp-lack, as he needs them; and borrowing a table anywhere, he may throw off his editions by the hundred or the score, as he is able to dispose of them. Their paper is thin, but cheap; ten sheets of demy-size, costing only one half-penny. This connected with the low price of labor, enables the Chinese to furnish books to each other, for next to nothing. The works of Confucius, with the commentary of Choo-foo-tsze, comprising six volumes, and amounting to four hundred leaves, octavo, can be purchased for nine pence; and the historical novel of the three kingdoms, amounting to 1,500 leaves, in twenty volumes, may be had for half-a-crown. Of course, all these prices are what the natives charge to each other; for all which Europeans must expect to pay double.” Walter H. Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects* (London: John Snow, 1838), 104-106.

²³⁶ Yu Xiangdou, “Baxian zhuan yin” 八仙傳引, in *Xinkan Baxian chuchu dongyou ji* 新刊八仙出處東遊記, Jian’an Yu family edition, Wanli period, 1a, facsimile.

The increasing demand of novel stories from the readers at the lower level of the society gave more impetus to the thriving business of book printing, and this in turn interestingly and massively expanded the circle of craftsmen, including illustrators, woodblock engravers, and printing workers, etc. Similar to a form of cultural entertainment, the consumption of illustrated publications, such as daily use encyclopedia, information manual, calendar, religious diagram, medical book, school primer, etc., became indispensable for these newly emerging urban people due to the development of the economy. Reading a book to them seemed no less entertaining and necessary than watching a drama or listening to a story in their spare time. Considering the intricate and delicate links between drama illustration and stage representation, Zhou Xinhui asserted that “woodblock illustrations for drama not merely help to add artistic value to the book, but also serve as the pictorial guide for performance on stage,”²³⁷ and there were also scholars who explored the text-picture relationship along the line of theatrical performance.²³⁸

It is also because there had been a growing interest among the connoisseurs and gentries alike in highly artistic woodblock illustrations either in black and white or color print. These imprints, usually collected and published in an album, were greatly different

²³⁷ Zhou Xinhui 周心慧, *Guben xiqu banhua tulu* 古本戲曲版畫圖錄 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1997), 13. And that echoes Zheng Zhenduo’s statement that “Illustrations on drama scripts were originally for performance” 蓋戲劇腳本之插圖，原具應用之意也. Zheng Zhenduo, *Zheng Zhenduo yishu kaogu wenji* 鄭振鐸藝術考古文集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), 257.

²³⁸ For studies on painting and performance, Victor H. Mair, *Painting and Performance: Chinese Picture Recitation and Its Indian Genesis* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988); for woodblock illustration and drama performance, Li-ling Hsiao, “Wan Ming banhua yu xiqu han huihua de guanxi: yi Pipa ji weili” 晚明版畫與戲曲和繪畫的關係以琵琶記為例 (M.A. thesis, Taipei: Chinese Culture University, 1991); and her book *The Eternal Present of the Past: Illustration, Theater, and Reading in the Wanli Period, 1573-1619* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

from those manufactured in a crude manner and attached merely as the visual teasers to the text. There are opinions that the pictorial sequences as a useful marketing device may be designed to attract middle brow viewers.²³⁹ Robert Hegel argued that grouping illustrations together at the head of a book appealed to the tastes of literati accustomed to viewing painted albums.²⁴⁰ A same story, episode or subject matter may be represented in pictures following different traditions or modes. They demonstrated diversified ways in which those ingenious illustrators formed to interpret their own versions of an object and to cater from various perspectives to the connoisseurs. Evidence show that a certain group of book consumers and collectors would purchase one specific edition of a popular publication merely for its distinctive illustrations:

Publishers who print *Shuihu* are many, but illustrated versions are only with a dozen pictures. There is only one fully illustrated version...those gentries and scholars who desire to purchase it can take 'Shuangfeng tang' as its edition signature.²⁴¹

水滸書坊間梓者紛紛，偏像者十餘幅，全像只一家...士子買者可認雙峰堂為記。

Woodblock illustrations in vernacular literature constitute not merely an independent category of art, but a visualized form of criticism as well, although many editors and scholars considered them no more than expedient crafts of explaining the texts to less literate readers. To the elite class including noble gentries, learned scholars

²³⁹ Julia K. Murray, "Didactic Illustrations in Printed Books," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, 435.

²⁴⁰ Robert Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (California: Stanford University Press, 1998), 198-201, 314.

²⁴¹ Yu Xiangdou 余象斗, *Jingben zengbu jiaozheng quanxiang zhongyi Shuihu zhizhuan pinglin* 京本增補校正全像忠義水滸志傳評林, woodblock edition, facsimile. For studies about the commercialism in printing, Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11 -17 Centuries)* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2003).

and artistic connoisseurs, the process of aesthetic appreciation for illustrations is less relevant to text and more associated with the image itself.

The nature of authorship and of the book itself has been changed due to the frequent participation of publishers in the writing and editing process.²⁴² Judging from the important position illustrations occupy in printing history and culture, we should treat the book as “an organic whole object”²⁴³ and illustrations should be considered a significant part of the physical format of thread-bound books in which they occur. We should take into consideration important physical features such as the text-picture spatial layout on folio and across the whole book, the manner of binding, and the very reading order dictated by leaf-turning patterns, etc. It is because of the fact that “the historically and socially distinct significations of a text, whatever they may be, are inseparable from the material conditions and physical forms that make the text available to readers.”²⁴⁴ These features, as well as the actual composition of the prints, have to do with how texts and illustrations are read and interpreted together in the reading process. Either it is out of a commercial consideration, or for a group of spectators in particular, or for the common readers in general, what is undeniable is that the illustration as graphic art is both “reproductive” and “creative,” and it is “the largely unacknowledged brothel of art, to

²⁴² Brokaw and Chow, *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, 7.

²⁴³ Ma, “Fragmentation and Framing of the Text,” 22.

²⁴⁴ Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 22.

which high thought, low feeling and commercial interest may all resort, to make use of the same commodities on an equal footing,”²⁴⁵

An artistic production such as woodblock illustration is usually a result of an effective teamwork. Any subject matter, human figures, animals, landscape, plants or a specific story plot, painted on paper or silk, can serve as a master design firstly painted on paper, then carved on woodblocks, and finally printed on paper again. To enable the border-crossing among different media, it requires three main procedures, namely, painting, engraving and printing, which are actually of equal importance. In order to analyze the relationship of painting and carving as well as the probable variety of collaborative work between painters, engravers and printers, I will address, in the following section, the issue of techniques on woodblock imprints in detail, so as to illustrate how an image on a painted work is different from that on a printed work in the context of printing culture of the Ming and Qing dynasties. The artists of the Ming-Qing transition considered in the later discussion crossed borders in multiple senses: dynasties, media, cultural identities, the demarcation between high and vulgar culture, etc. This is also an attempt to reveal a situation that may allude metaphorically to the role textual writers, editors, collectors/publishers assumed in the process of textual production and publication during the same period.

The critical role that the woodblock engravers and printing workers played in the production of woodblock imprints has long been underestimated. An impartial opinion is widely acknowledged that, in the process of illustration production, a painter will not be

²⁴⁵ Anne Hollander, “The Unacknowledged Brothel of Art,” *Grand Street*, Vol.6, No.3 (Spring, 1987): 118.

engaged to take the knife for carving, and an engraver will not take the brush to paint, and a printer will only focus on his own practice.²⁴⁶ This might be the case in the initial phase of the industry. As a matter of fact, none of the known fine illustrations during the Ming and Qing was not created out of a concerted effort brought by the painters, the engravers and the printers. The extant evidence tells us that in Yuan dynasty there were already practices that painters began to draw master designs for woodblock illustrations. For example, the colophon found in Yuan edition *Fahua Sutra* 法華經 shows that its illustrations turned out to be the designed by Zhu Bao 朱寶 (?), a disciple of a famous Yuan painter Wang Zhenpeng 王振鵬 (?).²⁴⁷ From mid-Ming onward, an increasing number of noted painters began to work with skillful engravers on woodblock illustrations.²⁴⁸ For instance, Tang Yin 唐寅(1470-1524) painted illustrations for XXJ, Qiu Ying 仇英 (1494-1552) for *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (Eminent women), Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1599-1652) for *Li Sao* 離騷 (Sorrow of separation), “Bogu yezi” 博古葉子 (Gambling game cards) and “Shuihu yezi” 水滸葉子 (Drinking game cards of outlaws of the marsh), Zheng Qianli 鄭千里 for “Mingshan tu” 名山圖 (Pictures of famous mountains), Gu Zhengyi 顧正誼 (?-ca.1597) for “Baimei tuyong” 百美圖詠 (Pictures of

²⁴⁶ Wang, *Zhongguo banhua shi*, 83.

²⁴⁷ Xu Yanlin 徐燕琳, *Mingdai julun yu hualun* 明代劇論與畫論 (Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2011), 276.

²⁴⁸ More details and examples about the cooperation between painters and carvers are discussed in Zhang Guobiao 張國標, *Huipai banhua* 徽派版畫 (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 2005), 297-300, Wang Yu 王雨, *Wang Zilin guji banben xue wenji* 王子霖古籍版本學文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), vol.1, 107, Li Zhizhong 李致忠, *Gudai banyan tonglun* 古代版印通論 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2000), 276, and Wei Yinru 魏隱儒, *Zhongguo guji yinshua shi* 中國古籍印刷史 (Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1988), 137.

a hundred beauties), Wang Geng 汪耕 for *Bei Xixiang* 北西廂 (Northern XXJ) and Liu Suming 劉素明(1573-1627) for *Yuzan ji* 玉簪記 (The story of jade hairpin), etc.

Apparently, the renowned painters have served an indispensable part in the development of woodblock illustration prints and their efforts contributed to fuel the explosion of the artistic imprints in the later imperial period. To some artists, their identities were not clear, for they might not be sure whether they were known as painters or illustrators in public. Ambiguous as it may be, most of the painter-illustrators successfully got more and more readers to know them through the widely disseminated illustrations in printed matters. During Tianqi 天啟 and Chongzhen 崇禎 periods (1621-1644), in order to make their books more competitive, publishers usually hired the best available illustrators and woodblock engravers for the making of the illustrations.²⁴⁹ However, the names of the engravers were rarely seen on the illustrations published after mid-Ming period, though this was not typical in Song dynasty.²⁵⁰ It reflected a biased attitude toward the efforts and status of the carvers. It is by no means true that their work is of little significance. Quite on the contrary, we need to take into serious consideration the role they assumed in the whole process of illustration production.

Generally speaking, a master design must be presumed to preexist the image in illustration form. In other words, woodblock imprints are derivatives of paintings. An excellent woodblock illustration is featured by the delicate representation of its original

²⁴⁹ Ma, "Fragmentation and Framing of the Text," 59.

²⁵⁰ Zheng, *Zheng Zhenduo yishu kaogu wenji*, 235.

design as well as the unique style of engraving and printing techniques.²⁵¹ It seems to be that any image on painting can unexceptionally be transformed on woodblocks. Yet a painting that is designed for illustrations will indeed be distinct in various overt or subtle ways from that which is not. Woodblock imprints with high artistic value are typically out of the hands of those who possess expertise in both painting and engraving field. For instance, quite a number of exquisite works found inscribed characters “Suming bi” 素明筆 (painted by Suming), and Liu Suming was not only a famous engraver but a good painter as well in his time.²⁵² In 1853, Ren Xiong 任熊 (1823-1857) painted forty eight figures for drinking game cards in *baimiao* 白描 (fine line sketch) technique. These figures were represented in bold lines without background settings, but Cai Zhaochu 蔡照初 (?), a prolific and experienced engraver of stone, bamboo and woodblock prints, “took five months before all were completed on the pear woodblock.”²⁵³ The reason why it took such a long time and required exchanges of views and interactions from both sides is because a image shift from paper to wood is not merely a simple step of imitation but a process of creation. It also because of the different tools they used for their work: ink brush for painters and carving knives for engravers. The artistic success and popularity of their work entitled “Liexian jiupai” 列仙酒牌 (Drinking game cards on various

²⁵¹ Zhou, “Guben xiaoshuo banhua shilue,” 12.

²⁵² For information on Liu Suming, see *ibid.*, 15.

²⁵³ Ren Xiong 任熊(1820-1857), *Liexian jiupai* 列仙酒牌 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987), preface page.

immortals) proved the importance of collaboration between art designers and engravers. Hence, the paintings and woodblock imprints are different in ways a graphic art is created.

No matter how impressively free and unrestrained a painting may appear to be, the transformation of images from paper to woodblocks must be carried out in an extremely delicate and restrict manner.²⁵⁴ The following quote will show us a glimpse on what it will be like in an engraving practice:

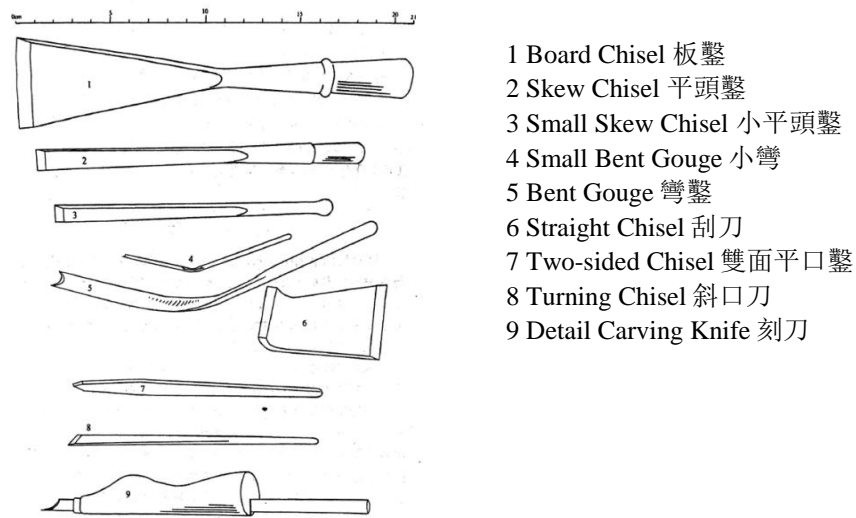
The first part of the process is, to get the page written out in the square or printed form of the character. This having been examined and corrected is transferred to the wood in the following manner. The block, after having been smoothly planed, is spread over with a glutinous paste; when the paper is applied and frequently rubbed, till it becomes dry. The paper is then removed, as much of it as can be got away, and the writing is found adhering to the board, in an inverted form. The whole is now covered with oil, to make the letters appear more vivid and striking; and the engraver proceeds to his business. The first operation is, to cut straight down by the sides of the letters, from top to bottom, remove the vacant spaces between the lines, with the exception of the stops. The workman then engraves all the strokes which run horizontally; then, the oblique; and, afterwards, the perpendicular ones, throughout the whole line: which saves the trouble of turning the block round, for every letter. Having cut round the letters, he proceeds to the central parts; and after a while the page is completed. A workman generally gets through one hundred characters a day, for which he will get sixpence. A page generally contains five hundred characters.²⁵⁵

Though this paragraph only described the process of carving characters rather than images on board, it is not difficult to imagine that to carve an image must be even more complicated and time-consuming. More ambiguously, a character engraver does not have to be a literate, and engraving the strokes, according to the description, are no more than drawing patterns with knife on wood. So a perfect understanding of the text is not necessary, and this may partially explain why so many variants of characters could

²⁵⁴ Miu Yonghe 繆詠禾, *Mingdai chuban shigao* 明代出版史稿 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2000), 333.

²⁵⁵ Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects*, 104-105.

appear in different editions of a certain work. Whereas carving an image on board, engravers must be aesthetically literate to read out meanings of the pictures. Division of labor was truly important as the collaboration of both sides, but either illustrators or engravers should have been equipped with insightful perception on painting and engraving techniques. The following illustration²⁵⁶ displays the tools used in the woodblock carving practice:



- 1 Board Chisel 板鑿
- 2 Skew Chisel 平頭鑿
- 3 Small Skew Chisel 小平頭鑿
- 4 Small Bent Gouge 小彎
- 5 Bent Gouge 彎鑿
- 6 Straight Chisel 刮刀
- 7 Two-sided Chisel 雙面平口鑿
- 8 Turning Chisel 斜口刀
- 9 Detail Carving Knife 刻刀

Fig 5. Engraving Tools for Woodblock Illustration

Among the engravers, there are all kinds of fancy terms of carving techniques some of which borrow the words of body gestures and express the features that may only perceptible to real specialists:

²⁵⁶ Miu pointed out that the 35 items of carving tools listed by Wang Bomin in his *Zhongguo banhua shi* are not strictly instruments for board carving, and after consulting the experienced woodblock engravers, he concluded that many of them are for carving wooden sculptures. See, Miu, *Ming dai chuban shigao*, 303-305.

Flat carving with two knives, flat carving with one knife, flowing-cloud carving, slant carving, full carving, knocking carving, crouching carving, increasing carving, swirling carving, sharp carving, turning carving, kneeling carving, conversing carving, etc.²⁵⁷

雙刀平刻、單刀平刻、流雲刀、斜刀、整刀、敲刀、臥刀、添刀、旋刀、卷刀、尖刀、轉刀、跪刀、逆刀等

In his accounts on publishing a famous woodblock print album, Hu Zhengyan 胡正言 (1580-1671), a famous painter, engraver and publisher during the Ming-Qing transition, stated that he hired “a score of engravers 十數人” who would “not be addressed as craftsmen” 不以工匠相稱. He “discussed with them from morning to night unremittingly for ten years” 朝夕研討十年如一日, and when the woodblocks carvings were completed and ready for print, Hu would “carefully examine and count them in person” 還親加自檢點.²⁵⁸ Another piece of account, though in the field of copper plate production, also highlights the imperative nature of such collaboration:

The process of producing a copper plate was far from simple, and by the second half of the eighteenth century had become a matter of collaboration between many different specialists. Once a decision had been taken about the size and subject of each plate, a designer had to make an actual-size drawing in reverse which was so highly-finished that the engraver could work from it... The choice of engraver seems to have been made by the draughtsman, for the two had to work together very closely: all plates went through at least two or three proofs, corrected by the designer, before they were finished and signed off by him.²⁵⁹

In fact, the real situation in the whole engraving process was far more complex than we had thought. A noted French engraver named Jacques Philippe Le Bas (1707-

²⁵⁷ Miu, *Ming dai chuban shigao*, 328-329.

²⁵⁸ Wang, *Zhongguo banhua shi*, 118-119.

²⁵⁹ Antony Griffiths, *Prints for Books: Book Illustration in France, 1760-1800* (London: The British Library, 2003), 10.

1783) left some information for the modern people to know how collaboration among engravers may be conducted:

[He] took on as apprentices or as paid employees a very large number of students and engravers at the beginning of their careers: a recent incomplete listing gives thirty-one names. He trained them by giving them sections of plates to work on, many of which were book illustrations that had been commissioned from him. One student did the etching, another the foliage, another the drapery and so on, and he had the skill of bringing out the best in each by a mixture of teasing and shaming.²⁶⁰

As the third step, the printing procedure could not be emphasized more for its unique techniques what result in effect and value absent in the form of painting. Another two important painters whose works are considered for the following discussion are Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1599-1652) and Xiao Yuncong 蕭雲從 (1596-1673). They were both influential and transitional painters from Ming to Qing dynasties. Throughout his whole life, Chen painted quite a number of masterpieces that were adapted to appear on woodblocks. One year before his death, Chen completed a set of game cards in 1652. There are forty eight cards in total, each of which depicts one or two human figures from a well known historical story. With the help of a famous engraver named Huang Jianzhong 黃健中(?), who was also a life-long friend of Chen and the carver of Chen's previous works including "Jiuge tu" 九歌圖 (Pictures on nine songs), and "Drinking Game Cards of Outlaws of the Marsh," the whole set was engraved and then published the next year. In honor of their long cherished friendship and mutual recognition, Huang left his own name on each card. No sooner had the cards printed than Huang reached the end of his life. As we can view from one typical example of the cards below (Fig 6.), the

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 27.

seemingly crude lines and sheer blank background may yield a relatively austere effect, but the design showcases a crystallization of a convincing depiction that a fine-lined brush technique can best express. The personality and air of each figure are displayed through all these sharp, clear and delicate lines. It is also worth mentioning that the texture of the table cloth and mat, as well as the crease effect shown in the curve lines of the dream cloud, produce a visual pleasure that usually generated by viewing images carved on wood. And all these demonstrate how different a subject matter on woodblock imprint can be from that on a painting paper.



Fig 6. “Deng Tong” 鄧通, painted by Chen Hongshou, carved by Huang Jianzhong, from forty eight leaves of “Drinking Game Cards” 博古葉子, 16×8.7 cm, 1652

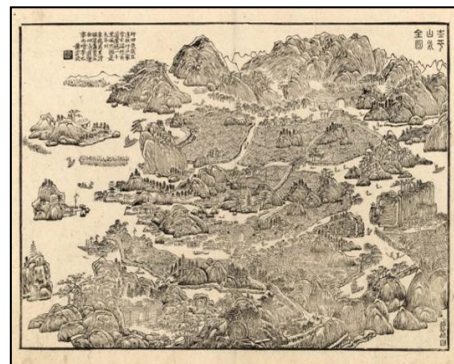


Fig 7. “A Panorama of Taiping Prefecture” 太平山水全圖, painted by Xiao Yuncong 肖雲叢, from “Landscapes of Taiping Prefecture” 太平山水圖, woodblock-printed book with illustrations mounted as an accordion-fold album; ink on paper, 24.3×31.1 cm, 1648, Harvard Art Museums

Likewise, Xiao, a Ming loyalist artist from Anhui province, also experienced the dynastic transition in his life.²⁶¹ The epoch-making album of woodblock printed

²⁶¹ For a biographic sketch of Xiao Yuncong, and discussion of his paintings, see Claudia Brown, *Great Qing: painting in China, 1644-1911* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 10-11.

landscapes in central Anhui painted by Xiao is entitled *Taiping shanshui tu* 太平山水圖 (Landscapes of Taiping prefecture),²⁶² originally consisting of forty-three compositions. With the collaboration of engravers including Tang Shang 湯尚 (1644-1669), Tang Yi 湯義 (?), and Liu Rong 劉榮 (?), etc., Xiao left completed this masterpiece regarded by artists in later generations as the best work in Qing woodblock illustration. Undoubtedly, its subject matter contributed greatly to its successful acceptance. A Ming scholar Tang Zhiqi 唐志契 (1579-1651) once asserted that:

Mountains and rivers enjoy the highest prioritized status among all motifs in painting. Admittedly, human figures, flowers, birds, plants and insects are not less preferable choices employed for an unrivaled masterpiece. However, nothing is as equally elegant and aesthetical as the bearings of mountains and rivers.²⁶³

畫中惟山水最高，雖人物花鳥草蟲未始不可稱絕，然終不及山水之氣味風流瀟灑。

The local official patron Zhang Wanxuan 張萬選 (?) invited Xiao to illustrate a collection he planned to compile: *Taiping sanshu* 太平三書 (Three books of Taiping prefecture).²⁶⁴ As a representative work of Hui school woodblock illustration, this series contain one panoramic view of the Taiping prefecture (Fig.3.3), fifteen sceneries of Dangtu 當塗, fourteen of Wuhu 蕪湖, and thirteen of Fanchang 繁昌. Each illustration

²⁶² For brief introduction, see Zhang, *Huipai banhua*, 99, 258-259, and Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), vol.5, part.1, 272-273.

²⁶³ Tang Zhiqi 唐志契 (1579-1651), *Huishi weiyan* 繪事微言 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985), 1.

²⁶⁴ Li Yanhong 李豔紅, “Anhui bowuyuan cang Xiao Yuncong Taiping shanshui tu shangxi” 安徽博物院藏蕭雲從太平山水圖賞析, *Wenwu jian ding yu jian shang* 文物鑒定與鑒賞, 6 (2015): 39-45.

was inscribed with a famous classic poem by whose end the painting style of an ancient painter that Xiao imitated in drawing that specific scene was declared. These painters include like Guan Tong 關仝 (907-960), Guo Xi 郭熙 (ca.1000-1090), Xia Gui 夏珪(?), Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269-1354), Ma Yuan 馬遠(1140-1225), Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427-1509), Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470-1524), and other Song and Yuan artists. Undoubtedly, the exquisite illustrations require considerable skill and expertise in various steps from designing, engraving, registering and printing. The archaic flavor of the natural sceneries gives much credit to the clear, delicate and refined lines that remind us of Zheng Zhenduo's commentary:

As for the skills of engraving, the patterns, vertical or horizontal, always present a sense of ease, and there is no practice that is not agreeable. Some lines are as strong and powerful as iron wires; others are as soft and gentle as silk thread. Those with fine threadlike patterns can be likened to the embroidery in Song and Ming dynasties. Those with raised dots and points, and those with clear demarcation between frame and picture, both resemble the protruding constructions. Some are with layered flowers, delicate and beautiful, but they do not disharmonize the pictorial layout. Others are with distant waters and lonely mountains, sparse and special, but they do not lack the sense of infinity. [The woodblock illustrations] probably are sufficiently emblematic of character and spirit of oriental art.²⁶⁵

而其雕鏤之技術，則縱橫如意，無施不宜；有剛勁若鐵者；有柔和若絲絹者。或細針密刺，若宋明之錦繡；或點粒凸起，界畫分明若立體之建築。或花采重疊，繁瑣精麗，而無損畫面空間之佈置；或疏朗稀闊，遠水孤山，而不失深遠無窮之意致。大凡皆足以表現東方藝術之品格與精神。

Zheng's words reasonably aided the readers to imagine the work of this kind by the engravers must also have reached the acme of their careers. Yet the leaves in this album are excellent examples to show how the printers had equally shouldered the responsibility of producing such a perfect visual product. The physical features may

²⁶⁵ Zheng, *Zheng Zhenduo yishu kaogu wenji*, 253.

severely destroy the merits the painters and engravers built into the illustrations, if the printers fail to give their last full measure of devotion to the final but boring technical steps, such as collating, registering, cutting, and bounding, etc. The following details disclose how routinely and trivial the printing procedures can be and the quantities of an imprint out of a woodblock in a day equally surprise us on how widely an artistic design of a painter could potentially spread:

When the engraver has completed his work, it is passed into the hands of the printer, who places it in the middle of a table: on one side, is a pot of liquid, ink, with a brush; and on the other, a pile of paper: while, in front, there is a piece of wood, bound round with the fibrous parts of a species of palm, which is to serve for a rubber. The workman then inks his block with the brush; and taking a sheet of dry paper, with his left hand, he places it neatly on the block; and, seizing the rubber with his right hand, he passes it once or twice quickly over the back of the paper, when the impression is produced, the printed sheet hastily removed and the workman proceeds with the next impression, till the whole number be worked off; a Chinese printer will manage to throw off 3,000 impressions in a day.²⁶⁶

Fig 8. (a) immediately catches the attention of viewers with the leafy branches of the three foreground trees. To carve an image on a thin block of wood and obtain a printed mirror image on paper, the resulting wooden lines on the board either in relief or intaglio type should carry the design on an even level, so that an exact image will be printed out. Yet the density of the leaves seems to suggest that new techniques might be employed for the printing.

²⁶⁶ Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects*, 105-106.

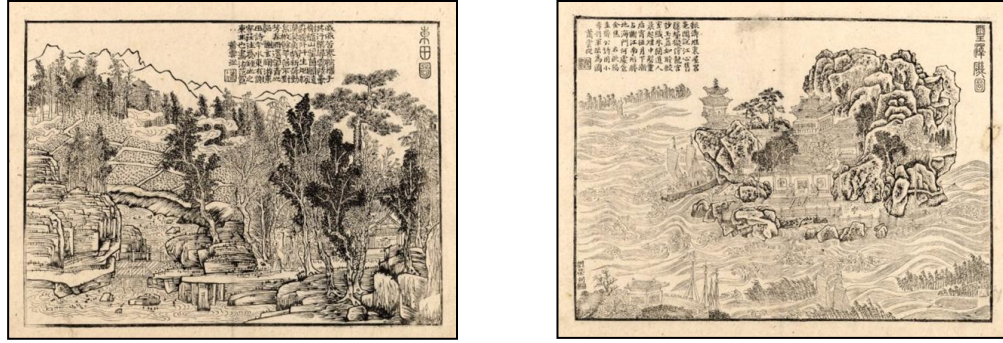


Fig 8. “East Field”東田圖 (a), “Spiritual River Rocks”灵泽矾圖 (b), from “Landscapes of Taiping Prefecture,” woodblock-printed book with illustrations mounted as an accordion-fold album; ink on paper, 24.3 × 31.1 cm, 1648, Harvard Art Museums

In the early phase of color print, different pigments were added by hands after a black and white illustration, such as New Year Pictures 年畫, was made ready. But this insufficient way needed to be improved for increasing productivity. The popularity of books with commentary or/and annotation by famous critics in the market pushed the publishers to think of new ways to present different textual bodies in different colors. In Ming dynasty, craftsmen developed a few multi-color woodblock printing techniques, such as *taoban* 套版, or set-block.²⁶⁷ Different sections of a same page are carved on a set of different blocks. By printing successively with each block, the textual bodies will be presented in different colors. This polychrome method was utilized for printing text with punctuation, annotation, and upper-registered or interlinear commentaries, paper money,

²⁶⁷ For information on “Huzhou taoyin”湖州套印 and “Nanjing caiyin”南京彩印, see Zhang Xiumin張秀民, *Zhongguo yinshua shi*中國印刷史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), 448-453. For more discussion, see Gu Tinglong顧廷龍, “Taoyin he caise yinshuai de faming yu fazhan”套印和彩色印刷的發明與發展, in *Zhuangding yuanliu he buyi* 裝訂源流和補遺 (Beijing: Zhongguo shuji chubanshe, 1993), 169-172; Fan Jingzhong范景中, “Taoyin ben he Min keben jiqi *Huizhen tu*”套印本和閩刻本及其《會真圖》, *Xin meishu*新美術 4 (2005): 77-82; Chen Zhenghong陳正宏, “Taoyin yu pingdian guanxi zhi zai jiantao”套印與評點關係之再檢討, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 6 (2010): 134-136; Kurosaki Akira, 黑崎彰, Zhang Ke 張珂 and Du Songru杜松儒, *Shijie banhua shi* 世界版畫史 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2004), 73-79.

book illustration, letter papers, contract papers, New Year pictures, erotic pictures, etc. It was widely adopted by late Ming publishers and reached its peak in Qing dynasty. For example, the Min 閔 and Ling 凌 families published many classical versions of anthologies in red and black colors, or red, blue and black, or in four and even in six colors, depending on how many kinds of marginalia were augmented. Though the colorful pages may “amuse the readers’ eyes, and invigorate their spirit,” it cost a great deal for the publishers and were not easy to issue an artistically satisfactory version.²⁶⁸

To save the trouble of carving a number of blocks for only a single image, several blocks may be carved out and each of them is brushed with a different color on a different portion of the image. We may take a block of landscape illustration for example: the mountains may be brushed in dark blue, water and leaves in green, and flowers in red, etc. Thus, a one-time printing procedure will produce a multi-color imprint. But unlike the textual bodies which are arranged in a relatively well-marked registers, different colors would often mix together on the same block brushed in this way. Naturally, this problem needed to be solved. Then the *douban* 餛版 (assembled blocks) printing was invented. The term *douban* comes from *douding* 餛釘, which refers originally to the colorful cookies in shapes of flowers, jewelries, birds, etc., usually nicely assorted in a snack box as holiday gifts in ancient China. Metaphorically, a set of separate blocks are carved and each was inked with a different color. Depending upon the variety of colors and tones printed, the number of blocks to form the whole set can be varied from a few to several scores or more. Through careful printing in succession with differently colored

²⁶⁸ Ye Dehui 葉德輝, *Shulin qinghua* 書林清話, ed. Li Qingxi 李慶西 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 187-188.

blocks, the same image will appear in a polychrome form. There is another new technique worth mentioning here. If pressure is applied to a paper which is placed on top of an inkless board carved with relief patterns, an embossed effect of the pattern will appear on the paper when it is peeled off. This technique is known as *gonghua* 拱花 (embossed effect) and often applied to the illustrated representation of birds' feathers, flowing clouds, running water, and the outline a flower petal, etc. Printing workers often adopt *douban* and *gonghua* simultaneously to produce intricate multicolor images. Minute differences even exist in the way an image is pressed after paper is placed on the inked block. Instead of seizing a cushion rubber or soft brush, an experienced printing craftsman will rather use his nails and fingers to render some texture effect. This method is called “*zhirou nayin*” 指肉捺印 (nail/finger pressing).²⁶⁹ Experience built by printers in the past several hundred of years tells them that the finger-rubber is better than anything else in terms of displaying the effect of soft contours in flowers, clouds, and water waves, etc., and the nail-rubber is the best choice for rough lines in depicting tree branches or rocks.

The successful cooperation of the above-mentioned transitional artist Hu Zhengyan and his engravers brought into fruition the famous multi-colored print entitled *Shizhu zhai shuhua pu* 十竹齋書畫譜 (Ten bamboo studio collection of calligraphy and painting) and *Shizhu zhai jianpu* 十竹齋箋譜 (Ten bamboo studio collection of letter paper).²⁷⁰ These two masterpieces of multi-color albums best exemplified what a well-

²⁶⁹ Wang, *Zhongguo banhua shi*, 126.

²⁷⁰ Miu, *Mingdai chuban shigao*, 360-362; Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, 283-287; Ma Mengjing, “Wenren yaqu yu shangye shufang Shizhuzhai shuhua pu he jianpu de kanyin yu

developed collaborative mechanism between illustrators, engravers and printers may present to eyes of the connoisseurs. Directly influenced by the works produced by Ten Bamboo Studio, Japanese artists refined their own woodcut and printing skills and finally developed the “Ukiyo-e” 浮世繪 (Portrait of floating world), or “Tapestry Portrait” 錦繪, in the 17th and 18th centuries.²⁷¹ Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that engravers and printers of Xiao’s album may take advantage of the popular and accessible skills to render such an impressive effect as what the leafy branches show on the paper.²⁷²

A similar effect can also be found in Fig 8. (b). A monastery tower stands on the rocks in the middle of the waters. Fine lines of waves fill much space of the background, and the tower amazes the viewers with its delicate and harmonious design in union with nature. However, the contour of the rocks seems to pose a dimensionally striking effect on paper. The vivid contrast exists between the misty, pale waves and the bold, clear outlines and shadings of the rocks. It defies a regular practice that a black and white illustration should be printed out of one block and at a time. Even nowadays, woodblock

Hu Zhengyan de chuban shiye” 文人雅趣與商業書坊十竹齋書畫譜和箋譜的刊印與胡正言的出版事業 *Xin shixue* 新史學 10.3 (1999): 473-518; Hsiao Li-ling, “The Metaphoric Mode of Production: The Editorial Policy of the Ten Bamboo Studio Letter Paper Catalogue” 隱喻型的生產模式: 《十竹齋箋譜》的編輯原則, *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 28.2 (2010): 57-86; Robert T. Paine, “The Ten Bamboo Studio,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 48. 274 (1950): 72-79, and “The Ten Bamboo Studio: Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists,” *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 5 (1951): 39-54; Suzanne Wright, “Visual Communication and Social Identity in Woodblock Printed Letter Papers of the Late Ming Dynasty.” Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1999; Zhang Hongwei 章宏偉, “Hu Zhengyan zhengping jiqi ‘douban’ ‘gonghua’ jishu” 胡正言生平及其“鈐版”“拱花”技術, *Art Research* 美術研究 3 (2013): 18-23.

²⁷¹ Akira, Zhang and Du, *Shijie banhua shi*, 109-118.

²⁷² On Xiao Yuncong, see Hiromitsu Kobayashi and Samantha Sabin, “The Great Age of Anhui Printing,” In *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*, edited by James Cahill, (Berkeley, CA: University Art Museum, 1981), 25-33. For this part, I sincerely thank Professor Claudia Brown for sharing with me the information and ideas she got from the discussion with Harvard curator Robert Mowry and conservators Anne Driesse and Penley Knipe.

studios in China still use most of the traditional methods inherited from the Ming pioneering craftsmen. For instance, the technique *dan* 擲,²⁷³ to brush, is applied to produce an image with strong tonal contrasts between light and dark so as to model multi-dimensional forms. And this is a practice very similar to Chiaroscuro²⁷⁴ woodblock printing technique claimed to be invented in the western world around the 17th century. And it falls without a doubt in the set-block printing method. Relevant examples abound in ancient woodblock imprints, and viewers could easily find a protruding effect of the human figure which actually resulted from one more printing of figure outline in grayish pigment.²⁷⁵ It is thus not a surprise that Xiao's album upon its completion enjoyed a widespread popularity, and many leaves from this set were adapted and collected in *Jiezi yuan huazhuan chuji* 芥子園畫傳初集 (Painting collection of mustard seed garden, Volume One) thirty years later. It has also been copied in a few versions and circulated in Japan and Korea, and the landscapes served as models and cast a significant influence upon certain painting schools and painters in late 17th and 18th centuries.²⁷⁶

The *Jiezi yuan huazhuan chuji* also fell in the tradition of this multi-color printing mode. The son-in-law of a famous late Ming dramatist Li Yu 李漁 (1611-1680) and Shen Yinbo 沈因伯 (?) published this influential multi-color work during the Kangxi 康熙

²⁷³ Yi Bo 易波, "Rongbao zhai de muban shuiyin hua" 榮寶齋的木板水印畫, *Meishu* 美術 10 (1955): 20.

²⁷⁴ Zhang Dianyu 張奠宇, *Xifang banhua shi* 西方版畫史 (Beijing: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan chubanshe, 2013), 20; Akira, Zhang and Du, *Shijie banhua shi*, 68-72.

²⁷⁵ See specific examples and discussion, Wang, *Zhongguo banhua shi*, 106.

²⁷⁶ Zhan Xuejun 詹學軍, "Xiao Yuncong he tade Taiping shanshui tu" 蕭云從和他的太平山水圖, *Guohua jia* 國畫家 3 (2001): 64-65.

(1662-1722) period. There was a clear division of responsibilities among the three painters he hire, namely, Wang Gai 王概 (1618-1689), Wang Qi 王耆 (?), and Wang Nie 王臬 (?), and as expected, a close collaboration of craftsmen was the guarantee for the success of publication. Through years of efforts, Shen successfully gathered a number of skilled engravers and printmakers, yet their names were nowhere to find. According to Shen, the woodblock engravers are able to achieve the effects the painters established on paper, but for those effects the engravers fail to achieve, the printmakers will take care of them.²⁷⁷ It stands as another high peak of art world in Qing and casts a far reaching influence in the field of woodblock imprints.

Artistic works manufactured along this line did not always present satisfactory outcomes to the elite class. It is a simplistic opinion, however, that replicas out of shoddy workmanship were nothing but profitable products without any literary or aesthetic value and catering to the taste of those at the lower level of society. Preserved now in Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Hushan shenggai* 湖山勝概 (Wonderful panoramas of mountains and lakes) is seeing an increased emphasis for its features represented in the combination of poetry, calligraphy, images, printing techniques, and engraving styles.²⁷⁸ Published by a Hangzhou local his album consists of twelve pages of landscapes illustrations printed in four colors (two pages for “The Panorama of Wu Mountains” 吳山總圖, and ten pages for “Ten Sceneries of Wu Mountains” 吳山十景), and thirty three

²⁷⁷ Wang, *Zhongguo banhua shi*, 162.

²⁷⁸ Li Na, *Hushan shenggai yu wan Ming wenren yishu quwei yanjiu* 湖山勝概與晚明文人藝術趣味研究 (*Beyond Mountains and Lakes: Lifestyle of Artists and Poets in the Late Ming Dynasty*) (Beijing: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan chubanshe, 2013), 1.

pages of poetry displayed in different calligraphy styles (each illustration was followed by three pages of poetry). There lacks of definite mark as to confirm the date of publication, but the museum assumed it was highly possible a work produced during the Ming Wanli period.²⁷⁹ These printed pictures in the album are by no means appendixes to the text and may stand for the visual guide to future travelers. Moreover, the pictorial landscapes help cultivate a taste among the literati for a pursuit of ideal life in mountains and rivers.²⁸⁰



Fig 9. “A Panorama of Wu Mountains” 吳山總圖, from *Hushan shenggai* 湖山勝概, multi-color woodblock print, late Ming, (L) Bibliothèque nationale de France , (R) National Library of China

Interestingly, an album of multi-color woodblock illustrations entitled *Hushan shenglan* was also found in the National Library of China. It seems that a complete version of the Paris edition can be seen in this Beijing edition. Besides the images and poems on Wu Mountains, there was a second part on West Lake: two pages of illustrations on “A Panorama of West Lake” 西湖總圖, and ten pages of illustrations on ten famous sceneries of West Lake. But only one page of poetry was attached to each

²⁷⁹ Fan, “Taoyin ben he Min keben jiqi *Huizhen tu*,” 80.

²⁸⁰ Li, *Hushan shenggai yu wan Ming wenren yishu quwei yanjiu*, 3.

illustration in this Beijing edition. In her study, Li Na devoted a whole chapter in comparing these two copies and came to the conclusion that the Beijing edition is nothing but a crude replica of the Paris edition.²⁸¹ Zheng Zhenduo also noted that this work deserved meticulous study, although it might seem a work of a less exquisite craftsmanship. He assumed that it may be a replica of some more delicate version.²⁸² It is not unreasonable that the Beijing edition indeed is of less aesthetic value from the perspective of elite connoisseurs in Ming and Qing. After all, as Lu Xun asserted, “woodblock illustrations were originally created for the mass people, so they are ‘vulgar’ in nature.”²⁸³ Yet as a cultural product in an environment of printing boom, its significance to our modern people lies not merely in that this album showcases how a printed matter of an elegant taste could be adapted and reinterpreted in an edition catering to the middlebrow book consumers, but also stands for an object of reference by which the quality and feature of both editions could be substantially determined and a larger picture of the printing philosophy of its time could be disclosed.

Interpictorial Travels

Textual appropriation and adaptation is universally seen in Chinese vernacular literature, fiction and drama in particular. It will not surprise the viewers that an interconnected and interborrowing relationship also exists among illustrations attached to

²⁸¹ Ibid., 143-178.

²⁸² Zheng, *Zhongguo gudai mukehua shilue*, 157, 163.

²⁸³ Lu, *The Complete Works of Lu Xun*, vol.6, 338.

literary works. How and why is the “interpictoriality” represented in images on woodblock illustrations and across different artistic media? Travel as an important subject matter was employed extensively in literary, artistic and religious works. How do the famous travel motif related woodblock illustrations reflect, reinterpret and rediscover what their textual counterparts may fail to convey? The following illustrations may not seem groundbreaking works when viewed from perspective of innovation, but they remind the readers that pictures of traveling can function as both personal and historical expressions, and this in turn galvanizes the viewers to reconsider the factual world in which they must complete an imagined life journey.

As was analyzed above, a successful publication of woodblock illustrations is unexceptionally a teamwork result brought by illustrators, engravers, printmakers and publishers. In late Ming period, a large project of eight albums of illustrations was published by Jiya Studio 集雅齋 around 1620. Collected by Huang Fengchi 黃鳳池, Tang Wenru 唐文如, and Zhang Baiyun 張白雲, this project contains: *Painting Album of Five-Character Tang Poetry* 五言唐詩畫譜, *Painting Album of Six-Character Tang Poetry* 六言唐詩畫譜, *Painting Album of Seven-Character Tang Poetry* 七言唐詩畫譜, *Painting Album of Plums, Orchids, Bamboos and Chrysanthemums* 梅蘭竹菊譜, *Album of Famous Paintings in Ancient and Present Times* 古今畫譜, *Painting Album of Famous Scholars's Fans* 名公扇譜, *Painting Album of Grass, Flowers and Birds* 草本花鳥譜, and *Painting Album of Trees, Flowers and Birds* 木本花鳥譜. They were all painted by Cai Yuanxun 蔡元勳, and engraved by Liu Cizong 劉次泉 (1573-1620), Tang Shizhen 唐世貞, and Wang Shiheng 汪士珩 (1573-1620). To take *Painting Album of Five-*

Character Tang Poetry as an example, it consists of fifty famous Tang poems in different style of calligraphy, each of which is presented with a delicate illustration.²⁸⁴ Similarly, there were ten popular dramatic texts successfully published around 1627 as a result of a close cooperation among a group of people. The texts are XXJ 西廂記, *Dong Jieyuan* 董解元西廂記, *Pipa ji* 琵琶記, *Mudan ting* 牡丹亭 *Zichai ji* 紫釵記 *Handan ji* 邯鄲記 *Nanke ji* 南柯記, *Hongfu ji* 紅拂記, and *Yanzi jian* 燕子箋. Wang Wenheng 王文衡 in 1621 painted the designs for all these works and fortunately, engravers also left their names: Huang Yibin 黃一彬, Zheng Shengqing 鄭聖卿, Liu Gaoqing 劉杲卿, and Wang Wenzuo 汪文佐. To some extent, a community of illustration makers with overlapping identities produced a large repertoire of inter pictorialized images. These pictures existed dialogically in parallel with their verbal counterparts. Furthermore, they conversed with each other and displayed their unique value in the interconnected relationship. But let us begin our discussion from two opening parts concerning a travel motif.

