

Chinese Culture 1

Pei-kai Cheng
Ka Wai Fan *Editors*

New Perspectives on the Research of Chinese Culture

 Springer

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Volume 1

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Editors

New Perspectives on the Research of Chinese Culture

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Preface

This new title in the increasingly important field of Chinese culture and civilization contains eight chapters introducing the latest trends and new developments in the research into Chinese literature, archaeology, oral traditions, Buddhism, music, cartology and medicine. The chapters are written by renowned scholars in the field, including Prof. Longxi Zhang (City University of Hong Kong), Prof. Barend ter Haar (Leiden University), Prof. Zhaoguang Ge (Fudan University) and Prof. Joseph S.C. Lam (University of Michigan).

Arranged in chronological order, the book starts with ‘Nature and Landscape in the Chinese Tradition’ in which Longxi Zhang explores the Chinese traditional interpretation of nature and its relationship with culture. In view of its manifestation in poetry and the arts, Zhang shows there is a contrast between artistic ideas and realistic presentation and explores the relationship in an East-West comparative perspective.

The second chapter ‘A Site Catchment Analysis into Hong Kong’s Neolithic Subsistence’ by Guo Li is an archaeological study into very early catchment zones at neolithic sites in Hong Kong. It offers a new methodology to investigate subsistence activities which will help archaeologists to locate a reasonable hypothesis for their studies and support their research outcomes.

Barend ter Haar explores a new approach to early Chinese textuality in his ‘Towards Retrieving Early Oral Traditions: Some Ruminations on Orality and Textuality in Early Chinese Culture’. He explains why we should go beyond the early transmission of particular texts to find their original ideas and consult any other sources that contain references or quotations. Hence, he calls for a re-evaluation of traditional histories of Chinese philosophy.

In ‘History, Ideology and General Ideological History—a Case Study of Chinese Chan Buddhism in the Tang Dynasty’, Zhaoguang Ge points out how many studies of Chinese Chan have followed earlier works, and he explores the new directions in which this field should develop in order to go beyond the records of *The Transmission of the Lamp* and supports his ideas with examples and quotations. Although more detailed studies are being carried out, Zhaoguang Ge concludes with the question ‘How can we find a new direction that will improve upon the road that was paved by

Hu Shi and Suzuki and leads all the way to Yin Shun, in order to find new ways to tell the history of Chan Buddhism?’

Tai Shing Wut contributes to the study of Chinese Buddhist translations with his ‘Investigating the Meaning of Dhamma “Fa”—with Chinese Samyuktagama as the Subject’. From the perspectives of Buddhist teaching and Chinese terminology, this chapter offers a discussion on the interpretation and development of the often overlooked but essential Buddhist term ‘fa’. Since the introduction of the Buddhist classics into China, translation of these works developed a distinct system in terms of language and network which in turn enriched Buddhist teaching in the Chinese cultural domain.

By exploring various theories and methods for understanding music, Joseph S.C. Lam probes into the background of performances and their place in history in ‘Music, Sound, and Site: A Case Study from Southern Song China (1127–1275)’. Defining key concepts applied to his study of the musical world of Lin’an, Lam demonstrates how musicians and consumers created and enjoyed a diversity of music in their own historical place and time and shows how Western music studies can be applied to their Chinese counterpart.

In ‘The Exploration of Matteo Ricci’s World Map’, Shijian Huang reviews existing sources on which Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) drew his world map. In general it is believed that Ricci based his world map on European maps, Chinese maps and documents and his personal experience and observation. By comparing various maps and consulting historical texts, Huang demonstrates that the work by Ortelius must have been Ricci’s main reference.

Finally, in the eighth and last chapter ‘Pavlovian Theory and the Scientification of Acupuncture in 1950s China’, Ka Wai Fan explains how Soviet theories were applied to scientific research in China in the 1950s and that the first to apply the Pavlovian theory to acupuncture was Zhu Lian (1909–1978), then dean of the Institute of Acupuncture in Beijing. Zhu believed that an understanding of the biological mechanisms underlying acupuncture could help improve traditional Chinese medicine. Although the application of Soviet scientific theories was short-lived because of deteriorating Sino-Soviet relations, Zhu Lian’s contribution to the scientific approach to acupuncture research has made an impact and called for further investigation into rapprochement between neuroscience and acupuncture.

This new Chinese culture book series is based on the Chinese journal *Jiuzhou Xuelin*, or *Chinese Culture Quarterly* published by the Chinese Civilisation Centre of the City University of Hong Kong since 2003. The journal, which has gained widespread recognition, occupies an important position in academic circles in China and abroad. The aim of publishing an English version is to give Western readers access to the latest research results published in *Chinese Culture Quarterly*, to keep an international readership up-to-date on recent research on Chinese culture and to offer a platform for dialogue and exchange between Chinese and Western scholars.

Pei-kai Cheng

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About the Editor

Pei-kai Cheng, founding director and professor of the Chinese Civilisation Centre, joined the City University of Hong Kong in July 1998. A cultural historian and poet, he previously taught history and directed the East Asian Studies programme at Pace University of New York. He has a PhD from Yale in European and Chinese intellectual history and literature, an MA from the University of Hawaii in history and a BA from National Taiwan University in history and literature. His main research interest is the interaction of Chinese cultural aesthetics and material culture, with the emphasis on the cultural contexts of artistic creativity. The history of the material base for the development of an intangible cultural heritage is the main focus of his academic exploration, specifically on the economy of Kunqu and its modern predicament, tea and the evolution of Chinese cultural aesthetics, and Chinese export porcelain and maritime trade. In these diverse but interrelated areas, he has published and edited more than 30 books in addition to numerous articles and essays exploring into the essential issues concerning the changing nature of Chinese cultural aesthetics.

About the Contributors

Ka Wai Fan began work at the Chinese Civilisation Centre, City University of Hong Kong, in 1998 and now is an assistant professor. Prior to joining the City University of Hong Kong, he was an assistant professor in the Institute of History at National Tsinghua University, Taiwan. Dr. Fan earned his Ph.D. (1997) in history from the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He has published extensively (articles, book chapters, encyclopedia entries and reviews). He has published four books, one in English (Routledge) and three in Chinese (Chinese University Press, Fudan University Press and Dongda Publishing House), and numerous articles appeared in international journals.

Zhaoguang Ge was born in 1950 in Shanghai. He received his B.A. and M.A. in Chinese Literature and Language Department, Peking University, in 1982 and 1984 and started teaching in the Department of History in Jiangsu Yangzhou Normal College. In 1992 to 2006, he was a member of Tsinghua University, University Affairs Committee, and professor in the Department of History. He had been an active member in ancient China culture and history and religion research. Since 1997, he had been visiting professor or visiting scholar at Hong Kong Baptist University, Kyoto University in Japan, City University of Hong Kong, Katholieke University Leuven in Belgium, National Taiwan University and National Chi Nan University in Taiwan and Princeton University in USA. Since 2006, he has been dean and professor of National Institute for Advanced Humanistic Studies at Fudan University, Shanghai, China. Since 2009, he has been Princeton Global scholar.

Barend ter Haar studied in Leiden, Shenyang, Osaka and Fukuoka. After he obtained his Ph.D. in 1990, he taught at Leiden and Heidelberg and is currently a professor of Chinese history at Leiden University. He is the author of several books on Chinese lay religious culture and oral culture, including *Telling Stories: Witchcraft and Scapegoating in Chinese History* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), as well as numerous articles on related topics, as well as violence and Yao religious culture, and has just finished a book manuscript entitled 'The History of a Reading Experience: The Religious and Social History of a Chan-lay Buddhist Movement in Late Imperial China'.

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Guo Li is senior tutor at Chinese Civilization Centre, City University of Hong Kong. His research and teaching interests are Chinese Neolithic and Historical Archaeology and Chinese Cultural Heritage. Previously, he served as lecturer and associate professor at the Department of Anthropology, Zhongshan University, China and visiting scholar in archaeology at Harvard-Yenching Institute, Harvard University, USA. He holds a Ph.D. candidacy and a Master's Degree both in archaeology from the University of British Columbia, Canada, and a Master's Degree in archaeology from Zhongshan University, China. He published several books and several dozen research papers, covering subjects in Chinese Neolithic Archaeology, Ceramic Studies and Cultural Heritage. As leader or participant, he conducted over 40 archaeological excavations, surveys and anthropological surveys in many parts of mainland China, Hong Kong and Macao and archaeological excavations/surveys in British Columbia, Canada and Cambodia.

Tai Shing Wut received his Ph.D. from the Department of Chinese, University of Hong Kong, and his research focuses on Buddhist monastic discipline and Chinese Buddhist translations. His most representative publications in Chinese include *A Study of the Mahāyana Mahāparinirvāna Sutra*, *The Sudden-Gradual Distinction in Chinese Buddhist Thought*, *An Introduction to Buddhism*, *Learning Pāli*, *An*

Introduction to Monastic Life in Early Buddhism, and A Study of Monastic Discipline for Buddhist Nuns. Wut is currently assistant professor at the Chinese Civilisation Centre, City University of Hong Kong.

Longxi Zhang holds an MA from Peking University and a Ph. D. from Harvard. He is currently a chair professor of Comparative Literature and Translation at City University of Hong Kong and an elected foreign member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, a member of the Executive Council of the International Comparative Literature Association and an advisory editor of *New Literary History*. His major book publications include *The Tao and the Logos: Literary Hermeneutics, East and West* (Duke University Press, 1992), *Mighty Opposites: From Dichotomies to Differences in the Comparative Study of China* (Stanford University Press, 1998), 《走出文化的封閉圈》 *Out of the Cultural Ghetto* (Commercial Press, 2000; Joint Publishing Co., 2004, in Chinese), *Allegoresis: Reading Canonical Literature East and West* (Cornell University Press, 2005), *Unexpected Affinities: Reading across Cultures* (University of Toronto Press, 2007), 《比較文學研究入門》 *An Introduction to Comparative Literature* (Fudan University Press, 2009, in Chinese), 《一穀集》 *A Collection of Thirty Essays* (Fudan University Press, 2011, in Chinese) and, most recently, an edited volume *The Concept of Humanity in an Age of Globalization* (Göttingen: V&Runipress, 2012).

Nature and Landscape in the Chinese Tradition

Longxi Zhang

Nature has left its mark on the very writing system in China if we accept the myth of Cangjie creating Chinese written characters by observing the traces left by birds and beasts on the ground, which obviously follows an earlier myth of the creation of hexagrams by Fuxi as recorded in the appended phrases in the *Book of Changes*: “In ancient times when Pao Xi ruled all under heaven, he looked upward to observe the forms in the sky and looked downward to observe the models on the earth, and he also observed the pattern of traces left by birds and animals on the ground and the configurations of the earth. By taking hint near at hand from his body and farther away from external things, he then created the hexagrams to make the virtue of gods comprehensible and the nature of all things known in signs.”¹ This passage was quoted by Xu Shen (58–147 c. e.) of the Eastern Han dynasty when he compiled *Shouwen jiezi* or *Explanation of Written Scripts*, the first dictionary of Chinese characters, and gave a mythological explanation to the origin of Chinese writing by continuing the myth and saying: “Having seen the traces left by the claws and hoofs of birds and beasts and understood how their patterns could differentiate them from one another, Cangjie, the Yellow Emperor’s historian, first created the written characters.”² In such a description, Cangjie created Chinese scripts by taking hint from patterns

A slightly shorter version of this chapter was presented as the 35th Annual Freeman Lecture at Wesleyan University on April 15, 2010. I would like to thank Professor Vera Schwarcz for inviting me to deliver the Freeman Lecture and for providing the opportunity for a most helpful exchange of ideas with my audience and friends.

¹ *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義[*The Correct Meaning of the Book of Changes*], in Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) (ed.), *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏[*The Thirteen Classics with Annotations*], 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980), 1: 86.

² Xu Shen 許慎, with annotations by Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735–1815), *Shouwen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 [Annotations to the Explanation of Written Scripts] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1988), p. 753.

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and shapes suggested by nature itself and, like the creation of hexagrams, he made abstract signs out of the concrete shapes and forms in the natural world. Chinese writing thus seems to have a particularly close relationship with nature; so much so that in the first chapter of the famous treatise *Literary Mind or the Carving of Dragons* written at the end of the fifth century (496–497), the literary critic Liu Xie (465?–522) was able to declare that *wen*—pattern, design, writing, and literature—“was born together with heaven and earth,” that is, having a cosmic origin. Liu Xie continues to say:

The dark blue of heaven and the yellow of earth began the blending of all colors; their square and spheric forms started the differentiation of all shapes. Like a pair of holed disks of jade, the sun and the moon exhibit images attached to the sky; shining with splendor, mountains and rivers mark the contours of the ground. This is indeed the writing (*wen*) of *tao*. ...Man is the flower of the five elements and is indeed the mind of heaven and earth. When there is mind, speech is established, and when there is speech, writing takes a clear form. That is the way that nature is.³

Now a word of clarification is in order. What I translate as “nature” here is *ziran* (自然) in Liu Xie’s original, a term that can be found in the *Laozi* and some other ancient Chinese texts. From the several texts quoted above, we may see that the word *ziran* is closely related to, if not exactly synonymous with, the more concrete notions of heaven and earth (*tian di* 天地), mountains and rivers (*shan chuan* 山川), and shapes (*xing* 形) and traces (*ji* 跡) in the phenomenal world as different from the world of human affairs. Perhaps the best way to understand *ziran* is to see it as differentiated from, or opposite to, whatever is man-made (*ren wei* 人為), that is, artificial and unnatural. Whatever is *ziran* is that which exists and evolves of its own course, not according to an externally imposed set of protocols. In other words, *ziran* is doing what comes naturally, out of one’s own nature. Of course, in languages as different as Chinese and English, the translatability of terms is always debatable, but let us not forget that the word “nature” in modern European languages, too, as derived from the Latin *natura*, has a complicated history and diverse meanings of its own, and in many ways it is a translation of the Greek *physis*, which has its own convoluted semantic history. “Even the most cursory survey of other cultural traditions greatly complicates an already labyrinthine situation,” as Lorraine Daston and Fernando Vidal argue, “which stands as a warning against unthinking attempts to universalize often idiosyncratic modern Western intellectual traditions to history and the world at large. Despite their important continuities with European scientific, philosophical, and religious traditions, archaic Greek and classical Arabic sources offer no single word that corresponds to ‘nature’ as the sum total of the entire universe, although they do possess cognates to ‘nature’ as the essence of an individual or class.”⁴ That is to say, even within the European tradition from ancient Greek to modern European languages, “nature” is not a simple concept with a singularly clear meaning. Given the complexity of this term, then, translation is

³ Liu Xie 劉勰, with annotations by Fan Wenlan 范文瀾 (1891–1969), *Wenxin diaolong zhu* 文心雕龍注 [*Literary Mind or the Carving of Dragons with Annotations*], 2 vols. (Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1958), 1: 1.

⁴ Lorraine Daston and Fernando Vidal, “Introduction: Doing What Comes Naturally,” in L. Daston and F. Vidal (eds.), *The Moral Authority of Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 4.

never the finding of an exact match of the word “nature” in Chinese but the finding or construction of an equivalent word and concept. “The categories of the natural and the nonnatural must be constantly construed and filled with content,” as Daston and Vidal remark: “is the opposite of nature art? nurture? culture? history? the supernatural? the unnatural? The work of construal and instantiation turns out to be widely and interestingly distributed,” as different types of scholars and experts come to define nature in rather different ways.⁵ Despite all the differences and difficulties, translation is always possible as we construe and build up meanings in forms of equivalency between languages. The Chinese term *ziran* may not match “nature” in English or the other European languages in each and every occasion, but in most cases—we may safely conclude—the two terms carry equivalent semantic values and have equivalent functions and are thus eminently translatable.

Liu Xie’s emphasis on the cosmic origin of *wen* has sometimes been misappropriated to make the argument that Chinese writing and literature are not human creations but form part of nature or the manifestation of nature.⁶ As I have argued elsewhere, however, by giving writing a cosmic origin, Liu Xie “not only bestows on writing the borrowed authority of nature and expands the concept of writing to a grandiose proportion, but he also subsumes everything natural under the regulation and order of human invention, the *constructed* patterns and designs exemplified by the writings of the ancient sages.”⁷ If Liu Xie perpetuates a myth that relates nature with Chinese signs like hexagrams and written characters, there are other Chinese myths that highlight the difference between writing as human invention and nature as things in their original, pristine condition. Most interesting and relevant to our purposes here is a myth found in the Han dynasty text, *Huainanzi*, which tells the strange story that “in ancient times when Cangjie created written characters, millet grains rained down from heaven and ghosts wailed at night.” The third-century commentator Gao You (fl. 205–212) interprets this as a supernatural sign to mark the separation of man from nature as a consequence of the invention of writing, which also marks the loss of innocence and the beginning of “deception and falsehood” in the human world. With the efficacy of writing, “people would abandon the work of farming and strive for the tiniest of gains. Heaven foreknew that they were to starve, so it let millet grains rain down; and all ghosts were afraid to be condemned by written verdict, so they wailed at night.”⁸ This myth and its interpretation set up an opposition between farming and writing, the innocence of the country and

⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

⁶ For the use of the first chapter of Liu Xie’s *Literary Mind* for a “naturalist” interpretation of the Chinese language and literature, see François Jullien, *La valeur allusive: Des catégories originales de l’interprétation poétique dans la tradition chinoise (Contribution à une réflexion sur l’altérité interculturelle)* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1985); and Stephen Owen, *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

⁷ Zhang Longxi, *Allegoresis: Reading Canonical Literature East and West* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), p. 34.

⁸ Liu An 劉安 (178?–122 B. C. E.), *Huainanzi* 淮南子 [*The Master of Huainan*], ed. and annotated by Gao You 高誘, in *Zhuzi jicheng* 諸子集成 [*Collection of Master Writings*], 8 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1954), 7: 116–17.

the dubious sophistication of the city, and thereby creating a general theme of the human-nature relationship with the possibility of numerous variations.

When Gao You explained that the creation of written characters marked the beginning of “deception and falsehood,” the word “falsehood” is *wei* (偽) in the Chinese original, a script composed of a human radical (*ren* 人) and action (*wei* 為), so literally it means “human action,” hence “man-made,” “artificial,” or “false” as opposed to what is “true” and “natural.” There is an interesting tension between the literal sense of the word *wei* as “human action” and its usual, pejorative meaning of “false,” for human action changes what is the original, natural condition, and at the same time changes human beings themselves. Without changing out of the natural condition, human beings would be no different from birds and animals in the wilderness that form part of nature; so in that sense, the creation of language and writing and the separation of man from nature are the very conditions of being human. Among ancient Chinese thinkers, Xunzi (313–238 B. C. E.) gave the word *wei* a most original interpretation with definitely positive connotations. Xunzi argues that human nature (*xing* 性) is inherently bad as we are all born self-centered creatures trying to satisfy our own needs, and it takes human action as a conscious effort to do what is morally good against our natural tendency to do whatever it takes to benefit ourselves. “That which is so since one’s birth is called human nature... The likes and dislikes, joy and anger, sorrow and happiness out of one’s nature are called emotions,” says Xunzi. Out of human emotions come different kinds of desires and wishes, which he calls intentions (*lü* 慮). “When the mind has an intention and the bodily faculties are motivated to execute it, it is called action.”⁹ Xunzi clearly set up an opposition between what is naturally inborn and what human beings can achieve by conscious effort and action. “The nature of man is evil,” he declares unambiguously, “what does good is human action.”¹⁰ He argues that “nature is the original, uncarved material, which is embellished and adorned by action. If there were no [uncarved] nature, there would be nothing for action to act upon, and if there were no action, nature would not be able to beautify itself. It is when nature and action come together that the sage emerges to proclaim the unity of things, and thereby the accomplishment of all under heaven is achieved.”¹¹ The word “action” in Xunzi’s original is *wei* (偽), the same word that means “falsehood” in Gao You’s commentary, but Xunzi understands this word literally as human action, and it is through *wei* as human action—that is, through what is artful and artificial—that human beings can rise above their natural condition and turn what is simple and crude into something civil, beautiful, and accomplished. Xunzi has a very clear view of the opposition between man and nature, between human civilization and natural crudity.

The ambiguity of the word *wei* has particular relevance to art—art both as imaginative and creative human action and as artificial, fictional representation, what

⁹ Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842–1918), *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解 [*Xunzi with Collected Annotations*], in *Zhuzi jicheng* [Collection of Master Writings], 2: 274.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2: 289.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2: 243.

Oscar Wilde deliberately calls: “Lying, the telling of beautiful untrue things.”¹² That “untrue” element or artistic fictionality is of course the problem Plato has with art for “fashioning phantoms far removed from reality.”¹³ In ancient China, Laozi also makes a clear distinction between the true and the beautiful when he says that “true words are not beautiful, and beautiful words are not true.”¹⁴ This is consistent with the Taoist position that stands against human intervention in favor of returning to the uncarved and pristine natural condition, but Xunzi the Confucian has totally different views and advocates the role of *wei* as transformative human action. Only by changing and transcending nature, Xunzi argues, can human beings build up civil institutions and achieve moral perfection. In such a view, then, art can be said to represent human action at its farthest remove from nature, because it is self-consciously artificial, and therefore the mark of social and cultural development, the measure of the degree of human civilization.

The very consciousness of nature is possible only when human beings are separated from nature to such a degree that they can observe and contemplate it as an object from a critical distance. “*Taste* is the ability to judge an object, or a way of presenting it, by means of a liking or disliking *devoid of all interest*,” as Kant famously puts it. “The object of such a liking is called *beautiful*.”¹⁵ Though human evolution can be said to be a process of increasing separation from nature, the aesthetic appreciation of nature can only arise at a time when civilization has reached a mature stage and people can contemplate the beauty of nature “devoid of all interest.” Before such a time, nature was hardly to be appreciated and admired from an aesthetic perspective and at a sufficient distance. This can be seen in another passage from the *Huainanzi*, which shows how threatening and dangerous nature was perceived to be by the Chinese in antiquity: “In ancient times, the four pillars that held heaven were broken and the nine continents were severed apart; heaven did not cover the entire world, nor did the earth sustain all things. Everything burst into flames without end, and waves surged everywhere with nothing to stop them; ferocious beasts devoured innocent people, and huge birds of prey snatched the elderly and the weak.”¹⁶ Nature was seen as fire and flood, as ferocious beasts and predators. In European imagination, a terrifying image of nature also lasted for a long period of time. “The fear of the wilderness was one of the strongest elements in European attitudes to wilderness up to the nineteenth century, with the eighteenth century marking a period of transition,” says John Short.¹⁷ “The traditional agrarian view

¹² Oscar Wilde, “The Decay of Lying,” *Intentions* (New York: Brentano’s, 1950), p. 55.

¹³ Plato, *Republic X*, 605b, *The Collected Dialogues of Plato, including the Letters*, eds. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 830.

¹⁴ Laozi with annotations by Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249), *Laozi zhu* 老子注 [*Laozi with Annotations*], chapt. 81, in *Zhuji jicheng* [*Collection of Master Writings*], 3:47.

¹⁵ Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, trans. Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987), §5, p. 53.

¹⁶ Liu An, *Huainanzi* [*The Master of Huainan*], in *Zhuji jicheng* [*Collection of Master Writings*], 7: 95.

¹⁷ John Rennie Short, *Imagined Country: Environment, Culture and Society* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 6.

saw forests as the home of evil spirits,” he continues. “European folklore is populated with demons and dangers who dwell in the forest: that was where little Red Riding Hood met the wolf.”¹⁸ This may be slightly overstated, but by and large it is true that there was an obvious transition in the European attitude toward nature from fear to appreciation as knowledge of nature developed and the society as a whole evolved from the medieval to the modern forms.

It is a simple fact in both Chinese and Western art histories that landscape painting as an independent genre emerged much later than figure painting. In his important treatise *On Famous Paintings from Various Dynasties*, the ninth-century scholar Zhang Yanyuan discussed art works from the Wei-Jin period to his own time, the late Tang, and commented on many of his contemporary artists. Wu Daozi (680–740), he says, “often painted stunning stones and rushing mountain torrents in his frescos in Buddhist temples, stones you could almost touch and water you could almost scoop up with a ladle,” which suggests that those stones and torrents form part of the background for Buddhist figures. But other Tang artists, particularly Li Sixun (651–716) and his son Li Zhaodao, two generals of the early Tang from the same Li family clan as the emperor, created landscape painting in colors, known as “blue and green landscape.” Thus, Zhang Yanyuan remarks that “the transformation of landscape started with Wu (Daozi) and was accomplished by the two Li’s.”¹⁹ According to Zhang Yanyuan, then, the maturity of Chinese landscape can be dated to the Tang dynasty, but a modern artist and art critic, Fu Baoshi (1904–1965), rejected this view in an effort to push back the beginning of Chinese landscape to a much earlier date. Fu argues that Chinese landscape started not in the Tang but in the Wei-Jin period and even earlier. Based on his reading of a piece attributed to the Jin painter Gu Kaizhi (344?–405), Fu claims that “in the Jin dynasty—particularly the Eastern Jin, Chinese landscape painting had already reached a remarkable level.”²⁰ Many Chinese art historians have since adopted Fu’s view and generally hold that “landscape painting started to bud out in the Jin.”²¹ To date the “budding out” of Chinese landscape in the Jin (265–420) is fine. In fact, “mountain and river poetry” (*shan shui shi* 山水詩) or nature poetry did start to develop in the Wei-Jin period, as Liu Xie remarks in the *Literary Mind* that “when Laozi and Zhuangzi bade farewell, then landscape started to arise.”²² This refers to the rise of landscape

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

¹⁹ Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, *Lun hua lunhua* 論畫 [On Paintings], in Shen Zicheng 沈子丞 (ed.), *Lidai lunhua mingzhu huibian* 歷代論畫名著彙編 [Collection of Famous Writings on Painting from Various Dynasties] (Beijing: Wenwu, 1982), p. 37.

²⁰ Fu Baoshi 傅抱石, *Zhongguo gudai shanshui hua shi yanjiu* 中國古代山水畫史研究 [Studies in the History of Classical Chinese Landscape Painting] (Taipei: Xuehai, 1982), p. 56.

²¹ Chen Chuanxi 陳傳席, *Zhongguo shanshui hua shi* 中國山水畫史 [History of Chinese Landscape Painting] (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu, 1988), p. 1.

²² Liu Xie, with annotations by Fan Wenlan, *Wenxin diaolong zhu* [Literary Mind or the Carving of Dragons with Annotations], 1:67.

poetry, of which Cao Cao's 曹操 (155–220) "Looking at the blue sea" (*guan canghai* 觀滄海) is perhaps the earliest fruition. During the Wei-Jin period, Taoism became the predominant influence among scholars and with it emerged a new kind of naturalism, the appreciation of nature with a philosophical or even spiritual significance. Eminent Chinese scholars and historians like Chen Yinke (1890–1969) and Tang Yongtong (1893–1964) have all discussed the influence of Taoist philosophy on the Wei-Jin intellectual scene and the rise of naturalism. In commenting on personal qualities, natural images were often used during that period, and soon landscape arose to depict nature as it was perceived to be.²³ That is indeed how nature poetry started during the Wei-Jin period.

Landscape painting as an independent genre, however, is a somewhat different matter. The great Jin painter Gu Kaizhi is famous for his figure painting, not landscape, and a treatise on painting attributed to him is concerned mainly with painting human figures. Wu Daozi of the Tang dynasty is also known for his frescos with Buddhist deities and Taoist immortals painted on the walls of temples. As Zhang Yanyuan describes him, the figures he painted "have curly beard and flowing long hair; one can see where the hair grows out of the flesh and get an impression of power and strength."²⁴ Zou Yigui (1686–1772), a painter of the Qing dynasty, also remarks that "Since the Han and Jin, most painters had engaged in painting figures and palaces, and Wu Daozi of the Tang also excelled in figure painting."²⁵ From these comments we may conclude that Zhang Yanyuan is factually more defensible than his modern critics when he observes that "the transformation of landscape started with Wu and accomplished by the two Li's." If we are determined to seek predecessors of landscape in paintings before the Tang, we can surely find some traces. Gu Kaizhi's *Goddess of the Luo River*, for example, though mainly a figure painting, does have some landscape as background. *Snowy Mountain and Red Trees* by Zhang Sengyao of the Southern Dynasties is already a true landscape, and the *Stroll in the Spring* by Zhan Ziqian (550?–604?) of the Sui Dynasty, the earliest existent landscape painting in China, had a deep influence on early Tang painters. From what we can learn in art history, however, it becomes quite clear that it is indeed after the invention of the "blue and green landscape" by Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao in the Tang that landscape became an independent genre and quickly occupied the position of the main form of traditional Chinese painting. Besides Li's style of "blue and green landscape" in color, the well-known poet Wang Wei (701–761) created a different style of landscape with only ink and water, which gradually became a major form of literati painting with numerous great practitioners throughout the centuries.

²³ See Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, "Wei-Jin Literature and Thought," in *Tang Yongtong quanji* 湯用彤全集 [*Tang Yongtong's Complete Works*], 7 vols. (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin, 2000), 4:292 ff.

²⁴ Zhang Yanyuan, *Lun hua* [On Paintings], in Shen Zicheng (ed.), *Lidai lun hua mingzhu huibian* [Collection of Famous Writings on Painting from Various Dynasties], p. 39.

²⁵ Zou Yigui 鄒一桂, *Xiaoshan huapu* 小山畫譜 [*Xiaoshan's Painting Models*], *ibid.*, p. 453.

Western landscape painting became an independent genre hundreds of years later than its Chinese counterpart. In ancient Greek and Roman art, there were idyllic scenes depicted with mythological figures, but for much of European art history, religious and mythological themes predominated in painting and the other forms of art, and it is not until the end of the fifteenth century, roughly equivalent to the mid-Ming dynasty in China, that the great German painter Albrecht Dürer painted, during the summer of 1494, his first watercolors—of scenes around Nuremberg—the *Cemetery of St. John*, the *Wire-Drawing Mill*, and some studies of trees, which “are among the first landscape paintings in their own right in German art.”²⁶ These are in fact among the earliest landscape paintings in European art, though some 20 years earlier, in 1473, Leonardo da Vinci already sketched the scenery in Arno Valley, which marks the first attempt at the representation of nature in the fifteenth century. Leon Battista Alberti’s *Della Pittura* (1435) is the first important treatise on art during the Renaissance, but it says nothing about landscape, for it is concerned with the formation of a precise perspective on buildings, their classical architectural forms and spatial relationships, which forms a background for the display of various human activities. Natural scenery is irregular and lacks the kind of symmetry and clear geometrical forms, that is, the ideal space Alberti favored; therefore, from this scientifically inspired point of view, nature provides at best a space for the activities of farmers or shepherds, while architectural structures of palaces and temples are much more important as background for the more distinctly urban life.

In the sixteenth century, Europe rediscovered the idyllic tradition in the Greco-Roman classics, which legitimized the representation of nature in art and literature. Horace’s *Ars poetica* and its somewhat misunderstood phrase *ut pictura poesis* became tremendously influential and gave rise to the idea of poetry and painting as sister arts. Giorgione (1477–1510) perhaps best represents the spirit of such a merging of arts, and his works such as *Concert champêtre* and the *Sleeping Venus* indeed have the beauty not only of pictorial art but also suggestive of poetic sensibility and the harmonious quality of music, so much so that Water Pater praised his work as “this pictorial poetry.”²⁷ In the idealization of nature, these works are important in the Western tradition of idyllic landscape. The other great Venetian painters—Giovanni Bellini (1430–1516), Titian (1477–1576), and Giulio Campagnola (1482–1515?), to mention just a few—began to depict the beauty of nature even when they focused on the values of man. “The Italians,” as Jakob Burckhardt observes, “are the first among modern peoples by whom the outward world was seen and felt as something beautiful.”²⁸ Since the Renaissance, landscape quickly developed into a major form of art in Europe with many great artists not just in Italy but also in France, Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and many other countries.

²⁶ Fedja Anzelewsky, *Dürer: His Art and Life*, trans. Heide Grieve (New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1980), p. 37.

²⁷ Water Pater, “The School of Giorgione,” *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* (London: Macmillan, 1925), p. 149.

²⁸ Jakob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London: Phaidon, 1965), p. 178.

What is the relationship between man and nature as represented in landscape paintings, whether Chinese or Western? The differences between Chinese and Western paintings are huge and obvious, and in each we may investigate that relationship underlying the very design and execution of the art work. In China, landscape became the mainstream after the Tang, known as “the primary among the 13 subjects for painters.”²⁹ In the layout of a typical Chinese landscape, much of the space is occupied by natural scenery, while human figures, if they appear at all, are usually tiny in comparison with the huge mountains. Li Zhaodao’s *Emperor Ming’s Visit of Sichuan*, Fan Kuan’s (f. 1020) *Travelers along a Mountain Stream*, and Qiu Ying’s (1498?–1552) *Thatched Cottage in a Village of Peach Trees* are all exemplary works in this regard. In contrast, most Western landscape paintings have human figures and their dwellings occupying the focal point; Pieter Bruegel’s (1525?–1569) *Hunters in the Snow*, John Constable’s (1776–1837) *The Hay Wain*, and many other landscape paintings are all good examples. On the basis of such obvious differences, some have argued that Chinese and Western arts and cultures are fundamentally different, that because the Chinese have the idea of “heaven and man merging into one” (*tian ren heyi* 天人合一), man is not separated from nature and Chinese landscape thus represents pure nature with no human figures in the center. On the other hand, so the argument goes, the West has always been human-centered, so man has a predominant presence in landscape paintings, which cannot escape from the centrality of the human self to represent nature in its purity. In his famous *Commentaries on ci Poetry*, Wang Guowei (1877–1927) puts forward the notion of “world” (*jingjie* 境界) in poetic works and argues that there is a distinction between two kinds of “world” in literary and artistic works—a world that has the self in it and a world that has no self. “In the world that has the self,” says Wang, “the self observes all things and thereby has all of them tainted with the color of the self. In the world that has no self, things are observed in and of themselves, and it is impossible to know where the self begins and where the thing ends.”³⁰ Again, some have used this distinction to argue that Chinese landscape depicts a “world that has no self,” whereas Western landscape produces a “world that has the self,” a distinction that has sometimes been taken to be the essential difference between Eastern and Western arts and cultures as pure nature and self-centered human creation.

Such an argument seems to be articulating at best only half truth and the easily visible half at that. Having said what has just been quoted above, Wang Guowei goes on to say: “of the ancient poets who composed *ci* poetry, most created a world that has the self, but they were not incapable of creating worlds with no self.” That is to say, most ancient Chinese poets depict a “world that has the self.” To be sure, poetry and painting are different, and most Chinese landscape paintings do have

²⁹ Jing Hao 荆浩 (855?–915), *Shanshui jue* 山水訣 [*Essentials of Landscape*], in Shen Zicheng (ed.), *Lidai lun hua mingzhu huibian* [*Collection of Famous Writings on Painting from Various Dynasties*], p. 53.

³⁰ Wang Guowei 王國維, *Renjian cihua* 人間詞話 [*Commentaries on ci Poetry*], ed. Xu Tiaofu 徐調孚 (Hong Kong: Zhongshu, 1961), p. 1.

more natural scenery than human figures. But we should pay attention to another passage from Wang Guowei's work, in which he says: "Things in nature are connected with, and restricted by, one another, but such connections and restrictions must be removed when they are represented in works of art and literature. Therefore, an artist, however realistic, is also an idealist. At the same time, an artistic world, however fictional, must take all its stuff from nature and obey the laws of nature in its construction. Therefore, an artist, however idealistic, is also a realist."³¹ Here, Wang makes it clear that if "having the self" is a subjective position that projects human ideas onto nature and constructs a fictional world through imagination, then the artist is most likely an idealist who has all things "tainted with the color of the self." On the other hand, if "having no self" is an objective position that eliminates the "self" to let things "be observed in and of themselves," then the artist is most likely a realist whose works do not clearly distinguish the self and external things, so it becomes impossible "to know where the self begins and where the thing ends." In other words, the distinction between the "world that has the self" and the "world that has no self" would be equivalent to that between the "idealist" and the "realist." Wang Guowei's argument, however, is meant precisely to dislodge such a mechanical dichotomy, for he maintains that artistic creation must be the combination of the subjective and the objective and that no absolute demarcation line separates the realistic and the idealistic. Artistic worlds can indeed be said to "have the self" or "have no self," but that is not a difference between Chinese and Western arts, for such different "worlds" can be found in both Chinese and Western art works.

If we go further to examine Chinese and Western landscape paintings, we may even say that Western landscape tends to be more realistic than its Chinese counterpart, that it lays a greater emphasis on precision and verisimilitude in representing the forms of objects, and on truthfulness of color, texture, and substance. Whether it is due to the availability of painting materials and techniques, particularly oil painting, or to the use of perspective and shading as the result of scientific interest and advancement, by and large Western paintings do look more realistic than most Chinese literati paintings. When first coming into contact with Western paintings during the late Ming or early Qing dynasties, quite a few Chinese marveled at their life-likeness. Gu Qiyuan, a late Ming scholar, gives a vivid description of the *Madonna and Child*, which the Jesuit father Matteo Ricci had brought to China from Rome. "The portrait is painted in color on a copper plate and looks very real," Gu Qiyuan reports. "The body and the arms look like protruding from the plate, and the face with light and shade looks no different from a real person's face, as if alive."³² The Qing dynasty painter Zou Yigui also described the effect of Western paintings he had seen when he testified that "the Westerners are rather good at using a mathematical method, so their paintings are very precise in terms of shading and

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³² Quoted from Mo Xiaoye 莫小也, *Shiqi-shiba shiji chuanjiaoshi yu xi hua dong jian* 十七—十八世紀傳教士與西畫東漸 [*The Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Missionaries and the Eastward Spread of Western Painting*] (Hangzhou: China Fine Art College Press, 2002), p. 54.

distance. All figures and buildings they paint have shadows, and the colors and brushes they use are completely different from what we use in China. Their scenes are all measured by a triangular instrument and go from wide to narrow. The buildings and palaces they paint on the wall almost make you feel as though you could walk right in.”³³ The verisimilitude of Western painting certainly left a deep impression on many Chinese who first came to see it. But if verisimilitude comes out of an objectivism that eliminates “the self” in constructing its artistic world, are we to conclude that Western landscape painting creates a “world that has no self” because it is more realistic than Chinese painting in the representation of nature?

On the Chinese side, verisimilitude is neither a technical desideratum nor a theoretical emphasis. Instead, from fairly early on, Chinese painting practice and theoretical reflections have put more weight on such notions as “intention” (*yi* 意), “vital energy” (*qi* 氣), and “spirit” (*shen* 神), that is, on the artist’s subjective ideas rather than life-like representation of external objects. A treatise on landscape attributed to Wang Wei begins with the statement that “in painting landscapes, intention comes first before the use of brushes.”³⁴ Zhang Yanyuan also remarks that though nature has all kinds of colors, shapes, and moods, painters “use black ink and have all five colors suggested, and that is called intention accomplished.” What is important is to articulate human intention and imagination, not the realistic portrayal of things; therefore, he cautions every novice painter, “in painting objects, it is very important to avoid a much too fastidious portrayal of shapes and colors, the external techniques exposed in minute details.”³⁵ Traditional Chinese aesthetic sensibilities thus tend to downgrade verisimilitude in favor of “likeness in spirit” (*shen si* 神似). “What I call painting,” says Ni Zan (1301–1374), a famous painter of the Yuan dynasty, “is nothing but a few free-flowing strokes of the brush, not at all aiming at likeness in real shape, but done only for my own pleasure.”³⁶ The great poet Su Shi (1037–1101) has a famous line that best represents the view of traditional literati painters: “Commenting on paintings in terms of verisimilitude, your views would be close to those of children.”³⁷ Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072), another great poet of the Song dynasty, also remarks that “the ancient painters aimed at intention, not shapes.”³⁸ In *Mengxi’s Conversations with a Writing Brush*, the erudite scholar Shen Kuo (1031–1095) also articulates an opinion that we have by now grown familiar with when he says: “the subtlety of calligraphy and painting must be appreciated in

³³ Zou Yigui, *Xiaoshan huapu* [*Xiaoshan’s Painting Models*], in *Lidai lun hua mingzhu huibian* [*Collection of Famous Writings on Painting from Various Dynasties*], p. 466.

³⁴ Wang Wei 王維, *Shanshui lun* 山水論 [*On Landscape Painting*], *ibid.*, p. 32.

³⁵ Zhang Yanyuan, *Lun hua* [*On Paintings*], *ibid.*, p. 38.

³⁶ Ni Zan 倪瓚, *Lun hua* 論畫 [*On Painting*], *ibid.*, p. 205.

³⁷ Su Shi 蘇軾, “Two poems on the Branches by Mr Wang of Yanling,” poem no. 1, in *Su Shi shiji* 蘇蘇詩集 [*Su Shi’s Collected Poems*], ed. Wang Wenhao 王文浩 (1764–?), 8 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1982), 5:1525.

³⁸ Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, “Panche tu,” in *Ouyang Xiu quanji* 歐陽修全集 [*Ouyang Xiu’s Complete Works*], 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1992), 1:43.

spirit, and it cannot be sought in external shapes.” He then speaks of a rarity in his own household collection, a Wang Wei painting of a banana tree in snow, which does not make sense as bananas do not grow in cold winter with heavy snow around. Shen Kuo argues, however, that “this is what conceived in the mind and executed by the hand, good as far as the intention is realized; thus it creates its own reason and penetrates into one’s spirit, dictated as though by a heavenly intention. But all these are difficult to convey to the unenlightened vulgar people.”³⁹ That is to say, a painter can create through imagination something fictional and impossible in nature, something that “creates its own reason and penetrates into one’s spirit, dictated as though by a heavenly intention.” From this we may realize that Chinese landscape painting is not at all pure representation of nature without involvement of the artist’s subjective self; rather, it is a representation of the nature conceived in the artist’s mind and therefore the externalization or manifestation of the artist’s self and his ideas. Guo Xi (1001–1090) of the Song dynasty maintains that “the artist should cultivate himself to have a generous and pleasant inclination and appreciative mind,” and in such a condition, whatever is conceived in his mind will all “naturally fall in place in his mind and become visible almost imperceptibly under his brush.”⁴⁰ If indeed natural sceneries in landscape are all depictions of what the artist has conceived in his mind, then, how can we see Chinese landscape painting as pure nature, a “world that has no self,” when all it does is to manifest the artist’s self and intention, and when the world created in the painting is nothing but a world the artist has conceived and intended?

In fact, Wang Guowei’s “world that has no self” is not meant to eliminate the self at all but just to destabilize the rigid opposition between the self and external things. When he describes such a world as one in which it becomes “impossible to know where the self begins and where the thing ends,” he is echoing the famous phrase in the *Zhuangzi* when the philosopher wakes up from a dream and feels uncertain which is the real condition: whether he is still dreaming or he is awake or whether what we call a dream is actually the reality. It becomes impossible to determine, says Zhuangzi, “whether it is Zhuang Zhou dreaming to be a butterfly or a butterfly dreaming to be Zhuang Zhou” the philosopher. That is the condition of a total erasure of the differentiations of things and the self, what Zhuangzi calls: “the transformation of things.”⁴¹ In a famous poem describing his friend Wen Yuke painting bamboos, Su Shi writes: “When Yuke is painting bamboos,/he sees only bamboos and no human being./Not only does he see no human beings,/but he has forsaken his own

³⁹ Shen Kuo 沈括, with annotations by Hu Daojing 胡道靜, *Xin jiaozhu Mengxi bitan* 新校注夢溪筆談 [*Mengxi’s Conversations with a Writing Brush with New Annotations*] (Hong Kong: Zhonghua, 1975), p. 169.

⁴⁰ Guo Xi 郭熙, *Lin quan gaozhi* 林泉高致 [*The Elegance of Woods and Springs*], in *Lidai lun hua mingzhu huibian* [*Collection of Famous Writings on Painting from Various Dynasties*], pp. 71–72.

⁴¹ Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 (1844–1895), *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 [*Variorum Edition of the Zhuangzi*], in *Zhuzi jicheng* [*Collection of Master Writings*], 3:53–54.

self./His body and bamboos have become one./all endlessly fresh and full of grace.”⁴² In a prose piece, Su Shi recounts what his painter friend has told him, saying that “in painting bamboos, you must have full-grown bamboos in your bosom.”⁴³ What all these point to is the theoretical point that art cannot be anything else but the artist’s imaginative creation, a great effort on the part of the artist, what the poet Du Fu describes as “the painstaking effort at the execution of one’s intent.”⁴⁴ On the surface, Chinese paintings do look very different from Western paintings, their forms are indeed different, but they are not so far from one another in the sense that arts, whether Chinese or Western, all strive to give expression to human aesthetic sensibilities toward nature. Chinese landscape seems to give much more space to mountains and rivers rather than human beings, but that is only the superficial difference in size and measurement, and it does not imply that mountains and rivers have more weight than human beings in Chinese landscape paintings or that Chinese landscape does not involve human consciousness.

What the artist tries to portray through the scenes of nature is precisely a human intent or imagination. Shi Tao (1630–1724), a famous painter and Buddhist monk of the early Qing dynasty, puts it very well when he declares that “that which is called painting follows one’s heart.” Again he remarks that “mountains and rivers make me to speak for them. They come out of me, and I also come out of them. I search magnificent mountains and hills as my sketches. Mountains and rivers meet me in spirit and we are all transformed, for we all return to the Great Spring.” What this Buddhist monk expresses in a sort of mysterious language is the idea that the painter is the spokesperson for nature and that the artist is unified with nature in spirit. Wu Guanzhong, a contemporary painter with training in Western painting, believes that Shi Tao’s words have articulated “the very nature of art *as art*.” He even maintains that “this seventeenth-century Chinese monk had prophesized the eventual birth of Western expressionism.”⁴⁵ Yun Shouping (1633–1690), an early Qing painter, also remarks that “mountains in spring look like smiling, mountains in summer look like vexed, mountains in autumn look like putting on cosmetics, and mountains in winter look like sleeping. Mountains themselves cannot speak of their moods in the four seasons, but man can speak for them. Autumn can make one feel sad and it can also make one seem pensive. He who wants to paint autumnal scenes must first understand that which makes one sad or pensive before he can execute the painting.”⁴⁶ Even though Western landscape paintings depict nature realistically, they devote

⁴² Su Shi, “Three poems on Yuke’s bamboos in Yao Buzhi’s collection,” *Su Shi shiji* [*Su Shi’s Collected Poems*], 5:1522.

