Journal of the British Association

for Chinese Studies

Volume 5

January 2016

Journal of the British Association for Chinese Studies

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The Syntactic Style of Cultural Revolution Literature

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Abstract

This paper investigates the language of official literature produced during the Cultural Revolution (CR), concentrating on linguo-stylistic characteristics of sentences, relating to length, rhyming, parallelism, quotation and grammaticality. By demonstrating the intended syntactic features, it aims to explore the language's aesthetic and stylistic characteristics and functions. A comparative perspective is made of the CR literary language with that of pre-CR and post-CR literature.

Keywords*: formalist criticism, sociological criticism, linguo-stylistics, stylistic register, syntactic style, CR literature*

Introduction

Ever since Russian formalist criticism emerged, literary criticism has placed much emphasis on the language of literature.[1] F. De Saussure's theory of structural linguistics resulted in enhanced linguistic criticism of literature.

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[1] Although successive theories and practices, including New Criticism and Structuralism, were distinct from preceding ones, a general tendency towards greater emphasis on the linguistic perspective in literary criticism was evident. See Fowler, 1975.

Harold Whitehall formulated the view that: "as no science can go beyond mathematics, no criticism can go beyond its linguistics" (Whitehall, 1951: 713). Roman Jakobson went even further and stated: "Since linguistics is the global science of verbal structure, poetics may be regarded as an integral part of linguistics" (Jakobson, 1960: 350). The practice by which classic linguistic concepts and paradigms, such as "langue", "parole", "signifier", "signified", "deep structure" and "surface structure", have been applied to literary criticism indicates the extent to which scholars have incorporated modern linguistics into literary criticism.

Sociological criticism based on the literary criticism of Stalin's Soviet Union dominated Chinese literary criticism between the Yan'an period and the late 1970s. This criticism affirmed the demarcation between the "form" and the "content" of literature, regarding language as an essential aspect of the form of literature. Echoing Mao's Yan'an Forum demands, the Cultural Revolution (CR) literary authorities claimed "the unity of revolutionary political content and the best possible artistic form" to be the highest pursuit of CR literature (Lin Biao, 1967).

Although no specific authoritative documents regarding language in CR literature were available, CR critics' comments on the language of CR works indicate the principles promoted by the CR authorities on literature and the arts. Below is a quotation from an official writing group, which shows that the language was under the careful scrutiny of the literary authorities and workers.

> The hackneyed and stereotyped language, which displays mediocrity, vulgarity and obscurity, can certainly not depict the revolutionary nature of our time or represent the quality of our heroes … Pure steel is smelted through high temperature; the language of revolutionary works needs be refined carefully and polished repeatedly. Taking the model theatrical works as models and employing the most beautiful language, let us produce new works and create brilliant heroic characters, thereby glorifying our great era (Fang Yun, 1974).

The CR is well known for its ideological struggles in the humanities.[2] Nevertheless, although many humanities-related fields suffered from catastrophic attacks, the field of language studies was to a great extent spared. This was a result not so much of linguistics' particular relationship with both the humanities and the natural sciences as of Stalin's doctrine on the relationship between language and class character. In response to a number of Soviet linguists who attempted to define language by means of Marxist class theory and argued that language had class character, Stalin wrote a series of essays entitled "Marxism and Linguistics", in which he rejected the concept of the class character of language.[3] According to him, "Language, as a means of intercourse, always was, and remains, the single language of a society, common to all its members… The formula about 'the class character' of language is erroneous and non-Marxist'" (Franklin, 1972: 420). In spite of the ideological conflict between China and the Soviet Union during the 1960s-70s, the Chinese government generally affirmed the validity of Stalinism. Stalin's doctrine on language was introduced to China in the 1950s and regarded as a Marxist classic on linguistics.[4] This endorsement emanating from Stalin's views on language played an important part in protecting Chinese linguists and linguistics during political campaigns. In all the political campaigns of the 1950s and 1960s, including the Anti-Rightist campaign and the Cultural Revolution, we seldom find influential linguists under attack. This situation thus offered CR writers some

[2] See "The CCP Central Committee's 'May 16th' Circular" (May 16, 1966): "The whole Party must follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions, hold high the great banner of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called "academic authorities" who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticise and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature, art, and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres." (Institute of International Relations, 1978: 236).

[3] A Chinese version of Stalin's essays is *Makesizhuyi yu yuyanxue wenti* 马克思主义与语言学问题 [*Marxism and Linguistic Issues*] (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1953). Stalin's statements were extensively quoted and interpreted by Chinese scholars. A representative exposition can be seen in Gao Mingkai, 1963: 44-66.

[4] While affirming Stalin's statements, Chinese scholars made efforts to reconcile them with Saussure's linguistics. In the 1960s, before the CR, the sensational discussion on the differences between *langue* and *parole*, which attracted many linguists and critics, further affirmed Stalin's statements. This reached the conclusion that *langue*, as a semiotic system does not have class character, but *parole*, as speech or discourse, may do so.

freedom in the exploration of their language, including the freedom to experiment. In brief, therefore, the linguistic style of CR literature to a great extent represented the endeavours of the CR literary authorities and writers to explore the "best possible artistic form" of literature.

The present study deals with the syntactic style of official CR literature. "CR literature" refers to the literary works of the Cultural Revolution, including fiction, poetry and drama.[5] Nevertheless, CR literary works consist of two groups: the first was originally produced before the CR but revised and published during the CR; the second group was produced or very substantially reworked during the CR, with most works being created after 1969. As a synchronic study, this article concentrates exclusively on the second group. Hence, Hao Ran 浩然, the most important CR writer, had two CR novels: *Jinguang dadao* 金光大道 [*The Golden Road*] (Hao Ran, 1972-1974) and *Xisha ernü* 西沙儿女 [*The Sons and Daughters of Xisha*] (Hao Ran, 1974).[6] The former is the best known CR novel and has been mostly analysed by scholars from the literary, sociological and ideological perspectives. However, *The Golden Road* is not included in this linguistic exploration, since it was partly written before the CR. The primary CR works sampled are: *Hong taiyang song* 红太阳颂 [*Ode to the Red Sun*],[7] *The Sons and Daughters of Xisha, Shanchuan huxiao* 山川呼啸 [*Mountains and Rivers Roar*] (Gu Hua, 1976),[8] *Yuhou qingshan* 雨后青山 [*Mountains Green after*

[5] According to Chinese critical convention, the written form of drama, including both script and libretto, is regarded as a literary work or text, whilst drama in performance mode belongs to the arts.