The story of QTM begins with the following lines:

There is a story about a scholarly student in Song dynasty, whose compound surname is Sima and name is You. He is originally a citizen from Bianliang, and just reaches the age of twenty when he goes early to take the imperial examinations. In his mind, he preserves his recitation of five carts of books; in his bosom, he harbors his storage of histories through all ages. This student goes towards Qiantang River, and visits the scenery in the capital. Bringing with zither, sword, and bookcases, he chooses the route directly leading to Hangzhou, and the journey on road takes more than one day. He eats when hungry and drinks when thirsty; and he rests at night and walks by day. Without noticing it, he has arrived at Hangzhou.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ Zheng, *Zhongguo gudai muke banhua shilue*, 81.

²⁸⁵ Wang, XXJ (1499), 7-8.

話說宋朝有一秀才，複姓司馬，名猷，本貫汴梁人也。年方弱冠，早赴科場。腹中背記五車書，胸內包藏千古史。那秀才往錢塘江上，觀光上國。遂攜琴劍書箱，取路逕往杭州，在路非止一日。饑食渴飲，夜住曉行。不覺早到杭州。

Ancient storytellers were all keen observers who brought traveling experience in the past to life through verbal form of expression. Travel narratives and illustrations, both actual and simulated, provide readers and viewers a unique opportunity to witness and participate in a journey experience. Though QTM is written from the third person perspective, the collective memory for an exam-taking journey in this biographical narrative strikes no less resonance with the readers who may expect an autobiographical reading of the author as well as themselves. The opening part in the XXJ also involves a travel motif:

(Male lead, dressed as a horseman, enters, leading a child actor, and opens): I am Zhang Gong, known as Junrui. I hail from Western Luo. My late father, who was appointed minister of the Board of Rites, unfortunately died of an illness after he had reached an age of more than five times ten. One year later I lost my mother. With books and sword is this student tossed about the world. But as long as I have yet to achieve merit and fame, I will travel through the four quadrants. Now it is the first decade of the second month of the seventeenth year of Auspicious Prime, and the emperor Dezong now reigns. I want to go to court to take the examinations. My road passes through the prefecture of Hezhong, and when I go through Pu Pass I will find an old friend.²⁸⁶

（正末扮騎馬引俵人上開）小生姓張名拱，字君瑞，本貫西洛人也。先人拜禮部尚書，不幸五旬之上因病身亡。後一年喪母。小生書劍飄零，功名未遂，遊於四方。即今貞元十七年二月上旬，唐德宗即位，欲往上朝取應，路經河中府，過蒲關上。

²⁸⁶ West and Idema, *The Moon and The Zither*, 116.

A departure scene represented in visual form (Fig 10.) from *Dong Jieyuan XXJ* 董解元西廂記 may help us build a similar scenario as to imagine the starting point from where the student will begin his journey. An ambitious Zhang riding on a strong horse sets off for the capital to take the imperial exams. Closely behind is boy attendant who bears a bookcase, a zither and a sword. Before them is a meandering mountain path leading upward to an uncertain journey. This image may universally apply to most of Chinese ancient exam-takers who have yet achieved anything desirable to reward his years of study and guarantee a decent life. The involvement of famous painters would, of course, significantly enhance the aesthetic status of woodblock illustration as a form of popular art, but also potentially cast its influence on later painters and their works. For instance, painted albums with serial imageries may have been inspired by print illustrations. And this as well substantiated the fact that from a certain angle “painting may have developed alongside printing,” although “painting was the basis for print illustrations.”²⁸⁷ It thus will not be a surprise that a travel scene (Fig 11.) painted by Zha Shibiao 查士標 (1615-1698) for an album shares great similarity in pictorial composition. The distant mountains and the calm surface of the water signify an ideal natural environment in which traditional literati usually entrust their interest, ambitions and dreams. The single-log bridge symbolically points to the harsh reality: there is no other way to choose. For all ancient students, their physical travel was as a matter of fact a result brought by their yearning for a dream career.

²⁸⁷Claudia Brown, *Great Qing: painting in China, 1644-1911* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 175.

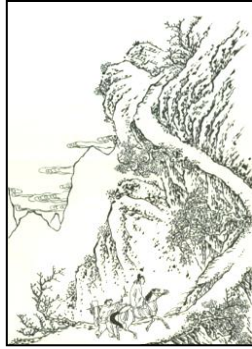


Fig 10. “Leave for the Capital to Take the Exam,” painted by Wang Wenheng, from *Dong Jieyuan XXJ* 董解元西廂記, woodblock illustration, 1627

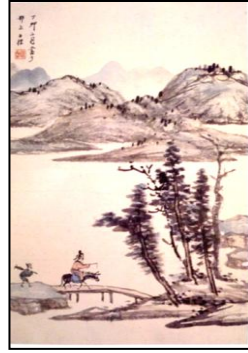


Fig 11. A leaf from *Album of Landscapes*, painted by Zha Shibiao, Album of twelve leaves, ink or ink and color on paper, 31 × 22 cm, 1687, Collection of Marilyn and Roy Papp

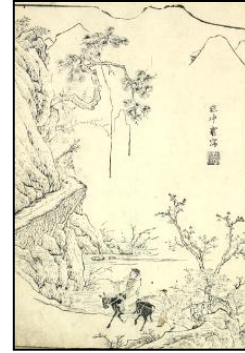


Fig 12. No.14, from *Dang shi qiyan huapu* 唐詩七言畫譜, painted by Cai Chonghuan 蔡冲寰, edited by Huang Fengchi 黃鳳池 woodblock illustration, Jiyazhai edition 集雅齋本

Fig 12 shows a picture that seems to reverse the direction of layout found in Fig 10. This may signify it was typical that illustrators borrowed designs from each other. It is because the whole process of publishing a book, especially the engraving of illustrations, is time consuming and a simple copy of the original with few changes will significantly warrant a timely publication. Moreover, if the source is found among others picture in a well-accepted book, the action of imitation, or plagiarism, will be more or less a purposeful move toward a market promotion. What the book consumers eventually read and see on the paper is actually a reversed image of the text and illustration carved on a thin block of wood. Metaphorically, such comparison helps to relate woodblock illustration, as well as literary text, to its conditions of production and dissemination.

The popularity of illustrated books is closely related to the development of entertainment culture in the urban space. Illustrations as cultural evidence recorded the information reminiscent of various thriving activities in which printed matters were

involved and consumed. For the southern gentry's class, the late Ming period was a great age for travel.²⁸⁸ It is not surprising that illustrated travel guide was warmly welcomed and widely circulated among potential traveler readers who were eager to visualize their dreamful places of interest. Literary text and scenic spot are interacted and thus merged in a graphic form of illustration. The images on West Lake scenery in both *Hainei qiguan* 海內奇觀 (Extraordinary views within the four seas) and *Xihu zhi leichao* 西湖志類鈔 (Gazetteer of West Lake: classified compendium) are good examples.

The same motif, with changing backgrounds, will perhaps yield various kinds of connotations. Fig 13 and 15 both depict a well known scene around the West Lake: “Duanqiao canxuan” 殘雪斷橋 (Remaining snow at the dividing bridge). The bare tree branches and the long robe that wrapped all over the body of the donkey rider, as well as the white spot on the tree sprigs in the latter, all suggest that it is still winter. Yet the travelers in both pictures turn their head back toward a boy who is holding a long and new tree branch with sprouting leaves. It is a rather inspiring picture that symbolizes the external adversity should not dampen the internal undying hope. However, Fig 14 seemed to collect all elements seen in the two illustrations related to West Lake, except for the color of the donkey and an umbrella the boy holds. If it were to be seen as a derivative of Fig 13, another picture (Fig 16.) from Dong XXJ should also have an intimate relation with the second illustration on West Lake. The illustrator not merely copied the way the

²⁸⁸ See discussion on “Tourism and Cultural Pursuits” in Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 107-113.

travel was dressed, but also preserved the implication denoted in both West Lake illustrations, for the symbolic tree branch is still in the hands of the boy.



Fig 13. "Remaining Snow at the Dividing Bridge," from Yang Erzeng 楊爾曾, comp., *Hainei qiguan* 海內奇觀, 1609, Harvard-Yenching Collection



Fig 14. No.17, from *Dang shi liuyan huapu* 唐詩六言畫譜, woodblock illustration, Jiyazhai edition, 1620

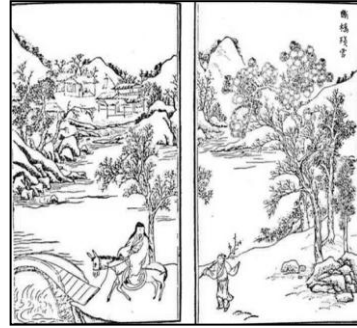


Fig 15. "Remaining Snow at the Dividing Bridge," from Yu Sichong 余思冲, comp., *Xihu zhi leichao* 西湖志類鈔, 1615 ed.; 1st ed. 1579

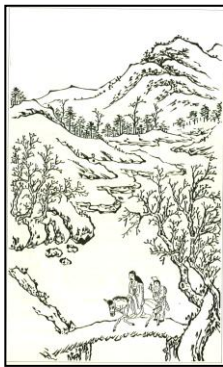


Fig 16. "Travel Scene," from Dong XXJ 董西廂, woodblock illustration, 1627

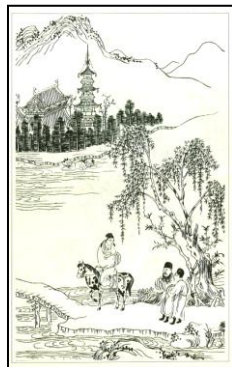


Fig 17. "Travel Scene," from *Handan ji* 邯鄲記, woodblock illustration, 1627

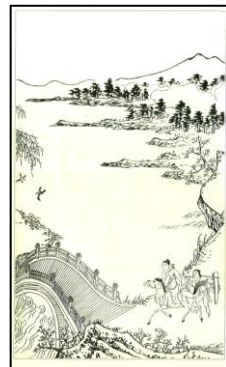


Fig 18. "Travel Scene," from *Nanke ji* 南柯記, woodblock illustration, 1627



Fig 19. "Spring Morning on the Su Dyke," *Hainei qiguan* 海內奇觀, 1609, Harvard-Yenching Collection

In two other dream related dramas composed by Tang Xianzu, *Handan ji* 邯鄲記 (A dream in Handan) and *Nanke ji* 南柯記 (A dream of Nanke) respectively, the same illustration designer consciously depicted a similar scene. The temple-like building and

the tower against the distant mountains in Fig 17. draw viewers to associate the venue where the story of XXJ mainly takes place. Interestingly, these elements, together with the horse-riding traveler, a boy servant, and the arch stone bridge in Fig 18, all appear in a touristic scene of West Lake as was shown in Fig 19. This illustration tends to trigger a complex emotional response to landscape as a palimpsest of text how the illustrators borrowed everything from a shared repertoire of images to reconstruct such a pictorial pastiche that looks similar in some aspects but yet very unique in others. What promised to be the reliable sedimentation of traveling experience might also turn out to be an illusory performance in an unreal milieu. The story of *Handan ji* is about a dream. It begins with a Daoist Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 travelling to Handan 邯鄲 where he meets an unhappy man student Lu. The Daoist monk offers a pillow to the student who is quite sleepy. In his dream, Lu experiences a perfect life and enjoys prestige, wealth and glory. When he wakes up, Lu is enlightened to realize everything is empty. Feng Menglong once remarked on *Handan ji*:

As for the works [published] by Yuming tang, *Zichai ji* and *Mudan ting* focus on *qing*; *Nanke ji* on illusion; only this work (*Handan ji*) reveals the *Dao* by involving *qing*, and enlightens the readers the meaning of reality by approaching the illusion.²⁸⁹

玉茗堂諸作，紫釵、牡丹亭以情，南柯以幻，獨此因情入道，即幻悟真。

Moreover, *Handan ji* was regarded by a famous Ming publisher Min Guangyu 閔光瑜 (?) as the first and foremost work of Tang's four dream dramas:

²⁸⁹ Yu Weimin 俞為民 and Sun Rongrong 孫蓉蓉, eds., *Lidai quhua huibian: xinbian Zhongguo gudian xiqu lunzhu jicheng. Mingdai bian* 歷代曲話彙編: 新編中國古典戲曲論著集成明代編 (Hefei shi: Huangshan shushe, 2009), vol.3, 39.

For example, in *Handan ji* and *Nanke ji* whose stories are situated in the Daoist or Buddhist context, the whole world is equal to a dream...Linchuan's interpretation of the dream story is nothing but a dream; I attach superfluous illustrations, commentaries and phonetic annotations, and this can be seen as to seek a dream from a dream, showing that I am deeply enchanted. Therefore, I gave the name of Dream-enchanted Scholar for myself.²⁹⁰

若邯鄲，若南柯，托仙托佛，等世界於一夢...臨川說夢，夢也；余贅之繪像、批評、音釋，可謂夢中尋夢，迷之甚矣。因自號曰夢迷生。

Following Min's logic, it seems that, for the text readers and illustration viewers, to consume either a verbal or a pictorial presentation of a travel episode in the drama is no more than a pursuit of a dream, a similar practice in which Min had engaged in the process of reinterpreting Tang's drama in visual, commentary and annotating forms. Thus a dream narrative becomes a unifying factor that brings illustrations of travel motifs into alignment. To reexamine Fig 19, the illustrator's repositioning of such a scholar traveler within the context of a dream site contributes to a genuine understanding of the intertwined networks of images in which literary meanings are embedded.

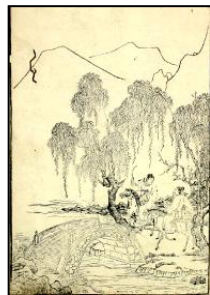


Fig 20. No. 22 from *Dang shi qiyan huapu*, woodblock illustration, Jiyazhai edition, 1620



Fig 21. "Travel Scene," published by Xiao Tenghong 蕭騰鴻, from *Xiuru ji* 繡儒記, woodblock illustration, Ming Wanli (1573-1619)

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 437.

Similarities are more than signs of an interborrowing relationship. Fig 20 is originally associated with a Tang poem. Two willow trees appear in the middle register against the distant mountains in the background and with an arch stone bridge in the foreground. The trees construct a frame in which two traveling scholars on horses are conversing with each other. Fig 21 is from a drama and it seems to be a same illustration that is physically extended and pictorially enriched. Yet this is not sufficient enough to confirm one is bound to be the source of the other. Admittedly, the different number in page suggests a purposeful move out of commercial consideration. But more important is that a similar pictorial pattern represents two kinds of texts in different genres. It is the dialogue between the pictures that recollects the reading memories of those otherwise unrelated literary texts. They both may grant the readers a perspective to reevaluate similar illustrations through the illustrators' imagination about different texts and the artistic representation of other texts that mirrors the illustrators' world. The preservation of the conversing scholars may serve as a metonymy. The way that these pictures and their respective texts thereby dialogically exist is much more significant than the identification of the direction of influence.

The famous romance drama XXJ is acknowledged as “the most frequently illustrated story in the history of the Chinese printed book.” By virtue of quality, quantity, and diversity, as a printed commodity, it is matchless either for its text or illustration.²⁹¹

²⁹¹ Jiang Xingyu 蔣星煜, “Ming kanben Xixiang ji chatu yu zuozhe zalu” 明刊本西廂記插圖與作者雜錄, in *Xixiangji de wenxianxue yanjiu* 西廂記的文獻學研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), 559-567; Zhu Chongshou 祝重壽, “Ming kanben Xixiang ji chatu yishu 明刊本西廂記插圖藝術,” in *Zhongguo chatu yishu shihua* 中國插圖藝術史話 (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2005), 87-97; Dong Jie 董捷, “Guben Xixiang ji banhua chatu kao” 古本西廂記版畫插圖考, *New Art* 新美術, 2001 (03): 67-74, “De cang Xixiang ji banhua jiqi kanke zhe” 德藏西廂記版畫及其刊刻者, *Journal of National Academy of Art*, 2009 (05): 16-25, *Ming Qing kan Xixiangji banhua kaoxi* 明清刊西廂記版畫考析

Their outreach to a broader viewing professionals and public prefigured quite a number of exemplary designs that would be greatly influential in the field of woodblock illustration. The opening scene illustration (Fig 22) attached to a 1610 version of *XXJ* seems to incorporate all the elements displayed in the above mentioned pictures. A monastery appearing among the mist and smoke occupies the upper left corner. The wavy lines intersperse the central register and indicate the surface of the yellow river. A wooden bridge breaks the page frame and links two banks together. On the right side, Zhang rides on the horse and turns his head back toward his boy servant. The horse whip is lifted in his right hand toward the direction of the uncertain destination.



Fig 22. “Travel Scene,” from *Li Zhuowu xiansheng piping XXJ* 李卓吾先生批評西廂記, woodblock illustration, Rongyutang 容與堂 edition, 1610



Fig 23. An album leaf from polychrome woodblock print, from Lai Shaoqi, comp., *Taoban jiantie*, 套版簡貼, (Shanghai: Shanghai meishu chubanshe, 1964), 12.

(Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 2006); Ma Mengjing, “Fragmentation and Framing of the Text: Visuality and Narrativity in Late-Ming Illustrations to *The Story of the Western Wing*” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2006), “Ermu zhiwan cong Xixiang ji banhua chatu lun wan Ming chuban wenhua dui shijuexing zhi guanzhu” 耳目之玩從西廂記版畫插圖論晚明出版文化對視覺性之關注, *Meishu shi yanjiu jikan* 美術史研究集刊 13 (2002): 201-279; Yao Dajun, “The Pleasure of Reading Drama: Illustrations to the Hongzhi Edition of the *Story of the Western Wing*,” in *The Moon and The Zither: The Story of the Western Wing*, translated by Stephen West and Wilt Idema, (California: University of California Press, 1991), 437-468.



Fig 24. One of the pair of table screens with figures and landscapes in *fencai* 粉彩 enamels, Guangxu period (1875-1908), H: 13 cm, W: 16/16.3 cm, Hong Kong Museum of Art, *The Wonders of the Potter's Palette: Qing Ceramics from the Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of Art* (Hong Kong: The Council, 1984), 183.

A color print (Fig 23.) of a very similar pattern was produced during a transitional period from late Ming to early Qing, about the same time when *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting* was published. The striking similarity in pictorial composition gives us the reason to assert the art designers borrowed the pattern from sources closely relevant to XXJ stories. As expected, the engravers and printmakers also used well-developed techniques such as assembled blocks printing and embossed effect printing to produce this kind of decorative art patterns for contract papers, invitation cards, poem writing papers, etc. In 1964, Lai Shaoqi 賴少其 (1915-2000) collected 40 multicolor contract paper imprints and published an album entitled *Taoban jiantie* 套版簡帖 (Set-block color print of contract papers). Though it won scant attention from the academia, these type of color print, it seems to me, holds a no less significant place in the development of woodblock illustration than all other famous works held during the late Ming and early Qing periods. Since it was very widely used during the Kangxi and Qianlong periods, quite a number of such contract paper imprints are also preserved in

Anhui Provincial Museum, Anhui Archive, and local libraries.²⁹² Moreover, one of the pair of table screens produced in Guangxu period (1875-1908) is decorated with figures and landscapes in *fencai* 粉彩 enamels (Fig 24.),²⁹³ and its designer expended much effort to make the naturalistic background more lifelike. The above three examples allow us to see the same motif transferring from a representation of a black and white woodblock illustration, to multi-color pint, and finally to an enamel ware of decorative art. Facing these artifacts, viewers not merely witness a travel of the subject matter itself across different media, but also experience a process of recollecting the meaning of travel from both literary narratives and personal experiences. Travel makes a scholar complete in his pursuit of knowledge and truth. Either for taking exams, or for sheer sightseeing, traveling to varying degrees fulfills the meaning of reading. A physical dislocation may bring uncertainty and this will galvanize mind to wander round the unfamiliarity so as to build a connection between the known and the unknown. The image of a travelling scholar on horse followed by a boy servant is emblematic of an ambitious student on his way, and travel presented in a visualized form is therefore entrusted a kind of performative and symbolic nature.

²⁹² Zhang, *Huipai banhua*, 260.

²⁹³ From the mid-seventeenth to early eighteenth century, XXJ became the most popular story to be represented on porcelain artifacts. See Craig Clunas, "The West Chamber: A Literary Theme in Chinese Porcelain Decoration," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 46 (1982): 79.



Fig 25. "Travel Scene," from *Mingzhu ji* 明珠記, woodblock illustration, Shijian tang 師儉堂 edition, Ming Wanli (1573-1619)



Fig 26. "Student Zhang Riding to the Monastery of Universal Salvation," from XXJ, 1640, album leaf from a loose folio of twenty-one leaves, polychrome woodblock print, sheet 25.5 × 32.2 cm, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne

A traveling student with his boy can serve as the subject matter in a closing scene as well as in an opening scene. Though one illustration (Fig 26.) from Min Qiji's multicolor print album²⁹⁴ resonates with previous patterns, this version is seen out of joint with a stale compositional layout. The whole scene is framed by the designer in form of an opening hand scroll 手卷.²⁹⁵ From decorations on both scroll handles, it is easy to tell that the starting point scene is also the beginning section of the painting on the scroll. The picture thus visually speaks of the role its textual counterpart played in the drama. An illustration from *Mingzhu ji* 明珠記 (A story of bright pearl) (Fig 25.) catches the viewers' attention for it is as something as a mirror image of Fig 22. After Zhang passes the

²⁹⁴ For relevant studies, see Edith Dittrich, et al. *Hsi-hsiang Chi, Chinesische Farbholzschnitt von Min Ch'i-chi 1640* (Cologne: Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, 1977); Dawn Ho Delbanco, "The Romance of the Western Chamber: Min Qiji's Album in Cologne," *Orientalism* 14 (June 1983): 12-23; Jiang Xingyu, "Deguo kelong bowuguan zhencang Mingdai caihui Xixiang ji shuping" 德國科隆博物館珍藏明代彩繪西廂記述評, in *Xixiangji de wenxianxue yanjiu*, 574-579; Dong Jie, "De cangben Xixiang ji banhua kao" 德藏本西廂記版畫考, in *Ming Qing kan Xixiangji banhua kaoxi*, 107-142; Wu Hung, *Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (University of Chicago Press, 1996), 245-259.

²⁹⁵ A standard description of hand scroll was offered by Jerome Silbergeld, yet Wu Hung's definition was more comprehensive in terms of including the physical attributes and its relation to connoisseurship. Wu, *Double Screen*, 59.

imperial exams and obtains a high official title, he goes back to marry Yingying. This return journey in the eyes of the readers is no less important than the opening travel scene, for it plays a critical role in completing the story in a happy reunion. Thus, it was not unreasonable to close the drama with such a scene of a return journey. If we juxtapose both illustrations from two different stories, the space between them may allow for presenting the specific story of XXJ with rich details. Hence, the two illustrations may establish an editorial pattern and help symbolically wrap up the whole drama in a form of a hand scroll, through which this very romance can be viewed, appreciated and imagined in either chronological or flashback manner. Interestingly, this imagined “hand scroll” pattern had indeed been employed by illustrators in XXJ.

In fact, the logic that governs the printing and editorial practice on illustration is more complex or much easier than what people in modern time can expect. It is possible to assume that the printmakers used a same woodblock pattern for both the illustration from *Mingzhu ji* and the last scene illustration found in XXJ of Xu Tianchi 徐天池 (?) edition (Fig 27. L). Or, at least they were out of the same master design, because there is nothing appears differently, except for the poetic inscriptions. Furthermore, the starting point scene (Fig 27. R) in this edition also resembles that in Min’s work. Therefore, it will not surprise us that such a set of innovative illustrations would be very appealing to both readers and editors. A famous bibliophile and publisher Dong Kang 董康 (1867-1947) had collected a number of delicate XXJ illustrations from Ming and Qing editions, and published them in the early 19th century together with a Qing edition of XXJ text with the commentary of Mao Qiling 毛奇齡 (1623-1716). The two volumes of illustrations entitled

Qianqiu jueyan tu 千秋絕艷圖 (A painting of matchless beauties in history) contains eighty eight pages of images from well-circulated XXJ editions including Xiangxueju 香雪居 edition, edition with commentaries of Wang Fengzhou and Li Zhuowu 王鳳洲李卓吾合評本, Min Zhensheng 閩振聲 edition, Zhang Shen zhi 張深之 edition, Ling Chucheng 凌初成 edition, etc. As expected, illustrations from Xu Tianchi edition were also collected. However, if we explore the commonalities and nuances between Dong’s selected edition of Xu and Xu’s other editions, we could find some more interesting information.



Fig 27. “First Scene Illustration” (R), “Last Scene Illustration” (L), from XXJ, Xu Tianchi 徐天池 edition, Ming (1368-1644), version 1

A strikingly similar picture appeared in many editions may report significantly different messages. There are three versions of XXJ of Xu Tianchi edition²⁹⁶ collected by National Library of China in the *XXJ shanben congkan* 西廂記善本叢刊 (A collection of fine editions of XXJ). The above mentioned illustrations from Dong’s collection are

²⁹⁶ The full title of this edition is *Chongke dingzheng Yuanben pidian huayi bei Xixiang* 重刻訂正本批點畫意北西廂, see Guojia tushuguan 國家圖書館, ed., *Guojia tushuguan XXJ shanben congkan* 國家圖書館西廂記善本叢刊 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2011), vol.4, 5, 6.

among them. We may take it for granted that illustrations from the other two editions are of no difference. However, this is not the case if we put them under careful comparison. For the convenience of our investigation, we will still only focus on the illustrations concerning a travel motif in the beginning and at the end. On first sight, it is true that they are almost the same. Yet Zhang’s boy servant interestingly appears in both Fig 28 (L) and 29 (L), and rides the horse together with the student whereas in Fig 27 (L) there is only the student. What’s more, the trees beside the monastery are much shorter and the distant mountains are decorated with fewer cloud curves and spots in Fig 28 (R) than those found in both Fig 27 (R) and 29 (R). It firstly proved that this edition was probably very popular and thus different versions, both reprinted and pirated editions, might flood the market of its time. Secondly, Dong Kang, as an experienced bibliophile, presumably had in hand or had seen several versions, so the final illustrations collected in his album are his favorite. Equally possible is that Dong only could have access to one version and he had no other choices. Perhaps only Dong himself knows the real reason. And only by traveling around all these textual versions could we modern readers get to know what we otherwise could not have known. This further problematized our understanding of the printing and editorial practice in Ming and Qing periods.



Fig 28 “First Scene Illustration” (R), “Last Scene Illustration” (L), from XXJ, Xu Tianchi edition, Ming (1368-1644), version 2

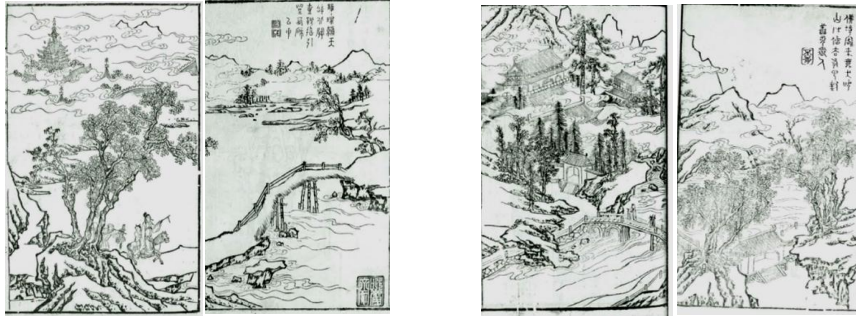


Fig 29 “First Scene Illustration” (R), “Last Scene Illustration” (L), from XXJ, Xu Tianchi edition, Ming (1368-1644), version 3

The travel motif is so interesting that there are more examples concerning the convergence of both travel and dream sites can. Fig 30 is an illustration that depicts the opening traveling scene from XXJ of Wei Zhognxue 魏仲雪 edition. Fig 31 is an illustration for the dream scene from XXJ of Rongyu tang 容與堂 edition. I juxtapose them because they interestingly mirror each other in terms of pictorial composition, and correspond with the hand scroll pattern analyzed above, although they are from two different works. They are brought in comparison also because of their inscriptions are selected from the following two songs both found in the Fourth Book of XXJ: “Caoqiao jingmeng”:

“*Xinshui ling*” (Student sings:) Gazing at East of Pu: the monastery is obscured by evening clouds. Pained by feelings of separation: half of the forest is yellowed leaves. The horse is slow, its rider is listless. The wind is strong, the ranks of geese are awry. Separation’s vexation doubles and doubles, at the broaching of the theme: the very first night.²⁹⁷

【新水令】望蒲東蕭寺暮雲遮，慘離情半林黃葉。馬遲人意懶，風急雁行斜。離恨重疊，破題兒第一夜。

²⁹⁷ West and Idema, *The Story of the Western Wing*, 246.

Amid four bounds of mountain colors, in the single lash of the lingering rays, a vexation that encompasses all the human realm fills my room how can a carriage so small cart it all away?²⁹⁸

四圍山色中，一鞭殘照裏。遍人間煩惱填胸臆，量這些大小車兒如何載得起？

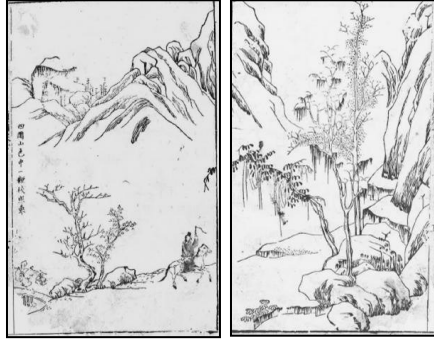


Fig 31. “Dream scene,” from XXJ, Rongyu tang edition, 1610



Fig 30. “Opening scene,” from XXJ, Wei Zhongxue edition, Ming Chongzhen (1628-1644)

On the upper right corner of the single page illustration, one couplet, “The horse is slow, its rider is listless. The wind is strong, the ranks of geese are awry” 馬遲人意懶，風急雁行斜, somewhat mismatches the picture concerning a starting scene for the whole drama. The inscriber might or might not be the same person as the illustrator. In either case, the verbal commentary contextualized the opening travel scene and tended to prefigure a comedy to be performed in a dreamlike realm. Similarly, on the middle left edge of the two-page illustration, another couplet “Amid four bounds of mountain colors, in the single lash of the lingering rays” 四圍山色中，一鞭殘照裏 is located to explicate the illustrator’s graphic construction for such a dream scene, an attempt on the part of the

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 245.

inscriber at least to impose textual meanings on the picture. Like the two examples of illustrations discussed in Chapter 2, the motifs of travel and dream in these pictures once again merge in the purposeful interaction of text and illustration.

The following discussion on travel-related illustrations from QTM will disclose more information on the printing practice by which we may see clearly how a later edition tends to collect the merits from earlier editions. Considering the text of the story, the dream plot pictures from Liu Longtian edition (1608) of XXJ printed by Qiaoshan tang 喬山堂 in Jian'an 建安 appear more apposite as correspondent visual accompanists. But some uncertainties seem to come up after a meticulous examination of it. There are two whole leaves on West Lake scenery and one dream plot picture, each size of which was extended to one full page.²⁹⁹ What separates them from a successive presentation is the story text running five whole printed sheets. As Robert Hegel suggests, a disconnected textual body with interspersed pictures may create “a kind of suspense” that will “draw the reader even further into the text.”³⁰⁰ Yet this result may not necessarily come out of this case. Sima You and his servant, though almost unnoticeable among the scenery, appears in the fourth page³⁰¹ in Fig 32, and they face a direction, opposite to the text on the next page, that leads to a visual tour within those four pictures, mountains, rivers, temples, etc., all labeled with site-specific captions. The landscape itself is

²⁹⁹ The carving technique impressed: to boost the richness in the image, a black and white contrast style was employed to represent the silk hat, hair bun, and balustrade, etc. For more discussion, see Guo Weiqu 郭味蕓, *Zhongguo banhua shilue* 中國版畫史略 (Beijing: Zhaohua meishu chubanshe, 1962), 50.

³⁰⁰ Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*, 204.

³⁰¹ Since pages in thread-bound books are read from right to left, the “number” of a page in a sequence illustration is thereby counted in the same manner.

sufficiently an independent matter in which a *woyou* 臥遊 (visual tour on painting)³⁰² can be conducted. Why the scenery pictures had not been set right next to the dream picture?³⁰³ If there were some identifiable predecessors of Liu Longtian's version, could the relevant illustrations have exhibited a different mode in presentation?

According to Jiang Xingyu, both Liu Longtian edition and Xiong Longfeng edition (1592) were based on the Xu Shifan edition (1580).³⁰⁴ Fortunately, these editions are all available. Yet, QTM was not attached to the Xu Shifan edition of XXJ without woodblock illustrations, though some text engravers left their names such as Huang Kai 黄锴 (?) and Huang Ruqing 黄汝清 (?), etc., a practice exclusively seen among all other Ming editions of XXJ. Xiong Longfeng published his illustrated edition of XXJ with QTM in it by Zhongzheng tang 忠正堂 in Jianyang 建陽. As something expected, there was a dream picture very similar with that found in Liu Longtian's edition, which is a piece of supportive information of Jiang's assertion that Xiong and Liu editions belong to the same lineage. As something unexpected, there was no scenery illustration, but from the content page (Fig 34) a title of "Hangcheng hujing tu" 杭城湖景圖 (A panorama of lake scenery in Hangzhou city) appeared in parallel with the QTM title, suggesting at least four pages of landscape illustrations should have attached separately but intertextually before QTM according to the original printing plan. We may assume that

³⁰² For discussion on "*woyou*," see "Art work and *woyou*" 藝術品與臥游, in Li, *Hushan shenggai yu wan Ming wenren yishu quwei yanjiu*, 145-148. For more information, see Gong, *You de jingshen wenhua shilun*, 260-270.

³⁰³ We will discuss more on the dream illustration of this edition later in this chapter.

³⁰⁴ Jiang, *Ming kanben Xixiang ji yanjiu*, 38-66, 70.

by the time of printing, the carved blocks on landscape were not completed, and Xiong finally decided to leave the misprint information on the content page, and simply ignored this as excusable error. It may also possible that he changed his thought on the way a famous tourist site should have been represented in his book and preferred to display his new idea in some other editions that were possibly published later yet unavailable to modern readers. In either case, a juxtaposition of illustration on both travel and dream was not ready for Xiong's edition.

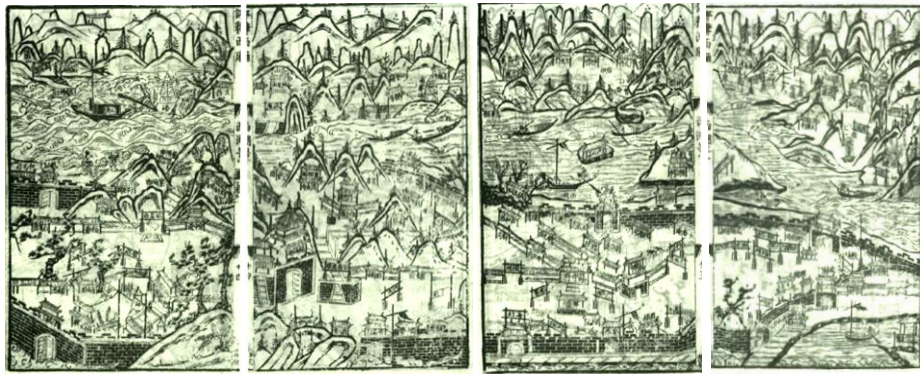


Fig 32. "A Panorama of Western Lake," from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Liu Longtian 劉龍田 edition, 1608

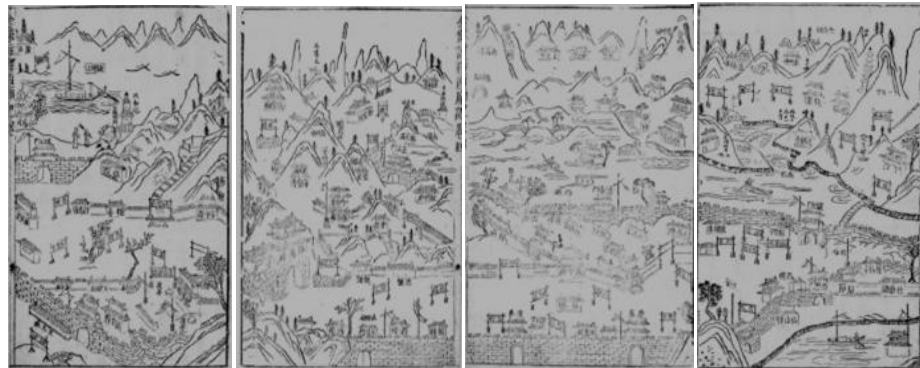


Fig 33. "A Panorama of Western Lake," from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Luo Maodeng 羅懋登 edition, 1597

If it had not been for the engraver's name left on QTM illustrations, we may have scarcely had the chance to see a remarkable example concerning a collective feature of textual and pictorial accumulation in printing matters. The Luo Maodeng 羅懋登 edition of XXJ (1597) was published earlier than Liu's edition and later than Xiong's edition. An equally surprising fact is that only four pages of scenery illustrations (Fig 33.)³⁰⁵ are found before the QTM text in it. All QTM illustrations found in editions of Xiong, Luo and Liu were out of the hands of Lu Yulong 盧玉龍 who carved his name in extremely small scale on the picture. It is this very clue that helps us to unravel the entangled relationship of various editions. The XXJ text in these three editions was all highly possible based on that of Xu Shifan's edition. Chronologically, Xiong attached QTM text and dream illustration, then Luo added QTM text and scenery pictures, and finally Liu collected both scenery and dream illustrations in his QTM edition. Through a careful comparison, it is apparent that illustrations in Liu's edition were more refined products than merely replicas made in pursuit of commercial benefits, albeit similarities exist in compositional layout. We do not know whether Liu's version met Xiong's original plan or not, nor do we know how much more alluring Liu's book might seem in the market. But Liu Longtian's version of QTM as a syntheticized printed matter indeed mirrors an accumulative practice typically seen in textual production. All these urge a reconsideration of an accepted understanding in printing woodblock illustrations.

³⁰⁵ The edition published by Wenxiu tang 文秀堂 also included QTM, and the four-page landscape illustration is the copy of that in Luo Maodeng edition.

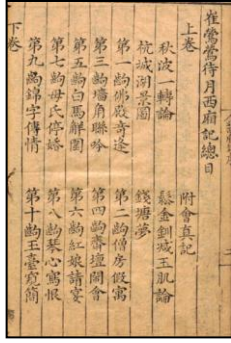


Fig 34. Content page, from XXJ, Xiong Longfeng 熊龍峰 edition, 1592

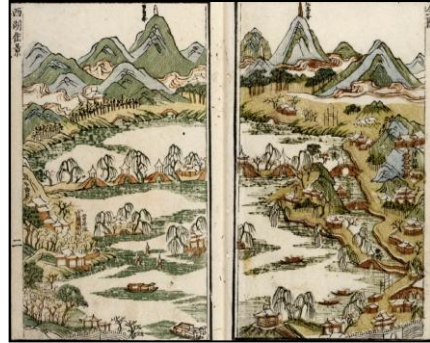


Fig 35. “Beautiful Scenery of West Lake” 西湖佳景, from *Xihu jiahua* 西湖佳話, set-block color print, 1673

To attach the scenery illustrations before QTM text may establish a conventional pattern that affected later illustrators and publishers. But there was always an exception. In 1618, Xiao Tenghong 蕭騰鴻, the owner of Shijian tang 師儉堂, published a version of XXJ. All illustrations on drama scenes were designed by Liu Suming. Though QTM was set between the content page and the main drama text, there were not illustrations for the text. Surprisingly, a four-page illustration (Fig 36.) of West Lake scenery appeared before the content page, together with two pages of text entitled “Xihu shengjing ji” 西湖勝景記 (Beautiful scenery of West Lake). Liu Suming must have studied Lu Yulong’s design beforehand; otherwise this version of scenery illustration could not have resembled those discussed above. Narrators of travel literature sometimes tend to not disclose themselves to the textual readers, but this engagingly designed picture contains compelling depiction of pervasive human presence which may serve as a telling indicator of the viewers’ conscious inclusion in the visualized form of a travel motif. Therefore, it is not just a simplistic emulation of Lu Yulong’s work. The

separation of landscape illustrations from QTM may also showcase an emerging tourist trend in early modern China³⁰⁶ and the importance of the local culture. When the gentry class and urban people were given the chance to accustom themselves to a visual guide with a frame differs from what they were used to, they found the experience rewarding and this in turn would set them in motion for more pursuits of touristic pleasure either spiritually or physically. A Qing illustration in the form of multi-color print as is shown in Fig 35 also falls in this trend.³⁰⁷



Fig 36 “A Panorama of Western Lake,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Shijian tang 師儉堂 edition, 1618

The representations of a travel motif on porcelain wares³⁰⁸ also reveal something similar that has been seen in the textual and pictorial communities. When the viewers

³⁰⁶ See Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004); Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, *Pinwei shehua: Wan Ming de xiaofei shehui yu shidafu* 品味奢華：晚明的消費社會與士大夫 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008).

³⁰⁷ More discussion on the anthology of *Xihu jiahua* will be in Chapter 4.

³⁰⁸ Mass-produced books most likely became the visual sources to convey a variety of images available to designers for other crafts, such as ceramics, lacquerware, and embroidery, or even painting. For study on interrelation between illustration and porcelain, Hsu Wen-Chin, “Fictional Scenes on Chinese Transitional Porcelain (1620-1683) and Their Sources of Decoration,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 58 (1991), 3-146, “Representation of the Romance of the Western Chamber in Chinese Woodblock Prints and Ceramics,” *Asian Culture Quarterly* XLX (4): 21-34, “Illustrations of ‘Romance of the

believe what they are appreciating is a duplicative transmission, they may actually search for information that will confirm their assumption. Nonetheless what they view may also affect their perceptions of a certain motif in ways that their response to the text does not. Travel narratives are usually linear and chronologically developed, but the difference in viewing decorative artifacts within a limit space lies as much in the pastiche display of everything a traveler may experience as in the subjective ways that viewers will adopt for their own visual tour.



Fig 37. Porcelain dish, Diam.: 17.7 cm, Ming, Jiajing/Wanli, 1550-1575, Richard S. Kilburn, *Transitional Wares and their Forerunners* (Hong Kong: Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, 1981), 81.



Fig 38. Porcelain dish, painted in underglaze blue, H: 95mm, Diam.: 43.9 cm, Ming, Jiajing period 1522-1566, Anastacio Gonçalves Museum, Lisbon

In the center of both dishes (Fig 37. and 38.) made in Ming dynasty, a seascape outlined by a double ring exhibits an impression of depth and a sort of miniature of the West Lake scenery seen on woodblock illustrations. Their foregrounds are depicted as the watery area. Herons are found resting on a pine on the left and sampans are floating on

Western Chamber' on Chinese Porcelains: Iconography, Style, and Development," *Ars Orientalis* 40 (2011): 39-107.

the right. In the lower middle register, two large groups of rocks are connected by a bridge with two travelers crossing. The arrangement of small islets with a nucleus of vertical mountains, plants, thatched huts, pagodas with flags, and pavilions. Their entire configuration of the image, either blatantly or subtly, alludes to the landscape woodblock illustrations, which produces an intense effect of realistic traveling experience. And such a landscape within a limited round space asks for a sense of freedom from the designers to innovatively exhibit their pictorial narratives and from the viewers to engage a visual tour in what they consider a logical and enjoyable fashion. The following four dishes (Fig 39, 40, 41, and 42.) provide more examples to show the art designers' enthusiasm for landscape and seascape motifs. Through comparison, we may conclude that elements in the previous two patterns form a certain pictorial database from which the images appear on these dishes are appropriated, adapted, and reorganized in a relatively coarse manner. Again, I propose that their significance lies very much in the indispensable role each and every one of them plays in forming such a pictorial community in which their values could be better recognized through a coexistence of all integral parts that are inherently dialogical. Either crudely produced or delicately designed, the discussed examples so far give us reason to believe and also reinforce the fact that any kind of pictorial representation embodies meanings and values. The pastiche like presentation, exemplified in visual form, reflects and is reflected by its production environment. And it is this pastiche that matters.