⁴³ Su Shi, “Wen Yuke’s bamboo paintings,” *Su Shi wenji* [*Su Shi’s Collected Writings*], 6 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979), 2:365.

⁴⁴ Du Fu 杜甫 with annotations by Qiu Zhao’ao 仇兆鳌 (fl. 1685), *Du shi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注 [*Du Fu’s Poems with Detailed Annotations*], 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979), 3:1149.

⁴⁵ Wu Guanzhong 吳冠中, *Wo du Shi Tao hua yulu* 我讀石濤畫語錄 [*My Reading of Shi Tao’s Remarks on Painting*], (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1997), pp. 1, 16, 18.

⁴⁶ Yun Shouping 惲壽平, *Nantian lunhua* 南田論畫 [*On Painting*], in *Lidai lun hua mingzhu huibian* [*Collection of Famous Writings on Painting from Various Dynasties*], p. 329.

much space to human activities and give expression to human emotions and sensibilities. Chinese landscape paintings, on the other hand, are mostly natural scenery with mountains, rivers, or clouds predominant and with rather small human figures, but they are nonetheless expression of the artist's conceptualization and intention that claim to speak for nature. Therefore, we may conclude that nature as represented in arts, however different it may appear to be in Chinese and Western traditions, is always nature humanized.

Beginning with Confucius, Chinese literati have always projected human values onto nature and relate it to the qualities of a cultivated human being. In the *Analecets* we read: "The wise one enjoys rivers and the benevolent one enjoys mountains."⁴⁷ In another place, we find Confucius contemplating on the fast moving river, saying: "things pass away just like that, day and night!"⁴⁸ Someone asked Mencius why did Confucius often talk about rivers and what did he mean by his remarks, and Mencius replies that "the source of the river flows out incessantly, day and night," and he further explains that Confucius used that as a metaphor for the endless cultivation of a moral person and for the idea that the source of moral virtues is inexhaustible, just like that of a great river.⁴⁹ The famous Confucian scholar Dong Zhongshu (179–104 B. C. E.) of the Han dynasty puts it more clearly when he tries to explain what Confucius meant in that famous expression, arguing that natural scenery may suggest to us associations with moral virtues, "therefore gentlemen use them in metaphorical expressions."⁵⁰ Evidently for traditional Chinese scholars, mountains and rivers have the efficacy of enlightening the human mind and intellect, and in the enjoyment of the beauty of nature, certain moral lessons are to be learned. In Chinese landscape and nature poetry, then, we find both the Taoist outlook on pure nature and the Confucian outlook on nature with implications of moral virtues, and sometime it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other. The great Tang poet Li Bai (701–762) describes an imagined conversation the poet has with an interlocutor: "You ask me why do I dwell in these green mountains,/But I smile without a reply, only an easy mind./The river flows away silently, bearing the fallen peach blossoms./Here is another world, but not the world of men."⁵¹ These imaginary question and answer quietly set up an opposition between nature and "the world of men," with nature obviously superior to the human world. But Li Bai has another poem that seems to imply a different kind of human-nature relationship: "All birds have flown away, high above,/A lonely cloud moves on leisurely./Looking at one another, never feeling

⁴⁷ Liu Baonan 劉寶楠 (1791–1855), *Lunyu zhengyi* 論語正義 [The Correct Meaning of the *Analecets*], in *Zhuji jicheng* [Collection of Master Writings], 1:127.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:188.

⁴⁹ Jiao Xun 焦循 (1763–1820), *Mengzi zhengyi* 孟子正義 [The Correct Meaning of the Works of Mencius], in *Zhuji jicheng* [Collection of Master Writings], 1:331.

⁵⁰ Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒, *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 [Exuberant Dewes of the Spring and Autumn] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937), pp. 249–50.

⁵¹ Li Bai 李白, "Question and Answer in the Mountain," in *Li Taibai quanji* 李太白全集 [Li Bai's Complete Works], 3 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1977), 2:874.

tired./All there is alone is the Jingting Mountain.”⁵² In this poem, the poet is looking at the Jingting Mountain with a seemingly objective attitude as an observer of nature, but he and the mountain are “looking at one another, never feeling tired,” thus the mountain is also looking at the man, and the poet becomes the one who speaks for nature. In a famous *ci* poem, Xing Qiji (1140–1207) writes: “I look at the blue mountain and see how delightful it is,/I believe that’s how the blue mountain would look at me./Feelings and looks, all correspond to one another.”⁵³ Clearly the poet does not wish to distinguish his subjective self and the blue mountain while bestowing feelings on the natural scene. There are many other Chinese poems that combine emotions (*qing* 情) with scenes (*jing* 景) skillfully to integrate the human and the natural, with no clear distinction of the self and the natural environment, thus forming a long and rich tradition of seeking spiritual values and the calm of the mind in the beauty of nature. There is indeed a deep appreciation of nature in the Chinese cultural tradition as exemplified in poetry and painting, but it is nature as conceptualized in the human mind and expressed in creative arts, thus a nature humanized. Man and nature form an intimate relationship between the self and the outside world, a relationship of coexistence and interaction, and it is in the great works of arts and literature that we find powerful and effective ways to articulate and represent that relationship. In that sense, then, the study of landscape painting and nature poetry provides not only an opportunity to revisit the creative works with great aesthetic values but also a profound way to help us understand both nature and ourselves.

⁵² Li Bai, “Sitting Alone in Mount Jingting,” *ibid.*, 2:1079.

⁵³ Xing Qiji 辛棄疾, “In the tune of *He xinlang*,” in Deng Guangming 鄧廣銘 (ed.), *Jiaxuan ci biannian jianzhu* 稼軒詞編年箋注 [*Xing Qiji’s ci Poetry in Chronological Order with Annotations*] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1993), p. 515.

A Site Catchment Analysis of Hong Kong's Neolithic Subsistence

Guo Li

Until the 1990s, subsistence was not a major topic of archaeological research in China. This has been improved, particularly in the past decade, with more well-designed subsistence studies carried out. However, it remains a difficult task in the Lingnan area including Hong Kong, where the preservation condition for organic remains, which are significant for prehistoric subsistence studies, is usually poorer than that in the Middle or North China. In addition, due to the complex nature of prehistoric subsistence which closely linked to historical and ecological developments, it cannot be completely understood by simply looking at the faunal or floral remains. It is also necessary to probe into other aspects such as settlement characteristics, historical/cultural traditions, social interaction and environmental properties or developments. Up to present, Hong Kong's Neolithic subsistence is not yet well understood.

Employing research approaches that may compensate the shortcoming of poor preservation condition at sites and help understand the environment/settlement is thus worthwhile and important. In this chapter, site catchment analysis (SCA) is used to examine the subsistence in Neolithic Hong Kong, coupled with unearthed evidences and scientific results such as isotopic analysis. Geographically, the study covers the area of today's Hong Kong SAR.

Hong Kong's Neolithic consists of the Middle and Late Neolithic stages (ca. 6500–3500 BP), wherein each stage consists of an early and a late phase (e.g. AMO 1999; Shang and Mao 1997). See Table 1.

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Table 1 Brief summary of Hong Kong Neolithic^a

Stages	Phases	Circa time (BP)	Main characteristics
First: Middle Neolithic	Early	6,500–5,600	Painted fine pottery, bark cloth beater, white pottery rare
	Late	5,600–5,000	Incised patterns on coarse and fine pottery, white pottery, bark cloth beater, burials, painted pottery rare
Second: Late Neolithic	Early	5,000–4,300	Geometric stamped pottery, with leave-vein as major pattern, fire grate, houses and burials
	Late	4,300–3,500	Geometric stamped pottery with various complicated patterns, large houses and burials

^aThe representative Middle Neolithic sites include Sun Tsuen (Mo 2002), Chung Hom Wan (Tomlin 1971; Bard 1972), Tai Wan (Finn 1958), Hac Sa Wan (Kelly 1973; Meacham 1986), Yung Long (Meacham 1993a), Hai Dei Wan (Williams 1980), Lung Kwu Tan (Chiu 1995), Sham Wan Village (Meacham 1994), Tung Kwu (Kelly 1974, 1976; Meacham 1976), Sham Wan (Meacham 1978), Fu Tei (Meacham 1994), Kwo Lo Wan (Meacham 1994), Tung Wan (Au et al. 1990), Tung Wan Tsai North (AMO and IA CASS 1999), Sai Wan (Meacham 1979b; Rodwell and Wellings 1990), Tai Long (Bard 1972; Meacham 1982), Sha Chau (Frost 1976), Lo So Shing (Meacham 1980) and Ngkayuen (HKAS 1999)

The representative Late Neolithic sites are Yung Long (AMO 1997), Sham Wan and Tung Wan (Frost 1980a), Sha Lo Wan (Drewett 1995), Lung Kwu Sheung Tan (Meacham 1993a), Tung Wan Tsai North (AMO and IA CASS 1999), Sham Wan, Sham Wan Village, Tung Kwu (Kelly 1974, 1976), Tai Long, Sha Lo Wan (Drewett 1995), Long Kwu Tan (Chiu 1995), Tung Wan (Au et al. 1990), Hai Dei Wan, Lo Sho Shing, Fu Tei, Chung Hom Wan (Bard 1976; Tomlin 1971, 1972), Ngkayuen site (HKAS 1999) and Sha Chau (Frost 1976), Shek Kok Tsui (Salmon 1972), Man Kwo Tsui (Davis 1960), Siu A Chau (Frost 1980b), Tai Kwai Wan (Meacham 1979a), Sha Lao Tong Wan (Chiu 1995), Po Yue Wan (Wellings 1993; Williams 1982), Sha Po Tsuen (Spry 1990; Meacham 1993b), Pa Tau Kwu (Chiu 1995), Fa Peng Deng (Chiu 1995; Shang and Mao 1997) and Pak Mong (Deng et al. 1997)

Site Catchment Analysis (SCA)

SCA is capable of reconstructing economically important information, such as subsistence, even with a lack of plant and animal remains. It can stand as a supplemental independent line of reference for the reconstruction of the subsistence and mutually verify with the faunal or floral remains. Faunal or floral data, in fact, are regarded as no less subject to skew or bias than SCA (Zvelebil 1983: 73, 76). Thus, SCA can at least serve as a complement to other methods or materials for prehistoric subsistence assessment or reconstruction. SCA will still remain at the inference level even if a good inference and better-derived imperial archaeological and paleoecological data are needed to confirm the analytical results. It is particularly heuristic when SCA is adapted to local ecological, economic and historical situations and conditions.

Catchment and Location

The term *catchment* comes from geomorphology and is usually used to refer to the drainage basin or the area from which a river collects its water. Just as the term suggests,

'the catchment of an archaeological site is that area from which a site (or more properly, the inhabitants of a site) derived its resources' (Roper 1979: 120). While a natural catchment such as a watershed is physically observable, a prehistoric archaeological site catchment is actually not and is instead a theoretical reconstructed plan. If this is so, then what should be used to reconstruct an archaeological site catchment? To reiterate the question, what elements would have been significant in determining where to situate a site or where to establish a village in prehistoric times? In essence, this makes location the key problem for land use (Chisholm 1968: 12). In terms of locational studies, Roper (1979: 119–120) has made the distinction between two sets of approaches after a synthesis of the studies under the name of site catchment analysis. One set, as in the central place theory or gravity models, deals largely with man-man relationships in ordering space. The other—site catchment analysis, belonging to the other set of approaches—is mainly concerned with man-land relationships in arranging site location and land use. Accordingly, she goes further to argue that site catchment analysis is more concerned with the inventories of natural resources (like abundance of plants or animals) as determining factors in deciding the site of a village, than on other social factors such as band spacing (Roper 1979: 120). Yet, the social factors like demography have not been overlooked.

This emphasis on economic or man-land relationships in site catchment analysis has come from related studies in geography and ethnography, from which the method is derived. For example, Chisholm (1968: 102), a geographer, considers that water, arable land, grazing land, fuel and building materials are five basic economic elements for an agricultural settlement. Similarly, for Bushman hunters and gatherers of the Dobe area of Botswana in the harsh Kalahari Desert, Lee (1969: 56) believes that the single most vital factor for determining the site of a camp is a permanent waterhole.

Distance Between Site and Resource

The distance between a site and its surrounding resources, such as water, arable land or fishing grounds, is a crucial factor in determining the site's location, and it is argued that this is universal in all locations worldwide (Chisholm 1968: 12). In other words, the closer the resources are to a site, the more important they will be considered or the more likely they are to be exploited. Conversely, the further they are from a site, the less likely these resources are to be consumed (Vita-Finzi and Higgs 1970: 7).

In practice, archaeologists usually demarcate an area (in form of a circle) around a site for assessing the site's catchment. This is considered the characteristic that distinguishes site catchment analysis from other man-land approaches (Roper 1979: 120). Regarding the specific distance from a site or the size of a site catchment area, most archaeologists have widely followed Lee's ethnographic observation of the !Kung (Lee 1969: 61) and used a 6-mile or 10-km radius catchment zone or circle for foragers. By the same token, they have adopted the studies by geographer Chisholm (1968: 131) and employed a 5-km radius catchment circle for farmers.

These distances are usually measured in terms of the time it takes to cover the distance, that is, about 2-h walk for the 10-km radius for foragers and 1-h walk for the 5-km radius for farmers (e.g. Roper 1979).

Nonetheless, the mechanical use of Lee and Chisholm's figures has been criticized (Roper 1979: 124). In fact, the 10-km/5-km catchment radii are seldom reached in real situations, and in most cases they stand for the longer and maximum limits of distance that foragers/farmers normally would not reach to find food.

The 10-km radius Lee observed was the maximum distance that the !Kung Bushmen would walk from their camps to procure food resources. Generally, they would not go as far as the limit if foods were abundant closer to their camps. Lee (1969: 59–60) has summarized the basic principle of Bushmen foraging strategy in a single sentence as this: 'At a given moment, the members of a camp prefer to collect and eat the desirable foods that are at the least distance from standing water.' As Lee (1969: 60) further describes, the Bushmen would typically stay at a camp for a few weeks or months to consume the food found in its vicinity. The food would be exhausted within a 1-mile radius in the first week before they needed to go any farther to the 2-mile radius in the second week, and then the 3-mile radius in the third week if necessary. Therefore, it can be assumed that if the foods within the 1-mile radius were enough to support the camp residents for the weeks or months, they would not have to gather foods from further away (Lee 1969: 60). As Lee (1969: 60–61) finds, when the distance reaches 6 miles, the cost curve for procuring food increases sharply, which means that the Bushmen would normally be reluctant to go beyond that point for food unless they were forced to do so, such as during the dry season. However, even in the dry season, some of the camp members, such as the elders, would choose to collect the less desirable foods nearby, and only the younger people would make the longer trips to distant resources. With the distance increasing, more camp members would more likely search nearby less desirable foods and fewer people would go on the long trips for the more desirable ones (e.g. with better taste and nutrition). In addition, it should be noted that, during the rainy, food-abundant season, the catchment radius never exceeds the 3-mile or 5-km level (Lee 1969: 61). Also worth noting, the Bushmen were living in a harsh desert environment with only the simplest technologies (Lee 1969: 47). The site catchment radius would be much smaller if it is in a resource-rich environment and the site residents possess more advanced technology, for people under those circumstances would not need to go so far to procure food.

Similarly, the 5-km radius that Chisholm (1968) suggests for a farming settlement also appears to be the maximum distance under normal situations. In fact, in many of the cases he has quoted, the radius is a lot shorter than 5 km. For instance, in Finland and the Netherlands, the average distance from the dwelling to the fields was between 1.0 and 1.1 km (Chisholm 1968: 46). In China, the average distance between farmstead and field was even shorter (0.6 km) and the average distance to the farthest fields was 1.1 km in the country as a whole. Similar situations were present in Pakistan as well. Furthermore, in such rice double-cropping areas as Sichuan of southwestern China, the average distance between field and farmhouse was just 0.3 km (Chisholm 1968: 46).

Other cases also indicate that site catchment radius or size can vary a great deal, due to variations in environments and other factors (Zarky 1976: 119). For example, Woodburn (1968) has proposed a 1-h rather than the more accepted 2-h walk distance for Hadza foragers. Akazawa (1980) also believes that the 10-km radius was too large for the hunter-gatherers at the Nittano site in Japan.

In summary, the 10-km/5-km radii are largely the maximum limits of radius distance for the forager/farmer catchments in theory only. In reality, the radii are usually much smaller and often varied. And in general these numbers can only stand as a rough reference, especially for the primary site catchment discussed below.

Primary and Secondary Site Catchments

Archaeological research has suggested that a distinction can be made between a smaller catchment area that immediately surrounds a site, providing daily subsistence to the site's inhabitants under normal situations, and a larger catchment area around the site, of which the resources are more irregularly exploited.

For instance, Flannery (1976) has come to a similar conclusion to distinguish a regular site catchment zone from an irregular one. Unlike most other site catchment analytical methods, he uses the remains found at a site as a given to trace the probable origin of those resources. Using this method for assessing the catchment of a formative agricultural village in Oaxaca, Mexico, he claims that the most basic subsistence needs of the village would have been met within a 2.5-km radius of the site. He has even indicated that this 2.5-km catchment tended to provide more land than the village would need (Flannery 1976: 117). On the other hand, the resources irregularly exploited by the villagers would have been derived from a larger area, even as distant as over 200 km away from the site for obtaining exotic ceremonial materials (Flannery 1976: 106–111).

In actuality, different names have been assigned to these two kinds of catchment areas. The most widely used ones are the term *site exploitation territory* for 'the area immediately accessible to a site's inhabitants' and the term *site catchment* to mean 'the total area from which the contents of a site were derived' (Roper 1979: 124; Renfrew and Bahn 1996: 243). However, as the site exploitation territory is also part of the site catchment, there is no difference in type between these two kinds of catchment areas but only difference in degree within a same type. Thus, it is confusing to use two different terms to refer to something in the same type (or category). Therefore, it is preferable to employ a single name for a single type and use different names to denote the different variations in degree of the same type. In the case in question, the single type is the site catchment, and the variations of the site catchment degree are that one catchment is closer to a site and smaller in size. The other is farther from the site and larger in size. In this case, I would use the terms *primary site catchment* (PSC) and *secondary site catchment* (SSC). The PSC refers to the area whose resources are under primary, regular and often daily exploitation by a site's occupants, while the SSC stands for the area whose resources are exploited but irregularly or occasionally by the occupants.

Also important, the PSC, normally within the immediate vicinity of a site, covers the area where the most basic or vital subsistence resources are drawn. By contrast, the SSC tends to accommodate the resources that are not major subsistence source, farther from a site and not of regular utility. In other words, the PSC is more of a subsistence nature, while the SSC is more of non-subsistence nature.

In short, the terminology of primary site catchment and secondary site catchment is used largely in terms of the degree in site exploitation regularity and intensity. It is also understood that a primary site catchment is more of subsistence in nature than the secondary site catchment, which usually embodies other, for instance, ceremonial or prestigious, meanings for the site inhabitants.

PSC Size of Hong Kong Neolithic

Bearing in mind the concepts of site location, the distance between site and resource and the primary and secondary site catchments, the Neolithic Hong Kong site catchments will be analyzed below.

As the subject of this chapter is subsistence, it is sufficient to emphasize only the primary site catchment (PSC). The logical next step is to define the size for the primary site catchment of a site in Neolithic Hong Kong. To do this, some key determining factors should be taken into account. These factors, as mentioned earlier, should include the characteristics of environments, nature of subsistence activities, technological levels and possible cultural traditions of the region. It turns out, as elaborated below, that the PSC of Neolithic Hong Kong would have been quite small.

Natural and Technical Conditions

Rich environments, readily available food, the availability of plants and animals all year long and advanced technology (sophisticated skills in procuring wild land or aquatic resources) are all aspects credited as conditions and situations of the Pearl River estuary including Hong Kong during the Neolithic and that also pertain to the site catchment analysis.

Chang (1981) has termed the precursors of the early farmers in the Pacific coastal areas of China as ‘affluent foragers’. These people had plentiful and various food resources to consume. The Hong Kong people were also likely living in an affluent environment during the Neolithic, being located around the estuary of the biggest river of Lingnan and along the southern (sub) tropical coast of South China Sea. During most of the year, most site inhabitants would have had access to rich marine, riverine and terrestrial wild or domesticated resources, with high density and year-round availability in such (sub) tropical, estuary and coastal settings possessing rich sun radiation, heat, precipitation and other water resources (Lu 1990: 325–327).

For instance, two to three crops of grain and more than eight crops of vegetables can be grown in a year. In addition, there are a large variety of tropical fruits and crops (Xu and Peel 1991: 135). Most sites are situated close to the river mouth in a setting of estuary riverine and marine ecotone. This setting usually has abundant and diverse marine and land foods ideal for procurement within a small patch of geographic niche (Bailey and Parkington 1988). Typically, a site is located on a raised sand bar in a well-sheltered bay, protected from winds and often has streams, lagoons and/or mangroves and modern cultivated lands nearby. The lagoon with mangroves is one of the resource-richest areas, with abundant shrimp, crab, birds, shellfish and fish, ideal for collecting and fishing. Research shows that Hong Kong's mangroves have at least 45 bird species, 23 invertebrate species and 17 plant species (Wong and Tam 1997: 21–28). From an ecological perspective, many of the sites are located within the advantageous protected shores or enclosed shores, which are well sheltered from winds and waves. They also have extremely dense coverings of organisms for human consumption (Morton 1983: 129–170, 206–230). These kinds of ecologically affluent and stable areas are also favourable for sedentism and population increment (Akazawa 1988: 89).

Technology, such as the advanced Neolithic industries as the manufacturing of completely polished stone tools, coarse and fine pottery, and craft specialization, like jade ornament or canoe making, were all well developed in the PRE including Hong Kong in large quantities. This suggests that it should not have been a problem for the Hong Kong people to carry out necessary foraging and/or farming tasks, given the level of technology attained. Studies have indicated that the Neolithic Hong Kong people would have based their subsistence upon broad-spectrum foraging while doing some sort of cultivation of tubers or 'vegecultures' and/or seed cultures such as rice (Li 1983, 1996).

The main implication of these affluent (sub) tropical, estuary and coastal environments is that the Hong Kong people in the Neolithic may have been able to procure adequate food from the immediate surroundings of a site throughout the year. The organic remains and ecofacts/artefacts unearthed also suggest that most subsistence activities would have been carried out in the close proximity of sites and cultivation would have been particularly applicable within a confined space, considering the dense forests, limited flat land and hilly topography, as elaborated later in this chapter.

Local Cultural Traditions

The PRE subsistence is characterized by fertile lands or rich resources, exemplified with the high output of two major items: rice and fish (thus called 'home of fish and rice', or Yu Mi Zhi Xiang in Mandarin), though many other high-yielding terrestrial and aquatic foods such as tubers, roots, oil seeds, legumes, fruits and vegetables are also eaten. On the other hand, these two kinds of subsistence resources are mainly derived from circumscribed or mountainous topography or lands. This makes for a high population density, distributed in small villages.

In traditional China, village size varies with changes in topography. Jin and Li (1992: 19–20) have noted, ‘There is a clear relationship between topography and village size’ in China as a whole, and usually large villages are found on broad plains and small villages on hilly, rugged or patches of fragmented areas, though small villages may also be associated with plains. In an extreme example, the researchers (Jin and Li 1992: 20) have shown that in the fertile and productive Chengdu plain of Sichuan, there are more than 1,000 villages (less than 100 persons each normally) on an area of 100 km²; that means over ten villages per 1 km²! This implies that when lands are fertile enough, farmers may not need to walk far from home to work on the fields for foods.

In addition, the production per man in the rice region of southern China is much higher than that in the wheat region of northern China, and the farms of the former are smaller than those of the latter. This conclusion was drawn by Buck (1937a: 119), based on an extremely extensive field survey over 16,786 farms in 168 localities and 38,256 farm families in 22 provinces in China during 1929–1933. For instance, on average, a farmer in the spring wheat area (one crop area) in northern China has a crop area of more than three times the size of that of the double-cropping rice area in the Lingnan region; even that of the Yangzi rice-wheat area in the middle and lower Yangzi River region is twice as large as that of the double-cropping rice area of Lingnan (Buck 1937a: 10, 120). By contrast, the Rice Region rice of southern China yields three times as much food per unit of land as the wheat region crops of northern China (Buck 1937a: 139).

Usually defined as a productive double-cropping rice area, the Lingnan is rich as well as hilly and rugged. It is believed that this kind of mountainous topography has physically created small local communities (Nuttonson 1963: 18). Since the Pearl River Delta/estuary area is one of the most fertile, intensively cultivated and densely populated farming areas of China (Skinner 1964: 207–208; Nuttonson 1963: 20), the places where archaeological sites have been found are accordingly resource-rich areas in historical and modern times. But they are usually circumscribed in topography as well. For instance, during the early 1900s in Zhongshan County of the PRE, the average distance from all parcels to farmstead was 0.6 km and only 0.7 km for the average distance of the farthest parcels (Buck 1937b: 47). In addition, there was an average of 376 people per square kilometre of crop area in Zhongshan County (Buck 1937b: 424). In the Chaoan County of middle-eastern Guangdong, the average distance from all parcels was just 0.4 km and an average of 0.9 km for the farthest parcels (Buck 1937b: 47). Relying on both fishing and farming, the Chawan village in southern coastal Guangdong has also defined its subsistence activity areas to consist of both the farmland in immediate distribution and fishing space including the beach and surrounding sea (Warfield 1992).

Hong Kong is also mainly hilly and mountainous, with about 14% of the land for cropping and animal husbandry taking place mostly in the New Territories (Nuttonson 1963: 130, 319). And the ‘cultivated areas are confined to the coastal plain in the northwestern areas of the mainland and the numerous small valleys which open out onto the narrow flats’; and the ‘nature of the terrain precludes any extensive development of agriculture’ (Nuttonson 1963: 319). Also, it is pointed out

that the east part of Hong Kong is more rugged, difficult to access and less fertile than the west part (Balfour 1941). Taking the above statement into account, the reason for occupying mainly on the west, rather than the east, of Hong Kong may not just for convenience of fishing but may also for that of cultivation, because the west including northwest and southwest is also the best place for farming than other parts of Hong Kong. Because it is also less cultivated and populated than the west part, the east part of Hong Kong is characterized with thicker natural vegetation and less erosion—probably more similar to the prehistoric environment than the west (Nuttonson 1963: 131; Anderson 1968). Likewise, the Deep Bay of northwest New Territories is regarded as one of the most aquatic resource-rich regions, as are the main farming areas, of Hong Kong (Anderson and Anderson 1973: 57–62; Nuttonson 1963: 319). Interestingly, most archaeological sites have been found in the west, southwest or northwest areas of Hong Kong.

Historically, most Hong Kong villagers were rice farmers. The Sheung Wo Hang village researched by Hase and Lee (1992) is a good example to show the local tradition, for it is 'entirely typical of hundreds of other villages throughout the New Territories of Hong Kong' (Hase and Lee 1992: 94). The village is located on a very rugged hilly area in northeastern part of the New Territories (NT) of Hong Kong and was first settled in the late seventeenth century. It is claimed that before it was settled, the area was originally poor in farmlands, being 'mostly small patches at the heads of the little bays where one of the mountain streams reaches the sea' (Hase and Lee 1992: 79). The village used to grow two crops of paddy rice, and often winter sweet potatoes as a third crop, in the smaller fields. However, around 1975 farming completely ceased. Between 1900 and 1905, there were some 700 villagers in total, making up to about 85–100 households. It has been estimated that the village was not poor then, because during the period there should have been sufficient subsistence fields in the immediate area to support more than 100 households. As shown in the map of the Sheung Wo Hang village area, the regular subsistence activity area looks like a long belt. Counting on the map, the average distance of the farthest fields from the village is about 0.8 km, found on both ends of the belt (Hase and Lee 1992: 80–83). It is generally understood that the northeastern NT was poorer in terms of subsistence resources such as farmland than the southwestern NT. In this way, villages in the southwestern NT may have been able to have even smaller primary site catchments than those in the former area. Furthermore, the Neolithic village was probably less populated than the modern one, so it would have had lighter requirement for subsistence to support the villagers. This also supports the smaller primary site catchment needed than that of today.

In Neolithic times, however, two things may have been different from those of today. (1) The rice land might not have been as fertile and extensive in size, being affected by salty water and circumscribed and limited flatlands. (2) Population density may have been much lower than today, judging from the relatively small site number, site size, low occurrence and small size of houses, and the nature of foraging-based subsistence.

If it is true that the rice cultivation scale was limited at that time, it therefore fits the argument that rice farming may have played a limited role in the subsistence of

Hong Kong in the Neolithic. Even in marine fishery, the area that boating or canoeing could have covered in Neolithic time should have been much smaller than that of today. Although it is hard to calculate and estimate, fishing would have basically been carried out along inshore coastlines, rather than on offshore ocean, as supported by unearthened ecofacts. In addition, villages with small populations also tend to have a small site catchment (Skinner 1964: 199), as was the probable case in Neolithic Hong Kong.

The question at this point becomes as follows: how big would a primary site catchment have been in Neolithic Hong Kong? Based on the ample evidence brought forth above, the primary site catchment size for farmers in southern China, including the coastal PRE, is an average of about 0.5 km in radius. For such people with subsistence that combines farming and fishing as the Chawan villagers in southern coastal Guangdong, the primary site catchment area also appears pretty small (Warfield 1992). Even the beach 'begins so near the southeast entry of the village of Chawan' (Warfield 1992: 114). As Neolithic Hong Kong people probably leaned much more towards foraging than farming, a larger primary site catchment may have been assumed than that of farmers. However, the rich resources and hilly and rugged conditions would have shortened the true distance of site catchment radius. For example, the Sheung Wo Hang villagers have to walk through very zigzagged and hilly paths to leave the village to the fields or elsewhere. This terrain would discourage people from working too far from the village, especially when resources are rich in the immediate area (Hase and Lee 1992: 83). In addition, it would be very likely that competition for resources during the Neolithic was much less than today due to lower population density and more abundant foraging foods. For example, much evidence has shown that the fish productivity in inshore shallow waters (brackish or fresh/salty interchange) in the PRE area has greatly decreased only over the past several decades (Department of Geography 1988: 311–312). The situation at Tung O on Lamma Island, Hong Kong is similar (Meacham 1978: 7–16). The population of Neolithic Hong Kong would have also been much lower than that of today or of historical time, for instance, the average number of 376 people per square kilometre of crop area in Zhongshan County of the PRE in the early twentieth century, as mentioned above (Buck 1937b: 424).

Considering the various aspects discussed and compromised earlier, I will use a 1-km radius for the PSC of Neolithic Hong Kong, although there might have been changes or variations between the Middle Neolithic and the Late Neolithic in terms of site catchment size. This 1-km radius is just twice of the average 0.5-km radius for the farming and/or fishing plus farming primary site catchments in the PRE including Hong Kong during the historical time. It can be inferred that if there were farming villages in Neolithic Hong Kong, their PSC should not have exceeded the 0.5-km radius as confined by the various factors mentioned above. According to the general logic that the catchment radius for foragers is twice of that for farmers, it is reasonable to use the 1-km radius for the PSC of Hong Kong's Neolithic sites, which were largely broad spectrum foraging-based, with probably very limited cultivation (Li 1983, 1996).

Analysing the PSC of Neolithic Hong Kong

Aquatic Primary Site Catchment

Since a large area of Hong Kong was accessible only by canoe or boat, particularly between the islands or between islands and the mainland, the walking time derived from the site catchment is converted into canoeing time. According to Casson (1971: 281–288), under favourable winds along coasts, ancient boats had an average speed of 4–6 knots but 2–2.5 knots under unfavourable winds. Thus, the combined average of the two is about 3.6 knots, equalling to 6.7 km/h. Considering that Neolithic canoeing might have been much slower than ancient boating, it would be reasonable to use 2/3 of the speed of the latter for the former, that is, about 4.4 km/h for Neolithic canoeing. Since walking on rugged and winding topography for 1 km would take some 1/3 to 1/4 h, spending this same length of time, Neolithic canoeing will cover some 1.25 km. It can be assumed that canoeing time is similar to walking time in the site catchment analysis because it has been pointed out that working on the sea is by no means easier and is probably harder than working on the land. After studying the boat people of Hong Kong, Anderson (1970: 34) argues that boat life requires heavy eating, for the ‘exigencies of boat work and of fishing are such that caloric intake must be maintained at high levels...certainly far higher than those of a sedentary land person’. There is no reason to imagine that Neolithic canoeing took less energy than modern boating, given its more rudimentary machinery technology and more physical strength-driving nature of labour.

If this figure of canoeing time is used, the primary site catchment of the PRE will be shaped into an irregular form like this: the area on the coast extends towards the sea for 1.25 km, while the area towards the land extends for only 1 km. As this is just a theoretical construct and 1.25 km is not a far cry from 1 km, for the convenience of comparison done later in this chapter, the regional site catchment map will only be marked with the 1-km radius, and the individual site catchment map will be marked with 1.25-, 1- and 0.5-km radii.

Site Catchments in Regional Perspective

Regarding the Neolithic primary site catchments of Hong Kong in a regional perspective, a clear trend is slowly emerging throughout the Neolithic. That is, that two peaks of development, suggested by overlapping of site catchments, are present in the late phase of the Middle Neolithic (late phase of stage one, or 1–2) and the late phase of the Late Neolithic (late phase of stage two, 2–2), particularly the latter.

In the early phase of the Middle Neolithic, 1–1, sites are scattered around the river mouth and the coast of the mainland. None of the primary site catchments are overlapped under the 1-km radius, implying adequate food supply and low population

pressure. Considering the relatively mobile nature of the sites during this phase, resources of this phase would have been more abundant than the site catchment would suggest. This is because a same group of people would have been able to consume foods from more than one site catchment.

More new late phase, Middle Neolithic (1–2) sites have appeared around the estuary, with the disappearance of the mainland coastal sites. More importantly, six primary site catchments (three sites in one cluster) overlap each other within the 1-km radius. People then would have come to the river mouth to compete for the most optimal aquatic and other resources after they had recognized that this was the best spot for procuring food within the entire PRE area. Research elsewhere indicates that it is very critical for people to situate a site at an optimal resource spot of a region, though it would be hard to define the boundary of a ‘region’ (Zarky 1976). In addition, if sedentism indeed increased, food sources would have become relatively less abundant than during the last phase, particularly with a possible population increase.

Interestingly, for the early phase of the Late Neolithic (2–1), fewer sites have been identified than in the last phase, with only two site catchments almost overlapping, with all others scattered far apart from each other. This may have been due to dramatic social impacts from outside, such as that from the intrusion of the rice-farming Shixia culture (ca. 4,700–4,300 BP) (Zhu 1988; Yang 1989), although the details of the impacts have not yet been investigated.

During the late phase of the Late Neolithic (2–2), probably when life resettled after the impacts, Hong Kong seems to have witnessed its development peak for the entire Neolithic period. Many more sites are present and they are also more densely situated, clustering around the river mouth (Fig. 1).¹ Consequently, more site catchments overlap in light of the 1-km radius, clustering in four groups. (See site clusters 2/9, 7/12, 10/13 and 8/16). Also, some of the overlapped site catchment clusters are located so close, as seen with 7/12 and 10/13 that they almost overlap. Furthermore, the distance between each site catchment of the whole area is at its minimum as compared to previous phases. This very likely indicates a peak in resource exploitation or competition and population pressure during the entire Neolithic period.

It is likely that some of the overlapping site catchment clusters, such as cluster 7/12, might have belonged to the same group of people. This would indicate less food stress than what the site catchment cluster suggests. Although not conclusive, some of the sites may have been central, while others may have been satellite sites. However, owing to the probable overall increase in sedentism and population (e.g. newcomers to the area from post-Shixia cultures of northern Guangdong), plus expansion in economic and social exchange (e.g. appearance of tooth removal customs in Hong Kong) or political requirements as suggested by other lines of evidence, food resources of this phase would have been in greater demand than in previous phases of the Neolithic.

¹ Note: For convenience of reference, some sites of other PRE regions, such as those of Shenzhen, are also included in the figure.

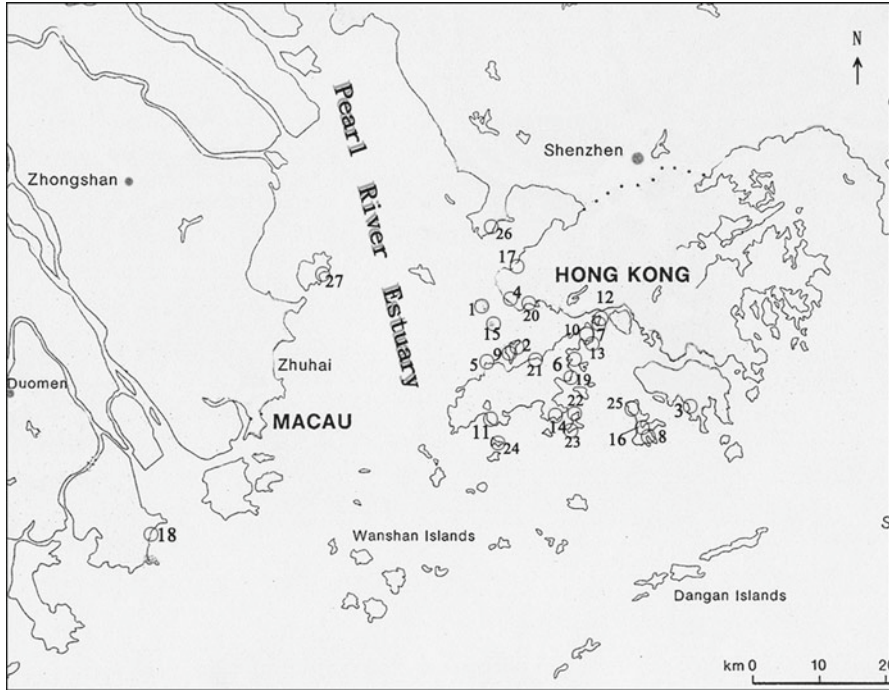


Fig. 1 Primary site catchment of Hong Kong (2-2), 1. Tung kwu, 2. Sham Wan Village, 3. Chung Hom Wan, 4. Long kwu Tan, 5. Sha Lao Wan, 6. Hai Dei Wan, 7. Sha Lao Tong Wan, 8. Sham Wan, 9. Fu Tei, 10. Fa Peng Deng, 11. Tung Wan, 12. Tung Wang Sai North, 13. Pa Tau Kwu, 14. Tai Long, 15. Sha Chau, 16. Lo So Shing, 17. Ngkayuen, 18. Caotngwan, 19. Man Kwo Tsui, 20. Shek Kok Tsui, 21. Pa Mong, 22. Tai Kwai Wan, 23. Po Yue Wan, 24. Siu A Chau, 25. Sha Po Tsuen, 26. Hedishan, 27. Dongu Wan

PSC of Individual Sites

Analysis on an individual site catchment explores the potential, not the actual, resources of the site. It is concerned with the amount of resources available in the site catchment area (Vita-Finzi and Higgs 1970; Zvelebil 1981). It also gives us ‘a good rough sketch of the resources within walking distance of a village’ (Rossmann 1976: 103). As this concept assumes that the further the area is from a site, the less likely it is to be exploited or the less important it becomes, Vita-Finzi and Higgs (1970: Table 3) have used a ‘weighting’ parameter to measure the difference in the importance of resource distribution. The land in the 1-km circle around the site becomes weighted 100% or fully exploited; land between 1 and 2 km weighted 50%; and so on. However, Neolithic people might not have used the resources in such a methodical way. It would also be unwise to assume that the percentage of foods exploited is proportional to the percentage of the availability of that food within the site catchment area. This is especially true since the Hong Kong Neolithic

Fig. 2 Sham Wan (sand dune) site catchment



primary site catchment is considered quite small. Resources on any spot within the 1-km primary site catchment will be weighted equally in this chapter.

A coloured Hong Kong vegetation map prepared by the World Wide Fund for Nature Hong Kong is used (WWF HK) (Ashworth et al. 1993), which is suitable for this study. It should be noted that the numbers used below are only rough estimates derived from a preliminary calculation based on the map.

In general, water took about 1/3 to 1/2 of total site catchment space from Middle to Late Neolithic. For example, at Yung Long site (AMO 1997), in the 1.0-km radii water amounts to about 37.4% of the total space and 44.3% in the 1.25-km radius.² It suggests that a major subsistence activity of Yung Long would have been procuring aquatic resources. Another example is the Sham Wan site (Fig. 2) that has not only been used for both the Middle and Late Neolithic periods but also overlapped with the Lo So Shing site (Meacham 1980) during both periods (Fig. 1). Similar to the Yung Long site, nine types of vegetation are present in the 1.0-km catchment, but less water is covered in the 1.0-km (29.5%) and 1.25-km (31.2%) catchments, and apparently marine resources should have also been important at Sham Wan. It is not necessary that Yung Long relied more on marine foods than Sham Wan, just because its site catchment has larger marine water coverage than Sham Wan's.

In the Middle Neolithic, sites are mostly located at bays, in well-sheltered bays, and each bay has a headland at each end that extends into the sea. It is widely

²In the maps of Figs. 2 and 3, both 0.5- and 1.25-km radii are added in besides the 1-km radius, for convenience of comparison and reference when needed, for example, between aquatic and land site catchments.

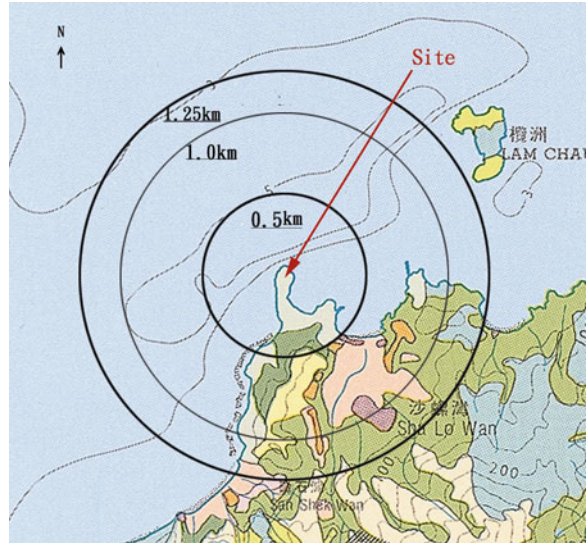
believed that the sites would have been protected from winds, with their hilly lands behind and their headlands in front of the bays. In the Late Neolithic, two trends have also been detected. (1) More inland or upland sites are present; thus, at some sites, the elevation of resources has increased and the area of water decreased. (2) Several sites have appeared at the headland in the Late Neolithic, indicating probable intensification of food procurement.

Representing the first trend, more upland sites are appearing, and more sites are overlapping as well; this is also seen in other PRE region, such as the Nanshawan site (Zhao 1991). Take the Fa Peng Deng site (Chiu 1995; Shang and Mao 1997) as an example, although more details about the site are needed for a deeper discussion. Within the 0.5-km radius, there is no water at all, and the land is at 100 m or more above sea level. There is merely about 1.7% water in the 1-km radius. Even in the 1.25-km site catchment, water covers just about 10% of the total. The site is so distant (some 1,000 m) to the sea and is as high as 200 m in altitude; it is hard to assign a fishing aspect to it. Instead, terrestrial resources or cultivation may have been a major subsistence. It is, however, very interesting to see that this site overlaps with Pa Tau Kwu (Chiu 1995), a headland site with coast on three sides and should have had fishing as the major subsistence (see site cluster 10/13, Fig. 1). It would be likely that the same group of people used both sites, for they are so close with each other and belong to the same period. If this is true, it is probable that this group of people exploited both aquatic and land foods according to the optimal seasonality of foods; for instance, October to April are the best months for fishing in this region, while summer is the off-season (Anderson 1970: 55). Despite this, it is still difficult to tell which subsistence activities were more fundamental than others in this case.

As for the second trend, the appearance of several headland sites, that is, Sha Lo Wan (2-1, 2-2), Po Yue Wan (2-2) and Pa Tau Kwu (2-2), in the Late Neolithic (especially the late phase) indicates probable expansion and intensification of food exploitation and possible craft specialization. The open headland would have been less optimal for dwelling than the well-sheltered sand bar, especially during windy or typhoon seasons. This occupation suggests that living stress would have been heightened in the Late Neolithic, particularly in the late phase. This is probably why some inland, upland, headland areas, besides the sheltered bays, were occupied. At Po Yue Wan, for instance, sites have been found ranging from the sand bar, the hill ridge top to the headland (Crawford 1986; Wellings 1993), indicating that the space and probably the area's resources had been fully exploited. Had they not been forced to do so, the people may have simply needed to stay well off the protected sand bar as before and might not have had to move to the open headland.

The Sha Lo Wan headland site is another example. It outstands so much into the sea that all its 0.5-, 1.0- and 1.25-km site catchments are mostly covered by water. Yet, in its 1-km radius, there are still nine types of vegetation (Fig. 3; Table 2). Furthermore, it is argued that various activities would have been carried out and five categories of activity are identified at the site: food procurement and preparation, construction, craft activities, ritual and burial and social activities (Drewett 1995: 52). The author assumes that the site was forested when first settled, and some part of it would have been cleared for the construction of houses. The fire grate suggests cooking at the site. He also points out that the south and east slopes of the site

Fig. 3 Sha Lo Wan (headland) site catchment



may have been terraced for horticulture, perhaps for tubers, legumes or vegetables. If rice had been cultivated, it would have been planted on the wetter, low-lying land at the southeast. Some of the polished stone tools are not locally made, indicating exchange (Drewett 1995: 53–54).

When discussing the site catchments, landscape changes through history should also be taken into account. Much original site ecology may have been destroyed by urban developments.