[6] This novel was one of the most experimental CR works, highlighting the author's intentional linguo-stylistic creation in his CR writing. His well-known pre-CR and post-CR novels include *Yanyangtian* 艳阳天 [*The Sun Shines Bright*] (Vol. 1, 1st ed., Beijing: Zuojia Chubanshe, 1964; vol. 2 and 3, 1st ed., Beijing: Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, 1966), and *Cangsheng* 苍生 [*The Common People*] (Beijing: Shiyue Wenyi Chubanshe, 1988).

[7] The Chinese Department of Yan'an University, 1977. It includes a collection of the best-known CR paeans to Mao.

[8] This novel attracted much attention from the contemporary literary authorities and a film based on it was in production before the end of the CR. The author was also popular in the post-CR period. His post-CR novels include *Furongzhen* 芙蓉镇 [*A Small Town called Hibiscus*] (Beijing: Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, 1981).

Rain][9] and *Dujuanshan* 杜鹃山 [*Azalea Mountain*] (Wang Shuyuan, 1973).[10] As indicated in the footnotes below, these works were very well-known during the CR, and the authors were either renowned individual writers before, during and/or after the CR, or joint authors promoted in the CR. 'Syntactic style' refers to linguo-stylistic characteristics at the sentence level, relating to length, rhyme, structure and functional nuance. According to linguists, the study of style is essentially comparative and contrastive (Leech and Short, 1992: 51-54; Spencer and Gregory, 1964: 59-105; and Halliday, 1970: 68). This study puts the syntactic style of CR literature in a comparative perspective with that of pre-CR, and, especially, post-CR literature.

Stylistic Categories

The first stylistic category under discussion concerns the length of sentences. Long and short sentences are relative concepts and sentence length varies in individual texts since many factors can influence this. For instance, narrative sentences are generally longer than exclamatory sentences; descriptive texts have more long sentences than conversational texts; and adults' language includes more long sentences than children's language.

Based on these present observations, short sentences are more conspicuous in comparison with post-CR works. Below is a descriptive discourse composed of short sentences from Hao Ran's *The Sons and Daughters of Xisha*. Following linguistic conventions, only "。", "?" and "！" are counted as sentence punctuation marks in the present analysis.

> 海不啸。 云
> 不动。 轮机
> 不鸣。
> 人群无声。(Hao Ran, 1974: 228)

[9] Baise diqu san-jiehe chuangzuo zu, 1976. The authorship of this novel is a three-in-one group. It was one of the small number of CR novels published by a top press in the field.
[10] This Beijing opera received considerable critical acclaim in the CR. See *Red Flag*, No. 10 (1973): 84-88, and *Red Flag*, No. 6 (1974): 70-75.

The sea did not roar.
The clouds did not move.
The turbines did not sound.
The people kept quiet.

This section is of prose text although the sentences are printed in separate lines. Prose texts in this novel are mostly printed in lines; the printing style represents one aspect of the author's experimentation with the novel's language. The four sentences are short in length, with an average of 3.5 syllables each. They are all of simple subject-predicate structure.

Some other descriptive texts in CR fiction include normative-phrase or single-word sentences, which do not have predicates and are normally short. Regardless of other factors, the authors' stylistic predilection for short sentences is in the distribution of such sentences. .For example, in Gu Hua's *Mountains and Rivers Roar*, we can find such descriptive sentences as: 两个月后。 (The time) "Two months later." (Gu Hua, 1976: 17); 县委院子里。 (The locality) "In the courtyard of the County Committee." (ibid); 呼龙峡！ "The Hulong Valley."(Gu Hua, 1976: 89); 可是今天！ "But today!" (ibid); 夜 ○ "Night." (Gu Hua, 1976: 132). Below is a quotation from *The Sons and Daughters of Xisha* (Hao Ran, 1974: 200)

岛上的灯光，一点又一点。
海上的船影，一片又一
片。…… 金银岛上的椰子树、
古泉井。 黄沙土里的古铜
钱、花瓷盘。 日本侵略者的
枪声。 西沙先烈的鲜血。
十五年前南越西贡劫持我们渔船事件。

The island speckled with dots of light.
The sea around crowded with vessels.
The coconut trees and old wells on the Treasure Island.

The ancient copper coins and porcelain plates buried in yellow sand.
The shots from the Japanese invaders.
The blood of the Xisha martyrs.
The incident when Saigon Vietnamese seized our fishing boats fifteen years ago.

This section consists of seven sentences, of which the last five are normative-phrase sentences. These normative-phrase sentences present a series of scenes appearing montage-style before the eyes of the heroine A Bao 阿宝.

Consistent with the characteristic of using numerous short sentences, long sentences in CR literature generally include frequent pauses. This can be seen in the following example from *Mountains Green after Rain*:

你的所作所为，其实早就在群众当中积怨很深，意见纷纷了！干工作好大喜功，不顾客观规律，独断专行！如今闹起争地 纠纷，群众思想波动，就是你自行其是的恶果！对干部排斥 打击，对群众漠不关心，偏袒私己。这些，就是龙榕群众给 你的评论！一个人屡犯错误，却不思悔改，反而巧言令色， 极力洗刷，甚至倒打一耙，这是什么态度？ (Baise, 1976: 488).

The masses have had a lot of complaints about what you did for a long time! Disregarding objective laws, you have a fondness for the grandiose, and like to make arbitrary decisions and take peremptory actions. Now the quarrel about land boundaries, which upsets the masses, is precisely the evil consequence of your arbitrary action! Discriminating against other cadres, you are indifferent to the masses and partial to your personal friends. All these are comments on you by the Longrong masses! You have made mistakes again and again, but you have no intention of mending your ways; on the contrary, you have a glib tongue, try to gloss over your faults, and even make unfounded counter-charges. What sort of attitude is this?

This characteristic of having short sentences or frequent pauses is in accord with scholars' research on the lexical style of CR literature, which indicates that CR literature includes more idiomatic phrases than pre-CR literature. Chinese idiomatic phrases normally include four characters, and epitomise succinctness and neatness in form (Yang, 1996: 165-79).