Fig 39. Porcelain dish, Diam.: 48.4 cm, mid 16th century, Richard S. Kilburn, *Transitional Wares and Their Forerunners* (Hong Kong: Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, 1981), 63.



Fig 40. Porcelain dish, painted in underglaze blue, H: 32mm, Diam.: 198mm, Ming, 2nd half of 16th century, Anastacio Gonçalves Museum, Lisbon



Fig 41. Porcelain dish, painted in underglaze blue, H: 27 mm, Diam.: 195 mm; Ming, 2nd half of 16th century, Anastacio Gonçalves Museum, Lisbon

Fig 42. Porcelain dish, painted in underglaze blue, H: 32 mm, Diam.: 200 mm, Ming, 2nd half of 16th century, Anastacio Gonçalves Museum, Lisbon

Metadramatic Dreams

Before we examine the dream plot illustrations for QTM, I will first examine a few typical dream plots in late imperial vernacular literature, together with their

woodblock illustrations in various editions, employing a dialogic perspective throughout the parallel analysis of text and picture. Discussion will be conducted in three levels: the spatial interaction on paper; the consequent blurring of the demarcation between a supposed textual reality and illusion; and the pictorial interrelationship between different media and contexts. The conventionalized yet dynamic relationship between dream scene and dreaming scene within the dream plot picture could metaphorically be analogous to how illustration is relevant to text during Ming: they are integrated parts of a book, but independent units as a reading matter.



Fig 43. “A Startled Dream by Straw Bridge,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Liu Longtian edition, 1608



Fig 44. “A Startled Dream by Straw Bridge,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Li Gaochen 李告辰 edition, 1631

Woodblock illustration depicted for dream plot stands out for its unique feature in multi-layered effect. A single page illustration (Fig 43.) about the startled dream in Liu Longtian edition of XXJ covers virtually the entire time span to represent themes of the uncertainty and ephemerality of life. Thus the illustrated space serves as a digest of readings of the dream. The sleeping Zhang leans on the table, and his servant naps beside

him. Rising from Zhang's head is a cloudlike frame, and the curved lines define a boundary between the dream and the reality of the text. The bandit holds a torch as he grabs Yingying, but her eyesight is cast beyond the frame line downward to Zhang, the dreamer. Bridging the supposed boundary between internal (dream) and external (the scene of Zhang sleeping), the gaze breaks the dream cloud frame; but it also creates a third dimension, suggesting a sight line from above to below, and makes the dream a sphere instead of a circle, by setting up a second space that vertically links dream and textual reality. The background of the dream frame is blank, as opposed to the abundance of detail in the dreaming scene. The resulting contrast brings in between the two registers a visionary distance that seems to project the dream scene as an upper layer that reveals the dreamer's subjective self. Noticeably, Yingying's watching posture as she also gazes beyond the boundary of the dream appears to invite Zhang's interaction. This may also correspond to the interrelated and ambiguous relation between illustration and text. In the cloud frame, the dream becomes a second sight of objective gaze into the dreaming scene, and thus a parallel and somewhat independent space is formed as the readers not only witness the site of the dream, the dream itself, but a rereading of the dream through a third position. Thus, the picture invites a rereading of the text to this point—what text has seemed to settle about their relationship is made unclear and unsteady by that gaze of anticipation.

In late Ming, the popular Moonlight Pattern³⁰⁹月光形 was widely employed by illustrators. Compared with conventional physical format, this creative and artistic mode seemed to attract more attention from viewers with its focal spot that draws people to associate the frame with the bright round moon. The central round frame also resembles a mirror in which anything in this mundane world can be reflected. Yet anything that appears in a mirror is intangible, a metaphorical gesture showing that life is unreal, if not illusory. Its embodied connotation matches perfectly the theme of a dream plot. The dream illustration in Moonlight Pattern (Fig 44.) is even more unique in terms of its spatial allocation and aesthetic expression. The page edge, the round moonlight contour and the cloud contribute to fashioning a multi-level dream plot representation. The blank area beyond the moonlight frame and within the cloud frame in turn highlight the dreaming scene which can be more clearly and vividly observed as a visual counterpart to the text. Admittedly, the illustration demonstrates a frozen moment of performance,³¹⁰ and the cross-reference necessarily exists between what was depicted on paper and what was performed on stage. For a dream-specific plot, only such a triple-framed visual expression can present the rich layers and aesthetic levels and this exclusive way of presentation grants illustration a nearly independent status as an irreplaceable category of art. Such illustrations are not detached from text but neither do they depend merely on words for their unique artistic value to be recognized and appreciated.

³⁰⁹ A single Moonlight Pattern, usually applied to the verso side of a folding leaf, serves as a subordinate picture to a half-folio primary illustration on the recto side, and its design covers a wide range of objects from mountains, rivers, flowers, birds, plants to insects, etc.

³¹⁰ Xu and Wang, *Zhongguo gudai chatu shi*, 127.

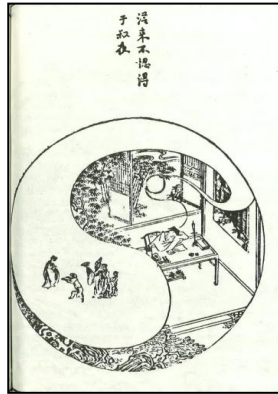


Fig 45. “Dream Scene,” from *Jianxiao ge chognding Xilou meng chuanqi* 劍嘯閣重訂西樓夢傳奇, woodblock illustration, moonlight pattern, Naixianju 耐閒居 edition, early Qing (1644-1911)

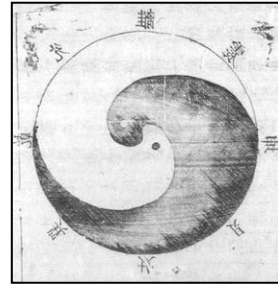


Fig 46. *Taiji* Chart 太極圖

The pictorial design of the dream illustration found in a Ming drama *Xilou meng* 西樓夢 (A Dream of the Western Tower) was even more creative in that the cloud frame forms a dynamic interaction between the dream and the reality. The white background together with the detailed dreaming scene build a vivid contrast that is typically seen in *Taiji* Chart 太極圖. According to the pictorial design, the dream represents the *yang* realm, whereas the reality is likened to the *yin* realm. Thus the illustration presents a process featured by interaction of a dream is born out of the reality and a factual world embodied in the dreamlike shape. Considering the genre of XXJ, the dream plot is rooted in the play, and thus carries a certain metadramatic potential, or the dream plot itself can be viewed as a play as well. The pattern of “the play within the play” might be seen in parallel with a pattern of “the picture within the picture” in the dream illustration. A multi-color woodblock leaf (Fig 47.) depicting a scene in XXJ found in the work by Min Qiji can

best illustrate this point. On the puppet stage, the girl servant Crimson is condemning the rascal Zheng Heng. Behind the screen stand three people: two are controlling the puppets and one is playing the musical instrument. On the left side wall hang four other puppet figures who all stare at the two main performative figures. They serve both as the figures in the play and the audiences of the play, a gesture that pushes the viewers of the illustration to reevaluate their own identities and roles they assume in reality.

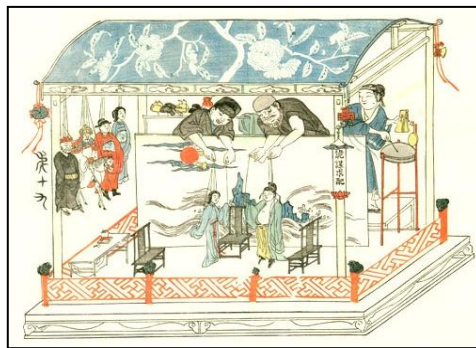


Fig 47. “Crimson Conversing with the Rascal Zheng Heng,” from XXJ, represented as a Marionette Theater, album leaf from a loose folio of twenty-one leaves, polychrome woodblock print, 25.5 ×32.2 cm, 1640, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne

As Richard Hornby pointed out:

Whenever the play within the play is used, it is both reflective and expressive of its society’s deep cynicism about life. when the prevalent view is that the world is in some way illusory or false, then the play within the play becomes a metaphor for life itself. The fact that the inner play is an obvious illusion reminds us that the play we are watching is also an illusion, despite its vividness and excitement; by extension, the world in which we live, which also seems to be so vivid, is in the end a sham. We watch a play, within which there is another play—ultimately, all is a play. In other words, the play within the play is projected onto life itself, and becomes a means for gauging it.³¹¹

³¹¹ Hornby, *Drama, Metadrama and Perception*, 45.

Dream plot pictures serves metaphorically to illustrate some changes in the status of woodblock illustration in later Ming period. From the following four examples, we discern that it is highly possible that the illustrators may draw mutual references. Fig 49 differs from the other two (Fig 50.³¹² and Fig 51.) whose graphic spheres occupy a whole sheet. The extended curves of the cloud bubble transcend the page frame and bring the space of the dream scene onto the following single half-folio. In late-Ming illustrated editions of XXJ, the “picture-above/text-below”³¹³ format ceased to exist as a dominant form. Though the illustration (Fig 48.) of Xu Wenchang 徐文長 edition took the form of “text-above/picture-below,” it did not fall strictly into that category for the textual lines arranged in the upper register were merely poems inscribed for the picture, rather than the dream scene’s verbal counterpart in the main text. Single pages of pictures were now dispersed throughout a book where they frequently interrupt the smooth reading of text. Interestingly enough, for illustration viewers, this situation could have the obverse effect. They might desire to appreciate an unbroken visual presentation of the successive scenes. Therefore, before or after every one or two acts, there was an illustration whose size grew increasingly larger, from taking up half-folio to occupying a whole leaf. Additionally, pictures in later periods were gradually assembled together as a set and moved to the book front³¹⁴.

³¹² In Jizhizhai edition, illustrations are as almost the same as those in Wenxiutang edition, except that each image is added with a framed caption in the upper register.

³¹³ Ancient Buddhist sutras printed images of Buddha on the upper register of a page, with sutra text at the bottom, and this convention has been passed on to Song dynasty. Zheng, *Zhongguo gudai banhua shiliu*, 10.

³¹⁴ Ma, “Fragmentation and Framing of the Text,” 58-9.



Fig 48. “A Startled Dream by Straw Bridge,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Xu Wenchang 徐文長 edition, Ming Chongzhen (1628-1644)



Fig 49. “A Startled Dream by Straw Bridge,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Wei Zhongxue edition, Ming, Chongzhen (1628-1644)



Fig 50. “A Startled Dream by Straw Bridge,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Jizhi studio 繼志齋 edition, 1598



Fig 51. “A Startled Dream by Straw Bridge,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Qifeng studio 起鳳館 edition, 1610

For a whole sheet of printed illustrations, such as Fig 50 and Fig 51, there could be two types of physical format. The two half-folio pictures can either appear on facing leaves or be folded with one on the recto side and the other one the verso side³¹⁵. Be that

³¹⁵ It involves the issue of the physical layout and bounding techniques. There were several styles, but the most common way that late Ming publishers would adopt was as follows: each sheet of paper was folded in half, and the printed sides faced one another. The workers then bounded the folded leaves by thread and made them into a book. The illustration was usually printed on two facing half-sheets, “one half of which was printed on the verso side of the preceding leaf and the other on the recto side of the succeeding leaf.” See Anne Burkus-Chasson, “Visual Hermeneutics and the Act of Turning the Leaf A

as it may, dream scenes in either form would dominate a single picture, and it is the cloud bubble that breaks through the limited sphere of a single picture and releases the illusion into a space which would be otherwise filled with words. Crossing over the boundary of a page is not limited, however, to a full page or a full leaf. Some dream-scene illustrations (Fig 52., 53., and 54.) found in Yuan dynasty *pinghua* 平話 story already demonstrate a dream cloud liberated from a single page, although displayed in the picture-above/text-below format. The crossover of the dream scene into an independent space may again metaphorically coincide with the dynamic text-picture interrelationship. From a single picture to multi-page sequence collected as a single set, an isolated space guarantees a unique experience in illustration connoisseurship.

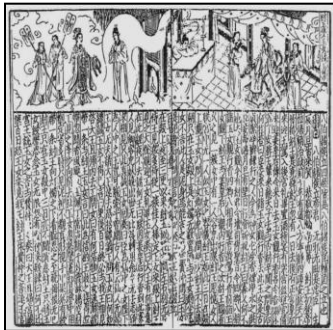


Fig 52. “Zhouwang meng yunü shou yudai” 紂王夢玉女授玉帶, from *Wuwang fa Zhou shu* 武王伐紂書, woodblock illustration, Yuan, Zhizhi (1321-1323), Jianan Yu family edition

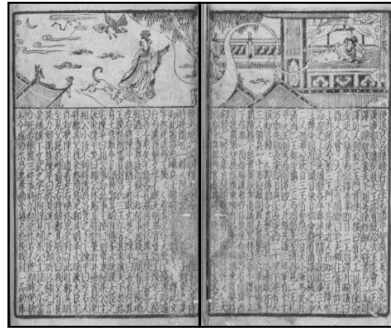


Fig 53. “Lühou meng yingxuan suoming” 呂後夢鷹犬索命, from *Qian Hanshu pinghua xuji* 前漢書平話續集, woodblock illustration Yuan, Zhizhi(1321-1323), Jianan Yu family edition

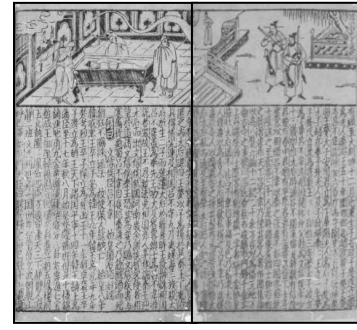


Fig 54. “Hanwang Huiwang hong” 韓王惠王薨, from *Qin bing liuguo pinghua* 秦併六國平話, woodblock illustration, Yuan, Zhizhi (1321-1323), Jianan Yu family edition

Genealogy of Liu Yuan’s *Lingyan ge*,” in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, 371-416. To enable a complete illustration to appear on two facing pages, instead of being divided between recto and verso requires the two halves of the picture to be carved on separate blocks, and this implies a close cooperation among illustrators, engravers and printing workers. See Wang, *Zhongguobanhuashi*, 82-83.

A well-known story or episode may grant very limited room that is allowed for verbal variation. Contrarily, pictures are more flexible as a vehicle to represent a motif, for it could display different stages of a narrative plot, but each representation is a motif-specific derivative in visual forms. The illustrators enjoyed much more freedom than text authors, editors and adaptors in presenting the same story. In various integrable formats, illustrators synchronized pictures with the texts, and guaranteed the graphic sphere an independent sense of artistic expression. Mountain and river paintings 山水畫 during late Ming significantly influenced both the artistic style and technical features embodied in the woodblock illustrations. It presents an onerious scene ostensibly lacks of human figures and thus seems less pertinent to the dream motif. Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (348-409) once remarked, quoted by Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (815-907), that “To paint human figures is the most difficult, and next the mountains and rivers” 畫人最難次山水.³¹⁶ It is not unsafe to assume that human figure³¹⁷ is indeed hard to be engraved on woodblock, not only for its delicate expression of costumes and gestures through refined lines, but also for its way to harmonize figures with either a civilized world or natural scenery. To reduce the scale of human figures in painting was also what the scholarly style painting 文人畫 during the Ming required. The close-ups of human figures in early times may have functions for religious sermon or moral education. Yet they were not favored by

³¹⁶ Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1964), 24.

³¹⁷ “Carve human figures before carving mountains and rivers” 先刻人來刻山水, and this is one of the rules carvers passed down from one generation to another. Wang, *Zhongguobanhuashi*, 91.

scholarly painters whose works were rich in symbolic meanings.³¹⁸ It is true that illustrators in early 17th century tended to seek inspiration from landscape-figure paintings, and a new mode, as Yao correctly asserted, an “obsession” with landscape,³¹⁹ soon dominated the field of woodblock imprints.

The dream plot picture (Fig 58.) in *Dong Jieyuan XXJ* offers a good example. Natural conditions dominate one single page: mountains occupy the upper register to form a distant background; thin curvy lines both at the mountain foot and around the rocks in the lower middle register signify the river border. A straw hut looming among exuberent trees is centered on part of a rocky peninsula, and a small bridge connects it to a plot of rocky land on the right. The bottom space, similar to the upper middle space, is left blank, suggesting a space of unfathomable waters. This scene ostensibly lacks of human figures and thus seems less pertinent to the dream plot. Yet however vague they are, the landscape distinguishes itself from a wild land by the inclusion of images never seen in a primitive realm: an inn and a bridge. To build an imprint of human construction in nature is another interpretation the illustrators offered in objectifying the illusory state of a dream. “Strawbridge” is the name of the hostel where the dreamer rests and images in pictorial space may provide a reason why “bridge” is associated with the hostel name, since no explanation is found in text. Strawbridge hostel is not only represented in the picture as the subject matter, but the actual site where the dream story occurred. The charming part of this illustration is that the coexistence of subject and site blur the line between reality and dream. Topographically, realistic background and dream site merge,

³¹⁸ Xu, *Mingdai julun yu hualun*, 305-306.

³¹⁹ Yao, “The Pleasure of Reading Drama,” 445.

and this invokes the need on the viewer's part to decide and separate what is real and what is dream—that is, it offers the possibility that both are real and illusory, confusing the normal cognitive spheres in which the mind operates.

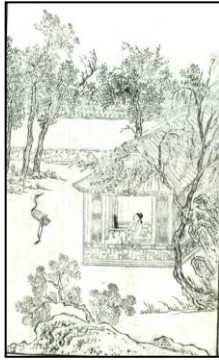


Fig 55. “Longing for love,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Ling Mengchu 凌濛初 edition, 1627



Fig 56. “Longing for love,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Xiangxue ju 香雪居 edition, 1614



Fig 57. “Longing for love,” from Zhuding 硃訂 XXJ, woodblock illustration, Ming Chongzhen (1628-1644)

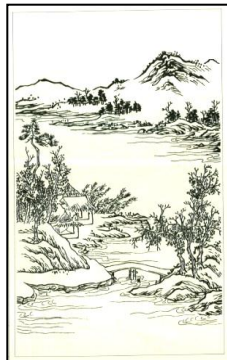


Fig 58. “Startled Dream,” from *Dong Jieyuan XXJ*, woodblock illustration, Ming, 1627

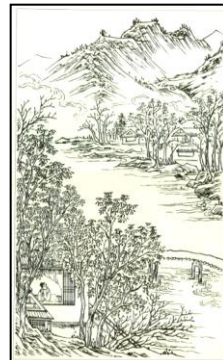


Fig 59. “Longing for love,” from *Pipa ji* 琵琶記, woodblock illustration, Ming, 1627

Yet human figure is the soul of illustration, and invigorates liveliness into an otherwise lifeless ambience. Equally, human figures add more dimensions to mountain and river paintings, placing a deeper layer on aesthetic value. In Fig 55, 56, and 57,³²⁰ what is in common is that the student Zhang can be located in a pavilion-shaped study, and the slightly slanted angle of his head shows he losses himself in the desire for Yingying’s love. Yet the study and the student were appropriated as the mirror image in a dream-like site found in *Pipa ji* 琵琶記 (Fig 59.), the students against different backgrounds, however small a proportion they appear compared with the landscape, form a dialogic relationship among these pitures, and intertextually allude to corresponding text in both XXJ and *Pipa ji*.

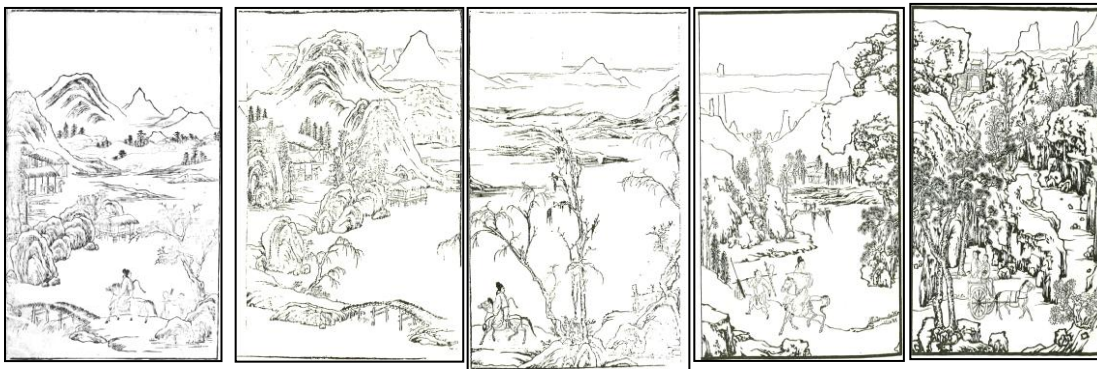


Fig 60. “Startled Dream,” from Zhuding XXJ, woodblock illustration, Ming Chongzhen (1628-1644)

Fig 61. (a) “Entering the Dream,” (b) “Farewell at Long Pavilion,” XXJ, woodblock illustration, Xiangxue ju edition, 1614

³²⁰ For more information on this edition, Chen, *Xiancun Ming kan Xixiang ji zonglu*, 238-241.

The dream illustration in Xiangxueju 香雪居 edition (Fig 61.(a)) is another example that falls into the tradition of landscape-figure paintings. It consists of two full pages which are heavily tinted with the elements of nature. The two-page sequence shares one caption “Entering dream” 入夢 printed at the left bottom edge on the second page. Examining carefully, the general layout of the images on the second page bears striking similarity with that in Fig 58. The half-folio on the right side, however, resembles a “visual prelude” to a following dream scene, or a continuum of the previous departure plot, “Changting songbie” 長亭送別 (Farewell at the Long Pavilion) (Fig 61.(b)), for Zhang turns his head toward the direction that he is coming from. This pictorial layout is more significant than that in Fig 60 in that the page edge clearly cuts the illustration leaf in half, and thus sets up a crafty but well-defined demarcation between reality and dream. This indirect yet perhaps more luring way to indicate a dream is innovative in that it embodies a double-edged tactic. Zhang is about to cross the boundary, and the following dream scene page can both be a site asking for future action or an illusive realm in which the dream dwells. In addition, the imaginative crossover action of Zhang must be associated with readers’s turning pages and the shift of eyesight across discrete spheres, either the two pages were printed on a facing surface or in the form of recto and verso sides. The absence of human figures in the dream-specific scene may urge readers to turn to imaginatively fulfill whatever their expectations might be for the next page. Naturally, only a unit of successive composition could ensure such reading experience. And this definitely requires more independent space.

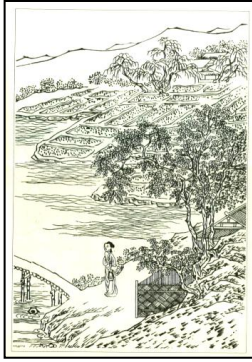


Fig 62. "Crossing a bridge," from *Pipa ji*, woodblock illustration, Ming, 1627

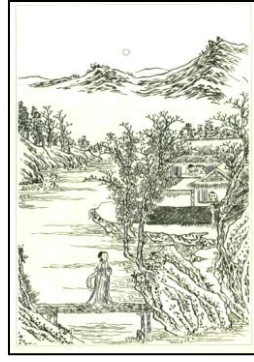


Fig 63. "Startled Dream," from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Ling Mengchu edition, 1627

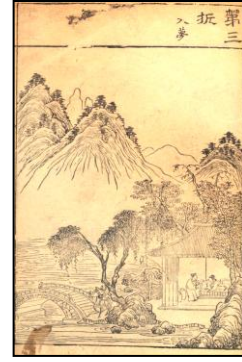


Fig 64. "Entering Dream," from *Handan ji*, woodblock illustration, Ming Wanli (1573-1620)

Another remarkable version is from Ling Mengchu edition. As was shown in Fig 63, it could be likened to a collage in which Fig 58, 62, and 64 were borrowed as the background, a student in Fig.3.61 was relocated from riding a horse to staying in the hostel, or was directly moved from Fig 61, and a femal figure from Fig 62 was transposed into a more complex realm with intertwined factual and fictional elements. This is, however, not an attempt to restore a process of pictorial compositon for the dream illustration in Ling's edition. Besides, it is equally meaningless and impossible to do so. What I am trying to pinpoint is how this picture of pastiche may enable the viewers to recollect their reading experience in the intextualized text community. And There are certain moments, while examining all these inter pictorialized illustrations, that viewers may not be sure as to whether read a pictorized text or a textualized picture. A visualized tangram appearing on the paper requires an exclusive experience of discrimination and appreciation, because illustration, in its least sense, motivates an evaluation between itself and an imaginative picture triggered by text reading. It is not surprising that this pattern

was so acknowledged that numerous versions during the Qing period, in either woodblock print or lithographic form, bothered no efforts and simply followed suit.

The blurring borderline between actual world and imaginary realm is significant in twofold levels. Initially, this pattern breaks the limitation of cloud frame to represent dream plot and merges the “external” and “internal” spaces into a holistic view register, so that the original dreaming scene as a background has been transformed from a site to a subject, with appropriation of natural scenery further enriching the aesthetic dimensions. Moreover, the graphic evolution may be analogous to what illustration means to text. Since there is no clear-cut way to distinguish a reading manner from the mutual influence between words and picture, it is not unreasonable to perceive text and illustration separately and independently. In a word, along with the disappearing cloud frame, the demarcation between reality and illusion vanished into a pictorial potpourri that invokes a unique experience of spectatorship.

In the eyes of the illustrators, Zhang is not an exclusive traveler, because the drama text actually informs Yingying also crosses the fact-and-fiction border, perhaps in a more apposite manner. After their departure, Zhang becomes a traveler facing an uncertain future. He aims to pass the exam in the capital but the journey is long. He rested in a halfway hostel and the narrative focus unexpectedly shifts to Yingying who runs after Zhang for she barely endures the lovesickness. The readers will have very few clue that it is actual a dream until Zhang is waken up with a start. This episode thus provides another perspective to visualize the dream plot on paper. The Tianzhang ge edition of XXJ boasts of its innovative set of illustrations that signals a new

development in woodblock illustration during the late Ming period.³²¹ Fig 65³²² catches a snapshot of Yingying’s chase after Zhang, and it juxtaposed the tangible words with an objectifying picture which may otherwise be nonsubstantial in the process of text reading. The inscription on the left half-folio shows how the image is related to the drama: “Fleeing through deserted faubourgs and open field, I could not control the beating of my heart” 走荒郊曠野把不住心嬌怯.³²³ This is the very first line from the first aria sang by Yingying after she began the journey after Zhang, a monment when text readers could not tell the reality from the fiction. Without the dream scene cloud, it is hard to know what kind of relam Yingying stepped in, and thus the line between reality and fiction is blurred once more.



Fig 65. “Startled Dream,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Tianzhang ge 天章閣 edition, 1640

³²¹ Hsiao Li-ling, “The Allusive Mode of Production: Text, Commentary, and Illustration in the Tanzhang ge Edition of *Xixiang ji*,” in *Reading China: Fiction, History and the Dynamics of Discourse*, ed., Daria Berg (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 37; also see, “Reading the Illustrator’s Reading of the Tianzhang Ge Edition of *Xixiang ji*,” in *Studies of Publishing Culture in East Asia: Kohaku*, edited by Akira Isobe (Tokyo: Jisen shokan, 2004), 137-151.

³²² The XXJ of Zhenya tang 振雅堂 edition in 1708 incorporated the same set of illustrations.

³²³ West and Idema, *The Story of the Western Wing*, 247.

The dream plot illustration from 1499 edition of XXJ embodies most features that the above discussed versions of dream picture possess, and it thus provides an exemplar through which the main issues discussed in this paper could be better displayed. The fully illustrated drama boasts of 150 illustrations with 150 captions appearing inside the right edge of each, and the measurement for each picture differs greatly, arranging from one to eight half-folios.³²⁴ Four illustrations were employed to represent the dream plot on three sheets. If the last two illustrations were conjoined as Fig 66 (c), they, together with (a) and (b), display a set of three-scene sequence. The successive presentation not merely depicts the whole plot in an unbroken and detailed manner, but also reveals a certain pattern, in terms of pictorial composition, through which we may draw an analogous relevance that could metaphorically be applied to the connection between illustration and text in general.

The curvy contour frames a dream scene out of the dreaming scene in (a). It provides viewers an alternative perception to read the dream and dreaming scenes synchronically in visual form, and fashions “a picture within a picture” pattern that enriches dimensional beauty. The lady Yingying walks from the dream realm into “reality” and the dream cloud extends from one page to another so as to make crossover happen. It even goes to the extent that the dream scene itself, covering multi-page space, establishes an independent narrative or story unit. The juxtaposition of illustrations and texts actually draws a borderline between pictorial and textual spaces. Along with the

³²⁴ The illustrations are all in the form of “picture-above/text-below,” and there are 150 illustrations, 150 titles, 253 pages (half-folio), 95 single illustrations, 32 two-page illustrations, 10 three-page illustrations, 6 four-page illustrations, 3 five-page illustrations, 2 six-page illustrations, 1 seven-page illustration, and 1 eight-page illustration. Guo, *Zhongguo banhua shilüe*, 48.

evolution of the composition of serial images, an independent space is required for either a pictorial sequence or a group of thematically coherent pictures. It is not an unexpected result that pictures are bundled separately and attached before or after the text, and sometimes they are formed as a single volume among a set of works.

The difference between (b) and (c) is significant. Though the latter was joined by two illustrations, it shares an identical spatial arrangement with (b). Yingying shows twice as a figure in dream, but Zhang stands both in dream and reality, with the wall severing two realms. The implicit way that Zhang is crossing over the wall metonymically reveals a latent connection shared by two groups of binary elements: synchronized dream-and-dreaming scenes; pictorial-and-textual juxtaposition.

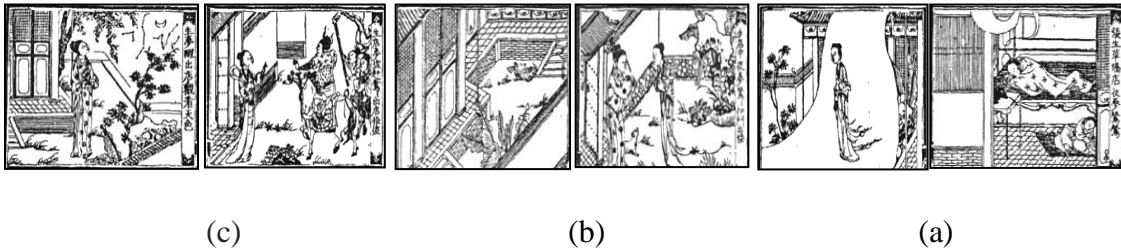


Fig 66. “A Startled Dream by Straw Bridge,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, 1499

If all these illustrations were combined, a panoramic presentation of dream plot would appear again in an artistic painting form of hand scroll. A sleeping Zhang starts the story and his head is turning to the same direction that both the dream cloud extends to and Yingying walks towards. An awake Zhang stands in reality, who faces the right side, looking up beyond the wall and into the sky, a gesture that invokes a melancholic reminiscence from his dream; more importantly, it seems that his eyesight has been cast

into Yingying in the dream cloud, the distance creates a tension that finally brings our attention focus to their meeting site again in the middle, a scene that both Zhang and Yingying break the limit of pictorial and textual space, cross over the temporal and topographical barrier, and transcend the boundary between dream and reality.

Crossing Boundaries

A popular subject matter in a certain period may prevail over the master designs represented in various forms of art. The following section will investigate the artistic representations of a clam-cloud image and another popular dream plot from *Mudan ting*, “Youyuan jingmeng.” The investigation will offer to display a sort of pastiche scenery in which allows a reader to travel and to see how a specific subject matter on the one hand maintains a dialogical relationship with different texts, and on the other hand crosses the boundaries of literary storylines as well as artistic media.

As we discussed previously, the illustrators of the multi-color print album published by Min Qiji creatively designed visual representations of the important scenes in XXJ. Its dream plot print (Fig 67.)³²⁵ is extremely noteworthy, for it differs from its woodblock predecessors in several ways. Firstly, the conventional dreaming site is replaced in favor of a more naturalistic rendering and the dreamer is no longer student Zhang but a slightly opened clam that occupies the lower register of the picture. This

³²⁵ For more details, see Chen Yan 陳研, “Shiqi zhong de caoqiao dian Decang *Xixiang ji* banhua di shiliu tu kao” 蜃氣中的草橋店德藏西廂記第十六圖考, *Garden of Beauty* 美苑, 2011 (01): 68-71, “Ruhuan ruzhen: Min Qiji kan *Huizhen tu* yanjiu” 如幻如真閔齊劄刊會真圖研究 (Ph.D. diss., China Academy of Art, 2014): 112-121.

unique treatment shows the illustrator might want to highlight cause for the dream symptom, since the image of an opened clam is traditionally taken as the symbol of separation or the longing for fulfillment of sensual desire.³²⁶ A cloud curve rises from within the clam and gradually extends to embrace the whole space of upper register. Inside the dream scene are small figures of Yingying, Zhang and few bandits, with wild tree branches on the left and several distant city towers sparsely appeared on the right corner. Viewers will also notice that surrounding the clam are ocean waves tinted unevenly with blue pigment, whereas the dream scene within the cloud is in sheer black ink. The color contrast signifies a clear demarcation between reality and dream, and further pushes us to ponder the definition of color itself: could or should the real world be more “colorful” than the illusory realm? Most importantly, this clam-cloud configuration is a representation of a mirage at sea, and it is indicative of evanescent nature of human life and ephemerality of the real.

Interestingly enough, a similar color print entitled “Clam Dreaming of a Kabuki Theater in Osaka,” (Fig 68.) was produced in Japan almost two hundred years later. A relatively larger clam with some seaweed underneath is located at the lower right corner of the page and the wavy background is substituted by a sandy beach. The dream cloud, flowing to the upper left corner, is rather pale and almost invisible without a careful sight. On first sight, one may easily assume that the Japanese print was highly possible one of the derivatives of Min’s work, considering the close interaction between Chinese and Japanese craftsmanship in the field of woodblock imprints during the 17th and 18th

³²⁶ For instance, “The clam breeds two pearls 蚌孕雙珠,” see Chapter 25 in Wen Kang 文康 (?), *Er nü yingxiong zhuan* 兒女英雄傳 (*Heroic Legend of Sons and Daughters*) (Taipei: Danyang wenhua gongsi, 2015), 149; also see the following discussion on clam illustration from Lin’er bao.

centuries. But it is hard to define a concrete relationship between these two colored prints, partly because coincidence often happens, and partly because they each may have its own lineage in the circulation system. Even if the subject matter of the latter was directly or indirectly borrowed from that of the former, the exotic theatre scene and the disappearance of the main figures from XXJ has made this seemingly adapted version less relevant to the startled dream plot. In addition, by putting it on the beach, the illustrator also may destroy the linguistic bond with “mirage.” Still, it is possible that this Japanese color print is one of the artistic derivatives from Min’s work.



Fig 67. “A Startled Dream by Straw Bridge,” album leaf from a loose folio of twenty-one leaves, polychrome woodblock print, sheet 25.5 × 32.2 cm, 1640, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne



Fig 68. “Clam Dreaming of a Kabuki Theater in Osaka,” published by Kataoka, color woodcut, 37.1 × 50.6 cm, ca. 1820–1840, Katherine Ball Collection

Some scholars even assumed that an Imari porcelain plate³²⁷ (Fig 69.) made in Japan during Edo period (1603-1867) may also have been directly influenced by Min’s work in terms of the pictorial composition. It employed the clam and cloud as its subject

³²⁷ During a period between the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century, Imari porcelains, though produced in the town of Arita, were exported to European countries extensively from the port of Imari, Saga. Hence, these Japanese wares were known as Imari porcelains. More details on relationship between Ming porcelains and Imari porcelains, see Zhu Peichu 朱培初, ed., *Ming Qing taoci he shijie wenhua de jiaoliu* 明清陶瓷和世界文化的交流 (Beijing: Qinggongye chubanshe, 1984), 143-145.

matter. What dominates the foreground is a clam with a cloud frame produced from within, and inside its frame are located ancient gate towers among mist. The background of the dream scene catches the viewers' eyes for its collage-like arrangement of colorful patterns and lines, a typical feature often seen in Imari porcelain. It is more likely that another blue underglaze porcelain plate (Fig 70.) made in the late Edo period share a similar master design. A remarkable feature is that the clams and waves are made in a relief type and this reminds of the embossed effect discussed previously in the *gonghua* printing technique. In addition, a residence scene appears in landscape in underglaze blue within the cloud curve, whereas the ocean background, as well as the clams, is all in white pigment. The fact that this allocation of color is complete opposite to the way displayed in Min's work may suggest a noticeable source relationship from Min's work. But it is equally reasonable that collective knowledge and memory on certain subject matter ensures a cultural continuity in the milieu of Japanese artistic tradition.

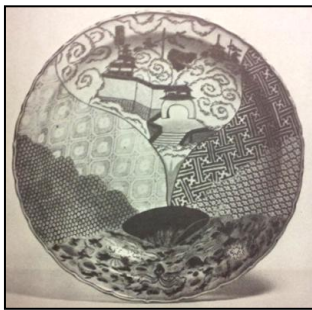


Fig 69. Imari color porcelain dish, photograph from *Hsi-hsiang chi, chinesische Farbholzschnitte von Min Ch'i-chi, 1640*, Köln: Museum für Ostasiat. Kunst d. Stadt Köln, 1977



Fig 70. Porcelain dish, underglazed, mould-made (hamp-moulded), glazed, made in Japan, Saga-ken, Arita (Hizen), 1780-1840 (late Edo), Diameter: 34.29 cm, British Museum

In 1781, a famous Japanese painter and illustrator Sekien Toriyama 鳥山石燕 (1712-1788) published his *Konjaku hyakki shū* 今昔百鬼拾遺 (A collection of hundreds of ghosts past and present), and the first picture of a clam image in the “Cloud” 雲 section³²⁸ shows a surprisingly similar pictorial composition with that in Fig 68. On the upper left coner, the lines from *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of grand hisotrian)³²⁹ read:

The mirages by the sea resemble towers and terraces; the clouds over the vast field form the palaces and cities. So the mirages and clouds symbolize those which mountains, rivers and people accumulate.
海旁蜃氣象樓台；廣野氣成宮闕，然雲氣各象其山川人民所聚積。



Fig 71. “Mirage Tower” 蜃氣樓, from “Cloud” 雲 section of *Konjaku hyakki shū* 今昔百鬼拾遺, painted by Sekien Toriyama 鳥山石燕, woodblock illustration, 1780

The inscription clearly shows that the illustrator must have been inspired by the words from Chinese ancient historical documents, or at least this illustration was created specifically to echo the text concerning “Mirrage Tower.” The juxtaposition of clams, conches and crabs on the beach also reminds the readers of the manifestations of one of

³²⁸ The other two sections are “Frog” 霧 and “Rain” 雨. For the clam picture, see Sekien Toriyama 鳥山石燕 (1712-1788), *Konjaku hyakki shū* 今昔百鬼拾遺, in *Toriyama Sekien Gazu hyakki yakō zen gashū* 鳥山石燕画図百鬼夜行全画集 (Tōkyō: Kadokawa shoten, 2005), 136-137.

³²⁹ Sima Qian, *Shi ji* 史記, vol. 27, 33b, Qianlong Wuying dian edition, facsimile.

the Eight Diagrams 八卦: *li* 離 (fire).³³⁰ Hence, this image from a Japanese context not merely associates itself with the Chinese textual community, but also situates itself in an interictorialized realm of woodblock illustrations. The assertion that the two Japanese woodblock imprints are direct derivatives from Min's work is as reasonable, and unreasonable, as that the two Japanese dishes are inspired exclusively by either of the imprints. Just as the collective knowledge and memory is built in an accumulative manner, a popular image appearing in a relatively matured form of art will also require a long process in which all relevant source materials are negotiated for selection and intertextualized for acceptance. And this can be a case applied to both textual and artistic production. In one word, tracing a source relationship is not as significant as revealing how a commonly employed image crosses the borders of genres, media and culture.

In China, we have no idea when the clam-image first appeared in a visualized form on what material and by who. But a section of a long handscroll ascribed by You Qiu 尤求 (active 1540-90) indicated that, at least to some painter-scholars, an opened clam with misty clouds suggested somewhat a transcendent atmosphere belonging to the immortal realm. As shown in Fig 72, this similar motif was actually arranged among other Buddhist Lohans. Atop a pile of frothy waves, a large clam stands, with a head of religious lad reaching out. He spits out a thread of cloud curve that embraces the distant tower and pagoda in the far end. Likewise, in an illustration attached to the entry "clam" in a Qing encyclopedia compiled by Chen Menglei 陳夢雷 (1650-1741), the motif (Fig 73.) appears one more time, and it illustrates specifically the concept of *shen* 蜃 (mirage).

³³⁰ "The manifestations of Fire are turtles, crabs, conches and clams" 离为鳖、蟹、赢、蚌. See Guo Yu 郭彥, ed., *Zhou Yi* 周易 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 327.



Fig 72. You Qiu (active 1540-90), *Lohans Crossing the Sea* 尤子求度海羅漢卷 (section), handscroll, ink on paper, 1587, 31.2 × 724 cm, Collection of Marilyn and Roy Papp



Fig 73. “Clam,” in Section of “Poultry and Worm,” *juan 156, Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成, woodblock illustration, 1728

Examples of woodblock illustration in vernacular literature are also located as expected. Fig 74 is from a 1661 comedy drama *Zhanggong mei* 長公妹 (Sister of Duke Elder) that has nothing to do with dream plot. Yet its subordinate picture in Moonlight Pattern bears obvious likeness to the image found in Min’s album. A fictional work entitled *Lin’er bao* 麟兒報 (The reward of a kylin child) published in 1672 is attached with eight whole sheets of illustrations. Likewise, the Moonlight-Pattern picture of a clam producing clouds on the verso follows the full page picture on the recto that illustrates the scene in chapter 1. It is interesting that the clam picture (Fig 75.) actually, albeit without the tower scene inside the cloud, corresponds with the plot of the following chapter whose title is: “Yingong huobao laobang shengzhu” 蔭功獲報老蚌生珠 (Efforts in accumulating hidden merits are paid off; the aged clam finally gives birth to a pearl). Here, the image clam might serve as a metaphor for both the old lady and the female sexual organ, an echo of some possible erotic implication in Min’s clam print. The above

investigated clam images travel across varied forms of art and they enable us to see a panoramic picture of transcendence, or interpictureoriality, which defies a tendency to perceive such pictorial resemblance as a simple mnemonic for textual narrative.