Resources in Site Catchments

In discussing the PRE site catchment resources whether in a regional perspective or in an individual site, landscape changes through history should also be taken into account. As the Hong Kong vegetation map prepared by the World Wide Fund for Nature Hong Kong (WWF HK) and the accompanying book (Ashworth et al. 1993) have provided very little information on the environmental history, other sources are resorted to.

Much original site ecology may have been destroyed by urban developments. Despite the fact that the sites I have chosen for analysis are in the countryside where ecology is better preserved than in urban areas, it would be likely that some, if not much, of the cultivation may have been a recent historical development (Davis 1952: 74). In Neolithic time, ‘the whole of South China would have been covered in dense forest and Hong Kong would have been no exception’ (Ashworth et al. 1993: 10).

Table 2 Resource distribution in Sha Lo Wan site catchment

Site (Fig.)	Radius	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Sha Lo Wan	0.5 km	83.20%	0.80%		11.10%									100%
(Fig. 3)	1.0 km	76%	2.90%	0.70%	5%	5.70%		5.40%		0.40%	1.30%		2.60%	100%
	1.25 km	75.60%												

Vegetation type:

- 1 Blue: Water
- 2 Yellow: Low shrub with grass
- 3 Brown: High-density urban
- 4 Grey: Low shrub
- 5 Pink: Low-density urban
- 6 Dark yellow: Tall shrub
- 7 Green: Woodland
- 8 White: Bare soil
- 9 Dark blue: Tall shrub with grass
- 10 Amber: Cultivation
- 11 Creamy: Grassland
- 12 Dark green: Plantation woodland

The vegetations the site catchment has revealed may not be the same as those of the Neolithic. The area of forests may have shrunk, although it's likely that the coverage of marine water would have remained very much the same as today, because the sea level has changed little since the Neolithic.

Since marine water usually has a high percentage among other resources within the site catchment except for the upland site, it can be assumed that the main purpose of the peopling of Hong Kong during the Neolithic was most likely for aquatic resources, particularly fishing. Nonetheless, the types of resource that were consumed the most by the site residents may not necessarily have been the types of resource with the highest percentage or located closest by (Zarky 1976). For example, in the 1-km radius of the Sham Wan site catchment, low shrub with grass accounts for 34.3%, while water only 29.5%, but it may be unwise to hence conclude that terrestrial resources were more important than aquatic ones for the Sham Wan inhabitants in the Neolithic. It would also be unwise to assume that the percentage of foods exploited is proportional to the percentage of the availability of that food within the site catchment area. A satisfactory answer needs to combine information from different lines.

In 1927, a chemical analysis on 16 soil samples from Hong Kong (mostly from uncultivated land) found that they all had an acidic nature (Davis 1952: 155–169). The only soil sample that is faintly alkaline is from cultivated land, which had recently been limed (Davis 1952: 155–181). This suggests that many, if not most, of the Hong Kong original soils may have not been suitable for farming in the Neolithic. However, if lime is added, the acidic land can become fertile (Davis 1952: 182–183). It is widely believed that lime was made by burning seashells and coral in Hong Kong historically, and many such kind of lime kilns have been found, mainly on islands such as Lantau (e.g. Davis 1952: 155–183; ZUGD 1988: 309–316). Anderson (1968: 37) has indicated that rice produced in historical Hong Kong was of a high grade and was once traded for larger quantities of lower-grade rice with other regions. But did the Hong Kong people begin to lime or improve the land for farming in the Neolithic? Even if so, farming products would not have contributed significantly to the local diet then, given the rich foraging foods available and the inconvenience or difficulty to improve farming.

Chisholm (2001) has done an analysis of the stable isotopes of carbon and nitrogen on 13 human bone samples from the Tung Wan Tsai North site (or Ma Wan as commonly called) of the Late Neolithic (2–2), to obtain information about the diet of the Neolithic inhabitants of the site. Ten out of the 13 samples were accepted, in terms of the quality of extracted collagen. He argues that the analytical results, though not precise and conclusive due to several reasons, can provide a general picture of the paleo-diet of the site's people, and the picture may be improved when a larger human dietary species database for the area is available (Chisholm 2001: 7). Incorporated into this chapter are also previous isotopic studies on humans and food species in Hong Kong. The samples pertaining to my discussion include those from three Middle Neolithic inhabitants of Sham Wan, two historical inhabitants of Pui O, one modern inhabitant of Sham Wan, one Late Neolithic dog of Po Yue Wan

and one dog of the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD) from Chek Lap Kok (also see Meacham 1990).

The conclusion of the isotopic analysis is that the diet of the Tung Wan Tsai North people of the Late Neolithic was 'high in marine species' (about 85% of food protein from marine sources), 'although this estimate is uncertain due to the great variation in food species results' (Chisholm 2001: 9). The result is not surprising given that most of the 1-km catchment area of the site is covered by marine water (Site 12, Fig. 1). However, on the other hand, this does not exclude that the Ma Wan people likely consumed a certain amount of terrestrial foods as well. The results stand tentative due to lack of large food species database, such as nitrogen values, for the region.

The author also indicates that the marine intake of the Tung Wan Tsai North inhabitants is higher than that of the Neolithic and more recent inhabitants of Sham Wan and Pui O sites. He concludes that this is because the Ma Wan people dwelled on a small island and had less access to terrestrial resources than the Sham Wan and Pui O people, who lived on a larger island with better access to land foods. In addition, the diet of the latter was more varied than that of the former whose food content was monotonous, without important differences between individuals (Chisholm 2001: 8–9).

Extremely interesting, in the Sham Wan and Pui O cases, Chisholm (2001: 8) has observed that 'there was no significant shift in carbon values and hence in diet from the Neolithic to recent times'!

That the diet has changed little from the Neolithic to the present may also be true in other sites of Hong Kong. This is because that the diet species values of both the Late Neolithic dog of Po Yue Wan and the Tang dog of Chek Lap Kok 'have a value similar to the Ma Wan humans' (Chisholm 2001: 8). Since dogs tend to eat the leftovers of their owners' diet and thus have the same protein source, the similarity of isotopic values between humans and dogs suggests that the human diet in these sites may not have had significant change from the Late Neolithic up to at least the Tang Dynasty.

This argument should be considered carefully. If it points to similarity in diet between the Neolithic Ma Wan inhabitants and the Neolithic, historical or modern people of other sites in Hong Kong, it may well be an indication that these inhabitants consume(d) large amount of marine foods, as it was/is.

On the other hand, however, the above isotopic analytical results also imply that low proportion of terrestrial food value may not mean little consumption of land foods in the diet. Fishermen can have high intake of land foods. Today's highly specialized boat people—pure fishermen—in South China rely heavily on farmers to support them with land products for daily life. For example, the boat people of Hong Kong mainly eat rice, vegetables and fishes for food (Anderson 1970). If the above-mentioned Sham Wan, Pui O or Chek Lap Kok people of the modern or historical times were more land-based than these boat people, they should have at least the same, probably higher, intake of terrestrial foods than the boat people. Therefore, it seems likely that terrestrial values could be under-reflected in isotopic analysis which emphasizes protein. When I dug the Ma Wan site in 1997, I observed that

there were cultivated lands around, within 1-km surroundings, though currently there is no way to tell the situations in the Neolithic.

Furthermore, since the Hong Kong people of the Neolithic may have subsisted on broad-spectrum foods and may not have become specialized boat people or land people, they were likely doing both fishing and farming, though perhaps in rudimentary forms, as well as other kinds of foraging. It is not likely that they served as either professional fishermen or farmers, who as nowadays farmers or boat people only cultivate or fish. Also, it is not very likely that certain group of people were fed by another group on certain fixed types of foods, such as the boat people being fed by the land people on rice and vegetables in Hong Kong. Some of today's fishermen in the PRE also farm while they fish for their major living (Huang 1990: 109–111).

In addition, fishing may not be a more welcome (probably a harder) job than farming, and fish may not be available all year round, as mentioned above; thus, the Hong Kong Neolithic people may have cultivated or foraged for land foods in some seasons of the year. The summer fishing off-season (Anderson 1970: 55) may have been a time for hunting, fruit collecting or farming. It may have become more so in the Late Neolithic, when fishing was probably under a larger demand than earlier due to increase of people and of social requirements. This point seems to be supported by the appearance of the upland sites then.

In addition to the upland or inland areas, the low lands around the sand dune sites or bays could have been utilized for cultivation as well. In Hong Kong, some unique salt-tolerant rice can even grow in salty marshes, though less high yielding (Anderson 1968: 37). This is similar to the 'floating rice' grown in salty waters in Thailand (Glover and Higham 1996). If this was true in the Neolithic, rice could have been cultivated around the marshes or lagoons behind the sand dune site. Many of the site catchments, such as that of Sham Wan and Yong Lung, are characteristic of this. At both sites the vegetation or settlement pattern has not changed much through the two Neolithic stages; thus, the aquatic and land food resources could have been exploited simultaneously, but land foods may have become more important in the Late Neolithic than earlier. This may have been likely due to relatively short of foraging resources as a response to population pressure or to political pursuits, rather than environmental dynamics.

Discussion and Conclusion

According to above analyses, the site catchment analysis (SCA) approach is capable of reconstructing important information of prehistoric subsistence independently, even without a resort to plant and animal remains. And when the approach is adjusted and adapted to local ecological, economic and historical situations, for example, identifying the village or catchment size of farming/fishing communities in traditional PRE and the aquatic PSC for Neolithic Hong Kong, the results can be very heuristic and can be checked against archaeological findings. I have done

research on the faunal/floral remains, artefacts/ecofacts, features and site location/distribution of the Neolithic Pearl River estuary area and found that the SCA results can be matched well with unearthened archaeological evidences; that is to say that the broad-spectrum subsistence activities then would have usually been carried out within close vicinity of sites, as suggested by SCA analytical results (Li 2006). Limited by the length of this chapter, I will not elaborate on the details of the Hong Kong Neolithic findings.

On the other hand, faunal or floral data are considered no less subject to skew or bias than SCA (Zvebil 1983: 73, 76). For instance, domesticates or plants typically do not survive the site environment of sand or acidic soil of the Hong Kong area and thus are likely underrepresented. That means plant foraging or cultivation is likely underrepresented. This is probably an important shortcoming of unearthened floral remains or ecofacts that can be compensated or made up by SCA. But in the meantime, it should be noted that SCA is in nature a theoretical construct and would remain at the inference level, and other important archaeological and paleoecological data must be used to confirm the SCA analytical results. Therefore, while it is necessary to mutually verify the research results from these two different lines, it is also important to further resort to other relevant data such as scientific data or ecological/historical/social developments of the local area.

Due to the lack of some important information such as detailed local ecological history, the trends in Hong Kong's Neolithic subsistence that the SCA has suggested are preliminary and can serve only as a rough broad outline. For example, even if the proposed 1-km radius PSC of Hong Kong's Neolithic is credible, the approach is still incapable of revealing the possible fluctuations of site catchment size between the Middle and Late Neolithic stages, not to mention between the early and late phases within each stage. In other words, it is necessary to resort to other data for finer research of the prehistoric subsistence.

Using both the regional and individual site catchment data, the approach can reveal significant information related to prehistoric subsistence. For instance, in the early phase of Hong Kong's Middle Neolithic, none of the site catchments are overlapped under the 1-km radius; in the meantime, sites are mainly located in well-sheltered bays, rarely on uplands or headlands. Both evidences imply adequate food supply and low population/subsistence pressure. But during the late phase of the Late Neolithic, many site catchments overlap in light of the 1-km radius, and the distance between each site catchment of the whole area is at its minimum as compared to previous phases. This, plus the occurring of many headland/upland sites, very likely indicates a peak in subsistence exploitation or competition during the Neolithic period.

Suggested by the site catchment analysis and related archaeological findings, Hong Kong inhabitants probably subsisted mainly on rich broad-spectrum foraging, especially marine, foods, whilst cultivation (rice and tuber) may have never ceased to play a role (even if at a low level) in the subsistence, during the entire Neolithic period. Farming or farming products very likely began to make more important contribution to local people, particularly in the late phase of the Late Neolithic.

In the currently PRE area including Hong Kong, the sea level of 10,000 years ago was probably over 100 m below that of today, and of 8,000 years ago over 20 m (Li et al. 1991: 67). It was about 6,000 years ago that the sea level reached today's height and has remained consistent since then. That was about the time when Hong Kong's earliest culture—Middle Neolithic—emerged. Where did the people come from then? It is thought that there were people scattering on the continental shelf of South China Sea before the Middle Neolithic; they would have retreated from the earlier coasts and become part of Hong Kong's earliest population. Another, probably more influential, source of new comers would have been those who lived up in the inlands of Guangdong and Guangxi in the Early to Middle Neolithic and drew down to this place by its abundant (particularly the marine) resources with the sea level rising, because Hong Kong, located at the biggest river mouth of Lingnan, would have been the best spot to seek aquatic (estuary or oceanic) resources.

Archaeological materials of the Early and Middle Neolithic periods, besides SCA, seem to well support this argument. For instance, it is widely agreed that rice farming emerged in the Middle Yangzi River areas some 10,000 years ago (e.g. Yan 1992; Pei 1998; Yuan 1996; Zhao 2000; MacNeish et al. 1998). The findings found at the Niulandong cave site can serve as another reference (Yingde City Museum et al. 1999a, b), though further studies are needed. Evidences also indicate that cultivation of rice existed in Guangdong and Guangxi in the Early and Middle Neolithic. When people there moved to the coast around 6,000 years ago, they would have been able to bring with them the knowledge of cultivation. Their subsistence would not have been the same as that of 'pure' coastal peoples such as the Jomon people of Japan who appear to have had no agricultural expertise when they began to live on the coast (Pearson 1992). The Neolithic Hong Kong people may have been able to combine their terrestrial perhaps cultivation expertise with the coastal foraging knowledge introduced by the returned coastal population. This coastal life may have well been a combination of foraging and cultivation, although the latter would have been of limited role only. It also appears to not have been difficult for them to reaccept or count more on cultivation (of rice and/or tubers, of which they may have had long-term knowledge) later on particularly in the late phase of Late Neolithic. This initial connection with the mainland also helped later exchange with it, for instance, similarities such as those on painted pottery vessels are seen between Hong Kong and the Pearl River Delta, northern Guangdong and Guangxi, even the Middle Yangzi River Valley in the Neolithic (Zhu 1988; Yang 1989; Fu et al. 1998). Other evidences of connection include that the pebble tool tradition of the Early Neolithic Lingnan was partially maintained (Gu 1995). Also, some geologists have suggested that half of the stone tools of prehistoric Hong Kong were not of local origin in terms of raw material, implying that they were imported or brought in by their makers (e.g. Davis 1952: 192). And the bulk of the pottery found is of the corded coarse type, indicating continuity from the Early Neolithic (Li 1996, 1997).

That cultivation may have been kept at a low level in Neolithic Hong Kong is supported by more recent phytolith research. At several sites in Guangxi, evidences of rice cultivation belonging to the Middle/Late Neolithic are found (Jiang et al.

2000; Zhao et al. 2005). Similar evidence has also been identified at the Sha Ha site in Hong Kong of the Late Neolithic (Lu et al. 2005).

In short, the early phase of Middle Neolithic seems to have been a settling in period for the Hong Kong's inhabitants to adjust to this new environment, and they maintained an intimate tie with the mainland and shared many characteristics with the people there. The lack of such features as burials or houses probably points to a relatively transitory seasonal nature of the sites, which may mean that resources might have been more abundant than the site catchment would suggest, for a mobile group of people would have been able to consume foods from more than one site. With probable population and sedentism increased in later phases, subsistence may have become relatively tight, particularly in the late phase of the Late Neolithic. The appearance of more prestigious or ceremonial goods seems to point to important economic and social developments, which might have in turn aggravated the requirements or competition for foods, pushing cultivation in addition to foraging subsistence.

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Toward Retrieving Early Oral Traditions: Some Ruminations on Orality and Textuality in Early Chinese Culture

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Prefatory Remarks¹

In this brief chapter, I wish to rethink some issues of orality and textuality in early Chinese culture but without fleshing out every issue or providing exhaustive annotations. These remarks should be seen as a brief summary at the outset of a long-term research project, rather than the presentation of my definitive conclusions. This chapter will cover a very large period of time on which I have little primary research expertise as yet, although in the course of my teaching career I have had some exposure to most of the sources concerned and some of the (rather voluminous) secondary literature. The reason for publishing this chapter nevertheless is the urge to share some of my ideas with a wider audience and, I hope, obtain some feedback.

It is important to note that the issues in which I am interested have been exhaustively studied not only for many early script cultures but also for largely oral cultures that either never developed a written culture or developed one very late. Therefore, it is the more surprising that these questions have been raised so rarely in the field of Chinese studies, and when they have been the relevant scholarship seems to have been largely ignored.² The one systematic study that we have is by Mark Edward

¹ I wish to thank Dirk Meyer, Paul van Els, and Joachim Gentz for discussing with me the origins of textuality over the last decade or so. They are in no way responsible for the immature and incomplete form that this chapter still has.

² C.H. Wang, *The Bell and the Drum: Shih Ching as Formulaic Poetry in an Oral Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) is a rare exception. David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 78–80 and *passim* treats the use of *Yi*, *Shi*, and *Shu* in early texts, reflecting their use in oral as well as written discourse. To him these are quotations, seemingly implying a “correct” and “original” version. More recently, a number of excellent essays were published in Martin Kern, ed.,

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Lewis, but its brilliance and exhaustiveness seem to have so daunted other scholars that they have bypassed the topic, apart from several detailed book reviews.³ In this chapter, I will adopt the viewpoint of the slightly informed layman, in the hope that this will allow me to ask some naive questions that may eventually open the way to new and—I hope—interesting answers.

My basic point is that we need to take the oral dimension of Chinese culture much more seriously than we are wont to do, despite the fact that that writing was introduced in China early on and oral culture has the habit of leaving very few traces, making it very difficult to analyze this dimension of any culture. I will make this point by looking at three examples from the pre-Han period in an essayistic way, leaving many loose ends and without trying to elaborate in too much detail.

I propose a different methodological point of view with respect to early transmitted sources than that of most of my colleagues who study early Chinese culture.⁴ Unlike most scholars, who treat the *Shijing* 書經 or *Book of Documents*, *Shijing* 詩經 or *Book of Songs*, and *Yijing* 易經 or *Book of Changes* as representatives of early *written* traditions, I will suggest that they belonged instead to a thoroughly oral culture. Therefore, I propose to consider traditions that claim to be textual and actual artifacts separately from each other. In other words, I will not assume *a priori* that texts that claim to be old have to be old as a written object and/or that the earlier form (or forms) of such a text must have been close or similar to its later form or forms. Simply put, the present-day “complete” *Shujing* is not necessarily a reliable reflection of preceding textual or oral-cum-textual traditions, and the Han claim of recovering a lost *Shujing* does not necessarily mean that such an entity ever existed. Obvious as this may sound, it is not how we tend to approach the pre-Qin period. A second methodological point I wish to make is that the early existence of writing in China does not necessarily mean that texts immediately dominated Chinese culture. On the contrary, at the end of this chapter, I will propose a very different model.

Text and Ritual in Early China (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005) addressing the importance of ritual and texts in ritual. As major a step forward as the studies in this work are, I propose to go still further toward prioritizing the role of the oral.

³ Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999). See the thoughtful review by Michael Nylan, “Textual Authority in Pre-Han and Han,” *Early China* 25 (2000): 205–58. By and large I do not share the confidence of Lewis that writing had such a dominant position in the pre-Han period. I see this dominance developing much later and by no means in a straightforward manner. This will have to be the topic of future papers.

⁴ On the notion of “transmitted” texts, see for instance William Boltz, “Manuscripts with Transmitted Counterparts,” in: *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts*, ed. Edward L. Shaughnessy (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian studies, 1997), 253–283.

The Shang Period: Oracle Inscriptions and Oral Traditions

The usual approach to the role of writing in the Shang period is to stress the continuity of the writing system and the informative nature of the oracle inscriptions.⁵ While there is no need to reject these characterizations, I myself am always struck by the lack of sources from this period. Here, I wish to make some comments on the oracle inscriptions, followed by a question about the lack of transmitted sources from the period.

It is certain that the first physical evidence of writing in what we nowadays call China dates from roughly 1200 BCE. Claims for earlier evidence are made but always refer to isolated images that are proclaimed to be precursors of specific characters from the written language of a later period (from the twelfth century BCE or after). There is as yet no need to take these claims seriously, and they never concern more extensive utterances.⁶ As far as I know, the oracle “bones,” which are both turtle shells and bovine shoulder bones (hereafter, briefly referred to as bones), were placed in pits, and no evidence has been found of any kind of ordering of the bones. I have encountered evidence neither of ashes or other traces of wooden racks nor of similar methods of physically ordering them. Nor is any indication given on the bones themselves of an ordering system. As far as I know, they were not layered chronologically, with older bones at the bottom of a pit and later ones on top. Later texts do not quote real or purported oracle inscriptions, a point I will get back to below. One group of texts, however, is very similar in its structure to Shang texts on oracle bones, to wit the oracle inscriptions on bamboo slips preserved in the Baoshan 包山 grave in Chu 楚 from the fourth century BCE, many centuries later.⁷ In one way or another, the style of the Shang oracle inscriptions must have been transmitted, although this could also have been from a parallel tradition dating back to the Shang period or before. The *Shujing*, *Shijing*, and *Yijing* are stylistically very different from the oracle bone inscriptions and much closer to (but usually not the same as) bronze inscriptions from the Western Zhou period. Similarities that do exist could be explained from the well-attested continuation of oracular practices in oral form, from which later authors could have drawn inspiration, rather than the copying of texts.

Any nonspecialist who has taken the trouble to read an actual oracle inscription, no doubt like me with the aid of the transcriptions by our infinitely more knowledgeable

⁵I use “Shang period” as a compromise. I am not convinced that we can speak of the Shang rulers as a dynasty in the same way that we speak about later periods. It is clear that they did not have a fixed territory, and I am not certain that King Tang was truly their founder and not a mythological figure. The meaning of his name (“hot water” in its eventual version) is much too close to core mythological elements for comfort. See Sarah Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art, and Cosmos in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 28–29 and *passim*, albeit without drawing my conclusion. I am much in favor of her use of later sources to flesh out Shang mythology—or perhaps we should say mythology “in the Shang tradition.”

⁶William G. Boltz, *The Origin and Early Development of the Chinese Writing System* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1994) is my inspiration for this strict position. David N. Keightley, *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) is our standard resource on Shang oracle bone inscriptions.

⁷Constance A. Cook, *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man’s Journey* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 80–97 and *passim*.

Chinese colleagues and David Keightley's *Sources of Shang History*, will have found reading it a technical challenge and placing it in its semantic context just as difficult.⁸ While the quotations in published studies suggest coherence, the actual inscriptions on the bones and shields can be quite disorienting. A single material object (in other words: a single bone or shell) often contains numerous inscriptions that do not necessarily form one text. The distribution of inscriptions over a bone or shell was not necessarily done according to a fixed pattern, and sometimes numbers were added—presumably to make sense of a spatially random set of jottings. The inscriptions on a single object were not necessarily set down during a single prognostication event. And they provide insufficient information to be understood in and of themselves, which is a prerequisite for a purely written archive. Instead, I think that they were used in a now lost oral context that provided most of the necessary additional information beyond the direct communication with the deities or ancestors. Without that context, which was not archived in physical writing but no doubt transmitted orally by scribes and priests to their pupils, the inscriptions would have been meaningless. These texts were not written for outsiders and even less for a later time.

It is well accepted that writing on the oracle bones and shields formed one small part of a set of elaborate ritual activities. That some inscriptions contain traces of ink or blood suggests that they were treated as sacred objects. Blood in later Chinese culture is a dominant symbol of life force, from which the auspicious meaning of red developed.⁹ Most of the ritual would have been oral and no doubt much more elaborate as an audiovisual event. Yet the inscribed objects were preserved; many of them heaped into sacrificial pits. They could, after all, have been used as filling material in walls or ground fine—destroyed by the same method that later Chinese pharmacists used them to make medicines.

But how important were they? We do not, after all, find oracle bones or other types of elaborate inscriptions in Shang graves, whether of kings or otherwise. This is puzzling, given their assumed religious significance. I suspect that as written objects, they were perhaps much less significant than we make them out to be, partly because on many topics they are all we have. Instead, it is the oral ritual context that really mattered and gave meaning to them. The much later (but still early) example of the covenant texts from Houma (fifth century BCE) shows how objects with texts clearly mattered but were used in an entirely oral (probably usually ritual) context and not so much to transmit information.¹⁰ Throughout the history of Daoist ritual,

⁸ Some examples are contained in Keightley, *Sources of Shang History*. I have also looked unsystematically at a variety of source publications by the Academia Sinica, including *Zhongguo kaogu baogao ji 2*, Xiaodun II, *Yinxu wenzi, bingbian* (Taipei, 1957).

⁹ For some thoughts, see my *Ritual and Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

¹⁰ Susan R. Weld, "The Covenant Texts from Houma and Wenxian," in *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts*, ed. Edward L. Shaughnessy (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian studies, 1997); Crispin Williams, "Ten Thousand Names: Rank and Lineage Affiliation in the Wenxian Covenant Texts," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 63, no. 4 (2009): 959–89. The practice of sworn oaths or covenants is a good example of a ritual practice that is surprisingly stable over the centuries, as discussed by me in *Ritual and Mythology*, 151–79.

we see that virtually all texts still need to be transformed through speech or otherwise. Writing alone never suffices; the reading has to be aloud.

I am bothered most of all by the lack of reliable transmitted texts from the Shang period. Of course, Chinese tradition has always claimed to possess such texts in the *Shujing*, the *Shijing*, and the *Yijing*, but the language in these works does not match the language or contents of the Shang inscriptions. Even if these works contain information that can be traced back to the Shang period, this proves little about how the information might have been transmitted—that is, orally, in writing, or a combination thereof. The absence of Shang texts that can be proven to date back ultimately to that period suggests to me a remarkable absence of a manuscript tradition. I find this the more puzzling since scholars are convinced that the characters for brush (𦰇 *yu*) and book (冊 *ce*) can be identified on the oracle bones. This is taken to be evidence of writing with a brush and on bamboo or wooden slips, although the above sign for “book” might just as well refer to flat oracle bones or shields strung together on a rope, of which we do have evidence.¹¹ If the writing system was used for other purposes than the oracle inscriptions, one would expect that at least some Shang texts would have been transmitted in their original format or a derived version. Here, I am thinking of the way in which the Bible preserves stories from Assyrian and older cultures, probably even in their written, or rather translated, form.¹² Unlike ancient Middle Eastern cultures, China has great cultural continuity—but sometimes little to show for it. Zhou sources are emphatic that Shang rulers could continue their worship—and culture—in the state of Song. Thus, unlike the cultures of the Middle East that ultimately disappeared, Shang culture supposedly continued, but the only traces that remain are spotty references to a now lost oral culture. The continuation of Shang culture is in the language of the Zhou or even later, suggesting some sort of oral translation process, rather than a tradition of copying and recopying of texts. Unless, of course, the continuation was propaganda to begin with and never really took place.

Potential evidence of authentic Shang texts that might have been copied and recopied over the centuries can be found in the famous and justly rehabilitated *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 or *Bamboo Annals*—not its original name, if the material ever had a proper name. Whether we champion the Old or New Text version, both

¹¹ The idea that this character represents bamboo or wooden slips is the common view. Tsien Tsuen-hsuei, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 5, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, pt. 1, *Paper and Printing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Also see the booklet by Hsu Ya-hwei, *Ancient Chinese Writing: Oracle Bone Inscriptions from the Ruins of Yin* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2002), 32 with the same etymology but with a picture of oracle bones with holes on page 33. References to slips being buried or thrown in the water could equally likely refer to the later Daoist (no doubt dating back to the feudal and even pre-feudal period) customs of burying prayers to chthonic deities or throwing prayers in the water for aquatic deities. In the latter case, they would be on silver. See Edouard Chavannes, “Le jet des dragons,” *Mémoires concernant l’Asie orientale* vol. 3 (Paris: Leroux, 1919): 53–220.

¹² Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

claim to cover many centuries.¹³ Even a cursory reading of the parts referring to clearly mythological times indicates that they are not written in the style of early oracle bone or bronze inscriptions. Simply put, the language is much too accessible to be from that period. In my opinion—but this requires more empirical work—they go back to largely or even completely oral annalistic traditions and reflect a later systematization of these traditions. The closer the events in these records come to the late fourth century, when they took the form in which they were eventually found, the more reliable they are in terms of modern historiography. The question is not whether earlier parts of the *Zhushu jinian* are false but rather the nature of their origins. In their present reconstructed form, their language suggests to me that they do not predate the Eastern Zhou period. The early parts, for instance, probably reflect the same type of narrative transmission that is reflected in the Han-period apocrypha known as *Chenwei* 讖緯 or *Warp and Weft* texts.¹⁴ These oral annals could have been transmitted in the same way as has been documented by Jan Vansina in his research on oral history in Africa, where the oral lists of kings were adapted in each period to contemporary needs. The same would have been true for the associated historical narratives.¹⁵ Rereading these chronologies and the associated stories (such as the story of a concubine or a wife who leads the ruler astray—typically a topos and not a historical event) as records of what was essentially oral history promises many new insights into this material. Part of this project should be comparing different traces of these traditions—not in order to find one single original text, which in my hypothesis never existed—but to see the differences and let these speak to us as well.

When I was still a student, I was told that important evidence for the veracity and reliability of the writing on the oracle bones and shields was the fact that a list of Shang kings could be constructed (or “reconstructed”) from them that matched the list in the *Shiji* 史記 or *Records of the Grand Scribe* by Sima Tan 司馬談 and his son Sima Qian 司馬遷. No doubt this ensured these materials their due as historical sources and demonstrated the historicity of the Shang. However, the only part of the Shang that is truly historical in a modern sense is the period from King Wuding 武丁 (circa 1200 BCE) onward—the rest of the dynasty remains shrouded in myth. More importantly, the two lists are not identical, although they are very similar. In the light of my surprise about the lack of transmitted Shang texts, I wish to discuss briefly whether we have here a written transmission or something else.

¹³ On the *Zhushu jinian*, see Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), 185–256 in particular. Although the *Zhushu jinian* is an extremely important source that deserves full study and translation, I do think the very earliness of some of its chronology should raise more eyebrows.

¹⁴ Anna K. Seidel, “Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha,” in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, vol. 2, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, ed. Michel Strickmann, vol. 2: 291–371 (Brussels: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1983).

¹⁵ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, trans. H. M. Wright (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965).

There is a king list in the *Shiji* as part of the “Sanshibiao” 三世表 or “Tables of the Three Ages,” but in terms of contents and linguistic style, the list appears to be based on the “Benji” 本記 or “Basic Annals” section.¹⁶ In other words, it is not an independently transmitted list but a derivative one. When we take a closer look at the “Benji” we find that it consists of two types of text, namely, quotations from or references to the *Shujing* and prose passages that are clearly in the style used at the time of Sima Tan and Sima Qian. Interestingly, the sections that refer to the *Shujing* do not identify them as parts of a complete book nor are they explicitly linked to the tradition of the *Shujing*—they refer only to individual texts. I will get back to the nature of the *Shujing* in the next section.

Sima Tan, Sima Qian, or their assistants seem to have compiled the “Benji” by culling from the quasi-Shang texts that we now identify with the *Shujing* as well as from unknown annalistic sources that may have included material written down or summarized from oral traditions. Sima Tan c.s. saw these sources as equally authentic and combined them with the oral stories still alive in his day.¹⁷ However, there is no evidence that they were basing their work on a direct line of transmitted, written chronological records.

While we have no evidence of early annalistic records, we do have a likely approximation of the oral stories Sima Tan c.s. would have known in the so-called apocryphal texts from the Han—the *Chenwei*, conceived as extensions of the *Wujing* 五經 (*Five Classics*).¹⁸ These and other early narrative traditions did not disappear immediately even when they were wholly or partly incorporated in Han or later written records. It is only today that written traditions in combination with modern media such as radio, television, and the internet can and do rapidly destroy oral cultures and regional diversity. Late imperial Chinese religious culture and narrative traditions (“folklore” would be the slightly derogatory term) still preserved many traces of a much earlier culture. One crucial element of such later traditions is that they were usually limited to very specific locations. The cult of King Tang as a rain god thrived but not in the kind of place where educated people were reading the *Shiji*. In other words, King Tang’s presence in a given spot derived from local traditions, rather than from a reading of the *Shujing* or the *Shiji* by educated elites in the great cultural centers of traditional China. The red hue of the salt lake near Xiezhou in southern Shanxi, the most important source of salt in northern China until the twentieth century, was explained in the third century BCE by the story of Chiyou 蚩尤, the fierce adversary of the Yellow Emperor, whose bloody entrails were thrown down and became the lake. This story was still in place two millennia later, although the role of the Yellow Emperor was replaced by the deity Emperor Guan 關 sometime in the eleventh century.¹⁹

¹⁶ Sima Qian, *Shiji* (Records of the Grand Historian) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974 and many reprints), *juan* 13. This chapter is signed by Master Chu (13: 505), rather than *Taishishi* or Mr. Grand Scribe, but I do not know whether this proves that Sima Tan or his son Qian did not compose it.

¹⁷ Sarah Allan, *The Heir and the Sage: Dynastic Legend in Early China* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1981).

¹⁸ Seidel, “Imperial Treasures,” *passim* makes extensive use of these texts.

¹⁹ My own research in progress on the cult of Emperor Guan.

Another early example of an oral story may be the tale of the inebriated last king of the Shang, most recently investigated by Lothar von Falkenhausen. Using an argument made earlier by Jessica Rawson about a ritual revolution in the latter half of the Western Zhou, Von Falkenhausen argues that the story of King Zhou 紂 as it ended up in the *Shiji* is a reworking of memories of an older practice—alcoholic inebriation as part of Shang worship. This type of extroverted Dionysian ritual was continued by the Zhou until the ninth century BCE, when it changed into a more introverted Apollonian ritual with no place for ritual drunkenness, although alcoholic drinks were no doubt still used as offerings.²⁰ This transformation is visible in the changing nature of the Zhou ritual bronzes, with drinking vessels becoming significantly less prominent, but there are no written records describing the change. In the absence of any systematic early Zhou written record outside of a ritual context, oral tradition would have been the dominant way of remembering the past. After the ritual revolution of the ninth century, the past came to be seen in a new way in which inebriation was seen negatively. Confucius and his pupils, and likely even later students, took this oral tradition to be historical truth, and this way of looking at it (or rather talking about it) determined their approach to the restoration of early Zhou ritual. Although the very nature of oral culture and the absence of written records mean we can often only argue from silence, late oracle bones from King Zhou's reign and the earliest evidence of the Zhou defeat of the Shang in bronze inscriptions make no mention of the drunkenness of the last king of the Shang that was traditionally held responsible for his loss of the Mandate of Heaven to the Zhou dynasty.²¹

All in all, the absence of written continuity from the Shang to later periods suggests to me that this was still a thoroughly oral society. The role of writing in the practice of prognostication must have been quite limited in scope, maybe significant only to the small groups of scribes and their direct chiefs, and certainly not yet to society as a whole. Not even the richest and most powerful seem to have shared in it, and in the subsequent Zhou period, not even the purported descendants of the house of Shang appear to have devoted any attention to writing down their traditions—if the elites themselves could even write at all.

²⁰ Jessica Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation), 96–102; Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000–250 BCE): The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2006), 48–49.

²¹ Hsu Ya-hwei, *Ancient Chinese Writing*, 54–59. Edward Shaughnessy, *Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 31–67. The chapter “‘New’ Evidence on the Zhou Conquest” discusses a document long excluded from the *Shujing* on the basis of Mengzi's rejection. Shaughnessy demonstrates that the contrary is true. Ironically, this is also one of the best examples of a document that rings true as a bronze inscription.

The Western Zhou Period: The *Shujing* and *Shijing*

The bronze inscriptions of the Western Zhou period are the second type of written document that we have as a physical document, rather than a purported transmitted text. They are strikingly discontinuous with the oracle inscriptions in language, style, and medium. In the extremely limited corpus of early Zhou oracle inscriptions, there is nothing that can be reliably seen as their precursor.²² The same or at least a very similar writing system is used for a different language or language variant. Unlike the language and style of the oracle inscriptions, however, which had no written follow-up, the bronze inscriptions as a genre were clearly the inspiration for the texts that nowadays constitute the *Shujing* and the *Shijing*. Of the two, some parts of the *Shijing* match the style of poems or rather songs that might have been sung at ritual events of the same type that formed the context of the bronze inscriptions.²³ Edward Shaughnessy, in his standard work on bronze inscriptions, quotes the example of a 632 BCE written appointment of the famous Chong'er 重耳, which is preserved in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳.²⁴ At the same time, this last example shows that the tradition of composing such ritual texts was still very much alive. This means that the style of texts from the *Shujing* or *Shijing* is not evidence of their dates—the more so since most of the texts in those compilations are quite different from bronze inscriptions.

Kai Vogelsang has written a substantial study of whether the language of authenticated early bronze inscriptions is actually the same as the language of the oldest fragments of the *Shujing*. His conclusion is that they are different in too many ways to accept the traditional view that at least some documents date from the same period as the bronze inscriptions.²⁵ Inscribed bronzes were kept for many decades by the families that owned them as tangible proof of their feudal relationship with the Zhou royal court and of the families' sociopolitical significance. It has also been suggested that there must have been archival counterparts, whether on bamboo,

²² The bronze inscriptions have been published in Xu Xitai, *Zhouyuan jiaquwen zonglu (General Record of the Oracle Bone Inscriptions from Zhouyuan)* (Taiyuan: Sanqin chubanshe, 1987). They are extremely brief and, in so far as my untrained eye can determine, look much more like the Shang inscriptions.

²³ Von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 148–149 discusses Ode 209 as an example. Also see Martin Kern, “Shijing Songs as Performance Texts: A Case Study of ‘Chu Ci’ (Thorny Caltrop),” *Early China* 25 (2000): 49–111.

²⁴ Edward Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 75–76. The other examples are one from the *Shijing* and one from the *Shujing*, not a large harvest. Also Shaughnessy, *Before Confucius*, 31–67.

²⁵ Kai Vogelsang, “Inscriptions and Proclamations: On the Authenticity of the ‘Gao’ Chapters in the ‘Shujing,’” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 74 (2002): 138–209.

wood, or another material. To my knowledge, however, this has never been proven.²⁶ The similarities in structure of many bronze inscriptions are the result of sharing in a common ritual practice and prove little about the existence of written counterparts. The *Shujing* are longer, more narrative, and more coherent than most inscriptions. Furthermore, they are much less tied to specific circumstances and are lacking in personal details. Therefore, it is the lack of similarity between the bronze inscriptions and the *Shujing*, rather than the fact that they may stand in a long tradition of real or false inscriptions that should draw our attention. As with the oracle inscriptions, I am bothered by the absence of direct quotations of bronze inscriptions in later sources, in contrast to the abundance of meta-stories (or myths) about the relevance of bronzes as ritual and political objects. Surely, if there were archival versions, some quotations should have popped up in later sources.²⁷

Of course, we can always claim that this is merely a lack of preservation. So many written texts have been and are still being lost that it is not difficult to believe that this also applies to the Shang and Western Zhou periods. Still, if such a record had existed, we might expect to find quotations in sources that were copied and recopied, and we find no trace of that until some time into the Eastern Zhou period. Indeed, there were occasions during the Shang and Zhou periods when the entire written record may have been wiped out. But similar disasters happened in later periods, and yet much has been preserved and even more found in the ground in the centuries that followed. In addition, while there is surprisingly little evidence of ongoing written transmission of texts from the Shang and early Zhou, there is ample evidence of oral transmissions and traditions, some of it continuing for many centuries after the fall of these dynasties.

Dating the materials in the *Shujing* and the *Shijing* tends to depend to a considerable extent on the need for these sources as testimony to a time for which we have precious little evidence. Ideology, such as the urge to date the beginning of Chinese history as early as possible, also plays a role. One could of course also argue that

²⁶ Von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 162–67 postulates the existence of archives, probably to keep the original bamboo or wooden slips on which the texts had initially been written. While there is no proof of this, it would only strengthen the argument that it is surprising that nothing is quoted in later sources that truly resembles a bronze inscription. However, I suspect that the bronzes with the inscriptions are the real archives. After the object had been created and the largely oral ritual performed, there would have been no need to keep a written aide-mémoire. The assumption of an archive is much too modern, and without explicit evidence we cannot just assume that it “must” have existed. Nyman, “Textual Authority,” 245n90 raises doubts about the idea that oracle bones formed an archive for later consultation or that bronze inscriptions were archived.

²⁷ Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045–771 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). In his study of Western Zhou history, Li Feng refers now and then to the *Shi*, suggesting that they are relevant to understanding specific events in Western Zhou history. This may be true, but I am struck more by the differences. These can be easily explained by assuming a long oral tradition similar to that of early Greek history vis-à-vis the Homeric epics in which we then fit the *Shijing* and *Shujing*. In that tradition, facts got distorted, but things like place names and big events might have been preserved with more or less accuracy. The real issue is how much more or how much less.

precisely because there is so little evidence, we need to use these materials no matter what their precise dates. Even if, unlikely as it seems to me, we judge these to be in part Western Zhou sources, they would have been copied and recopied, if not also orally transmitted, before being written down again. In any event, what we have today as physical objects dates from many centuries later, and we would be naïve in the extreme to use these sources without any qualifications. My aim is not to reject these materials but to speculate about their true nature. Dates do matter, since sources always inform us about two moments in the past: the time about which they transmit information and the time at which they were composed or finalized.

The material in the different versions of the *Shujing* is clearly from the Eastern Zhou period, but more precise dating and linguistic comparison with actual bronze inscriptions is necessary.²⁸ Again, what I find striking are not the similarities to the language in the bronze inscriptions but rather the frequent differences. Excavated or otherwise reliable bronze inscriptions are usually shorter and much more closely linked to specific occasions and persons. During the Warring States period and the early Han, neither the *Shujing* nor the *Shijing* had become a single coherent text; at best, each was a corpus of precedents on which orators could draw for political speeches and which could be freely utilized and interpreted. Many of the texts preserved in the *Shujing* and *Shijing* are much longer than the bronze inscriptions, and their texts much less concretely tied to specific events and persons. Many ad hoc arguments can be made to explain these facts, but at the very least, these texts should have preserved some of the same ritual elements as the real inscriptions. Only very few texts in the *Shujing* actually do.

Instead, and without any *prima facie* proof, I wish to propose an alternative explanation for the “documents” and “songs” included in the *Shujing* and *Shijing* that takes into account the above objections to seeing them as ancient inscriptions. The expensive tradition of making bronzes with long inscriptions stopped quite suddenly with the violent demise of the house of the Western Zhou and the noble families who supported them. Those who could flee did so, leaving their bronzes behind. Since the inscriptions were part of an oral ritual and narrative culture, the refugee elite families took this culture with them to Luoyang around the Eastern Zhou court. It is my contention that we should see the origins of the older materials in the *Shujing* and the *Shijing* in this context. The refugees took existing historical narratives, the shared imagination of the past, and—using the old and venerated language of ritual practice—turned them into new materials. The Eastern Zhou court in its new and fragile center at Luoyang desperately needed a body of traditional culture to support its claims to legitimacy, and this is where the first *Shijing* and *Shujing* materials came into being. They are Eastern Zhou court culture of an uncertain date, since we know that the poetic style that underlies these materials continued to be used during the

²⁸ The same is true of course for material in the *Shijing*. Such work is usually done with an eye to proving their ancient pedigree, but a reverse project might be necessary.

following centuries.²⁹ The tradition of creating, changing, and transmitting *Shujing* continued until a very late date, probably sometime in the Han period.

This hypothesis would also explain the Eastern Zhou perspective on their own early history that we find in the *Shujing* and *Shijing*. We know that later Confucian philosophers had difficulties in accepting earlier historiography, as in the remark by Mengzi 孟子 that a specific description of King Wu 武 leaving the battlefield covered with the blood of his enemies could not be correct. As a result, that particular document was left out of the transmitted *Shujing* and only included in an alternative version, fittingly called *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 or *Leftover Documents of the Zhou*.³⁰

We have abundant evidence of the individual creation and transmission of *Shujing* materials, and it is safe to say that more will still turn up in grave finds. But that does not necessarily imply the existence of an original written version, since the documents functioned in a larger oral context. One example I wish to discuss briefly is that of quotations from the tradition of the *Shujing* contained in the *Shiji*, which is actually quite revealing as a source of information on transmission.³¹ In my opinion, we have here direct evidence of the since lost version of the so-called Old Text version of the *Shujing* that was available to Kong Anguo 孔安國. Sima Qian was a student of Kong Anguo, and it seems plausible that he would have had to memorize Kong's material as part of his education. Hence, Sima Qian's use of the *Shujing* (if it really was a single book in the sense of a closed collection of texts) is highly relevant as evidence to Kong Anguo's version, since the present version of what is called the Old Text is deemed a much later fabrication. Since Sima Qian is clearly quoting from the Old Text in the supposedly forged version, this version cannot have been as "forged" as is often thought and was already in existence in the mid-second century BCE. The reason for the belief that it *was* forged has always been the later language of some parts, but that does not mean that such materials do not date back to the early Han period. The traditional judgment is based on the assumption that there once was an original book, which is simply false. What we do see is that from the second century BCE onward, a sense seems to grow of a fixed corpus that we might call the *Shujing*. Since Sima Qian is quoting from this corpus, but not yet calling it *Shujing*, this process was still under way during his lifetime.

²⁹ Martin Kern, *Die Hymnen der chinesischen Staatsopfer: Literatur und Ritual in der politischen Repräsentation von der Han-Zeit bis zu den Sechs Dynastien* (*The Hymns of Chinese States-sacrifice: Literature and Ritual in Political Representation from the Han Period until the Six Dynasties*) (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1997).

³⁰ See the wonderful "'New' Evidence" chapter by Shaughnessy in *Before Confucius*, 31–67.