In CR poetry, the frequent pauses are indicated by separate lines. For example:

红日　红
旗　拉开
了
万里江山的多采画图；　龟
山
蛇山
抬起一座长桥
横出天幕；
大风
大浪　敲
响了
惊天动地的战鼓；　号
声
歌声
应和着
南北两岸的万众欢呼。(Guo Xiaochuan 1971: 441)[11]

The red sun
The red flags
Pulled open
The colourful screens of vast expanses of land
Tortoise Mountain

[11]Guo was one of the most popular contemporary Chinese poets between the 1950s and 60s. This poem became well known after its first publication in 1971.

Snake Mountain
Were supporting a long bridge
Hung in the sky
The wind
The waves
Were beating
The earth-shaking battle drum
The sound of bugles
The singing
Joining in
The ovation of people on the north and south banks.

Short sentences, or long sentences with frequent pauses, can also often be seen in pre-CR literary texts, especially pre-CR poetry, such as the poems produced in the Great Leap Forward. Nevertheless, representing a stylistic characteristic of literary language, they are more prominent in CR literary texts. This is the exact opposite to many post-CR literary works in which long sentences with few or no internal pauses are commonly seen. Although there is little research on post-CR literary language, some scholars have observed the fact that post-CR literature in the 1980s shows a trend towards increased syntactic length. In her *Dangdai Hanyu xiuci yishu* 当代汉语修辞艺术 [Rhetoric art of contemporary Chinese], Wu Jiazhen 吴家珍 notes that the rhetoric of the post-CR literary language laid stress on the technique of "complication and abundance" 繁丰, which includes an increase in sentence length (Wu Jiazhen, 1992: 8-9). According to Lan Yang's investigation, in post-CR literature, especially in the so-called avant-garde literature, writers were enthusiastic for formalistic exploration of literary language. One mainstream aspect of this was the increased length of sentences, although individual writers also wrote short sentences (Lan Yang, 2012: 117-28). In CR fiction, for instance, we could never find a sentence like the example below from Wang Meng's 王蒙 *Shitai de jijie* 失态的季节 [*The Embarrassing Season*] (Wang Meng, 1994).[12] Sentences such as this are in fact prevalent in the post-CR fiction of Wang Meng and many other writers'.

[12] Wang Meng is one of the most representative post-CR writers. He had been active in the 1950s before he was labelled a Rightist in 1957.

他们必须注意不要给人家得意忘形的印象，或者是想家想城市 – 意味着不安心在农村劳动改造也就是意味着更亟须不让他回家不能让他进城只让他在农村劳动和改造直到他改造好了那一天也就是等到他根本不想进城不想回家只想在农村里劳动为了改造改造为了更好地劳动的时候才让他进城回家为止。(Wang Meng, 1994: 2)

They had to be careful not to give others the impression that they were complacent or that they were thinking of their families or cities — that implied that he was not content to reform himself through labour in the countryside which meant that he should not be allowed to go home or back to the city but he should further reform himself in the countryside until the day when he became well reformed that is he could go home or back to city when he no longer wanted to go back to city or go back home but only wanted to stay in the countryside labouring for reform and reforming for improved labour.

This narrative sentence, which bounded by the Chinese full stop "。", contains 128 syllables. It has only two internal pauses. Linguists might think that this is an ungrammatical sentence or that it is ill-punctuated and should be divided into several sentences. However, such sentences prove to be Wang Meng's intentional stylistic creation. These are commonly seen in his post-CR fiction but cannot be found in his pre-CR writings. After the CR, Wang Meng started to explore different literary techniques; his most noticeable exploration is stream-of-consciousness. The gradual increase in sentence length is one aspect of his experimentation with language style in exploring stream-of-consciousness. On the other hand, Wang Meng's change of style is not an individual phenomenon but represents a fashion trend towards long sentences in the post-CR literary language.

In terms of syntax, sentences are categorised into simple and composite types. This example is a composite sentence. A composite sentence includes two or more clauses, which may independently be simple sentences. The increased length of a composite sentence may be mainly attributable to one

or more extended constituents of the clauses. In the following passage from Zhang Jie's 张洁 *Chenzhong de chibang* 沉重的翅膀 [*Leaden wings*], the second clause includes an attributive of 117 characters.

这种缓慢，绝不是有意做出来的，这是那种有个有地位的丈夫，又长年过着优裕的生活，受惯了人们的奉迎，知道自己的一举一动（哪怕就是掉了一张早已失去兴趣的、某种化妆品的使用说明），立刻会使一些别管有多么着急的事在等着办的人，耐着性儿，毕恭毕敬地守候着的，上了年纪的妇女才会有的缓慢。（Wu Jiazhen, 1992: 9）

This slowness was by no means intentional; it was the slowness of a woman of advanced years, who had a husband of status, lived in comfort and had grown used to receiving people's flattery, and who knew that a single movement of hers (even if it was losing the directions for a certain kind of cosmetics, one that she had long lost interest in) would instantly cause people, no matter how urgent their own affairs, to patiently and deferentially wait upon her.

The main construction of the clause is "这是(......)缓慢" [it was the slowness of (…)]. The long attributive portrays the female character's unhurried manner, reflecting her poised, leisurely and aristocratic deportment.

Apart from existing in prose literary language, extended length sentences also appear in post-CR poetry. The following four lines are taken from Yu Jian's 于坚 well-known poem "Ershi sui" 二十岁 [Twenty years old], which was written in 1983:

二十岁是一只脏足球从玻璃窗飞进来又跳到床上弹起来落下去
在臭袜子黑枕头通洞的内裤和几本黄色杂志里滚几下就不动了
呼噜呼噜大睡挨着枕头就死掉了没有梦醒过来已是下午三点半
二十岁是一棵非常年轻的树在阳光中勃起向天空喷射着绿叶

(Wang Yichuan, 1999: 238)

The age of twenty is a dirty football that flies in through the window falls onto the bed bounces up and down
Rolls among dirty socks a grimily-dark pillow tattered underpants porno magazines and stops
Snoring falls into a deep dreamless sleep as soon as the head touches the pillow wakes up it's already a quarter past three in the afternoon
The age of twenty is a very young tree standing erect in the sunlight ejecting its green leaves towards the sky...]

Each line here has 26 or 27 characters (the whole poem consists of long lines, averaging about 25 characters each). Such extraordinarily long poetic lines are never seen in CR poems, but are not uncommon in post-CR poetry.