Fig 74. “Debate scene,” from *Changgong mei* 長公妹, woodblock illustration, 1661



Fig 75. Illustration of Chapter 1, from *Lin'er bao* 麟兒報, woodblock illustration, 1672

It is worthwhile to mention that the perfect combination of travel and dream narratives found its way in other popular storylines. In QTM, the student traveled around Hangzhou city and Qiantang River, and then dreamt about the romantic encountering at night. This narrative sequence reminds the readers of another famous dream plot from a late Ming romantic comedy written by Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (1550-1616). “Youyuan jingmeng” 遊園驚夢 (Garden roaming and startled dream) is one of the most popular episodes in drama *Mudan ting* 牡丹亭 (The peony pavilion). Examples discussed below all have relevance to this popular dream plot.³³¹ When the heroine Du Liniang was

³³¹ Guo Yingde 郭英德, “Mudan ting chuanqi xiancun Ming Qing banben xulu” 牡丹亭傳奇現存明清版本敘錄, *Xiqu yanjiu* 戲曲研究 71 (2006): 18-39.

startled from his dream, she recollected in detail her spiritual wondering experience, and this recount might best summarize the whole scene:

Ah Heaven, Bridal, what unsought fortune has befallen you today! Chancing to visit the garden behind the house, I found a hundred different flowers in bloom everywhere, and the beauty of the scene set my heart in turmoil. When my elation passed and I came back, I fell into a midday slumber here in my incense-laden chamber. Suddenly a most handsome and elegant youth appeared, of age just fit for the “capping ceremony” of the twentieth year. He had broken off a branch from a willow in the garden, and he smiled and said to me, “Lady, you are so deeply versed in works of literature, I should like you to compose a poem in honor of this willow branch.” I was on the point of replying when the thought came to me that I had never seen this man in my life before and did not even know his name. How should I so lightly enter into conversation with him? But just as this was in my mind he came close and began to speak fond words to me; then taking me in his arms he carried me to a spot beside the peony pavilion, beyond the railings lined with tree peonies, and there together we found the “joys of cloud and rain.” Passion was matched by passion, and indeed a thousand fond caresses, a million tendernesses passed between us. After our bliss was accomplished he led me back to where I had been sleeping, and many times said, “Rest now.” Then, just as I was about to see him off, suddenly my mother came into my room and woke me. Now perspiration chills all my body—it was no more than a “dream of Nanke, the human world in an anthill.”³³²

哎也，天那，今日杜麗娘有些僥幸也。偶到後花園中，百花開遍，睹景傷情。沒興而回，晝眠香閣。忽見一生，年可弱冠，豐姿俊研。於園中折得柳絲一枝，笑對奴家說：“姐姐既淹通書史，何不將柳枝題賞一篇？”那時待要應他一聲，心中自忖，素昧平生，不知名姓，何得輕與交言。正如此想間，只見那生向前說了幾句傷心話兒，將奴摟抱去牡丹亭畔，芍藥闌邊，共成雲雨之歡。兩情和合，真個是千般愛惜，萬種溫存。歡畢之時，又送我睡眠，幾聲“將息”。正待自送那生出門，忽值母親來到，喚醒將來。我一身冷汗，乃是南柯一夢。

This is an account of Du after the dream, an experience retrieved from memory.

For the readers, her summary seems redundant since the whole process had been displayed. However, it was not until the moment she started to recall the experience that

³³² Tang Xianzu, *Mudan ting* 牡丹亭 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1963), 46. For the English translation, I borrow the version rendered by Cyril Birch, see *The Peony Pavilion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 51-52.

the dream becomes intangible and illusory to her and the readers. To confirm the nature of the dream asks the mind to travel back to where the spiritual roaming initially sets off. And one decisive incentive of the dream is the garden roaming. The episode of daytime roaming in the garden abounds in Chinese vernacular literature. Tang was among those playwrights who frequently employed it. Except for “Startled Dream” of Scene 10, it is not difficult to find other similar versions throughout the whole play, such as the descriptions in “Xunmeng” 尋夢 (Pursuing the dream) of Scene 12 and “Shihua” 拾畫 (The portrait recovered) of Scene 24. In *Zixiao ji* 紫簫記 (The story of purple flute), one of the four dream dramas by Tang Xianzu, the similar motif is also seen in “Youxian” 遊仙 (Roaming immortal) of Scene 7 and “Shengyou” 勝遊 (joyful travel) of Scene 20. We must notice that the first line of the first song in this scene indicates the heroine is actually just woken from her dream: From dream returning, orioles coil their song through all the brilliant riot of the new season to listener tiny leaf-locked court” 夢回鶯囀，亂煞年光遍，人立小庭深院。³³³ From the very start of this scene, Tang situated the heroine in an ambiguous domain, for questions may be raised by readers while encountering this line: Should the roaming and dreaming parts coming after be both seen as a visual sequel of her previous dream? If so, should the roaming part be clearly demarcated as reality from illusion, or should it be regarded as a physical embodiment of a traveling mind in parallel with a roaming Du across two dreams? Therefore, this account in the mode of a play performed within a play grants the readers another perspective to view the roaming part in the mode of a dream set within a dream.

³³³ Birch, *The Peony Pavilion*, 42.

Needless to say, Du's dream is more alluring. On a textual level, Du's garden roaming may echo Sima's touristic experience before his dream, as well as Student Zhang's trip to the capital; the previous two dreams may have hinted, explicitly or implicitly, a love-making end, if they were not intercepted. But Tang chose to show the readers in detail the consummation of Du Liniang and Liu Mengmei. A famous Ming editor and publisher Zang Maoxun 臧懋循 (1550-1620) published with the help of his own printing house Diaochong Studio 雕蟲館 a revised version of Tang's *Mudan ting* in 1618. He illustrated this edition with thirty five pictures for the thirty five scenes adapted from the original fifty five scenes. It was such a pity that the illustrators did not leave their names. It is significant to point out that the title of the same scene had been changed from "jingmeng" 驚夢 (startled dream) to "youyuan" 遊園 (garden roaming) as seen in the upper register in Fig 76. This change questions us to ask to what extent the roaming part seemed more apposite than the dreaming part in Zang's consideration for a better acceptance by the targeted readership. As a result, Zang's changed title consciously or unconsciously interlocked both the travel and the dream narratives.

The role the Flower Spirit 花神 plays in the dream equally deserves our careful consideration. The original dramatic lines go as follows:

("Shantaohong") (Liu sings:): With the flowering of your beauty as the river of years rolls past, everywhere I have searched for your pining secluded in your chamber. Lady, come with me just over there where we can talk. (She gives him a shy smile, but refuses to move. He tries to draw her by the sleeve) Bridal (in a low voice): Where do you mean? Liu: There, just beyond this railing peony-lined against the mound of weathered Taihu rocks. Bridal (in a low voice): But, sir, what do you mean to do? Liu (also in a low voice): Open the fastening at your neck loose the girdle at your waist, while you screening your eyes with your sleeve, white teeth clenched on the fabric as if against pain, bear with me patiently a while then drift into gentle slumber. (Bridal turns away, blushing. Liu advances

to take her in his arms, but she resists him) Liu and Bridal: Somewhere at some past time you and I met. Now we behold each other in solemn awe but do not say in this lovely place we should meet and speak no word. (Liu exists, carrying off Bridal by force. Enter Flower Spirit in red cloak strewn with petals and ornamental headdress on his piled-up hair).³³⁴

【山桃紅】則為妳如花美眷，似水流年，是答兒閑尋遍。在幽閨自憐。小姐，和妳那答兒講話去。（旦作含笑不行）（生作牽衣介）（旦低問）那邊去？（生）轉過這芍藥欄前，緊靠著湖山石邊。（旦低問）秀才，去怎的？（生低答）和妳把領扣松，衣帶寬，袖梢兒搵著牙兒苦也，則待妳忍耐溫存一晌眠。（旦作羞）（生前抱）（旦推介）（合）是那處曾相見，相看儼然，早難道這好處相逢無一言？（生強抱旦下）（末扮花神束發冠，紅衣插花上）

The text tells the readers that the Flower Spirit appears after the lovers' dialogue exchange was completed of the two lovers and may serve as a harbinger for the following-up physical union of Du and Liu. One noticeable difference between Zang's illustration and the pattern on a porcelain dish (Fig 77.) is the employment of the Flower Spirit. From the dish pattern we can see, the Spirit riding on a cluster of clouds stays above the dream cloud in which the intimate couple is situated. This similarity in pictorial composition seen in both media demonstrates that woodblock prints may frequently provide master designs for various decorative arts during Ming and Qing periods and it also embodied a successful pictorial transfer across different media. What's more, the travel of the Spirit from text to the porcelain dish adds more dynamics in terms of connoisseurship. To juxtapose the dreamer in the background, the dream scene within the cloud curve, and the Spirit standing over a floating cloud, the illustrator effectively presented a chronological or a non-chronological sequence. To take the dreamer in the pavilion as a departure point, a viewing order can either be clockwise or

³³⁴ Ibid., 48.

counterclockwise, and it affects the possible ways that the dream cloud can be interpreted. A sight moving in a counterclockwise manner will have the pictorial layout perfectly match its textual counterpart discussed above: Du dreams about encountering Liu, and she conversed with the scholar and finally the Flower Spirit appeared; whereas a clockwise manner will also grant the viewers a perspective to imagine the dream cloud as moment coming after the appearance of the Spirit. In other words, the two lovers in the latter way of interpretation are no longer the conversing partners at this moment, but travelers who are moving to a place “beyond this railing peony-lined against the mound of weathered Taihu rocks.” And this dynamics allows more room for viewers’ imagination and, more importantly, galvanizes readers to collect their past reading experience of the following text. This dish pattern is significant in that it brings an indispensable dialogue between text and picture.



Fig 76. “Garden Roaming,” from *Xinbian xiuxiang Huanhun ji* 新編繡像還魂記, Diaochong guan 雕蟲館 edition, 1618



Fig 77. Porcelain dish, painted in enamel colors, Diameter: 26.7 cm, Jingdezhen (1680-1722), Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig 78. “Startled Dream,” from *Sheyin jiangulu* 審音鑒古錄 compiled by Qinyin weng 琴隱翁, woodblock illustration, 1834

The illustration attached to the same scene found in *Sheyin jiangu lu* 審音鑿古錄(Record for parsing notes and mirroring great performance)³³⁵ is another good case. This book was published as a dramatic miscellany that collects a number of popular single-scene dramatic texts in Kunqu 昆曲 genre is another similar case. The scenes selected from *XXJ*, *Mudan ting*, *Jingchai ji*, and *Pipa ji*, ect., documented many precious textual materials as well as a performance tradition in Qing. An even more amazing point in Fig 78 is that the caption of “but do not say in this lovely place we should meet and speak no word” 早難道這好處相逢無一言 is exactly the last line expressed by Du and Liu simultaneously right before the appearance of the Spirit. And this proved that the illustrator must have an excellent understanding of the original text.

A similar pictorial composition may or may not represent the same moment in the same dream plot. The captions on a frozen moment depicted by the picture can be different, and this reflects the illustrators or inscribers propounded their own point of view as to which line can best echo the moment in such a dream sequence. Fig 79 is impressive because the illustrator chose the blatant but true line to comment the love union in the dream: “bear with me patiently a while then drift into gentle slumber” 則待妳忍耐溫存一晌眠. It is impressive also because, unlike the layouts seen in other versions, the dreamer is situated in the garden rather than the pavilion or the chamber. In

³³⁵ Compiled by Qinyin weng 琴隱翁, and reprinted in Wang Qiujiia 王秋佳, comp., *Shanben xiqu congkan* 善本戲曲叢刊 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1987), 556-557. For discussion on Flower Spirit and stage performance, see Catherine Swatek, *Peony Pavilion Onstage: Four Centuries in the Career of a Chinese Drama* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002.) 110-111. Also see, Judith Zeitlin and Yuhang Li, eds., *Performing Images: Opera in Chinese Visual Culture* (Chicago, Illinois: Smart Museum of Art, 2014), 154-157.

so doing, the site where the dreamer roams and the site where the traveler dreams are merged together into a realm that intertwine both experience.



Fig 79. “Garden Roaming and Startled Dream,” from *Huanhunji chuanqi* 安雅堂本還魂記傳奇, woodblock illustration, Anya tang 安雅堂 edition, Ming, Chongzhen (1628-1644)



Fig 80. “Garden Roaming and Startled Dream,” Shilin jushi Preface Edition *Mudan ting huanhun ji* 石林居士序本牡丹亭還魂記, 1617

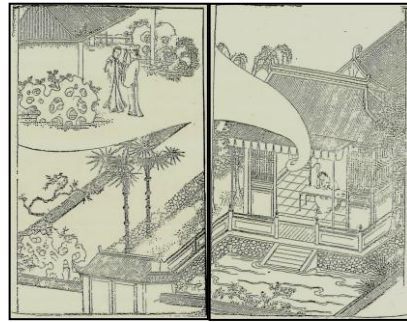


Fig 81. “Garden Roaming and Startled Dream,” carved by Liu Suming 劉素明, from *Mudan ting*, Wang Jizhong 王季重 edition, 1673

As mentioned before, illustrations in the later Ming period tended to take up the whole sheet. Undoubtedly, there are examples of dream plot in *Mudan ting* that fall

within this trend. The *Mudan ting* with the preface of “Shilin jushi” 石林居士 published in 1617 is a very popular and influential edition. Forty illustrations out of the hands of at least seven painters³³⁶ set up the exemplary style for later followers. For instance, the design of a two-page dream picture (Fig 81.) published in 1673 was obviously borrowed from that (Fig 80.) found in the 1617 edition of *Mudan ting*. Fig 82 and 83 are both one-leaf sequenced illustrations, but representation in the latter corresponds with the above discussed compositional pattern in which a dream plot can help achieve the transcendence across physical page limits, temporal and special barriers, and factual and fictional borders. An awaking Du Liliang is located in the pavilion at the lower corner on the right, whereas the intimate couple is seen without the cloud curve on the path among rocks. And the caption set in between purposefully illustrates the picture: “Through scudding of “clouds and rain” I had touched the borders of dream” 雨香雲片，才到夢兒邊.



Fig 82. “Garden Roaming and Startled Dream,” from *Quanxiang zhu Mudan ting* 全像注牡丹亭, woodblock illustration, Wenlin ge 文林閣 edition, Ming Wanli (1573-1619)



Fig 83. “Garden Roaming and Startled Dream,” from *Mudan ting*, woodblock illustration, Min Yuwu 閔遇五 edition, 1627

³³⁶ Zheng Tingting 鄭婷婷, “Shilin jushi xu ben Mudan ting huanhun ji banhua yanjiu” 石林居士序本牡丹亭還魂記版畫研究 (M.A. thesis, Taiwan Normal University, 2013).

Admittedly, from a Ming orthodox perspective, these romantic stories were sheer kitsch catering to the vulgar taste of commoners. Nonetheless, illustration as a medium demonstrates a sense of sympathy for young people in love, for they were confined by ideological judgment. To emphasize the importance of ethical discipline means to insinuate resistance and despise vicariously into an agent free of restraint.³³⁷ In this way, painters, illustrators, engravers, printers, publishers and readers collectively created and developed a vast pool in which the repressed gush of desire was able to be channeled. The diverse way of pictorial composition, and the regularized layout in motif weave a sense of “interpictoriality” into the brocade-like fabric of late Ming illustrations.

To express a motif in the similar vein is not always a sign of simplistic imitation, for it can also be emblematic of a well-established mode and an advanced development in a certain field, but it may not necessarily guarantee the same situation in another. Judging from the discussed intertextualized dream plots, a similar picture of a startled dream is naturally anticipated. But the examples below reveal something quite contrary to our expectation. A dreamer painted on a polychrome porcelain dish (Fig 84.) made in early Qing shared much likelihood with the figure on another dish (Fig 85.) of a later period. The three-character-caption recognized as “Liu Mengmei” 柳夢梅, the dream cloud curve, and the male figure holding a willow branch ascertains that this is the dream motif from *Mudan ting*. It is unique in that the dreamer has never been depicted in such a close-

³³⁷ Wang, *Zhongguobanhuashi*, 75. “Every set of illustrations may be considered as conveying the illustrator's response to the original text, just as the commentary embodies commentator's opinion towards it. From this view point, the illustrator plays the role of a reader from his time.” Ma, “Fragmentation and Framing of the Text,” 21.

up manner. The backgrounds in the dream cloud and the reality are both blank. Du rests herself on the table upon which a bookcase and a vase are placed and dreams that she falls in love with a young scholar encountered. Du's gesture, together with the shape of the medium, may be somehow reminiscent of a typical scene that a refined Chinese lady takes a close look of herself in a mirror placed on the chamber table. This visual association reasonably pushes the viewers to ponder over the difference between reality and illusion.



Fig 84. Porcelain dish, in underglazed blue, Diameter: 16 cm, Qing Shunzhi (1644-1661), Sir Michael Butler Collection



Fig 85. Porcelain dish, in underglazed blue, Diameter: 28 cm, Qing Kangxi (1662-1674), Sir Michael Butler Collection

In early period of Qing dynasty, when control on the themes of vernacular literature was not strict, motifs related to women's romantic fancy and desire for unrestrained love can be widely seen on decorative media. The lady depicted on the other porcelain dish showcases a similar mirror image of a dreaming Du, though in a relatively small scale and with a more complex background. Behind the screen is a traditional balustrade with some traces of clouds above. The disappearing of the dream cloud leaves few definite clues for identification of its narrative source. But this graceful lady, sitting

in front of a blank screen and whose posture resembling exactly that of Du on the former dish, cannot but express a message that she is likely in the state of melancholic lovesickness. Both ladies appearing on the dishes are wandering with their spirit, but one is in a dream, and the other in reality. The whole picture creates an atmosphere that recalls the lines of the last song by Du Liniang after the startled dream and possibly before another dream:

(“*Miandaxu*”:) Through scudding of “clouds and rain” I had touched the borders of dream, when the lady my mother called me, alas! and broke this slumber by window’s sunlit gauze. Now clammy cold a perspiration breaks, now heart numbs, footsteps falter, thought fails, hair slants awry, and whether to sit or stand is more than mind can decide—then let me sleep again.³³⁸

【綿搭絮】雨香雲片，纔到夢兒邊，無奈高堂喚醒，紗窗睡不便。潑新鮮冷汗粘煎。閃得俺似心悠步躡，意軟鬢偏。不爭多，費盡神情，坐起誰忺？則待去眠。

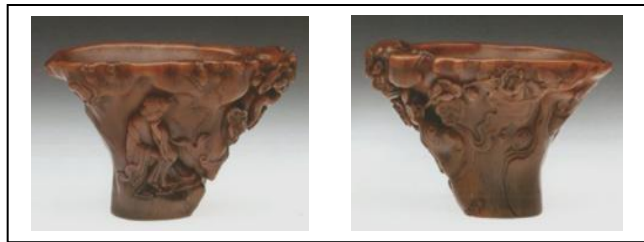


Fig 86. Rhinoceros Horn Cup, Height: 9.5 cm, ca. 17th century, The Field Museum, Chicago

This famous dreaming scene was even adopted to decorate a rhinoceros horn cup (Fig 86.).³³⁹ On one side of the cup, Du Liniang is seated herself in a garden scene, for trees and flowers can be seen around the figure. Her face rests upon the palm of her left hand while she is dreaming. The end of her wrap flows up to the direction that the dream

³³⁸ Birch, *The Peony Pavilion*, 52.

³³⁹ Zeitlin and Li, *Performing Images*, 154-155.

cloud is leading to. This design naturally arouses the curiosity of the viewers to rotate the cup and see the patterns on the opposite side. A tiny figure identifiable as Liu appears on top of the dream cloud extended from the reverse side. He holds a willow branch and his head is turning toward the where the cloud comes from. The way the designer chose to represent the dreamer and the dream on the recto and verso sides of the horn cup metaphorically alludes to the action of turning pages to see the dream illustration on a folded folio sheet. More significantly, it explains why a successful replication of a dramatic or fictional narrative in the artistic terms requires a perfect understanding of the original textual source. This cup, as well as the entertaining experience it may be associated with, serves to annotate more or less the connotation of the most famous song of the “Startled Dream” scene in *Mudan ting*:

(“*Zaoluopao*”): See how deepest purple, brightest scarlet open their beauty only to dry well crumbling. “Bright the morn, lovely the scene,” listless and lost the heart—where is the garden “gay with joyous cries”?³⁴⁰

【皂羅袍】原來姹紫嫣紅開遍，似這般都付與斷井頽垣。良辰美景奈何天，賞心樂事誰家院！

Roaming around the garden made the heroine lament about the passage of her prime youth. To dream about a fulfillment of both her physical and emotional desire is to some extent to escape from the unsatisfied state of being. Thus, dreaming by itself exceeds temporal and spacial limitations.³⁴¹ This pattern on the cup metaphorically draws an analogy between dreaming and drinking. Drinking oneself into an intoxicated state resembles an oneiric experience, and in the activity of drinking, the experience of the past

³⁴⁰ Birch, *The Peony Pavilion*, 43.

³⁴¹ For more discussion, see C.T. Hsia, “Time and the Human Condition in the Plays of T’ang Hsien-tsu,” in *C.T. Hsia on Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 102-132.

can be revived and literary and historical figures can also be resurrected to merge with the drinker per se. In conclusion, the memory of traveling and dreaming uniquely and pertinently resonates to living experience mostly true to human life. Hence, such motifs are more likely and desirable to be culturally recollected and reproduced, and their interrelation, interaction and influence are as might be expected to be felt over a considerable period of time.

Artistic Representations of QTM

The textual composition of QTM, as was analyzed in Chapter 2, showcases a medley of intertextualized texts, and the artistic representations of QTM story equally exhibit a variety of novel, if not innovative, creations. Let us continue with discussion on QTM woodblock illustrations. Besides the eight-page illustration in 1499 edition of XXJ, two more versions of QTM illustration on the dream scene are found in XXJ of Xiong Longfeng's edition and Liu Longtian's edition respectively. And the significance of this specific dream scene picture is amplified in its juxtaposition with other paratexts of XXJ.

Since we are aware of the fact that Lu Yulong was the engraver, highly possible the illustrator too, for both editions, it seems plausible to expect an extremely similar picture of the dream scene. This expectation is not unreasonable, because QTM as a paratext to a famous drama may not be as important as something deserving a new layout for its one-page illustration. What's more, the one-page picture (Fig 89.) for another paratext dream story entitled "Yuanlin wumeng" 園林午夢 (A noontime dream in the

garden grove)³⁴² that attached right after QTM in both editions is without a doubt an impression from the same woodblock. Nonetheless, a close comparison of both QTM illustrations will tell us some unexpected information.

In the earlier illustration (Fig 87.) found in Xiong's edition, a sleeping Sima You is lying on his back on the bed in the background. Su Xiaoxiao and his boy servant occupy the foreground. On the right, the boy is crouching beside an end table; on the left, Su appears in the cloud curve which very tightly circles around her figure, and she stands on her two feet, dressing like a graceful fine lady from a noble family. The visualized Su may disagree with the reading of the text, for the ghost apparition was originally said to be a low class prostitute. Additionally, between Su and the boy is another small end table upon which a candle stick and Sima's cap are placed. This unnecessary set, though it may well explain the dream occurs at night time, stays in the center of the foreground and naturally directs viewers focus from the main figures on the picture. And it also potentially occupies the space which may otherwise be allocated to the dream scene within the cloud. The result is that Su must stand in a limited space, numbly carrying the clappers without any lively gestures that could have shown the singing courtesan is not stand still. Most importantly, Su's eyesight seems to be casting upon the sleeping boy rather than the lying Sima. Hence, this picture, whose theme of a dream story is not impressive enough, makes us to wonder whether this initial design of Lu was out of a meticulous construction.

³⁴² Stephen West and Wilt Idema had translated the whole farce into English; see *The Story of the Western Wing*, 299-304.

Perhaps Lu himself was not satisfied with his initial took of the dream, and a much more delicate version (Fig 88.) therefore appeared in Liu's edition. In comparison, there are commonalities and differences. The general layout is the same and the couplet-like captions and a plaque surrounding both the dream and dreaming scenes are of no change.³⁴³ It is not unreasonable that, as Hsiao Li-ling claimed, they may derive from "Title/Name" 題目/正名 format typically seen after one act concludes in a drama.³⁴⁴ For a historical point of view, however, it is more that these synoptic lines illustrate the picture than that they remind the viewers of the text.³⁴⁵ Noticeably, the end table at the center is removed, and this allows more room for the dream scene in which a more vividly depicted Su can be seen. Instead of facing directly to the right, Su is positioned in a posture that she is going to leave on an opposite direction. Her hands hold both ends of the clappers and present them vertically to the viewers. The way that her left leg slightly raises makes Su tilt her head to the side of the sleeping Sima on bed. Moreover, the boy is sitting on a stool, bending over the table with his back toward Su; whereas Sima, lying on his side, rests his head on his wrist and faces squarely to Su in the cloud. As an effective reminder of a dream theme, the cloud curve is in the best place as to equally and clearly separate reality from illusion. Most significantly, Su Xiaoxiao in this later version is dressed more appositely to match her identity of an entertainer. This revisionist portrait may be indicative of Lu's ambiguous attitude toward a same female figure in popular

³⁴³ For comments on the carving style and its influence, see Zheng, *Zheng Zhenduo yishu kaogu wenji*, 57.

³⁴⁴ See more discussions in the third chapter of Hsiao's book.

³⁴⁵ The three-caption pattern has been carried on from illustrations found in Buddhist sutras since Tang dynasty. Guo, *Zhongguo banhua shilüe*, 51.

romance, and he took illustration as a visualized form of literary criticism to express his reading of a tension. The same ambiguity lies in a dispute between Yingying and Li Wa 李娃 from “Yuanlin wumeng.”



Fig 87. “QTM,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Xiong Longfeng 熊龍峰 edition, 1592



Fig 88. “QTM,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Liu Longtian edition, 1608



Fig 89. “Yuanlin wumeng” 園林午夢, from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Liu Longtian edition, 1608

Yulin wumeng is no doubt a textualized result of a reading experience involving intertextualized materials. Written before 1561 by a famous Ming scholar and dramatist Li Kaixian 李开先, this dream farce is about an argument between Cui Yingying from XXJ and Li Wa from a Tang tale. The “Tale of Li Wa” 李娃传 tells a romance of a courtesan Li Wa and a student called Zheng Yuanhe 郑元和, and it is a similar storyline in the eyes of the fisherman who read both stories before his dream. He thinks it is difficult to decide which one of the two heroines is nobler than the other. The fisherman then falls in sleep at noon in the Garden Grove. Both Cui and Li enter his dream and they, as well as their maids, brag about their own merits and denounce each other for their

disadvantages. The focal point of their quarrel is whether they, one as a graceful lady from a noble family, the other a low class prostitute, are of equal status. Finally the dreamer wakes up and realizes that all is but empty. The general pictorial layout of Fig 89 was obvious borrowed by the design of QTM illustration, except for the four female figures appearing in the foreground within the cloud curve. The image of fisherman as a dreamer in the story passes a clear message to the readers that this farce was informed and colored by heavy religious sense of reality and illusion. One of the author's disciples Cui Yuanji 崔元吉 (?) concluded that the story is "A deluded person recounts a previous dream" 癡人說前夢, and his commentary further discloses the profound religious implication:

A perfect man has no dreams and an upper person has no desires. He depends on his composure to exterminate anxieties. He gives up unnecessary to reach the realm of grand spectacle. That which is rich, noble, profitable and prosperous, and that which is related to words, speeches, essays, are all empty. People in the mundane world are deluded with shallow knowledge and false ideas, and they compete against each other to seize personal interests. This is analogous to a fight in a dream, and it is nothing but emptiness after awakening from the dream.³⁴⁶

夫無夢為至人，無慾為上人。以其靜定絕慮，豁達大觀，一切富貴利達，言語文章，皆歸於空。世人淺識妄念，挾私而爭爾我者，如夢中有爭，覺則一空而已。

Or could the story be a self-conscious recollection of the author's past experience?

Li Kaixian stated the following lines in the preface:

Thirty years ago, the people I met and the places I traveled in the daytime would find their way in my dream at night. Those I did not meet or experience would not enter my dream throughout the whole night. Thus I never had strange dreams, nor did I like to talk about dreams. Moreover, I did not even believe in dreams. In the following years, I grew old and my spirit turned unclear. After achieving the fame, I began to worry about gains and losses, [suffering from] delusion and over

³⁴⁶ Yu and Sun, *Lidai quhua huibian*, vol.1, 447.

anxiety. I went in and out of the cave of ants, wondering around the palaces of ants under locust trees.³⁴⁷ I hope to have the brush of five colors belonging to Jiang Yan (444-505),³⁴⁸ and desire for the nobility of Ding Gu (198-273),³⁴⁹ one of the Three Grand Dukes. Then strange dreams from time to time came to my pillow. It was both a double emptiness and an interpretation of a dream within a dream. It was not until I retired and lived among gardens and groves that I felt like awakening from the dream. My mind was settled and my spirit restored its clear state. A lively butterfly has turned into Zhuangzi³⁵⁰ and Duke Zhou³⁵¹ approaches Confucius no more.³⁵²

予三十以前，晝所接見人物，經遊境界，夜則夢之，非接見、經遊，通宵無入夢者，所以無異夢，且不喜談夢，兼不甚信夢云。嗣後年長而神不清，名成而心患得是，妄想過憂，出入虻蟬穴，而遨旋槐蟻宮，冀江淹五色之筆，而歆丁固三公之貴，異夢時時來枕上矣。兼有兩重虛而夢中說夢者。及退居園林，如夢覺來，心定而神復清，栩栩成莊，而周公不復親孔矣。”

Apparently, Li confirmed that the dreams that entered his sleep at night echoed his daytime experience. The realistic sense of life in his eyes is somewhat dreamlike illusion, and his spiritual tours around the “palaces of ants under locust trees” were actually “dreams within dreams.” This perspective once more corresponds with the metadramatic nature of a pattern for literary creation and has a profound impact on textual production and transmission.

³⁴⁷ This is from the story of *Nanke ji*, and more discussion will be in the following part.

³⁴⁸ See discussion in the concluding part of Chapter 4.

³⁴⁹ Ding was a higher official serving as a Situ 司徒 in Wu Kingdom during the Three Kingdoms Period (220-280).

³⁵⁰ It comes from the famous story of Zhuangzi dreaming about the butterfly in his dream.

³⁵¹ It is also a famous dream story of Confucius dreaming about Duke Zhou.

³⁵² Yu and Sun, *Lidai quhua huibian*, vol.1, 438-439.



Fig 90. “Sima You’s Dream of the Courtesan Su Xiaoxiao,” painted by Liu Yuan 劉元 (active early 13th century), handscroll, ink and color on silk, 29.2 × 73.6 cm, Jin, early 13th century, Cincinnati Museum

The earliest known extant art work on QTM is a painting (Fig 90.) ascribed to a Jin (1115-1234) scholar Liu Yuan 劉元 (active in 13th). According to Susan Bush, the painter Liu Yuan was presumably a court artist.³⁵³ From the right side of the painting, we can locate the dreaming Sima You sleeping in a chair on a veranda. Beside him are a candle stick indicating it is a night dream, a table on which four treasures of a study are placed, and a portion of a stone column. A female heroine figure on the left appears among a pile of mist that signifies the realm of a dream, and she is holding a singing clapper in her right hand while her sleeve-wrapped left hand is touching the lips. The ribbon is floating toward the student and this shows she is leaving in the opposite

³⁵³ Susan Bush, “Five Paintings of Animal Subjects or Narrative Themes and Their Relevance to Chin Culture,” in *China Under Jurchen Rule: Essays on Chin Intellectual and Cultural History*, Hoyt Tillman and Stephen West, eds., (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 196-199. For more discussion on this painting, see Sherman E. Lee, and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art under the Mongols: The Yüan Dynasty (1279-1368)* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1968), no.199; Wai-yee Li, “Dream Visions of Transcendence in Chinese Literature and Paintings,” *Asian Art* 4.3 (1990): 53-78; Ellen Avril, *Chinese Art in the Cincinnati Art Museum* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1997), no.28; Ni Yibin, “The Shunzhi Emperor and the Popularity of Scenes from the *Romance of the Western Wing* on Porcelain.” in *Shunzhi Porcelain: Treasures from an Unknown Reign, 1644-1661*, eds., Michael Butler, Julia B. Curtis, and Stephen Little, (VA: Art Services International, 2002), 68-81.

direction.³⁵⁴ The subject matter of a male scholar meeting a female apparition of the past, as Susan Bush asserted, is very rarely seen in painting.³⁵⁵ This may suggest, on the one hand, that QTM had been widely circulated among the literati class, and a shorter and cruder version of the story had also possibly been produced during the late Ming, or even earlier period. On the other hand, we are not sure whether such a romance would be an appropriate subject matter for court painting or not, although this painting suggests “the decline of simple moral values at the late Jurchen court and the corresponding rise of the influence of the Northern Song literati.”³⁵⁶ However, we could not be more certain that Liu Yuan’s contemporary artists and craftsmen must have employed the theme of this popular story for decorative art, and this can be further proved by the following porcelain pillow (Fig 91.).

The material of the pillow is an interesting topic. Before the discussion on the Cizhou porcelain wares, let us first turn to some textual records in a famous dream story. As was mentioned, *Handan ji* is one of the four famous dream dramas by Tang Xianzu. And pillow is an important image that the source text upon which Tang’s drama was based is known as “Zhenzhong ji” 枕中記 (A story inside a pillow). A story entitled “Baizhen huanmeng” 柏枕幻夢 (An illusory dream over a cedar pillow) from *You ming lu* 幽明錄 (Records of the hidden and the visible worlds) by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444) may exist as the earliest account of this storyline. To compare the texts concerning the

³⁵⁴ Ni, “The Shunzhi Emperor and the Popularity of Scenes from the *Romance of the Western Wing* on Porcelain,” 81.

³⁵⁵ Bush, “Five Paintings of Animal Subjects or Narrative Themes and Their Relevance to Chin Culture,” 197.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 199.

material that made the pillow from these works will exhibit an intriguing trajectory of textual collection:

The attendant of Jiaohu temple possessed a pillow made of cedar wood. After more than thirty years, there was a small crack hole appearing in the back of the pillow.³⁵⁷

焦湖廟祝有柏枕，三十余年，枕後一小坼孔。

There was a cedar, or jade, pillow in Jiaohu temple, and a crack was seen on the pillow.³⁵⁸

焦湖廟有一柏枕，或名玉枕，有小坼。

The pillow was made of blue porcelain, and there are two holes at both ends.³⁵⁹

其枕青瓷，而竅其兩端。

(*Lanhuamei*:) This pillow is not woven with rattan, or embroidered with brocade, nor is it chopped out of jade or carved out of fragrant wood in a graceful shape. Oh, it is of stainless porcelain manufactured in Cizhou! However, how can there be crack holes at both ends that bring light in?³⁶⁰

【懶畫眉】這枕呵。不是藤穿刺繡錦編牙，又沒甚玉切香雕體勢佳。呀，原來是磁州燒出的瑩無瑕。卻怎生兩頭漏出通明罅？

³⁵⁷ Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444), *Youming lu* 幽明錄 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1988), 4.

³⁵⁸ Yue Shi 樂史 (930-1007), comp., *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平環宇記, Jinling shuju edition, 1882, volume 126, 6a, facsimile.

³⁵⁹ Lu Xun, ed., *Tang Song chuanqi ji* 唐宋傳奇集 (Beijing: Lun Xun quanji chubanshe, 1941), 30.

³⁶⁰ Tang Xianzu, *Xinbian xiuxiang Huanhun ji*, ed. Zang Maoxun, late Ming, Shuye tang 書業堂 edition, 12a, facsimile.



Fig 91. Stoneware pillow, Cizhou ware, Length: 41.5 cm, Width 17.5 cm, Height: 14.5 cm, Jin (1115-1234), private collection



Fig 92. Stoneware pillow, Cizhou ware, painted with landscape cartouches, glazed, Length: 43.2 cm, Width: 17.2 cm, Height: 15.2 cm, (1279-1368), Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig 93. “Nanke Dream,” Stoneware pillow, Cizhou ware, Length 42.7 cm, Width 17.3 cm, Height: 16.6 cm, Jin (1115-1234), private collection

The above comparable materials are arranged in chronological order. The second entry is from *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平環宇記 (Accounts of the whole world in grand peace), and the source of account was acknowledged by the editor Yue Shi 樂史 (930-1007) as from both *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (In search of the supernatural) and *Youming lu*. Yue probably faced a problem that all other Ming and Qing editors also had to deal with: the uncertain and unsteady nature of text. From his account, or edited collection, of the original story, Yue had chosen an open strategy toward all other possibilities. Either in cedar or in jade, it was the readers’ choice to make for their own ideal version of the same story. This should be interpreted as signs of editorial influence over the production of textual meanings. By the same token, it is for sure that a survey like description of pillow in the fourth entry demonstrates the playwright was fairly familiar with all sorts of

source materials for his drama. Furthermore, the popularity of a work depends on to what extent it can arouse the collective memory of its own time, and the preference of the Cizhou porcelain must have something to do with real experience of the Jin commoners in ordinary life.

Porcelain wares manufactured in Cizhou enjoyed great popularity since Song dynasty. Considering the function a porcelain pillow and the possible wide acceptance of QTM during the Jin, it is easy to assume that the dream plot would naturally find its way on these wares. The decorative pattern appearing in Fig 91 has corresponded with so many elements found in QTM. On another pillow, the image of a sleeping student in the small hut is shown on the right, and unlike that found in the painting, Sima was bending over his desk by a long candle stick. Su Xiaoxiao, on the left, resembles very much the lady on the painting who is leaving amongst the cloud. The bracket-like decorative frame of the pictorial narrative is set within the rectangular frame of the pillow surface, and the lady in the cloud further enriches the depth of presentation with a three-layered feature. What separates them is a fenced collection of plants and rocks holding the central register. Here, we may think more about other possible positions of this collection which may be implicated with different meaning thereby. On another porcelain pillow (Fig 92.), a strikingly similar collection appearing on the left, the gate image on the right and the wall in the background collectively form a frame that confines the human activity in a limited space in the central foreground. The plants among the rocks may, in a general sense, stand for a symbolic sign of growth and life. It serves in the former pillow as a demarcation between dream and reality, and as part of a frame that regenerates human activities. Similarly, on a third pillow (Fig 93.) the image of trees once again functions to

sever two different states of being. Compared with the QTM pillow, the image of a sleeping scholar in the hut is preserved, but the central collection of rocks and plants is replaced with two tall locust trees. And two male official figures occupy the position on the left where Su is originally situated. The cloudy curve around the trees and the officials convinces us to believe the scene must come from a dream story. All these elements match greatly the plot of the drama *Nanke Ji* adapted from a Tang tale “Nanke taishou zhuan” 南柯太守傳 (An account of the Nanke prefect). In the dream, the prefect meets two officials and experiences vicissitudes of human life. He later wakes up and realizes all his encounters are in fact a tour around the ants’ cave under the locust trees.

This pillow pattern luckily finds its rejoinders in Ming and Qing periods. The patterns adorning two Qing ceramic dishes may inter pictorially correspond with that on the pillow. Fig 94 depicts an awakening male figure crouching in the foreground, and behind him is another male figure dressed in official robe. This second man seems to be the same person in the dream albeit without a cloud curve. Surrounding them are swarms of ants circling around the ant holes. The boy facing the crouching figure is perhaps a modified version of a monk who appears to enlighten the dreamer in the end of the drama. In the rim area, the same motif is displayed in four different versions. The illustrator put reality in parallel with the illusion by juxtaposing the same person twice in the center from different states of beings. The similar polarity in this dream story is noted creatively in another representation on a dish (Fig 95). The pictorial composition in the center reminds us of the *Taiji* pattern employed by woodblock illustrations on dream. The left half watery area, or the *yin* realm, may refer to the dream scene and the other half bright domain on the right, or the *yang* realm could denote the realistic land. A locus tree grows

from the land and reaches into the space of the water area. Underneath the tree sees a small upon which a small official figure is recognized. This may metaphorically illustrate his life in a dream is like a uncertain journey on water. The implication of a constant interlacing of illusion and reality lies in the symbolic position that the sleeping figure occupies in middle register: his physical body crosses over the dividing line between *yin* and *yang*, dream and reality.



Fig 94. Porcelain dish, in blue glaze, Diameter: 38.5 cm, 1675-1685, Groninger Museum



Fig 95. Porcelain dish, in blue glaze, Diameter: 20.7 cm, 1700-1785, Groninger Museum

We had revealed an interesting dialogical relationship between one dish decorated with *Mudan ting* dream and another one with a graceful day. By the same token, these two dishes whose patterns are highly likely relevant to *Nanke ji* are also speaking to each other. Considering the fact that popular motifs from vernacular literature were widely borrowed for decorative designs in late Ming and early Qing periods, a dialogue is expected likewise along the storyline of QTM in decorative art. And we are fortunate to have examples to substantiate this assumption. We are also fortunate to have captions as clues to trace the textual source of patterns found in the following two

porcelain dishes (Fig 96. and 97.). Two inscribed verses along the verge of the Ming dish one the left help identify the nature of the narrative for sure, because they are the lines of the opening poem from QTM:

A spring wind, one flagon of wine,
The night moon, three stanzas of the zither.
Rarely heard either present or past:
Try and listen to *A Dream by Qiantang River*.

春風酒一壺，夜月琴三弄。
今古罕曾聞，試聽錢塘夢。

As a rejoinder across the dynastic transition, the caption on the Qing dish is actually the last couplet taken from a stanza by Sima You to echo the singing lady's lyrics he retrieved from his dream memory. The final lines read as follows:

When the song ends,
The colorful clouds are nowhere to find.
When I wake up from the dream,
The bright moon rises over southern riverside.

歌罷彩雲無覓處，夢回明月生南浦。



Fig 96. “QTM,” porcelain dish, in blue glaze, Diameter: 33.3 cm, Ming, Chongzhen (1628-1644), Shanghai Museum



Fig 97. “QTM,” porcelain dish, in blue glaze, Diameter: 18 cm, Qing Shunzhi (1644-1661), Butler Family Collection

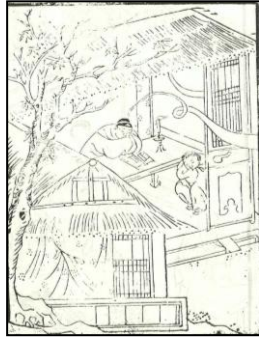


Fig 98. “A Startled Dream by Straw Bridge,” from XXJ, woodblock illustration, Shuye tang 書業堂 edition, 1791



Fig 99. “A Startled Dream at Starw Bridge,” painted by Qiu Ying (1494-1552), from *Qiu Wen hezhi Xixiang ji tuce* 仇文合製西廂記圖冊, 1933.

Although ceramic painters preferred to adopt narrative theme of popular dream stories and dream illustrations did abound in the repertoire of printed matters, none of the known woodblock imprints matches the designs of these two dishes. Here again, we are grappling with the same problem as in chapter two when we attempted to trace the original textual source for QTM. One possibility is that the graphic source of these designs was lost. And it is also convincing that they could be either the derivatives of a certain woodblock illustration relevant to XXJ dream plot, or a graphic collage created by combining all typical elements that customarily form a dreaming scene. If we compare the Ming dish and a later woodblock illustration (Fig 98.) on “Caoqiao jingmeng,” we will find several things in common: the shape of the thatch hut in which the scholar is bending over a table in sleep and the angle it is depicted to present to the viewers, the settings in detail on the table, and the tree and its branches on the left side of the hut, etc.

Commonalities also exist in the Qing dish and a painting³⁶¹ (Fig 99.) allegedly by Qiu Ying 仇英 (1494-1552) on XXJ dream plot. Except for the straw bridge on the very foreground of the painting and the figures in the dream cloud, these two graphic works look so much alike each other: the moon, the mountains, the shape of the hut roof, the shading of the leafy trees, the rocks, the sleeping position of the student, and even the donkey eating straws in the manger. The interestingly inter pictorial connection may mirror how a text can be remembered, adapted and appropriated. Therefore, to trace a source relationship among these examples is not so much significant as to see how they together built up an intertextualized and inter pictorialized community in which each and every one of them can be analyzed and evaluated in the dialogue with others.

Tapestry: A Literary Pastiche

The major concern of this chapter is the relationship between text and woodblock illustration. Through our investigation of travel and dream motifs in woodblock illustration in vernacular literature, I attempt to highlight the fact that illustration is not a category of graphic art of “an auxiliary kind,” and it does not exist merely for text accompanists or replica of famous painting.³⁶² To take illustrated XXJ editions as examples, the number of the set of illustrations varies from eight, twelve, thirteen, to

³⁶¹ Jiang Xingyu, “Qiu Wen hebi Xixiang Huizhen ji zhi quwen huihua yu shufa” 仇文合璧西廂會真記之曲文繪畫與書法, in *Xixiangji de wenxianxue yanjiu*, 340-350; Hsu Wen-chin, “A Study on the Representation of The Romance of the Western Chamber in Chinese Painting,” *Zhenli daxue renwen xuebao* 真理大學人文學報 3 (2005): 214-215.