³¹ For a list, see for instance Liu Qixu, *Shangshu xue shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 88–92 and especially 149–54 (confusingly he refers to them as New Text, although the list patently includes many Old Text titles and texts). Detailed discussions of the book can be found in Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 120–67. The standard work is probably still Matsumoto Masaaki, *Shunshū sengoku ni okeru shōsho no tenkai* (*The Development of the Shujing in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods*) (Tokyo: Kazama shobo, 1966).

We need an individual approach to each and every document, whether included in the accepted *Shujing*, the *Yi Zhou shu*, or the supposedly fabricated Old Text. This approach needs to take each quotation and reference as a reflection of the oral transmission and usage of the material, without privileging a supposed original perfect version. The fact that the documents may contain information that we see as historically reliable does not make them old (i.e., Shang or even early Western Zhou) texts in the sense of artifacts or copied and recopied artifacts. Sadly, the only substantial and authenticated Western Zhou texts that we still have are the bronze inscriptions. While these are similar in style to the texts collected in the *Shujing*, the original inscriptions show evidence of being connected to ritual practice to a much larger degree than most of their transmitted counterparts.³²

The Earliest Philosophers

It is obvious that there is much more writing from the Eastern Zhou period onward, especially from the fourth century BCE on. The topic has been dealt with in great detail, most recently by Mark Edward Lewis, and at first glance there may seem little to add. However, Lewis' book is based on the assumption that writing is and has long been more important than oral transmissions, which in my opinion was not yet the case until centuries later, roughly from the late first century BCE onward. My approach will be to look for oral context and traditions, using whatever evidence (and some speculation) I can get. At this stage of my inquiry, this is merely a point of departure, which I will use to look at the earliest philosophers.

The first point that we need to establish more explicitly, but which was of course implicit in the preceding sections, is that we need to establish a time frame for the advent of writing that is exclusively based on excavations. We need to rigorously exclude all transmitted texts without excavated counterparts. Even when the latter exist, this is no proof that the transmitted text is as old as or even older than the excavated artifact, unless they are completely identical in contents. The best example of this methodology with respect to early Chinese philosophers is the *Laozi* or *Daodejing*. Although I think this is the oldest philosophical text that we have as an object, it still does not predate the Mawangdui versions of this text from the early second century BCE, even if those can be convincingly dated to a much earlier period, possibly the Qin or even a few decades before that.³³ This is very early for a

³² Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Issues in Western Zhou Studies: A Review Article," *Early China* 18 (1993): 146–52 in particular.

³³ See Dirk Meyer, "Meaning-Construction in Warring States Philosophical Discourse: A Discussion of the Palaeographic Materials from Tomb Guodian One," (PhD dissertation, Leiden University: 2008). The Guodian material is by no means the same as the later book, but it shows that the material which we know now as the *Laozi* or *Daodejing* was already coagulating. The earliest hard evidence of the eventual book is formed by the two chapters on the *Laozi* in the *Hanfeizi*, which follow the sequence of the final *Laozi* in the inverted sequence which we know from Mawangdui.

transmitted text, since all other philosophical texts in their present textual form date from much later, since they have been compiled and reworked during the Han-dynasties or even later.

The very fact that so few transmitted texts have pre-Qin excavated counterparts is significant, the more so since there is a growing body of pre-Qin excavated texts without transmitted counterparts. When our colleagues in China claim a counterpart, the differences are usually quite substantial. Of course, these discrepancies can be explained on an ad hoc basis as mere coincidence or ascribed to the fact that actual artifacts were better preserved in Chu graves, and many transmitted texts come from the Yellow River states. Still, when we create a time frame according to the above criterion of separating texts as actual objects from their transmitted versions, we find that, generally speaking, substantial excavated materials of an essayist nature are fairly late—usually from graves that date roughly to the third century BCE in so far as reliable dating is possible—and are preceded mainly by list-like materials such as inventories, chronologies, and inscriptions on ritual objects (i.e., bronzes, swords, and the tallies from Houma 侯馬). In addition, administrative and religious texts and even medical texts still by far predate philosophical texts. The oldest (and still incomplete) *Lunyu*, or *Analects*, that we have is a physical object that dates from the Dingzhou 定州 grave, closed in 55 BCE, whereas administrative, religious, and technical writings as well as not-transmitted textual fragments date back to the fourth and third centuries BCE.³⁴

Here, I will limit myself briefly to the *Lunyu*, which are conventionally ascribed to Confucius (usually referred to as the Master in this text, but I will use the modern name for clarity), as an example of the approach that I advocate.³⁵ Even though Bruce and Taeko Brooks, drawing on a roughly two-century-long tradition of deconstructing the layers of the *Lunyu*, go to the other extreme of dating actual sections, I think few people still take seriously the idea that this material reflects the original ideas of Confucius.³⁶ To me, this means that we cannot hope to reconstruct what Confucius himself thought but at best *how* he and most of all his pupils thought—probably decades or even centuries after his death. In other words, we can throw most histories of early Chinese philosophy in the garbage can.

When we pause to think, the situation is less grim than it might seem. For one, we need to think much more about the “how” of early Chinese philosophy. I find it

³⁴ Paul van Els, “Dingzhou: The Story of an Unfortunate Tomb,” *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 63, no. 4 (2009): 909–41.

³⁵ John Makeham, in “The Formation of *Lunyu* as Book,” *Monumenta Serica* 44 (1996): 1–24, demonstrates that the creation of the *Lunyu* was closed around 150 BCE, yielding the version that has been transmitted since.

³⁶ E. Bruce Brooks and A. Taeko Brooks, *The Original Analects: Sayings of Confucius and his Successors* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). See for instance the review by Schaberg, “‘Sell it! Sell it!’: Recent Translations of *Lunyu*,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 23 (2001): 115–39. For a very different approach, see Oliver Weingarten, “Confucius and Pregnant Women: An Investigation into the Intertextuality of the *Lunyu*,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129, no. 4 (2009).

very difficult to imagine that an early philosopher, or rather a teacher of young aristocrats, really had the kind of rudimentary aphoristic conversations that are ascribed to Confucius and other early philosophers. We need to think through how these aphorisms were used by the intellectual descendants of Confucius (or people claiming that status). What we have are imagined memories that became part of a particular style of speech. Among the intellectual descendants of Confucius, the only way of philosophizing was by taking quotations and elaborating on them, probably in a way that was similar to the use of *Shujing* or *Shijing* and the rhetorical use of historical anecdotes for diplomatic and political debates.³⁷ We need to look for such elaborations, for instance in the works of Mengzi and Xunzi 荀子.

Furthermore, once we start to place the materials ascribed to Confucius that have been edited and collected in the *Lunyu* back into the different chronological layers from which they really stem, we should extend the same process to all other quotations ascribed to Confucius as well. In other words, quotations ascribed to Confucius in the *Mengzi* become equally valuable in understanding early philosophizing. The same is true for the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*xiaojing* 孝經) or any other source that is usually left out of the chapters on the thought of Confucius in our traditional histories of Chinese philosophy. Even the *Mozi* 墨子 and *Zhuangzi* 莊子 become important sources on “Confucian” philosophizing. Here, we need to do two things, namely, to start to understand the way in which quotations were used and then to reconstruct a new historical “layeredness” of early quotations until the closure of the canon in the Han periods and the rise of commentaries. The aim is not to reconstruct the early or original Confucius but to see the development of the use of aphorisms ascribed to him. In this way, we can get some sense of the oral philosophizing that went on at the time, although we can never hope to capture it in all of its facets. Early Chinese philosophy was an activity and not a text.

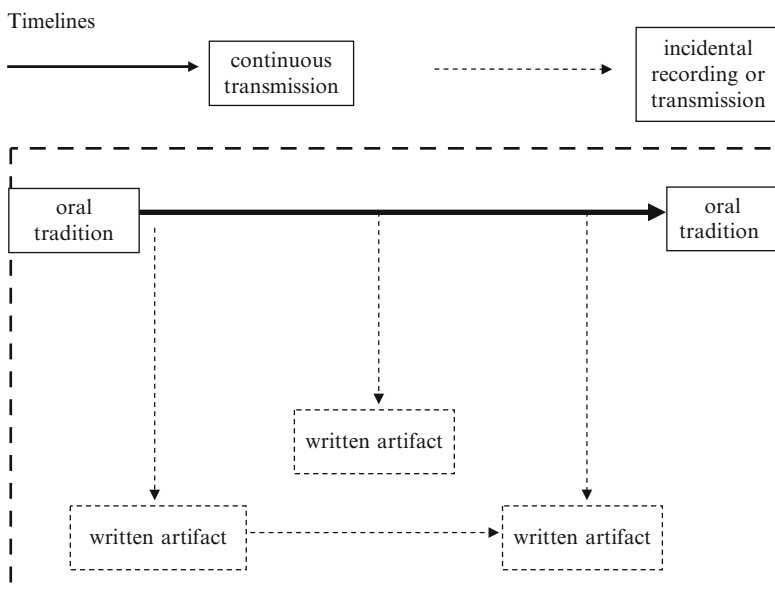
A Final Comment

Clearly, the above remarks are largely essayistic in nature. The reader who disagrees can start to shoot at these thoughts or wait until I have found time to do the legwork that is needed to research these issues. No doubt, my own thoughts will change and evolve in the course of the project over time. Nonetheless, the basic direction should be clear and I hope that publishing this short chapter will be a first step in establishing contact with my colleagues on this fascinating topic. What is truly interesting is not that the Chinese developed writing so early on but rather that they made so little use of it until the late fourth century BCE. Even after that, writing was not necessarily the dominant force in Chinese culture.

³⁷ Schaberg, in *Patterned Past*, discusses the use of the *Shujing* in political and diplomatic discourse.

Chinese historians traditionally focus on texts at the expense of other sources. When they use archeological evidence, they do so predominantly for periods that are not well documented in texts. Even art and other material products are left to historians of these products and only rarely incorporated in regular historical analysis. Naturally, historians have even less inclination to use oral sources, since these are not available for the more distant past, and oral history projects are few and far between even for the modern period. When such projects were carried out post 1949, they tended to be so influenced by ideology that their results are difficult to use. Easily overlooked is how often sources in the past stem from oral discourse. Furthermore, once the written text comes into being, this does not mean that the part of society that used writing, and even less the much larger part of society that did not use writing, immediately changed in any fundamental way.

In my opinion, we need to look at this early period and its oral or textual culture in the following way:



The above chart is intended to depict the way we should relate written artifacts to oral culture. The dominant line of transmission is oral, which I have represented by a bold arrow. Now and then, this oral transmission also led to the production of texts used in the larger oral (initially mainly ritual) context and to textual transmission. Even more infrequently, a text influenced another text, probably at the same time as the later text was influenced by now lost oral transmissions. I have indicated this incidental influence and transmission by a broken line. Some of these texts will be extant, and many others will have been lost. All of the oral context has been lost and will be very difficult to reconstruct. My hypothesis is that nonetheless the written artifacts were embedded in an oral context that we need to stop ignoring and start studying.

In my opinion, oral transmission would have been continuous and would not have stopped at political or military lines, certainly not completely. Even after written texts became more dominant, a process that was certainly not completed by the Han, oral traditions continued and may well have been the dominant context for using texts even when the latter were available. At various points in time, oral traditions gave rise to written artifacts and—more rarely—with a successful transmission that would be independent of oral practice, resulting ultimately in different versions being extant today. In this model, the oracle bone inscriptions are artifacts that never became part of a written transmission. The *Shujing* are artifacts of a long-lasting tradition in which a certain style that was also used in bronze inscriptions was transmitted over time through ritual performances (and in the case of the *Shijing* no doubt in sung form, although I can easily imagine a sung component to the *Shujing* as well). Even those texts that are believed to be really early, such as parts of the *Shujing* or the *Shijing*, are not nearly as old as we think them to be. Much the same is true for the early philosophers and their pupils who left no written record. Even many parts of the *Shiji* reflect collective oral and written transmissions frozen in time around 100 BCE, rather than original statements by a single author on early Chinese history.

None of this means that we cannot use written artifacts to reflect upon oral traditions or the earlier semihistorical period(s). Indeed, since these oral traditions continued after some of these artifacts were reordered into the *Classics*, we should also include later and often slightly more detailed written artifacts or testimonies to these oral traditions in our rereading of the distant past. In doing so, we should make use of the rich scholarship on oral traditions and oral history that has already been created for other cultures, whether in Africa or the ancient Middle East.

History, Ideology, and General Ideological History: A Case Study of Chan Buddhism in the Tang Dynasty

Zhaoguang Ge

Introduction

An increasing number of studies on the history of Chan Buddhism have been published by Chinese scholars in recent years. Not counting the early work by scholars such as Hu Shi and Yin Shun or other scattered research and translations that appeared before the 1980s, a dozen or more studies were published on the mainland during the 1980s and 1990s. After my own *Chanzong yu Zhongguo wenhua* 禪宗與中國文化 (Chan Buddhism and Chinese Culture) (1986), other titles included *Chanzong sixiang de xingcheng yu fazhan* 禪宗思想的形成與發展 (The Formation and Development of Chan Ideology) (1991) by Hong Xiuping, *Zhongguo Chanzong sixiang licheng* 中國禪宗思想歷程 (The Ideological Course of Chan Buddhism) (1992) by Pan Guiming, *Zhongguo Chanzong tongshi* 中國禪宗通史 (A Comprehensive History of Chan Buddhism) (1993) by Du Jiwen and Wei Daoru, my *Zhongguo Chan sixiangshi* 中國禪思想史 (A History of Chinese Chan Buddhism) (1995), *Zhongguo Chanzong sixiang fazhanshi* 中國禪宗思想發展史 (The History of the Development of Chinese Chan Buddhism) (1997) by Ma Tianxiang, and *Tangwudai Chanzongshi* 唐五代禪宗史 (Chan Buddhism during the Tang and Five Dynasties) (1999) by Yang Zengwen. In Taiwan, Cai Rixin's *Zhongguo Chanzong de xingcheng* 中國禪宗的形成 (The Formation of Chinese Chan Buddhism) was published in 2000 and Liu Guozong's *Chanzong sixiangshi gaishuo* 禪宗思想史概說 (Historical Overview of Chinese Chan Buddhism) in 2001. In addition to these works of scholarly research, major progress has been made in the archiving of material and the publication of primary materials such as the Chinese manuscripts on Chan Buddhism from Dunhuang, *Chanzong quanshu* 禪宗全書 (The Complete Works of Chan Buddhism), new editions of the *Tanjing* 壇經 (The Platform Sutra) and *Shenhui yulu* 神會語錄 (Discourses of Shenhui), and

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dictionaries on Chan Buddhism, all of which have greatly facilitated further research. However, in my opinion, despite all of these, the quality of the research published has made little progress. Many of these works echo what others have written before, leaving questions unanswered; old problems have not been solved, while new questions have emerged.

The above is more self-reflection than criticism of others. After I finished writing my *Zhongguo Chan sixiangshi* in 1993 which was published in 1995, I suspended my research into the subject for a long time. One reason was that my time and energy were put into another project. But another reason was that my research on Chan Buddhism had stumbled upon obstacles, such as the following: How do we interpret Chan Buddhism? How do we explain “Chan”? When writing about Chan ideology, there is the problem of how to break out of the mainstream of historical thought. If we wish not only to go beyond the records in *Denglu* 燈錄 (The Transmission of the Lamp) but also to move beyond the modern works on Chan history, how can we weed through the old ideas and bring forth the new? I have not yet found the answers to these questions, but in this article I will set out some of my thoughts.

Rewriting the History of Chan Buddhism

The Chinese historian Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893–1980) wrote in his “Gushi bianpai” 古史辨派 (Debates on Ancient History) that ancient history is a “faulty chronology of layers” and that “false history” needs to be weeded out. In order to eliminate false history, it is necessary to comb through historical documents to find genuine historical facts.¹ However, the downside of this method is that it attaches too much attention to “falsehoods.” Historian Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890–1969) pointed out that hidden in the false history were facts. Chen suggested that if historians could determine the date and authorship of documents that had been intentionally falsified, then suspicious material would become of historical value.² As the French scholar Michel Foucault (1926–1984) wrote, we cannot simply erase false history from the “faulty chronology of layers” because it has already affected the work of historians and the ideas of later generations.³

¹ Gu Jiegang, preface to *Gushibian* 古史辨•自序 (Debates on Ancient History), 2nd ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 1:52, 138, 187.

² Chen Yinke, “Liang yi dacheng qixin lun weizhikai xuzhong zhi zhenshiliao” 《梁譯大乘起信論偽智愷序中之真史料》 (True Historical Information of the Treatise on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana translated in the Liang dynasty), in *Jinmingguan Conggao erbian* 金明館叢稿二編 (Collected works of Chen Yinke volume 2) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 132–136.

³ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge, 2002).

Let us take as an example the genealogy of Chan Buddhism in *Denglu*. The traditional *Denglu* contains a chronological record of the different schools of Chan Buddhism. The advantage of this is that the sequence is clear and it was possible to continue adding new data after confirmation of the genealogy, not only recording all the monks but also leaving behind a complete overview for history. However, the drawback is that if we reconstruct history based on records of monks organized according to celebrity status, position, and school, there is the danger that the information has been manipulated and of “the teacher gaining fame because of his disciple.” In the traditional *Denglu*, Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814), a Chan master during the Tang dynasty, was listed under Mazu 馬祖 (709–788), another Chan master. Baizhang Huaihai and Xitang Zhizang 西堂智藏 (735–817) were identified as the two most important masters. But as I mentioned in my *A History of Chinese Chan Buddhism*, Baizhang Huaihai became increasingly prominent after the compilation of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde Records of the Transmission of the Lamp), in which his story is given color and emphasis.⁴ The story of “Ye yazi” 野鴨子 or “Wild Ducks,” for example, according to the early record in *Wuxie heshang* 五泄和尚 (*Wuxie Monk*), in volume 15 of *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (*Collection of Ancestors’ Hall*), originally was attributed to Baizhang Weizheng 百丈惟政, but in later records, such as *juan* 3 (volume 3) of *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (*Collection of the Five Lamps*), *juan* 1 (volume 1) of *Guzun su yulu* 古尊宿語錄 (*Analects of the Ancient Eminent Masters*), and *juan* 6 (volume 6) no. 53 of *Biyuan lu* 碧岩錄 (*Record of Green Rock*), its attribution was changed, and it became the most important enlightenment dialogue written by Baizhang Huaihai. Historians of Chan interpret this short anecdote differently. In fact, it seems that Baizhang Huaihai was not the most important disciple of the Mazu school. In the *Tanggu Hangzhou Kaiyuansi Shimendao, Chanshi daming* 唐故洪州開元寺石門道一禪師塔銘 (An Inscription at the Master of Kaiyuan Temple in Hong Province) written by Master Quan Deyu 權德輿 (759–818), Baizhang Huaihai was not even on the list of 11 most important Chan disciples of the Mazu school at that time. Even Chen Yu 陳翽, who later wrote the tombstone inscription for Baizhang Huaihai and was confronted with the historical facts, could only explain that Baizhang “was very humble and not seeking fame, therefore his grave inscription only listed his name.”⁵ However, Baizhang later became an important figure in Mazu legend—an obvious case of revisionism by later generations. Studies of Chan history up to the present, in the interest of emphasizing *Nong Chan* 農禪—the integration of farming into Chan—give Baizhang and his phrase “One day without work is one day without food” a key role in the history of Chan while ignoring Huaihai’s relatively reserved attitude of entering into the Hangzhou School of Chan. He went from being unknown among mid-Tang believers to a prominent place in *Denglu*, from the individual style

⁴Ge Zhaoguang, *Zhongguo chan sixiangshi* 中国禅思想史 (A History of Chinese Chan Buddhism) (1995), 303.

⁵*Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (Complete Works of the Tang) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), *juan* 446.

and behavior of Huaihai at the time of *Nong Chan*, and still later became a key figure of Chan Buddhism. Could archeological excavations from this period bring new information to light? Until now I do not believe Chan studies have looked into this possibility and instead have followed in the footsteps of tradition.⁶

It is not only the position of individual masters but the entire traditional Chan genealogy that is suspect. Many times, history was rewritten in order to emphasize the importance of one master's family while diminishing the importance of another and to glorify their own school's history. Some masters went so far as to "adopt" Chan followers from other schools in order to increase their importance or to add branches to give their school roots in another family that included famous names. This kind of fabrication of family and clan genealogies continues in the present, for example, the Shitou schema. In *Zhongguo Chanzong tongshi* (1993), Du Jiwen and Wei Daoru indicate that Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (740–?) was not listed, and it was not until the *Zutang ji* that doubts were raised about whether it was revisionism of later generations.⁷ In *Chanzong sixiang de xingcheng yu fazhan* (1991), Hong Xiuping notes, "Nanyue Huairang and Qingyuan Xingsi gained fame only because of Mazu and Xiqian." He also indicates that Qingyuan Xingsi and Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (fl. eighth century) at that time did not belong to the same school, "their merging took place later," which is correct.⁸ However, although they did express suspicion about the identities of figures such as Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟 and Yaoshan Weiyuan 藥山惟儼 (751–834), they followed in the tradition of scholars such as Du and Wei and probed into clause 4 *Guanyu shitou zongxi ji qi chanfeng de kaocha* (An Examination of Shitou Schema and their Chan Style). A closer look shows that not only Shitou is listed late, but even the identities and lineages of key figures such as Danxia Tianran 丹霞天然, Yaoshan Weiyuan, and Tianhuang Daowu are suspects. Putting those biased records of *Denglu* aside and focusing on other records from the same period, such as inscriptions on stone tablets, and data that are not listed according to schools, such as the *Sengzhuan* 僧傳 (Biography of Monks), it may be possible to establish their true identities and origins. In this context, it is possible that Danxia Tianran, Tianhuang Daowu, and Yaoshan Weiyuan all belonged to the most victorious Mazu school at that time. However, because of the Shitou records, their entries were later revised, resulting in a change in the genealogy.⁹ If this is the case, I am afraid that the origins of later families including Weiyang 為仰, Yunmen 雲門, Fayan 法眼, Linji 臨濟, and Caodong 曹洞 are all unclear, which is exactly what Hu Shi wrote in a letter to Yanagida Seizan. Many forged letters and fabricated historical records appeared during the mid- and late Tang periods, which then became raw material for the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. Because there were

⁶ Another case against Baizhang Huaihai is Zhangjing Huaihui (756–815). See Ge, *Zhongguo chan sixiangshi*, chapter 5, 305.

⁷ Du Jiwen and Wei Daoru, *Zhongguo Chanzongshi* 中國禪宗通史 (A Comprehensive History of Chan Religion) (Nanjing: Jiangsu Guji Publishing House, 1993) 274–275.

⁸ Hong Xiuping, *Chanzong sixiang de xingcheng yu fazhan* 禪宗思想的形成與發展 (The Formation and Development of Chan Ideology) (Kaohsiung: Foguang chubanshe, 1991).

⁹ *Zhongguo Chan sixiangshi*, 295–302.

many movements competing for power and influence, the period from Dali (766–779) to Yuanhe (806–820) was the most important for the Southern School of Chan.¹⁰ As a result, the history of Chan became tainted with false information. If we want to get to the truth, we must do intellectual archeology research. We will discover a seemingly clear and orderly history, but is it sketched and patched up? Sometimes, history is shaped by later generations who omit facts they deem unimportant. But whether they are important or not is for yet later people to decide. Although more recent history is well organized, it does not necessarily reflect the truth, as Chen Yinke wrote in his review of *Zhongguo Zhexueshi* (A History of Chinese Philosophy) by Feng Youlan 馮友蘭 (1895–1990), “The harder you try to systematically arrange sayings of ancient sages, the more you deviate from their original intention.”¹¹ When we apply Foucault’s archeological method of dusting layer by layer, we examine the color of each layer and try to deduce why each was painted the way it was. I wonder, can we move beyond the traditional investigation of *Denglu* in order to examine the real history of Chan Buddhism? There are a large number of extant historical documents from the Tang dynasty, including newly discovered inscriptions on stone tablets and new finds from Dunhuang, all of which can help reconstruct the history of Chan. However, at present, studies of Chan Buddhism are still built almost exclusively on the foundation of *The Transmission of the Lamp*, which is unfortunate.¹²

It is worth noting that even the term “*Chanzong*,” or Chan Buddhism, is suspect. The moment that a school within Chanzong is sorting out the names of its masters, it has already started to edit history. But in fact, there were quite a few schools of Chan Buddhism coexisting in early times, not as that later historical record narrowed down to only the South Chan Buddhism. If we look at Tang-dynasty sources, it is clear that in the second half of the eighth century, the Chan masters shared popularity with other Buddhist masters such as the dharma masters and the discipline masters, and Chan was a branch of the learning of Precept and Wisdom—a meditative method within Buddhism based on the classic Lankavatara Sutra from the Dongshan Chan School, which at that time was a branch of Chan masters that drew a little more attention than other Buddhist masters. It was when the interest in Buddhist metaphysics and complex theories once held by Buddhist followers among the secular people started to wane and through the decades’ effort of Chan advocates such as Shen Xiu 神秀 (?–706), Pu Ji 普寂 (651–739), and Yi Fu 義福 (658–736) of the

¹⁰ Yanagida Seizan, *Hu Shi Chanxue An* 胡適禪學案 (Hu Shi on Chan Studies) (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1975), 617, 630.

¹¹ Feng Youlan, appendix to *Zhongguo Zhexueshi* 中國哲學史 (A History of Chinese Philosophy) (Reprint, Zhonghua shuju, 1984).

¹² See recent publications in Chinese, such as *Chanzong zongpai yuanliu* 禪宗宗派源流 (Origins of Chan schools) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998) edited by Wu Limin, *Tang wudai chanzongshi* 唐五代禪宗史 (Chan Buddhism during the Tang and Five Dynasties) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1999) by Yang Zengwen, *Zhongguo chanzong de xingcheng* 中國禪宗的形成 (The Formation of Chinese Chan Buddhism) (Taipei: Yun long chubanshe, 2000) by Cai Rixin, and *Chanzong sixiangshi gaishuo* 禪宗思想史概說 (Historical Overview of Chinese Chan Buddhism) (Taipei: Wenjiu chubanshe, 2001) by Liu Guozong.

Northern Chan School and Hui Neng 慧能 (638–713), Shen Hui 神會 (684–758), Ben Jing 本淨 (667–761), and Hui Zhong 慧忠 (?–775) of the Southern Chan School that by the mid-eighth century the position of the Chan master became more important than that of the dharma master and discipline master. Not until then did Chan gradually become the central interest of Buddhist believers and developed into the huge body of theory and practice, and what the modern people know as Chan Buddhism became the mainstream of the Chan school. Later Chan researchers often regard the history of Chan Buddhism as recorded by Chan masters who defined Chan in a narrow version as the entire history of the Chan school, thus missed the large picture. As Ran Yunhua 冉雲華 pointed out, “For several years now, the history of Chan Buddhism has been based on extant documents of *Chuandeng lu* which were compiled after the tenth century. The sources of this early Chan history are insufficient and full of biases based on different schools.”¹³ He discovered that the history described in the chapter on the practitioners of Chan in *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks) and *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Sequel to Biographies of Eminent Monks) was part of Chan history yet was not given enough attention as a result of the exclusiveness of Chan history records edited after the tenth century such as *Denglu*. However, we can see from the *Daofan quguai xinjue* 導凡趣聖心訣 (Essentials of Guiding Common People to Become Sages) and *Chuanfabao ji* 傳法寶紀 (Records of the Transmission of the Fa) found in Dunhuang that the reason for the omission of Master Faru of the Northern Chan School lies in the ranking of the seven Chan patriarchs.¹⁴ If we take another look at Chan through the eyes of Tang-era people, we will discover that in later *Denglu*, the history of Buddhism was described as the history of Chan Buddhism, while the history of Chan Buddhism in turn was described as the *Chuandeng* of the Nanzong, the Southern Chan School, that is, in recent books on the history of Buddhism too much focus has been placed on Chan masters. However, such narrowing down is problematic, if we look at the Chan religion as described in the “Stele Inscription of the Chan Master of Great Righteousness, the Service Master of Great Virtue in the palace chapel of Xingfu Temple,” written by Wei Chuhou 韋處厚 (773–823) in the early ninth century,¹⁵ if we look at the approximately contemporaneous Bai Juyi’s 白居易集 (772–846)¹⁶ *Chuanfa tangbei* 傳法堂碑 (Stele Inscription of the Dharma Transmission Hall) which cites Xingshan Weikuan’s 興善惟寬 (755–817) description of the history of the entire Chan schools, as well as the “Epitaph of the Great Master Zuoxi,” which Li Hua¹⁷ of the eighth century wrote for [Master

¹³ Ran Yunhua, ed., *Zhongguo Chanxue yanjiu lunji* 中國禪學研究論集 (Studies on Chinese Chan) (Taipei: Dongchu chubanshe, 1990).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 164–165.

¹⁵ *Quan Tang wen*, *juan* 715, 3258.

¹⁶ *Chuanfa tang bei*, *juan* 41 傳法堂碑 of *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集 (Collected Works of Bai Juyi) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979).

¹⁷ Li Hua, *Guzuo xida shi bei*, *juan* 861 故左溪大師碑 of *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 (An Anthology of Literature); Pei Xiu, *Chan yuanzhu quanji xu* 禪源諸詮集序 (General preface to the collection of explanations of the Chan source), *juan* 48 of *Da zheng cang* 大正藏, 398.

Zuoxi] Xuanlang describing the Northern School, Southern School, Oxhead School, and Tiantai School as Chan-related lineages, the verse saying “Master Heze [Shenhui] points directly to *insight*, [Mazu of] Jiangxi’s view of *all things are real*, Tiantai’s adherence to *Three Truths*, and Oxhead’s notion of *no single method*” stated in the “General Preface to the Collection of Explanations of the Chan source” that Pei Xiu wrote for Zongmi (780–841) when the former summarized the thoughts of these schools.¹⁸ If we consult all these materials, then we can understand that starting from the latter half of the eighth century, in many people’s minds, the so-called Chan masters in general include not only the big five but also the Buddhist disciples who were specializing in Chan. Therefore, to study Chan lineage and system, instead of using the notion about Chan as limited by later Chan school, which even ruled out Tiantai School from Chan, shouldn’t we examine the Tang people’s own concepts of dharma masters, disciplinary masters, and Chan masters to interpret Chan as one branch of Buddhism in that era? If we want to rewrite the history of Chan Buddhism, why not follow the example of Ran Yunhua and use *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Song), written by non-Chan authors, as a source? Then perhaps there will be no misunderstanding over the identity of the person in dialogue with Shen Hui in Huatai (present-day Henan province).¹⁹

This does not mean we have to use postmodernist theory in order to understand Chan genealogy but rather that we should review Chan history using traditional historical methods. It also does not mean we have to throw out the original Chan history but perhaps find a new way to retell that history. On the one hand, this retelling aims to better understand the actual situation and common ideas of that time by using early historical documents and outside historical records. On the other hand, it can also provide a historical narrative “that all before the Chan historical accounts [narrows down the entire history of Chan to only that of the southern Chan].” An example of the so-called postmodernist theory is the recent work by American scholar John McRae, *Seeing through Zen: Encounter, Transformation and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism*, in which he comes up with “McRae’s Rules of Zen Studies.”²⁰ The four rules are the following: “It’s not true, and therefore it’s more important,” “Lineage assertions are as wrong as they are strong,” “Precision implies inaccuracy,” indicating that if more details about time and people are given, the information becomes more suspect, and “Romanticism breeds cynicism,” referring

¹⁸ Ge, *Zhongguo Chan sixiangshi*, 308–314.

¹⁹ Often people think it is a Northern Chan master who is in dialogue with Shen Hui, and they regard his victory as a victory of the South over the North. In fact, the person speaking with Shen Hui must have been a dharma master and not a Chan master. According to Tang custom, a dharma master was mostly good at interpreting/translating or preaching the sutras, and not a Chan Buddhist. In other words, they belong to the first two categories listed in *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (*Biographies of Eminent Monks*). Therefore, it seems reasonable that many scholars think that this debate with Shen Hui was prearranged.

²⁰ John R. McRae, *Seeing through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), xix–xx.

to those who tell stories are bound to create good and bad people, and this is equally unavoidable in the case of Chan history. Perhaps this theory is too “postmodernist”. The originally special historic phenonema are being popularized by McRae. But we have to admit that if we go back and look at the earliest original documents, there is indeed in Tang-dynasty Chan a competition for power and influence. We all know Tang Chan history was basically written using *Denglu*—written by Chan followers—as the main source. However, *Denglu* is only one telling of that history. If we look at non-Chan sources, such as prose collections, stone tablets, and other Buddhist records, perhaps we can determine what was changed in *Denglu*, and how the beliefs and emotions of many generations influenced that history.

Ideology: How to Reinterpret Chan Buddhist Thought

Contemporary analysts of Chan Buddhist ideology mostly take a philosophical approach. This often results in Chan ideology becoming like a fish out of water—eternal but without life. There is no doubt that scholars such as Daisetz T. Suzuki 唐五代禅宗史 and Kitaro Nishida have an Eastern awareness of Chan Buddhism that aids their understanding and interpretation, but they are only using Chan material to develop their modernist philosophical thinking. The debate between Hu Shi and Suzuki over the interpretation of Chan is not a question of right or wrong. They simply approach Chan ideology, history, and philosophy from different angles. I tend to follow the historical tradition of Hu Shi—using historical documents to investigate Chan religion and ideology.

From the perspective of ideological history, Chan was not some super philosophy dangling in historical midair. We must place Chan in its proper contemporary social and ideological context in order to explain its meaning in Chinese ideological history. In recent years, there has been a tendency to connect the history of ideology to social history, since ideologies only come to life when they become the source for human reasoning and actions. For an ideology to become of use in daily life, it must respond to the problems of daily life. As Benjamin I. Schwartz points out, problems in ideological history mainly concern people’s conscious responses to their environment, and these responses change in different time periods.²¹ In the Chinese language, there is an expression, “It is impossible to clap with one hand.” Chan ideology is just one side of ideological history. We must also look at what circumstances it is responding to.

For example, why did the Chan masters of the Southern School of the Huineng system after the High Tang period suddenly become popular, replacing the dharma master, and become illustrious Buddhist guides? Since Hu Shi, a historical fact that

²¹ Benjamin I. Schwartz, preface to *The World of Thought in Ancient China*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 4.

drew much attention was that Shen Hui 神会 (684–760) used “xiangshui qian,” literally “perfume money,” to bribe officials and gain economic advantages for the Southern School. But Shen Hui is not the only one who used perfume money to obtain soldier’s pay and provisions for Buddhist monks from the government, and after Shen Hui’s time, it was not only the Southern Chan or Heze Schools that did so. This also does not account for the gradual decline of the traditional school of the dharma master. There is another historical factor: before the High Tang, to maintain some Buddhist tradition such as large-scale translations of Buddhist scriptures, interpretation and annotation of Buddhist classics and discussion about Buddhist theories, to the great extent, relied on the financial and intellectual support from large monasteries and influential collective effort, thus taking on some noble flavor, which means that not only basic knowledge and ideas of Buddhism were required in these practices but a rather profound capacity for reasoning was also essential. However, this kind of Buddhist practice suffered a setback in the aftermath of the An Shi Rebellion (755–763), also known as the An Lushan Rebellion. Many large monasteries were destroyed, and those that were not damaged could no longer support large-scale recitals and intellectual discussions. Consequently, those relying on generous financial support from the large monasteries and the facilities to build up Buddhist knowledge collapsed. Dharma masters who specialized in translation, commentary, and debate lost their means of support; this led to a great watershed in the practice of Buddhist teachings. In my article “Lilun xingqu de sangshi” 理論興趣的喪失 (The Loss of Interest in Theory), I have discussed these phenomena²² and this change during the mid-Tang era, when the discipline masters and Chan masters gradually gained more influence, in particular in the early ninth century when figures such as Zhangjing Huaihui 章敬懷暉 (748–835) entered court, leading to empowering Chan discourse with political influence. The Chan school, especially in Hangzhou, abruptly gained prominence and as a result left behind many records in a growing number of locations, leading to the misunderstanding by later generations that Chanzong was already the mainstream of Buddhism.

To give another example, why did Chan Buddhism become increasingly popular in the period from the mid-Tang era until the late Tang? Many works on the ideological history of Chan focus on the Great Anti-Buddhist Persecution, which reached its height in 845 during the reign of Tang Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (814–846, r. 840–846). Chan masters who did not rely on support from monasteries were better able to survive than other Buddhist schools; hence, the importance of philosophies of self-reliance such as Nong Chan, attributed to Baizhang Huaihai, grew. This explanation for Chan’s increased popularity is not very reliable—as I noted earlier, the importance of the position of Baizhang is suspect. Indeed, many monks did perish during

²² Published in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 (Research into World Religions), 2001:1, pp. 35–47. Also included in Ge Zhaoguang, vol. 2 of *Zhongguo sixiangshi*.

the Anti-Buddhist Persecution, and many illustrious monks were forced to return to secular life or flee into hiding.²³ But this does not mean that Buddhism became more populist or that Buddhism became estranged from the urban areas and more “rural.” In fact, among the monks who were left behind, many relied on the rich, for example, Huang Zhong 寰中 (780–862) of Daci Mountain, Hangzhou, who hid in the Dai family villa; Cong Jian 從諫 (?–866) of the Guang’ ai Temple, Luoyang, who hid in the hot springs of the Huangpu family; and Jingshan Hongyan 徑山洪湮 (?–901) who went into hiding in Huichang, at the home of Changsha believer Luo Yan 羅晏. As it says in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, “[He] who wears lay clothes according to the rules; relaxes his strong feelings for the [Buddhist] way; crouches and holes up like dragons and snakes to wait for the right time; salvages none when jades and stones are burnt in fire.” This was probably a common method of survival by monks.²⁴ After the short-lived persecution of Buddhism of 20 months by Wuzong ended, Buddhism very rapidly recovered and became completely reliant on those monks once supported by the powerful elites. Because of this, by the Late Tang/Five Dynasties period, Chan Buddhism, instead of becoming more common and secular, actually became more noble and elitist. Only in this historical context are we able to understand the development of Chan Buddhism. In my opinion, from the High to Late Tang and Five Dynasties, the shift from the early Chan to five Chan schools, Chan gradually turned from a pure, wordless experience into a philosophy highly reliant on documents and was gradually diverted from the common people to the educated. It is easy to understand, for only the elite class and people who were culturally literate would develop interest in the exquisite and conceived language while able to read between the lines.

We must try to understand the development of Chan ideology against this historical background. If we investigate more deeply, it is possible to find a historical explanation for the union of the Pure Land school and Chan during the Qing-Ming period and for the failure of the Chan revival in the late Qing period. It is not necessary to put the focus of Chan Buddhist ideological history only on the Tang-Song period because the study of ideological history should probe into the environment from which the ideology rose, the responses of that ideology to the environment, and how the ideology intervenes and influences social life. It does not only trace the rise and fall of the study of such ideology, nor does it complement its own writing in this ideological theory.

²³ For details on the Anti-Buddhist Persecution, see *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled during the Song Dynasty), *juan* 12 and 17, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 273–274, 278, 284, 428, 430; *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (*History of the Tang*), 18: part 2, 605–606; Yuan Ren, *Rutang qiufa xunli hangji* 入唐求法巡禮行記, 4: 479. For modern research and narration of the persecution in Huichang, refer to Tang Yongtong, *Suitang fojiao shigao* 隋唐佛教史稿 (History of Buddhism during the Sui and Tang Dynasties) in *Huichang fanan* 會昌法難 (Anti-Buddhism Movement in Huichang Era), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 41–52. See also (Ryōshi Michihata) *Tangdai fojiaoshi de yanjiu* 唐代佛教史の研究 (Studies on Tang Dynasty Buddhist History) (Kyoto: Fazang guan, 1957), 161–177; Suzuki Tetsuo, *唐五代禪宗史* (History of Chan Buddhism during the Tang and Five Dynasties) (Tokyo: Shanxifang foshulin, 1985), 390–393.

²⁴ *Song gaoseng zhuan*, *juan* 12, 273–274, 278, 284; *juan* 17, 428, 430.

General Ideological History: Seeking Questions from a New Angle

After the publication of my *Zhongguo Chan sixiangshi*, I gained much insight from some of the many reviews. Among the reviewers who most inspired me was Luo Houli, who wrote, “What if you look at it from a different angle? What if you look at it from the point of view of the one who asks questions? Would that lead to a different conclusion?”²⁵ In other words, it is usually the answers of the Chan masters that we use as material. If someone asks “What is the meaning of the dharma of law?” we don’t usually pay attention to the question itself, even if it is asked repeatedly. Instead, we focus on the Chan masters’ answers, intriguing phrases, such as “He sold charcoal for 10 years but did not use a steelyard” and “Look up to view Persia and face the south to view Phecda,” because these mysterious expressions give researchers the chance to come up with new theories and interpretations.

The fact that these questions are raised over and over again is worth investigation. In recent years, I have stressed that we should pay attention to common knowledge, ideology, and religion rather than the extraordinary ideas and theories that traditionally receive the most attention and are at the core of ideological history but do not always have great influence on daily life. If we look at sources such as the *Chuandeng lu*, we can see from the questions asked that most Chan believers were not concerned with the mystery of logic or language nor were they particularly interested in the return to a simpler life. The special concepts and values discovered by later Chan researchers may have concerned only a small number of followers and masters or could even have been projected on them by the later researchers. Ordinary people usually asked questions such as “Why did Buddhism come from India?” and “What problem does it want to solve for believers?” The question most often raised was “Why did the ancestral master come from the West?” In the *Jingde Chuandeng Lu*, this question appears about 120 times. The response from Longya Judun 龍牙居遁 was “This is the most difficult question.” Another master said, “Good question.” We can see that common believers were not concerned with the special Chan truth but wanted to know the reasoning behind Chan, since the question of why the ancestral master is coming from the West gets at the basis of Chan belief. At the same time, the quest for the meaning of the coming of Buddhism that was frequently mentioned by later Southern Chan Buddhists was actually first put forward by Helin Xuansu 鶴林玄素 (668–752) from the Oxhead School and Master Huian who was regarded as from the Northern Chan School 慧安國師.²⁶ If this is the case, how can we understand the Southern Chan School’s affinity with and change from the Northern Chan and Oxhead Chan Schools? Other questions often raised were “What is the intention of Buddhism?” and “What is Dao?” These questions appear in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* more than 100 times. From the popularity

²⁵ Luo Houli, “Wen wu dingfa yu wen cheng falì” 文无定法与文成法立 (No fixed method for essay writing and method established when writing is completed), *Dushu*, 1997:4, pp. 66–72.

²⁶ *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, *juan 17* and *juan 4*.

of these questions, we can deduce the believers' quest for concrete knowledge, which was far greater than the enlightenment of the mysterious truth. In fact, for those proficient in Chan thought, Buddhism and Dao are opposites. Legend has it that Liuzu Huineng once had a conversation as follows: "Somebody asked, 'What does Huanghui believe?' The master said, 'He attained the dharma of law.' The monk asked, 'Can monks attain the same?' The master replied, 'No.' The monk asked, 'Why?' The master said, 'I do not know the dharma of law.'"²⁷ It is possible that this conversation was reconstructed by later generations who created contrasts between the dharma of law and Dao, classic theory, and inner enlightenment. *Juan 16 Nanquan Puyuan* 南泉普願 of the *Zutang ji* says, "Under the *Wuzu Dashi* [masters of five schools] there were 599 people who all knew the dharma of law, except for Lu Xingzhe, who only knew the Dao. Up until all Buddhas were born, one was only taught the Dao."²⁸ In *Juan 14 Shitou Xiqian* of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, there is a record, "Disciple Daowu asked, 'Who would receive the intention of Caoxi?' The master said, 'He was the one who knew the dharma of law.' He asked, 'Do you know it?' The master said, 'No, I don't.'"²⁹ In replying to a common believer, the Chan master does not emphasize this difference. So can we deduce the average level of understanding of Chan Buddhism as well as how it spread?

From the questions asked of the masters, sometimes superficial and sometimes resourceful, we can detect a gradual change in the ideology and language of Chan Buddhism. Those asking questions in the early years were often in search of an explanation of Chan beliefs and therefore asked basic, straightforward questions such as, "I want to learn Buddhism; what should I do?" "How can formlessness be proved?" "Are meditation and wisdom one thing or two?" What is called precept? Of all dharmas, what is called reality?³⁰ Chan Buddhism at that time did not yet have its own terminology. Like other schools, the Chan school sought to reach a deeper understanding of the basic teachings of Buddhism. Therefore, in the replies to these early questions, the language is fairly direct and precise. A special method of questioning was developed later as Chan Buddhism started to seek its own language within the language. Moreover, Chan Buddhism started using concrete and unsophisticated questions to elevate reasoning and break from the restraints of traditional logic and argumentation—for example, "How old is Master Shoushan [Shijie]?" "What is your place of origin?" "Why you mean to ask but don't ask?" "Whose family's tune does the master sing?" or "This student possesses the wit approved by [Master Fengxue's] iron ox, master, please do not seal his fate." This type of symbolic speech developed into the language of the profound truth of Chan Buddhism. The questions and answers could be ever changing, depending on the

²⁷ *Zutang ji*, *juan 2*, 96–97. I consulted the copy in the collection of the Research Centre for Zen Culture, Hanazono University, Kyoto.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, *juan 16*, 587.

²⁹ *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, *juan 14*, *Da zheng cang*; *juan 51*, 310.

³⁰ *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元, *juan 3* of *Nanyue Huairang chanshi* 南岳懷讓禪師 (Master Nanyue Huairang), 127, 135, 148–150, 153, 155, 164, 166.

environment, whether the questions came from nature and whether the answers came from the heart and followed the heart's desire. Still later, when Chan had fully developed its own language and the special terms became classics, such as when Master Changqing Huiling said in his *gatha*, "In a myriad things he alone reveals his body,"³¹ an allusion to Buddha's words that "[Heaven above and Earth below] I am the only one, alone and exalted," revealing his feeling of transcending the mortal world after achieving an inner awareness of truth. Soon there were more phrases, such as "What is '[he alone] reveals his body in a myriad things?'" and "How can one make this 'revealing of only one's body in a myriad things' possible?"³² One Chan Buddhist school during the Song dynasty built forth on these following phrases: "[After] 10 years of traveling in red dust, this morning [I] alone revealed my body." This inspired masters from the rather obvious hint of "raise a finger" give answers that seemed irrelevant to the question asked, such as "Adding frost onto the snow," "Cats sleeping under peonies," or "No land beyond the river, many mountains across the shore."³³ Those unfamiliar with allusions to Buddhist classics would have been unable to ask questions or understand the answers, a clear indication of the cultural level of those asking and answering the questions. There was an irreversible turn to the elitist—even what were originally serious religious questions became word games in this literary style of question and answer.