According to Wang Xijie 王希杰, a renowned Chinese linguist specialising in rhetoric and stylistics, the functional differences in style between long and short sentences are the following: firstly, long sentences are more complex in meaning and structure, and thus less straightforward in style; secondly, long sentences sound swifter in pace due to their syllabic quantity and density; finally, short sentences are more distinctive and regular in rhythm (Wang Xijie, 1983: 104-110). Based on these characteristics, therefore, we can conclude that CR literary language, which includes large numbers of short sentences and has frequent internal pauses in long sentences, lays stress on stylistic succinctness, straightforwardness and rhythmicity.

The next category is rhymed sentences. Of all the rhetorical devices present in the language style of literary texts, rhyming is one of the most universal. Rhyming in Chinese literature has a very long-established tradition: some basic rhyming patterns were established in literary discourses produced around three thousand years ago. In traditional Chinese literature, poetic texts follow established rhyming rules, and prose works commonly include rhymed sections. The rhymed sections in prose texts are presented either in the form of phrases or sentences in works such as the Confucian classics, or in the form of verses in texts such as drama and fiction. In the 1920s and 30s, however, the dominance of modern vernacular Chinese as a result of the

Literary Revolution meant that the prominence of rhyming in literary texts was weakened by emerging modern literary styles, including unrhymed poetry (created and translated) and spoken drama. Nevertheless, from the Yan'an period to the 1980s, in spite of the existence of non-rhymed works, rhyming was emphasised in mainstream verse-related literature.

The present investigation indicates that during the CR the prevalence of rhyming reached an unprecedented extent in the history of modern Chinese literature. The CR literary world regarded rhyming as a key component of aesthetic endeavour or experimentation in CR literary language style. We have so far not found a single officially-published poem during the CR period which does not contain rhyme. This enhanced role for rhyme in fact went so far that rhyming broke into a number of areas that were conventionally the preserve of unrhymed discourse. For instance, spoken parts or prose monologues and dialogues [*nianbai* 念白] in Chinese drama include both non-rhyming and rhyming types [*sanbai* 散白 and *yunbai* 韵白]. In Beijing operas, *nianbai* are conventionally *sanbai* while *yunbai* may sporadically exist (primarily in characters' monologues) (Cao Yu & Huang Zuojian, 1983: 458). In CR Beijing operas, however, a development toward rhyming prose discourse is evident. CR Beijing operas consist of two groups of five operas each: one, produced before the CR and slightly revised in the early years of the CR; the second, produced or substantially revised during the CR. For the former, *nianbai* are generally not rhymed, but in the latter they developed toward being rhymed. *Azalea Mountain* and *Rock Bay* (A Jian, 1976) are representative of this rhyming experimentation, in which almost all spoken parts are rhymed. The example below is from *Azalea Mountain* and the rhymed syllables (characters) are underlined (the English translation given omits the rhyming characteristics of the source text):

罗成虎　　毒蛇胆抓住了杜妈妈！(紧抓雷刚手)
雷　刚　　啊？
罗成虎　　绑在镇口，受尽摧<u>残</u>！(顿足)
雷　刚　　(震惊) 啊！(猛甩罗成虎手，冲向隘口)
温其久　　杜妈妈待大哥恩重如<u>山</u>，
　　　　　可不能袖手旁<u>观</u>哪！

雷　　刚	集合部队，马上下<u>山</u>！（冲向树桩欲拔刀）
李石坚	（力阻）敌强我弱，不能蛮<u>干</u>！
温其久	（对雷刚）火烧眉毛，你要果<u>断</u>！
李石坚	上级命令，岂能违<u>反</u>！
	〔雷刚翻身扑向树桩，李石坚再阻。
雷　　刚	嗳！（挣脱）唱【二黄散
板】	人命关天不容<u>缓</u>，
	心急好似箭离<u>弦</u>。　　哪
	管山崩地又<u>陷</u>，
	不杀那毒蛇<u>胆</u>(扑至树桩，拔刀）我誓不
	回<u>山</u>！（拔刀欲冲下）……
郑老万	那里定有重兵埋伏，
李石坚	岂不是自投罗网，
郑老万 }	
李石坚 }	有去无<u>还</u>！（按住雷刚手臂）
雷　　刚	他就是张网捕鱼，（甩开李石坚、郑老万的手）
	我也拼他个鱼死网破，打他个稀巴<u>烂</u>！
柯　　湘	棋错一着，
	要输全<u>盘</u>。
雷　　刚	山下亲人遇<u>险</u>，
	岂能坐视不<u>管</u>！
柯　　湘	首先转移出<u>山</u>，
	然后设法救<u>援</u>。
雷　　刚	我主意已定，
柯　　湘	要考虑再<u>三</u>。
雷　　刚	你太主<u>观</u>！
柯　　湘	这是蛮<u>干</u>！
雷　　刚	不救亲人，
	我决不出<u>山</u>！（又欲冲下）
柯　　湘	（再急阻）
	这样救法，
	后果更<u>惨</u>！（Wang Shuyuan, 1973, 65-67)

Luo:	The Viper has arrested Granny Du. (*Seizes Lei Gang's hands.*)
Lei Gang:	No!?
Luo:	She's tied up at the entrance to town, being cruelly tortured. (*Stamps his foot.*)
Lei Gang:	(aghast) Ah! (*Shakes off Luo's hands and dashes towards the gap.*)
Wen:	You owe Granny Du a great debt of gratitude, brother; you mustn't just look on with folded arms.
Lei Gang:	Muster the troops. We'll set off at once. (*Rushes to the tree stump to retrieve his sword.*)
Li:	(*stops him*) Don't be so rash – we're no match for the enemy.
Wen:	(*to Lei Gang*) Resolute action's needed at this critical moment.
Li:	We mustn't go against orders.
	(*Lei Gang turns and rushes to the tree stump. Again Li stops him.*)
Lei Gang:	No! (*Struggles. Sings.*)
	We must hurry – a life is at stake.
	I am burning to fly like an arrow from the bow.
	Even if the mountain falls, the earth gives way,
	I swear not to return (seizes the sword from the stump)
	Till I have killed the Viper! (*Whirls his sword and prepares to dash off.*)…
Zheng:	They're bound to lay an ambush there.
Li:	You'd be walking into a trap.
Li & Zheng:	And you'd never come out alive. (*They hold Lei Gang's arms.*)
Lei Gang:	Even if they try to trap me, (*throws off their hands*)
	I'll go down fighting and drag them to hell with me!
Ke Xiang:	One wrong move
	Can lose the whole game.
Lei Gang:	But her life is in danger;
	How can I just sit watching?