³⁶² Zheng, *Zhongguo gudai banhua shilüe*, 1.

fourteen, none of which correspond to the customary textual breaks of the text into five books or twenty acts.³⁶³ But the prominence of pictorial similarities directed by intextualized travel and dream narratives has made it easy to ignore the fact of indigenous developments of woodblock illustration as an independent art. Therefore, I am not so much concerned with an inter-borrowing relationship in pictorial composition as with a border-crossing effect of interpictoriality seen in different stories, genres, and media. The interlacing of travel and dream discussed in a diversified representations helps depicts a collage picture of the time against which a unique trajectory of evolution of woodblock imprints can be better retrieved.

In addition, considering the format of dream-plot illustration, the conventionalized yet dynamic relationship between the actual scene of dreaming and the scenes that dreamt within the frame of the dream plot points to a metadramatic gesture in which a play is performed within a play. It also metaphorically demonstrates how illustrations might be relevant to their corresponding texts in various Chinese narrative and dramatic literature. Woodblock illustration possesses the narrative logic and rhetoric of visual criticism in their own right, both of which were drawn from and thus reflecting the cultural tradition of late imperial China. Along with the develepment of economy, socitey and consumption culture in the late Ming, woodblock illustrations existed as both an integral part of commercial products and independent category of art. The printed and illustrated texts of drama or fiction turn out to be not so much about a profitable commodity as a well-packaged cultural product in which literary and artistic

³⁶³ Ma, "Fragmentation and Framing of the Text," 85.

representation of romance, historical events, or ghost stories coexist in such a way that mutually increases both the narrative and visual intensity.

Moreover, the coexisting mode of text and illustration may be analogous to that of both the refined multi-color imprints catering to the elite connoisseurs and the less exquisite pictorial replicas as promotional device to attract middle brow book consumers. To put both type of printed matters into the context of print culture and book history, one is not more valuable than the other, partly because one can not be defined without the existence of the other, and partly because they are cross-referenced and mutually influenced. The inherent dialogical relationship between them contributes to enriching our knowledge of the overall situation of a printed world in late imperial period.

Interestingly enough, the whole process of woodblock illustration printing also mirrors metonymically the production of text in the late Ming featured by adaptation, appropriation and collection. According to Lu Xun, the development of woodblock illustration in Europe in its early phase witnessed a division of painters, engravers and printmakers. It was not until the late 19th century that quite a number of famous artists preferred to take the carving knives themselves, and engaged in the printing process.³⁶⁴ When a woodblock is engraved completely, ink will be brushed on the resulting raised wooden lines that carry the design. The next step is to place a paper on the woodblock and apply pressure to make an impression. To print is to create new textual and pictorial copies out of the old block copy carrying the original. To make intricate multi-color imprints is to present a synthetic work that requires a successive actions of printing for different colors on different parts of the whole. Likewise, to edit and collect literary

³⁶⁴ Lu, *Lu Xun quanji*, vol.8, 360.

texts requires preliminary selection of the source, meticulous revision, necessary reorganization of the materials, and purposeful augmentation of paratexts such as annotation and illustration. A successful and visionary publisher is usually an expert who assumes multiple identities of author, editor, and collector. Hence, a popular illustrated book as a commercial and cultural product in the late Ming and early Qing is no more than a result of an innovative rearrangement of old text and picture which signifying the specific editorial preference for certain targeted readership in the market.

The following example can best illustrate the point how significantly an artistic collage can recall and enrich our experience of reading the past, and at the same time affect our ways in interpreting the meanings of each parts in an intertextualized domain. There is a set of eight textile banners made in Qing dynasty. Each banner is woven into the silk *kesi* 縐絲 tapestry. On the obverse side, the upper section is outlined in the shape of an auspicious *ruyi* 如意. Within this cloud frame are the narrative scenes from *Shuihu zhuan*. Descending from the upper section is a rectangular field of decoration connecting to a vase shape section. The flowers that inserted in the vase are portrayed vividly against the dark background of the decoration field. On the neck of each vase is the attributes belonging to the Daoist Eight Immortals 八仙. Dramatic scenes from *XXJ* are depicted on the bellies of the vases. Running down from the well-patterned pedestal of the vessel are four streamers, each of which is sewn with auspicious plants and flowers. On the reverse side, everything shown within various shapes and frames is painted: different kinds of ornamental plants on the necks, scholarly or traveling figures in natural settings on the bellies, etc.



Fig 100. One of the Banners, Silk *kesi* tapestry, and painting in ink and colors on silk, dyed polychrome silk yarns and gold-wrapped yarns in weft-faced tabby-weave fabric utilizing the *kesi* tapestry technique to create representational patterns, tabby-weave openwork silk ground for painting, additional fabric of dyed blue silk yarns in a 4/1 satin weave, H: 107 cm, W: 36 cm (max), Qing, late 17th to early 18th century, Claudia Brown, *Weaving China's Past: The Amy S. Clague Collection of Chinese Textiles* (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 2000), 92-99.

One single banner alone (Fig 100.) will prove how such as kind of artistic collage is distinguish from other type of works. The fighting scene in the upper register reminds the viewers of the popular novel at that time; the dream scene on the vase belly not merely recalls a reading and visual memory from the story text and woodblock illustrations, but also resonates with the porcelain vase painted with the dream motif. The scroll and lotus flowers of Lan Caihe 藍采和 symbolizes the good wish and longing for longevity from a Daoist perspective. On its opposite side, a scholar sitting in the landscape is portrayed on the vase belly, which is a typical scholarly scene that naturally alludes to the illustrations with travel motifs. Therefore, it is a diversified collection of pictorial symbols from secular nature, literature, culture and tradition. All elements are

assembled harmoniously and assorted aesthetically to present a platform of decorative collage, through which all idiosyncratic features are interconnected in an intertextualized and interpicturezied community. In a sense, it is a piece of a tangled tapestry of memory woven with narrative threads spun from different stories, genres and traditions.

CHAPTER 4: A TEXTUAL COMMUNITY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

The Romance of Su Xiaoxiao and Sima You

A five-character poem entitled “A Song of Su Xiao from Qiantang” 錢塘蘇小歌 in *Yutai xinyong* 玉臺新詠 (New odes from a jade terrace), a collection of poems from Han 漢 (202 B.C.-220) to Southern Liang 南梁 (502-557), is the earliest known literary work that contains the name of Su Xiao:

I ride in a varnished carriage;
My love rides on a piebald horse.
Where do we knot our two hearts?
At West Mound, under the pine and cypress.³⁶⁵

妾乘油壁車，郎騎青驄馬。
何處結同心？西陵松柏下。

The whole poem starts with the character “*qie*” 妾 (concubine, or maid), a humble self-referential term for the female in a love relationship, and it grants the poem with a first person voice. But since no specific poet name was assigned, the meaning of the title can be interestingly twofold: it is either a song about Su Xiao, or a song by Su Xiao. The images of “varnished carriage” and “piebald horse” signify the touristic nature of the first couplet. The juxtaposition of “I” and “my love” on different transportation means is also paradoxical in that it may suggest a romantic encountering scene or a sorrowful departure moment. In either case, it is the motif of journey that collects the

³⁶⁵ Xu Ling 徐陵, ed., *Yutai xinyong jianzhu* 玉臺新詠箋注, eds. Wu Zhaoyi 吳兆宜 et al (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 486.

man and the woman. The second couplet seems to be a wish of Su Xiao for the future or her public statement of a past experience. From a certain angle, the simplicity and clarity of poetic lines ironically result in confusion in semantic meanings. Maybe that is where the appeal of this poem lies, because it allows for various interpretations of both Su Xiaoxiao and her stories. The collection editor or even the poem writer might not be able to anticipate how a female image with such a name would influentially galvanize ancient literati across the second half of pre-modern Chinese literary history to construct an extensive repertoire containing a variety of distinctive literary genres. Then several questions arise: Why does the story of QTM enjoy a timeless popularity? Is it because ancient literati's memories of traveling and reading tended to be reinforced each other in a dreamlike context? Will the imaginative construction of Su Xiaoxiao as a literary figure was conditioned by some factual elements? Could the historical accounts of Sima You in reality also depended on certain fictive information? What does it tell if both Su Xiaoxiao and Sima You appeared in either fictional or nonfictional stories? A text, in whatever ways it is organized, will produce meanings, but why is it necessary to retell a story that had been told repetitively before? Could the later adaptations be taken as a performance practice in which values of the past are recreated and rehearsed? QTM stories were mostly preserved in form of *biji*, and this literary genre profoundly influenced the text structure and meanings of QTM derivatives in later dynasties. Thus, *biji* provides an access route into the complicated subject of editorial convention of its time. The analysis of *biji* and its appropriation and clashing with other genres lays the groundwork for my discussion of QTM stories in a textual community in this chapter. Throughout my analysis, I will insist on the openness and contentiousness of cultural memory in its

inclusion of both fact and fiction. The travel- and dream- dependent experience is the symptom as well as the cause for an enlargement of a textual community around QTM storylines. In particular, my discussion aims to answer the following questions: What were the textual geographies of QTM stories in Ming and Qing? In what ways were QTM stories linked to specific local culture of West Lake and why? What gives a vernacular story the status as a transtextual origin for texts in diverse genres? What is the motivation behind the creation of QTM stories in the form of *biji*?

Su Xiaoxiao as a Literary Legend

Among the songs of the Wu area 吳歌 during Southern dynasty 南朝 (420-589) collected by Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (1041-1099), there are three out of seventeen “Winter Songs” 冬歌 from the “Midnight Songs of Four Seasons” 子夜四時歌 that deserve our attention:

Abyss ice is three feet thick;
White snow covers a thousand miles.
My heart is like the pine and cypress;
What will your love be like to me?³⁶⁶

淵冰厚三尺，素雪覆千里。
我心如松柏，君情復何似？

Where shall we knot our hearts?
At West Mount, under the pine and cypress.
Spacious and empty, without walls in four directions;
Severe frost freezes me to death.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (1041-1099), *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 648.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 649.

何處結同心，西陵柏樹下。
晃蕩無四壁，嚴霜凍殺我。

If indeed, you desire to tie the knots of golden orchid;
Let us but look at the pine and cypress forest.
Going through the frost, [the leaves] do not fall to the ground;
Even in cold time, their hearts will not become different.³⁶⁸

果欲結金蘭，但看松柏林。
經霜不墜地，歲寒無異心。

Reading these poetic lines, readers may naturally feel that it would not be inappropriate to assume “A Song of Su Xiao from Qiantang” was a close relative of the songs categorized in “Midnight Songs of Four Seasons” circulated around the same historical period that Su Xiaoxiao was supposed to live in. The images of winter “pines” and “cypresses” in all three songs were repetitively employed to symbolize the unchanging hearts of lovers. In addition, the first couplet of the second song is almost as the same as the second couplet of Su Xiaoxiao’s song, except one character. One of the arguments in later dynasties was that Su was living around West Lake because Xiling was a place located exactly in the area. Yet these three poems to some extent demonstrate that such a connection might not be plausible. Of course, there was also the possibility that some of the Midnight Songs were directly or indirectly derived from the original Su Xiaoxiao’s song which might be extremely popular at that time. I am not very much here interested in determining a source relation among these poems, and such an attempt is also meaningless considering the interborrowing nature among these early popular folk songs. But it is significant to situate Su’s song in an intertextual context through which

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

we can develop a clearer vision in understanding how certain fixed ingredients in reality had conditioned the literary construction of an imaginative figure. And it is through these ingredients that we are able to restore an internally dialogical relationship among these songs born into the same period and circulated in a textual community. Words build up a place in collective cultural memory, and such a place in memory breeds more words around it to come. Xiling surrounded by pines and cypresses is such a place that both confines and releases literati's imagination of Su Xiaoxiao. During both Tang and Song dynasties onward, works whose themes were around Hangzhou, West Lake and Su Xiaoxiao abounded in poetic literature, but only "Three songs about Su Xiaoxiao" 蘇小小歌三首 by Zhang Hu 張祜 (ca. 792-853) were directly responded to the original Su's song:

Carriage wheels cannot be covered;
 Horse hooves cannot be hindered.
 I constantly blame the crossroad;
 It sidetracked my love from undivided purpose.
 New acquaintances left, a thousand miles apart;
 Old friends came from a thousand miles afar.
 To place the scissors horizontally in my eyes,
 [I] come to realize the tear is hard to be cut off.
 Climbing mountains, [I] feel no worry if they are steep;
 Forging sea, [I] feel no worry if it is deep.
 To cut open the fruit from the jujube tree afront the hall,
 [I] will let you, my love, to see my red heart.³⁶⁹

車輪不可遮，馬足不可絆。
 長怨十字街，使郎心四散。
 新人千裏去，故人千裏來。
 剪刀橫眼底，方覺淚難裁。
 登山不愁峻，涉海不愁深。
 中擘庭前棗，教郎見赤心。

³⁶⁹ Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋, ed., *Quan Tang shi* 全唐诗 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 422-423.

Readers can easily tell its close relationship with Su's song from the first couplet, though the subjects were changed from travelers to transportation tools. The poet assumed the voice of Su Xiaoxiao in these three poems and complained about her love since departure. The image and implied meanings of the jujube tree seem to remind the readers of the pines and cypresses customarily appearing in the natural environment in which Su's songs were situated. But there was no inclination, at least in these poems that Su's story must occur around a place named Xiling or West Lake. But when it came to the Ming and Qing dynasties, Su Xiaoxiao from Southern Qi gradually became an ideal symbol of West Lake culture. The following song is called "A Song of Xiling" 西陵歌 collected in *Gu yan yuefu* 古豔樂府 (Ancient songs of amorousness) by a Qing scholar Yang Huai 楊淮 (?):

My love rides on a piebald horse;
 I ride in a varnished carriage.
 We encounter at West Mound road;
 Returning wind send back rosy clouds.
 His love cannot be gauged, thick or thin;
 My affection cannot be measured, shallow or deep.
 Our love can be likened to the water of West Lake;
 Under the pine and cypress, we knot our two hearts.³⁷⁰

郎乘青驄馬，妾乘油壁車。
 邂逅西陵路，回風送落霞。
 郎情無厚薄，妾情無淺深。
 有如西湖水，松柏結同心。

Apparently, this song is a version directly adapted or extended from Su's song. And it clearly sends the message that the potential roaming of the lovers ended up in a

³⁷⁰ Chongtianzi, *Xiyan congshu*, vol.1, 759-760.

romantic encounter. More significantly, the images of Xiling, pines and cypresses have been naturally associated with West Lake. Thus, Su Xiaoxiao has been growing into a mysterious charming figure in a West Lake dream from which ancient scholars were reluctant to be awakened.

Up to this date, there is no convincing evidence to prove that a Su Xiaoxiao as a historical figure in Southern Qi indeed existed. In fact, the guess that Su Xiaoxiao was not a real person in history is as good as the assumption that she did exist and the lack of biographical textual information could not stop literati and painters in various dynasties from imagining what this legendary and talented courtesan may look like. It is true that Su Xiaoxiao as a talented courtesan in Chinese literature appears to be more fictional than factual, but what cannot be denied is that poems inscribed on the portraits of Su Xiaoxiao were based on tangible paintings. The following four song lyrics or poems composed during Yuan dynasty were all about Su Xiaoxiao represented in a visualized form. In order, they are “Inscribed on Portrait of Su Xiaoxiao” 題蘇小小像 by Yun Haowen 元好問 (1190-1257), “Pusan man” 菩薩蠻: “Portrait of Su Xiaoxiao” 蘇小小像 by Shao Hengzhen 邵亨貞(1309-1401), “Inscribed on the Portrait of Su Xiaoxiao” 題蘇小小真 by Yu Kan 虞堪 (?) and “Inscribed on Portrait of Su Xiaoxiao” 題蘇小小像 by Yu Li 于立 (?):

Shades of Wutong trees, a side court, and a suitable clear day,
Entering and sitting there, the spring mountains are beautiful.
The portraits of beauties are left for whom?
They are all collected by famous painters and royal families during Xuanhe period.
After the orioles and swallows are flying apart,
Powder becomes pale and pear flowers turn slim.
Except for Su Xiao, [no one] is talented.

A tiger lily phoenix hairpin is inserted aslant.³⁷¹

桐陰別院宜清晝。入坐春山秀。
美人圖子阿誰留，都是宣和名筆內家收。
鶯鶯燕燕分飛後，粉淡梨花瘦。
只除蘇小不風流，倒插一枝萱草鳳釵頭。

Turning head in Qiantang, a chaotic spring;
Seen across lakes and mountains is still the golden and halcyon.
Where is your home?
[It is where] the wall is pink and poplars and willows are swinging.
A good period of time is hard to be anticipated,
The clapboards pass on the melody of the heart.
Casually wearing the daylily,³⁷²
[She must have felt] difficult to bear from within.³⁷³

錢唐回首春狼藉。湖山依舊橫金碧。
何處是兒家。粉牆楊柳斜。
佳期難暗卜。檀板傳心曲。
隨意帶宜男。就中應未堪。

Over the Qiantang River, the moon resembles the brows.
When poplars and willows send out new sprouts, it is the second month.
The appearance on the portrait is that of a beauty in her prime time.
In eastern wind, a song of a beautiful spring is played.³⁷⁴

錢唐江上月如眉，楊柳新生二月時。
貌得當年美人面，東風一曲麗春詞。

In flower palace, jade swallows trill the high spring;
Spring wind ruefully drives dream clouds away.
A dream of either anger or joy, the spring does not care.
Dew on tiger lily drops on the real pearl dress.
Night swallows warble outside the windows.

³⁷¹ Tang Guizhang, *Quan Jin Yuan ci* 全金元詞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 92.

³⁷² Traditionally, a pregnant woman wearing a daylily was thought to be lucky and delivering a boy. This plant also means to forget about worries and sorrows.

³⁷³ Tang, *Quan Jin Yuan ci*, 1104.

³⁷⁴ Yu Kan 虞堪 (?), *Guyi gao* 鼓柁稿, ed. Sun Yuxiu 孫毓修 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1925), 39b.

Halcyon silks condense into mist that chokes “Golden Threads.”
 Floating clouds kills Wu Mountain lady in jealousy.
 Yellow plum rain is on each and every banana leaf.³⁷⁵

花宮玉燕啼酣春，春風勞勞驅夢雲。
 夢嗔夢喜春不聞，紅萱露滴真珠裙。
 夜燕玎玲隔窗語，碧紗凝煙咽金縷。
 行雲妬殺巫山女，芭蕉葉葉黃梅雨。

It could be inferred that in Yuan or even in Song the legend of Su Xiaoxiao must have been fairly popular, for, as the Yuan Haowen’s lyric suggested, the portraits of Su were usually “collected by famous painters and royal families during Xuanhe period.” Noticeably, in the second and third examples the poets situated Su in a natural environment around West Lake, though the original background on the paintings might not necessarily be like so. What also deserves our attention is that the third and fourth couplets in the last example, in particular, “warble outside the windows,” “Golden Threads,” and “yellow plum rain,” recall the plot as well as the lyric “Butterflies Linger over Flowers” in QTM. It is unfortunate that none of the possible versions of Su’s single portrait is available today.



Fig 101. “Su Xiaoxiao,” from *Qianqiu jueyan tu* 千秋絕艷圖, handscroll, ink and color on silk, 29.5 × 667.5 cm, ca. 1368-1644, China History Museum



Fig 102. “Su Xiaoxiao,” from *Jiafuren li* 佳婦人例, handscroll, ink on paper, 27.0 × 651.7cm, ca.1368-1644, Waseda University

³⁷⁵ Gu Sili 顧嗣立 (1665-1722), *Yuan shi xuan* 元詩選 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 702.

The earliest known painting with specific inscription of the figure's name was assumed to be completed by Qiu Ying 仇英 (1494-1552) during Ming dynasty. China History Museum collects a hand scroll entitled *Qianqiu jueyan tu* 千秋絕艷圖 (A painting of matchless beauties of a thousand autumns)³⁷⁶, on which fifty nine famous beauties in Chinese history were depicted. There was also a poem inscribed for each after the figure's name. A similar hand scroll in traditional *baimiao* 白描 (fine line sketch) style was found in Japan. Though the sequence of beauties represented on the scroll is different, the number and pictorial layout of figures as well as the assigned poems are almost the same. Interestingly enough, at the end of the scroll, viewers can find the signature of the painter as Qiu Ying. On both paintings, Su Xiaoxiao was gracefully and exquisitely depicted with a scroll holding in her right hand, whose image recollects from the viewers' memories the “embodiment of the ideal woman, both beautiful and accomplished in the gentle arts of calligraphy, painting, poetry and music.”³⁷⁷ From a black and white master design

³⁷⁶ For more discussion on this handscroll, see Christine C.Y. Tan, “Chinese Print Culture and the Proliferation of ‘One Hundred Beauties’ Imagery,” in *Bridges to Heaven: Essays on East Asian Art in Honor of Professor Wen C. Fong*, eds. Jerome Silbergeld et al (Princeton, N.J. : P.Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Center for East Asian Art, Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University: Distributed by Princeton University Press, 2011), 813-26; Zhao Houjun 趙厚均, “Baimei xinyong tuzhuan kaolun—jian yu Liu Jingmin, Wang Yingzhi xiansheng shangque” 百美新詠圖傳考論—兼與劉精民王英志先生商榷, *Xueshu jie* 學術界, No.6 June (2010): 102-109. In late Qing, Dong Kang 董康 (1867-1947) collected eighty eight leaves of woodblock illustrations of *XXJ* from various Ming editions and published an independent album together with a Qing version of the drama text titled *Mao Xihe lunding Xixiang ji* 毛西河論定西廂記. The name of the album was exactly the same as that of this handscroll.

³⁷⁷ Claudia Brown, *Great Qing: Painting in China, 1644-1911* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 142.

to a colorful portrait, it requires layers of pigment to be applied in an accumulative manner. The same can be said in the textual community in which the image of Su Xiaoxiao was gradually developed and enriched in collective cultural memories. In the textual world, a *biji* entry with the title “Evidential Authentication of Su Xiaoxiao” 蘇小小考 collected in a Ming collection entitled *Qixiuleigao* 七修類稿 (Draft arranged in *seven categories*) by Lang Ying 郎鐸 (1487-1566) recorded the traces that best exhibit this similar process:

- There were two persons named Su Xiaoxiao, and they were all famous courtesans in Qiantang. One was in Southern Qi, and the annotation on the song titles from *Music Bureau* by Guo Maoqian has already clearly stated it. Hence, there were ancient poems, such as “The Song of Su Xiaoxiao,” and those composed by Bai Letian (772-846) and Liu Mengde (772-842). Su Xiaoxiao in the story of Sima Caizhong recorded in *Hearsay Accounts of Spring Islet* was also the one in Southern Qi. The other was in Song, and the story was seen in *Records of Wulin*. Since there were no printing blocks about this book and the story was rarely known to others, I record the story here so readers can read it clearly.
- Su Xiaoxiao was a famous courtesan in Qiantang. She was beautiful and good at writing poems. Her elder sister Su Pannu maintained a good and close relationship with Zhao Bumin, a student of the Grand Academy. After two years of cordial treatment, Bumin gradually became poor. But Pannu supported him so that he could concentrate on his study. Bumin finally moved to southern area and was appointed as an official in charge of the household issues in Xiangyang. Pannu was not able to go together with him, because she failed to remove her name from the prostitute registry. Three years passed since Bumin left to work for the government, and he died of lovesickness. There were a certain amount of income left, and he [before his death] ordered his younger brother Zhao Yuanpan to divide them into two parts: one for Panyuan himself, and the other for Pannu. And he also said, “Pannu has a younger sister called Xiaoxiao. She is pretty and graceful, and a good poem writer. You could manage to get there, and [she will be] a good spouse.” Yuanpan followed his words and arrived at Qiantang. One member of the same family served as the adjunct officer in Qiantang, and Yuanpan asked the officer to call Pannu to receive the money. The officer sent for her, but one servant arrived and said, “One month ago, Pannu was already dead because of illness. Xiaoxiao was put into prison for issue of official silk in Yuqian county.” The officer then brought Xiaoxiao out from prison and interrogated her, “As for the silk issue, you tricked the dealer, and got one hundred bolts of silk.

How are you able to compensate for that?” Xiaoxiao replied, “It has something to do with my dead sister Pannu, and I beg for your help. Not only will I thank you for your favor of saving my life, but also my sister will not forget your favor in the other world.” The officer felt pleased because of her respectful and submissive way of making a request, and he then asked, “Do you know the officer Zhao in charge of the household issues in Xiangyang?” Xiaoxiao answered, “My sister Pannu supported Zhao when he was not yet a governmental official. It was long after he passed the exam and was appointed by the government. Pannu suffered from lovesickness, so she fell ill and finally died of it.” The officer said, “Zhao also died, but he sent someone to give you one letter and some other stuff. His younger brother Yuanpan gave you another letter for you to read.” Xiaoxiao said to herself that she did not know who Yuanpan was, but she opened the envelope and there was only one poem: “The famous courtesan in the past Dongwu, [She] did not love pure gold, but was only fond of books. May I ask you, Su Xiaoxiao from Qiantang, whether your talent is as good as the senior Su or not?” Xiaoxiao kept silent. But the officer ordered her to write a poem to echo it. Xiaoxiao refused him, yet the officer urged her to do it, and threatened her with the crime of official silk issue. Xiaoxiao had no choice but chanted: “You went to Xiang River, and I live in Wu. A heartless person sent a letter with affection. If you came for a visit previously, Could there still be an issue of silk in Yuqian county?” The officer was delighted, and completely gave her all the money he was entrusted. He influentially made the decision and ordered Xiaoxiao to go with Panyuan so as to grow old together with him.

- According to this story, it could be known from the evidence which stated Grand Academy, Qiantang, and the poem with a line “as good as senior Su or not.” In addition, Yuan Yishan wrote a lyric poem in the tune of “Yumeiren”: “Shades of locust trees, a side court, and a suitable clear day. A beauty sitting there, the spring wind is beautiful. The portraits of beauties are left for whom? They are all collected by famous painters and royal families during Xuanhe period. After the orioles and swallows are flying apart, powder becomes pale and pear flowers turn slim. Except for Su Xiao, [no one] is talented. A tiger lily phoenix hairpin is inserted aslant.” This Su Xiaoxiao must be the one in Zhao’s story, since the lyric poem mentioned “after the orioles and swallows flying apart”. And people now only know it refers to Su Xiaoxiao, yet have no idea about her living period. Several accounts were recorded in *Respite from Plowing* so as to prove Su was a poet in Southern Qi, but the author did not know there was another Su Xiaoxiao in Song, and that is the reason for the inclusion of “Yumeiren” here. In another version of the story, Xiaoxiao was mistakenly regarded as Xiaojuan, which was probably an error made by the scribe. Considering the poem by Su Xiaoxiao in the story, if it were Xiaojuan, the line would not meet the rhyme requirement. So why not change for another line? In addition, there was the evidence in “Yumeiren.”

- It was also recorded in *Hearsay Accounts of Spring Islet* that the tomb of Xiaoxiao was located behind the official residence of Qiantang County. Therefore, the ancient verse goes “Where do we knot our two hearts? At West Mound, under

the pine and cypress.” This is the tomb of Su Xiaoxiao in Southern Qi, and it is for sure around the Xiling Bridge on West Lake. So the story of varnished carriage and piebald house occurred around the lake. It could be wrong to argue that the tomb is located by the river, only with the poetic line “I originally live on the Qiantang River” found in Caizhong’s dream story. The poem “Su Xiaoxiao’s Tomb” by a Yuan poet Zhang Yuanbi reads, “The fragrant bones were buried in front of the county residence. The phantom and dream around Xiling blocks the wind and mist. Good flowers and good moon are there year after year. Tide falls and tide rises, and it is more pitiful.” Annotation: The tomb is in front of Jiaying county, and now the place is occupied by private residence. He said county residence, and also said Xiling. This is because he did not know it, so he expressed it in broad terms. It must be the tomb of Su Xiaoxiao in Song. Why is that? Zhao Bumin was from Wu and how could he not live in Jiaying? It could be known from the fact that Panyuan married Xiaoxiao and they grew old together. This error was brought by Guangbi who did not know there were two Su Xiaoxiao. I both identified Su Xiaoxiao as individuals and her tombs, in order to make up the deficiencies in *Respite from Plowing*.³⁷⁸

- 蘇小小有二人，皆錢塘名娼：一南齊人，郭茂倩所編《樂府解題》下已注明矣，故古辭有《蘇小小歌》，及白樂天、劉夢得詩稱之者；《春渚紀聞》所載司馬才仲事，並是南齊之蘇小小也。一是宋人，乃見於《武林紀事》，其書無刻板，其事隱微，今錄以明之。
- 蘇小小，錢塘名娼也，容色俊麗，頗工詩詞，其姊名盼奴，與太學生趙不敏相與甚洽，款遇二年。不敏日益貧，盼奴周給之，使篤於業，遂棲南省，得官授襄陽府司戶，盼奴未能落籍，不能偕行。不敏赴官三載，想念成疾而卒。有祿俸餘資，囑其弟趙院判分作二分，一以與弟，一命送盼奴。為言，“盼奴有妹小小，俊秀善吟，可謀致之，佳偶也。”院判如言至錢塘，有宗人為錢塘倅，托召盼奴領其物。倅為召之，有蒼頭至云：“盼奴於一月前已抱疾歿，小小亦為于潛縣官絹事系廳監。”倅遂呼小小出，詰之曰：“於潛官絹，汝誘商人一百疋，何以償之？”小小回復：“此亡姊盼奴之事，乞賜周旋，非惟小小感生成之恩，盼奴在泉下亦不忘也。”倅喜其言語婉順，因問：“汝識襄陽趙司戶耶？”小小曰：“趙司戶未仕之日，姊盼奴周給，後中科授官去久，盼奴想念，因是致疾不起而卒。”倅曰：“趙司戶亦謝世矣，遣人附一緘及餘物一罨外，有伊弟院判一緘付爾開之。”小小自謂不識院判何人，乃拆書，惟一詩曰：“昔時名妓鎮東吳，不戀黃金只好書；借問錢塘蘇小小；風流還似大蘇無？”小小默然。倅令和之，辭不能，倅強之，責以官絹罪名，不得已和云：“君往襄江妾住吳，無情人寄有情書；當年若也來相訪，還有於潛絹事無？”倅大喜，盡以所寄與之，力為作主，命小小歸院判，與偕老焉。

³⁷⁸ Lang Ying 郎鐸 (?), *Qixiu leigao* 七修類稿, ed. An Yue 安越 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1998), vol.1, 335-337.

• 據此，曰太學、曰錢塘，詩曰還“似大蘇無”，則可知矣。又有元遺山所作《虞美人》長短句云：“槐陰別院宜清晝，人坐春風秀，美人圖子阿誰留，都是宣和名筆內家收。鶯鶯燕燕分飛後，粉淡梨花瘦，只除蘇小不風流，斜插一枝萱草鳳釵頭。”此詞既說鶯鶯燕燕之後，此蓋是趙司戶小小也。今人止知是蘇小小，不知是何時人，《輟耕》既備載數事，辯以為南齊人矣，又不知有宋蘇小小，故覆載虞美人之詞也。一本小小又作小娟，蓋抄之者之誤，殊不觀所寄之詩，若是小娟則音拗矣，何不另換一句，況又有《虞美人》之詞可證。

• 《春諸紀聞》又載：小小之墓，在錢塘縣廡舍之後，故古辭有“何處結同心，西陵松樹下”之句。此則南齊小小之墓，必在西湖上西陵橋，故油壁車之事，俱在湖上，若以托才仲之夢有“妾本錢塘江上住”之句，即云在江幹，差矣。元人張元弼有《蘇小小墓》詩云：“香骨沉埋縣治前，西陵魂夢隔風煙；好花好月年年在，潮落潮生更可憐。”注：墳在嘉興縣前，今為民家所占。既曰縣治，又曰西陵，亦不知而渾言，此必宋小小墳耳。何也，趙不敏乃吳人，安知不住嘉興？院判既取小小，而終老可知矣。此特光弼不知有二而差言。予既辨其人，複辨其墓，以正《輟耕》之不足。

One of the most unique appeals of *biji* as a literary genre rests in the magnetic draw between readers and travel in a textual community. One effective means by which memory is transmitted is through narrative, because it “emphasizes the active, self-shaping quality of human thought” and “its power resides in its ability to create, form, refashion, and reclaim identity.”³⁷⁹ The trace of a textual biography around Su Xiaoxiao in *biji* narratives investigates both Su’s identity and the identities of the readers and authors alike. For readers, *biji* encourages a reflection of the self and the reading experience similar or different from their own, through the author’s own examination of themselves and the textual community including the memories and opinions that shaped it, and through the identification with the author as another reader who has both right and wrong opinions of fact and fiction. No wonder Claude Levi-

³⁷⁹ Jeanette Rodriguez and Ted Fortier, *Cultural Memory: Resistance, Faith and Identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 7.

Strauss likened a travel to a mirror, and stated that “when ... a human community which had believed itself to be complete and in its final form suddenly learned ... that it was not alone, that it was part of a greater whole, and that, in order to achieve self-knowledge, it must first of all contemplate its unrecognizable image in this mirror.”³⁸⁰ In this entry, the image of an imaginative Su Xiaoxiao allegedly living in Southern Qi could not be identified and confirmed if it were not examined in parallel with another Su Xiaoxiao in Song. And the realistic sense of a second Su Xiaoxiao’s image in history was equally depended on both its difference from and connection with a legendary courtesan probably derived from imagination. The mutual referential relation between fact and fiction typically finds its way in the collective construction of Su Xiaoxiao’s image in a textual community across ages. This can be metaphorically exemplified in two single portraits of Su Xiaoxiao painted in Qing dynasty. On both of these hand scrolls (Fig.4.3 and Fig.4.4), Su is shown sitting on a rock, with a melancholic and weary expression on her face. In light of the similarities in sitting posture, hair style, garment, and even the way her hands are holding each other, we may conclude that one of the two painters, Kang Tao 康濤 (?), a Hangzhou artist, and Luo Pin 羅聘 (1733-1799), one the “Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou” 揚州八怪, must have taken the other’s work as reference. It is also possible that they both referred to an earlier piece of art with similar designs. In either case, these two paintings do exist as mutual references to each other. Though the subjects they represent may be fictional, their physical presence provides factual materials that bear the memory of ancient literati’s encountering and remembering of a literary past.

³⁸⁰ Claude Levi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, trans. John and Doreen Weightman (New York: Penguin Book, 1992), 325-326.



Fig 103. “The Singer Su Xiaoxiao,” painted by Kang Tao 康濤 (?), hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper, 165.74 x 76.04 cm, 1746, Minneapolis Institute of Art



Fig 104. “A Painting of Su Xiaoxiao’s Portrait” by Luo Pin 羅聘 (1733-1799), hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 134.5×59.2 cm, Qing (1644-1911), Taipei National Palace Museum

Sima You as a Historical Figure

A legendary talented courtesan might be considered the most vivid or important part of a romance, but this alluring figure of Su Xiaoxiao seldom stands alone. Who is this scholar called Sima You in history then? Unfortunately, historical accounts of him were very rare. One of Sima’s contemporaries, a Song scholar name Ma Yongqing 馬永卿 (?), in his *biji* collection *Lan zhenzi* 懶真子 (A lazy immortal) preserved an account of

Sima You:

There is a “Nine-Dragon Temple” in Chengcheng county of Tongzhou, with yet only one concubine figure. The local people said, “[She is] the daughter of Feng Dao (882-954), the king of Ying.” Sima Caizhong from Xia county wrote a fun poem which reads, “I have already served ten masters; she is also a concubine to nine dragons.” Whenever passerby read it, they all laugh. Cizhong’s name is Yu, and his elder brother is Caishu whose name is You. They were grandnephews of Sima Guang (1019-1086), and scholars with heroic personalities. But they both

died before forty. Whenever Wenji mentioned this, he would definitely feel sorrowful.³⁸¹

同州澄城縣有“九龍廟”，然只一妃耳。土人云：“馮瀛王之女也。”夏縣司馬才仲戲題詩云：“身既事十主，女亦妃九龍。”過客讀之，無不一笑。才仲名棧，兄才叔名標，皆溫公之侄孫。豪傑之士，鹹未四十而卒。文季每言及之，必慘然也。

This anecdote at least tells the readers three pieces of biological information of Sima: he was from Xia county; he had an elder brother; they were grandnephews of Sima Guang and both died before forty. But the readers may equally feel confused that the names and literary names of the two brothers seem mismatched, because in early versions of QTM stories, as what will be discussed below, the literary name of Sima You is Caizhong. And it to some extent substantiated the assumption that Sima You and Sima Caizhong might not be the same person in history.³⁸² Be that as it may, in another *biji* collection *Pengfu bian* 捧腹編 (Collection of materials for laughter) published during the late Ming, the same account from *Lan zhenzi* was also incorporated by Xu Zichang 許自昌 (1578-1623) with an entry title “One Concubine to Nine Dragons” 女妃九龍³⁸³, but the last three sentences were deleted by the compiler for some reasons. And it pushed us the wonder what might be those particular reasons. Fortunately, another Song scholar Chao Gongwu 晁公武 (1105-1180) recorded more specifically the biological information on Sima brothers:

³⁸¹ Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhengli yanjiusuo 上海師範大學古籍整理研究所, eds., *Quan Song biji* 全宋筆記 (Zhengzhou Shi: Daxiang chubanshe, 2008), series 3, vol.6, 159.

³⁸² Hidetak Ōtsuka 大塚秀高, “From Dragon God to Water Spirit” 龍神から水仙へ, *Niho ajia kanqu Sōkangō* 日本アジア研究創刊號 1 (2004): 21.

³⁸³ Xu Zichang 許自昌 (1578-1623), *Pengfu bian* 捧腹編, 43b-44a, 1619 edition, facsimile.

▪ Sima Caizhong, [the author of] *Collection of Summer Sun*, 2 juan. The official of the dynasty, Sima You, whose literary name is Caizhong, is the grandnephew of Sima Guang. In early Yuanyou period, he, together with Wang Dang, attained the honor in the exam for the subject of “Worthiness and Uprightness.” He was appointed as the military officer of Qiantang and died there. He was fond of writing “Palace Poetry,” so it was said that he was possessed by ghosts.

▪ Sima Caishu, [the author of] *Collection of Leisure Hall*, 10 juan. The official of the dynasty, Sima Yu, whose literary name is Caishu, is the younger brother of Caizhong. He attained the honor of *Jinshi*, and also participated in the exam for the subject of “Worthiness and Uprightness,” but was not employed because of the partisan conflict. His poems were featured by a mildly erotic style, but a bit more elegant than the poems composed by his brother.³⁸⁴

▪ 司馬才仲《夏陽集》二卷，右皇朝司馬標，字才仲，溫公之侄孫。元佑初，與王當輩同中賢良科，調錢塘尉而卒。喜為宮體詩，故世傳其為鬼物所崇。

▪ 司馬才叔《逸堂集》十卷，右皇朝司馬棫，字才叔。才仲之弟也。登進士第。亦嘗應賢良，以黨錮不召。詩雖纖豔，比其兄稍莊雅。

It can be confirmed that Ma Yongqing did made a mistake in his recording of Sima brother’s names, and maybe that explained why Xu Zichang deleted the biological information. Yet the above quoted entries could hardly be as historically authentic as what they should be. For example, to what extent is the link between an inclination for writing “Palace Poetry” and spirit possession turning to be reasonable in the context of historical biography? What do the lines suggest when his death occurred after the official appointment in Qiantang? All these documentary lines in a *biji* form at the same time were tinted with fictional features and were completely open to imagination based on collective memories of a past. Perhaps no story could be more representative and influential than “Sima Caizhong encountered Su Xiao” 司馬才仲遇蘇小 in restoring a

³⁸⁴ Chao Gongwu 晁公武 (1105-1180), *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* 郡齋讀書志校證, ed. Sun Meng 孫猛 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe. 1990), vol.2, 1042-1043.

typical image of an ancient scholar like Sima You who existed in a composite of history and fiction:

Sima Caizhong, while in Luoyang, slept in the daytime, and he dreamed of a beautiful lady. Pulling the curtain, she sang, I originally live on Qiantang River. Flowers fall and then blossom; they do not mark how the flowing years pass. Swallows carry the spring colors away in their beaks. Outside the screen windows, there are several spatters of yellow plum rain. Caizhong loved the lyrics, and thus asked for its tune title. She said it was “Golden Thread,” and also said that they would meet each other in future on Qiantang River. He was later recommended by Mr. Dongpo to take a special exam and he achieved the degree. He was then appointed to be the assistant administrator of Hangzhou. Behind his residence located the grave of Su Xiaoxiao of the Tang. At that time, Qin Shaoyou (1049-1100) served as the military officer of Qiantang, and he completed the song: Inserted aslant, the rhino comb is half spewed from the clouds; the sandalwood boards are slightly struck. [She then] finishes singing the “Golden Threads.” When the dream is intercepted, the colorful clouds are nowhere to find. The night is cold, and the bright moon rises over spring riverside. In less than a year, Caizhong was ill, and his patterned boat was anchored at the river bay. The boatman suddenly saw Caizhong boarding the boat with a beautiful lady. He came forward to greet them, but a fire broke out at the rear end of the boat. He rushed to report it, only to find the family crying and lamenting [Caizhong’s death].³⁸⁵

司馬才仲初在洛下晝寢，夢一美姝牽帷而歌曰：“妾本錢塘江上住。花落花開，不管流年度。燕子銜將春色去，紗窗幾陣黃梅雨。”才仲愛其詞，因詢曲名，云是《黃金縷》，且曰後日相見於錢塘江上。及才仲以東坡先生薦，應制舉中等，遂為錢塘幕官，其廡舍後，唐蘇小墓在焉。時秦少章為錢塘尉，為續其詞後云：“斜插犀梳雲半吐。檀板輕籠，唱徹《黃金縷》。夢斷彩雲無覓處，夜涼明月生春渚。”不逾年而才仲得疾，所乘畫水輿舫泊河塘。柁工遽見才仲攜一麗人登舟，即前聲喏，繼而火起舟尾。倉忙走報，家已慟哭矣。

This story began with a daydream during a trip. Su Xiaoxiao’s, after singing the lyrics, predicted their future reunion around Qiantang River. Su Dongpo also appeared out of nowhere to recommend Sima who thereby passed the exam with an honor. When it came to the time that he moved to Qiantang, the official title was, however, found to be

³⁸⁵ He Yuan 何蓮 (1077-1145), *Chunzhu jiwen* 春渚紀聞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 102-103.

“assistant administrator,” quite different from that in Chao Gongwu’s account. Interestingly, the person who completed the lyric song in this account turned out to be Qian Shaozhang with a title of military officer of Qiantang. Obviously, a direct connection was built in the end between Sima’s death and his appointment in Qiantang. But was it a plot of imagination developed from the ambiguous messages in his biographical account? Or the interplay of fact and fiction in this story reconstructed an image of Sima and thus reshaped the collective memories of him in history. Admittedly, the “logic of the relentless either-or” played a decisive role in Sima’s choice “between this world and the dream world of Su Xiaoxiao.”³⁸⁶ Yet the same logic may not be applicable in our recognition of Sima You between history and imagination. “A Strange Dream by Qiantang River” 錢塘異夢 collected by a Song scholar Li Xianmin 李獻民 (?) in *Extensive Records of Cloud Studio* 雲齋廣錄 was another extended romantic story between Sima and Su based on the version of “Sima Caizhong encountered Su Xiao.”

The opening of the story is as follows:

A worthy and good scholar Sima You was originally from Xiatai of Shanzhou. Being knowledgeable and versatile, he was a great Confucian scholar of his time. His talent embodied in his loftiness was in particular extraordinary. In mid Yuanyou period, he participated in the exam for the subject of “Uprightness, Worthiness and Goodness,” in which he attained the third place.³⁸⁷

賢良司馬樵，陝州夏臺人也。好學博藝，為世巨儒，而飄逸之材尤為過人。元佑中，應方正賢良科，君以第三人過閣中第。

³⁸⁶ Li, “Dream Visions of Transcendence in Chinese Literature and Paintings,” 72.