Conclusion: A Retelling and Reinterpretation of the History of Chan Buddhism

At present, scholars around the world—in Europe, America, Japan, China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan—are researching the history of Chan Buddhism. The research, which is being done from various perspectives, using diverse research methods and different theoretical backgrounds, is presenting us with a more complicated face of Chan Buddhism. In addition to general studies of Chan tradition and ideology, new books and articles are coming out on topics that include the relationship between Chan Buddhist thought and language, the complex relations between Chan Buddhist anecdotes and Buddhist classics, the relation between Buddhist monks and politics, the profound influence of Chinese classical literature on the expression of Buddhist truth, and the history of the Buddhist life and institution. All of these topics have room for further investigation. The question now is how can we find a new direction that will improve upon the road that was paved by Hu Shi and Suzuki and leads all the way to Yin Shun, in order to find new ways to tell the history of Chan Buddhism?

³¹ *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, juan 18.

³² *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, juan 22 and juan 24.

³³ *Wudeng huiyuan*, juan 12, 757 and juan 20, 1320, 1343 and 1383.

Investigating the Meaning of Dharma “Fa” (法): With Chinese *Samyuktāgama* as the Subject

Tai Shing Wut

Fa (法), corresponding to dhamma in Pāli language and dharma in Sanskrit, transliterated as *damo* (達磨、達摩、), *tanmo* (曇摩), etc., is a core idea of Buddhism. It can also be regarded as the most common terminology in Buddhist writings and therefore is perennial subject of discussion for scholars. In the 1920s, the Wilhelm Geiger (1856–1943) couple, in their noted publication *Pāli Dhamma*, generalised meanings of dhamma in Pāli texts of which there are four: law, teaching, truth and thing. Th. Stcherbatsky (1866–1942)’s *The Central Conception of Buddhism and Meaning of Word “Dharma”* (1923) particularly investigated the concept of dharma in *Abhidharma-kośa* meaning existent of element. Yasukata Kimura 木村泰賢 (1881–1930) indicated that dharma in the spheres of reincarnation and emancipation each has respective meanings of natural order and teaching. Akira Hirakawa 平川彰 (1915–2002) analysed that dharma has the meanings such as law, teaching, cause, virtue, thing, truth, etc. Rupert Gethin summarised early Buddhist texts on dharma, including the six meanings of teaching, good conduct, truth, nature of quality, natural law or order, and basic mental or physical state of thing. As for Chinese scholars, discussion exclusive on dharma only appears in one essay by Yin Shun 印順 (1906–2005), “study on dharma”, which drew the words from *Āgama*, *Abhidharma* and early Mahāyana texts, under the five sections on “right dharma as seen from holy way, dichotomy between dharma and meaning as well as dharma and discipline, incomparable dharma (*wubifa* 無比法) and wonderful dharma (*miaofa* 妙法) in the continuation of tradition, the wheel of dharma

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(*fa* 法輪) and turning the wheel of dharma (*zhuanfalun* 轉法輪), dharma as aware by consciousness”.¹

The above-mentioned scholars studied the concept of dharma purely from a Buddhist perspective; moreover, besides Yin Shun, they paid not enough attention to Chinese translation of Buddhist texts. Indian Buddhist texts entered China and were translated into Chinese. The Chinese translations had established their own independent status. Majority of Chinese Buddhists in ancient time only read Chinese translations, used only Buddhist words and terminologies translated into Chinese for understanding, elaborating, interpreting and promoting Buddhism. Therefore, Chinese translation of Buddhist texts paid unique contribution to the development of Buddhist teaching in China and even the creation of new Buddhist terms. Adopting *Zaahan Jing* 雜阿含經 (*Samyuktāgama*, abbreviated as *ZJ*) translated by Guṇabhadra (394–468) as basic material, this chapter attempts to discuss the concept of dharma from the two perspectives of Buddhist teaching and Chinese terminology, hoping to enhance the study of Chinese Buddhist translations.²

ZJ was one of the earliest Buddhist classics compiled and published, thus picturing the Buddhist teachings in the formation age of Buddhism. Speaking from the perspective of Buddhism’s development, *ZJ* played the role of origin of many Buddhist concepts. Therefore, discussing *ZJ* is a foundation laying for later examination of the meaning and evolution of Buddhist concepts in the Chinese Buddhist translations. *ZJ* consists of “five sections” (*song* 誦) and fifty-one “connected with” (*Xiangyang* 相應), each with respective theme. In different chapters and in correlation with discussion of various themes, the meaning and usage of the word “dharma” change accordingly. Apart from appearing as an individual word, “dharma” combines with other nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc., to form compound word and derivative, offering wide-ranging usages and meanings.³ The following

¹ As for the study on the concept of dharma (*fa*), this chapter takes reference of the following publications: Yasukata Kimura au., Ou-yang Hanchun 歐陽瀚存 trans., *Discussion on the Thinking of Original Buddhism* 原始佛教思想論 (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1968), ch. 1, sec. 3; Yin Shu, *Studying Buddhist Dharma by Buddhist Dharma* 以佛法研究佛法 (Taipei: Zhangwan Press, 1983, 4th edition), pp. 103–130; Akira Hirakawa, “The meaning of dharma in original Buddhism 原始佛教における法の意味,” in Hirakawa Akira Hakushi Kanreki Kinenkai ed., *Studies on Dharma in Buddhism* 佛教における法の研究 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1975), pp. 5–39; authored by the same above, *Dharma and Praṭītya-samutpāda* 法と緣起 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1988), ch. 1, 2; I. B. Horner, “Early Buddhist dhamma,” *Artibus*. Vol. 11 (1948), pp. 115–123; A. K. Warder, “Dharmas and data,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy*. Vol. 1 (1971), pp. 272–295; J. R. Carter, “Traditional definitions of the term dhamma,” *Philosophy East and West*. Vol. 26 no. 3 (1976), pp. 329–337; Edward Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1983. Ch. 7; J. R. Carter, “Dhamma at the center,” in *On Understanding Buddhists*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993, pp. 37–53; Rupert Gethin, “He who sees *dhamma* sees *dhammas*: dhamma in early Buddhism,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy*. Vol. 32 (2004), pp. 513–542.

² *ZJ* consists of numerous versions. This chapter adopts the one of *Combined Edition of Sūtra and Śāstra of Samyuktāgama* 雜阿含經論會編 (Taipei, Zhengwen Chubanshe, 1991), 3 Vols. edited by Yin Shun.

³ For examination of the word *fa* from perspective of Chinese terminology, see Liang Xiaohung 梁曉虹, *Development of Structure of Buddhist Terminology and Chinese Terminology* 佛教詞語的構造與漢語詞匯的發展 (Beijing: Beijing Language Academy Press, 1994), pp. 67, 145; Liang Xiaohung, Xu Shiyi 徐時儀 & Chen Wuyun 陳五雲, *Studies on Pronunciation, Meaning and Chinese Terminology in Buddhist Translations* 佛經音義與漢語詞彙研究 (Beijing: Commercial Press, 2005), pp. 134–137.

three categories simple word, compound word and derivative will be discussed in three sections, to be followed by conclusion.⁴

Simple Word

A simple word is an entity composed by one radical. In this section, “dharma” is this simple word. The root *dhr* of the Sanskrit word “dharma” bears the meaning of continuation and sustainability; therefore, dharma could be understood as unchanged laws and rules. *Cheng Weishi Lun* 成唯識論 (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*) explained, “dharma is known as unchanged tracks”.⁵ According to explanation of Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 58–147)’s *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Xu Shen’s etymological dictionary), *fa* (法) is a simplified form of the ancient Chinese word *fa* (灋) which means punitive rules. Punitive rules are as impartial as water. Water is the meaning for the left component of the word *fa* (灋). As for the right component, it means an exotic beast in ancient legends which is able to tell between truth and falsity and uses its horn to touch the side of falsity and then to eliminate it. In documents of pre-Qin and Eastern and Western Han dynasties, apart from meaning rules fundamentally, *fa* (法) also extends to mean regulations, systems, standards, common rules, methods, etc. Therefore, translators did a very right job in translating dharma as *fa* (法). In the earliest Chinese Buddhist translations preserved nowadays, for example, works by An Shigao 安世高, Lokakṣema (Zhi Louxieche 支婁迦讖), Zhi Yao 支曜, etc., of the late Eastern Han dynasty, *fa* (法) appeared extensively. It is not possible to trace the early translation into *fa* (法).

ZJ records that “dharma” is what Buddha and his disciples were enlightened of. The text records that although Buddha had not heard about dharma but was able to be self-enlightened of it, acquiring the highest degree of wisdom:

Tathāgata, the worthy one and the fully enlightened one, has not heard of dharma but was able to be self-enlightened of dharma, reaching supreme enlightenment.⁶

One monk heard that Ānanda talked on dharma, departing from worries of the reality and enlightening of, acquiring and comprehending the ultimate essence of dharma:

Honored monk Ānanda talked on dharma. A monk stayed away from earthly matters and left behind dirt, acquired dharma and his eyes were then clean; he saw the dharma, thus acquired dharma, was enlightened of dharma and comprehended the ultimate essence of dharma.⁷

⁴ Though this chapter is a study of a Chinese word *fa* (法), for the sake of English readers, the corresponding Sanskrit word *dharma* is always used instead of *fa*.

⁵ *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (abbreviated as *T*) (Taipei, Xinwenfeng Press Co. Ltd., 1983 reprint), Vol. 31, p. 1a.

⁶ *ZJ* 129, Vol. 1, p. 123.

⁷ *ZJ* 1640, Vol. 3, p. 457.

What Buddha and his disciples spoke for the common people was also dharma. *ZJ* records that when Buddha achieved enlightenment, he regarded what he was enlightened of as dharma. What was preached to the common people was as rare as leaves held in hands:

I was enlightened. I saw what I was enlightened of as dharma. The dharma I spoke to other people is like leafs held in my hands.⁸

Buddha spoke on dharma for monks, initiating, educating and benefiting them. They were also happy to listen to dharma:

The world honored one spoke for large number of monks on dharma and revealed the teaching. They received betterments and showed delights.⁹

Buddha taught his disciples that they should “sit on the margin far away and concentrate on diligently practising meditation. This is my way of teaching”,¹⁰ and Chandaka asked his fellow to “talk about dharma” (*shuofa* 說法) for him, so that he could “know dharma” (*zhifa* 知法) and “see dharma” (*jianfa* 見法):

Should teach me, “talk about dharma” for me, letting me “know dharma” and “see dharma”!¹¹

Dharma was also juxtaposed with other Buddhist concepts, together forming groups of Buddhist terminology. An example is given in this scenario: after he had heard the saying of Udāyin, Brahamaṇ Vairakatyānī cleared his mysteries and joined Buddhism. He stated that:

Beginning from today, I followed Buddha, followed dharma and followed the community of monks! Beginning today, through my life I follow the three treasures.¹²

In the quotation, Buddha, the dharma he talked about and the community of monks are known collectively as “three treasures” (*sanbao* 三寶), the backing for Buddhists staying home. The three treasures and discipline are collectively called “the four kinds of not spoiling and cleanness” (*sibuhuaijing* 四不壞淨) which are “Buddha of not spoiling and cleanness, dharma of not spoiling and cleanness, the community of not spoiling and cleanness, sacred discipline achieved”. As the words indicate, the four entities are clean and pure which should not be spoiled. If the disciples staying home could attain “the four kinds of not spoiling and cleanness”, at the end of their days, they could enter heavenly sphere. The disciples renouncing home could also base on the above as foundation for further cultivation.¹³

⁸ *ZJ* 596, Vol. 2, p. 127.

⁹ *ZJ* 169, Vol. 1, p. 171.

¹⁰ *ZJ* 390, Vol. 1, p. 334.

¹¹ *ZJ* 45, Vol. 1, p. 54.

¹² *ZJ* 379, Vol. 1, p. 308.

¹³ “The four kinds of not spoiling and cleanness” corresponds to Pāli word *aveccappasādā* which is made up of the two parts: *avecca* (know) and *pasādā* (bright, like and confidence). Its later Chinese translation of *zhangjin* (證淨) is closer to the meaning of Pāli word. Generally, this Pāli term is translated as “four kinds of unwavering faith”.

The “dharma” that Buddha and his disciples were enlightened of could be rendered as truth. In preaching “dharma”, Buddha needed to accommodate capacity of sentient beings, social environment, etc., and expressed in words and methods of the vernacular world. Buddha has indicated that his preaching would be both concise and detailed. But, still, it is difficult to have an understanding audience.¹⁴ In this way, the “dharma” expressed by Buddha and others is not necessarily the ultimate truth but only teachings guiding the common people which could be known as teaching method. This is different from truth enlightened of.

All happenings and things of the universe follow the perimeters of “dharma” to exist and operate. There was Chinese scholarly monk explaining the word of dharma, saying that every thing and happening must maintain its nature and appearance and must follow certain tracks in their activities such that people, once seeing them, are able to identify those things and happenings.¹⁵ Take water as an example; the humid nature of water would never change, and water would always flow downwards and run in all directions. Such traits tell what water is. Similarly, the word “dharma” is also used to refer to every different happening and thing, with no exception of the uses of the word “dharma” in *ZJ*. In *ZJ*, one of the meanings of “dharma” is six sense objects. The chapter of “connected with the sense spheres” (*ruchu xiangyang* 入處相應) makes the 12 sense spheres as the major theme of discussion. The 12 sense spheres include 6 faculties and six sense objects. Faculties (*gen* 根) refer to common people’s cognitive sensory organs and their capabilities, consisting of the six types: “eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind”. “Sense objects” (*jing* 境) refer to the objects of cognition corresponding to the six faculties, categorised into the six types: “forms, sounds, odours, tastes, tactile objects and mental objects”. When the six faculties recognise the six sense objects, cognitive functions and activities would arise. There are also six types of such functions and activities, including “eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind”, known as six consciousnesses. As consciousness arises due to participation of faculties and sense objects and faculties and sense objects are venues for the emergence of consciousness, faculties and sense objects are also known as participation (*ru* 入) or spheres (*chu* 處). The 6 faculties and 6 sense objects are collectively known as 12 participations (*shierru* 十二入) and 12 spheres (*shierchu* 處) or the 12 sense spheres (*shierruchu* 十二入處), among which the mind faculty are the mental organ and mental capability. The “dharma” means the intellectual, perceptive and illusory psychological or mental activities arising during the process of consciousness. These psychological or mental activities would bring happiness or pain. Therefore, dharma consists of the two types: “favourable” (*keyi* 可意) and “unfavourable” (*bukeyi* 不可意). The 12 sense spheres plus the 6 consciousnesses are collectively known as 18 realms

¹⁴ *ZJ* 13323, Vol. 3, p. 689.

¹⁵ See Liang Bi 良賁 (717–777), *Renwanghuguo Banruoboluomiduo Jingshu* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經疏, T 33, p. 440c.

(*shibajie* 十八界), and so, dharma of the 6 sense objects is also called “realm of dharma” (*faijie* 法界).¹⁶

Besides being one of the six sense objects, “dharma” refers to different happenings and objects in different chapters of *ZJ*. The chapter of “connected with the aggregates” (*wuyin xiangyang* 五陰相應) was themed on five aggregates. Five aggregates refer to the five aspects: material form, feeling, perception, activities and consciousness of the phenomenal life of sentient beings. As they spring from worries and desires and could generate worries and desires themselves, they are also known as “five aggregates with attachment” (*wuquyin* 五取陰). In this passage, the “dharma” that monk should know are five aggregates with attachment:

What should you know about dharma? It is so called five aggregates with attachment. What are the five? Material aggregate with attachment, feeling, perception, activities and consciousness aggregate with attachment are what should be known as dharma.¹⁷

It is also said that the five aggregates with attachment are “dharma” that common people should not hold on to, which should be abandoned completely in haste. Disposing of the “dharma” would achieve eternal stability and happiness:

What kind of dharma is not appropriate to you that you should rapidly be detached from? The material form, feeling, perception, activities, consciousness are not appropriate to you. They should be detached from. Cutting off the dharma would bring peace that lasts night long.¹⁸

When discussion of “connection with sense spheres” touches on arousal of consciousness, the word “dharma” was mentioned thrice:

Two causal conditions cause arousal of consciousness. What are the two? They are eyes, forms, ears, sounds, nose, odours, tongue, tastes, body, tactile objects, mind and mental objects. Broadly speaking, it has reached a level not realized by sentient beings. Forms are like eyes and consciousness which are impermanent, compounded and subject to arising conditioned by mind. The coming together of these three things is contact, contacted, one feels, feeling, one wills, willing, one perceives. These various dharmas are impermanent, compounded and subject to arising conditioned by mind, the so called tactile objects, will and perception. Ears, nose, tongue, body, mind are alike.¹⁹

The above quotation reads that the six faculties, six sense objects and six consciousnesses are impermanent, compounded and subject to arising conditioned by the heart. Once these three types of “dharma” contact each other, feeling, thinking and perception emerged in order; these “dharmas” are also impermanent, compounded and subject to arising conditioned by the heart. In the above quotation, “dharma” was generalised as six faculties, six sense objects and six consciousnesses, as well as every psychological and mental activity arising from them. The subsequent chapter of “connected with causal condition” (*yinyuan xiangyang* 因緣相應) mainly themes around causal condition for discussion. It records that prior to becoming

¹⁶ *ZJ* 158, 389, Vol. 1, pp. 157, 331.

¹⁷ *ZJ* 126, Vol. 1, p. 119.

¹⁸ *ZJ* 52, Vol. 1, p. 75.

¹⁹ *ZJ* 98, Vol. 1, p. 263.

Buddha, he had contemplated “dharma” as causal conditions leading to emergence of aging and death. Outcome of his contemplation is that as there is ignorance, there is activity; there is activity, there is consciousness; there is consciousness, there is name-and-material form; there is name-and-material form, there are six faculties; there are six faculties, there is contact; there is contact, there is feeling; there is feeling, there is craving; there is craving, there is grasping; there is grasping, there is becoming; there is becoming, there is birth; there is birth, there is aging and death, gathering infinite amount of pain. On the contrary, elimination of ignorance brings elimination of activities; elimination of activities brings elimination of consciousness. The ultimate aging and death would as well be eliminated.²⁰ Ignorance, activities, aging and death, etc., are the 12 stages in reincarnation process which are uniformly known as “dharma” in *ZJ*.

Compound Word

Compound word is formed by combination of radicals. It is further divided into four types based on the methods of composition.

Modifier-Head Compound Word

This compound word is made up of two parts. The former one is an adjective, while the latter the main word. “Dharma” performs mainly as the main word. As dharma is what Buddha is enlightened of and says, there are examples of putting the word “Buddhist” in front of the word “dharma” to make the compound word of “Buddhist dharma” (*fofa* 佛法); it could be further extended by descriptive words, making, for example, the compound word of “profound Buddhist dharma” (*shenshenfofa* 甚深佛法), pure and clear Buddhist dharma” (*qingjingfofa* 清淨佛法). As Buddha is known in other names, “Buddhist dharma” is also called “Tathāgata dharma” (*rulaifa* 如來法), dharma of those respected by the earthly world (*shizunfa* 世尊法), dharma of respect (*zunfa* 尊法), dharma of grand immortal (*daxianfai* 大仙法),²¹ Gautama dharma (*qutanfa* 瞿曇法),²² śramaṇa Gautama dharma (*shamenqutanfa* 沙門瞿曇法), dharma of Sakya race (*shizhongzfa* 釋種子法),²³ dharma of grand master’s equalisation (*dashipingdengfa* 大師平等法)”, etc. Apart from Buddha-related words, there are also words in which adjectival component is added before dharma to highlight the uniqueness and authority of “dharma”. The most common one is “right

²⁰ *ZJ* 468, Vol. 2, pp. 11–12.

²¹ Grand immortal corresponds to *isi* in Pāli language, meaning saints and prophets.

²² Gautama is the secular family name of Buddha.

²³ Sakya is the ethnic group Buddha belongs to.

dharmas” (*zhengfa* 正法). Others include “real dharma (*zhenshifa* 真實法), wonderful dharma, superb wonderful dharma (*shengmiaofa* 勝妙法), profound dharma (*shenfa* 深法), very profound dharma (*shenshenmiaofa* 甚深妙法), uniquely superb dharma (*shushengfa* 殊勝法), the first dharma (*diyifa* 第一法), supreme dharma (*wushangfa* 無上法), upgrade dharma (*zengshangfa* 增上法), non-shaking dharma” (*buqingdongfa* 不傾動法), etc. Some employ metaphors; for example, in “pure and white dharma” (*qingbaifa* 清白法) and “superb white and pure dharma” (*shenbaijingfa* 勝白淨法), the word “white” symbolises purity and sacredness. The words “separate from dust” in “dharma of separate from dust” (*ligoufa* 離垢法) symbolise freeing from worries. The words “sweet dew” in “dharma of sweet dew” (*ganlufu* 甘露法) appear as early as in the Chinese classic of *Laozi* 老子, referring to tasty dew drops.²⁴ In Buddhist text, the Pāli word corresponding to sweet dew is *amata*, meaning potion of everlasting life and heavenly spiritual wine. The word “cool” in “cool dharma” (*qingliangfa* 清涼法) means *nirvāṇa*, and one of the connotations of *nirvāṇa* is a metaphor for the dying of the toxic fire of worries. And as the toxic fire is put down, the body would feel thoroughly cool. For “dharma of sweet dew” and “cool dharma”, both sweet dew and cool are analogy to attaining *nirvāṇa*. The aforementioned “right dharma, Buddhist dharma, wonderful dharma, cool dharma”, etc., are names for generalisation. Some words could be understood as truth, for example, “I, attaining enlightenment, know truth (dharma) myself”²⁵; some could be understood as teachings; for example, “when the respected one Pūrṇa-Maitrāyaṇīputra renounced home early in his young age, he always talked about the profound teachings (dharma)”.²⁶ One single definition could not be given.

Some examples refer to a particular “dharma”, for example, “benevolent dharma (*shanfa* 善法), dharma of practice of cultivation towards *nirvāṇa* (*xiangcifa* 向次法), dharma of arising by causal condition (*yinyuanfa* 因緣法), and dharma of self-assimilation with others” (*zitongzhifa* 自通之法). Buddha said that with the mortality of life, people should work hard to practise cultivation of “benevolent dharma” and “pure activities” (*fanxing* 梵行):

Life is very brief that it only takes a wink to reach afterlife; should diligently practise “benevolent dharma” and cultivate various pure activities.²⁷

In the following conversation, Śāriputra explained that the “benevolent dharma” that should always be cultivated is the Noble Eightfold Path:

Asking Śāriputra, “with ways, with directions, practice of cultivation, more cultivation, how to increase the cultivation of ‘benevolent dharma?’

²⁴ See Chapter 32 for the original text, “heaven and earth collides, let sweet dews fall” (天地相合, 以降甘露).

²⁵ *ZJ* 596, Vol. 2, p. 127.

²⁶ *ZJ* 44, Vol. 1, p. 52.

²⁷ *ZJ* 1187, Vol. 3, p. 31.

The reply, “there is the so called noble eightfold path: so called right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration.”²⁸

The discussion on “dharma of practice of cultivation towards nirvāṇa” is more complicated:

Contemplating over the difference between various types of pain of sentient beings about what causes the pain, what causes the congregation, what causes the arousal and what causes the changes? After contemplation, knowing that of the cause is grasping. Grasping leads to arousal of cause, of congregation, of arousal, of changes. If the grasping is extinguished, pain disappears. He followed the path of eliminating pain, knew the reality, practising the “dharma of practice of cultivation towards nirvāṇa.” Monk is walking towards elimination of pain, to the final margin of pain, which is the elimination of grasping.²⁹

The quotation reads that contemplation on pain of sentient beings looks at different aspects, for example, what the causes for pain are, the reasons for accumulation of pain, arousal and change. The resulting understanding is that grasping is the answer to the questions. Grasping causes accumulation, arousal and changes which give rise to pain; if grasping is eliminated, pain would disappear. In the passage right after, “craving, feeling, contact, name-and-material form, consciousness, activities, ignorance”, etc., are given as examples of causes of pain. Elimination of these causes would eliminate pain. The approach of such practice of cultivation is called “dharma of practice of cultivation towards nirvāṇa”, meaning the way of cultivation towards elimination of pain and the order of elimination. The “dharma of arising by causal condition” is said to be the truth Buddha was enlightened of under the Bodhi tree:

What is “dharma of arising by causal condition?” It is that this exists, that comes to exist. As there is ignorance, there is activity. As there is activity, there is consciousness, and so there is congregation of only huge pain.³⁰

The “dharma of arising by causal condition” reads that due to this thing, there is another thing. Speaking in substantial terms, due to “ignorance”, there is “activity”; due to “activity”, there is “consciousness”, and even the infinite pain of aging and death. The “dharma of arising by causal condition” means the conditioned co-arising and co-ceasing of 12 reincarnation stages, which is also known as “dharma of arousal of cause” (*yuanyifa* 緣起法) and “conventional dharma” (*sushufa* 俗數法). Putting the word “follow” (*suishun* 隨順) into “dharma of arousal of cause” would make the phrase of “following the dharma of cause and result” (*suishunyuanyifa* 隨順緣起法) which means that reincarnation stages follow the law of cause and effect, in the order of appearance or disappearance. Reversal of this dharma is not possible.³¹ “Conventional dharma” refers to the rules of continuation of this order

²⁸ ZJ 1476, Vol. 3, p. 373.

²⁹ ZJ 473, Vol. 2, p. 22.

³⁰ ZJ 477, Vol. 2, p. 35.

³¹ ZJ 474, 480, Vol. 2, pp. 25, 40.

on secular level.³² The compound word of “dharma of self-assimilation with others” appears in the passage below:

I always talk about dharma of self-assimilation with others... saying that the followers should also learn in such way: I think in such a way: If someone wants to kill me, I am not pleased; if I am not pleased, so does he, why should he be killed. Therefore, I shall accept no killing, not interested in killing, as aforementioned...³³

The quotation reads that if a person does not wish to be killed, he or she would understand that other people do not want to be killed as well. The person would accept the teaching of denying killing and not be interested in killing. The meaning of self-assimilation with others is that through one’s personal feeling, one understands the feelings of others. The “dharma of self-assimilation with others” means such doctrine or teaching.

The three modifier-head compound words of “dharma arisen of arising by causal condition (*yuanshengfa* 緣生法), present dharma (*xianfa* 現法) and all dharmas” (*yiqiefa* 一切法) are examples of dharma being meant an event or an object. “Dharma arisen of arising by causal condition” means the aforementioned 12 reincarnation stages emerged from “dharma of arising by causal condition”. “Present dharma” is often brought up in relation to the after world, for example, “the body performs evil deeds, as such, it would bear evil karma in the present life and afterlife” and “offering me benefits of the present world and benefits of the after world”.³⁴ ZJ also reads that “present dharma” proposes peaceful compliance with “benevolent dharma”, so that there would be no pain, obstacle, worry and madness, reaching the realm of virtuous after death:

Following “benevolent dharma,” then happily resides in “present dharma.” There would be no pain, no obstacle, no worry and no madness. The body corrupts and life ends, and giving birth in a good place.³⁵

A case is that when those disciples staying home wholly possess “the means of making a living, defence against loss of money and crops, the virtuous knowledge of not falling, not loosening oneself, not fouling and making evil friends, the proper life of balancing between income and expenditure”, they could attain “stability of present dharma and pleasure of present dharma”; a step further would be completely attaining “faith, discipline, charity and wisdom” and even receiving “stability of afterlife and pleasure of afterlife”.³⁶ As such, “present dharma” means present life. As for “all dharmas”, the following passage explains:

³² ZJ 456, Vol. 1, p. 414. Its counterpart in *Zengyiahuan Jing* 增一阿含經 (*Ekottarāgama*) translating *sushufa* as *jiehaofa* 假號法 and *yinyuanfa* 因緣法. See T 2, p. 713c. Yin Shun indicates that according to *Shunzhengli Lun* 順正理論 (*Nyāyānusāra*) translated by Xuan Zhuang 玄奘 (ca. 602–664), *sushufa* is the another translation of *fajia* 法假 or *fashise* 法施設 (the corresponding Sanskrit word is *dharma-prajñapti*), denoting to the rise and emancipation of twelve reincarnation stages. See Yin Shun, *Investigation of Emptiness* 空之探究 (Taipei: Zhengwen Press, 1992), pp. 82–83.

³³ ZJ 13383, Vol. 3, p. 756.

³⁴ ZJ 841, 1249, Vol. 2, p. 303, Vol. 3, p. 109.

³⁵ ZJ 176, Vol. 1, p. 197.

³⁶ ZJ 1266, Vol. 3, pp. 128–129.

Eyes and forms, eye consciousness, eye contacts; eye contacts cause arousal of feelings, bitterness, happiness and not bitterness and not happiness. Ear, nose, tongue, body, mind, consciousness, contact cause arousal of feelings, bitterness, happiness and not bitterness and not happiness. This is known as “all dharmas.”³⁷

The six faculties contact the six object senses and produce six consciousnesses, giving rise of feelings of pain, happiness, etc., which combine to form “all dharmas”. As such, “all dharmas” include individuals of sentient beings (six faculties), the external world, cognitive activities and every feeling (six sense objects). Also, Sakka, lord of the devas, has asked Buddha to show “all dharmas” and the other world, freeing worldly people from worries and sins:

Display respectively “all dharmas” and the other world, completely eliminate the mass fear, thus, paying tribute to Gautama.³⁸

The other world commonly means the sphere of emancipation. Relatively speaking, “all dharmas” mean the present world of life and death. To sum up, “all dharmas” are used to generalise all things and happenings of the world of worry. One special feature of *ZJ*’s discussion on “all dharmas” was that it connects the term with cultivation practice; for example, its talking on being not grasping on “all dharmas”, total alienation from craving and desire and thus preference for solitude:

Not grasping on “all dharmas,” detached from all craving. Such a happy residence which I say is a solitary residence.³⁹

Practising meditation, not indulged in “all dharmas”, eliminating worry and only observing quietness and purity mean attaining the highest wisdom:

As for “all dharmas,” only observes quietness and purity, thus attaining supreme enlightenment, practising meditation and not indulging in the earth.⁴⁰

Totally understanding the nature of “all dharmas” and discontinuing wild thinking, craving and desire, confusion, foolish consciousness, etc., could achieve ultimate emancipation:

Understanding “all dharmas,” not arousing various wild thinking. Craving, anger, sleep, concealment will be distanced...thus reaching the other world.⁴¹

The passage below even describes “all dharmas” as the four stations of mindfulness (*sinianzhu* 四念住):

“All dharmas” mean the four stations of mindfulness. What are the four? They are abiding in body contemplating body, feeling, heart and abiding in dharma contemplating dharma.⁴²

³⁷ *ZJ* 248, Vol. 1, p. 406.

³⁸ *ZJ* 1227, Vol. 3, p. 79.

³⁹ *ZJ* 1174, Vol. 3, p. 9.

⁴⁰ *ZJ* 1283, Vol. 3, p. 159.

⁴¹ *ZJ* 1195, Vol. 3, p. 40.

⁴² *ZJ* 796, Vol. 2, p. 267.

Station of mindfulness means the heart and mind concentrating on a particular place.⁴³ The four stations of mindfulness are “abiding in body contemplating body, abiding in feelings contemplating feelings, abiding in heart contemplating heart and abiding in dharma contemplating dharma” which are the basic approach of practice of cultivation of Buddhism. “Abiding in dharma contemplating dharma” (*fafaguan-nianzhu* 法法觀念住) means focusing the mind on “all dharmas” which are perceived as impermanent, compounded and subject to arising conditioned by heart, thus being freed from disturbance. And the most elaboration about “all dharmas” is as below:

All activities are not persistent, “all dharmas” are without the self, reaching nirvāṇa.⁴⁴

Later, these three phrases are collectively called “three dharma seals” (*sanfayin* 三法印) being regarded as the standard for validating what Buddhist teaching is.

The number of dharma playing the role of modifier head is limited. There are examples of “clothes of dharma (*fayi* 法衣), uniform of dharma (*fafu* 法服),⁴⁵ power of dharma (*fali* 法力), master of dharma (*fashi* 法師), dharma eyes (*fayan* 法眼),⁴⁶ learner of dharma (*faqi* 法器),⁴⁷ thinking of dharma (*faxiang* 法想)”, etc.⁴⁸ “Dharma eyes” are connected with the word “pure” (*jing* 淨) meaning that dharma eyes are free from obstacles and confusion and thus are pure and clear (*fayanjing* 法眼淨).

Subject-Predicate Compound Word

This type of compound word consists of two components. The former one is the object of description, the subject; the latter one is the description which is the predicate. “Dharma” mainly stands as the subject. There are examples of dharma being used to mean doctrine and teaching, for example, “constancy of dharma” (*fazhu* 法住) and “realm of dharma” (法界):

Whether Buddha exists in this world or not, these dharmas are permanently persistence, the “constancy of dharma”, the “realm of dharma.” This Tathāgata is self conscious of, the fully enlightened one, speaking for other people for introduction and enlightenment.⁴⁹

This quotation appears immediately after discussion on “dharma of arising by causal condition”, saying that “dharma of arising by causal condition” exists in permanence. It is not invented by Buddha nor could be controlled by Buddha.

⁴³ Station of mindfulness corresponds to Pāli word of *satipaṭṭhana*. This word is made up of the two components: *sati* and *upāṭṭhana*. The former means attention or focus while the latter close to a certain place, together means focusing on a particular place.

⁴⁴ *ZJ* 45, Vol. 1, p. 55.

⁴⁵ Outfits that comply with Buddhist teaching, that is, *kaṣāya* (*jiasha* 袈裟).

⁴⁶ The eyes of wisdom that read Buddhist teaching thoroughly.

⁴⁷ Those with the power to practise Buddhist teaching.

⁴⁸ Thinking complying with Buddhist teaching.

⁴⁹ *ZJ* 477, Vol. 2, p. 35.

As for the two compound words of “constancy of dharma” and “realm of dharma” in the quotation, the former is the short form of “these dharmas are permanently persistence” (*cifachangzhu* 此法常住); the latter indicates that “dharma of arising by causal condition” has the boundary and spectrum of its own usage. Comparable compound words include “nature of dharma (*faxing* 法性), emptiness of dharma (*fakong* 法空), dharma of this (*faru* 法如), dharma of that” (*faer* 法爾):

Whether Tathāgata exists in this world or, “nature of dharma” is permanently persistence. It is said that every thing has a cause, this cause will lead to this thing. Ignorance causes activities, birth causes aging, sickness and death, sadness and worries, such is the accumulation of pain...

Causal condition arises aging, sickness, death, melancholy, sadness, pain. These dharmas are persistence, “constancy of dharma,” “emptiness of dharma,” “dharma of this,” “dharma of that,” dharma not leaving this, dharma not different from this, actuality, real and upright.⁵⁰

The word of “‘nature of dharma’ is permanently persistence” (*faxingchangzhu* 法性常住) is used to elaborate “dharma of arising by causal condition”. “Nature” embodies the meanings of quality, features, capability, etc. “Nature of dharma” means the nature of “dharma of arising by causal condition”; this nature resides permanently on the world. The meaning of “emptiness” in the second paragraph of the quotation means absence of stuff and insubstantiality; “this” (如) means this way or as such. Reincarnation stages of ignorance, activities, etc., emerged from causal condition, without the capability for independent existence; their appearance cannot be detached from the truth of causal condition; thus, the compound words of “emptiness of dharma, dharma of this, dharma of that”. It can be seen that the compound words of “persistence of dharma, realm of dharma, nature of dharma, emptiness of dharma, dharma of this, dharma of that” share similar meaning.

Examples of “dharma” meaning an event or object most worthy of discussion are “order of dharma, direction of dharma” (*facifaxiang* 法次法向) and “investigation into dharma” (*fashu* 法數). In the chapters of “connected with the aggregates” and “connected with causal condition” of *ZJ*, the discussion on five aggregates and arousal of causal conditions touched on the compound word of “order of dharma, direction of dharma”:

Monk’s detest of form, fading away of desire, cessation are known as “order of dharma, direction of dharma.” The detest for feeling, thinking, activities, consciousness, fading away of desire, cessation are known as “order of dharma, direction of dharma.”

Monk’s detest for aging, sickness and death, fading away of desire and cessation are known as “order of dharma, direction of dharma.” The detest towards birth through activities, fading away of desire and cessation are known as “order of dharma, direction of dharma.” Various monks! That is Tathāgata setting “order of dharma, direction of dharma.”⁵¹

The quotation reads that monk has for long detested and showed no desire for the 5 aggregates of materials and the 12 reincarnation stages including aging, sickness

⁵⁰ *ZJ* 1158, Vol. 2, p. 464.

⁵¹ *ZJ* 33, 517, Vol. 1, p. 36, Vol. 2, p. 81.

and death. As such, at the time of *nirvāṇa*, they will be totally wiped out which is the meaning of “order of dharma, direction of dharma”. “Order of dharma, direction of dharma” can be separated into the two compound words of “order of dharma” and “direction of dharma”. The former means eliminating 5 aggregates and the 12 stages one after another according to their order; the latter means they approach complete extinction. Therefore, the dharma in the two compound words could be understood as 5 aggregates or the 12 stages.⁵² As for the meaning of “investigation into dharma”, Buddha had once asked Śāriputra. He responded as follows:

The real, honoured one of the world! The honoured one of the world! Monk’s detest of mundane world, fading away of desire and cessation, not arising all sorts of leakage of worry will lead to the heart being good and be relieved. The world is formed by the accumulation of nutrients. The birth is as if it is real. It should be eliminated. Monk’s detest of elimination, fading away of desire and cessation will lead to every worry not arising and the heart being relieved which is known as “investigation into dharma.”

Śāriputra pointed out that arousal of reality on earth was dependent on accumulation of different types of nutrients.⁵³ Therefore, monk should detest the world and stay away from desire. With cessation, worry would not arise, and the heart would be relieved. Achieving so is called “investigation into dharma” (*shufa* 數法). Afterwards, Buddha complimented in the following way:

This is the truth! This is the truth! Monk should detest the truth of mundane world, stay away from desire and cease the desire. This is called “investigation of dharma” (*fashu* 法數).⁵⁴

“Investigation of dharma” in the above quotation is the structure of subject-predicate. “Dharma” refers to mundane world; “investigation” carries the meaning of calculation and survey. This compound word means investigating mundane

⁵² *Facifaxiang* is also translated as *fasuifaxing* 法隨法行. This compound word appears in numerous Buddhist texts, therefore attracting scholars’ attention. *Facifaxiang* corresponds to Pāli word *dharmānudharmapratipatti*. This word can be divided into the three parts: *dharma*, *anudharma* (secondary dharma) and *pratipatti* (practice of cultivation), combining to mean cultivation of dharma and secondary dharma. But some scholars argue that this compound word should be divided into two parts: *faci* and *xiang*. The former one means all dharmas are arranged in hierarchical order, while the latter being going towards *nirvāṇa*. There is also a saying that the compound word should be made up of the two parts: *facifa* and *xiang*, meaning that practice of cultivation had a complete order, one dharma following another, and the order could not be reversed. Or using the first word *dharma* to mean *nirvāṇa* to be attained, *anudharma* is the method of cultivation that leads to the attainment. The author is fully aware of these explanations. He only attempted to follow the pattern of Chinese language and context to offer his own suggestion. See Wen Jin Ke 濫金柯, “Reexamination of the interpretation of *facifaxiang* (*fasuifaxing*) 法次法向(法隨法行)詮釋的再斟酌,” in *Contemplation over Life Direction* 生命方向的省思 (Taipei, Xiandaichan Press, 1994), pp. 151–159; Xiang Yin 善因, “Examination of the word *dharmānudharmapratipatti* 法隨法行 (*dharmānudharmapratipatti*) 詞義之探討,” *Satyābhisamaya* (A Buddhist Studies Quarterly) 正觀 Vol. 7(1998), pp. 64–85.

⁵³ According to ZJ, there are four kinds of nutriment: material (daily meals), contact (happiness and feelings of the hearts and minds), volition (yearning for survival) and consciousness (grasping the power of heart and mind and the main body of the spirit). See ZJ 489, Vol. 2, p. 49.

⁵⁴ ZJ 487, Vol. 2, p. 53.

world, with understanding that the world cannot be grasped. It is also known as “investigation into dharma” in verb-object structure with meaning unchanged.⁵⁵

Verb-Object Compound Word

This type of compound word consists of two components; the former one is the verb, while the latter the object. “Dharma” mainly plays the role of object. The phrases “talking about dharma, seeing dharma and knowing dharma” mentioned in the Section I are these types of compound words. The compound word “talking about dharma”, added with the adjective “briefly”, makes the phrase “briefly talking about dharma” (*lüeshuofa* 略說法) or, added with a word “essentials” at the end, makes the phrase “briefly talking about dharma’s essentials” (*lüeshuofayao* 略說法要). “Briefly talking about dharma” is not teaching simplified dharma. Buddha firstly omitted the key points and encouraged the disciples to discover them later. For example, Buddha firstly says, “if you sway, you are bound by the devils; if you remain unmoved, you are relieved from Devil Pāpman”. He then asks a monk if he “broadly understands its meaning”. The monk replied that the crucial point lies in five aggregates; if five aggregates involve activities and disturbances and are bound by Devil Pāpman, without such, aggregates are getting relief.⁵⁶ “Seeing dharma” is connected to *nirvāṇa*, forming the compound words of “seeing dharma, attaining *nirvāṇa*” (*jianfaniepan* 見法涅槃) and “seeing dharma, attaining full *nirvāṇa*” (*jianfabanniepan* 見法般涅槃):

Detesting form, staying away from desire, cessation, then there is no leak of desires and the heart is released. A monk “sees dharma, attaining *nirvāṇa*.” Detesting feeling, thinking, consciousness, staying away from it, cessation, there is no leak of desires the heart is released. It is known as monk “sees dharma, attaining *nirvāṇa*.”⁵⁷

The passage reads that monk is enlightened that the five aggregates of materials should not be grasped, such that *nirvāṇa* could be achieved, that is, “seeing dharma, attaining *nirvāṇa*”. Nevertheless, *ZJ* reads that that cultivation could eliminate all worries in present time and achieve *nirvāṇa*⁵⁸; moreover, according to ancient Chinese, “*jian*” (見) and “*xian*” (現) correspond to each other; therefore, many scholars believed that “*jianfaniepan*” (見法涅槃) is equivalent to “*xianfaniepan*” (現法涅槃), meaning achieving *nirvāṇa* in present time. But, “seeing dharma”

⁵⁵ According to the note in Foguangshan Buddhist Electronic Etext 佛光電子大藏經, *fashu* corresponds to Pāli word *saṅkhātadhamma*. *Saṅkhāta*, past participle of *saṅkhāyati*, bearing the two meanings: calculation and enlightenment. It is believed that *saṅkhātadhamma* refers to “awakened one”. According to this chapter, using the meaning of calculation, the compound word *fashu* can be understandable and meets the original meaning of the word *shu*.

⁵⁶ *ZJ* 27, Vol. 1, p. 28–29.

⁵⁷ *ZJ* 34, Vol. 1, p. 36.

⁵⁸ *ZJ* 731, 935, 1617, Vol. 2, p. 192, 359, Vol. 3, 428.

corresponds to *ditṭhadhamma* in Pāli language, and *ditṭha* has the meaning of seeing. And textually speaking, “seeing dharma” can be interpreted as understanding dharma. So, *jianfa* meaning seeing dharma is acceptable. There is also the compound word of “following dharma” (*rufa* 如法), meaning following Buddhist teaching. The compound word is further expanded to form the phrases of “recognising following dharma (*rufazhu* 如法知), observing following dharma (*rufaguan* 如法觀) and preaching following dharma” (*rufashuo* 如法說).

Co-ordinative Compound Word

This type of compound word carries two words which are of equal status. *ZJ* has the two examples of “dharma and law” (*falü* 法律) and “classics and dharma” (*jingfa* 經法). The word “law” in “dharma and law” means the regulatory system Buddha laid down for Buddhists, which, together with Buddhist teaching, forms the complete Buddhist preaching. Therefore, the word “dharma” in “dharma and law” refers to teaching alone. Adding adjectives to “dharma and law” will make phrases of “right dharma and law (*zhengfalü* 正法律), sacred dharma and law (*shengfalü* 聖法律), virtuous dharma and law (*xianshengfalü* 賢聖法律), Tathāgata dharma and law (*rulaifalü* 如來法律), Gautama dharma and law” (*qutanfalü* 瞿曇法律), etc. The compound word “classics and dharma” appears in the following lines: “you, Hatthaka, originally coming to this world, born into a human body, receiving ‘classics and dharma,’” “a Buddha named Kāśyapa, Tathāgata and the worthy one, appearing in the world and lecturing on ‘classics and dharma’”.⁵⁹ Textually speaking, “classics and dharma” could be understood as Buddhist classics and Buddhist teaching.⁶⁰

Derivative

Derivative is formed by a radical attached to a prefix or suffix. “Dharma” appears as akin to a prefix and suffix to attach to the end of other words, short phrases and sentences. The subject component of a derivative word is the radical. “Dharma” plays the role of suffix, only functioning as a supplement role. Even if it is deleted, the phrase and the sentence could be understood without distortion. For dharma being used as a suffix to the meaning of realm or sphere, there is the example of “dharma without gap and being equal” (*wujiandengfa* 無間等法):

⁵⁹ *ZJ* 1370, 13296, Vol. 3, pp. 261, 647.