Ke Xiang:	First withdraw from the mountain,
	Then find some means to save her.
Lei Gang:	No, my mind is made up.
Ke Xiang:	You must think again.
Lei Gang:	You're too subjective.
Ke Xiang:	You are too impulsive.
Lei Gang:	I refuse to leave the mountain
	Till she's rescued. (*Starts dashing off again.*)
Ke Xiang:	(*stops him again*) Your rescue plan
	Can only make things worse. (Wang Shuyuan, 1974: 118-9)

As stated below by Wang Shuyuan, the playwright of this drama, rhyming the text was his (and other co-operators') intention:

> In the spirit of Chairman Mao's instruction "weed through the old to bring forth the new", we introduced an innovation, rhyming the dialogue throughout the opera. On the basis of classical Chinese poetry, while retaining good features of the traditional dialogue, we broke the fetters of convention and incorporated forms of expression from modern Chinese poetry to render the spoken passages more expressive. Our aim was to make the dialogue more harmonious, rhythmic, antithetical and dramatic. (Wang Shuyuan, 1974)

Since rhyming was conventionally regarded as a fundamental feature of poetic language, the experimentation of rhyming all monologues and dialogues highlights the contemporary aesthetic emphasis on poeticised literary language. Nevertheless, this phonetic arrangement is likely to weaken the natural syntactic style of the operas' monologues and dialogues, and to reduce differentiation between the lexical register of conversation and aria. We could tentatively conclude that this phonetically stylistic pursuit or experimentation to some extent deviated from the politically sanctioned goal of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, since the style seems too literary to be appreciated by the target audience.

Apart from poetry and drama, the application of rhyme is also visible in CR fictional prose discourses, although the rhyming is not formulated as strictly or extensively as in the modern Beijing operas. Chinese characters are generally monosyllabic and Chinese rhyming includes two categories: 'strict' [*yanshi* 严式] and 'loose' [*kuanshi* 宽式]. In the first, the rhymed syllables have the same final; in the second, the rhymed syllables have similar finals (Wang Xijie, 1983: 164-93). It is the second type that predominates in CR fictional prose discourses. The rhyming can be seen both in the narration by the author or narrator and in the speech of the characters. Below are two quotations from Gu Hua's *Mountains and Rivers Roar*:

> 燕子含泥，布谷唤<u>春</u> 。 今年春天的脚步<u>勤</u>。 她怀揣数不清的　花苞，绿芽，嫩<u>茎</u>，又要把经历了一冬霜打雪盖的大地，装　扮得繁花似<u>锦</u>，绿草如<u>茵</u>，万木争<u>荣</u>；她带来丰肥的雨露，　　和煦的东<u>风</u>，百鸟的啼<u>鸣</u>。她用许多柳雾，杏雨，桃<u>云</u>，在　　溪旁路口，村院果<u>林</u>，悬崖岩嘴，山谷田峒，到处留下了美　好的色彩富丽的足<u>印</u>……(Gu Hua, 1976: 447)
> Swallows carried bits of earth and cuckoos called Spring. Spring came early. She carried numerous buds, green sprouts and tender stems. She was about to decorate the land which had experienced the winter's frost and snow and to make it full of beautiful flowers, green grass and luxuriant trees. She brought the land abundant rain and dew, genial spring wind and birds' merry singing. Beside brooks, at entrances of roads, in village courtyards and orchards, and on cliffs, valleys and fields were her beautifully colourful footprints.

> 同志<u>们</u>！我们已经向那些梦想开倒车、耍阴谋的人显示了我们不可动摇的力量和决<u>心</u>！昨天的哑炮事件，我们一定要查<u>清</u>！不把阴谋家、牛鬼蛇神挖出来，决不收<u>兵</u>！下面，同志们继续开<u>工</u>。 继续用我们大干社会主义、大批资本主义的行　动，投入这场斗<u>争</u>！(ibid: 375)

> Comrades! We have already demonstrated our unshakable power and determination to the people who dream of turning back the wheel of history and pursue intrigues and conspiracy. We shall certainly investigate the incident of the failed explosives from yesterday. We shall not stop fighting until we catch the schemers and enemies. Now, let's go on with our work. We should participate in this struggle through our activities in building socialism and criticising capitalism.

In the first example above, apart from the sentence-ending rhymes, there are frequent internal rhymes in long sentences. This example is a description of the scenery of the setting. The highly rhymed sentences enhance the musicality of the description. The second example is a section from the protagonist Liu Wangchun's 柳旺春 speech addressed to the villagers on a worksite. Unlike the previous example, which represents the beauty of nature and has a certain inherent poeticism, this example describes class struggle, offering an intense ideological atmosphere seems too discordant with the rhymed text.

In *The Sons and Daughters of Xisha*, Hao Ran certainly paid much attention to language. Some of his efforts involved experimentation in an attempt to produce poetic effect.[13] Much of the novel was printed in lines so as to enhance the intended poeticised style. Rhyming was often taken into consideration. Below is an example:

他原来以为岛子上是荒凉的，没料到人民公社社员们，已经
用双手把宝岛变成一片繁荣的景象。 这里有社员自己平坦
的<u>路</u>。
这里有社员自己凉爽的<u>屋</u>。
这里有社员自己种植的菜
田。 这里有社员自己栽培的
果<u>树</u>。

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[13] The novel's language was in particular commended by the publisher as being "poetic". See "Neirong tiyao" 内容提要 ["Introduction to the Work"], *The Sons and Daughters of Xisha*, verso.

这里有社员自己的武装民兵—他们没有埋头劳动，在阿宝带领下，正在一面生产，一面练<u>武</u>。(ibid: 163)

He had originally thought the island would be desolate, and had never imagined that the people's commune members would have already changed it into a flourishing scene. There were the commune members' flat roads. There were the commune members' comfortable houses. There were the vegetable fields cultivated by commune members. There were the fruit trees grown by commune members. There were the commune members' own armed militiamen — they were engaged in not only productive labour but also military training under A Bao's leadership.