³⁸⁷ Li Xianmin 李獻民 (?), *Yunzhai guanglu* 雲齋廣錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 44-6. Quite a number of brilliant stories had been collected by Li in 1111, many of which had been adapted into vernacular stories in Ming.

These lines involve details of Sima's life experience as a talent scholar.

According to historical recordings, it was true that Sima You took part in the exam for the subject of "Uprightness, Worthiness and Goodness." And this account also accurately corrected the error in Chao Gongwu's account that he passed the exam in 1091, or mid Yuanyou period, rather than early Yuanyou period. But there is also a mistake here in that Sima actually attained the fifth place instead of the third in the ninth month of that year.³⁸⁸ However historically wrong these *biji* stories might seem to be, it would not prevent the authors and readers from traveling in a textual community around Sima so as to reconstruct and remember his dreams. In order to further illustrate how travel and dream text is symbolically crucial to the understanding of *biji* features, we need to examine another similar account of "Su Xiao's Song 'Butterflies Linger with Flowers'" 蘇小歌蝶戀花 found in *Leishuo* 類說 (Categorized tales) by Zeng Zao 曾慥 (?). In this *biji* collection, Zeng incorporated "A Strange Dream by Qiantang River," but the difference is that he added the following lines at the end of the story:

His younger brother Yu, whose literary name was Caishu, also passed the exam and achieved an honor. Yu was good at writing articles and poems. A line from his poem that lamented his elder brother read, "The patterned boat sails southward and does not return," and it recorded the account of the patterned boat. The reason why Yu composed this poem was because he dreamed that he was talking with Caizhong during a banquet like before. After waking, [he] immediately composed the poem to write down his sorrow and depression.³⁸⁹

其弟棫，字才叔，亦登第。善屬文，長於詩，哭兄詩有云：畫舸南遊遂不歸，乃記畫船事也。此詩之作，因夢與才仲燕語如平生。既寤，遂賦詩以寫其悲悵之意。

³⁸⁸ Xu Song 徐松 (1781-1848), ed., *Song huiyao jiben* 宋會要輯本, ed. Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1964), vol.9, 4434-4436.

³⁸⁹ Zeng Zao 曾慥, *Leishuo* 類說 (Beijing: Wenxue guji kanxingshe, 1955), 584-585.

The story of Sima You and Su Xiaoxiao is romance occurred in the context of a dream. The ending that You traveled with Su on a boat to the water area defies a binary interpretation of either a factual account or a result of creative imagination. Right after the story of Sima You's dreamlike life journey, or his traveling experience in repeated dreams, the editor Zeng Zao mentioned You's younger brother, and it should be pointed out that among all other QTM stories this is the only one that recorded the information of both Sima brothers. The involvement of Sima Yu seemed to bring the readers back to reality from You's illusive realm of dreams. And the editor as well as the readers may easily assume the identity of Sima Yu as the commentator of the whole story. But Yu's appearance in turn reinforced a metadramatic sense in the representational mode of *biji* writing. Yu composed one poem in honor of his dead brother, yet what brought his poem into being was a dream he had about Sima You. Now the poem not merely stands for something that bears the memories of his past with his brother in a dream, but also serves as a trigger for a water journey of You and Xiaoxiao without return. Hence, within the dream of Yu, readers encounter the dream of You. It equally recalled our memories when we read previously that both Sima brothers died before forty. Is that historically true, or is that an account as imaginative as that found in Sima You's story? One thing for sure is that a haunting image of Su Xiaoxiao enriched the life of Sima brothers with both factual and fictional ingredients. After all, "there is no place that is not haunted by many different spirits hidden there in silence," because "haunted places are the only ones people can live in."³⁹⁰ Therefore, history is a place where human imagination haunts.

³⁹⁰ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 108.

A scholar named Feng Haisu 馮海粟 (ca.1275-1314) once wrote a Yuan song

“Early Summer in Qiantang” 錢塘初夏:

[I] personally lived around Qiantang River.
Sima You was not a local yokel.
“Golden Threads” is singing through floating years;
Several splatters of plum rain are on screen window.
Waking up from a dream, [I] do not see the rhino comb.
Swallows again carry spring in their beaks.
The place where moon wanes and flowers fall in mundane world,
Is the place where the fragrant soul of Xiaoxiao is broken.³⁹¹

錢塘江上親曾住，司馬標不是村父。
縷金衣唱徹流年，幾陣紗窗梅雨。
夢回時不見犀梳，燕子又銜春去。
便人間月缺花殘，是小小香魂斷處。

From a certain perspective, the song can be viewed as a parody of “Butterflies Linger over Flowers” in QTM. And this recollection of poet’s past experience living in Qiantang River pushes us to ponder another issue of whether the popular song lyric in QTM ought to be credited to Sima You. Generally speaking, for the newly constructed poetic lines inserted in a vernacular story, the author of the story should be regarded as the author of the poems or lyric songs, if no specific poets were ascribed.³⁹² Yet the difficulty in the case of QTM is that the lyric was co-authored by Su in dream and Sima in awaking state:

I, originally, live on Qiantang River.
Flowers fall and flowers bloom;
They do not mark how the years pass.
Swallows carry the spring color away in their beaks;

³⁹¹ Tang, *Quan Jin Yuan ci*, 922.

³⁹² Zhang Zhongmou 張仲謀, “Mingdai huaben xiaoshuo zhong de cizuo kaolun” 明代話本小說中的詞作考論, *Journal of Ming-Qing Fiction Studies* 明清小說研究 1 (2008): 214.

Outside silk screen windows, several spatters of yellow plum rain.

Inserted aslant, the rhino comb is half spewed from the clouds;
The sandalwood boards are slightly struck;
[She then] finishes singing the “Golden Threads.”
When the song ends, the colorful clouds are nowhere to find.
When I wake up from the dream,
The bright moon rises over southern riverside.

妾本錢塘江上住。花落花開，不記流年度。
燕子啣將春色去，紗窗幾陣黃梅雨。

斜插犀梳雲半吐，檀板輕敲，唱徹黃金縷。
歌罷彩雲無覓處，夢回明月生南浦。

The first stanza was written in the voice of Su Xiaoxiao, whereas the second stanza adopted a third person perspective. So who is the author then? Should the lyric song be ascribed to Su Xiaoxiao, Sima You, Qin Shaoyou, or a co-authorship? The uniqueness in the way that a lyric song was finished in and out of a dream by two or more persons challenges us to reexamine the concepts of authorship. In *Yuefu yaci shiyi* 樂府雅詞拾遺 (Additional materials to refined lyrics of Music Bureau), the same lyric was collected under the name of Sima Caizhong. But there were discernible changes: from “I” 妾 to “my home” 家在, from “slightly struck” 輕敲 to “vermillion lips” 朱唇, from “colorful clouds” 彩雲 to “floating clouds,” 行雲 and from “southern riverbank” 南浦 to “spring riverbank” 春浦.³⁹³ It is obvious from the context that the pronounced change of the subject in the beginning line was a rhetorical strategy designed to rearrange the whole song from a consistent perspective. Still, in *Lianzi ju cihua* 蓮子居詞話 (Notes on lyrics from lotus seeds studio), the records show that “Sima You and female ghost’s ‘Golden

³⁹³ Zeng Zao 曾慥, *Yuefu yaci shiyi* 樂府雅詞拾遺, *juan* 2, 13b, Qing edition, facsimile.

Threads” 宋司馬械女鬼黃金縷 was among those ancient lyrics that were regarded incomplete or unfinished.³⁹⁴ At any rate, ancient scholars as readers in the past expected for a sense of completeness, because the tension between the sudden disappearance of Su Xiaoxiao in the dream and the uncertain authorship of the lyric asks for the returning of a haunted soul, so that a dream that travels across temporal and spacial limitations could continue.

Return of a Haunted Soul around West Lake

As Robert Harrison pointed out, “When we build something in nature...we create the rudiments of a world and thereby give a sign of our mortal sojourn on the earth.”³⁹⁵

There is no concrete record to show when the tomb of Su Xiaoxiao was constructed by the West Lake. Yet this burial site, authentic or not, functions as a memory trigger, and as something tangible and traceable of a legendary courtesan’s life. The sign of mortality on earth in turn results in a possibility of eternity in memory and imagination. At least, around the same lake area where Sima dreamed of Su Xiao, stories of travel and dream must go on. An account of “Poems by a Planchette Immortal” 箕仙詩 in a *biji* collection is typical case in point:

In early Hongzhi period, Duke Yu Jingzhan, the capital administrative officer, returned to Hangzhou after resigning office from the southern capital Nanjing. He who was fond of chanting poems gave himself a title as “The Returning Old Man of South Lake.” One day, he went to visit the tomb of his father, the Grand Tutor,

³⁹⁴ Tang, *Cihua congbian*, vol.3, 2419.

³⁹⁵ Harrison, *The Dominion of the Dead*, 17.

Duke Sumin,³⁹⁶ and he invited my teacher Mr. Ma Hechuang to go together. They set off on a boat from Yongjin Gate and moored under the third bridge. The duke said, “It was twenty years ago when I visited West Lake last time. The mountains and rivers are still like they were before. The scenery is no difference. You should compose one poem, and I will echo you with another one.” It was mid September, and Hechuang immediately composed one poem in the tonal pattern and rhyme of Tang poetry: “[I] come to the lake on patterned boat in autumn wind. Water is inclusive, sky is halcyon, and it is clean without dust. One pair of mandarin ducks suddenly flying downward. One thousand lotus flowers blossom one another. The bird resembles the colorful phoenix that peeps into the precious mirror. The flowers look like fairy lady stepping on jade terrace. The scenery deserves to be appreciated and praised. It is just that Yu Xin³⁹⁷ from southern land felt sorrowful.” And the duke echoed him with one poem: “There is no such a guest coming for a visit for twenty years. The water fairy lady should wash the journey dust off him. Thousand lines of residual willows planted by Duke Su are still there. The Immortal Peach Banquet of the King Mother was held several times. In vicissitude, new tombs are increased. The pink walls are still around the old towers. The flowers should laugh if we do not drink in our reunion. Why is it necessary for Zijian³⁹⁸ to chant ‘Seven Lamentations’?” After they finished chanting the poems, they watered the pine trees and returned. The next day, Hechuang again went boating on lake with Wang Xuecun, whose literary name was Tianbi and who also often chanted poems with him. Xuecun was good at operating spiritual writing. Whenever he had difficulties in composing a poem, he would ask an immortal to complete it, so he always carried a planchette with him. Hechuang then operated the planchette to invite an immortal and said he needed help. The planchette moved and He chuang asked the name of the immortal. The writing read, “If you have a question, just ask. After that, the name will be informed.” Hechuang said, “There is one line ‘Holding jade cup, a fine lady from southern land, with a pair of gem hands’ that lacks of a matching line for long, and I hope you could complete it.” The writing was instantly made: “Cross-legged sitting, a grand Buddha from the west, a golden body one *zhang* and six *chi* in height.” While Hechuang and Xuecun were astounded, the planchette moved fast as if it were flying, and there was another poem completed: “Songs and dances came to this place before. The romance recalled from past only leaves the dirt and dust. For whom the fragrant grass of the royal family is green? During Cold Food

³⁹⁶ Yu Qian 于謙 (1398-1457), a famous official in Ming, was originally from Qiantang county in Hangzhou.

³⁹⁷ Yu Xin 庾信 (513-581), a noted poet during the Southern and Northern dynasties, served as an official in the north part of China and never got the chance to go back to his hometown in the south.

³⁹⁸ Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232), whose literary name was Zijian, once wrote a five-character poem “Seven Lamentations,” in which he expressed his sorrows and depressions after he suffered from a serious setback in his political career.

Festival, pear flowers blossom for nobody. You went, dispelling the clouds, to the heavenly gate. I now practice clouds and rains at Yangtai. The heartfelt emotion is told to Liaodong crane. Around cypresses and pines in Xiling, it is precisely felt sorrowful.” After this, the writing read, “Su Xiaoxiao from Qiantang respectfully echoed the first poem composed by Mr. Hechuang under lake bridge yesterday.” Shortly afterwards, the planchette was motionless. The two scholars, looking at each other, felt at a loss and praised [the immortal] for long. They said, “Xiaoxiao is indeed a talented ghost! While in the process of poem chanting yesterday, [she] had privately been present and remembered everything.” Xiaoxiao is indeed a talented ghost! Most of my fellow scholars in Hangzhou could tell stories about her.³⁹⁹

弘治初，大京兆于公景瞻自南都謝事歸杭，自號南湖歸叟，雅好吟詠。一日，展其先太傅肅潛公之墓，邀予師馬鶴窗先生偕往，自湧金門，登舟留泊第三橋下，公曰：“予不到西湖二十年，山川如故，風景不殊，子當賦詩，吾為和之。”時九月中旬也，鶴窗遂賦唐律云：“畫舫秋風湖上來，水涵天碧淨無埃。一雙鸕鶿忽飛下，千朵芙蓉相映開。鳥似彩鸞窺寶鏡，花如仙子步瑤台。風光堪賞還堪賦，其奈江南庾信哀！”公和云：“二十年無此客來，水仙當為洗征埃。蘇公殘柳千行在，王母蟠桃幾度開。華表又添新塚墓，粉牆猶繞舊樓臺。相逢不飲花應笑，子建何須賦《七哀》。”吟畢，澆松而還。翌日，鶴窗復與詩友王雪村天壁泛湖，雪村善箕仙術，每吟詠有窘阻，則扣仙續之，仙箕常攜以隨。鶴窗因請召之，云有所叩，箕既動，鶴窗問仙何名，即書云，“有事但問，問畢告名。”鶴窗曰，“有句云‘捧瑤觴，南國佳人，一雙玉手’，久未有對，願仙成之。”即書云：“跌寶座，西方大佛，丈六金身。”鶴窗與雪村方驚愕，箕運如飛，複成一律云：“此地曾經歌舞來，風流回首即塵埃。王孫芳草為誰綠，寒食梨花無主開。郎去排雲叫閭闔，妾今行雨在陽臺。哀情訴與遼東鶴，松柏西陵正可哀。”後書云：“錢塘蘇小小敬和鶴窗先生疇昔湖橋首倡。”已而箕寂然不動，二先生相顧若失，稱歎久之，曰：“小小真才鬼耶。昨賦詩頃，冥冥之中已窺而記之矣”。小小真才鬼耶，予杭士大夫多有能道其事者。

This *biji* entry in summary is an account of two boating trips on West Lake. On the first boating trip, Yu Jingzhan and Ma Hechuang went to visit the tomb of Yu's father around West Lake. As somewhat a counterpart to the notion that “the cultural memory is based on fixed points in the past,”⁴⁰⁰ the description of the lake scenery in the poem is

³⁹⁹ Jiang Nan 姜南 (?), *Rongtang shihua* 蓉塘詩話 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 40.

⁴⁰⁰ Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” 113.

actually inserted in the context of Yu's reminiscence, for he consciously or unconsciously adopted a comparative view and came to the conclusion that "The mountains and rivers are still like they were before. The scenery is no difference." Hence, the echoing poems to some extent are records of a travel experience within another travel experience. Moreover, this *biji* entry was written by one of Yu's students, and this may suggest that he probably just recorded what he had heard or read. The third person perspective adds one more layer of metadramatic sense to the text. This multiple metadramatic performance on the textual space is also seen in the following example. In both *Addendum to Catalogue of Concubines and Maids* 侍兒小名錄拾遺⁴⁰¹ and *Collected Stories by a Hermit Fisherman in Tiao Stream* 苕溪漁隱叢話,⁴⁰² "A Strange Dream by Qiantang River" was incorporated with the reference book title *Extensive Records of Cloud Studio*. But in *Erudite Notes on Poets and Poetry* 詩話總龜,⁴⁰³ the editor, who also collected the same story, clearly listed the source relationship: it was taken from *Collected Stories by a Hermit Fisherman in Tiao Stream*, and the story in that book was originally taken from *Extensive Records of Cloud Studio*. Undoubtedly, this feature has revitalized our understanding of the way in which *biji* text was created and transmitted.

⁴⁰¹ Chongtianzi, *Xiangyan congshu*, vol.1, 154-155.

⁴⁰² Hu Zi 胡仔 (?), *Shaoxi yunyin congshu* 苕溪漁隱叢話 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1962), vol. 2, 315.

⁴⁰³ Ruan Yue 阮閱 (?), *Shihua zonggui* 詩話總龜 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1987), vol. 2, 265.

Furthermore, the practice of spirit writing⁴⁰⁴ created a dreamlike realm that allows for a conversation between fiction and fact. “Fu Ji” 扶乩, or spirit writing, is a religious operation that requires one or two persons to hold a rack which is said to be automatically draw certain patterns or scripts on a sand planchette. Then a planchette reader will decipher the messages from an immortal that the practice summons. The message could either be an answer requested by the practitioner or someone else to solve a problem, or a result of divination. According to Assmann, “memory is knowledge with an identity-index,” and a knowledge about “one’s own diachronic identity.”⁴⁰⁵ The identification of Su Xiaoxiao was an experience of self-recognition for the poets. The whole process was a kind of rehearsal or review of the poets’ cultural identities. Su Xiaoxiao’s poem in the entry reinforced the self-identity of Ma and also evoked the readers’ memory for QTM, because Su, in a stance of responder, echoed Ma’s poem he chanted previously, and also symbolically returned to fulfill the role of an author who could have completed the lyric song in Sima’s dream. Additionally, the spirit writing plays a role that dream does in the life of a person who practices it. This practice could be seen as both confirmation of and a threat to the sense of order in reality, as it not only builds a connection between past and present, but also blurs the boundaries between fact and fiction. It will then not be a surprise that so many ancient literati became fascinated by the spirit writing in Ming and

⁴⁰⁴ Xu Dishan 許地山, *Fuji mixiu de yanjiu* 扶箕迷信的研究 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1999); Terence Russell, “Chen Tuan at Mount Huangbo: A Spirit-writing Cult in Late Ming China,” *Asiatische Studien* 44, I (1990): 107-140; Chen Huili 陳暉莉, *Mingqing wenren fuji zhi yanjiu* 明清文人扶乩之研究 (M.A. Fujian Normal University, 2006); Wei Xiaohong 魏曉虹, “Lun Yuewei caotang biji zhong fuji yu wenren shidafu shenghuo” 論《閱微草堂筆記》中扶乩與文人士大夫生活, *Journal of Taiyuan Normal University* 太原師範學院學報 5 (2010): 69-74.

⁴⁰⁵ Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” 114.

Qing China. In *Caigui ji* 才鬼記 (Accounts of talented ghosts)⁴⁰⁶ alone, there are fifty one *biji* entries focusing on the practice and experience of spiritual writing in literati's life.

This entry was no less significant and influential as the account in *Chunzhu jiwén*, considering the editorial norms by which it had been constructed and appropriated. The person who appeared in both trips was Ma Hechuang, a famous poet who lived during the Zhengde and Jiajing periods (1506-1566).⁴⁰⁷ And two available *biji* accounts about Wang Xuecun offer interesting information for us to reexamine the text of the second boat trip. In an entry entitled “Wang Cheng” 王澄⁴⁰⁸ from *Yaoshantang waiji* 堯山堂外紀 (Records from Yaoshan studio), detailed biographical information about Wang Xuecun was preserved. And the exact story of Wang and Ma's boating trip on West Lake also appeared in the end. Whereas in *Qixiu leigao*, the content of the boating trip was nowhere to find in the same account of Wang under the title “Wang Tianbi” 王天碧.⁴⁰⁹ It may be a reasonable assumption that the editor of *Yaoshantang waiji* had read from somewhere the record of the boating trip or relevant stories, and he combined it with the *biji* entry in *Qixiu leigao* so that an enriched version was formed. It may also be possible that Ma's student had read or heard the boating trip experience somewhere and then added it to the story between Ma and Yu. But the construction of “Poems by a Planchette

⁴⁰⁶ Mei Dingzuo 梅鼎祚 (1549-1615), *Caigui ji* 才鬼記 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1989), 234-285.

⁴⁰⁷ Tang, *Cihua congbian*, vol.1, 532.

⁴⁰⁸ Jiang Yikui 蔣一葵(?), *Yaoshantang waiji* 堯山堂外紀, in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), vol.1195, juan 84, 11b-13b.

⁴⁰⁹ Lang, *Qixiu leigao*, vol.2, 556-557.

Immortal” text could have been more complicated. What I am trying to emphasize here is to situate the text of the second boating trip within its textual community so as to see how the editors functioned significantly in the interpretation of earlier literature.⁴¹⁰ I say this entry is influential because that the *biji* entries related to QTM stories found in *Tales of Green Mud and Lotus Flower* 青泥蓮花記,⁴¹¹ *Tales of Talented Ghosts* 才鬼記,⁴¹² *History of Female Poets* 詩女史,⁴¹³ *Green Window History of Women* 綠窗女史,⁴¹⁴ *History of Emotion* 情史,⁴¹⁵ *Additional Notes to Gazetteer for Sightseeing on West Lake* 西湖遊覽志餘,⁴¹⁶ and *Strangeness Recorded in Songjun Studio* 松筠閣鈔異,⁴¹⁷ were almost exclusively consisted of it and the account from *Chunzhu jiwén*. More importantly, these two entries constituted the main plot of the only Qing drama of a Su and Sima’s

⁴¹⁰ Robert Hegel, *The Novel in Seventeenth Century China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 85.

⁴¹¹ Mei Dingzuo 梅鼎祚, *Qingni lianhua ji* 青泥蓮花記 (Anhui: Huangshan shushe, 1996), 199-200.

⁴¹² Mei, *Caigui ji*, 144-145.

⁴¹³ Tian Yiheng 田藝蘅(?), *Shi nü shi* 詩女史, *juan.5*, 4b-6a, 1557 edition, facsimile.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol.6, 1a-2a.

⁴¹⁵ Guoli zhengzhi daxue gudian xiaoshuo yanjiu zhongxin 國立政治大學古典小說研究中心, ed., *Qingshi leilue* 情史類略 (Taipei: Tianyi chubanshe, 1985), vol. 4, 1a-2b.

⁴¹⁶ Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (1503-1557), *Xihu youlan zhiyu* 西湖遊覽志餘 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1958), 299-300.

⁴¹⁷ Anonymous, *Songjun ge chaoyi* 松筠閣鈔異, *juan 6*, 22a-23b, 1828 edition, facsimile.

romance entitled *Fangqing yuan* 芳情院 (Court of flowery affection)⁴¹⁸ by Shen Mu 沈沐.⁴¹⁹

One of the reasons why QTM stories had to be told with West Lake as the background is because the whole literary repertoire developed around the romance between Su and Sima is in fact the result of the rise of Hangzhou and West Lake geo-culture since Tang. Of course, influential figures in the field of literature played a critical role. For example, Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), one of the most famous Tang poets who served as inspector of Hangzhou, composed many well-circulated verses in which Su Xiaoxiao always appeared in tandem with West Lake. These, together with all other echoing poems from his contemporaries and poets in later dynasties, effectively contributed to building a solid image of Su Xiaoxiao around West Lake in the collective memories of the ancient literati. In southern Song, Hangzhou became the capital and this greatly elevated the status of the city and the lake. The Ming dynasty witnessed an economic prosperity and development of commercialization, both of which contributed to a good environment for the creation and evolution of vernacular stories.⁴²⁰ The increased interest in the tourist industry⁴²¹ inspired many noted literati to devote to travel literature.

⁴¹⁸ The drama text is, unfortunately, lost, but a detailed summary was preserved. See Wu Ping 吳平 and Hui Daqiang 回達強, eds., *Lidai xiqu mulu congkan* 歷代戲曲目錄叢刊 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2009), vol.9, 4602-4603.

⁴¹⁹ Wu and Hui, *Lidai xiqu mulu congkan*, vol.2, 871; Zhuang Yifu 莊一拂, *Gudai xiqu cunmu huikao* 古代戲曲存目匯考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 1295-1296.

⁴²⁰ Chen Dakang 陳大康, *Mingdai xiaoshuo shi* 明代小說史 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 2000), 367.

⁴²¹ For studies on Ming tourism, see Zhang Jiaxin 張嘉昕, *Ming ren de lüyou shenghuo* 明人的旅遊生活 (Yilan: Mingshi yanjiu xiaozu, 2004); Huang Mingli 黃明莉, “Ming dai Jiangnan de youguan

One of the most important scholars in Ming, Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568-1610), whose leading position was firmly established by his achievement in travel literature,⁴²² wrote many poems around the tourist experience of West Lake. Another scholar Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597-1679) left two *biji* works which are regarded as the most influential and representative travel writings in late Ming:⁴²³ *Xihu meng xun* 西湖夢尋 (Search the West Lake in dreams) and *Tao'an mengyi* 陶庵夢憶 (Dream reminiscences of Tao'an). Another reason is that a boat tour⁴²⁴ itself possesses some of the benefits that other forms of leisure or living styles lack of. In *Xihu mengxun*, there recorded the reasons given by Tan Chunyuan 譚元春 (1586-1637) about why he was extremely fond of a boat tour:

In terms of the living on a boat, there are five benefits. A boat person does not necessarily have to converse with others; this is the first benefit. Either in morning or at dusk, a boat person never misses the good moment of the day; this is the second benefit. Visiting guests or climbing mountains, a boat person can go anywhere anytime freely; this is the third benefit. Going through Broken Bridge, or out of Xiling, a boat person can sleep at noon and get up at night; this is the fourth benefit. A boat person can immediately change the direction of the boat to avoid remaining guests; this is the fifth benefit. With these five benefits, one could live long on a lake.⁴²⁵

wenhua yu shehui xintai” 明代江南的遊觀文化與社會心態 (M.A. thesis, Taiwan Normal University, 2002).

⁴²² Mei and Yu, *Zhongguo youji wenxue shi*, 260-271.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 291-298.

⁴²⁴ For more discussion on boat tourism on West Lake, see Lin Lilong 林利隆, *Ming ren de zhouyou shenghuo: Nanfang wenren shuishang shenghuo wenhai de kaizhan* 明人的舟遊生活：南方文人水上生活文化的開展 (Yilan: Mingshi yanjiu xiaozu, 2005), 69-80; Duan Xiaoli, “Scenic Beauty outside the City: Tourism around Hangzhou’s West Lake in the Southern Song (1127-1276)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2014).

⁴²⁵ Zhang Dai 張岱, *Xihu mengxuan taoan mengyi* 西湖夢尋陶庵夢憶, ed. Ma Xingrong 馬興榮 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 37.

而舟居之妙，在五善焉。舟人无酬答，一善也。昏晓不爽其候，二善也。访客登山，恣意所如，三善也。入断桥，出西泠，午眠夕兴，四善也。残客可避，时时移棹，五善也。挟此五善，以长于湖。

In a Song *biji* work *Meng liang lu* 夢梁錄 (Record of millet dream), there was a record that “the temple of water goddess is located on the third bridge of West Lake” 水仙之廟，在西湖第三橋。⁴²⁶ And it seems to explain why Ma Hechuang and Yu Jingzhan were chanting poems under the third bridge and the next day Su Xiaoxiao was summoned in the spirit writing on West Lake. The late Ming scholar Zhou Qingyuan 周清源 (?) also clearly stated in his vernacular story “Xing Junrui’s Tryst after Five Years” 刑君瑞五載幽期 that the protagonist and the fairy lady escaped from the mundane world and became the water immortals of West Lake just like Sima Caizhong and Su Xiaoxiao.⁴²⁷ The authors as well as the protagonists imagined their ideal state of being in a dreamlike travel with an immortal, accompanied by an implied willingness to explore their own desires of being freed from constraints. And West Lake is such an ideal place for a travel and a dream. A Qing scholar Wang Kongshi 王空世 (?) in the preface of a drama entitled *Wenrou xiang* 溫柔鄉 (A place of tenderness) recorded how the playwright Huang Tubi 黃图珌 (1699-1758) was inspired by travel and dream experience in his literary production:

In mid autumn of 1717, I went together [with him] to live around West Lake. Whenever it was the season of blossoms, [we would], at moonlight night, bring zithers and wine, wandering around the solitary pines and rocks, and composing

⁴²⁶ Wang, *Meng laing lu*, 122.

⁴²⁷ Guben xiaoshuo jicheng bianweihui 古本小說集成編委會, ed, *Xihu erji* 西湖二集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 571-608.

rhymed lines and echoing each other, in a way that poets in Jin dynasty lived their lives. One day, we got two singing courtesans who were with light make-up. When we were half drunk, they sang the songs from *Mudan ting* and “Startled to Search for Dream.” The music from the strings and flutes was now soft and now fast, and the melodious singings were lingering on and on. Those who were present were all in silence, but Jiaochuan⁴²⁸ was the only one that the music struck a chord with. After we separated that night, [he] closed his door for several days and completed the *Wenrou xiang*. He sent it to me and I could not tear myself from reading it.⁴²⁹

丁酉秋仲，余適同寓西湖，每逢花辰月夕，抱琴載酒，盤旋於孤松片石之間，拈韻聯吟，仿佛晉人風味。一日得歌伎二人，娥眉淡掃，酒至半酣，乃歌《牡丹亭》、《驚尋夢》諸曲，嬌絲急管，宛轉悠揚，滿座寂然，惟蕉窓是一知音也。是夜別後，杜門累日，《溫柔鄉》譜成，緘予覽之，不忍釋手。

Their activities in the “season of blossoms” more or less resembled the gardening roaming episode in “Youyuan jingmeng.” And the songs performed by the courtesans further brought out the evocative moments of *déjà vu* on the part of the preface readers and the playwright on site. It is not certain whether the author of QTM ever got inspired by similar experience or not, but it is for sure that the popularity of QTM stories should be ascribed to the way that Su and Sima’s story was channeled in a travel and dream text. And the lines found in *Mudan ting*’s original preface may explain clearly the demand for a reincarnation of a haunting soul:

Where does love come from? It is not known. As long as it comes, it is going deep. Those who are alive can die from it, and those who are dead can revive because of it. If those who are alive cannot die from it, or if those who are dead cannot revive because of it, it is then not the love of a topmost kind. Why should the love in dream not necessarily be real? Aren’t there many people under heaven who are living in a dream?⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ Jiaochuang was Huang’s style name.

⁴²⁹ Tai Jingnong 台靜農, *Jingnong lunwen ji* 靜農論文集 (Taipei: Jinglian chuban shiye gongsi, 1989), 237. Also see Hua Wei 華瑋 and Lu Fanglong 陸方龍, “Huang Tubi jiqi guben chuanqi *Jie jindiao yu Wenrou xiang*” 黃圖秘及其孤本傳奇《解金貂》與《溫柔鄉》, *Xiqu yanjiu* 戲曲研究 2 (2010): 262-287.

⁴³⁰ Yu and Sun, *Lidai quhua huibian*, vol.1, 601.

情不知所起，一往而深。生者可以死，死可以生。生而不可與死，死而不可復生者，皆非情之至也。夢中之情，何必非真？天下豈少夢中之人耶！

Among all the existent works in premodern Chinese literature, only the novel “Xiling yunji” 西泠韻跡 (Trances of elegance in Xiling)⁴³¹ collected in *Xihu jiahua* 西湖佳話 (Good stories around West Lake)⁴³² in 1673 by an anonymous compiler with a nickname as Guwumolangzi 古吳墨浪子 tells a imaginary life time story of Su Xiaoxiao. As a somewhat derivative of traditional love affairs between a talent scholar and a fine lady, the story begins by introducing Su Xiaoxiao as a girl born in a brothel, and she then became a famous prostitute in prime time of life. Later, she encountered a handsome and rich man Ruan Yu 阮鬱, the son of the prime minister, passing by Xiling Bridge 西泠橋, who was known later in the story as the son of prime. Su and Ruan were somehow married and lived in Qiantang area. But Ruan was called back to his father in the name of family emergencies. And Su waited hopelessly until she met a poor scholar Bao Ren 鮑仁 who was then supported by Su to go for an imperial exam. After that, Su died of love-sickness and a severe disease, when Bao revisited as a successful official. He could do nothing but bury her respectfully by West Lake. This story is fairly different from the romance between Su and Sima in that it not only impressed the readers with its development in plot, witty dialogues, and lively colloquial style, but also had our heroine

⁴³¹ Guben xiaoshuo jicheng bianweihui 古本小說集成編委會, ed, *Xihu jiahua* 西湖佳話 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 183-251.

⁴³² Chen Meilin 陳美林 and Qiao Guanghui 喬光輝, “Molangzi jiqi *Xihu jiahua*” 墨浪子及其西湖佳話, *Journal of Southeast University* 5 (1999): 90-94.

relocated in a real world. It is so far the longest and most influential version of Su Xiaoxiao's legend for this novel offered the source material on which most modern literary and performing adaptations were based. The intangible specter and the substantial tomb leave an unfilled space for novelty-hunters who are customarily expecting for a complete, but readily digestible romance during a flashback of Su's life time.

An adapted version of this novel entitled "Su Xiaoxiao huiyan shi fengliu" 蘇小小慧眼識風流 (Su Xiaoxiao recognizes a talent with discerning eyes)⁴³³ appeared in *Xihu shiyi* 西湖拾遺 (Additional stories around West Lake) by Chen Shuji 陳樹基 (?) in 1791. In terms of structure, plot, characters, and word choices, it differs very little from its precursor. It is also interesting to note that this collection of stories around West Lake culture displays an editorial norm that we have repeatedly seen in field of vernacular literature.⁴³⁴ There are in total forty eight vernacular stories, among which fifteen were from *Xihu jiahua*, twenty eight from *Xihu erji* 西湖二集 (Stories of West Lake, II),⁴³⁵ and one from Feng Menglong's *Xingshi hengyan* 醒世恆言 (Stories to awaken the world). Moreover, thirty four novels in *Xihu erji* were as a matter of fact extended versions of

⁴³³ Chen Shuji 陳樹基 (?), *Xihu shiyi* 西湖拾遺 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1985), 214-35.

⁴³⁴ Dai Zhimin 代智敏, "Xuanben *Xihu shiyi* yu yuanzuo bijiao yanjiu" 選本西湖拾遺與原作比較研究, *Chuanshan Journal* 船山學刊 4 (2008): 103-106.

⁴³⁵ Zheng Pingkun 鄭平昆, "*Xihu erji* lai yuankao xiaobu" 西湖二集來源考小補, *Mingqing xiaoshuo yanjiu* 明清小說研究 4 (1989): 78-85; Liu Juan 劉娟, "*Xihu erji* yanjiu" 西湖二集研究 (M.A. thesis, Anhui University, 2011). Zhou Lengjia 周楞伽 (1911-1992) suggested that some of the stories seen in *Xihu jiahua* may also appear in *Xihu yiji*, in which a story similar to "Xiling yiyun" was highly possible incorporated. See Zhou Qingyuan 周清源, *Xihu erji* 西湖二集, ed. Zhou Lengjia 周楞伽 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1999), 573. Su Xing 蘇興, on the contrary, suggested there was no such a collection as *Xihu yiji* 西湖一集, see Su Xing, "Suwei Xihu yiji wenti" 所謂西湖一集問題 *Mingqing xiaoshuo yanjiu* 明清小說研究 2 (1990): 233-237.

stories found in *Xihu youlan zhiyu* 西湖遊覽志餘 (Additional notes to gazetteer for sightseeing on West Lake), *Jiandeng xinhua* 剪燈新話 (New stories of trimmed lamp), and *Qingshi* 情史 (History of emotion), etc. A text was transformed and transmitted from one story to another. And the same logic was applicable to the movements of stories among collections. Both potentially adaptable texts and movable stories exist in a dynamic system of appropriation. The unstable nature of text reminds us of Su Xiaoxiao's apparitional state of being:

Phantasms do not extend organisms into the imaginary; they topologize the materiality of the body. They should consequently be freed from the restrictions we impose upon them, freed from the dilemmas of truth and falsehood and of being and nonbeing (the essential difference between simulacrum and copy carried to its logical conclusion); they must be allowed to conduct their dance, to act out their mime, as "extrabeings."⁴³⁶

Su, a text of Su, and a novel of Su are all indicative of a boundary-crossing trend. They problematize the dichotomous way of interpreting reality and illusion, and complicate our understanding of the difference between fact and fiction.

He withdrew a few paces and stood there, petrified and bewildered. Before him were an antique ebony table and two chairs carved with exquisite patterns. On the table, there was a delicate copper wine flagon with fine cups and dainty dishes. Right across them was a round sandalwood-framed window, through which the panoramic scenery of West Lake was unfolding and could satiate any appetite hungering for natural beauty. A mahogany bed with pinkish gossamer curtains half drawn was set next to the table. A maiden, who had been an enchanting prostitute but now an elegant wife, urged the man to

⁴³⁶ Michel Foucault (1926-1984), *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, trans. Donald Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 170.

enter her boudoir. Who was the man? What would he do next? What brought him here? Why did a married woman ask a stranger to her bedroom? Where was her husband?

The above description is about a scene from the film *Qiantang Su Xiaoxiao* 錢塘蘇小小 based on story in *Xihu jiahua* and produced by a Hongkong director Li Chenfeng 李晨風 in 1962. For those who are familiar with Su Xiaoxiao's story, the name of the film itself suffices an eye-catching selling point, and no wonder it dominated the box office of that year. Su, as the wife of Ruan Yu, invited Bao Ren to her inner chamber, a forbidden region belonging exclusively to marital couples in ancient time. Although it was where Su used to entertain her customers, the room had already become a private castle the day when Ruan paid a visit. It was, first and foremost, the place where Su received her future husband. The inner chamber preserved the memory of good old days and thus naturally invited the comparison with what was written in the original text. In the novel, Ruan desired for a rendezvous after their speechless encounter around West Lake, so he inquired everything from the local people about Su and then called upon her residence. Knowing her Mr. Right was coming, Su hurriedly dressed herself up.

She then asked Ruan Yu up to the Mirror Chamber. Ruan, after ascending to the chamber, saw that it was very elegantly constructed. A big round window of the chamber faced squarely the West Lake, and it would resemble a wheel of bright moon if white silk curtains were pulled down. The hanging antithetical couplet read: Close the chamber, and a crescent moon is hidden; open the window, and let off the wild clouds. Hanging over the top of the window was a plaque on which inscribed two characters: "Mirror Chamber." Around the chamber, there were peach flowers, willows, poplars, peonies, osmanthus, and lotus. Its surroundings were full of clusters of flowers. To appreciate the lake scenery from within the window, the view was clear and there was nothing that could not be taken in one glance. If the travelers on the patterned boat passed by the Mirror Chamber, they would look into the chamber. But they were not able to see clearly the inside

because of the heavy curtain. Hence, travelers, when they drew close, usually had the feeling that they did not enjoy something to its fullest measure.⁴³⁷

即邀阮鬱到鏡閣上去坐。阮鬱到了閣上，只見造得十分幽雅。正當湖面，開一大圓窗，將冰紗糊好，就如一輪明月。中貼一對道：閉閣藏新月，開窗放野雲。窗外簷端懸一扁，題“鏡閣”二字。閣下桃花楊柳，丹桂芙蓉，四圍點綴得花花簇簇。在窗內流覽湖中景色，明明白白，無所不收。若湖上遊人畫舫過到鏡閣之前，要向內一望，卻簷幔沉沉，隱約不能窺覷，故遊人到此，往往留有餘不盡之想。

The description of the place where Su lives is from the perspective of Ruan Yu. It also satiates the appetites of the curious readers. As Bachelard stated, “the house is one of the greatest powers of integration for the thoughts, memories and dreams of mankind,” and “the binding principle in this integration is the daydream.” A reader assumes a role that Ruan plays in the novel and “experiences the house in its reality and in its virtuality, by means of thought and dreams.”⁴³⁸ A painting of Su Xiaoxiao (Fig.4.5) may illustrate this point more clearly.



⁴³⁷ Guwumolangzi 古吳墨浪子, *Xihu jiahua* 西湖佳話 (Shanghai: Shanghai gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1956), 88-89.

⁴³⁸ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 5.

Fig 105. “Su Xiaoxiao shuzhuang tu” 蘇小小梳妝圖, painted by Hua Yan 華喆 (1682-1756), ink on paper, hanging scroll, 103.5 × 36.2 cm, Qing (1644-1911), Jilin Provincial Museum

Su was sitting by her dressing table combing her hair. A double-code meaning of the picture is that the round window through which Su was perceived may remind the viewers of the round mirror on the table as well as the Mirror Chamber in the novel. A decorative leafy branch hanging over the window suggests the prime time of the year, and it may also allude to the fact that spring time of a beauty will pass soon. What we see through the window is an image that will exactly be reflected on the mirror that Su looks into on the table. But the seemingly tangible figure of a lady perceived by the viewers on the painting may actually be as unreal as the reflective image Su herself sees on the mirror. Readers recognize themselves in the way they recognize Su Xiaoxiao. Travelers in and out of the Mirror Chamber will have two kinds of Su Xiaoxiao on their minds. One is remembered and the other imagined. When they look through the window into the panoramic scenery of West Lake in reality, they use memory. When they fail to see the interior of the chamber from outside, they use imagination. The Mirror Chamber here functions both as a barrier and a bridge, and it allows for interplay of fact and fiction. Just like what we experience and feel while reading *biji*, within such a mirror shaped window, reality and illusion come closer and become intertwined. They not only run parallel but even act as mutual reference as well. Therefore, the Mirror Chamber is a space that “illuminates the synthesis of immemorial and recollected.”⁴³⁹

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

The name of the chamber is thought-provoking. Mirror Chamber is a commonsensible title signifying an unmarried lady's bedroom, but the mirror image is intricately meaningful here. Mirror is a must item on any dresser. What appears in a mirror is usually either a beauty or a flower, but no matter how charming the reflection might be, those images for the mirror viewers are but imaginative phantoms: they are ephemeral visual delight, and thus memories lingering in reminiscent illusions. There is a pertinent phrase describing transitoriness of beauty and illusion of aesthetic pursuit: flower in the mirror, and moon in the water 鏡花水月. Undoubtedly, Su can be likened to a flower, as a dweller in Mirror Chamber. The couplet equally deserves our reflection. So solitary as the moon, Su was eager to seek acquaintance with someone knowing her mind and heart. What circled around her were, unfortunately, the wild clouds. Ruan, in the novel, asked whether the couplet was from the hands of Su, and she acknowledged it. Maybe that explained why she would like to "let off" the "wild clouds", so as to "hide" the "crescent moon". It is not unreasonable to imagine that she, facing the West Lake, could not help but appreciating herself in the water and sighing for her solitariness. If everything Su possessed and took pride in was no different from illusion, what did she authentically treasure in her life then? Nothing could be lasted forever, and Mirror Chamber metaphorically evinces the temporal and spatial limitation within immortality. Su Xiaoxiao's life pursuit, placed on this specific site, foreshadows doomed failure. Mirror Chamber is the site where most activities happened in the story. From another angle, it is also the subject within the story frame, a place gathering meanings and values, through which significance of people's deeds are revealed. It functions as a stage within a stage, which reflects transience and yearns for ever-lasting value.