⁶⁰ For this interpretation, see Zhu Jianing 竺家寧, *Study on Chinese terminology* 漢語詞彙學 (Taipei, Wunan Books Publishing Ltd., 1999), p. 57. *Jingfa* could be also understood as teaching covered in Buddhist texts. In this case, *jingfai* is a modifier-head compound word.

If a monk has not yet attained “dharma without gap and being equal,” and desires to get dharma without gap and being equal, he should focus on thinking; the five aggregates as if being sick, as if a lump grown.⁶¹

If a monk sought “dharma without gap and being equal”, he should contemplate diligently that the five aggregates should not be grasped. Without gap means free of gap, and equality, which is equivalent to absolute understanding. The word of “dharma” indicates this achievement. Also, Buddha self-claimed to “reside in ‘dharma of halt’ (*xifa* 息法) of evil karma, not letting loose at all”. The “dharma of halt” means suspension of evil karma; “dharma” has no substantial meaning.⁶² Another example is that Buddha taught monks that when *śrotāpanna* (stream enterer) was achieved, they “would not fall into the ‘dharma of bad migration’” (*equfa* 惡趣法). “Bad migration” refers to animals, hungry ghosts and hell beings, while “dharma” refers to sphere.⁶³ Also, dharma will follow the word of “heart” to indicate psychological activities; for example, *ZJ* reads, “perception, thinking are ‘dharma of numerous activities of heart’” (*xinshufa* 心數法).⁶⁴ “Dharma of numerous activities of heart” means some activities belonging to the heart, for example, perception and thinking; “numerous” indicates that there are many types of these activities. The phrase “dharma arising conditioned by heart (*xinyuanqifa* 心緣起法)” appears in the passage below:

That six sense spheres are impermanent, compounded, “dharma arising conditioned by heart;” that touch, feeling, craving, activities are impermanent, compounded, “dharma arising conditioned by heart” too.⁶⁵

The quotation reads that the six sense spheres and the touches, feelings, desires and wills arising from the six sense spheres are not constant and are compounded and attached to the heart. They are activities arising from causal conditions; “dharma arising conditioned by heart” is psychological or spiritual activities of feeling, eroticism, etc. There is also the phrase of “dharma of heart of worry” (*fannaoxinfa* 煩惱心法), meaning literally psychological activities of the nature of worry.⁶⁶ Thirdly, dharma mostly functions as suffix of a phrase indicating a happening or an object; for example, *ZJ* would name five aggregates as “dharma of origination and extinction (*shengmiefa* 生滅法), dharma of changeability” (*yifenfa* 異分法) or use a short line to make description: “dharma of detest, departure, elimination and quietness”; “dharma of impermanence, elimination and departure”; and “impermanence, bitter, changeable dharma are earthly earthly dharma” (*shijianshijianfa* 世間世間法). Also, the six faculties are known as “dangerous and bad dharma”. There are also “impermanence, withering and dangerous dharma” and “impermanent and vain dharma”.⁶⁷

⁶¹ *ZJ* 42, Vol. 1, p. 48.

⁶² *ZJ* 1180, Vol. 3, p. 19.

⁶³ *ZJ* 816, Vol. 2, p. 294.

⁶⁴ *ZJ* 1644, Vol. 3, p. 464.

⁶⁵ *ZJ* 169, Vol. 1, p. 172.

⁶⁶ *ZJ* 167, Vol. 1, p. 169.

⁶⁷ *ZJ* 32, 137, 150, 304, 390, Vol. 1, pp. 35, 128, 145, 276, 334.

Also, when *ZJ* covers the grasping of six faculties on six sense objects, it brings up the two dharmas of “knot” (*jiefa* 結法) and “attachment of knot” (*jiesuoxifa* 結所繫法):

What is the “dharma of attachment of knot?” Eyes, form, ears, sound, nose, scent, tongue, taste, body, touch, consciousness and dharma are “dharma of attachment of knot.” What is “dharma of knot?” It is called greed, known as “dharma of knot.”⁶⁸

“Dharma of knot” refers to the desire of greed. The “dharma of attachment of knot” means that through the desire of greed, the six faculties are attached to the corresponding six sense objects. The “dharma of attachment of knot” refers to the objects attached to desire of greed. Lastly, in the following passage, the objects of thinking of cutting, extinction, abandonment, impermanence and bitterness are connected with the word “dharma”, greatly highlighting the functions of “dharma” as a suffix:

So I observe “dharma of cutting” (*duanfa* 斷法), “dharma of extinction” (*miefa* 滅法), “dharma of abandonment” (*qishefa* 棄捨法), “dharma of impermanence” (*wuchangfa* 無常法), “dharma of bitterness” (*kufa* 苦法), “dharma of emptiness” (*kongfa* 空法), “dharma of non-self” (*feiwofa* 非我法), observe impermanence, bitterness, emptiness, non-self, observe “dharma of sick” (*bingfa* 病法), observe “dharma of lump” (*yongfa* 癰法), observe “dharma of pierce” (*cifa* 刺法), observe “dharma of killing” (*shafa* 殺法)...⁶⁹

Generally, suffix does not have a concrete meaning. Only when it attaches to a radical will it perform the function of being a component of a word. And the word of “dharma” used in aforementioned examples indicates meanings of sphere, condition, nature, etc., casting influence, more or less, on the meaning of the radical. “Dharma” as a semi-substantial suffix is called “quasi-suffix” (*leihouzhui* 類後綴) in study on Chinese terminology.⁷⁰ “Dharma” is used in other ways in *ZJ* which is worthy of attention. When *ZJ* mentions five aggregates, sense spheres and causal conditions, in numerous occasions, it does use “dharma” in two opposing categories and extend further discussion. Such is *ZJ*’s characteristic of the way of discussions; for example, in the discussion of five aggregates, “dharma” is divided into the two types: “leak” (*youloufa* 有漏法) and “no leak” (*wuloufa* 無漏法):

If form has leak, it is grasping, because form can breed love and foolishness. If feeling, thinking, activity and consciousness have leak, there were grasping, consciousness can breed love and foolishness. It is called “dharma of leak.” What is “dharma of no leak?” All forms have no leak, no feeling. The forms of the past, the future and the present. The form do not breed love and foolishness. Such feelings, thinking, activities and consciousness are no leak, no feeling. Such consciousness of the past, the future and the present. No birth, greed are called “dharma of no leak.”⁷¹

⁶⁸ *ZJ* 314, Vol. 1, p. 288.

⁶⁹ *ZJ* 1670–1682, Vol. 3, p. 490.

⁷⁰ For discussion on “quasi-suffix”, see Chen Guanlun 陳光磊, *Study on Chinese Morphology* 漢語詞法論 (Shanghai: Xuelin Press, 1994), p. 20.

⁷¹ *ZJ* 168, Vol. 1, p. 170.

Leak is another indication for worries. The five aggregates including material are objects of persistence which can bring arousal of greed and foolishness; such is the meaning of “dharma of leak”; if the five aggregates including material are not the object of persistence, no matter in the past, present or future, they will not bring arousal of desire and foolishness; such is the meaning of “dharma of no leak”. It is also pointed out that the five aggregates are “dharma of decay” (*huaiifa* 壞法). Elimination of the five aggregates will attain the “dharma of non-decay” (*buhuaifa* 不壞法) of nirvāṇa:

Form is “dharma of decay;” form diminished, nirvāṇa is “dharma of non-decay.” Feelings, perception, activity and consciousness are “dharma of decay;” consciousness diminished, nirvāṇa is “dharma of non-decay.”⁷²

The discussion of sense spheres in *ZJ* dually categorises “dharma” into the two types: “increase” (*zengchangfa* 增長法) and “decrease” (*sunjianfa* 損減法):

What is “dharma of increase?” Due to the cause of eyes and forms, there breeds eye consciousness. The three combine to form contact. Contact causes feeling. In broad, it is only an accumulation of bitterness, it is called “dharma of increase;” the ear, nose, the tongue and body, consciousness are the same. It is called “dharma of increase.” What is “dharma of decrease?” Due to the cause of eye, form, there breeds eye consciousness. The three combine to form contact. Contact reduces and feeling reduces so. Broadly speaking, it is the diminishing of the congregation of great bitterness; the ear, nose, tongue, body and consciousness are the same. It is called “dharma of decrease.”⁷³

The six faculties recognise the six sense objects and arouse six consciousnesses. The six faculties, six sense objects and six senses interact with each other, causing arousal of feeling and even the concentration of bitterness of aging and death, which is what is meant by “dharma of increase”; if contact is diminished, feeling is diminished correspondingly and so is the congregation of pain which will ultimately extinct. Such is “dharma of decrease”. The word “dharma” in both terms means the way and mode of increase and decrease of pain. Also, following the discussion of “dharma of arising by causal condition” in *ZJ*, “dharma” was separated into the two types, “compounded” (*youweifa* 有為法) and “uncompounded” (*wuweifa* 無為法), showing the meaning of “dharma of arising by causal condition” in terms of reincarnation and emancipation:

These two kinds of dharma are called compounded and uncompounded. The compounded ones went through birth, subsistence, changes, extinction; the uncompounded ones had not gone through birth, subsistence, changes, extinction. Monk has undergone various bitterness and attained nirvāṇa.⁷⁴

The quotation reads that ignorance, activity, consciousness and even aging and death are stages for reincarnation. Experiencing birth, subsistence, changes, extinction, impermanence and changes will bring pain. Such is “compounded dharma”. When ignorance is diminished, birth, sickness, aging and dying will be

⁷² *ZJ* 163, Vol. 1, p. 164.

⁷³ *ZJ* 297, Vol. 1, p. 272.

⁷⁴ *ZJ* 474, Vol. 2, p. 26.

diminished, and there will be no more experience of birth, subsistence, changes and extinction, so that nirvāṇa, the permanent state, will be achieved. Such state was known as “uncompounded dharma”.

Secondly, *ZJ* always sums up items of similar nature and categorises them in terms of number: one dharma, two dharmas, to forty dharmas, etc. For the example of one dharma, it means *ānāpāna* (mindfulness by in- and outbreathing) or the desire of greed.⁷⁵ Three dharmas refer to the three trainings, “discipline, meditation and wisdom”, (*sanxue* 三學) or the three types of non-virtuousness, “desire, hatred, ignorance” (*sanbushanfa* 三不善法).⁷⁶ Five dharmas refer to “spontaneity, happiness, rest, delight and concentration” which have to be practised, as well as referring to “desire, harmfulness, sleep, excitement and doubt” that should be eliminated.⁷⁷ Six dharmas include “six inner sense spheres, six external spheres, six groups of consciousness, six groups of contact, six groups of feeling and six groups of craving”, also known as “six six dharmas” (*liuliufa* 六六法)⁷⁸ Forty dharmas include “kill by hand, teaching people to kill, complimenting killing, seeing people killing breeds happiness, adopting evil views by myself, teaching people to activate, complimenting evil views, seeing people adopting evil views breeds happiness”, etc. On the contrary, “no killing, teaching people not to kill, always complimenting in words and not killing”, etc., are also collectively known as forty dharmas.⁷⁹ Also, the oral teaching of Buddha was categorised into the 12 types, “sūtra (prose), geya (verse)”, etc., based on the narrating format and content. They are known as “twelve divisions of teaching” or “twelve scriptural categories”. *ZJ* also generalises them by the word of “dharma”.⁸⁰ The function of the word “dharma” is close to the one of a classifier, indicating the units for activities, events or objects.

Conclusion

In summary, the word “dharma” appears for different uses and in different meanings in *ZJ*, some positive, while some are negative. In terms of words’ composition, there are numerous examples of compound words and derivative that include the word “dharma”, among which are “dharma of arising by causal condition, all dharmas, dharmas of numerous activities of heart, nature of dharma, realm of dharma, investigation into dharma”, etc., that become important and common terminology in Buddhist writings. Also, from this chapter, one could see that a single word would vary vastly in meaning in different discussion. Other examples are that, in the

⁷⁵ *ZJ* 1098, 12872, Vol. 2, p. 421, Vol. 3, p. 528.

⁷⁶ *ZJ* 1104, 1168, Vol. 2, p. 431, Vol. 3, p. 4.

⁷⁷ *ZJ* 752, 905, Vol. 2, pp. 208, 332.

⁷⁸ *ZJ* 406, Vol. 1, p. 383.

⁷⁹ *ZJ* 13401, Vol. 3, p. 763.

⁸⁰ *ZJ* 13238, Vol. 3, p. 574.

discussion of śramaṇa and “dharma of arising by causal condition”, *ZJ* exemplifies “dharma and meaning” (*yi* 義) for explanation: as for śramaṇa, “dharma” is Noble Eightfold Path, and “meaning” is the elimination of the three poisons of greed, hatred and ignorance; as for “dharma of arising by causal condition”, “dharma” is the rule for causal conditions, while “meaning” is the application of the rule.⁸¹ Another example is the word “dharma of following” (*suishunfa* 隨順法). In the discussion of five aggregates, “dharma of following” refers to observing five aggregates as “non-constancy, bitterness, emptiness and non-self”; in discussing the arousal of causal conditions, it is equivalent to “dharma of arousal of cause”.⁸² As such, the meaning of “dharma” depends on the linguistic context of its appearance and textual condition. To be noticed is that Pāli language in correspondence to “dharma of arising by causal condition” is *paṭiccasamuppāda*, “dharma of sweet dew” is *amata*, “dharma without gap and being equal” is *abhisamaya*, “dharma of decay” is *pabhaṅgum*, “dharma of non-decay” is *apabhaṅgum*, which are not connected with dhamma. Obviously, in some cases, *fa* (dharma) put at the end of a word is addition made by the translators. Also the voluminous use of the word “dharma” shows the strength of the adaptability and the broadness of applicability of this word. On many occasions, as an annex to the word it is connected with, “dharma” becomes a suffix or a classifier; its sacred nature has been diluted. Moreover, “all dharmas” are the key to enlightenment. Therefore, from the thing itself can be enlightened as the truth. It seems that it is the origin of a unique Mahāyana doctrine—non-duality of mundane truth and supreme truth.

Discussion in this chapter is only based on *ZJ* from which a lot of examples of the word of dharma (*fa*) could be quoted. If using electronic Buddhist dictionary to launch a large-scale search of the word in Chinese Buddhist translations, to be followed by analysis of word meanings, there would be a broader and deeper understanding of Buddhist concepts in Chinese, and it would be very helpful to study on Buddhist teaching.

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⁸¹ *ZJ* 479, 1065, Vol. 2, pp. 38–39, 398.

⁸² *ZJ* 178, 474, Vol. 1, p. 205.

Music, Sound, and Site: A Case Study from Southern Song China (1127–1275)

Joseph S.C. Lam

Introduction

There was a sound problem in the opening ceremony of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, a spectacular show of Chinese culture and history. It featured an angelic girl singing with a sweet voice; her projection of innocence and promise mesmerized global audiences. Upon learning that the girl only lip-synched the song, however, many felt betrayed. They could hardly accept Chinese explanations that lip-synching was a common practice in twenty-first-century multimedia movies and shows. The controversy soon passed, but its occurrence underscored critical issues in understanding music and music discourse. How people hear and understand music depends on not only on the tunes performed and heard but also on where and who are producing, performing, and listening. Were the girl's performance merely a sound track on a CD or DVD, or background music in a movie or fashion show, no one would have complained. People complained because they expected to hear "live" and "authentic" music at that internationally significant show of Chinese culture and politics; they got only a canned tune. In terms of musical execution and structure, the song that people heard in the Olympic stadium or via telecast invites interpretations as any professional rendition of the song would. It only became a musical suspect when its lip-synching was discovered. Why? What is at stake?

Confronting the issues, one sees that music, agency, ideology, context, and meanings are all intricately interrelated and situated with reference to its performance sites. Understanding of the role performance site plays in musical communication is particularly pertinent for studying Chinese music, historical or contemporary. Traditional Chinese musicians and audiences tend to approach music as situated expressions, not as autonomous and unchanging objects of sounds rigidly defined

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by stylistic features and structural meanings. Traditional Chinese practices of music making and listening still critically affect the ways contemporary China engages with music.

To discuss the issues of music, sound, and site as they are pertinent to Chinese music studies, this chapter presents a case study of the musical/sonic world of historical Lin'an 临安, the capital of Southern Song China, which is now Hangzhou in Zhejiang Province, China.¹ A wealth of documents have vividly described Lin'an as a medieval cosmopolitan where citizens creatively and strategically manipulated music to negotiate their identities and agendas, distinguishing music from sound in their particularized time and place.² It is a distinction that underscores traditional Chinese approaches to music/sound, stimulating comparisons with contemporary and Westernized Chinese music aesthetics and practices.

To present the case, this chapter begins with two brief reviews: a sketch of current concepts about music, sound, context, and site, and a short summary of Confucian music theories, the intellectual foundation of musical thoughts and actions in traditional China since the Song dynasty. Then, the chapter discusses several musical/sonic realities of Lin'an, analyzing interrelationships among music, sound, site, and cultural and historical practices. To conclude, the chapter brings the discussion back to contemporary and theoretical concerns about music, sound and site.

¹ Written for general readers, this chapter outlines the fundamental issues of music, sound, and site as they are applicable to the study of Chinese music. This chapter cites only essential documents, highlighting those written in English. Readers interested in further inquiries are encouraged to consult the works cited, many of which include current bibliographies on ethnomusicology, musicology, Chinese history, Song dynasty history, and theories of historiography.

² There is a growing body of literature on Southern Song culture and music. For a general and recent work, see Zhao Xiaolan 赵晓岚, *Jiang Kui yu NanSong wenhua* 姜夔与南宋文化/*Jiang Kui and Southern Song Culture* (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2001). For a representative work on literature, see Shuen-Fu Lin, *The Transformation of the Chinese Lyrical Tradition: Chiang K'uei and Southern Song Tz'u Poetry* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978). For musicological works, see Rulan Chao Pian, *Song Dynasty Musical Sources and Their Interpretation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); Lawrence E.R. Picken, "Chiang K'uei's 'Nine Songs for Yüeh,'" *Musical Quarterly* 43 (1957), pp. 201–219, and "Secular Chinese Songs of the Twelfth Century," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Tomus 8 (1966), pp. 125–172; and Joseph Lam, "Transnational Understanding of Historical Music: State Sacrificial Music from the Southern Song, China (A.D. 1127–1279)," *The World of Music* 38/2 (2001): pp. 69–83; "Writing Music Biographies of Historical Asian Musicians: The Case of Jiang Kui (A.D. 1155–1221)," *World of Music*, 43/1 (2006): pp. 69–95; and "A Matter of Style: State Sacrificial Music and Cultural-Political Discourse in Southern Song China (1127–1279)," (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 403–427. The Shanghai Conservatory of Music has recently produced a number of informative and insightful dissertations and monographs on Song dynasty music and music history. These include: Kang Ruijun 康瑞军, *Songdai gongting yinyue zhidu yanjiu* 宋代宫廷音乐制度研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue xueyuan chubanshe 2009); Lin Cuiqing 林萃青 (Joseph S.C. Lam), *Songdai yinyueshi lunwenji: Lilun yu miaoshu* 宋代音乐史论文集: 理论与描述/*Historical Studies on Song Dynasty Music: Theories and Narratives* (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyuexueyuan chubanshe, 2012); and Zeng Meiyue 曾美月, *Songdai biji yinyue wenxian shiliao jiazhe yanjiu* 宋代笔记音乐文献价值研究/A Study of the Historical Value of Song Music Notes," Dissertation, 2009.

Music, Sound, and Site

Current scholarship has revealed that music is a cultural and social art³ and that construction and communication of musical meanings involve not only structural and stylistic features that musicians have created but also nonmusical and situated references, ranging from natural forces to ideological and social demands. This is the reason why music scholarship has expanded its scope of examination from conventional topics of composers and their musical works to issues of contexts and processes of musical discourse about identities and subjectivities. One of the latest and most promising frontiers in music scholarship is theories on music ecology and sound culture.⁴ The former concept evokes the natural and artificial sonic environment in which people live musically, while the latter directs analytical attention to institutions and values with which people negotiate and practice their desires and selves with music/sound.

The focus on sound as a probe to understand cultures and societies is a current and fruitful development in international and interpretive scholarship. Echoing recent studies in material or visual cultures, sound studies/sound culture studies aim to explain the unique roles sound plays to define and inform about human societies, their institutions, operations, and even subjectivities. The same studies also underscore the need to hear music and sound with both insider/culturally prescribed and outsider/culturally nonprescribed ears. The former hear exclusively and intelligibly; the latter hear all that reaches his ears, but might not be able to tell what is or is not significant.

The theories of music ecology and sound culture make critical tools for analyzing and interpreting musical China, which is structurally complex and historically long. The reverse is also true! Musical China provides revealing case studies for developing the theories, conceptually and factually challenging their definitions, paradigms, and applications. For example, one asks whether is musical China a single phenomenon/ecology/culture? If it is, how does one define the phenomenon and

³ Among works promoting such a view, the following studies are representative and have stimulated this author's approach to the issues. Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds*, 25th Anniversary Edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton eds., *The Cultural Study of Music* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Tia DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

⁴ The leading musicologist on this rapidly developing frontier is Steven Feld, see his *Sound and Sentiment, Birds, Weeping, Poetics and Song in Kaluli Expression* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), and program notes to his many CD recordings, such as *Voices of the Rainforest* (1991, Rykodisc) and *Romani Soundscapes in Bright Balkan Morning: Romani Lives and the Power of Music in Greek Macedonia* (2002, Wesleyan U. Press) with Dick Blau (photographs). See also the *Soundscape Newsletter* (<http://interact.uoregon.edu/Medialit/wfae/library/newsletter>) which provides current research news and bibliographies; and Tim Rice, "Time, Place, and Metaphor in Musical Experience and Ethnography," *Ethnomusicology* 47/2 (2003), pp. 151–179.

identify and coordinate its diverse parts? If it is not, what are individual phenomena of Chinese music? How and why do they stand alone? Do they ever overlap? To attempt to answer such questions is to probe not only musical China but also current theories of music ecology and sound culture.

Applying Western theories to musical China, one can identify many of its parts/subcultures, generating a wealth of insights and observations on localized expressions and regional traditions of Chinese music. Such an identification, nevertheless, marginalizes, if not ignores, Chinese understandings of their music and musical culture, a knowledge that Chinese have meaningfully produced and consumed for centuries. Above all, the application undermines conventional and cultural views of musical China as a complex but somehow unified and coordinated culture. As Huang Xiangpeng 黄翔鹏 argued, musical China flows like a river.⁵ Even if it continuously changes, Huang theorized, it is still the same river flowing more or less in the same direction and in the same site. It is with such a macro view that meanings and interrelationships of Chinese music and music history can be effectively situated, interpreted, and negotiated. Conceptualizing musical China as a loose package of music and sounds is theoretically fascinating and meaningful, but it begs the questions how and why Chinese people make sense of their musical/sonic worlds and tell coherent stories about their experiences. For historical and historiographical purposes, China needs to be heuristically theorized as a coherent phenomenon. A macro and unified view of Chinese music and music history is intellectually and musically indispensable as localized and particularized interpretations are.

To understand musical China as an evolving and situated phenomenon and to probe continuities and interrelationships among its changing and constituent parts, judicious application of Western theories becomes desirable. It is an application that should begin with a brief review of current definitions of key concepts embraced by international music scholars.

Sound is natural and indispensable in human existence. Music is similarly human and fundamental.⁶ As ephemeral and sonic expressions, sound and music are universally produced and consumed but diversely defined and experienced. There are, as ethnomusicologists have reported, no standardized and universally applicable definitions and uses of sound and music. In particular, the separation, or nonseparation, of sound from music is always arbitrarily based on biographical, cultural, historical, and other particularized criteria. Observe the well-known fact that what is music in one culture can be noise, that is, meaningless, if not annoying, sound, in another!

To heuristically separate sound from music, a human act of disciplining and understanding sonic worlds, international music scholars have conceptualized music as sounds humanly, expressively, and purposefully produced and consumed in

⁵ Huang Xiangpeng 黄翔鹏, *Chuangtong shi yitiao heliu* 传统是一条河流 (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1990); see in particular, pp. 35–38, 105–146, 215–225.

⁶ For a stimulating discussion on the nature of music, see Elizabeth Tolbert, “The Enigma of Music, the Voice of Reason: ‘Music,’ ‘Language’ and Becoming Human,” *New Literary History* 32 (2001): pp. 451–465.

particularized times and contexts.⁷ For the same reasons, international scholars have defined sound, especially those produced by nature, as sonic entities that have simple and oftentimes “incoherent” structure; their human meanings and uses, if any, are limited and unspecified. Sound can only become music through human interpretation and manipulation. For example, the sounds of chimes being struck hourly in historic and public places, such as those of the Big Ben in London, would only become sonically meaningful and socially functional and functional through human listening and interpretation.

To comprehensively study music and sound in their sites which unfold with human actions and in time, to identify the ways music and sound interact with one another in natural and artificial contexts, and to decipher their humanly induced interpretations and meanings, scholars have relied on a number of all-inclusive concepts, which include, for example, music context, music culture, sound culture, sound ecology, and soundscape. Each opens a distinctive vista for purposeful investigation. Each also carries a string of difficult questions and theoretical blind spots. Flexible and inclusive, the term musical context begs the questions when and where it begins and ends.⁸ And how does a contextual element become relevant to the music/sound being humanly experienced and negotiated? For example, one asks how far back one should trace rehearsals as preparations for a specific performance noted for its spectacular success. How should one discuss historical aesthetics as a contextual constraint, or foundation, for a particular stylistic feature of a composition/musical act newly created/performed? The terms of music culture and sound culture are similarly broad, useful, and problematic. Both underscore the difficulties of defining what should or should not be considered musical and cultural? Are natural sounds ingredients of musical or sound cultures? If cultures are institutional and human, natural sounds are not “cultural,” are they?

These conceptual difficulties have prompted scholars to develop concepts that have music situated at specific sites. Two recently coined terms that have become critical to this discussion are music ecology and soundscape.⁹ The former emphasizes interactions between people, music/sounds, and their environments, natural or artificial. Soundscape, as formulated by Murray Schafer, underscores connections between sounds and the meanings that they embody or generate at culturally and geographically specific locales. Both afford scholars new perspectives to the study of music and sound.

⁷ For a classical discussion on the issues, see John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973).

⁸ Two representative publications on the issues are J. H. Kwabena Nketia, “Contextual Strategies of Inquiry and Systemization,” *Ethnomusicology* (1990), pp. 75–97 and Regula Qureshi, “Musical Sound and Contextual Input: A Performance Model for Musical Analysis,” *Ethnomusicology* 31/1 (1987), pp. 56–86.

⁹ William Kay Archer, “On the Ecology of Music,” *Ethnomusicology* 8/1 (1964), pp. 28–33; Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1994); *The Music of the Environment* (Wien: Universal Edition, 1973).

Three technical concepts/tools that Schafer proposed effectively serve analytical needs. To understand sounds of a particular locale and their meanings, scholars need to distinguish (1) *keynote sounds*, such as the roar of a waterfall, which are naturally produced in specific and geographical sites and which are associatively linked with peoples living there; (2) *sound signals*, such as the siren of a police car, to which people respond with socially defined and practical actions; and (3) *sound marks*, such as the thin bell sound that ritually opens daily operation at the New York Stock Market, which are unique to specific sites and serve as symbols of the site, its inhabitants, and their way of life. These sounds are obviously more meaningful than others which are casually heard and hardly interpreted.

The theories of music ecology, music culture, or soundscape dissolve many man-made boundaries separating music and sound heard in specific sites. Man-made boundaries, however, exist to serve specific human agendas. Recognition of the boundaries, real or imagined, is as a matter of fact what that allows discerning music makers and listeners to effectively navigate in their sound worlds. For traditional Chinese musicians and audiences, for instance, distinctions between music and sound are the keys with which they decide which music or musical act is, or is not, appropriate and desirable at a specific time and place when and where they are operating.

To develop theories of sound culture and soundscape with reference to musical China and its particular as well as universal problems, I propose the concepts of *exclusive musikscapes* and *inclusive soundscapes* (hereafter, musikscape and soundscape).¹⁰ When people create and operate in musikscapes, they intellectually and selectively construct orderly and meaningful musical sites so that they can effectively and intellectually make sense of their sound worlds, actual or imagined. In there, all kinds of sounds naturally coexist in ways that are free from human discriminations, positive or negative. Sound worlds become musikscapes and soundscapes when they are situated in specific sites and heard through human ears and are being discriminated in one way or another.

Musikscapes are geographically and physically anchored, but they transcend the material world. They selectively and exclusively operate according to culturally and historically specific aesthetics, ideologies, and contextual constraints; they feature particularized repertoires, performance practices, compositional styles, and other details that participants operating in the site would intellectually and socially embrace as musical, or sonically expressive and desirable. As an exclusive and intellectual construct, a defined and practiced musikscape is theoretically and sonically distinctive and self-contained. It does not need to interconnect with other musikscapes that operate in a same sound world.

In reality, musikscapes can hardly be self-contained; they can only operate inside inclusive soundscapes where all kinds of sounds dynamically, if not randomly,

¹⁰The term “musikscape” is rooted in my theory of “musiking.” When people “musik,” they manipulate music as objects, sites, and processes in particularized times and places to achieve personal and social agendas. For an application of the musiking concept, see Joseph S. C. Lam, “Imperial Agency in Ming Music Culture,” in *Culture, Courtiers, and Competition: The Ming Court (1368–1644)*, edited by David Robinson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 269–320.

coexist and interrelate at a specific cultural and geographical site. Soundscapes include many sonic objects and activities that their practitioners choose to ignore as music or even as sound. As human constructs, soundscapes are flexible and dynamic; they expand and move as hearing and discerning people move across specific times and places. Soundscapes become *sound worlds* when past and present experiences of musics and sounds merge into cultural, expressive, and sonic phenomena that transcend the constraints of specific times and places.

To comprehensively understand any situated soundscapes, one needs to hear them as inclusively and objectively as possible. In other words, one needs to hear soundscapes with reference to all their constituent musikscapes. And when one hears soundscapes beyond specific times and places, one might leave their situated sites and move into the sound worlds into which they merge. Only by contrasting what culturally tuned practitioners would or would not hear inside a soundscape, one can investigate and verify how the practitioners carve musikscapes out of their soundscapes or sound worlds. Only then, one can find out how they discipline their sonic environments and how the disciplined environments, in turn, affect their music-making, listening, and negotiating activities.

Confucian Aesthetics of Music

Applying the above concepts of musikscape and soundscape to the historical sound world of Lin'an, one finds a most revealing case study. Judging from a wealth of available data, the Lin'an soundscape includes a number of distinctive musikscapes. The most prominent one is the *court and intellectual musikscape* that elite males of the time constructed and practiced according to Confucian music theories.¹¹

The native and orthodox Chinese theories, which are extensively described in a wealth of Chinese historical documents, can be outlined as follows. For example, the *Music Record* (*Yueji* 乐记), a seminal treatise in musical Confucianism, declared that together with ritual, music (*yue* 乐) constituted a means of governance and self-cultivation.¹² This was why virtuous, nurturing, and responsible rulers would launch performances of state sacrifices and state sacrificial music as civil models to guide their subjects' behaviors. The musical guides, they believed, would prompt their subjects to change their local traditions and customs, so that hierarchical and harmonious societies could be achieved. Thus, music should be prioritized above the

¹¹ For a survey of musical Confucianism, see Joseph Lam, "Musical Confucianism: The Case of 'Jikong yuewu,'" in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, edited by Thomas Wilson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), pp. 34–72.

¹² *Yueji* 乐记, in *Baihua shisanjing* 白话十三经, ed. by Qian Bochong 钱伯城 (Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshen, 1996). See also Scott Cook, "Yueji—Record of Music: Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Commentary" *Asian Music* 26/2 (1995), pp. 1–96.

practice of laws and punishments: rulers should only use legal and physical forces as last resorts to discipline their citizens. To achieve the maximum effect of music, benevolent rulers, and by extension elite and virtuous gentlemen (*junzi* 君子), should constantly practice music to cultivate their individual heart/minds and to implement it in their acts of governance. They would not want to live without music even for a moment.

Ritual and music, Confucians believed, were meaningful and efficacious because they were genuine expressions of and from human heart/minds, and would communicate via *qi* (气) and with no distortion between performers and audiences. Music was more than sounds (*sheng* 声) which were random and meaningless, and music involved more than tones (*yin* 音), namely, patterned sounds that lacked lofty meanings. Music (*yue* 乐) became most meaningful and efficacious only when it was performed as multimedia expressions, one that seamlessly integrated the sonic with verbal, kinetic, and visual, and when sonic features were cosmologically and socially coordinated with nonsonic entities. When such multimedia and associative music was performed, it activated musical-cosmological entities and their human and natural counterparts.

The five tones (*wuyin* 五音) of music, for example, would evoke not only the five directions but also the five elements—metal, wood, water, fire, and earth—and the five human bonds. They were those among sovereigns and officials, fathers and sons, brothers, husbands and wives, and friends, (*junchen* 君臣, *fuzi* 父子, *xiongdì* 兄弟, *fufu* 夫妇, *pengyou* 朋友). Similarly, the *huangzhong* 黄钟 of the twelve standard pitches (*shi'erlü* 十二律) cosmologically signified the primordial *qi* (*yangqi* 元气) which corresponded to human progenitors and imperial founders. To activate the *yangqi* in the human world and to honor their imperial ancestors, rulers only needed to play the proper music. This is to say that for an emperor to properly honor Heaven and efficaciously communicate with the supernatural force and his deified ancestors, he needed to perform state sacrificial music in the right music modes (*diao* 调) and with historical musical instruments built with the right materials.¹³ When performed, such music would efficaciously invite heavenly deities to present themselves at the round mound altar (*yuanqiu* 圆丘), accept imperial offerings presented there, and bestow supernatural grace on the ruler. It was the supernatural blessing that legitimized his mandate to rule.

Since music and their cosmic correspondences reflected and impacted social living, one could listen to a nation's music and find out its political-social conditions. A prosperous nation would have sounds that were settled (*an* 安) and satisfied (*le* 乐), while a collapsing one would feature sad (*ai* 哀) and yearning (*si* 思) music.¹⁴

Since music directly affected national and social fortunes, it had to be critically and strategically classified and employed. Thus, rulers would promote *yayue* 雅乐 (civilized, civilizing, and thus desirable music, and in particular state sacrificial

¹³ Lin Yin 林尹 annotated, "Chunguan zongbo 春官宗伯," in *Zhouli jinzhu jinyi* 周礼今注今译 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuju, 1972), pp. 231–232.

¹⁴ *Yueji*, "Yueben bian 乐本篇", pp. 1262.

music) while suppressing uncivilized and undesirable ones. *Yayue* was rooted in classical traditions of the Zhou dynasty and earlier times, and its canonized repertory (*guyue* 古乐) included the exemplary and ancient works of Shao 绍 and Wu 武 that ancient sage rulers had created to guide their subjects. As a contrast, *suyue* (vulgar music 俗乐) and *yinsheng* (licentious and excessive sounds 淫声), such as those once heard in the toppled nations of Zheng and Wei, were destructive. They dissipated men's energy and aspirations to perform their individual and social duties. Repertories of vulgar and licentious music included many contemporary and new compositions (*xinyue* 新乐), which featured confused use of tones and patterns, reflecting nations or societies in disarray. Vulgar and licentious music also included female music (*niyue* 女乐), that is, music performed by female entertainers, which kept men away from their male duties. To demonstrate his objection against female music and its corruptive effects, Confucius once abruptly left JiHuanzi's 季桓子 court when the ruler had accepted a gift of female musicians and had skipped court auditions in the following days.¹⁵

The Court and Intellectual Musikscape in Lin'an

When Southern Song elite implemented Confucian theories to carve out a court and intellectual musikscape from their inclusive soundscape, they generated a very distinctive and exclusive sonic and cultural phenomenon. It poignantly voiced the elite's power and control of resources, a fact that Southern Song historical documents attest. Chapter 130 of the *Song History* (*Songshi* 宋史), for example, gives a detailed chronology of state sacrificial music, the nexus of the court and intellectual musikscape of Southern Song China, registering the following highlights.¹⁶ In 1127, the Southern Song court in exile did not perform state sacrificial music, a condition that underscored the political and social difficulties that Gaozong, the first Southern Song ruler, confronted in that transitional time and broken empire. In early 1128, the court resumed performances of state sacrifices, even though there were no round mound altar in Yangzhou where the court in exile operated, and where a number of court musicians/refugees from Kaifeng had gathered. The musicians had no bell chimes, stone chimes, and other musical instruments needed to properly perform state sacrificial music. To have the music and ritual performed, however, the court had a temporary altar built and had the musicians played military gongs and drums, producing atypical sounds. They were heard as *yayue* only because they were played during a state sacrifice and at a sacred venue!

¹⁵ *Confucius/The Analects*, translated by D.C. Lau (London: Penguin, 1979); see in particular III, VIII, XV, XVII, XVIII.

¹⁶ *Songshi* (Song history), edited by Tuo Tuo (1345; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), pp. 130.3029–3064.

Starting from the early 1130s, the Southern Song court gradually developed a comprehensive repertory of state sacrificial music, all of which were composed and performed at imperial altars or temples strategically built inside and outside Lin'an city walls. In 1143, the court performed the first formal state sacrifice to Heaven with a repertory of newly composed state sacrificial songs and meticulously manufactured musical instruments. It was a performance that not only echoed state sacrificial music of the Northern Song but also musically affirmed the formal establishment of the Southern Song court.

In 1145, the court instituted a repertory of court entertainment music, signifying the court's secular operations and marking the palaces and occasions where and when the elite conducted their political and social negotiations. In 1146, the court minted a gigantic grand bell (*jingzhong* 景钟) and installed it in the main courtyard of the round mound altar complex. When struck, its sonorous sound not only indicated the times when specific performances of state sacrifices to Heaven would begin in that imperial ritual venue but also marked the formation of a politically and ritually unified community of Southern Song rulers, officials, and subjects. It was a community and space that reached as far as echoes of the bell would ring. After 1146, Southern Song state sacrificial music became standardized, and its repeated performances reminded its participants of their political and social realities. The court occasionally adjusted the music, revealing the progress of changing agents, times, and contextually particularized agendas.

Chapter 131 of the *Song History* summarizes two representative discussions of Confucian music theories of the time, registering contemporary and intellectual negotiations of music inside the elite's offices, schools, and even personal studios, all were particularized sites in the court and intellectual musikscape of the time.¹⁷ The first summary describes Jiang Kui's (1151–1221?) "Dayue yi" 大乐议 ("A Discussion of Great Music"), a proposal of remedies for inaccurate and undesirable performance practices of music and use of musical instruments of the time. The second highlighted what Cai Yuanding 蔡元定 (1135–1198) presented in his seminal *Lülü xinshu* 律吕新书 (*A New Treatise of Music Theory*), an innovative treatise that discussed tuning and temperament in musically technical and culturally associative terms. Together, the two summaries showed that the court and intellectual musikscape of the Southern Song was not a static phenomenon. It evolved as its participants continuously adjusted their musical acts, thoughts, and products, which defined their musikscape.

Chapters 132–141 of the *Song History* preserve the lyrics of a gigantic repertory of Northern and Southern Song songs for state sacrifices, state banquets and state processions, evidence that the court and intellectual musikscape was sonically and semantically distinctive.¹⁸ Chapter 142 discusses poetic songs that contemporary scholars sang and several genres of court music, including those of ethnic groups from four

¹⁷ *Songshi*, 131, pp. 3050–3064.

¹⁸ *Songshi*, 132–141, pp. 3067–3337.

corners of the empire.¹⁹ The report on the poetic songs cites Zhu Xi's (1221–1300) arguments on the authenticity of the syllabic style of state sacrificial music. It is a citation that clearly references the elitist and intellectual nature of the musikscape—the description evoked the ways the prominent neo-Confucianist discussed music with his disciplines. The brief references to ethnic musics did not give a clear picture of the role with which ethnic music played in the musikscape, underscoring the fact that if its center was sharply defined, its margins could be ambiguous.

The *Song History* is not the only record for the musikscape. Many contemporary and elite descriptions of court music and ritual, such as the *Zhongxing lishu* 中兴礼书 (a compilation on ritual and music of the Southern Song), provide complementary and supporting evidence.²⁰ When contrasted with information preserved in informal and “nonmusical” documents of the time, such as personal memoirs, the evidence reveals the ideological and exclusive nature of the court and intellectual musikscape and its official descriptions. The *Song History*, one notes, does not even mention Jiang Kui's 17 *ci* songs and *qin* compositions, musical genres that Jiang's elite contemporaries widely and openly practiced and described in their informal and personal writings. Being the only authenticated and notated music from the time, Jiang's preserved *ci* songs, one has to note, now constitute a cornerstone on which current scholarship on Southern Song music and music history stands. In other words, discrepancies between historical and modern hearing of the Southern Song musical culture cannot be more extensive and dissonant. Which hearing is more comprehensive and representative? Why?

The Cultural and Public Musikscape of Lin'an

To answer the question, one has to investigate how that the Southern Song court and elitist musikscape contrasted and interrelated with other coexisting musiksapes of Lin'an. As experienced by Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1298), a noted writer and a petty official of the time, and as reported in his *Wulin jiushi* 武林旧事 (*Memoir of Wulin*),²¹ the soundscape that operated in Lin'an City was much more complex than what *Song History* describes. The court and intellectual musikscape was only one of several and clearly discernable musiksapes of the time. During the months-long process of preparing for and performing the state sacrifice to Heaven, for example, the two musiksapes were brought together by musical, political, and ritual concerns and practices.

¹⁹ *Songshi*, 142, pp. 3339–3362.

²⁰ Joseph Lam, “Musical Relics and Cultural Expressions: State Sacrificial Songs from the Southern Song Court (A.D. 1127–1279),” *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 25 (1995): pp. 1–25.

²¹ Zhou Mi 周密, edited by Li Xiaolong 李小龙 and Zhao Ruiping 赵锐平, *Wulin jiushi* 武林旧事 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), pp. 11–18. For a study on cultural living in Song China, see Stephen West, “Playing with Food: Performance, Food, and the Aesthetics of Artificiality in the Sung and Yuan,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 57, no. 1 (1997), pp. 67–106.

It significantly overlapped with the cultural and public musicscape of the time. Lin'an was a site when and where a diversity of musics and sounds were produced, consumed, and negotiated by the elite and commoners alike and together.

Two days prior to the performance on the round mound altar in the southern suburbs of the city, the emperor traveled to the temple of *spectacular numina* (*jinglinggong* 景灵宫) and the grand imperial ancestral temple (*taimiao* 太庙) to perform preparatory rituals.²² The emperor's travel between the palace and the temples was escorted by guards and announced by state processional music performed with a diversity of wind and percussion musical instruments. During this ritual time, the imperial street (*yuejie* 御街), a central axis of the city, leading from the grand imperial temple to the city gate in the south transformed into a bustling bazaar. By the nite prior to the performance at the round mound altar, the street, which had been covered with a layer of sand spread smooth like a mat, was tightly guarded by

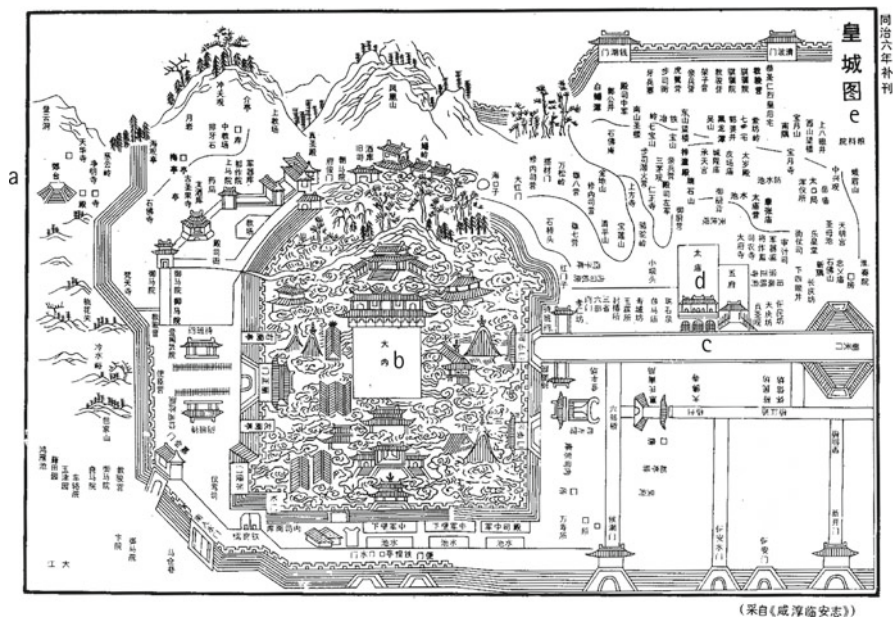


Fig. 1 Overview of Lin'an: a. the suburban round mound altar; b. the palace; c. the imperial main street; d. the grand ancestral temple; e. the northern part of the city (not shown), where the temple of spectacular numina was located. *NanSong jingcheng Hanzhou*, ed. Zhou Feng (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe), back matter, n.p. The map originally appears in a historical gazette, the *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* (Lin'an of the Xianchun reign [1265–1275])

²² Zhou Mi, "Dali nanjiao 大礼南郊," pp. 11–18.

soldiers and brilliantly illuminated by burning bonfires and torches. Erected along the route were many temporary but elaborate tents where noblemen, high officials, and the rich and powerful observed the passing of the imperial procession. While they celebrated and entertained themselves and their guests with music and dancing inside their tents, merchants and peddlers shuttled around, competing to sell their products and services and drawing potential buyers with all kinds of sonic signals and visual signals. The festive activities along the ritual route would go on until the fifth night watch, when all lights were extinguished and a cleaning of the route began. By dawn, the emperor who had earlier prayed to the ancestors at the grand ancestral temple would leave the sacred venue and began his journey to the round mound altar complex outside Lin'an City.