A further type of sentence feature is parallelism; this can be sub-divided into antithetic parallelism [*dui'ou* 对偶] and progressive parallelism [*paibi* 排比]. In structure, antithetic parallelism consists of two parallel parts; progressive parallelism includes at least three parallel parts. Although both these two categories are commonly seen in CR literature, the former, antithetic parallelism, is more significant.[14]

As a stylistic feature, similar to the above categorisation of rhyme, antithetic parallelism in Chinese includes loose and strict parallel forms; in the former, the two parallel items have the same or similar syllabic numbers (characters) and grammatical structures, whilst for the latter, apart from having the same (rather than similar) numbers of syllables, rhythmical constructions and grammatical structures, the two items are contrastive in tonal patterns and rhyme schemes. This strict antithetic parallelism had originally been unintentional, but after the Wei 魏 and Jin 晋 dynasties, when traditional Chinese phonology was established, it gradually became part of the writer's conscious style. It applied to, or was ruled to be applicable to, various types of literary work, and the stylistic significance of antithetic parallelism in Chinese literary language cannot be overstated.

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[14] For the definition and stylistic characteristics of the two categories of parallelism, see Wang Xijie, 1996, 432-44; Hu Yushu, 1986, 526-30.

Along with rhyme, antithetic parallelism also came in for criticism in the modern literary campaign of the early twentieth century, which regarded it as a stylistic feature of the classical Chinese language.[15] Nevertheless, in spite of this opposition to it, antithetic parallelism has often been employed by contemporary Chinese writers. What is significant here is that usage reached an unprecedented level in CR literature. It can be stated that the CR literature under discussion includes a higher density of antithetic parallelisms than any other period of twentieth century literature. In the general framework of Modern Standard Chinese, these antithetic parallelisms are mostly loose ones. Moreover, parallelism can be applied at various syntactic levels, such as word, phrase, clause and sentence. The present study indicates that in CR literature greatest number of antithetic parallelisms appears at clause level. The parallelisms in the following examples are underlined:

让资产阶级去笑话我们'痴'和'傻'吧！我们<u>痴在农村绣地球，傻为革命把根扎</u>！<u>他们搭的是经不起风雨的个人安乐窝，我们建造的是使公社山河一新的幸福堤坝</u>！(Gu Hua, 1976, 304)

Let the bourgeoisie ridicule us for being "crazy" and "foolish". We are proud of being "crazy" because we are embroidering the earth in the countryside; we are proud of being "foolish" because we settle in the villages for the revolution. What they are striving for is only constructing their own cosy but flimsy nests, but what we are building is a dam of good fortune, which will bring an entirely new look to the commune.

文化革命暴风雨
带来祖国新天地:
<u>芳草绿</u>,
<u>春山碧</u>, <u>新松亿株</u>,
<u>彩虹万里</u>。(Gong Yiming, 1976)

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[15] The pioneers of modern Chinese literature and language opposed rhyming and parallelism. See Hu Shi, 1917.

The storm of the Cultural Revolution
Has brought forth new scenery to the country:
Fragrant grasses are green,
Mountains in spring are verdant,
A hundred million new pine trees,
Ten thousand miles of rainbows.

The first of these two examples is from a conversation between the protagonist and his companion in Gu Hua's *Mountains and Rivers Roar*; it consists of three sentences. The first is a simple sentence, and the other two are compound sentences. The two clauses of each compound sentence are parallel. The whole section is rhymed. The second example is from a well-known CR poem; the four underlined lines are four coordinate clauses, which include two parallelisms. There are two rhymes, 'u' and 'i' each appearing in alternate lines.

Antithetic parallelism can also often be seen at phrase level. For example,

只见垄场里，水田似镜，秧苗正绿；坡地上，<u>梯田叠翠，碧波连天</u>。 垄陌之中，悬崖之畔，干直枝虬的木棉树，抽萼扬　　蕾，红花怒放，有如<u>长虹贯日，烽火燎天</u>。 (Baise, 1976: 588)

In the farmland there were mirror-like paddy fields and green rice seedlings; on the hillside there were green terraced fields and emerald waves extended to the sky. Between fields and on cliffs, red kapok flowers were in full bloom with calyxes and buds waving. The flowers looked like long rainbows or flames of war stretching into the sky.

Hao Ran pushed parallelism forward beyond the internal structures of sentences. In *The Sons and Daughters of Xisha,* antithetic parallelism is frequently extended to paragraphs. The novel reads at the beginning:

西沙的雨量特别丰裕。 它把这岛屿上所有植物的叶子都滋
润　得肥肥的、厚厚的，包含着过多的水份，仿佛稍一挨
碰，就　要滴下来。

西沙的光照特别充足。 它把这岛屿上所有草木的花朵都养
育　的密密的、艳艳的，呈现着过浓的色彩，好似微一接
触，就　会印记在衣襟上。(Hao Ran, 1974: 3-4)

There is abundant rainfall in Xisha. It enriches the leaves of all plants on the island, making them plump and stout. They seem like drops of water which would fall with only the slightest brush.

There is plentiful sunshine in Xisha. It raises all the flowers on the island, making them flourishing and full of colour. They seem likely to leave an imprint on your clothes with only the gentlest touch.

   The other type of parallelism under discussion, progressive parallelism, was also commonly applied to CR literary texts. For example:

唐群面向群众，把这个消息一宣布，瞬息间，会场上红旗招
展，锣鼓震天，歌声阵阵，鞭炮齐鸣。 恰似春雷滚滚，松
涛　呼啸，叫人心弦激荡，振奋不已。(Baise, 1976: 585

Facing the crowd, Tang Qun announced the news, then, in a twinkling, there was the waving of red flags, the deafening sound of gongs and drums, the echoing of dulcet singing, and the resounding of firecrackers on the meeting ground. It was like thunder in spring or the soughing of wind in pines, which heartened all the people.

大海，鼓动起银亮的碧
波。　波浪，催开了梨花
千万朵。　蓝天，飞跑着
柔软的白云。

云影，又轻轻地把海浪和船帆拭抹……(Hao Ran, 1974, 196)
The sea was surging with silvery waves. The waves bloomed beautifully. Soft clouds were floating in the blue sky. The shadow of the clouds was lightly touching the waves and sails.

In many cases the progressive parallelism is combined with rhetorical repetition; that is, the paralleled items include certain repetitive elements. For example (with the repetitive elements being underlined):

西沙的军民，紧紧地连接在一起。　西沙的
军民，牢牢地站立在一起。　西沙的军民，
久久地战斗在一起。(ibid: 139-40)

The soldiers and civilians in Xisha closely united together.
The soldiers and civilians in Xisha firmly stood together.
The soldiers and civilians in Xisha long fought together.