Xu Shiluan 徐士鑾 (1833-1915) in *Song Yan* 宋艷 (Beauties in Song dynasty)

contributed one entry in the section of “Debate and Argument” 辯駁 that most extensively involves the debates on fact and fiction around Su Xiaoxiao:

• Su Xiaojuan was a famous courtesan in Qiantang. She was beautiful and good at writing poems. Her elder sister Su Pannu maintained a good and close relationship with Zhao Bumin, a student of the Grand Academy. After a long time, Bumin gradually became poor. But Pannu supported him so that he could concentrate on his study. Bumin finally passed the examination and was appointed as an official in charge of the household issues in Xiangyang. Pannu was not able to go together with him, because she failed to remove her name from the prostitute registry. Three years passed after Bumin left to work for the government, and he died of lovesickness. There were a certain amount of income left, and he [before his death] ordered his younger brother Zhao Yuanpan to divide them into two parts: one for Panyuan himself, and the other for Pannu. And he also said, “Pannu has a younger sister called Xiaojuan. She is pretty and graceful, and a good poem writer. You could manage to get there, and [she will be] a good spouse.” Yuanpan followed his words and arrived at Qiantang. He entrusted a family member who served as the adjunct officer of Qiantang to send for Pannu. And the servant from Pannu’s family said, “Pannu was already dead one month ago. Xiaojuan was a bosom friend of Pannu, but because of the issue of official silk in Yuqian county, she was unjustly put in prison.” The officer brought Xiaojuan out from the prison and interrogated her, “You tricked the dealers and got one hundred bolts of official silk. How are you able to compensate for that?” Xiaojuan knelt down and replied, “It has something to do with my dead sister Pannu, and I beg for your help. Not only will I thank you for your favor of saving my life, but also my sister will not forget your favor in the other world.” The officer felt pleased because of her respectful and submissive way of making request, and he then asked, “Do you know the officer Zhao in charge of the household issues in Xiangyang?” Xiaoxiao answered, “My sister Pannu supported Zhao when he was not yet a governmental official. It was long after he passed the exam and was appointed by the government. Pannu suffered from lovesickness, so she fell ill and finally died of it.” The officer said, “Zhao also died, but he sent someone to give you one letter and some other stuff. Besides, his younger brother Yuanpan gave you another letter for you to read.” Xiaoxiao said to herself that she did not know who Yuanpan was, but she opened the envelope and there was only one poem: “The famous courtesan in the past Dongwu, [She] did not love pure gold, but was only fond of books. May I ask you, Su Xiaoxiao from Qiantang, whether your talent is as good as the senior Su or not?” Xiaoxiao read

the poem silently. The officer ordered her to write a poem to echo it. Xiaoxiao refused him, but the officer urged her to do it, and said, “If you do not echo the poem, you need to pay for the silk.” Xiaoxiao had no choice but required the brush and paper, and the poem read: “You went to Xiang River, and I live in Wu. A heartless person sent a letter with affection. If you came for a visit previously, Could there still be an issue of silk in Yuqian County?” The officer was delighted, and completely gave her all the money he was entrusted. He exempted Xiaojuan from paying for the silk and helped her remove her name from the prostitute registry. He influentially made the decision and ordered Xiaoxiao to go with Panyuan so as to grow old together with him. From *Additional Notes to Gazetteer for Sightseeing on West Lake*.

• *Draft Arranged in Seven Categories*: There were two persons named Su Xiaoxiao, and they were all famous courtesans in Qiantang. One was in Southern Qi, and the annotation on song titles from *Music Bureau* by Guo Maoqian has already clearly stated it. Hence, there were ancient poems, such as “The Song of Su Xiaoxiao,” and those composed by Bai Letian (772-846) and Liu Mengde (772-842). Su Xiaoxiao in the story of Sima Caizhong recorded in *Hearsay Accounts of Spring Islet* was also the one in Southern Qi. The other was in Song, and it could be known from the evidence in *Records of Qulin* which stated Grand Academy, Qiantang, and the poem with a line “similar to senior Su or not.” In addition, Yuan Yishan wrote a lyric poem, “Yumeiren”: “Shades of locust trees, a side court, and a suitable clear day. A beauty sitting there, the spring wind is beautiful. The portraits of beauties are left for whom? They are all collected by famous painters and royal families during Xuanhe period. After the orioles and swallows are flying apart, powder becomes pale and pear flowers turn slim. Except for Su Xiao, [no one] is talented. A tiger lily phoenix hairpin is inserted aslant.” This Su Xiaoxiao must be the one in Zhao’s story, since the lyric poem mentioned “after the orioles and swallows are flying apart”. And people now only know it refers to Su Xiaoxiao, yet have no idea about her living period. Several accounts were recorded in *Respite from Plowing* so as to prove Su was a poet in Southern Qi, but the author did not know there was another Su Xiaoxiao in Song. In another version of the story, Xiaoxiao was mistakenly regarded as Xiaojuan, which was probably an error made by the scribe. Why was the poem by Su Xiaoxiao in the story not referred? In addition, there was the evidence in “Yumeiren.”

• *Collected Notes of Authentication in Time of Serving Parents*: In Southern Qi, there was a courtesan in Qiantang called Su Xiaoxiao, and see the annotation on the song titles from *Music Bureau* by Guo Maoqian. There was another Su Xiaoxiao in Southern Song, who was also from Qiantang. Her elder sister was favored by Zhao Bumin, a student of Grand Academy. Bumin ordered his younger brother to marry Su Xiaoxiao, and see *Old Stories of Wulin*.

• *Selections of Poems from Four Dynasties*: The Hangzhou courtesan who was good at composing poems in Southern Song was Su Xiaojuan.

• *Catalogue of Concubines in Palaces and Chambers*: Su Xiaojuan, a courtesan in Qiantang, enjoyed equal popularity with her elder sister Pannu.

- *Records of Names with Two Repetitive Characters*: Su Xiaoxiao has another name Jianjian. Note: Jianjian, was the name of Su Xiaoxiao in Southern Qi. Bai Xiangshan wrote a poem to praise her, “The Xiaoxiao in Su family is called Jianjian, and her cheeks are as pink as the lotus flowers and her eyes are like beautiful willow leaves.”
- *Gazetteer of West Lake in Yongzheng Period*: A careful note: Su Xiaojuan was identified as Su Xiaoxiao in *Draft Arranged in Seven Categories*. The author thought the scribe made a mistake and quoted the story of Zhao Bumin, the poem of Zhao Bumin and the lyrics of Yuan Yishan as evidence. He did not know that the original author was simply praise Xiaojuan by using the name of Xiaoxiao in Southern Qi, and how could it be a sufficient evidence? I still follow the notion in *Additional Notes to Gazetteer for Sightseeing on West Lake*, and it should be Su Xiaojuan.
- Note: The argument in *Gazetteer of West Lake in Yongzheng Period* is quite reasonable. The statements in both *Selections of Poems from Four Dynasties* and *Records of Names with Two Repetitive Characters* are rich in content, but except for that, they are all wrong.
- *Respite from Plowing*: Those who praised Su Xiaoxiao at present or in past are numerous, and people intended to write about her for the sake of appreciation. How could she be so charming? *Hearsay Accounts of Spring Islet*: Sima Caizhong, while in Luoyang, slept in the daytime, and he dreamed of a beautiful lady. Pulling the curtain, she sang, “I originally live on Qiantang River. Flowers fall and then blossom and they do not mark how the flowing years pass. Swallows carry the spring colors away in their beaks, and outside the screen windows, there are several spatters of yellow plum rain.” Caizhong loved the lyrics, and thus asked for its tune title. She said it was “Golden Threads,” and also said that they would meet each other in future on Qiantang River. He was later recommended by Mr. Dongpo to take a special exam and he achieved the degree. He was then appointed to be the assistant administrator of Hangzhou. Behind his residence located the grave of Su Xiaoxiao. At that time, Qin Shaoyou served as the military officer of Qiantang, and he completed the song: “Inserted aslant, the rhino comb is half spewed from the clouds. The sandalwood boards are slightly struck. [She then] finishes singing the “Golden Threads.” When the dream is intercepted, the colorful clouds are nowhere to find. The night is cold, and the bright moon rises over spring riverside (In *Gazetteer for Sightseeing on West Lake*, it is “southern riverside”).” In less than a year, Caizhong was ill, and his patterned boat was anchored at the river bay. The boatman suddenly saw Caizhong boarding the boat with a beautiful lady. He came forward to greet them, but a fire broke out at the rear end of the boat. He rushed to report it, only to find the family crying and lamenting [Caizhong’s death]. *Accounts Casually Took in Nenggai Studio*: According to *Annotations on Song Titles from Music Bureau* by Liu Cizhuang, “The Su Xiaoxiao in ‘Qiantang Su Xiaoxiao’s Song’ was not living in Tang. People read that Letian and Mengde praised her in poems, and then simply stated that Su was a contemporary.” Though Cizhuang knew that Su Xiaoxiao was not a Tang person, he did not have any evidence. I here quote the statement from Guo

Maoqian's quotation from *Extensive Titles*: "Su Xiaoxiao, a famous courtesan in Qiantang, was probably a person living in Southern Qi. Xiling was a place to the west of Qiantang River, therefore the ancient song reads, 'Where do we knot our two hearts? At West Mound (Xiling), under the pine and cypress.'"

- *Gazetteer of Lin'an in Xianchun Period*: The tomb of Su Xiaoxiao is around the West Lake. Zhou Ziyun stated, "[I] walked around the bank of the lake, and one traveler said this is the tomb of Su Xiao." And his poem reads, "Wild grass separate the green grass slope. Who buried the jade trees and gem branches? Mountains by the lake naturally turn green for people. Where are the willow trees outside [Su's] gate? Practice the rains and clouds, now it is a dream. Applying rouge or powder, it is not proper. After the orchids withered and died, just say the peach flowers resembles a good face of a beauty."

- *Records of Collecting Strangeness in Leisure Window*: [Su's tomb is in a place] sixty steps away to the southwest of Jiaying county. According to *Gazetteer of Wu Area*, "The tomb belongs to the singing courtesan Su Xiaoxiao in Jin dynasty. The gravestone is in the judicial hall which reads "Tomb of Su Xiaoxiao." Xu Ning's poem 'Cold Food' reads, 'In the inner city of Jiaying, [I] encountered the Cold Food festival. At sunset, people from every household returned from tomb sweeping'. [The tomb of] Su Xiaoxiao in front of the county was the only one left. No one sent her the ashes of paper money."

- *Songs of a Woodcutter from White Rock*: Lin Jingxi had composed a poem "Ode to Su Xiaoxiao," and the annotation of the title reads, "Su Xiaoxiao was a famous courtesan of Qiantang, and her tomb is located sixty steps away to the southwest of Jialing county." The poem reads, "Singings, fans, talent, all remindful of the past. A descending moon at a hill, and several cries of crows. The fragrant traces are reluctant to be yellow dirt, still as illusory as the rouge flowers half full of a tree."

- *One Hundred Odes of Jiahe*: Note: Missing Su Pavilion, built in Song dynasty, is in the east of Jiahe city. It is facing the tomb of Su Xiaoxiao, hence the name.

- *A Panorama of Lakes and Mountains*: The tomb of Su Xiaoxiao is said to be located by the Xiling Bridge. In an ancient song book *Collection of Poetry* by Guo Maoqian, there is "Qiantang Su Xiaoxiao's Song." According to *Extensive Titles*, "Su Xiaoxiao, a famous courtesan in Qiantang, was living in Southern Qi. Hence, there are lines in Xiangshan's poems: 'the willow color of the spring is hiding in Su Xiao's family,' and 'the courtesan tower is new, and [they] surnamed Su'." In both *Gazetteer of Lin'an* and *Old Stories of Wulin*, records show the tomb was around the lake. Zhou Zizhi wrote a poem "Visiting Su Xiao's Tomb by Lake," and his experience could probably be taken as evidence. However, in *Hearsay Accounts of Spring Islet*, Sima Caizhong worked as an officer of Qiantang, and behind his residence lay the tomb of Su Xiao. According to *Respite from Plowing*, Xingling was in the west of Qiantang River, and in Caizhong's "Dreaming of Su Xiao's Song" there is the line "I originally live on the Qiantang River," so the tomb was not around the Xiling Bridge over West Lake. In *Gazetteer of Wu Area* by Lu Guangwei (Note: in *Book Catalogues and Title Annotations* by Zhizhai, it was *Records of Wu Area*), the author, quoting Xu

Ning's poem, asserted the tomb was located by the Jiaxing county. Since the dynasty was long ago and [the information] of the person is unclear, it should not be investigated profoundly.

- *Casual Notes from Studio of Two Kinds of Autumn Rain*: According to *Hearsay Accounts of Spring Islet*, the tomb of Su Xiaoxiao from Southern Qi was behind the county residence of Qiantang (The county was originally around the Qiantang Gate, not far away from Xiling Bridge). But the Yuan poet Zhang Guangbi wrote a poem read, "The fragrant bones were buried in front of the county residence. The phantom and dream around Xiling blocks the wind and mist. Good flowers and good moon are there year after year. Tide falls and tide rises, and it is more pitiful" (Original note: the tomb was in front of Jiaxing county). It must refer to the Su Xiaoxiao in Song. Panyuan was from Wu, and how could he not live in Jiaxing? Zhu Yizun (1629-1709) took efforts to prove Su's tomb was in Xiuzhou, and thought that the tomb in Qiantang was but a fake one. If he knew the above information, Hangzhou and Jiaxing would have one tomb each. There is no necessity to involve in the argument.

- Note: This conclusion is only based on Zhang Yuanbi's poem, and the author indicated the tomb in front of Jiaxing belongs to Su Xiaoxiao from Song. This is extremely wrong.

- Diefang said, "Literati argue with each other in groups, and it is an incorrigible habit that is hard to be cast off. There is still not fixed conclusion about the location of Su Xiaoxiao's tomb. In *Discussion from a Friend of Cloud Stream*, the author stated that Zhenniag from Wu was buried in Huqiu after she was dead, and the contemporary people compared her with Su Xiaoxiao. An examination candidate Tan Zhu once inscribed a poem on the tomb: 'At the foot of Huqiu Mountain, tombs are in piles. Pines and cypresses are desolate, and one immediately feels sorrowful. Why people in the world only focus on beautiful faces? On the tomb of Zhenniag [I] by myself left the poem'." This poem is like the sound of bell in a quite night, and could it ever awaken many delusive dreams?

- *Extensive Records of Cloud Studio*: Sima You was an official in Qiantang, and dreamed of Su Xiaoxiao who sang the lyric "Butterflies Linger over Flowers": "I originally live on Qiantang River. Flowers bloom and then fall and they do not mark how the years pass. Swallows carry the spring color away in their beaks, and outside the screen windows, there are several spatters of desolate rains. Inserted aslant, the rhino comb is half spewed from the clouds. The sandalwood boards and the new songs. [She then] finishes singing the "Golden Threads." While I was awakened from drunkenness and the dream, [she] is nowhere to find. In desolation, the bright moon rises over autumn riverside."

- *Collected Annotations on Tune Titles*: "Golden Threads" was originally "Butterflies Linger over Flowers," and it was coined by Sima You. There is an alternative title: Bright Moon Rises over Southern Riverside. According to *One Hundred Yuan Songs*, Su Xiaoxiao was also the person who coined it.

- Note: In *Extensive Records of Cloud Studio*, the complete lyric song was preserved with the name Su Xiaoxiao's Song. Let us not discuss the difference in word choices compared with the song in *Hearsay Accounts of Spring Islet*, but it

is also different in the statement that Sima You was an officer in Qiantang, and dreamed of the song of Su Xiaoxiao. We do not know by what evidence the author had said so. In *Collected Annotations on Tune Titles*, “Golden Threads” was coined by Sima You. And in *One Hundred Yuan Songs*, it was Su Xiaoxiao who coined the title. These two statements are all wrong. Searching in *Comprehensive Collection of Lyric Poems* by Zhu Yizun, [I found] the records that “Qin Gou, whose literary name is Shaozhang, was the younger brother of Qin Guan. He wrote ‘Golden Threads’ to complete the lyric song of Su Xiaoxiao in Sima Caizhong’s dream.” This statement, based on the story in *Hearsay Accounts of Spring Islet*, is correct.

• *Gazetteer of West Lake in Yongzhong Period*: A careful note: According to *A Lazy Immortal*: “Sima Caizhong’s name is Yu, and Sima Caishu’s name is You. They were all grandnephews of Sima Guang.” The account in *Gazetteer for Sightseeing on West Lake* quoted from the record in *Respite from Plowing* and indicated Sima Caizhong’s name was You. This statement is incorrect.

• Note: The author of *Gazetteer of West Lake in Yongzhong Period* quoted the account in *A Lazy Immortal* to prove that the statements in both *Gazetteer for Sightseeing on West Lake* and *Respite from Plowing* are wrong. Therefore, [I] checked *A Lazy Immortal* and there was the account: “Cizhong’s name is Yu, and Caishu’s name is You. They were grandnephews of Sima Guang, and scholars with heroic personalities. But they both died before forty. Whenever Wenji (Note: his name is Pu) mentioned this, he would definitely feel sorrowful.” From this, we know how mistakes were passed on from one to other. [My investigation aims to] correct the mistakes not only in *Respite from Plowing*.⁴⁴⁰

• 蘇小娟，錢塘名娼也，俊麗工詩。其姊盼奴，與太學生趙不敏甚洽。久之，不敏日益貧，盼奴周給之，使篤於業，遂捷南宮，得授官襄陽司戶。盼奴未落籍，不得偕去。不敏赴官三載，想念成疾而卒。有祿俸餘資，囑其弟趙院判均分之，一以贍院判，一以送盼奴，且言：“盼奴有妹小娟，俊雅能吟，可謀致之，佳偶也。”院判如其言，至錢塘，托宗人倅錢塘者，召盼奴。其家云：“盼奴一月前已死矣。小娟亦為盼奴所歡，以於潛官絹，誣攀系府獄。”倅從獄中召小娟出，詰之曰：“汝誘商人官絹百匹，何以償之？”小娟叩頭言曰：“此亡姊盼奴事，乞賜周旋，非惟小娟感荷更生，盼奴亦蒙恩泉下也。”倅喜其詞宛順，因問：“汝識襄陽趙司戶否？”小娟曰：“趙司戶未仕時，與盼奴交好。後中科授官去，盼奴以思致疾而卒。”倅曰：“趙司戶亦謝世矣，遣人附一緘，及饋一罨，外有其弟院判一緘，付爾開之。”小娟自謂不識院判何人，及拆書，惟一詩云：“當時名妓鎮東吳，不好黃金只好書。借問錢塘蘇小小，風流還似大蘇無？”小娟得詩默念，倅索和，小娟以不能辭。倅強之，且曰：“不和即償官絹。”小娟不得已，索紙授筆，詩云：“君住襄陽妾住吳，無情人寄有情書。當年若也來相訪，還有於潛絹

⁴⁴⁰ Xu Shiluan 徐士銓 (1833-1915), *Songyan* 宋豔 (Zhejiang: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1987), 240.

事無？”倅大喜，盡以所寄物與之，免其償絹，且為脫籍，歸院判偕老。

《西湖遊覽志餘》

- 《七修類稿》：蘇小小有二人，皆錢塘名娼。一南齊人，郭茂倩所編《樂府解題》已注明矣，故古辭有《蘇小小歌》及白樂天、劉夢得詩稱之者。《春渚紀聞》所載司馬才仲事，並是南齊之蘇小小也。一是宋人，乃見於《武林紀事》，曰太學，曰錢塘，詩曰“還似大蘇無”，則可知矣。又元遺山所作《虞美人》長短句云：“槐陰別院宜清晝，人坐春風秀。美人圖子阿誰留，都是宣和名筆、內家收。鶯鶯燕燕分飛後，粉澹梨花瘦。只除蘇小不風流，斜插一枝萱草鳳釵頭。”此詞既說鶯鶯燕燕之後，此蓋趙氏之小小也。今人止知是蘇小小，不知是何時人。《輟耕錄》既備載數事，辨以為南齊人矣，又不知有宋蘇小小也。一本小小又作小娟，蓋鈔者之誤，殊不觀所寄之詩，況又有《虞美人》詞可證乎。
- 《陔余叢考》：南齊有錢塘妓蘇小小，見郭茂倩《樂府》解題。南宋有蘇小小，亦錢塘人。其姊為太學生趙不敏所眷。不敏命其弟娶其妹名小小者，見《武林舊事》。
- 《四朝詩選》：南宋杭妓能詩者蘇小娟。
- 《宮閨小名錄》：蘇小娟，錢塘妓，與姊盼奴齊名。
- 《雙名志》：蘇小小，一名簡簡。案：簡簡，乃南齊之蘇小小名。白香山有詩詠之“蘇家小小名簡簡，芙蓉花腮柳葉眼”者是也。
- 《雍正西湖志》：謹案：蘇小娟，《七修類稿》辨其當作蘇小小，以為鈔者之誤，引趙不敏並院判詩、元遺山詞為證。不知作者不過借南齊之小小，以詠小娟，何足據乎！仍依《西湖遊覽志餘》作蘇小娟。
- 案：《雍正西湖志》駁辨甚是，《四朝詩選》及《宮閨小名錄》皆作蘇小娟，可稱有識，餘則皆誤矣。
- 《輟耕錄》：蘇小小見諸古今吟詠者多矣，而世人圖寫以玩之，一何動人如此哉！《春渚紀聞》云：司馬才仲初在洛下，晝寢，夢一美姝，舉帷而歌曰：“妾本錢塘江上住，花開花落，不管流年度。燕子銜將春色去。紙窗幾陣黃梅雨。”才仲愛其詞，因詢曲名，云是《黃金縷》，且曰日後相見於錢塘江上。及才仲以東坡先生薦，應制舉中等，遂為錢塘幕官。其廡舍後堂，蘇小墓在焉。時秦少章為錢塘尉，續其詞後云：“斜插犀梳雲半吐。檀板輕敲，唱徹《黃金縷》。夢斷彩雲無覓處。夜涼明月生春浦。”（《西湖遊覽志》作“南浦”）不逾年而才仲得疾，所乘畫水輿舫泊河塘，舵工遽見才仲攜一麗人登舟，即前聲諾，而火起舟尾，倉忙走報，家已慟哭矣。《能改齋漫錄》云：劉次莊所著《樂府解題》曰：“錢塘蘇小小歌，蘇小小非唐人，世見樂天、夢得詩多稱詠之，遂謂與之同時耳。”次莊雖知蘇小小非唐人，而無所據。余按郭茂倩所編引《廣題》曰：“蘇小小，錢塘名娼也，蓋南齊時人。西陵在錢塘江之西，故古辭云‘何處結同心，西陵松柏下’。”
- 《咸淳臨安志》：蘇小小墓在湖上，周紫芝云：“湖堤步遊，客言此蘇小小墓也。”詩云：“野草橫分青草陂，誰埋玉樹與瓊枝？湖邊山自向人綠，

門外柳今何處垂？行雨行雲今是夢，施朱施粉未相宜。一從蕙死蘭枯後，剛道桃花好面皮。”

- 《閑窗括異志》：嘉興縣西南六十步，《地志》云：“晉歌妓蘇小小墓，今有片石在道判廳，曰‘蘇小小墓’。徐凝《寒食》詩云：‘嘉興郭裡逢寒食，落日家家拜掃歸。只有縣前蘇小小，無人送與紙錢灰。’”
- 《白石樵唱》：林景熙（一作景曦）有《詠蘇小小》詩，題注：“蘇小小，錢塘名娼，有墓在嘉興縣西南六十步。”詩云：“歌扇風流憶舊家，一丘落月幾啼鴉。芳痕不肯為黃土，猶幻胭脂半樹花。”
- 《嘉禾百詠》注：懷蘇亭，在禾城東，宋時建。與蘇小墓相望，故名。
- 《湖山便覽》：蘇小小墓，相傳在西陵橋畔。郭茂倩《詩集》古樂府有《錢塘蘇小小歌》。《廣題》云：“蘇小小，錢塘名娼，南齊時人，故自香山詩有‘柳色春藏蘇小家’及‘教妓樓新道姓蘇’之句。”《臨安志》、《武林舊事》俱載墓在湖上，周紫芝有《湖堤吊蘇小墓》詩，其事若可據。然《春諸紀聞》謂司馬才仲為錢塘幕官，廡舍後有蘇小墓。《輟耕錄》又謂西陵乃錢塘江西，故才仲《夢蘇小歌》曰“妾本錢塘江上住”，則其墓不在湖上西陵橋。陸廣微《吳地志》（案：《直齋書錄解題》作《吳地記》）又據唐徐凝詩，謂墓在嘉興縣治側。代遠人微，姑勿深考。
- 《兩般秋雨庵隨筆》：《春諸紀聞》載，南齊蘇小小墓在錢塘縣舍後。（縣原在錢塘門邊，去西陵橋不遠）而元人張光弼詩云：“香骨沉埋縣治前，西陵魂夢隔飛煙。好花好月年年在，潮落潮生更可憐。”（原注：墳在嘉興縣前）此必宋蘇小小也。院判吳人，安知不住嘉興耶？竹垞老人力辨小小墳在秀州，以錢塘之墓為妝點。若知此條，則杭嘉各得其一，何必蹈爭墩之習耶？
- 案：此僅據元張光弼詩，以嘉興縣前為宋蘇小小墓，誤甚。
- 蝶訪曰：文人聚訟，結習難除，蘇小小之墓迄無定論。《雲溪友議》謂吳門女郎真娘，死葬於虎丘，時人比之蘇小小。舉子譚銖題其墓云：“虎丘山下塚累累，松柏蕭蕭即可悲。何事世人惟重色，真娘墓上獨留詩。”此詩如清夜鐘聲，亦曾警醒多少癡夢否！
- 《雲齋廣錄》：司馬樞官於錢塘，夢蘇小小歌《蝶戀花》詞一闕云：“妾本錢塘江上住。花開花謝，不記流年度。燕子銜將春色去。紗窗幾陣瀟瀟雨。斜插犀梳雲半吐。檀板新聲，唱徹《黃金縷》。酒醒夢回無覓處。淒涼明月生秋浦。”
- 《詞名集解》：《黃金縷》，本名《蝶戀花》，宋司馬樞制，一名《明月生南浦》，《元百種曲》又作蘇小小制。
- 案：《雲齋廣錄》所述是全詞，皆蘇小小歌也。其詞字句與《春諸紀聞》間有不同姑勿論，謂司馬樞官錢塘，夢蘇小小歌，與《紀聞》迥異，不知何據。《詞名集解》亦謂《黃金縷》詞，司馬樞制，又謂《元百種曲》作蘇小小制，二說皆非是。考朱竹垞《詞綜》，載“秦觀，字少章，觀之弟也。有《黃金縷》，足司馬才仲夢中蘇小小詞。”當據《春諸紀聞》也。此說為是。

- 《雍正西湖志》：謹案：《懶真子》云“司馬才仲，名棫；才叔，名樵，皆溫公之侄孫。”《西湖遊覽志》引《輟耕錄》作司馬樵才仲，誤也。
- 案：《雍正西湖志》援據《懶真子》，以證《西湖遊覽志》並《輟耕錄》之誤。因檢《懶真子》考之，中一則云：“才仲，名棫；才叔，名樵。皆溫公之侄孫，豪傑之士，鹹未四十而卒。文季（案：文季名樸）每言之，必慘然也。”觀此知訛誤相承，正不僅《輟耕錄》一書也。

From the lengthy account we could apparently tell that its author read extensively about the debates on various issues around Su Xiaoxiao, from her name, location of her tomb, the tune title of the lyric song, to the name of Sima You. *Biji* is such a structure that can be put “within the context not of a closed narrative system but of the intertextual,” and within which there is “no closure and no finite system.”⁴⁴¹ During the early and mid Qing periods, policies on literary censorship became gradually tighter and literati, in order to avoid the literary inquisition, resorted to studies mostly relevant to evidential authentication. Another reason that may affect the formation of such features in *biji* is trend of seeking the truth and applicable knowledge from study rather than indulging in empty talks.⁴⁴² Reading the above content-rich account resembles traveling in a textual community, and this is also a kind replay of the author’s experience of a reading practice. Such an experience could both confirm and undermine a tension between authorship and readership. A reader-traveler of a textual community is dialoguing, negotiating and compromising with another author-traveler of the same textual community. This does not mean that an author or reader has no unique experience of his own. In fact, the very extent to which an author is like a reader is indicative of how he submerged himself in a like-minded community. On another level, the *biji* text writer, as well as a text reader,

⁴⁴¹ Allen, *Intertextuality*, 77.

⁴⁴² Wu, *Zhongguo bi ji xiao shuo shi*, 250-251.

also had his own voice internalized and dialogized within a textual community. Together with other opinions, his voice turned out to be the decisive, if not final, say to be heard and remembered throughout the text. The writer recorded the text and wrote the comments in a much similar way the readers read the text and reflected its comments. The clear demarcation line between readership and authorship became so blurred in the representational and presentational mode of *biji* writing. The above example vividly showcased a “hybrid”⁴⁴³ form in which the textual incorporation came across hierarchical boundaries of genres and constructed a multi-layered pastiche of sources ready for future use. This is a case where an editorial tendency appears to reflect not only the way a piece of literary work was constructed but also the way a collection of works was incorporated. *Biji* is a literary documentation of a writer’s personal reading experience, and a textual hybrid that preserves and triggers collective cultural memories. It reflects and is reflected by a textual community contributed by text readers, writers, editors and publishers. The practices from all these contributors built the unique value to this genre to those who would recognize and utilize the wonderful potentials folded into the pages of *biji*.

At the same time, distinguishable layers of text could be identified with the author’s repetitive employment of the character “Note” 案 throughout the whole piece. While interpreting the value of dream, Tina Lu pointed out, “dream represents what happens inside a person, but it only achieves meaning by being juxtaposed against what

⁴⁴³ For similar discussion, see Elton Glaser, “Hydra and Hybrid: Travel Writing as a Genre,” *North Dakota Quarterly* 59.3 (1991): 348-353; Carrie E. Reed, Motivation and Meaning of a “Hodge-podge”: Duan Chengshi’s “Youyang zazu,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123 (Jan. - Mar., 2003): 121-145.

is happening outside.”⁴⁴⁴ The same logic could be applied to our analysis of the *biji* comprises of both inner and outer layered texts. The author served as a textual editor who “chooses what he considers to be the specificity of the work, what is for him its truth, and makes it understood.”⁴⁴⁵ For example, the last two entries involve the identification of Sima brothers’ names. The author firstly quoted the note from one book that contains book writer’s correction on a third author’s comment on a fourth author’s opinion. He then in the last entry commented all involved authors and books and gave his own conclusion. We may regard the author’s comments as a framing background of the “inner” text, namely the materials he read and recorded. We may also view the “inner” text as an inserted portion in an “outer” text, the commentarial notes of the author. In either way, this way this piece of *biji* displays the text adds an intensive sense of metadramatic potential.

Biji also draws us to think more on the issue of textual categorization. The knowledge of Su Xiaoxiao, Sima You and their stories in *biji* form of writings was segmented and fractured and each controversial issue was assigned to an allotted page space occupied by accumulative texts and opinions. It was as if we envisioned the information around a certain topic was classified in an old fashioned card catalog case with individual drawers to be opened and filled with new information and then shut until another topic was pursued. Without a doubt, the cards in all these drawers are bearers of collective memories. And collective memories belonging to a community of literati contributes to remembering, shaping and reconstructing the literary past and more

⁴⁴⁴ Lu, *Persons, Roles, and Minds*, 64.

⁴⁴⁵ Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant*, 22.

importantly they are “stable” and “situation-transcendent,” for they “may be transferred from one situation to another and transmitted from one generation to another.”⁴⁴⁶ In order to see how specifically the editorial authors across ages categorized Su Xiaoxiao and Sima You’s romance in their works, I list all other versions of the love story preserved since Song dynasty, except QTM stories in XXJ⁴⁴⁷ (Appendix E).

This list firstly allows us to see clearly the relationship between the original story and its various derivatives. Patrick Hanan had distinguished three kinds of the relationship between the classical tale and vernacular fiction. Though many later QTM adaptations fall into other literary genres, such as drama, scholarly notes, etc., his ways may still be helpful in clarifying interesting link between the provenance and later adaptations. The first type of relationship is that “one member of the pair must be derived directly from the other.”⁴⁴⁸ And it generally fits the situation in Song, for example, the original story was expanded slightly in the end in *Chunzhu jiwén*, and in another case was greatly developed into a more structurally complete tale entitled “A Strange Dream by Qiantang River”, but they remain fairly faithful to the origin in terms of plots, structure and language style. If Bai Pu’s 白樸(1226-?) drama were available, we might then have one more Yuan play survived and possibly save much efforts to test QTM’s identity. The second type is that the pairs “have a ‘distant’ connection,” because “they have a good deal of incident in common, certainly enough to identify them as versions of the same

⁴⁴⁶ Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” 111.

⁴⁴⁷ A list of QTM editions is available in Chapter 2.

⁴⁴⁸ Patrick Hanan, *The Chinese Short Story* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 87.

story, but they have no verbal correspondence, or at least none that would signify that one author had worked directly from the text of the other at the time he was writing his story.”⁴⁴⁹ Even if we simply glance over some titles of Ming and Qing versions, we could easily discern a very remarkable development in the plots. It is true that most editions collected in different anthologies were actually about the same account with different titles. As discussed previously, the Qing drama *Fangqing yuan*, though lost, indeed has a “distant connection” with the origin, according to the summary of its plots. There was also a Qing novel *Su Xiaoxiao* which has not been survived. As for the relatively lengthy stories collected in *Xihu jiahua* and *Xihu shiyi* but not appeared in the list, the third type may suitably illustrate their connection with the original: “there are some classical items so short that they amount merely to the gist of the vernacular story.”⁴⁵⁰

More importantly, this list exhibits comprehensively the different categories the same or similar story account was put into by the editorial authors or collectors, especially the authors of *biji* writings. To categorize a story means to make sense of the story within a community consisting of similar texts, and it is also indicative of a way of interpretation. It requires the authors to recognize power and potential in the text by employing his established cultural memory. In Ming and Qing China, “the sociology of collecting and its cultural logic” could be best illustrated in “collecting and classifying knowledge about things occurred within the pages of *leishu* 類書,”⁴⁵¹ as Benjamin Elman

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 88.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ Benjamin Elman, “Collecting and Classifying: Ming Dynasty Compendia and Encyclopedias (*Leishu*),” *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident, hors série 1* (2007), 152. For studies on *leishu* and vernacular stories, see Ogawa Yoichi 小川陽一, *Nichiyo ruisho niyoru Min-Shin schosetsu no kenkyu* 日用

observed. This is extremely true in the case of Sima and Su's stories collected in *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (Complete collection of books past and present), a Qing encyclopedia compiled by Chen Menglei 陳夢雷 (1650-1741). In particular, the same story account, "Sima Caizhong encountered Su Xiao" 司馬才仲遇蘇小 from *Hearsay Accounts of Spring Islet*, had been classified in many sections, among which are "Miscellaneous Ghosts and Spirits" 雜鬼神部 (*juan* 45), "Dream" 夢部 (*juan* 150), "Lyrics and Tunes" 詞曲部 (*juan* 253), "Chamber Beauty" 閨艷部 (*juan* 360) and "Prostitute" 娼妓部 (*juan* 824). "Memory enables us to live in groups and the communities, and the living in groups and the communities enables us to build a memory."⁴⁵² By the same token, the memory of QTM enables it to be existing in a textual community, and the presence of QTM in a textual community in turn enables the readers and writers to build a collective memory. The reason why this encyclopedia was not on the above list is because the same story account had been classified in too many sections under different subjects, and it is extremely difficult to tell which section fits the nature or theme of the story. The pastiche-like presence in this encyclopedia also metaphorically mirrors the existential situation of QTM stories across ages. In restoring the editorial process of constructing a Ming book of dramatic miscellany⁴⁵³ entitled *Wanjin jiaoli* 萬錦

類書による明清小説の研究 (Researches on Ming-Qing novels using everyday encyclopedias) (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 1995).

⁴⁵² Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," 109.

⁴⁵³ For more discussion on drama miscellanies and their milieu, see Chapter 2 in He Yuming, *Home and the World: Editing the "Glorious Ming" in Woodblock-Printed Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Boston, Mass: Harvard University, Asia Center, 2013), 74-139.

嬌麗 (Myriad brocades from charming beauties), Shang Wei gave the following

descriptions:

[The editor], when adapting and compiling dramatic and fictional texts, was unconcerned about authorship or textual integrity and unity. He took a piece of a text out of its context, imposed a fresh significance on it by incorporating it into a new sequence of a texts, and thus ended up creating a hybrid book out of miscellaneous, fragmented pieces. Despite individual variations, the same can be said of the editors of literary miscellanies in general.⁴⁵⁴

Similarly, the textual collectors employed various editorial strategies in working diverse texts into the fabric of *biji* narratives. It is truth that compilation and adaptation by nature are not creative practice in the strict sense. Nonetheless, *biji* as well as other literary forms brought by such editorial norms consequently played a critical role in preserving textual materials which may otherwise be easily lost and in contributing to a prosperous development in drama and fiction during the Qing,⁴⁵⁵ a time of literary prosperity in vernacular literature that is as beautifully diversified as the Chinese traditional brocades. Maybe that partially explained why the compilers of *leishu* and collections of literary miscellanies in Ming and Qing often employed the character *ji* 錦 in their titles. Some of the examples⁴⁵⁶ are listed below:

Table 4. A Selected List of Titles with “Brocade” from Daily Use Encyclopedias and Miscellanies of Dramas and Novels

⁴⁵⁴ Shang, “*Jin Ping Mei* and Late Ming Print Culture,” 193.

⁴⁵⁵ Wu, *Zhongguo bi ji xiao shuo shi*, 229-230.

⁴⁵⁶ In working out the list, I referred to the following materials: Zhao Chunling 趙春寧, *Xixiang ji chuanbo yanjiu* 西廂記傳播研究 (Fujian: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 2005), 304-307; Wang Qiujia 王秋佳, comp., *Shanben xiqu congkan* 善本戲曲叢刊 Taipei: Tanwan xuesheng shuju, 1984-87); Shang Chuan 商傳, ed., *Ming dai tongsu riyong leishu jikan* 明代通俗日用類書集刊 (Chongqing: Xinan shifan daxue chubanshe, 2011). For the convenience of discussion, many of the titles are listed in short forms.

Title	Editor
<i>A Brocade Sack of Romance</i> 風月錦囊(1553)	Xu Wenshao 徐文昭
<i>A Brocade Sack for Entire Household</i> 全家錦囊 (1553)	
<i>A Complete Collection of Brocades for Entire Household</i> 全家錦大全 (1553)	
<i>Brocade Performed by the Eight Capable</i> 八能奏錦 (1573)	Huang Wenhua 黃文華
<i>A Brocade Sack from Office of Scholars</i> 翰府錦囊(1585)	Chixinzi 赤心子
<i>Brocade Plucked from Five Carriages of Books</i> 五車拔錦(1597)	Xu Sanyou 徐三友
<i>Myriad Brocades from Romance Forest</i> 萬錦情林(1598)	Yu Xiangdou 餘象斗
<i>Plucked Brocades from Pear Garden, Essence of Music Bureau</i> 梨園摘錦樂府菁華 (1600)	Liu Junxi 劉君錫
<i>Amassed Brocades from Forest of Letters, A Fathomless Ocean of Myriad Books</i> 文林匯錦萬書淵海 (1610)	anonymous
<i>Plucked Brocades of Extraordinary Melodies</i> 摘錦奇音 (1611)	Gong Zhengwo 龔正我
<i>Wondrous brocades from the forest of letters, Complete Book of Myriad Treasures</i> 文林妙錦萬寶全書 (1612)	Xu Qilong 徐企龍
<i>Myriad Brocades from Book Words, Complete Collection of Stories</i> 萬錦書言故事大全 (1573-1620)	Yao Zhengqing 饒正卿
<i>A Complete Book of Myriad Brocades</i> 萬錦全書 (1573-1620)	anonymous
<i>Myriad Brocades from Charming Beauties</i> 萬錦嬌麗(1628-1644)	Baiyun daoren 白雲道人
<i>Brocades of the Pleasant Spring</i> 怡春錦(1628-1644)	Chonghe jushi 沖和居士
<i>Clear Sound of Myriad Brocades</i> 萬錦清音(1661)	Fanglaiguan zhuren 方來館主人
<i>Amassed Brocades of Myriad Households</i> 萬家合錦(1736-1796)	anonymous
<i>Amassed Brocades of Myriad Households</i> 千家合錦(1644-1911)	

The image of “brocade” to some extent points to a pastiche constitution of readership. The way an encyclopedia or a miscellaneous work was constructed “allows unrelated heterogeneous texts and the genres to be presented on the same page and thus fundamentally shapes readers’ perceptions and conceptualizations of the text world.”⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁷ Shang, “*Jin Ping Mei* and Late Ming Print Culture,” 204.

And such a miniature form of a diversified textual community in turn signified a highly extensive readership. The potential readership on the *leishu* or miscellanies compilers' minds was not restricted to those who were well-educated elites or rich people, but it also included "officials, literati, collectors, the new class of nouveaux riches, members of the laity, common people, the relatively unlearned, and even the all-inclusive 'people of the empire' or 'people of the four classes.'"⁴⁵⁸ This is self-evident in the full title of *Hanfu jinnang* 翰府錦囊: *Newly Carved, and Complied by Chixinzi, A Convenient Survey for Advantageous Employment by the Four Classes: A Brocade Sack from Office of Scholars, Eight Volumes* 新鐫赤心子彙編四民利觀翰府錦囊八卷.

"Brocade" may also serve as a symbolic benchmark for the quality of texts collected and classified in a work. As was suggested in those titles, "brocade," though in the amount of "myriads," ought to be meticulously "plucked" so as to be "wondrous." Otherwise, a work crudely made would have to face harsh criticism. For example, a Ming editor Zhang Lu 張祿 (1479-?) in the preface of a dramatic miscellany *Cilin zhaiyan* 詞林摘艷 (Gorgeousness plucked from the forest of lyric songs) severely criticized the quality of another similar work *Shengshi xinsheng* 盛世新聲 (New sound in an age of prosperity) because its author "did not select the refined from the crude in his extensive and indiscriminate collection of materials, and failed to tell the right from the wrong in his work of rapid result" 但其貪收之廣者，或不能擇其精粗，欲成之速者，或不暇

⁴⁵⁸ Anne McLaren, "Constructing New Reading Publics in Late Ming China," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, 152.

考其訛舛。⁴⁵⁹ Therefore, the “brocade” texts must be authentically appealing to their readers. Viewed under this light, a literary work produced travel literature may be not only seen as a profitable cultural product aiming for a diverse readership, but also as a pastiche in which those well-selected materials are expecting for rearrangement in a textual community. Like the *biji* writers and readers, readers of *leishu* were also able to consume and utilize what they encounter in the textual world. The collection of various texts from miscellaneous sources requires an extensive reading experience, and the materials preserved in the collection expect further movements through either textual appropriation or practical application. In short, these texts on page are ready for future use by both readers and writers. In late Ming and early Qing, classification and collection of texts turned out to be a mass game based on accumulative knowledge and collective memories. Hence, the present existence of a person as an individual and as a member of various groups is powerfully shaped by recollections of the past and anticipations of the future.⁴⁶⁰

There was an account of a dream preserved in *History of South Dynasty* (420-589) 南史. The repeatedly quoted image of “brocade” 錦 in the story across ages pertinently and metaphorically illustrates what the source of talent may appear to be in the minds of ancient literati:

[Jiang] Yan⁴⁶¹ was famous for his essays in his youth, yet in his late years, his talent in writing began to decay. It was said that during his returned journey after

⁴⁵⁹ Yu and Sun, *Lidai quhua huibian*, vol.1, 239.

⁴⁶⁰ Rodriguez and Fortier, *Cultural Memory*, 8.