At the round mound altar complex, state sacrificial music performed by imperial orchestras and singers dominated, just as descriptions of the court and intellectual musikscape registered. When the emperor offered silk, jade, and wine to the deities and deified ancestors at the altar proper, his ritual actions were accompanied by *elevated songs* (*dengge* 登歌) or *grand songs* (*gongjia* 宫架). The former were performed on the altar proper and by a choir of 8 men and 41 musicians playing an orchestra of 21 kinds of instruments. The latter were performed in the courtyard facing the altar proper by a choir of 32 men and 174 musicians playing an orchestra of 21 kinds of musical instruments.

Musical Instruments and Musical Example²³

When the state sacrificial music was performed, Zhou noted, all the tens of thousands of ritual observers who had filled the inside and outside of the round mound altar complex were silent. Then and there, they heard the syllabic and stylized sounds of state sacrificial music delivered by the breeze. The celestial tones of the ritual songs played with bell chimes and stone chimes sounded, Zhou claimed, as if they had come from the Ninth Heaven, the highest and most sacred part of the cosmos. At that time and at that ritual site, the court and elite musikscape that built with Confucian theories and imperial practices became most apparent and unchallenged. It dominated Lin'an like the Southern Song emperor lorded over his subjects. It seamlessly merged with the cultural and public musikscape that Lin'an citizens knew.








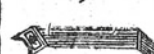
²³ The instruments are, from left to right, and from top to bottom: drum (gu), bell (zhong), hand drum (pi), chime (qing), panpipe (xiao), flute and ocarina (zhi and xun), wooden crate (zhu), zither (se), mouth organs (yu and sheng), shawn (guan), wooden tiger (yu), large zither (se). Chen Yujing 陈元靓, *Shilin guanji* 事林广记, in *Zhongguo gudai yinyue shiliao jiyao* 中国古代音乐史料辑要 (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1962), p. 689.

新編纂圖增補羣書音類要事林廣記卷之十二
音樂類 一樂制

音樂總叙
 凡音之起由人心生也人心之動物使之然也感於物而動故形於聲聲相應故生於方謂之音比音而樂之及于戚羽旒謂之樂者音之所由生也其本在人心之感於物也是故其哀心感者其聲悲以發其樂心感者其聲啾以發其喜心感者其聲發以發其怒心感者其聲粗以發其敬心感者其聲直以發其憂心感者其聲和以柔六者非性也感於物而後動又曰知聲而不知音者禽獸是也知音而不知樂者燕雀是也是故不知音者不可與言音不知音者不可與言樂

 <p>鼓</p>	 <p>鐘</p>
<p>上古之世簞搏而土鼓周孔有建鼓雷鼓靈鼓路鼓之類其制不一然皆以木為臣以革為兩</p>	<p>鐘之別五鈞下鈞鉦為是也鐘柄之別一而角衡也此鈞上有旋鈞有鈞介於子鼓其好之有鈞有帶而於鈞間有鈞</p>
 <p>鞀</p>	 <p>磬</p>
<p>周禮鞀即執鞀記月令修鞀鞀先儒謂鞀有柄曰鞀大鞀曰鞀鞀鞀同</p>	<p>古者制樂以象天體西北為鈞之聲也為磨磬句北有玉磬上曲為鈞下為磬上廣而短於磬而廣鈞有柄而於鈞間有鈞</p>

中國古代音樂史料輯要 第一輯 事林廣記

 <p>簫</p>	 <p>埙</p>	 <p>柷</p>	 <p>瑟</p>
<p>簫底漢謂洞簫小者十六管有底狀如鳳翼其聲鳳聲</p>	<p>埙狀如梓鐘以土為之大凡樂者埙為六孔而以五聲為一者其數凡六則為黃鐘衣開則為應鐘此埙與應鐘相應也</p>	<p>柷狀如梓鐘以土為之大凡樂者柷為六孔而以五聲為一者其數凡六則為黃鐘衣開則為應鐘此柷與應鐘相應也</p>	<p>瑟長三尺六寸六分象琴之日廣六寸象六合五絃象五行周文武時加一絃</p>
 <p>竽</p>	 <p>笙</p>	 <p>鼓</p>	 <p>瑟</p>
<p>六簧笙大者十九簧小者十二簧衆管在匏有葉象或曰葉笙</p>	<p>笙六孔十二月之音也併兩而敵之象籥孤竹陰竹孫竹以地言之也</p>	<p>鼓狀如未盡之七鍾鑄以木之所以正樂也</p>	<p>瑟長三尺六寸三分三絃瑟長七尺二十廣如前十五絃</p>

樂制 六八九

Notated Example

That moment of total control and harmony was, however, brief. As soon as the ritual performance was completed, the court and intellectual musikscape promptly and seamlessly yielded to the cultural and public musikscape. Right after his performance at the altar proper, the emperor left for the palace. Right then and there, echoes of the heavenly music were being replaced by state processional music of drums and wind instruments. And as soon as the emperor passed through the Gate of Brilliance and Centrality (Lizheng men 丽正门), the south entrance of the palace city, the echoes were replaced by secular entertainment music. By the time the emperor had rested and returned to the observation terrace of the gate to grant amnesty to offenders whom officials had gathered before hand, the music/sound most prominently heard was the commoners' ritual and mandated greetings to the

The image shows a musical score for a song. It is organized into two systems of four stanzas each. Each stanza consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are written below the vocal lines. The first system contains stanzas 1 through 4, and the second system contains stanzas 5 through 8. The lyrics are in Chinese and English. The English lyrics are: Stanza 1: Yang dong huang gong, Ri xuan nan ji. Tian men dang dang, Bai shen shou zhi. Stanza 2: Huan xi zi tan, Wan huang zhu se. Shen zai pei lai, Gai qin you de.

Fig. 2 Welcome Song of the State Sacrifice to Heaven (1143 version).” Its Chinese lyrics read: “阳动黄宫，日旋南极，天门荡荡，百神受职；爰熙紫坛，焄黄珠色，神哉沛来，盖亲有德。 Translated the lyrics read: “The yang has animated the imperial palace; the sun is spinning over the south. The heavenly gate is grand, welcoming the deities who have agreed to come. The imperial altar radiates, lights of yellow and pearl colors. Why do the deities come so enthusiastically? Because my ancestors are virtuous

emperor. Thrice, they called out aloud “long live the emperor.” The politically significant call was thunderous. To the ruler and elite historians, however, the call was mere sound, even if it was an auspicious confirmation of the ruler’s governance and virtues and of the commoners’ acceptance of their Son of Heaven.

The cultural and public musikscape that Zhou experienced operated throughout the imperially disciplined site of Lin’an and beyond the ritual time of the state sacrifice to Heaven. That musikscape, one notes, is the soundscape that Lin’an citizens experienced in their everyday lives. Attempting to understand it with current theories of music ecology and sound culture, one asks whether the musikscape influenced the design of the city or vice versa. A fascinating question that cannot be simplistically approached through cause and effect equations, it nevertheless underscores interrelationships between music and its sites. It is clear that Southern Song musical practices and Lin’an’s urban designs were closely interrelated. Both were deeply rooted in cultural, environmental, and historical heritages. If city of Lin’an City was naturally defined by the West Lake, the Great Canal, the Qiantang River, and the Tianmu Mountains, its streets and bazaars were developed over time and according to evolving needs of Lin’an inhabitants, rulers or the ruled.

A case in point is the imperial main street, a *de facto* stage of Southern Song music performance and negotiations. It was not only the venue along which imperial processions of drums, gongs, and wind music marched but also a site where the elite and commoners heard and negotiated music together. Linking major and secondary roads inside and outside the city of Lin’an, it connected the round mound altar, the grand ancestral temple, and other key political and ritual venues that scattered throughout the city into an operative system. The imperial main street, however, stopped outside imperial palaces and altar/temple compounds. Bounded by walls and guards, those sacred venues were open to only invited dignitaries and authorized personnel. Most commoners knew where and what those venues were and could observe the ritual and musical activities performed inside the compounds from afar. If they could hear the state processional music played along the main street clearly, they probably could only hear muffled echoes of state sacrificial music played inside the ritual compounds and away from the imperial main street.

Such situated performance and hearing of state sacrificial music was a historical development, but its human and strategic elements did not appear purposelessly. It limited the commoners’ engagement with state sacrificial music and the imperial presence it embodied. It allowed commoners to hear enough of the imperial and ritual music so that they could develop a general sense of its distinctive and stylized sounds, but it did not permit the commoners to fully grasp all details of the music. As such, it echoed commoners’ limited views of the emperors. If commoners could visually see and hear the Sons of Heaven from afar and in the general, they could not face the rulers person-to-person and within striking distance. Such a sonic distancing between the ruler and the ruled was indispensable, meaningful, and strategic. The imperial had to sound distinctive and rise just above the immediate reach of the general public.

Situated and controlled performance and hearing allowed Lin’an citizens to effectively operate in their imperial and hierarchical world. When they heard state sacrificial

music or state processional music along the imperial street, for example, they knew that the emperor or his delegates were traveling or present in their vicinity. Then, they would promptly yield the way or collect themselves so that they appeared proper and civilized to the rulers. Such yielding was, needless to say, a submission to the imperial power encountered. Similarly, when they heard faint echoes of state sacrificial music performed with distinctive musical instruments and in a uniquely antiquated style, they grasped the sonic presence of their gods and rulers whose physical bodies cannot be clearly seen. They had to properly behave right then and there.

They realized the imperial presence because they knew how the imperial music was different from the other genres that they could daily encounter in the same cultural and public musikscape. As described by Zhou Mi's *Wulin jiushi*, such genres included a wide variety of vernacular songs, secular instrumental music, and theatrical shows performed inside private homes, public taverns, courtesans' studios, and theaters in the entertainment quarters (*wazi*). All were performed in sites that the citizens could reach by traveling along the imperial main street and its subsidiary routes.

All were stylistically distinctive in one way or another, a fact that their descriptive labels indicated. Their labels include, for example, rhythmic and dramatic singing (*changzhuān* 唱赚), simple singing (*xiaochang* 小唱), drum and clapper music (*guban* 鼓板), romantic ballads with lute accompaniment (*tanchang yinyuan* 弹唱因缘), capital songs (*jingci* 京词), medley songs in different modes (*zhugongdiao* 诸宫调), short tunes (*chang shaoling* 唱小令), endless lute music (*bo buduan* 拨不断), chanting and calling (*yinjiao* 吟叫), and mouth organ ensembles (*hesheng* 合笙).

Other Musicscapes in Lin'an

Musically diverse and extensive as such a cultural and public musikscape was, it did not include all the music and sounds Lin'an citizens could have heard. In fact, Zhou's description of the cultural and public musikscape alluded to many sonic works and activities in that Lin'an citizens glossed over as mere sounds—many modern scholars would, however, discuss such sounds as “music.” These marginalized music/sounds of Lin'an included, for example, military calls, non-Han peoples' songs and dances, hymns sung by Buddhists and Daoists, and ditties that children and their caretakers would hum. Their being marginalized, poignantly reveals the ways Lin'an citizens experienced and disciplined their sound worlds, a process that registered their personal and social agendas, desires, and emotions.

Southern Song had many wars, military exercises, and imperial parades, all of which involved soldiers and guards using their voices and sound generating instruments to make musical/sonic signals. Lin'an citizens treated these signals and instrumental playing ambiguously. They often named the sound generating instruments but hardly explained the expressions and communications that the instruments generated. The musical instruments often mentioned included, for example, a variety of wind and percussion instruments: drums (*gu*), wooden clappers (*baipan*),

military horns (*jiao*), security flutes (*xiaodi*), ethnic drums (*fangu*), shawns (*bili*).²⁴ It is clear that the sounds generated by the military instruments carried specific meanings, even if they played no easily recognizable tunes. As evoked in many Song *ci* poems, for instance, the sound of the military horn always prompted them to recall sad memories of war, deaths, separations, loneliness, ethnic enemies, and other undesirable and unpleasant experiences. An illustrative example is Jiang Kui's "Yangzhou man/Song of Yangzhou."²⁵

Southern Song military music/sound extensively overlapped with the non-Han musikscape generated by non-Han citizens and visitors to Lin'an. Both musikscapes were integral components of the Lin'an soundscape, and both were hardly "heard" by Lin'an citizens. Both are, however, crucial to twenty-first century and comprehensive hearing of the Lin'an soundscape. All through the years when Southern Song existed, Han, Jurchen, Khitan, and Mongolian officials and peoples constantly traveled to Lin'an, generating ethnic music and sounds that Han citizens could not fail to physically hear but managed to intellectually forget. It was a silencing act that served obvious cultural, ethnic, and politics agendas.

The non-Han musikscape in Lin'an also operated side by side with its Buddhist and Daoist counterpart, a religious and sonic phenomenon that unfolded in and out of a multitude of Buddhist temples and Daoist shrines in Lin'an. Heard inside this religious musikscape were ritual chanting, singing, and playing of the wooden fish and other musical-ritual instruments by the clergy, the elite, and the commoners. Lin'an citizens did not explicitly or consistently call such sounds music (*yue*), even though such sounds were indispensable in their Buddhist and Daoist worlds. Without music/sound, they could hardly perform their ritual requests for supernatural grace during times of sickness and sufferings, and for joy and successes in their present and future lives, could they? That Southern Song elite hardly mentioned Buddhist and Daoist musikscape was significant. If the rejection was more theoretical than practical, it attested to the ideologies and strategies with which the elite affirmed their Confucian, native, and privileged identities while suppressing or camouflaging their Buddhist and Daoist being.

Lin'an Soundscape

Lin'an citizens had to discipline their soundscape into musikscapes, silencing sounds they heard but did not want to discuss. Otherwise, they could neither make sense of what they want to hear nor effectively manipulate music and sounds to negotiate their personal and communal agendas. To promote their *yayue*, a sonic expression of their privileged identities, for example, they had to arbitrarily decide

²⁴ Zhou Mi, "Jiulou 酒楼," "Geguan 歌馆," and "Zhuse jiyiren 诸色伎艺人," in *Wulin jishi*, pp. 158–162, and 179–194.

²⁵ Yang Yinliu 杨荫浏 and Yin Falu 阴法鲁, *Song Jiang Baishi Chuangzuo gequ yanjiu* 宋姜白石创作歌曲研究 (Beijing: Yinyue chubanshe), 1957.

what qualified as *yayue* or not. To elevate *yayue* as the desired music, they had circumvent some keynote sounds in the Lin'an soundscape as non-musical. These included, for example, the peddler's call and tinkling of his goods, the threatening voices of gangsters, and the noises that craftsmen made plying their trades inside their shops or at street corners.

Illustration

Similarly, they had to hear most natural sounds as mere sounds, even though they clearly associated what they heard with specific memories or emotions. These natural sounds included, for example, spring raindrops hitting windows, summer cicadas buzzing on treetops, autumn leaves rustling around in the yards, and wintry winds howling pass buildings, sounds that many Southern Song *ci* poets exquisitely described and sounds that some Southern Song musical works, such as Guo Zuowang's 郭楚望 (1196–1260) "*Xiaoxiang shuiyun*" 潇湘水云 (Mist and Water over the Rivers Xiao and Xiang) might have artistically evoked.²⁶ Lin'an citizens could not fail to hear animal and natural sounds that were ubiquitous in their soundscape. A reminder of such daily but "undescribed" hearing is Lin'an citizens' reaction to the summer high tides of the Qiantang River. Every year in August, when the tides peaked, Lin'an citizens went out to the riverbanks to experience the natural roar and sight and roar. As Zhou Mi described, the wave made explosive and thundering sounds like mountains collapsing, underscoring the fact that sounds impacted Lin'an citizens' lives sonically and emotionally.

Concluding Remarks: From Lin'an to Beijing

Powerful and meaningful as those sounds were, they were not classified as Southern Song music, and they played no discernible roles in Lin'an's various musiksapes! They were only sounds in the complex and dynamic soundscape of Lin'an. Judging from the ways Southern Song people separated sounds from musics and specific musiksapes from the general soundscape of their cultural and social world, it is clear that they comprehensively listened and discriminately classified and disciplined all kinds of music and sounds in their world. What they accepted as music always signified something indispensable and significant in their personal and social lives. What they did not accept as music was always equally meaningful but less "desirable." They did, for example, "hear" the sounds of their cooking or cleaning houses. They silenced music or sounds that they heard but could not discipline.

²⁶ Xu Jian 许健, *Qinshi chubian* 琴史初编 (Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe, 1984), pp. 102–104 and Zha Fuxi 查阜西, *Cunjian guqin qupu jilan* 存见古琴曲谱辑览 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2001), pp. 330–333.

Their arbitrary separation of music from sounds and construction of specific musikscapes were hegemonic and strategic. Artificial, intellectual, and political partitions of the Lin'an soundscape, one notes, allowed Lin'an citizens to advance their personal and communal agendas, defining and protecting their subjective and civilized self from the other, non-Han or uncivilized selves. Witness the fact that throughout the Southern Song time, *yayue* usually referred to musical genres that elite males practiced and manipulated. In other words, as they controlled power and resources in their city, elite men of Lin'an successfully appropriated the authority to define what music and sound were in their society. To perpetuate their civilized world, they formulated and published erudite arguments and descriptions detailing their idealized music and musikscapes. They suppressed commoners' music as vernacular, if not vulgar and undesirable. They marginalized female and non-Han music and sounds in their various musikscapes, creating an illusion that their sonic world was Confucian and male.

Listening to the musikscapes and soundscape of Lin'an with nonnative ears, however, one realizes that the Lin'an sound world was very complex and dynamic. One also learns that Southern Song citizens have bequeathed to use not only written memoirs about a vibrant musical world, but also stimulating reminders that one has to hear sound cultures with native and nonnative theories. Only with such disciplined and comprehensive hearings, one can investigate what historical and contemporary Chinese natives hear and tell, hear but not tell, and/or choose not to hear, negotiating acts that tell interrelationships among music, sound, and sites.

To probe such interrelationships, one has to investigate how contrasting and overlapping musikscapes simultaneously operate in specific soundscapes and sound worlds. To enter such worlds, one has to pay attention to occasional eruptions of dissonances, exposing not only discrepancies between theories and practices but also conflicts among different groups of performers and listeners.

The girl's angelic but lip-synched performance at the Beijing Olympic Games opening ceremony was such an eruption. Non-Chinese critics rejected the performance as inauthentic and deceptive. Emotionally and visually stimulated by the grand stadium creatively built to showcase Chinese talents and resources, the critics wanted to directly engage with Chinese hearts and minds. They felt "betrayed" by the canned performance. Its composite and manufactured image of Chinese innocence and musical prowess camouflaged the producers' patriotic desires and erased the girl's actual voice.

For its Chinese producers, the lip-synched performance was no cover-up, but the launching of an aesthetically idealistic and technologically mediated musikscape for Chinese and non-Chinese audiences of the globalized world. Emulating traditional Chinese practices of prioritizing musical content over form and performance, the producers invited their domestic and international audiences to hear and interpret the way they intended. They did not anticipate that critics would bring to the actual or virtual Beijing their own musikscapes in which authentic expressions are performed live. When the Chinese and non-Chinese musikscapes clashed, they made thought-provoking dissonances on music, sound, and site: they are intricately connected and defined by performing, listening and interpreting human agents, whose Chinese and non-Chinese theories and practices simultaneously complement and challenge one another.

The Exploration of Matteo Ricci's World Map

Shijian Huang

Introduction

Matteo Ricci's world map, so far as I know, is based on three sources: European maps, maps and documents from China and the personal experience and observation of Matteo Ricci himself. Although it is generally agreed that Matteo Ricci obtained details from these three sources, further in-depth analysis is still needed. For the first one, the question still remains whose original map was used as main reference by Matteo Ricci when he drew his world map in Chinese. Most sources indicate that they are possibly maps by Abraham Ortelius, Gerard and Rumold Mercator and Petrus Plancius, although the influence of Petrus Plancius is probably less than the others. In general, most scholars believe that the main reference of Ricci's world map is *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, drawn and compiled by Abraham Ortelius. However, it still remains to be fully proved by convincing grounds of argumentation. Some scholars think both Ortelius and Mercators are possibly the main resource, while some believe it was the Mercators. This chapter demonstrates three factual evidences to argue that Ortelius' work is the main reference of Matteo Ricci's Chinese world map. The original source of the maps of Japan and Korea in Ricci's world map will also be discussed.

This translation is based on the original Chinese article published in *Chinese Culture Quarterly*, issue no. 7, 2005, pp. 154–181, and revised with help from Dr Felix C. H. Wong.

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Relevant Information About Matteo Ricci

To study the life and contribution of Matteo Ricci, there is no doubt that his personal documents are the most important first-hand materials. His memoirs and 44 letters have been well preserved and printed for wider circulation. These documents cannot be neglected for the study of Matteo Ricci's world map. In fact, they are still under-utilized for discussion.

Actually, if not counting his works in Chinese, Matteo Ricci's memoirs and collected letters could be recognized as the 'Complete Works of Father Matteo Ricci'. After reading these books, the author of this chapter found that Matteo Ricci himself wrote 33 notes for the world map, including 9 in the memoirs and 24 in the letters. Those in the letters largely overlap, but there are some that did not appear in his memoirs. It is not easy to fully make use of these resources, and for the current discussion I have to make a few remarks on the different versions of the relevant documents.

As is known, Matteo Ricci wrote his memoirs in Italian during the period of 1608–1610. After his death, Father Nicolas Trigault brought Ricci's manuscript to Rome and translated it into Latin. Then, the translated book was signed Nicolas Trigault and published as *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas Suscepta ab Societate Jesu* in 1615 in Augsburg, Germany. Later, the book was translated into German, French, Spanish, Italian, English and other languages. The English translation by Louis Joseph Gallagher was published in 1942, entitled *The China That Was: China as Discovered by the Jesuits at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*. Its second version published in 1953 and the title was changed into *China in the Sixteenth Century: the Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583–1610*. In the early twentieth century, Pietro Tacchi Venturi found the Italian manuscript of the book in Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus). He edited and published the manuscript under the title *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.I.*, including the first volume *I commentarj della Cina/Matteo Ricci; dall'autografo inedito* published in 1911 and the second volume *Le lettere dalla Cina, 1580–1610/Matteo Ricci, con appendice di documenti inediti* in 1913. As Venturi himself did not understand Chinese, he did not recognize the Romanized spelling of Chinese personal names, geographical names and well-known objects. Therefore, he suggested that the archives should ask Father Pasquale D'Elia who had done long-term missionary work in China to reedit the manuscript. D'Elia not only understood Chinese but was also the expert of research on Matteo Ricci. He accepted the offer with alacrity and eventually published the great work in three volumes during 1942–1949: *Fonti Ricciane: documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579–1615)*. It did not include Ricci's letters, an ambition which D'Elia eventually failed to realize.¹

¹ A new edition of the collection of Matteo Ricci's letters was published in 2001: *Lettere: 1580–1609* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2001).

Matteo Ricci's documents have been translated into Chinese twice in the 1980s. One is his memoir *Li Madou Zhongguo Zhaji* (利瑪竇中國劄記) [*The Notes on China of Father Matteo Ricci*] which was translated by He Gaoji, Wang Zunzhong and Li Shen from Gallagher's English version and proofread by He Zhaowu (Ricci's letters were not included). The translators noted in the preface: 'During the translation process whenever we encountered problems we would consult the original text of the *Li Madou Quanji* (利瑪竇全集) [*Complete Works of Father Matteo Ricci*] edited by Venturi and D'Elia'.² It was published in 1983 by Zhonghua shuju, Beijing. The other translation of the *Complete Works of Father Matteo Ricci* was jointly published by Taipei Kuangchi Publishing House and Fu Jen Catholic University Press in 1986. This version includes *Li Madou Zhongguo Chuanjiaoshi* (利瑪竇中國傳教史) [*The Mission of Matteo Ricci in China*], the memoirs translated by Liu Junyu and Wang Yuchuan. It was said to be translated from D'Elia's edited version and referred to the English version.³ Moreover, *Li Madou Shuxinji* (利瑪竇書信集) [*Letters of Matteo Ricci*] were included too. The letters were translated by Luo Yu based on Venturi's edition, which was the only available resource during that time. Given that the two editions were rare and few scholars understood Italian, these translations greatly helped to promote the research on Matteo Ricci. In those days, even the famous historian William Hung had to ask his colleague George Loehr to translate Venturi's book with the remark: 'These two books are the best historical references for research on Ricci.'⁴ This shows the significance of the translation of the source text.

Based on the above-mentioned translation works, the original Italian source and Hung's article, I found three clues which are directly relevant to the western origin of Ricci's world map:

- A. In 1595, one of the gifts to the Prince of Jian'an by Matteo Ricci in Nanchang was Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.
- B. In 1600, one of the gifts to Emperor Wan Li by Matteo Ricci in Peking was Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.
- C. In 1608, Matteo Ricci received a copy of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* from Father P. Alvarez who was in Rome during that time.

Item A still remains to be confirmed and further details will be discussed below, while items B and C are self-explanatory, so some citation will do. Item B is from

² He Zhaowu, He Gaoji: Preface by the Chinese translators, *Li Madou Zhongguo Zhaji*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983, pp. 27–28. Here, "*Li Madou Quanji* (利瑪竇全集) [*Complete Works of Father Matteo Ricci*] edited by Venturi and D'Elia" refers to *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S. I.* edited by Venturi and *Fonti Ricciane: documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579–1615): Storia dell'introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina* edited by D'Elia. Both Italian titles, however, do not suggest "complete works" of Matteo Ricci.

³ Liu Junyu, Wang Yuchuan (Trans.): *Li Madou Zhongguo Chuanjiaoshi*, Taipei: Fu Jen and Kuangchi jointly, 1986, p. 5.

⁴ William Hung: "Kao Li Madou de Shijie Ditu" [Textual Research on Matteo Ricci's World Map], in *Hong Ye Lunxueji* (洪業論學集) [*Studies by Hong Ye*], Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981, pp. 150–192.

the memoirs, and its translation in *Li Madou Zhongguo Zhaji* [*The Notes on China of Father Matteo Ricci*] is:

Next, he was ordered to write out, in presence of the assembly, a full list of all the gifts he was carrying to Peking. With that done, Mathan immediately took possession of the gifts and had them transported to his residence. Afterward Father Matteo was asked if he had anything else in his possession. Whereupon, in addition to the statues and the clocks, and the triangular glass prisms, he had to give up his nicely bound Roman Breviary, the clavichord, and a copy of 'The World Theatre' by Ortelius.⁵

The translation for the last phrase in *Li Madou Zhongguo Chuanjiaoshi* [*The Mission of Matteo Ricci in China*] is:

...Moreover, there was a copy of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in which the cover is tooled in gold, with perfect binding.⁶

William Hung once remarked: "There was a copy of *Wanguo Tuzhi* (萬國圖志) [Maps of All Countries] among the gifts presented to the Emperor by Matteo Ricci in December 1600 (the 28th reign year of Emperor Zhu Yijun). According to *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas Suscepta ab Societate Jesu* written by Nicolas Trigault, this was the copy of Ortelius' '*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.'" ⁷ Nevertheless, if we examine the original Italian text, Matteo Ricci did not refer to the name of Ortelius.⁸ This implies that the name was indeed added by Nicolas Trigault in the Latin version, although it does not distort the historical facts at any rate.

The event that Matteo Ricci dedicated Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* to the Emperor in Ming dynasty was also recorded in Chinese document:

*In 1600, accompanied by Didace de Pantoja (Spanish) and other 7 persons, Matteo Ricci took the tributes to Peking and dedicated them to the Emperor. He submitted a memorial to the Emperor on 24 December to state: ...Deeply grateful, a painting of God, two paintings of The Virgin Mary, a copy of Oratio dominica, a pearl-covered cross, two chime clocks which marks the hours with a sound, a copy of Wanguo Tuzhi (萬國圖志), a western instrument and other local products of my mother country are dedicated to Your Majesty.... The Emperor asked specific person to receive and keep the presents after reviewing. The painting of God was enshrined in front of the throne, the chime clocks were put on the Emperor's desk and the Wanguo Ditu (萬國地圖) was collected appropriately in the imperial storehouse.*⁹

⁵ Matthew Ricci, *China in the Sixteenth Century: the Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583–1610*, translated by Louis J. Gallagher, New York, 1953, p. 364. *Li Madou Zhongguo Zhaji*, p. 394.

⁶ *Li Madou Zhongguo Chuanjiaoshi*, p. 339.

⁷ William Hung: "Kao Li Madou de Shijie Ditu" [Textual Research on Matteo Ricci's World Map], p. 167.

⁸ For the original Italian text, see Matteo Ricci, *Fonti Ricciane: documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579–1615)*, sotto il patroncinio della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, volume II, *Storia dell'introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*, scritta da Matteo Ricci S. I. nuovamente edita e ampiamente commentata col sussidio di molte fonti inedite e delle fonti cinesi da Pasquale M. D'Elia S. I., Parte II: Libri IV-V (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1949), p. 114.

⁹ Huang Bolu: *Zhengjiao fengbao*. Shanghai: Cimitang paiyin, 1904, piece 5.

Furthermore, according to *Ke Zhifang Waiji Xu* (刻·職方外紀序) [Countermark preface of *Geography of Non-Tributary Countries* or *A Record of the World beyond the Imperial Geographers' Ken*] written by Li Zhizao in 1623:

*In 1601, some friends and I paid a visit to Matteo Ricci. There was a 'Dadi Quantu (map of the world)' hanging on the wall, with precise lines and division. Ricci said: This is the path from where I come am. The detailed explanation of its terrain, feature and custom are collected in a huge book which has been submitted to the palace.*¹⁰

The huge book here refers to the World Atlas which was reviewed by the Emperor and what we call *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* today. But I believe that perhaps the *Dadi Quantu* (大地全圖) [Map of All Lands] is another Chinese translation for the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* because the title is used for both Ortelius' world atlas and one of the maps collected in the atlas. Another possibility is that Matteo Ricci enlarged the map and hung it on the wall when he was in Peking.

Item C comes from the last letter in the collected letters: 44 *Letter to Father Giovanni Alvarez from Matteo Ricci*, written in Peking on 17 February 1609:

Last year (1608), a parcel arrived, containing the works by St. Augustine and the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Abraham Ortelii* all elegantly bound. As they arrived at Nanjing first, I asked the people to send the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* to Peking, since Peking is the capital of China and there are many scholars communicating with us. They can learn about the outside world from the maps.¹¹

In the original Italian text, the name *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Abraham Ortelii* is clearly written, while Luo Yu, in his Chinese translation, did not transcribe properly the name Abraham Ortelii but simply put the source text in brackets, which could be considered as being negligent. Moreover, the measure word 'zhang' 張 [for a sheet of paper] in his Chinese translation should be changed into 'ce' 冊 [for a copy of a book], because *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* is a book rather than a map.

The full title in Latin of the book by Ortelius is *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, in which 'theatrum' means theatre and audience; 'orbis' means circle, territory and the world, while 'terrarum' (genitive case) means land, continent and earth. The phrase *Orbis Terrarum* in fact stands for 'the earth' or 'the world'; and therefore, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* can be translated as *Diqiu daguan* 地球大觀 [Great view of globe] in Chinese. This is precisely why we chose *Diqiu daguan* 地球大觀 as the translation of the Latin title in the book *Li Madou Shijie Ditu Yanjiu* (利瑪竇世界地圖研究) [A Study on Matteo Ricci's World Map]. According to the quotations above, the title has been translated into many versions: *Wanguo Tuzhi* (萬國圖志), *Yutu Huibian* (輿圖彙編), *Shijie Wutai* (世界舞台), *Shijie Xianzhuang* (世界現狀) and *Shijie Ditu* (世界地圖) etc., all of which convey the meaning of the title, as long as we

¹⁰ Giulio Aleni, Xie Fang (ed.): *Zhifang waiji jiaoshi*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000, p. 6.

¹¹ Luo Yu (trans.): *Li Madou Shuxinji*. Taipei: Kuangchi publishing house and Fu Jen Catholic University Press, 1986, p. 418. For the original Italian text, see Matteo Ricci, *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S. I.*, edite a cura del comitato per le onoranze nazionali con prolegomeni note e tavole dal P. Pietro Tacchi Venturi S. I., volume secondo, *Le lettere dalla Cina* (Macerata: Premiata Stabilimento Tipografico Avv. Filippo Giorgetti, 1913), p. 389.

understand that the textual meaning of this information refers to Ortelius' maps of the world. Mercator's atlas can serve as an example, the first part was printed in 1585 and the second in 1587, then he died in 1593. Thus, the third part, the world map and the maps for each continent, as well as the previous two parts, were collected in a complete set and were printed in 1595 by his son Rumold Mercator. Time-wise, it would have been possible for Matteo Ricci to gain access to Mercator's atlas. The book was originally entitled 'Atlas' which is where the word comes from. Ricci, however, never mentioned it in his memoirs and letters.

Below is the further discussion of source A.

The Interpretation of One Paragraph of Translation in Matteo Ricci's Memoirs

From Matteo Ricci's memoirs, source A is a record of gifts to the Prince of Jian'an, when Ricci was in Nanchang. Among these gifts, there are two volumes, one is 'On Making Friends', written by Matteo Ricci, while the other is yet unknown. There are now three Chinese versions of this book:

Version one, *Li Madou Zhongguo Zhaji* says:

Of all the gifts which Chiengan received, nothing gave him as much pleasure as two books bound in European style and printed on Japanese paper, which is very thin and yet very durable, so much so, indeed, that it is difficult to say which is its more valuable quality. One of these books contained several geographical maps, nine drawings of the orbits of celestial bodies, combinations of the four elements, mathematical demonstrations and an explanation in Chinese of all the illustrations.¹²

Version two, *Li Madou Zhongguo Chuanjiaoshi* says:

Among Ricci's gifts, the Prince of Jian'an favoured most were two European bound books printed on Japanese paper, the paper was thin and tough. It was difficult to distinguish which one was more valuable, the bookbinding or the paper material. One of them is a book on astronomy and geography, containing maps of the world and nine planets and mathematical explanation, together with annotation in Chinese.¹³

Version three, written by Hung, the paper "Kao Li Madou de Shijie Ditu" (考利瑪竇的世界地圖) [Textual research on Matteo Ricci's world map] says:

(among the gifts received) The most favored by the Prince were two books, both were bound and printed on Japan cardboard in Western style, which looked very elegant. One is a book of the world maps, including maps of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and

¹² Matthew Ricci, *Chinese in the Sixteenth Century: the Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583–1610*, translated by Louis J. Gallagher, New York, 1953, p. 282cc. *Li Madou Zhongguo Zhaji*, p. 301. For the original Italian text, see below.

¹³ Matteo Ricci: *Li Madou Zhongguo Chuanjiaoshi*, in *Li Madou Quanji*, Volume 3, chapter 12, p. 255.

Magalhaenica, and attached a painting of the universe, four substances and other calendar things. All of which were hitherto new in China. All of them are explained in Chinese.¹⁴

In comparison, the first two versions are similar, with some minor discrepancies. Version three, however, shows distinct difference which is the addition of 'maps of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Magalhaenica'. This plays a significant role in the investigation on the book presented by Matteo Ricci to the Prince of Jian'an. However, it is necessary to know if the additional text is supported by substantial evidence.

The source text of the different Chinese translations of Matteo Ricci's memoirs has been discussed above. The words in version one are translated from Gallagher's English translation of the Latin version edited by Trigault and the text of version two was translated from the Italian source text which was edited by D'Elia. Version three was translated from the Italian source text sorted out by Venturi. The second and third versions are supposed to be consistent (the source text from D'Elia and Venturi are almost the same), while it is possible that the first is not entirely the same (because the Latin text was edited and translated by Trigault). But now it is the other way round: the first and second are similar while the third is different, which is peculiar, and therefore, it is essential to check the source text to identify the reasons.

As a result, it is found that the first version is faithful to the English translation. It turns out that the second version did not actually follow the Italian source text edited by D'Elia and it seems to derive from the old edition by Trigault similar to the first version. The third version was indeed translated from Venturi's source text, albeit with some mistakes.

The translator of *Li Madou Zhongguo Chuanjiaoshi* did not translate faithfully from the Italian source text but actually became convergent to *Li Madou Zhongguo Zhaji*, which was hard to understand and the credibility of the text was affected.

Below is the quote from the original Italian text used by Venturi and D'Elia (they shared the same version):

Ma quello che egli più stimò furno doi libri, ligati con tavole al nostro modo, con carta di Giappone che è molto dura e bella. Nell'uno stava la *Descrittione di tutto il mondo universale* con altre tavole di Europa, Asia, Affrica, America e Magaglianica, et insieme la figura de' Nove Cieli con i Quattro Elementi et altre cose di matematica, mai viste in sua terra, e tutto con la dichiarazione in loro lettera.¹⁵

¹⁴ Hung Ye: *Kao Li Madou de Shijie Ditu*, p. 158. According to Hung's notes, this paragraph was translated with the help of George Loehr (USA) from the work edited by Venturi. See Matteo Ricci, *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S. I.*, edite a cura del comitato per le onoranze nazionali con prolegomeni note e tavole dal P. Pietro Tacchi Venturi S. I., volume primo, *I commentarj della Cina* (Macerata: Premiata Stabilimento Tipografico Avv. Filippo Giorgetti, 1911), p. 265.

¹⁵ Matteo Ricci, *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S. I.*, edite a cura del comitato per le onoranze nazionali con prolegomeni note e tavole dal P. Pietro Tacchi Venturi S. I., volume primo, *I commentarj della Cina*, p. 265; Matteo Ricci, *Fonti Ricciane: documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579-1615)*, sotto il patroncinio della Reale Accademia d'Italia, volume I, *Storia dell'introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*, scritta da Matteo Ricci S. I. nuovamente edita e ampiamente commentata col sussidio di molte fonti inedite e delle fonti cinesi da Pasquale M. D'Elia S. I., Parte I: Libri I-III (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1942), p. 367.

This paragraph in Italian was quoted by Baddeley in his *Father Matteo Ricci's Chinese World-Map* in 1917, which he translated into English:

But that which he valued most was two books with plates after our fashion, with a map of Japan very fine and firm [note: in original Italian it should be 'very firm and fine']. One of them contained the 'Description of the Whole World,' with other maps of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Magalhaenica, together with diagrams of the nine spheres and the four elements and other things mathematical, never before seen in their country, and all with explanation in their writing.¹⁶

This quotation confirms the statement that the book Ricci presented to the Prince of Jian'an was Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. The book was printed first in 1570 and was reprinted again and again. Until the beginning of 1590s, it was the only book which contained maps of Europe, Asia, Africa and America, and even included Magalhaenica.

But why could it not have been the atlas of Mercator and his son? As stated above, the completed edition of Mercators' atlas was not published until 1595, and it was the only atlas in which the maps of each continent had been collected. According to Ricci's memoirs, he arrived at Nanchang in June 1595 and called on the Prince of Jian'an with presents after settling down in the city. So time-wise, it was not possible for him to have the book.

From the Italian source text, it is clear that the so-called 'two books bound in European style and printed on Japanese paper which was thin but extremely tough' and 'two European bound books printed on Japanese paper, the paper was thin and tough. It was difficult to distinguish which one was more valuable, the bookbinding or the paper material' were misunderstood and mistranslated. It was also strange that William Hung and George Loehr translated the phrase *carta di Giappone* into cardboard. And the most inexplicable is that many years later Funakoshi Akio (船越昭生) quoted Venturi's Italian source text in his note, while his Japanese translation was retranslated from Hung and Loehr's Chinese version.¹⁷ The meaning of *carta di Giappone* is 'map of Japan' so how does it change into Japanese cardboard?

However, even if we translate it into 'map of Japan', the inevitable question arises: why did Ricci present a map of Japan in Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* to Prince of Jian'an in 1595? It was precisely the 1595 edition which contained a map of Japan though time-wise Ricci could not have had this publication in his possession. It is really hard to answer this question. My presumption is that maybe it was a memory lapse of Matteo Ricci when he wrote his memoirs in his old age. When Ricci drew *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖) and *Liang Yi Xuanlan Tu* (兩儀玄覽圖) in 1602 and 1603, respectively, undoubtedly he used Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* as the main reference, including the 'map of Japan very

¹⁶ Baddeley, J. F., "Father Matteo Ricci's Chinese World-Map, 1584-1603", *Geographical Journal*: 50 (October, 1917), p. 262.

¹⁷ Funakoshi, Akio: *Konyo bankoku zenzu to sakoku nihon* (坤輿万国全圖と鎖国日本), [Matteo Ricci's World Map, the K'unyu wan-kot'u], *Toho gakubo* (東方學報), volume 41, Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 1970, p. 621, note 29.

fine and firm' which for Ricci was the only available map of Japan printed by a European (see details in Sect. 5). Therefore, 'a map of Japan very fine and firm' in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* became part of Ricci's memory. Then, in his old age, he wrote it into his memoirs describing how he presented the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* to the Prince of Jian'an in Nanchang.

Of course, this is my guess but no matter what, the Italian source text confirms that Matteo Ricci presented a copy of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* to the Prince of Jian'an in Nanchang in 1595.

The interpretation of item A has been stated above. Supported by Matteo Ricci's first-hand sources of A, B and C, the most valued and used map by Ricci was Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* from among all the maps printed by Europeans. It was also the main reference for his world maps which he drew in China. These three pieces of resources show that Ricci had at least three copies of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. In fact, there should be even more, since one was given to the Prince of Jian'an in 1595, one was presented to the Emperor in 1600 and before 1608 he received one more. Moreover, he must have used a copy for drawing the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖) and *Liang Yi Xuan Lan Tu* (兩儀玄覽圖) in 1602 and 1603. The National Library of China now houses two copies of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570 and 1595 versions) originally part of the Bei Tang Cangshu (北堂藏書, La Bibliothèque du Pe-t'ang). These two could have been Ricci's too.

Two Obvious Amendments in Matteo Ricci's World Map

It is clear that the Chinese version of the world map done by Matteo Ricci, is based on Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* from among all the maps printed in Europe. The reasons for this are the following: First of all, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* was first published in 1570 and thereafter 42 versions of the book came out successively. It was the only available world atlas for Matteo Ricci at that time when he made his world map in China. Secondly, the content of this atlas had been enriched and revised constantly during reprinting, and it paid more attention to the countries and regions in East Asia. Thus, it could draw Matteo Ricci's attention when he was drawing maps in China. It was also easy for Matteo Ricci to put China in the central position when he adopted Ortelius' oval map in order to adhere to the Chinese traditional philosophy that China should stand in the centre of the world. The effect could not be gained by using other methods of projection in scaling a map, e.g. the method known as the Mercator projection on the Mercator's world maps (1569) and the method of West-east Hemisphere projection on the world map by Mercators (1587, 1595) and also by Petrus Plancius (1592, 1594 and 1596).

Research into the methods and contents of how Matteo Ricci adopted the world maps of Ortelius, Mercator and Plancius has been done before, and recently, we also gave an overview in our book *Study on Matteo Ricci's World Maps*, so it is not necessary to go into details here. The focus now is on the changes Matteo Ricci made every time he drew the world map which were in line with the modification of

Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in different versions, particularly in the following two points.

Firstly, when *Islas de Salomon* (or *Insulae Salomonis*, the translation in Chinese now is *suo luo men qun dao* 所羅門群島) appeared on the world map and the map of America in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in 1587, Matteo Ricci also marked it correspondingly on his map. Drawn in Nanchang, between the longitude of 170–180°, in the block-printed edition of the world map *Yu Di Tu* [輿地圖] (the last of two volumes), *ximafa* (西馬法), *wu'er* (勿耳), *xian ni ku lao* (仙尼苦老) and *shuidao* (水島 water Island) could be found. Later in the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖) and *Liang Yi Xuan LanTtu* (兩儀玄覽圖), the names of these four islands were changed into *ya ma zhi fa* (亞馬止法), *yi sha wu er* (意紗勿爾), *xian ni ku lao* (仙尼苦老) [S. Nicolas Island] and *shuidao* (水島), with the name *sha la men dao* (紗蠟門島) marked on the right side.

Definitely, *sha la men dao* (紗蠟門島) is the *Islas de Salomon* in Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. In contrast, *ya ma zhi fa* (亞馬止法), *yi sha wu er* (意紗勿爾) and *xian ni ku lao* (仙尼苦老) are Chinese transliterations for Amacefa, Isabella and S. Nicolas, which are three islands attached to *Islas de Salomon*. Moreover, the name of *xi ma fa* (西馬法), *wu er* (勿耳) and *xian ni ku lao* (仙尼苦老), in *Yu Di Tu* (輿地圖) (the last of two volumes), are some mispronunciations and they are *ya ma zhi fa* (亞馬止法), *yi sha wu er* (意紗勿爾) and *xian ni ku lao* (仙尼苦老). For *shuidao* (水島), D'Elia restored it to *Acqua* in Italian, *isola dell'*, which was a free translation (*Acqua* means water).¹⁸ According to Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, *shuidao* (水島) should be *Guadal Canal* and it is not clear why Matteo Ricci did such rendering.

As is known, Solomon Islands were discovered by the Spaniard Alvaro de Mendana in 1568 and first appeared on Ortelius' world map in 1587.¹⁹ From the revised version of *Theatrum Orbis* in 1587 to later years, none of the other European maps included Solomon Islands, not even Mercator's in 1595. On the West–east Hemispheres' Map drawn by Plancius in 1594 and 1596, respectively, Solomon Islands indeed existed but time-wise Ricci could not have had those when he lived in Nanchang. Also, there was no S. Nicolas Island (*xian ni ku lao* 仙尼苦老) on Plancius' map so Matteo Ricci must have had the 1587 copy or a later version of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* when he drew his maps in Nanchang, and therefore, he included Solomon Islands in his own world map.