This frequent application of parallelism and rhyme by the writers of CR literary texts was intended to enhance the stylistic register of literary Chinese. These syntactic features accorded with the lexical characteristics of CR literature, and marked a trend towards highlighting the language's literary style (Yang, 1998: 165-86). This use of parallelism and rhyme was not only popular in official CR literature, but was also prevalent in underground CR literature. For instance, underground CR poems were generally rhymed and full of parallelism. These include the misty poems by a number of famous post-CR poets such as Bei Dao 北岛 and Shu Ting 舒婷, which were written during the CR but were published afterwards (Yang Jian, 1993: 73-166).

No official policy documents on the frequent application of parallelism and rhyme have been found. One reason for the popularity of stylistic parallelism and rhyming could have been the influence of the writing style of Mao Zedong and other old revolutionaries.[16] According to McDougall, Mao personally

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[16] Apart from Mao Zedong, a number of other old revolutionaries, such as Chen Yi and Ye Jianying, were also proficient craftsmen of classical forms of Chinese poetry,. Chen Yi's poetry circulated underground widely after his death in January 1972.

preferred traditional literature to modern literature. In traditional literature, he loved *lüshi* 律诗 and *ci* 词 for poetry and *fu* 赋 for prose. All these classical genres are known for their emphasis on the above stylistic characteristics. Mao's personal literary writing exclusively took the form of *lüshi* and *ci*, in which he showed impressive skill in applying the specified classical stylistic paradigms (McDougall, 1978). In the immediate aftermath of the CR, Mao's poetry was almost the only poetry in official circulation. During the campaign to study Mao's works, his poetry, which was also graced by his calligraphy, became widely known. Although his poems were in the classical style, and not as accessible as modern new poems, the powerful propaganda by which they were disseminated and explicated promoted their popularity. This popularity was, of course, due to both meaning and form, but the form, which is relevant here, was that of *lüshi* and *ci*. The popularity of classical-style poetry during the CR is attested by numerous sources. Yang Jian notes that there was a tendency towards writing *lüshi* and *ci* in the underground CR literary world (Yang Jian, 1993, 201-38). A small pre-CR book on the stylistic rules of classical poetry by the famous Chinese linguist Wang Li 王力 circulated underground, and became a style guide from which people learned how to write *lüshi* and *ci*.[17] In the Tian'anmen Incident of 1976 people displayed numerous mourning poems dedicated to the late premier Zhou Enlai and opposing the Gang of Four. These poems came to be regarded as an exhibition of unofficial CR poetry; significantly, the majority of the poems were in the classical style (Yang Jian, 1993: 407- 408).

Another stylistic category investigated here is the use of direct speech and indirect speech. In terms of grammar, direct and indirect sentences are of different syntactical structures. Linguists have distinguished between the two by comparing their representational characteristics. According to Wang Yichuan 王一川, direct speech has a more explicit and straightforward style, since it presents the speaker's mind directly. The direct presentation authenticates the representation of the narrative. By contrast, indirect speech tends to indicate some implicit or oblique nuance, since it is offered by the author or the narrator rather than the actual speaker (Wang Yichuan, 1999: 147-48).

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[17] The book was entitled *Shici gelü* 诗词格律 [*Tonal Patterns and Rhyme Schemes of Classical Poetry*], which was published in the early 1960s. It can be seen in Wang Li, 1989.

As noted by Wang Yichuan, there is a tendency towards indirect speech in many post-CR works (ibid: 145-48). In the fiction of Ge Fei 格非 and Su Tong 苏童, two well-known post-CR writers, for instance, indirect speech occupies a dominant position. Below is an example from Ge Fei's "Hese niaoqun" 褐色鸟群 ["Brown Flocks of Birds"]:

> 棋从我的公寓的椅子上站了起来，她一定是知道我的故事再也没有任何延伸的余地了。她说她该走了。她还说今天下午　她要去"城市公园"参加一个大型未来派雕塑的揭幕仪式。她　说这座雕塑是李朴和一些自称为"慧星群体"的年轻艺术家共　同完成的，她说过一些时候再到"水边"的公寓里来看我。(Ge Fei, 1993: 76).

> Qi stood up from the chair in my apartment house; she must have been aware that my story had come to an end. She said that she had to leave then. She also said that she would go to the "City Park" that afternoon to attend the grand unveiling ceremony for a futuristic sculpture. She said that the sculpture had been produced by Li Pu and several young artists who claimed to be "a group of comets". She said that she would come to visit me again in my apartment house by the "waterside".

This passage includes four sentences of indirect speech, which could be converted into direct speech as follows:

> 她说："我该走了。"　她还说："今天下午我要去'城市公园'参加一个大型未来派雕塑的揭幕仪式。"　她说："这座雕塑是李朴和一些自称为'慧星群体'的年轻艺术家共同完成的。"　她说：　"过一些时候再到'水边'的公寓里来看你。"

> She said, "I have to leave now" She also said, "This afternoon, I shall go to the 'City Park' to attend a grand unveiling ceremony

for a futuristic sculpture". She said, "The sculpture was produced by Li Pu and several young artists who claim to be 'a group of comets'". She said, "I shall come to visit you again in this apartment house by the 'waterside'".

Direct speech in Chinese texts is conventionally indicated with a colon and quotation marks, the former to introduce and the latter to mark. However, some authors prefer to blur the distinction between the two speech forms by refusing to use quotation marks and colons. In other words, in order to reduce the reader's impression of narrative authenticity indicated by direct speech, or to keep with the oblique style of narration suggested by indirect speech, writers remove formal markers of direct speech. The example below is from Su Tong's "Qiqie chengqun" 妻妾成群 ["Wives and Concubines"].

飞浦摇摇头，一下一下地把打火机打出火来，又吹熄了，他朝四周潦草地看了看，说，呆在家里时间一长就令人生厌，我想出去跑了，还是在外面好，又自由，又快活。颂莲说，我懂了，闹了半天，你还是怕她。飞浦说，不是怕她，是怕烦，怕女人，女人真是让人可怕。颂莲说，你怕女人？那你怎么不怕我？飞浦说，对你也有点怕，不过好多了，你跟她们不一样，所以我喜欢去你那儿。(Su Tong, 1990: 24)

Shaking his head, Feipu took out his lighter; again and again he struck a light but blew it out. He glanced all around and said, it makes me be bored with the family that I stay so long at home; I want to go away; it's better to stay outside; I have more freedom and feel happier outside. Songlian said, I've understood now; you are actually still afraid of her. Feipu said, I'm not afraid of her; I'm afraid of trouble; I'm afraid of women; women make me scared. Songlian said, why are you not scared of me if you're scared of women? Feipu said, I'm also a little bit scared of you, but much less; you're different from them; I like to be with you.