⁴⁶¹ Jiang Yan 江淹 (444-505) was a talented politician and man of letters in Southern dynasty.

being dismissed from the position of Xuancheng Prefect, Yan firstly moored [his boat] beside Chanling Tempe. At night he dreamed of a person who claimed to be Zhang Jingyang. [The person] said to Yan, “Previously, [I] entrusted [to you] a bolt of brocade, and now it can be returned.” After searching his bosom, he got several *chi* of brocade and returned it. The person was in rage and said, “It must be completely cut off.” Yan turned back and saw Qiu Chi. He said [to Qiu], “Since the rest several *chi* of brocade is of no use, [I will] just give it to you.” Since then, the writings of Yan began to decline. Yan once stopped by Yeting, and dreamed of a man who claimed to be Guo Pu. [Guo] said to Yan, “I had a brush which was at your place for years, and it can be returned.” Yan searched his bosom and got a five-color brush. He gave the brush to Guo. Since then, there were no fine lines in his poetry. His contemporaries said that his talent was exhausted.⁴⁶²

淹少以文章顯，晚節才思微退，云為宣城太守時罷歸，始泊禪靈寺諸，夜夢一人自稱張景陽，謂曰：“前以一匹錦相寄，今可見還。”淹探懷中得數尺與之，此人大恚曰：“那得割截都盡。”顧見丘遲，謂曰：“餘此數尺既無所用，以遺君。”自爾淹文章躓矣。又嘗宿於冶亭，夢一丈夫自稱郭璞，謂淹曰：“吾有筆在卿處多年，可以見還。”淹乃探懷中得五色筆一以授之。爾後為詩絕無美句，時人謂之才盡。

Collection between Fact and Fiction

In his *Yuewei caotang biji* 閱微草堂筆記 (Notes from grass hall of reading minutia), Ji Yun recorded an anecdote he personally heard from a friend who had probably also shared the same story orally with a wider group of public listeners:

Wang Houshi (1721-1770), the principal officer in Ministry of Personnel, said: there was someone who operated spirit writing. When he descended the altar, the poem read: “The grass around the ancient burial site is luxuriant and flourishing; only the night noon over Xiling knows [where she was lying underneath]. Poets with full affection come to visit the site of the past. The phantom and the heart-broken are both watching the inscribed poems. Oceans and fields witness several calamities, and the lake is still green. Clouds and rains past a thousand years, and

⁴⁶² Li Yanshou 李延壽 (?), *Nan shi* 南史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 1451.

the dream is still unclear. Who believe the flower-scattering beauty of the spiritual mountain, is now by the Buddha fire that faces the colored glaze candle holder.” The audience knew that it was Su Xiaoxiao. Someone asked, “You, the fairy beauty, were born in Southern Qi period, and how are you able to compose seven-character regulated verses?” The planchette reader said, “Across history and time, there is one universal principle in either darkness or brightness. The nature and spirit [of people in the past] will not be obscured, and they move along with the time. Confucius only knew the scripts of Zhou dynasty, how come his eulogy was written in the scripts of Han dynasty? Sakyamuni did not understand Chinese language, how come Buddhist sutras were written in verses? Hence, it could be known that the intrinsic nature of people living a thousand years ago still exists. That is why they could decode the language and understand the scripts used today. Jiang Wentong and Xie Xuanhui (464-499) were able to compose regulated rhapsodies with eight rhymes, “Trade My Beloved Concubine for a Horse.” Qingxiang, the son of Shen Xiuwen (441-513), could write a five-character regulated poem “Meditation on Past in Jinling.” There were examples in the past, and why are you in doubt now?” There was another question: “[Could you] still compose poems in Yongming style?” Immediately, four poems were written, and they read: “Joy should come, but it can’t come. You should go, but you can’t go. So annoying is the contrary wind. For a whole night, it stops the boats from ferrying people.” “Where does joy come from? Today there is strong wind and heavy rain. The apricot coat is wet through. The hardship is all because of you.” “Wearing a dress with patterns of butterflies, [I] row a small boat to seek joy. [The boat] is meandering along huge riverbanks. Green waves mirror a pair of shadows.” “Do not moor near the sand bar with lotus flowers. Just stop beside the willow river bank. Beyond the flowers, there are people walking. Willows are deep and people cannot be seen.” There are probably “Midnight Songs.” Though she was known as a talented ghost, one can also say she is eloquent.⁴⁶³

汪主事厚石言：有在西湖扶乩者，下壇詩曰：舊埋香處草離離，只有西陵夜月知。詞客情多來吊古，幽魂腸斷看題詩。滄桑幾劫湖仍綠，雲雨千年夢尚疑。誰信靈山散花女，如今佛火對琉璃。”眾知為蘇小小也。客或請曰：“仙姬生在南齊，何以亦能七律？”乩判曰：“閱歷歲時，幽明一理。性靈不昧，即與世推移。宣聖惟識大篆，祝詞何寫以隸書？釋迦不解華言，疏文何行以駢體？是知千載前人，其性識至今猶在，即能解今之語，通今之文。江文通、謝玄暉能作《愛妾換馬》八韻律賦，沈休文子《青箱》能作《金陵懷古》五言律詩，古有其事，又何疑於今乎？”又問：“尚能作永明體否？”即書四詩曰：“歡來不得來，儂去不得去。懊惱石尤風，一夜斷人渡。”“歡從何處來？今日大風雨，濕盡杏子衫，辛苦皆因汝。”“結束蛺蝶裙，為歡棹舴艋。宛

⁴⁶³ Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805), *Yuwei caotang biji* 閱微草堂筆記, ed. Xiong Zhiqi 熊治祁 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1993), 497-498.

轉沿大堤，綠波雙照影。”“莫泊荷花汀，且泊楊柳岸。花外有人行，柳深人不見。”蓋《子夜歌》也。雖才鬼依托，亦可云俊辯矣。

This entry involves the issue of spirit writing occurred on West Lake and it reminds the readers of the similar story recorded in previous dynasty. The collective memories were triggered by the words and images, such as “burial site,” “Xiling,” and “clouds and rains,” which are customarily found in a textual community constructed throughout various dynasties around Su Xiaoxiao. Naturally, the audience was able to assert for sure the immortal who wrote the poem was no other than Su Xiaoxiao herself. But someone doubted her identity because a conflict was sensed out between literature and history. The words from an eloquent Su Xiaoxiao in the voice of the planchette reader may on the one hand explain the doubts away. But on the other hand they blurred the boundaries between fact and fiction. *Biji* often guides the readers to approach a text in a positive way that allows for diverse perspectives and expects them to receive more than just factual information for an account its authors read, heard, created or commented. Collective cultural memory helps us understand a text. But the interpretation of a text, however neutral it attempts to be, will be more or less tinted with humanized features, and it in turn enriches the memories of both authors and readers who are “in the functional composite of imagination and memory.”⁴⁶⁴ Thus, in *biji* writings, a historical account can be written or taken with as much potential as a fictional story, because “in the context of a cultural memory, the distinction between myth and history vanishes.”⁴⁶⁵ The existence of fact and fiction in *biji* is seen in the fact that the path taken by each

⁴⁶⁴ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 16.

⁴⁶⁵ Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” 113.

frequently intersected with that of the other. It may confuse the readers that a clear demarcation line between history and imagination is difficult to draw in *biji*. But isn't this same confusion one of the great appeals found in a literary synthesis of both fact and fiction as what *biji* typically represents? To end our investigation on Su Xiaoxiao and QTM in this chapter, I would like to quote the poetic lines from T.S. Eliot (1888-1965):

We shall not cease from exploration,
And the end of all our exploring,
Will be to arrive where we started,
And know the place for the first time.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁶ T.S. Eliot (1888-1965), *Four Quartets* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943), 29.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation is a study on QTM, the earliest known vernacular short story of the courtesan category. The whole project begins with the search for answers of two simple questions: what is the story? Why is it attached to XXJ? With sufficient textual evidence, it could be affirmed that QTM was composed in early Ming by probably a single editorial author with expertise in vernacular and performance literature. QTM reflects and expresses an editorial rhetoric that shaped and was shaped by the print culture of its time. The story, developed from oral tradition, carries in a written form a mode that was typically seen in earlier theatrical performance on stage. In addition, its theme corresponds with the important travel and dream episodes in XXJ, as was demonstrated in both textual and visual evidence. These two reasons may mainly legitimize its customary presence as a paratext to XXJ. The investigation of the relationship between text and woodblock illustration reveals a mode that synthesizes both travel and dream experiences, and it is also a mode that best represents QTM and explains for its timeless popularity. It is something of a “living” mode in which a textual community in later generations can reconstruct their authorial and cultural identity by encountering, remembering and reproducing the travel and dream elements in the form of autobiographical and biographical expression of a desiring subject. Woodblock illustration painters, engravers, and print workers collectively played a critical role in contributing to a graphic community featured by inter pictoriality. Likewise, readers, writers, and editors formed their own views about a past by collecting both collective and individual memory. And the interplay of traveling and dreaming experiences creates a

liminal realm of pastiches. This perspective is extremely apposite in the analysis of *biji*, a literary miscellany which displays both representational and presentational texts, bears a metadramatic potential of exhibiting a play within a play, and presents a pastiche that integrates historical truth and literary imagination. Such retellings both construct and challenge our understanding of the complex networks of lexical and thematic exchange in the colloquial literary landscape during the late imperial period. The interplay of history and literature is always an interesting topic. For QTM and the romance between Su Xiaoxiao and Sima You, history requires a definite closure of impossibilities, whereas literature provides an opening to possibilities.

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APPENDIX A

A SEGMENTED VERSION OF QTM TEXT

題目	增相錢塘夢 ⁴⁶⁷
引首	試問水歸何處？無明徹夜東流，滔滔不管古今愁。浪花如噴雪，新月似銀鈎。暗想當年富貴，掛錦帆直至江（揚）州。風流人去幾千秋，兩行金線柳，依舊攬扁舟。青山無數，綠水無數，更那看白雲無數。灞陵橋上望西川，動不動八千里路。去時節春暮，來時節秋暮，急回頭，又早冬暮。想人生，會少□（離）多，歎光陰，能有幾度。
入場詩	詩曰：春風酒一壺，夜月琴三弄，今古罕曾聞，試聽錢塘□（夢）。
杭州	話說宋朝有一秀才，覆姓司馬，名□（猷），本□（貫）汴梁人也。年方弱冠，早赴科場。腹中背□（記）五車書，胸內包藏千古史。那秀才往錢塘□□（江上），觀光上國。遂攜琴劍書箱，取路徑□（往）杭州，在路非止一日。饑食渴飲，夜住曉行。不覺早到杭州。怎見得杭州好景。歐陽公有詩為證，詩曰：山外青山樓外樓，西湖□（歌）舞幾時休，暖風熏得遊人醉，直把杭州□□□（作汴州）。說不盡杭州好景。有東菜西水，南柴□□（北米）。自古建都之地，名賢隱跡之鄉。四時有不謝之花，八節有長春之景。東西酒肆會佳賓，南北歌樓煙月市。有三十六條花柳巷，七十二座管弦樓，更有一荅閑田地。不是栽花蹴氣毬。
西湖	那秀才探親已畢，因同幾個詩人，宴賞於西湖之上。怎見得西湖好景，有蘇東坡詩為證，詩曰：湖光潑豔晴偏好，山色溟濛雨亦奇。若把西湖比西子，淡妝濃抹也相宜。說不盡西湖好景。又有詩為證，詩曰：依依柳向湖邊綠，灼灼桃花映水紅。隱隱山藏三百寺，重重雲鎖二高峰。端的是山藏美玉，地產靈芝。湖光堂上勝蓬萊，四聖觀中欺閭苑，湖光潑豔，蘭橈畫槳數千船。山景融和，玉砌金堆千萬戶。九井玉龍噴紫霧，三潭明月浸玻璃。柳蔭白鶴飛還往。船畔金鱗戲水遊。青青柳岸漁人塢，點點花香樵子村。斷橋深處，有泛桃花，流紅葉，浴鴛鴦，浮鷗鷺，暖溶溶，三千頃波漾琉璃，水簾洞前，有瑣蒼崖，懸雨腳，堆螺髻，列畫屏，青鬱鬱，三百里山橫翡翠，春風郊野，綠楊影裡聽啼鶯，夏日園林，□□（沽酒）樓前堪繫馬，秋光將暮，看東籬菊□□□（蕊包金），臘雪纔消，向暖處江梅破玉。山中□□□（景致不）同，四季遊人快樂，柳洲□□（亭下），□（畫）船□□（舉棹）喚遊人，豐樂橋前，酒旗搖風招□（過）客，九里青松烟淡淡，六橋金□（柳）翠依依，曉霞遙映三天竺，暮雲深鎖二高峯，風□□（起處）猿呼洞口，雨飛來龍井山頭，冷泉亭下，有清冷冷，碧澄澄，流浩月，浸寒星，千千丈瀑布掛飛龍，靈隱寺前，有炎騰騰，光燦燦，瑞氣沖，天花□落，有萬萬朵祥雲籠佛殿，□步蘇堤□□（東坡）楊柳院，訪孤山和靖老梅軒，又有詩□□（為

⁴⁶⁷ This text is from Wang, *XXJ* (1499), 7-14, and as for the unrecognizable characters, I referred to the text of QTM attached to Reprinted Yuan Edition with Title Comments and Pronunciation Interpretation: *Xixiang ji*. (Liu Longtian edition) 重刻元本題評音釋西廂記劉龍田刊本(1573-1620).

	証)，□（詩）曰：畫閣映山山映閣，碧天連水水□□（連天）。金勒馬嘶芳草地，玉樓人醉杏□□（花天）。
錢塘埋骨	那秀才觀之不足，看之有餘，至暮而歸，遂往錢塘江上，江頭景致與城中太異，西望七裡灘，嚴陵舊跡，東觀會稽山，謝安幽居，泉香酒美，波深魚肥，日落山腰，風生渡口，怎見得，日落山腰，捧金盤，懸玉鏡，曜三光，明六合，濃靄靄，萬裡海雲堆月上，風生渡口，走銀山，崩太華，喊千軍，奔萬馬，骨魯魯，一江春水送潮來。江頭是好□（景）致，回文詩為証，詩曰：潮隨暗浪雪山傾，遠浦漁舟釣月明，橋對寺門松逕小，檻當泉眼石波清，迢迢綠水江天曉，靄靄紅霞晚日晴，遙望四邊雲接水，碧波千點數鷗輕。那秀才喜不自勝，於是卜築為居，壘土為坵，栽花為苑，編籬為戶，引水為池，取土掘深三尺，忽見骸骨一付儼然，家童來報秀才，秀才言曰，甚人遺體，不可棄之，於是用石匣裝盛，葬于高阜去處，不覺的天色已晚，金烏漸漸墜西山，玉兔看看上翠欄，深院佳人頻報道，月移花影又更殘。
三陣風	是夜晚間，金風颯颯，玉露零零，銀河耿耿，皓月□（澄）澄。那秀才取一壺酒，杖一口劍，操一曲□（琴），吟一首詩，詩曰：瑤琴塵暗鴛鴦錦，梨花□（夢）繞珊瑚枕，晚風時送異香來，一曲高歌邀月飲。那秀才歌罷，驀然起一陣狂風，那風是大不大，有詩為証，詩曰：無形無影透人懷，四季能吹萬物開，就地撮將黃葉去，入山推出白雲來。這風不大，有第二陣風，那風非幹虎嘯，豈是龍吟，卒律律寒風撲面，清零零冷氣侵人，急不能開花謝柳，暗藏著水恠□□（山妖），□（那）風真箇是吹折地獄門前樹，捲起酆都□（頂）上塵，更有第三陣風，入紗窗，滅銀缸（紅），穿□（畫）閣，透羅裳，舞飄飄吹花擺柳，昏慘慘走石颺砂，俄然過處頻敲竹，驀地飄來不見花，祇聽得環佩鏗鏘，麝蘭縹緲，異香襲人，風清月朗。
外貌	那秀才正疑思之間，忽聞窗外有人言，那秀才開門忙覷，乃是一女子，髻挽烏雲，眉彎新月，肌凝瑞雪，臉襯朝霞，有沉魚落雁之容，閉月羞花之貌，秋波滴瀝，雲鬢輕盈，淡掃蛾眉，薄施朱粉。舒玉指，露春筍纖長，下香階，顯金蓮步穩。端的是儀容嬌媚，體態輕盈，綺羅隊裡生來，卻厭繁華氣象，珠翠叢中長大，那堪雅淡梳粧，開遍海棠，也不問夜來多少，飄殘柳絮，竟不知春去如何，要知他半點真情，除非是穿瑣窗皓月，能施他一回嬌眼，卻便似翻綉晃清風。比花花解語，比玉玉生香。臨溪雙洛浦，對月兩嫦娥。
對話	那女子輕移蓮步，有蕊珠宮仙子之風，緩蹙湘裙，似水月觀音之態，環低素手，啟一點朱唇，露兩行皓齒：“蒙葬骨之恩，未敢有忘，今夜特來拜謝，願陪枕席之□（歡），共效于飛之樂，若不相棄，賤妾萬幸。”那秀才聽罷，正色而怒，帶酒而言：“非前生半面之交，卻怎生取一宵之樂？又不曾好句有情聯夜月，落花無語怨東風，眉間眼角傳心事，月下星前說誓盟。□（你）是何方鬼恠，甚處精靈？為甚寅夜前來，迷惑

	<p>俺讀書君子？”那女子聽罷，忙陪笑臉，低首無言，手執白牙象板，高歌一曲，曲名（蝶戀花）：妾本錢塘江上住，花落花開，不記流年度，燕子啣將春色去，紗窗幾陣黃梅雨。那秀才聽罷，恰便似林鶯嘵嘵，山溜零零，歌喉宛轉，餘韻悠揚，向前欲問其由，那女子化清風而不見。</p>
驚夢	<p>霎然驚覺，乃是南柯一□（夢），那秀才欠身而起，披衣出戶，見滿地花陰，□（半）窗明月，三唱雞聲，東方漸白，悔之不及，於是忙呼左右，急喚家童，取將文房四寶，磨得墨濃，蘸得筆飽，亦作蝶戀花半篇，其詞曰：斜插犀梳雲半吐，檀板輕敲，唱徹黃金縷，歌罷彩雲無覓處，夢回明月生南浦。</p>

APPENDIX B

A LIST OF QTM'S EDITIONS IN PREMODERN CHINESE LITERATURE

1. <i>Newly Cut, Large-Character, Folio-Size, Completely Illustrated, Expanded, Deluxe, Annotated Xixiang ji</i> 新刊大字魁本全相參增奇妙註釋西廂記 (1499)
2. <i>Newly Printed, Examined, Ancient Edition with Illustration and Annotation: Northern Xixiang</i> 新刻考正古本大字出像釋義北西廂 (1579)
3. <i>Reprinted Yuan Edition with Title Commentary and Pronunciation Interpretation: Xixiang ji</i> (Xu Shifan edition) 重刻元本題評音釋西廂記徐士範刊本 (1580)
4. <i>Reprinted Yuan Edition with Title Commentary and Pronunciation Interpretation: Xixiang ji</i> (Xiong Longfeng edition) 重刻元本題評音釋西廂記熊龍峰刊本 (1592)
5. <i>Reprinted Yuan Edition with Title Commentary and Pronunciation Interpretation: Xixiang ji</i> (Liu Longtian edition) 重刻元本題評音釋西廂記劉龍田刊本 (1573-1620)
6. <i>Re-Annotated Northern Xixiang ji</i> (Jizhi zhai edition) 重校北西廂記繼志齋刊本 (1598)
7. <i>Re-Annotated Northern Xixiang ji</i> (Sanhuai tang edition) 重校北西廂記三槐堂刊本(1573-1620)
8. <i>Re-Annotated Northern Xixiang ji</i> (Luo Maodeng edition) 重校北西廂記羅懋登刊本(1573-1620)
9. <i>Norther Xixiang ji with Illustration and Li Zhuowu's Commentary</i> 李卓吾批評合像北西廂記 (1573-1620)
10. <i>Newly Printed Xixiang ji with Chen Meigong's Commentary</i> 鼎鑄陳眉公先生批評西廂記 (1618)
11. <i>Ten Scrolls of Newly Printed, Supplemented, Fully Illustrated Version of Yanju biji</i> (Cuiqing tang edition) 新刻增補全相燕居筆記十卷萃慶堂刊本 ⁴⁶⁸ (1573-1620)
12. <i>Xixiang ji with Yuan Liaofan's Annotation</i> 袁了凡先生釋義西廂記 (1573-1620)
13. <i>Newly Cut, Examined, Completely Illustrated, Annotated Northern Xixiang ji</i> 新刊考正全像評釋北西廂記 (1573-1620)
14. <i>Two Scrolls of Yuan Edition with Illustration: Xixiang ji</i> (Huancui tang edition) 元本出相西廂記二卷環翠堂刊本 (1573-1620)
15. <i>Newly Printed with Xu Wenchang's Annotation: Xixiang ji</i> 新刻徐文長公參

⁴⁶⁸ The earliest existent version so far was found in Japan, which is actually a Ming edition compiled by Lin Jinyang 林近陽 (?), see Lin Jinyang 林近陽, *Yanju biji* 燕居筆記, vol. 4, 17d-23b, Ming edition, Naikaku Bunko facsimile.

訂西廂記(1628-1644)
16. <i>Six Illusions: Encountering an Immortal</i> 會真六幻 (1640)
17. <i>Authentic Edition with Li Zhuowu's Commentary: Xixiang ji</i> 李卓吾先生批點西廂記真本 (1640)
18. <i>Xixiang ji with Tang Hairuo's Commentary</i> 湯海若先生批評西廂記 (1628-1644)
19. <i>Newly Printed with Wei Zhongxue's Commentary: Xixiangji</i> 新刻魏仲雪先生批點西廂記 (1628-1644)
20. <i>Newly Printed with Wei Zhongxue's Commentary: Xixiang ji</i> (Cuncheng tang edition) 新刻魏仲雪先生批點西廂記存誠堂刊本 (late Ming, early Qing)

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF PASSAGES BORROWED FROM THE PROLOGUE IN QTM

1. Feng Menglong, “Yu Zhongju tishi yu shanghuang” 俞仲舉題詩遇上皇 (Yu Liang writes poems and wins recognition from the emperor):

When departing, it was late autumn; when arriving, it was late spring; when returning, it was again late autumn. From the Tower of Bounty and Bliss, look afar to the west plain, and it is always the eight-thousand-*li* road. Endless are the blue mountains, white clouds, and green waters. Few ever live beyond seventy. Calculating the light and shadow, how many times can one have them?⁴⁶⁹

來時秋暮，到時春暮，歸去又還秋暮。豐樂樓上望西川，動不動八千里路。青山無數，白雲無數，綠水又還無數。人生七十古來稀，算恁地光陰，能來得幾度！

2. Qidong yeren 齊東野人, *Suiyang di yanshi* 隋煬帝豔史, Chapter 1:

May I inquire where the water goes? It indifferently flows eastward all night long, incessantly surging, regardless of the sorrows either in past or at present. The billow spray is like the gushing snow; the new noon resembles the silver sickle. Reminisce those prime years with wealth, raising the brocade sails and reaching directly Yangzhou. The time favorite people had gone for several thousand autumns, but two lines of golden thread willows are still there trying to grasp the small boats.⁴⁷⁰

試問水歸何處？無明徹夜東流。滔滔不管古今愁。浪花如噴雪，新月似銀鉤。暗想當年富貴，掛錦帆直至揚州。風流人去幾千秋。兩行金線柳，依舊纜扁舟。

3. Anonymous, *Shan e tu quanzhuan* 善惡圖全傳, Chapter 34:

May I inquire where the water goes? Without sleeping, it flows eastward all night long, incessantly surging, regardless of the sorrows either in past or at present. The billow spray is like the gushing snow; the starry noon resembles the silver sickle. Reminisce those past prime years with wealth, raising the brocade sails and reaching Yangzhou. The time favorite people had gone for several thousand autumns. It only ends up with two lines of golden thread willows there, still trying to grasp the small boats.⁴⁷¹

試問水歸何處，無眠徹夜東流，滔滔不管古今愁。浪花如噴雪，星月是銀鉤。昔想當年，掛錦帆到揚州，風流人去幾千秋。只落得幾行金線柳，依舊纜扁舟。

4. Anonymous, *Ju xian ting* 聚仙亭, Chapter 3:

May I inquire where the water goes? Without an end, it flows eastward, incessantly

⁴⁶⁹ Feng, *Jingshi tongyan*, 71.

⁴⁷⁰ Qidong yeren 齊東野人, *Suiyangdi yanshi* 隋煬帝豔史, ed. Xiao Mang 肖芒 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 1.

⁴⁷¹ Anonymous, *Huitu Shan e tu quanzhuan* 繪圖善惡圖全傳 (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu xueyuan chubanshe, 1994), 234.

surging, regardless of the sorrows either in past or at present. The billow spray is like the gushing snow; the starry noon resembles the silver sickle. Reminisce those prime years with wealth, raising the brocade sails and reaching directly Yangzhou. The time favorite people had gone for several thousand autumns, but two lines of golden thread willows are still there, attached to the small boats.⁴⁷²

試問水歸何處，無徹東流，滔滔不管古今愁。浪花如噴雪，星月似銀鉤。暗想當年富貴，掛錦帆直至揚州。風流人去幾千秋，兩行金線柳，依舊系扁舟。

5. Tanmeng daoren 貪夢道人, *Yongqing shengping quanzhuan* 永慶升平全傳 (or *Kangxi xiayi zhuan* 康熙俠義傳), Chapter 196:

6. Dumen tanmeng daoren 都門貪夢道人, *Yongqing shengping houzhuan* 永慶升平後傳, Chapter 99:

May I inquire where the water goes? Without names, it flows eastward all night long, incessantly surging, regardless of the sorrows either in past or at present. The billow spray is like the gushing clouds; the new noon resembles the silver sickle. Reminisce those prime years with wealth, raising the brocade sails and reaching directly Yangzhou. The time favorite people had gone for several thousand autumns, but two lines of golden thread willows are still there, trying to lock the river.⁴⁷³

試問水歸何處，無名徹夜東流。滔滔不管古今愁。浪花如噴雲，新月似銀鉤。暗想當年富貴，掛錦帆直至揚州。風流人去幾千秋。兩行金線柳，依舊鎖江頭。

7. Anonymous, *Yuyan yinyuan quanzhuan* 玉燕姻緣全傳, Chapter 6

May I inquire where the water goes? Without stopping, it flows eastward all night long, incessantly surging, regardless of the sorrows either in past or at present. The billow spray is like the gushing snow; the new noon resembles the silver sickle. Reminisce those prime years with wealth, raising the brocade sails and reaching directly Yangzhou. The time favorite people had gone for several thousand autumns, but two lines of golden thread willows are still there, trying to grasp the small boats.⁴⁷⁴

試問水歸何處？無休，徹夜東流，滔滔不管古今愁。浪花如噴雪，新月似銀鉤。暗想當年富貴，掛錦帆直至揚州。風流人去幾千秋。兩行金線柳，依舊纜

⁴⁷² Hou Zhongyi 侯忠義 and Li Xueqin 李學勤, eds., *Zhongguo gudai zhenxi xiaoshuo xu* 中國古代珍稀小說續 (Beijing: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1997), vol.20, 217.

⁴⁷³ Tanmeng daoren 貪夢道人, *Kangxi xiayi zhuan* 康熙俠義傳 (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 1994), vol.2, 1152. The last five characters were deleted in *Yongqing shengping houzhuan*, see Tanmeng daoren, *Yongqing shengping houzhuan* 永慶昇平後傳, ed. Guben xiaoshuo jicheng bianweihui 古本小說集成編委會 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 516.

⁴⁷⁴ Guangwen shuju 廣文書局, ed., *Xinbian yuyan yinyuan zhuanji* 新編玉燕姻緣傳記 (Taipei Shi: Guangwen shuju, 1980), 6b.

扁舟。

8. Qian Decang 錢德蒼, *Jie ren yi* 解人頤:

May I inquire where the water goes? It indifferently flows eastward all night long, incessantly surging, regardless of the sorrows either in past or at present. The billow spray is like the gushing snow; the new noon resembles the silver sickle. Reminisce those prime years with wealth, raising the brocade sails and reaching directly Yangzhou. The time favorite people had gone for several thousand autumns, but two lines of golden thread willows still try to grasp the small boats. Endless are the blue mountains, green water, let alone the white clouds. On the bridge of Ba Mausoleum, look afar the west plain and it is always the eight-thousand-*li* road. When departing, it was the late spring; when returning, it was the late autumn, abruptly turning the head, and it is already the late winter. Consider that parting always outnumber reunion in life. Sigh that how many times could we have the light and shadow?⁴⁷⁵

試問水歸何處？無明徹夜東流，滔滔不管古今愁。浪花如噴雪，新月似銀鉤。暗想當年富貴，掛錦帆直到揚州。風流人去幾千秋，兩行金線柳，依舊攬扁舟。青山無數，綠水無數，那更白雲無數。灞陵橋上望西川，動不動八千里路。去時節春暮，來時節秋暮，急回頭，又早冬暮。想人生，會少離多，歎光陰，能有幾度。

9. Xiyintang zhuren 惜陰堂主人, *Erdu mei quanzhuan* 二度梅全傳, Chapter 15:

May I inquire where the water goes? The embroidery of cold water flows eastward all night long, incessantly surging, across the autumns in past and at present. The billow spray is like the gushing clouds; the new noon resembles the silver sickle. Reminisce those prime years with wealth, raising the golden sails and reaching directly Yangzhou. On the bridge of Ba Mausoleum, look afar the west prefecture, and it is always the eight-thousand-*li*. Endless are the blue mountains and white clouds. When arriving, it was the spring dream; when departing, it was the autumn dream. Consider that parting always outnumber reunion in life; sigh that how many times could we have in life? It only ends up like this: A spring wind, one flagon of wine; the night moon, three stanzas of the zither; rarely heard either past or present, and try to ask the dream by Qiantang River.⁴⁷⁶

試問水歸何處？況錦徹夜東流，滔滔不斷古今秋。浪花如噴云，新月似銀鉤，暗想當年富貴，掛金帆直至揚州。灞陵橋上望西州，動不動八千里，青山無數，白雲無數，來時節春夢，去時節秋夢，想人生，會少離多，歎人生，能有幾度？只落得春風酒一壺，夜月琴三弄，古今希罕聞，試問錢塘夢。

⁴⁷⁵ Qian Decang 錢德蒼 (?), *Jie ren yi* 解人頤 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2004), vol.1, 103.

⁴⁷⁶ Xiyintang zhuren 惜陰堂主人, *Erdu mei quanzhuan* 二度梅全傳, eds. Shen Hua 沈華 and Jing Yu 荆玉 (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 1988), 82.

APPENDIX D

PROLOGUE OF CHAPTER 25 IN *DA TANG QINWANG CIHUA*

1	<p>Rhapsody: Enter the grotto-heavens to search novelties; on the flowery suburb path to pick up spectacles. Tasteful mood is written in a new passage and try to listen to the rhapsody of West Lake.</p> <p>賦：搜奇入洞天，選勝芳郊路。幽興寫新編，試聽西湖賦。</p>
2	<p>Patterned attic stands against mountains and the mountains project onto the attic. The blue sky joins the water and the water links the sky. Horses with golden bridles whinny on the fragrant grasses fields. On jade towers, people are intoxicated under the apricot-blossom sky.</p> <p>畫閣映山山映閣，碧天連水水連天。金勒馬嘶芳草地，玉樓人醉杏花天</p>
3	<p>... The worthy inhabit there and the hermits gather there, watching the unfading flowers in each of four seasons. Pick up the halcyon and search for the fragrant, appreciating the lasting spring sceneries in all eight solar periods. Around the lake and among the mountains, there are three hundred temples. In the sunlight or against bright rosy clouds, lofty and extraordinary are the golden emerald towers; in the south and north, there are two high peaks. Fog mass and clouds disperse, and these highly standing icicles resemble the dragon jade columns.</p> <p>…棲賢集隱，四時看不謝之花；拾翠尋芳，八節賞長春之景。湖山三百寺，日照霞明，崢嶸現金碧樓台；南北二高峰，霧捲雲舒，突兀聳冰虬玉柱。</p>
4	<p>... It is indeed that the mountains conceal the beautiful jades and the ground produces numinous mushrooms. The spring color is bright and enchanting... the summer days begin to extend... the autumn color make you feel leisurely comfortable... in the winter days, the <i>yin</i> begins to condense... Search the well where Ge Hong refined his cinnabar; visit the residence of Hejing where he appreciated plums.</p> <p>…端的山明藏美玉，地秀產靈芝。春光明媚，花叢錦，柳垂金，燕銜泥，鶯出谷，園林中，鋪張萬紫千紅；更日初長，筍成竿，榴噴火，熏風送，菱荷香，郊原內，已覺綠深紅淺；秋光蕭爽，丹桂開，黃菊吐，楓葉紅，芙蓉豔，泛夜湖，滿瑤空月皎風清；冬日陰凝，山茶放，瑞香妍，梅破臘，雪飛花，觀海宇，總一片銀妝玉裹！說不盡四時佳景，略標題眼底風光。尋葛仙煉丹井，訪和靖玩梅軒。</p>
5	<p>Deep underneath Broken Bridge, what drift peach blossom, flow red leaves, bathe mandarin ducks, float gulls and egrets, so warm, are the ten thousand <i>qing</i> of rippling waves of green jade; before the cavern of water pleasure, what lock the blue cliffs, hang the deep valley, pile spiral-shape hair-buns, line painting screens, so green, are the ten <i>li</i> of mountains with green halcyon.</p> <p>斷橋深處，有泛桃花，流紅葉，浴鴛鴦，浮鷗鷺，暖溶溶，萬頃波漾琉璃；水樂洞前，有鎖蒼崖，懸絕壑，堆螺髻，列畫屏，青鬱鬱，十里山橫翡翠。</p>
6	<p>Below the pavilions of willow islets, painted boats halt their oars and call for passengers; in front of Tower of Bounty and Bliss, wine banners swing in the wind to attract passers-by. There are Buddhist temples and jade palaces; green pines and bamboos of nine <i>lis</i> are verdant. There are towers and pavilions for singing and</p>

	<p>dancing; peach and plum flowers around six bridges are fragrant.</p> <p>柳州亭下，畫船停槳喚遊人；豐樂樓前，酒旗搖風招過客。梵宇琳宮，九里松篁蒼翠；歌樓舞榭，六橋桃李芳菲。</p>
7	<p>Below the cold fountain pavilion, clear and cold, green and clean, and what immerse the cold stars and flow the bright moon, are a thousand rock waterfalls that resembles suspending flying dragons; before Spirit Hidden Temple, steaming and seething, gleaming and glistening, what resemble the falling celestial blossoms and the gushing lucky air, are myriads of auspicious clouds covering Buddhist hall. Wind arises at the entrance to the grotto for calling the gibbons, and rain flies across the top of the Dragon Well Mountain...</p> <p>冷泉亭下，清滴滴，碧澄澄，浸寒星，流皓月，千岩瀑布掛飛龍；靈隱寺前，燄騰騰，光灼灼，天花落，瑞氣衝，萬朵祥雲籠佛殿。風起處，呼猿洞口；雨飛來，龍井山頭...</p>
8	<p>How could it be? It could be proved with Su Dongpo's poem: The glistening gleam of the lake is particularly good in sunny days; the mountains color in mist and haze is also unique in rains. If the West Lake is likened to Xizi, either light makeup or thick layers is always suitable.⁴⁷⁷</p> <p>怎見得？蘇東坡有詩為證：水光潑灑晴方好，山色空濛雨亦奇。欲把西湖比西子，淡妝濃抹也相宜！</p>

⁴⁷⁷ Zhushenglin 諸聖鄰, *Da Tang Qinwang cihua* 大唐秦王詞話, ed. Guben xiaoshuo jicheng bianweihui 古本小說集成編委會 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 511-514.

APPENDIX E

A TITLE LIST OF STORIES BETWEEN SIMA YOU AND SU XIAOXIAO IN LATE
IMPERIAL CHINA

<p>Song 宋 (960-1279)</p> <p>1. “Account of Sima You’s Story” 書司馬樵事, <i>juan 53, Anthology of Zhang Lei</i> 張耒集 by Zhang Lei</p> <p>2. “Sima Caizhong encountered Su Xiao” 司馬才仲遇蘇小, <i>juan 7, Hearsay Accounts of Spring Islet</i> 春渚紀聞</p> <p>3. “A Strange Dream by Qiantang River” 錢塘異夢, in section of “New Accounts of Strange Stories” 奇異新說, <i>Extensive Records of Cloud Studio</i> 雲齋廣錄</p> <p>4. “Su Xiao’s Song ‘Butterflies Linger with Flowers’” 蘇小歌蝶戀花, <i>juan 18, Categorized Tales</i> 類說</p> <p>5. Story title “A Good Dream by Qiantang River” 錢塘佳夢⁴⁷⁸ under the category of “Courtesan Story” 煙粉, <i>juan 1, Records of an Old Tippler’s Talks</i> 醉翁談錄</p> <p>6. In <i>juan 42, Erudite Notes on Poets and Poetry</i> 詩話總龜</p> <p>7. In <i>juan 38, Collected Stories by a Hermit Fisherman in Tiao Stream</i> 苕溪漁隱叢話</p> <p>8. “Su Xiao” 蘇小, <i>juan 11, Addendum to Catalogue of Concubines and Maids</i> 侍兒小名錄拾遺</p> <p>9. In section of “Dream” 夢,⁴⁷⁹ <i>juan 47, Miscellaneous Records at Chanting Window</i> 吟窓雜錄</p>
<p>Yuan 元 (1271-1368)</p> <p>1. <i>Su Xiaoxiao in a Dream by Qiantang River at Moonlit Night</i> 蘇小小月夜錢塘夢⁴⁸⁰ by Bai Pu (lost)</p> <p>2. “Golden Thread” 黃金縷,⁴⁸¹ <i>juan 17, Respite from Plowing in the Southern Village</i></p>

⁴⁷⁸ “...A Good Dream by Qiantang River..., these are all romantic stories with extensively rich content” ...錢塘佳夢...此乃為煙粉之總龜. See Luo Ye, *Zuiweng tanlu*, 15. This book has been compiled by the year of 1152, and included many short stories, among which more than twenty tales of Tang and Song dynasties were recorded.

⁴⁷⁹ Chen Yingxing 陳應行(?), *Yinchuang zalu* 吟窓雜錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), vol.2, 1254-1255.

⁴⁸⁰ This drama title is contained in the catalogue in *Lugui bu* 錄鬼簿 (Records of ghosts) by Zhong Sicheng 鐘嗣成(?). The Tianyige edition 天一閣 of *Lugui bu* recorded the title *Sima You shijiu Dielianhua* 司馬樵詩酒蝶戀花, the name *Su Xiaoxiao yueye Qiantang meng* 蘇小小月夜錢塘夢, and the short form *Qiantang meng* 錢塘夢. The Shuoji edition 說集 and Meng Chengshun edition 孟稱舜本 of *Lugui bu*, *Taihe zhengyin pu* 太和正音譜, and *Yuanqu xuanmu* 元曲選目 all recorded the short form. The Cao edition 曹本 of *Lugui bu*, *Jinyue kaozheng* 今樂考證, *Qulu* 曲錄, and *Yuan zaju quanmu* 元雜劇全目 recorded the full name. See Xu Zheng 徐征 et al. comps, *Quan Yuanqu* 全元曲 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998), vol.2, 848. A brief summary of the play had been recorded in a much later book, and its plot was not very much different from the story of “A Strange Dream by Qiantang River.” See Du Yingtao 杜穎陶(1908-1963), *Quhai zongmu tiyao shiyi* 曲海總目提要拾遺 (Shanghai: Shijie shuju, 1936), 1.

南村輟耕錄
Ming 明 (1368-1644)
1. “A Dream of Beauty’s Lyrics” 夢美人歌詞, ⁴⁸² <i>juan</i> 13136, <i>Grand Encyclopedia of Yongle</i> 永樂大典
2. “Story of Sima Caizhong” 司馬才仲傳, ⁴⁸³ in section of “Dream Travel” 夢遊部, <i>juan</i> 22, <i>Records on the Amorous and the Strange</i> 豔異編
3. “Story of Sima Caizhong” 司馬才仲傳 by Wang Yu 王宇, ⁴⁸⁴ <i>juan</i> 4, <i>Collected Stories of Trimmed Lamp</i> 剪燈叢話
4. “Story of Sima Caizhong” 司馬才仲傳 by Wang Yu 王宇, ⁴⁸⁵ in section of “Dream in Sleep” 夢寐, <i>juan</i> 6, <i>Green Window History of Women</i> 綠窗女史
5. “Story of Su Xiaoxiao” 蘇小小傳, in section of “Fame of Talent” 才名, <i>juan</i> 12, <i>Green Window History of Women</i> 綠窗女史
6. “Sima Caizhong” 司馬才仲, in section of “Emotional Illusion” 情幻, <i>juan</i> 9, <i>History of Emotion</i> 情史
7. In section of “Fragrant Dressing Case and Amorous Words” 香奩艷語, <i>juan</i> 16, <i>Additional Notes to Gazetteer for Sightseeing on West Lake</i> 西湖遊覽志餘
8. “Su Xiaoxiao” 蘇小小 <i>juan</i> 5, <i>History of Female Poets</i> 詩女史
9. “Sima You” 司馬樵, ⁴⁸⁶ <i>juan</i> 54, <i>Records from Yaoshan Studio</i> 堯山堂外紀
10. “Su Xiaoxiao” 蘇小小, <i>juan</i> 8, <i>Tales of Talented Ghosts</i> 才鬼記
11. “Su Xiaoxiao (Southern Qi)” 蘇小小(南齊), <i>juan</i> 9, <i>Tales of Green Mud and Lotus</i>

⁴⁸¹ Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, *Nancun chuogeng lu* 南村輟耕錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 209-210.

⁴⁸² Xie Jin 解縉 (1369-1415), ed., *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 5680.

⁴⁸³ Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590), *Yanyi bian* 豔異編, ed. Sun Baozhen 孫葆真 (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1988), 326-327.

⁴⁸⁴ It is a 12-volume Ming anthology of 137 novels from Han, Tang to mid-Ming, most of which were actually collected from other works, though the editor changed many story titles and authors’ names. The only extant copy is now preserved in Beijing National Library. Tan Zhengbi 譚正璧, *Guben xijian xiaoshuo huikao* 古本稀見小說匯考 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe, 1984), 21. The author was recorded as Wang Yu 王宇 who was actually a fabricated in Ming dynasty, and the “Story of Sima Caizhong” in *Green Window History of Women* was also assigned with Wang Yu, both of which were originally taken from *Hearsay Accounts of Spring Islet*.

⁴⁸⁵ Guoli zhengzhi daxue gudian xiaoshuo yanjiu zhongxin 國立政治大學古典小說研究中心, eds., *Lüchuang nüshi* 綠窗女史 (Taipei: Tianyi chubanshe, 1985), vol.4, 1a-2b.

⁴⁸⁶ Jiang, *Yaoshantang waiji*, 499a-500a.

<i>Flower</i> 青泥蓮花記
12. “Su Xiao”蘇小, ⁴⁸⁷ <i>juan 2, Forests of Wine Cups</i> 卮林
13. “Su Xiaoxiao’s Tomb”蘇小小墓, ⁴⁸⁸ <i>juan 3, Search The West Lake in Dreams</i> 西湖夢尋
Qing 清 (1644-1911)
1. In section of “Leisure Mood”閒情, ⁴⁸⁹ <i>juan 4, Classified Notes of Song-dynasty Unofficial Historical Material</i> 宋稗類鈔
2. “Evidential Authentication of Su Xiaoxiao”蘇小小考, <i>juan 27, Draft Arranged in Seven Categories</i> 七修類稿
3. In section of “Debate and Argument”辯駁, <i>juan 11, The Amorous in Song Dynasty</i> 宋豔
4. “Su Xiaoxiao’s Lyrics”蘇小小詞, ⁴⁹⁰ in section of “External Collection”外編, <i>juan 12, Collected Talks in Poetic Gardens</i> 詞苑叢談
5. In <i>juan 6, Strangeness Recorded in Songjun Studio</i> 松筠閣鈔異
6. “Su Xiaoxiao’s Lyrics”蘇小小詞, ⁴⁹¹ <i>juan 1, Original Stories on Lyrics</i> 本事詞
7. “Su Xiaoxiao’s Song Lyrics”蘇小小歌詞, ⁴⁹² in section of “Extra Collection II”餘編二, <i>juan 24, Collected Extractions from Poetic Gardens</i> 詞苑萃編
8. <i>Su Xiaoxiao</i> 蘇小小 (Lost) ⁴⁹³
9. <i>Court of Flowery Affection</i> 芳情院 (lost)

⁴⁸⁷ Zhou Ying 周嬰(?), *Zhilin* 卮林, ed. Wang Ruiming 王瑞明 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2006), 46-47.

⁴⁸⁸ Zhang, *Xihu xunmeng Taoan mengyi*, 64.

⁴⁸⁹ Pan Yongyin 潘永因(?), *Songbai leichao* 宋稗類鈔 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1985), 342.

⁴⁹⁰ Xu Qiu 徐鉉(1636-1708), *Ciyuan congtao* 詞苑叢談, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 247.

⁴⁹¹ Tang, *Cihua congbian*, 2324.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Lost, but the title was recorded in A Ying’s 阿英 (1900-1977) *Wan Qing xiaoshuo mu* 晚清小說目 (Catalogue of late Qing novels) with one descriptive line: “Anonymous, stone print edition during the Guangxu (1875-1908) reigning period” 無名氏著, 光緒石印本. See, Jinagsu sheng shekeyuan Ming Qing xiaoshuo yanjiu zhongxin 江蘇省社科院明清小說研究中心, ed., *Zhongguo tongsu xiaoshuo zongmu tiyao* 中國通俗小說總目提要 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, 1990), 1046.