Secondly, the other obvious example is the change in the western coastline of South America. In Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* published in 1570, the western coastline of South America was protruded near the latitude of 40°, both on the world map and the map of America. The coastline exceeded the longitude of 290° and closed in the longitude of 280; thus, it became bulged. This drawing was very common among the contemporary map-makers. With the further development of navigation, the people

¹⁸ P. Pascale M, D'Elia, *Il Mappamondo Cinese del P. Matteo Ricci*, Tavola XIV

¹⁹ Peter Whitfield, *New Found Lands* (London: British Library, 1998), pp. 98–99.

gained knowledge of the South-American coastline and Ortelius made a significant change accordingly in his 1,587 version of his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. He moved the western coastline near the latitude of 40° of South America eastwards, near the longitude of 300° which made the bulge disappear and turned the western coastline into a slightly arched slanting line. Compared with Matteo's map, in *Yudi Shanhai Quantu* (輿地山海全圖) which was carved in Zhang Huang's (章潢) *Tushu Bian* (圖書編), we can see that there is a sharp bowed angle in the west coastline of South America. But later on the *Shanhai Yudi Quantu* (山海輿地全圖) drawn in Nanjing (a brief carved copy in the *Yueling Guangyi* [月令廣義]) and then on *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖) and *Liang Yi Xuan Lan Tu* (兩儀玄覽圖) drawn in Peking, the bulge had disappeared. Obviously, Matteo Ricci made such a significant change under the influence of the 1587 or later version of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.

[The 'comparative maps of the west coastline of South America' are attached to this article.]

As we noticed, Mercator and his son erroneously retained the bulge in the western coastline of South America even in their world map of 1595. Plancius in contrast, did share Ortelius' idea in his West-east Hemispheres' Map (1594 and 1596). Although Ricci followed Ortelius to add S. Nicolas Island on his map when he drew *Yu Di Tu* (輿地圖) in Nanchang, he did not change the western coastline of South America. Only later in 1600, did the western coastline change significantly in *Shanhai Yudi Quantu* (山海輿地全圖) drawn in Nanjing. This change of this coastline was retained in the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖) and the *Liang Yi Xuan Lan Tu* (兩儀玄覽圖), perhaps under the influence of Ortelius (he must have had the new version of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*) or possibly under the influence of both Ortelius and Plancius (he got Plancius' map later).

It can be said that Matteo Ricci had a profound interest in the development of European cartography when he drew his world maps in China. He particularly treasured and made all effort to get the new version of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, and he revised and mended his own maps accordingly.

The Source of the Maps of Japan and Korea in Matteo Ricci's World Map

If the main source of Matteo Ricci's world map was European, then he was bound to have consulted the local resources when he was in East Asia. From the start of navigation, the western Europeans went to sea. No matter which route they chose, east or west, East Asia would be the farthest destination. So they had to spend a long time to study East Asian geography. By late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, Matteo Ricci drew a more precise map of East Asia than any of his contemporaries whose perception of the region was rather vague.

When drawing the map of China, Matteo Ricci used a large number of Chinese documents in addition to his findings during field trips. The study on this point has

been well researched, and no more about this will be mentioned in this chapter.²⁰ Discussed here will be the sources of the maps of Japan and Korea map collected in Ricci's world map.

There is a significant discrepancy between the 1595 version of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* and the Mercators' *World Atlas* of the same year. Considering the scale of the map, both atlases show three levels: the world map, the continents (including oceans) and regions or countries. While Ortelius extended the third level scope to many places outside Europe, Mercator just focused on Europe. In European view, Mercator played an important role for his detailed maps of places in Europe, but for non-Europeans it is different, e.g. the Chinese people thought that Ortelius was a real eye-opener, when they saw a separate map of China in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, although it was not perfect. As mentioned before, that is the reason why Matteo Ricci valued Ortelius. The same holds for Ricci's maps of Japan and Korea.

There was a map of Japan in the 1595 version of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, in fact it was a combined Japan-Korea map. It was originally done by Ludovico Teixeira and collected into *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Ortelius in 1595. Since the original drawing is lost, the map is usually attributed to Ortelius/Teixeira. It can be said that this is the earliest and best known western map of Japan and Korea still extant. Matteo Ricci was familiar with the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* and there is a certain link as to the shape of his drawing of Japan; he clearly used *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* as a reference when he drew his own map.

But by merely relying on Ortelius/Teixeira, Ricci could not have drawn his Japan-Korea map. First, the graphics of Korean was not same and second, it appears that besides the Corea Insvla, there were only two geographical names, Trauxem and Corij on the map of Ortelius/Teixeira, while on Matteo Ricci's map, the Chinese characters Pingrang 平壤 and Qidao 七道 were marked on the Korea Peninsula, as well as ancient Fuyure (古扶餘), ancient Shilla (古新羅), ancient Paekche (古百濟) and ancient Tamna (古耽羅) and so on.²¹ Although there were 108 geographical names on the map of Japan by Ortelius/Teixeira which were more than on Ricci's

²⁰ See Chen Guansheng: "The contribution of Matteo Ricci to Chinese geography and its influences", *Yu Gong*, volume 5, bounded issues of 3 and 4, 1936, pp. 51–72; Cao Wanru, Bo Shuren: "Current research in China on Matteo Ricci's World Maps", *Cultural Relics*, issue 12, 1983, pp. 57–70; Lin Dongyang: "Matteo Ricci's World Maps and its influence on the people and society in the late Ming dynasty", *The international academic conference commemorating the 400th anniversary of Matteo Ricci coming to China and the Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*. Taipei: Fu Jen Catholic University Press, 1983, pp. 312–378; Zhao Yongfu, "The quotation of Chinese resource in Matteo Ricci's *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖)", *Research on History and Geography*. Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 1986, pp. 200–207; Ren Jincheng: "The status of *Guang Yu Tu* (廣輿圖) in Chinese history of cartography and its influence", collected in *Chinese ancient maps (Ming dynasty)*. Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, 1995, pp. 112–116.

²¹ Among the eight administrative districts, only Gyeonggi-do was not marked. The reason for marking it as Pyongyang (平壤) rather than Seoul (漢城) remains to be verified. Maybe it had to do with the 1592 invasion of Japan in Korea, when Seoul fell to the enemy and Pyongyang was also lost. Not until January and April, did the Sino-Korean united army recapture lost territory. The great victory in Pyongyang reversed the situation. Could it be the key element that influenced the name on Ricci's map? Perhaps not because Pyongyang fell to P'yŏngan in 1602.

map, the names marked on Ricci's map were not included on the map of Ortelius/Teixeira: Hokurikudo (北陸道), Tokaido (東海道), Tosando (東山道), Sanindo (山陰道), Sanyodo (山陽道), Nankaido (南海道) and Saikaido (西海道). From this, we may conclude that Matteo Ricci must have used other references when he drew the Japan-Korea map. But the statement needs more evidence to support.

Research has been done in this field, e.g. by Lin Dongyang who did some textual research on the fact that Matteo Ricci used Hu Zongxian's (胡宗憲) *Chouhai Tubian* (籌海圖編) as a reference when he drew the map of Japan. He concluded that the four Japanese islands on Matteo Ricci's world map were mainly from Hu Zongxian's (1511–1565, Ming dynasty) *Chouhai Tubian* (籌海圖編) both for physical geography or geographical names. This can be seen from the geographical names (around 50) or the order of arrangement; the map of Japan in this book of coastal defence is the same as the part of Japan on *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖), even the typographical mistakes of geographical names. For instance, Settsu (攝津) was a coastal town in the South of Japan, but it was marked as Shemo (攝摩). Instead of Nankaido (南海道), Kii (伊紀) was marked on Matteo Ricci's map. This mistake was first noted in the book *History of Song Dynasty Japan* (宋史·日本傳) and was handed down by people in the Ming dynasty.²²

The author of this paper was inspired by Mr. Lin's paper, although his statement is problematic. There were 67 states on the map of Japan in *Chouhai Tubian* (籌海圖編) while there were 53 states on the map of Japan in *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖). The order of arrangement was similar though the shape of the countries differed and some geographical names were mixed up. Moreover, the names of administrative districts (道 do) on the map of Japan in *Chouhai Tubian* (籌海圖編) were omitted while seven administrative districts appeared on Matteo Ricci's maps. For the problems of geographical names stated by Lin Dongyang, one is referred to the same mistake about Shemo (攝摩) near the Settsu area on Ricci's maps and the map of Japan, which is correct and will be further discussed later. The other is a mistake in the order of the characters, Jiyi 紀伊(Kii) instead of Yiji 伊紀. But the mistake that "was first noted in the book *History of Song Dynasty · Japan* (宋史·日本傳) and handed down by people in the Ming dynasty" is vague, because in *Chouhai Tubian* (籌海圖編) the place was marked as Jiyi 紀伊 both on the map and in the book *On Japan* (倭國事略). Ming dynasty general Hu Zongxian did not hand down the mistake of *History of Song Dynasty* at all. Nevertheless, I still believe that Matteo Ricci used *Chouhai Tubian* (籌海圖編) as a reference when he drew the map of Japan in his world map. But the drawing of the map of Japan in *Chouhai Tubian* (籌海圖編) was of no use to Matteo Ricci, because it almost had no curve of mapmaking.²³

²² See Lin Dongyang: "Matteo Ricci's World Maps and its influence on the people and society in the late Ming dynasty", p. 328.

²³ Hu Zongxian's *Chouhai Tubian* (籌海圖編) mentioned in this paper comes from the *Siku Quanshu* (四庫全書) from Pavilion of Literary Source, printed by Taipei Commercial Press. For the discussion about 紀伊(Kii) and other important geographical names, I sincerely thank Mr. Xu Quansheng (許全勝) who helped to check with the 1624 version collected in Shanghai Library.

As mentioned above, Ortelius/Teixeira's map of Japan could not have been the only reference for Matteo Ricci when he drew the map of Japan. Since it is clear that he did not merely use the map of Japan from *Chouhai Tubian* (籌海圖編) what other East Asian maps could he have used? Were they from China, Korea or Japan?

The Chinese references, e.g. *Daming Yitong Zhi* (大明一統志), *Guang Yu Tu* (廣輿圖), *Gujin Xingsheng Zhi Tu* (古今形勝之圖) (1555), *Qiankun Wanguo Quantu Gujin Renwu Shiji* (乾坤萬國全圖古今人物事迹) (1593) and so on, could not have been Matteo Ricci's functional references because they are too simple and unrealistic. Considering other extant maps in the world, the so-called *Wang Pan Tishi Yu Di Tu Mo Hui Zeng Buben* (王泮題識輿地圖摹繪增補本) is worth our attention. This map is in the collection of the National Library of France.²⁴ According to textual research by Ren Jincheng and Sun Guoqing, it was likely done during the period 1569–1575 by an anonymous author. There was an inscription by Wang Pan in the year Jia-Wu (甲午年, i.e. 1594), so the map was printed in 1594, but the printed copy is lost. All that is left is a coloured drawing on silk collected in the National Library of France. It was painted by a Korean mapmaker dating from the period 1603–1626. This map of Korea on silk is remarkably large in proportion, with 8 administrative districts and over 360 geographical names, which were added by the Korean. Similarly, on the map of Japan there are 87 geographical names (including 5 administrative districts) which were also added by the Korean.²⁵ The author of this paper holds a different view on the last point about the painter of the Japanese map. The matter will be discussed in detail in the following paragraph.

Is there any link between *Wang Pan Tishi Yudi Tumo Huizeng Buben* (王泮題識輿地圖摹繪增補本) and Matteo Ricci's maps? Actually, Matteo Ricci could have had no access to the spun silk of *Wang Pan Tishi Yudi Tumo Huizeng Buben* (王泮題識輿地圖摹繪增補本) when he drew the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖) in 1602. But it is possible that he saw the printed copy. Several reasons can support this argument: Matteo Ricci made friends with Wang Pan when he was in Zhaoqing. In fact, Wang Pan, the Zhaoqing magistrate (who later became the vice surveillance commissioner in Lingxi 嶺西), was the person who requested and supported Ricci to draw Chinese world map. He was also the private sponsor to have it printed. When Wang Pan was assigned as administrative officer in Huguang (湖廣), Hubei and Hunan provinces in 1588, Matteo Ricci moved to Shaozhou (韶州) in 1589, because of the exclusion from the governor Liu Jiwen (劉繼文). *Wang Pan Tishi Yudi Tu* (王泮題識輿地圖) was printed in 1594 and thereafter Ricci drew the Zhaoqing version of *Shanghai Yudi Tu* (山海輿地圖) for which he received good reviews. Since Ricci valued the maps printed by Chinese so much, he would continuously draw maps. He and Wang Pan could be considered as friends who shared a common

²⁴ For the basic research on this map, see Michel Destombes: *Missionaries and Chinese cartography, Missionaries in Ming and Qing Dynasty and the Sino-western Cultural Communication*. Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1993, pp. 219–234.

²⁵ Ren Jincheng, Sun Guoqing: "Wang Pan Tishi Yudi Tuchao Xianmo Huizeng Buben Chutan", in *Chinese Ancient Maps (Ming Dynasty)*. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995, pp. 112–116.

interest in *Yu Tu* (輿圖). Therefore, Matteo Ricci could not have missed Wang Pan's publication of *Yudi Tu* (輿地圖).

In case Matteo Ricci did have access to the *Wang Pan Tishi Yudi Tu* (王泮題識輿地圖), maybe the map of Japan was similar to the later copied version (drawn by others), but the map of Korea would not have looked as complete as the later copy. The author of this paper has doubts about the statement above that the geographical names on the map of Japan were added by the later copier, since the relevant evidence was the last sentence of the postscript, written by an anonymous Korean after Wang Pan's words: 'I revised and modified the mistakes on this map and unified the standards, the map of our country was also attached. This shows that the vast territory of the Celestial Empire has become prosperous now. Regions like Japan, Ryukyu, Nuer (奴兒) and Huwen (忽溫), all have a place on the map. Then the readers have to know the origin of the map.'²⁶ However, from this sentence, it is difficult to conclude that "regions like Japan, Ryukyu, Nuer (奴兒) and Huwen (忽溫)" were added later, e.g. the region of Nuer, which means the wei-oses under Nuer Gandusi (奴兒幹都司). It seems more likely that it was already on the previous printed version of the map and it was just copied. The same goes for the region of Japan. This is also why the Korean wrote that "Then the readers have to know the origin of the map". In other words, if Matteo Ricci had seen the original printed version of *Yu Di Tu* (輿地圖), the original maps of Japan and Korea (without any additions by the Korean) should be the second source for Ricci. Compared to the printed version, there were now 59 states and 6 administrative regions (not 5) on the current map of Japan which is almost the same as Ricci's map. As for the graphics, they also resemble Ricci's maps of Japan and Korea.

The geographical names on *Wang Pan Tishi Yudi Tu* (王泮題識輿地圖) look exactly the same as on the map of Japan in *Chouhai Tubian* (籌海圖編) and Matteo Ricci's Map, which marked Shemo (攝摩) near Settsu (攝津). In fact, there was no Shemo (攝摩) in Japan at that time so this is an error. According to the location, it should be 播摩州 (Harima) which was wrong on both the map of Japan (日本國圖) and *Yu Di Tu* (輿地圖). It was also marked as Shemo (攝摩) instead of Harima (播摩) in the book *On Japan* (倭國事略). Also the pronunciation Falima (法里馬) for Shemo (攝摩), was mentioned in *Notes on Names of Islands* (寄語島名). Currently Harima (播摩) is pronounced as Harrima in Japanese but it was marked as Farima on several maps printed in Europe in the seventeenth century.²⁷ This shows that its pronunciation at the time which was similar to Falima (法里馬) in Chinese. Based on the location and pronunciation, I believe Shemo (攝摩) is mistaken for Harima (播摩). As a result Ricci copied the mistake from the map of Japan (日本國圖) and *Wang Pan Tishi Yudi Tu* (王泮題識輿地圖). This provides evidence that Ricci consulted these two maps.

²⁶ Quote from *Chinese Ancient Maps*, Map 60: *Wang Pan Tishi Yudi Tumo Huizeng Buben* (王泮題識輿地圖摹繪增補本).

²⁷ See Lutz Walter (ed.), *Japan: A Cartographic Vision*, Japan Society Galley, New York, 1994, picture 28–34.

Another problematic geographical name to support the argument that Matteo Ricci used other Chinese maps as references, besides the map of Japan (日本國圖) in *Chouhai Tubian* (籌海圖編) and *Wang Pan Tishi Yudi Tu* (王泮題識輿地圖) is Danlu (淡路) which was on the western edge of Nankaido (南海道) on Ricci's map. It was marked as Yanlu 炎路 in *Chouhai Tubian* (籌海圖編), with a wrong character for 'yan'. But this place was omitted from *Wang Pan Tishi Yudi Tu* (王泮題識輿地圖). Therefore, there must be another reference for Matteo Ricci to mark it correctly.

There is another possibility that Matteo Ricci obtained information from Japan. There was close contact between China and Japan at that time and Macao was the junction for missionaries to liaise the missionary work between China and Japan. From his letters, it is clear that Matteo Ricci had a passionate interest in and a good understanding of Japan. He often received information about Japan via Macao. When the communication by sea was not convenient through Macao, he even got the information directly from the missionaries in Japan and delivered his letters to Europe via Japan and Mexico. The exchange of letters drew his attention to maps. In 1600, he released the finished *Shanghai Yudi Quantu* (山海輿地全圖) from Nanjing to other areas in China, to Macao, and even to Japan.²⁸ In his *Letter to Father Fabio De Fabj from Matteo Ricci* dated 9 May 1605, he wrote:

The news we received recently that the Chinese books we wrote in China could also be used in Japan was very gratifying, since the language, books and science of Japan were all imported from China. This will be of benefit to our missionary work, because the Japanese can learn about the introduction of our holy belief in China. Although the pronunciation of the characters is different from Chinese and not many Japanese can write Chinese, reading is not a problem. Therefore, Father P. Francesco Pasio who was in Japan and others wished to have all the books we wrote in Chinese. So I mailed them some of the books, including *the Gregorian Calendar, World Maps, On Friendship* and especially the new Catechism *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* printed last year. Although it was hard work, we are pleased that the books can be used in two countries.²⁹

This shows that Matteo Ricci sent his maps to the missionaries in Japan himself. Although no record has been found, it is very likely that Matteo Ricci received some maps of Japan directly from Japan.

If Matteo Ricci indeed received some maps from Japan, which of these? From the extant maps of that time, it seems likely that they were similar to the Japan and Korea part on the world map of *Nan Man Ping Feng Tu* (南蠻屏風圖) [Namban picture on screen]. When the Spanish and Portuguese went to Japan in the mid sixteenth century, Western painting was also introduced to Japan. The Namban

²⁸ *Li Madou Zhongguo Zhaji*, p. 355; For the original Italian text, see Matteo Ricci, *Fonti Ricciane: documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579-1615)*, vol II, *Storia dell'introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*, p. 60. It reads: "Per questo fu molto maggiore il numero de' mappamondi che in essa si stamporno, divulgandoli per diverse parti, et anco i Nostri mandorno di questi a Maccao et al. Giappone."

²⁹ *Li Madou Shuxinji*, p. 277; For the original Italian text, see Matteo Ricci, *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S. I.*, volume secondo, *Le lettere dalla Cina*, pp. 264–265.

screen of the world map was influenced significantly by the world maps drawn by Europeans in the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1582–1603).³⁰ But the maps of East Asia, especially those of Japan and Korea, were obviously created by the Japanese. Both screens with the world map and a map of Japan kept in Jing De Temple (淨得寺) in Japan, were created in the late sixteenth century and represented the image of Japan and Korea as drawn by the Japanese at that time.³¹ It is possible that Ricci saw some maps like these.

Of course, there is another clue showing that Matteo Ricci used other maps as references. On the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖) (1602) and the *Liang Yi Xuan Lan Tu* (兩儀玄覽圖) (1603), Matteo Ricci marked the Sea of Japan on the coastal areas north of the Japanese Islands and east of the Korean Peninsula. Both in East Asia and Europe, such indication was very advanced and this makes it difficult to determine what other maps Ricci used. As a result, there is an ongoing discussion about the name of these offshore areas, in particular between the Japanese and the Koreans with each side making an effort to find evidence from ancient maps. Nevertheless, there is no indication of the Sea of Japan prior to 1602. The Sea of Japan on Ricci's world map remains an intriguing mystery.

In view of the relevant sketches of Japan and Korea, we can now explore the relationship between Matteo Ricci's Map and other maps, e.g. the drawing with the shapes of Japan and Korea (see attached).

In conclusion, it is clear that first, Matteo Ricci's definitely used the map of Japan from the Ortelius/Teixeira as a reference for his maps of Japan and Korea on his *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖), but it was not his only source as argued above. Secondly, Matteo Ricci must have had more maps as references besides Ortelius/Teixeira's map of Japan, although we cannot confirm what the references are. However, it can be said that there is some connection between his map and related maps drawn by the Chinese and Japanese which he was able to get at that time for the geographical names and graphics. Thirdly, Matteo Ricci did not simply copy the information, although he did consult some relevant maps drawn by the Chinese and Japanese as references; he did a comprehensive study of maps and historical documents, and referred to some Chinese documents, so that he could draw the parts of Japan and Korea on the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖).

³⁰The *Nan Man Ping Feng Tu* (南蠻屏風圖) [Namban picture on screen] in Japan is different from the World Maps of Matteo Ricci: focusing on the Atlantic Ocean, the general structure of the Namban picture on screen is the same as the original European map while Matteo Ricci's World Maps adjusted the position of longitude line and tried to put China in the centre. Moreover, the world map of the picture on screen was applied with mass colour and marked with kana.

³¹Created in the end of sixteenth century, the screen with a World Map and the screen with a Japan map which are kept in Jing De Temple (淨得寺) in Japan, see *World Ancient Maps コレクション*, KAWADE SHOBO SHINSHA, Publishers, 1999, pp. 18–21. Almost at the same time or a bit later, a more exquisite Japan map of picture on screen was created, with a great influence in Europe. It served as the original source of many Japan maps drawn by Europeans. Generally, it was believed to be drawn between 1582 and 1603. Its relationship with Matteo Ricci's world map awaits further discussion. See Lutz Walter (ed.), *Japan: A Cartographic Vision*, picture 26ff.

Conclusion

The author here provided twofold evidence to support the statement that Matteo Ricci's world map was mainly based on Ortelius among the maps drawn by Europeans. One is the textual record, three first-hand statements by Matteo Ricci, particularly the statement which has been misread, mistranslated and misrepresented for a long time. The other is the evidence supported by the Map, by comparing carefully with other maps and discovering two obvious changes in different versions of the Map drawn by Ricci, in order to explain that Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis* had significant impact on Matteo's map. Focusing on names and graphics, the author traced the origin of Ricci's maps of Japan and Korea by adopting a similar method. Some new clues, hypothesis and proofs were proposed to support the statement that Korea, Japan as well as the whole East Asian part of Matteo's *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖) and *Liang Yi Xuan Lan Tu* (兩儀玄覽圖) are a remarkable milestone in the world history of cartography. While it is widely known that Ricci consulted Chinese maps and geographical writing in preparing for his world map, it would appear that his list of resources must have also included maps and writings from other East Asian countries.

Pavlovian Theory and the Scientification of Acupuncture in 1950s China

Ka Wai Fan

Introduction

Traditional cures, such as those of India, China, and the Muslim world, have been affected by Western medicine since the eighteenth century. As imperial conquest cast a long shadow over Asian traditions, ayurvedic medicine and acupuncture were often scorned as superstitious and nonscientific. Many traditional medical systems, whose very existence was threatened, took steps toward scientification—Chinese medicine was no exception.¹

Acupuncture is an ancient form of healing, at least 3,000 years old, based on theories of meridians, acupoints, and *zang-fu* organs.² As a direct result of United States president Richard Nixon's trip to China in 1970, acupuncture surged in popularity around the world. Acupuncture, as a form of complementary and alternative medicine, is the most widely used healing system in the world. But the aggressive promotion of Western medicine has often played out in China as a war

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¹ Bridie Andrews, "Tailoring Tradition: The Impact of Modern Medicine on Traditional Chinese Medicine, 1887–1937," in *Notions et perceptions du changement en Chine*, ed. Viviane Alleton and Alexei Volkov (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études chinoises, 1994), pp. 149–166.

² Meridians (also "Jing mai"): they are the passages through which *Qi* and blood circulate, correlate the viscera with the limbs, connect the upper and lower parts with the interior and exterior of the body, and regulate the mechanisms of the various parts of the body. These include the Jing-mai (the channels) and Luo-mai (the collateral channels), and hence make the human body an organic whole. A distinction is made between regular meridians, usually referred to as the 12 meridians, and extraordinary vessels. The 12 meridians, together with Renmai (the anterior midline meridian)

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against acupuncture. In the 1920s Western-trained doctors spoke of abolishing Chinese medicine altogether: the government of the Republic of China accepted Western medicine as the dominant system and took steps to outlaw local practices. In the face of this great challenge, Chinese medical doctors proposed to transform Chinese medicine in order to enable it to survive the impact of Western medicine.

What is actually meant by “scientification of Chinese medicine”? No single definition is universally accepted, but the basic idea is to use Western methods to prove and explain Chinese medicine, in an attempt to modernize this ancient, “unscientific” form of healing. There have been many attempts to scientificize Chinese medicine in the last 100 years. The most common approach uses biochemical tests to verify the effectiveness of Chinese medicinals, including herbs and medical formulas.³ Today, it is very common to conduct research on acupuncture using scientific methods, but the mechanism underlying acupuncture is still not completely understood.

In the process of exploring the scientification of Chinese medicine in the 1950s, new insights into brain function, initiated by Ivan Petrovich Pavlov (1849–1936), were used to explain how acupuncture works. Zhu Lian (1909–1987) was the first to offer a Pavlovian model, in her classic book, *The New Acupuncture*, and this explanation initiated intense discussion in Hong Kong.⁴ The purpose of this chapter is to explore the history of the scientification of acupuncture and discuss the medical and political motivations for using Pavlovian theory to explain the effects of acupuncture.

and Dumai (the posterior midline meridians), are called the 14 meridians. Shuai, Xue Zhong et al. (eds) (2006). *Terminology of Traditional Chinese Medicine* (Changsha: Hunan Science & Technology Press), p. 64. Acupoint (also “xue wei, xue dao”): a place on the surface of the body where *Qi* and blood of the channels and network vessels gather or pass. Through the meridians and network vessels, points are connected to other parts of the body and notably the bowels and viscera, whose state of health they can reflect. Various stimuli such as needling, moxibustion, massage, acupressure, and electroacupuncture can be applied at points to regulate internal functions. Wiseman, Nigel, Feng Ye, *A Practical Dictionary of Chinese Medicine* (Brookline: Paradigm Publication, 1998), p. 6. Zang fu (or viscera): the five viscera are organs of the chest and abdomen: heart, lung, spleen, liver, and kidney. The pericardium is considered a sixth viscus in meridian theory. The six bowels (paired by a functional relationship with their respective viscera) are the stomach, small intestine, large intestine, gallbladder, bladder, and triple burner. The function of the viscera is to produce and store essence, while that of the bowels is to decompose food and convey waste. Wiseman, Nigel, Feng Ye, *A Practical Dictionary of Chinese Medicine*, p. 49. For more traditional Chinese medical theories, see Manfred Porkert, *The Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Medicine: Systems of Correspondence* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1974); Nathan Sivin, *Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1987).

³ Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, “How Did Chinese Medicine Become Experiential? The Political Epistemology of *Jingyan*,” *Positions* 10, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 333–364; idem, “From Changshan to a New Anti-malarial Drug: Re-networking Chinese Drugs and Excluding Traditional Doctors,” *Social Studies of Science* 29, no. 3 (1999): 323–358; Robert Yuan and Yuan Lin, “Traditional Chinese Medicine: An Approach to Scientific Proof and Clinical Validation,” *Pharmacology and Therapeutics* 86, no. 2 (2000): 191–198.

⁴ Zhu Lian 朱璉, *Xin zhenjiu xue* 新針灸學 [The New Acupuncture] (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1954).

The Need for a Scientification of Acupuncture

In the early 1920s, the drive to abolish Chinese medicine stirred up an unprecedented debate. When the Republic of China was first established, Japan's educational system—thoroughly modernized over the previous 60 years—was used as a model, effectively excluding the study of Chinese medicine. In 1929, a member of the Ministry of Health, Yu Yan (also known as Yu Yunxiu, 1879–1954), proposed abolishing the practice of Chinese medicine in Nanjing because he viewed it as an obstacle to medical progress. Several laws were passed: Chinese medicine schools were banned, as were medical publications that included nonscientific articles and advertisements, and the 19th year of the Republic of China (1930) became the last year for the official registration of Chinese physicians. These policies aroused nationwide opposition from traditional practitioners, who petitioned the government to rescind the new laws.⁵ Others felt that the time had come to import Western science into the study of Chinese medicine, and they began exploring the joint use of both Chinese and Western traditions.⁶ Transformation, scientific adaptation, and modernization began to look like the tactics that would save Chinese medicine.

As a very complex system, Chinese medicine inspired virulent attacks from Western-style doctors who were nonetheless forced to admit that patients who received traditional treatments often did recover.⁷ How could the effectiveness of these medicines and manipulations be explained? To address this question, experts focused on the chemical testing of Chinese tonics, and in due course they proposed a way to modernize traditional treatments: *feiyi cunyao*, literally, abolishing the theories of Chinese medicine while preserving the medicines.

At that time—roughly 1930–1950—acupuncture did not attract much attention from Westerners. It was still shrouded in a veil of mystery. Why is acupuncture effective for therapeutic and preventive purposes? How can inserting needles into certain acupoints cure diseases and disorders? According to traditional theories, several factors are involved, including *qi*, blood flow, meridian theory, and *zang-fu* theory. The human body has 14 important meridians and nearly 1,000 acupoints. Scientists and doctors trained in Western methods (such as physiology and anatomy) have not been able to verify the meridians and acupoints, which may account in part for the failure of acupuncture to keep pace with Chinese tonics in the race to provide

⁵ For more details, see Xu Xiaoqun, “National Essence vs. Science: Chinese Native Physicians’ Fight for Legitimacy,” *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 4 (1997): 847–877; Ralph C. Croizier, *Traditional Medicine in Modern China: Science, Nationalism, and the Tensions of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968).

⁶ Zhao Hongjun 趙洪鈞, *Jindai Zhong Xi yi lunzheng shi* 近代中西醫論爭史 [History of the Debate over Chinese and Western Medicines in the Modern Period] (Hefei: Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe, 1989).

⁷ Yu Yunxiu 余雲岫, “Kexue de guochan yaowu yanjiu zhi di yi bu” 科學的國產藥物研究之第一步 [The First Step in Conducting Scientific Research on Chinese Medicine], in *Yu Yunxiu Zhongyi yanjiu yu pipan* 余雲岫中醫研究與批判 [Yu Yunxiu on Chinese Medicine: Research and Criticism] (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2006), pp. 244–252.

Chinese treatments with a scientific basis—the mechanism of acupuncture could not be isolated from Chinese medical theories.

In 1951, the publication of *The New Acupuncture (Xin zhenjiu xue)* by Zhu Lian, dean of the Institute of Acupuncture (1949–1960) in Beijing, intensified an already heated debate. This pioneering attempt to set an ancient system on a modern footing appeared at a moment of high social and political drama. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao had proposed the integration of Chinese and Western medicine.⁸ Chinese medicine was included in the national official medical system.

According to Kim Taylor, *The New Acupuncture* owes much to political influences, such as Mao's emphasis on newness, science, and unity, and to socioeconomic conditions during the early years of the People's Republic. The Chinese Communist Party considered acupuncture an affordable, efficacious, and convenient method of treatment particularly suitable for impoverished areas where medical resources were in short supply. The obvious purpose of promoting the use of acupuncture was to address the medical needs in rural villages.⁹ Taylor pointed out that since villagers were familiar with this inexpensive treatment, they would be quite willing to use it—not necessarily the case with novel foreign treatments. Adopted by physicians trained in Western medicine, acupuncture quickly won them over, which added much needed momentum to the fight against disease in rural areas. As acupuncture began attracting more attention, Zhu Lian's book appeared, offering a way to evaluate acupuncture by using Pavlovian theory. Why Pavlov?

Pavlovian Theory Comes to China

Ivan Petrovich Pavlov was a renowned Soviet physiologist. After serving as a professor of pharmacology at the Military Medical Academy in St. Petersburg, he transferred to the physiology department, where he remained until 1925. Under his leadership, the academy became an important center of physiological research. His achievements were enormous, and his research into the physiology of digestion and the function of conditioned reflexes became world famous. He was awarded many honors, including the Nobel Prize (1904), Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences (1907), an honorary doctorate at Cambridge University (1912), and the Order of the Legion of Honor from the Medical Academy of Paris (1915).¹⁰ In 1921 Lenin praised Pavlov's work, speaking of "the outstanding scientific services of

⁸ Volker Scheid, *Chinese Medicine in Contemporary China: Plurality and Synthesis* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); Kim Taylor, *Chinese Medicine in Early Communist China, 1945–63: A Medicine of Revolution* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005).

⁹ Taylor, *Chinese Medicine in Early Communist China*, p. 17–19.

¹⁰ E. M. Tansey, "Pavlov at Home and Abroad: His Role in International Physiology," *Autonomic Neuroscience* 125, no. 1/2 (2006): 1–11. P.O. Makarov, "Ivan Petrovich Pavlov," *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, 31, no. 1 (1996): 77–80.

Academician I. P. Pavlov, which are of enormous significance to the working class of the whole world.”¹¹

From the early days of the People’s Republic of China, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) urged the people to learn from the Soviet Union; this policy, largely implemented through the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, was successful until 1958, when the Sino-Soviet friendship collapsed.¹² During the 1950s, the CCP imported vast amounts of Soviet literature, music, historical theory, and science. Chairman Mao enthusiastically led the campaign: “China has to learn the most advanced science and technology from the Soviet Union.”¹³ Pavlov quickly became the model for Chinese scientists.

During the 1950s, Pavlov’s brilliant image was exalted by the CCP. He was the greatest scientist in the communist world and was fostered by the leadership of the communist party. In 1954, two biographies devoted to his life and achievements were published in China.¹⁴ Both portrayed the scientist as a materialist who loved physical labor, his country, his people, and science. After all, his most renowned theory was deeply intertwined with materialism. Mao was eager to establish new socialist culture and to mold new socialist men, to search continuously for a learning model, and to show that old intellectual models could be replaced by a socialist creed, the basis for a science that went far beyond anything produced under feudalism or capitalism. Obviously, the two biographies were written to satisfy ideological needs. When the Chinese edition of *The Selected Works of Pavlov* appeared in 1955, its translators said, “In order to boost the theoretical level of physiology, medicine, psychology, education, and Marxism-Leninism, our study of Pavlovian materialism must be systematic, profound, and unstinting. Under such urgent need, Pavlovian works should be gradually introduced and translated.”¹⁵

¹¹ Nobel Prize website, http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/laureates/1904/pavlov-bio.html, accessed March 30, 2010. For more details about the life and theories of Pavlov, see Douglas Grimsley and George Windholz, “The Neurophysiological Aspects of Pavlov’s Theory of Higher Nervous Activity: In Honor of the 150th Anniversary of Pavlov’s Birth,” *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 9, no. 2 (2000): 152–163.

¹² Yu Miinling, “Learning from the Soviet Union: CPC Publicity and Its Effects—A Study Centered on the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association,” *Social Sciences in China* 26, no. 2 (2005): 100–111; idem, “A Soviet Hero, Paul Korchagin, Comes to China,” *Russian History/Histoire Russe* 29, no. 2–4 (2002): 329–355.

¹³ Mao Zedong 毛澤東, *Jianguo yilai Mao Zedong wengao* 建國以來毛澤東文稿 (*Mao’s Writings since the Establishment of the People’s Republic of China*), vol. 4 (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 309.

¹⁴ Wu Xiang 吳襄, *Bafuluofu de shengping he xueshuo* 巴甫洛夫的生平和學說 (*Pavlov’s Life and Theories*) (Beijing: Zhonghua quanguo kexue jishu puji xiehui, 1954); Zhao Yibing 趙以炳, *Bafuluofu he ta de xueshuo* 巴甫洛夫和他的學說 (*Pavlov and His Theories*) (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1955). On true Pavlov’s political opinions, see B. P. Babkin, *Pavlov: A Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 152–60; N. A. Zagrina, “Ivan Petrovich Pavlov and the Authorities,” *Neuroscience and Behavioral Physiology* 39, no. 4 (2009): 383–385.

¹⁵ *Bafuluofu xuan ji* 巴甫洛夫選集 (*The Selected Works of Pavlov*), trans. Wu Shenglin 吳生林 et al. (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1955), preface.

In 1953 China's Ministry of Health organized many lectures on Pavlovian theory and published a series of books entitled "The Basics of Pavlovian Theory." Between 1949 and 1957, virtually all of Pavlov's academic research was translated into Chinese; over 30 books were published about his life and work. His life story was published in novelized form and as a movie script. Pavlovian theory became far more than an advanced scientific theory; learning and applying Pavlov's ideas became a political mission. Pavlovian theory was applied extensively to medicine, physiology, psychology, and education in China.¹⁶ Pavlovian theory also offered exactly what was needed to solve the problem of the mechanism of acupuncture.

When William Chen reviewed the new People's Republic's achievements in medicine and public health in *The China Quarterly* in 1961, he dwelt on the intensive studies of the mechanisms underlying acupuncture being conducted in Moscow by Soviet and Chinese doctors. He was convinced that their preliminary explanations harmonized with the Pavlovian theory of conditioned reflexes.¹⁷

Pavlovian Theory and the Scientification of Acupuncture

After she had earned a degree in Western medicine from Suzhou Zhihua School of Obstetrics, Zhu Lian was sent to practice in rural areas. She soon learned a dearth of drugs made Western treatments impractical, so she turned to acupuncture. As experience proved the effectiveness of the system, Zhu yearned to understand the biological mechanisms underlying acupuncture; she believed that this understanding would enable her to make improvements to indigenous medicine: "Transforming Chinese medicine should not be seen as equivalent to replacing the entirety of our medical heritage with a completely new set of Western clinical practices, but as a way of rationalizing and schematizing the entire system in order to upgrade the experience of Traditional Chinese Medicine to the level of a scientific theory."¹⁸

The first edition of *The New Acupuncture* appeared in 1951 and was followed by a second edition in 1954. In the preface to the second edition of her book, Zhu pointed out that she had used Japanese scholars' works to explain the mechanism of acupuncture but totally ignored the physiological activity of the cerebral cortex in the first edition. In other words, she had paid no attention to Pavlovian theory. In the second edition, Zhu turned to the newly fashionable Soviet scientist's findings to explain the mechanism of acupuncture. Her aim was to upgrade acupuncture to a scientific level, and she was convinced that Pavlovian theory offered a scientific

¹⁶ For example, Zhou, Junshang (ed), *The Pavlovian Theory of Two Signal Systems and their Application* (Bafuluofu Liangzhong Xinhao Xueshuo ji qi yingyong 巴甫洛夫兩種信號學說及其應用), Shanghai xinan yixue shushe, 1953. This book discusses how to apply Pavlovian theory into medicine, physiology, psychology, linguistics and education.

¹⁷ William Chen, "Medicine and Public Health," *The China Quarterly* 6 (1961): 153–169.

¹⁸ Zhu Lian, *Xin zhenjiu xue*, p. 6.

basis for understanding acupuncture. According to Pavlov, the normal activity of the cerebral cortex involves excitation and inhibition. When these are unbalanced, the body becomes ill. She also stated that Pavlov's experiment had been conducted on animals: he inserted a needle into the animal's skin, stimulating the central nervous system to heal.¹⁹ Although Pavlov's ideas differed from the tenets of acupuncture, the healing process was identical.

Zhu believed that acupuncture stimulated the nervous system to repair, adjust, and compensate the damaged part of the body and to balance the cortical excitations and inhibitions. The curative effects of acupuncture derive mainly from its ability to stimulate and modulate the regulatory and control functions of nerve cells. Formed by billions of cells that are organized into different patterns to perform distinctive jobs, a human body can automatically repair injuries. Neural stimulation resulting from needling acupoints triggers extensively the regulatory mechanisms that revived the body. However, neural pathways were often located far from the acupoint and the part of the body being treated, accounting for the seemingly arbitrary connection between the two.

In principle, Zhu used Pavlovian theory to explain the curative effects of acupuncture. However, it was not easy to connect the two. It should be noted that Zhu's book rarely appealed to Pavlovian theory to explain the curative effects of acupuncture. For example, the book states that needling the *baihui* acupoint can cure headaches and hemorrhoids, but it fails to explain the relationship between that acupoint and the nervous system or to connect Pavlov's theory with the effects of acupuncture. Why did she neglect this issue? Perhaps because the underlying contradiction between Pavlovian theory and acupuncture could not be resolved: acupuncture is based on meridian theory and most acupoints are situated on the meridians, but the anatomy of the nervous system did not match up perfectly with the meridians. The question of the physiological effects of needling specific acupoints had not been settled. Trying to use the theory of higher nervous activity could provide a scientific basis for modernizing acupuncture, but it could not answer every question posed by the ancient system.

Because the nervous system did not map precisely onto the meridians, those determined to legitimate acupuncture had to make a decision between carrying out more research on the distribution and effectiveness of the nervous system or insisting on the originality of Chinese medical concepts. Once Pavlov's theory of higher nervous activity was applied to acupuncture, traditional Chinese medical theories such as yin-yang, acupoint, meridians, *qi*, and so forth all went by the wayside. Such was the essential cost of scientificizing Chinese medicine.

Zhu could not accept the theory of meridians simply because its illustrations of flesh, bones, and neural networks did not conform to the insights of modern anatomy. Such discrepancies necessitate scientific research on the physiological functions of acupoints. Further research would fit acupuncture into the modern anatomical

¹⁹The current author cannot confirm whether Pavlov conducted this experiment or not. Zhu Lian, *Xin zhenjiu xue*, p. 23.

framework. The theory of meridians, she acknowledged, was not without empirical basis, but she made no effort to discuss the 14 meridians on their own terms, noting instead that the locations of the meridians roughly corresponded to the anatomical distribution of neural excitors. If the acupuncturists of the past had been aware of this, they would have enjoyed far greater success as physicians, she suggested.

Zhu was faced with a difficult dilemma: on the one hand, according to the theory of higher nervous activity, the therapeutic effects of acupuncture come from our repair mechanisms, which means the relationship between acupoints and the *zang-fu* organs is not important. On the other hand, the meridians and acupoints are inseparably related, and the identification of acupoints relies on ancient acupuncture treatises, so if the theory of meridians is rejected, then the basis for traditional acupuncture will vanish.

After reading *The New Acupuncture*, Chairman Mao endorsed Zhu's approach. In his view, the higher nervous activity described by Pavlovian theory was the key to explaining acupuncture's mystical effectiveness. And, conversely, acupuncture could provide very rich materials for Pavlovian theory. Further research into this idea could produce highly significant results, which would, in turn, enhance modern medicine. Research on acupuncture would therefore make a great contribution to the reform of medical theory.²⁰ Zhu's application of Pavlovian theory to acupuncture suited Mao's political and ideological needs. Considering China's close ties to the Soviet Union, in 1954 it was politically expedient to seek the support of Pavlovian theory to unravel the mysteries of acupuncture.

Because Zhu's explanation fulfilled a political purpose, it was not challenged in Mainland China. However in Hong Kong, still a British colony, a heated debate ensued. Xie Yongguang (1928–1998), a famous local acupuncturist, published a long review article in the October 1956 issue of *Zhongguo xin yiyao* (*China's New Medicine*) roundly criticizing Zhu's rejection of the 14 meridians. He commented that Zhu had never mentioned the relationship of particular meridians to the treatment of specific illnesses. This was a grave oversight, since the meridian theory had been developed over a long period and should not be summarily rejected without much thought of its historical significance. The distribution of meridians, unrelated to our neural networks, blood vessels, and lymph glands cannot be explained by modern anatomy, surely a shortcoming.²¹

Chen Chunren (1908–1990), a renowned practitioner of Chinese medicine, pointed out two trends in the history of acupuncture—retrenching and absorbing ideas from other disciplines. His article, in which he emphasized stimulation points

²⁰ Anonymous article entitled *Mao Zedong de Zhongyi qingjie* 毛澤東的中醫情結 (Mao Zedong on Chinese Medicine), on the website of the Chinese Acupuncture and Moxibustion group, <http://www.acucn.com/inside/news/200810/4727.html>, accessed March 31, 2010.

²¹ Xie Yongguang 謝正光, "Ping zhulian xin zhenjiu xue" 評朱璉新針灸學 (Review of Zhu Lian's *The New Acupuncture*), *Zhongguo xin yiyao* 中國新醫藥 (*China's New Medicine*) 31 (1956): 7–10. For the introduction of the latest research on meridian theory and neuroscience, please see Wang HuangJun, Ayati M. Hossein, Zhang Weibo, "Meridian Studies in China: A Systematic Review," *Journal of Acupuncture and Meridian Studies*, 3, no. 2 (2010): 1–9.

rather than the 14 meridians, was clearly influenced by Zhu's book; Chen even suggested that neurologists could help identify the location of acupoints.²²

Thus, it is clear that Pavlovian theory not only had an impact on the explanation of the mechanism of acupuncture but also presented a great challenge to traditional Chinese medical theory.

Conclusion

Because his scientific accomplishments made him a great hero in the Soviet Union, Pavlov was presented as a role model to the Chinese people in the 1950s. Ceaselessly promoted by Party organs, Pavlovian theory was widely applied in many fields. As the drive to integrate Chinese and Western medicine provided acupuncture with explanations founded on experimental findings, Pavlovian theory was wedded to an ancient Chinese medical system. After 1958 Sino-Soviet relations deteriorated and Soviet scientists ceased to be celebrated in Beijing's press. While Pavlovian theory was not applied to acupuncture research for very long, Zhu Lian opened a door that will someday lead to a true rapprochement between neuroscience and acupuncture.²³

²² Chan Cunren 陳存仁, *Zhongguo zhenjiu wenxian shang san ge wenti de zongjie* 中國針灸文獻上三個問題的總結 (Resolving Three Issues Raised by Chinese Acupuncture Texts), *China's New Medicine* 33 (1958): 3.

²³ To cite two examples, Z. H. Cho, E. K. Wong, and J. H. Fallon, *Neuro-Acupuncture* (Los Angeles: Q-Puncture, 2001); Thomas Lundeberg and Irene Lund, "Acupuncture for Preconditioning of Expectancy and/or Pavlovian Extinction," *Acupuncture in Medicine* 26 (2008): 234–238.

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