CR literature, however, shows a contrasting style, in which direct speech dominates. Below is a quotation from Gu Hua's *Mountains and Rivers Roar*:

于是两个小青年，边走边谈，…… "只是听说他最近一段，心情不
好！"小莽转了话题，"说他象 闷雷公！"
"为了什么事？" 黎小芳心里顿时泛起了淡淡的愁云。
"这个事要我说出来呀，先讲好条
件。""你卖关子！"
"你立保证！"
"保证什么？"
"保守机
密。"
"哪—，不当听的，我不
听。""哪—，不该说的，我
不说。"

Then, the two youths had a conversation as they walked, ……
"I hear that recently he has a heavy heart," Xiao Mang changed
topic. "It is said that he has become reticent."
"What's wrong?" a gloomy mood came over Li Xiaofang.
"I may tell you but I have to set a condition."
"You are just mystifying."
"You must promise!"
"Promise what?"
"To keep it secret."
"Then, I don't want to hear what I shouldn't hear."
"Then, I shan't say what I shouldn't say."

This example represents the typical direct speech style of CR fiction, presenting such features as short sentences, quotation marks, and single speech paragraphs. Stylistically, the prevalence of direct speech in CR literature offers a perspective on the straightforwardness of CR literary language. In view of the promotion of literary realism during the CR (Yang, 1996, 88-105), this prevalence accords with the claimed spirit of this literary technique— encouraging authentic or realistic representation.

The final aspect of this study is the use of ungrammatical sentences. A common national language in principle has its established grammatical norms, based upon which speakers can check their speeches for grammaticality. Due to the particular morphology of Chinese, the establishment of grammatical norms has been a controversial topic ever since linguists started to analyse the language within the framework of modern linguistics. Nevertheless, in spite of its relatively loose characteristics, a broadly accepted grammatical system for modern Chinese was generally recognised from around the 1930s. The system was endorsed by the Chinese government during the 1950s, although, like the grammar systems of other languages, it has had the flexibility to allow further revision based on practical usage and natural development. Synchronically, thus, we have the basis to judge a structure's contemporary ungrammaticality even if it is due to become grammatical following future development. Based on contemporary criteria, for instance, the following sentences from post-CR works are ungrammatical (with the ungrammatical parts underlined):

我泪滴下来：“我爸要活着，知道我当了作家，非打死我。” (Wang Shuo, 1992: 75)
Tears dripped from my eyes: "If Dad were alive and knew I had become a writer, he would not beat me to death" (he would surely beat me to death).

他家门口已经蹲了几个老头。还没落地，哼得也不紧。他把 锄子往墙上一靠，也蹲下了。(Wang Anyi, 1995: 197)
Several old men were already squatting on their heels in front of his house. (It) had not come into the world; (she) had not groaned aloud. He leant his hoe against the wall, and he too squatted down.

电影已经快要演完，他突然十分十分地感动起来。
(Wang Meng, 1994, 7)
The film would be over soon; he was suddenly very very moved.

他们一个比一个更纯洁高尚理想。(ibid: 24)

They are all truly pure (,) noble (and) ideal.

In the first example above the first 我 ought to be in the possessive case, and then 我泪 becomes 我的泪 "my tears"; the last clause 非打死我 ought to be 非打死我不可 "he would surely have beaten me to death" since 非……不可 is a fixed structure indicating a negation of negation.[18]

In the second sentence of the next example 还没落地，哼得也不紧 has two clauses, but neither has a subject. The absent subjects are neither 他 "he" nor 老头 "old men" which appear in the preceding sentence or the following sentence. The complete form would be 婴儿还没落地，女人(他妻子)哼得也不紧 "the baby had not come into the world; the woman (his wife) had not groaned aloud." The absence of subjects is not a conventional rhetorical omission, and the incompleteness of the two clauses is likely to give rise to confusion in reading.[19]

In the next example, the second clause includes two adverbials: 突然 "suddenly" and 十分十分, the reduplicated form of 十分 "very". Based on the contemporary norms, however, bisyllabic adverbs of degree were not eligible for reduplication in written Chinese.[20]

The final example consists of two parts: subject and predicate. The predicate includes a coordinative word group 更纯洁高尚理想, where the structure does not conform to the existing grammar norms. A reasonable form in the context would be 更纯洁、更高尚、更富有理想 "more pure, noble and full of ideals".[21]

Sentences such as the above are fairly common in post-CR literature. Although some of them might be regarded as stylistic features, such as ironical imitation, deliberate misuse or language experimentation, they

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[18] For the norms of the attributives with *de* and the negation of negation under discussion, cf. Li Dejin and Cheng Meizhen, 1988, 267-72 and 689-92.

[19] For the rules of the presence and absence of subjects in complex sentences, cf. Hu Yushu, 1986: 389-90.

[20] For the norms on the reduplication of adverbs, cf. Li Dejin and Cheng Meizhen, 1988: 107.

[21] For the norms on coordinative phrases, cf. ibid: 155-62.

factually do not conform to the existing grammar norms, that is, they are ungrammatical.

By contrast, however, rarely can ungrammatical sentences be found in CR literature. For instance, I have not found any ungrammatical sentences in the sampled *Mountains Green after Rain* and *The Mountains and Rivers Roar*. In Hao Ran's *The Sons and Daughters of Xisha*, I have found only the following line which is ungrammatical:

她十分的高兴。因为她对追求的目标十分有信心。(Hao Ran, 1974: 62).
She was very happy. Because she had full confidence in the goal she was trying to reach.

This line is comprised of two sentences. In the first, according to current grammatical norms, the structural particle 的 should be deleted. The second sentence beginning with 因为 "because" can be taken as a causative subordinate clause, but where is the main clause? If the full stop were removed and the two sentences combined into one it would produce a structurally complete composite sentence (Li Dejin & Cheng Meizhen, 1988: 267-72 and 669-73).

The remarkable grammaticality of CR literary language is an indication of the extent to which people at the time observed the established norms of standard Chinese. Apart from the observance of the CR writers, this may have reflected the attention other organisations and individuals paid to grammaticality. For instance, censorship was strict during the CR, and editors had to go through manuscripts very carefully: the grammaticality of CR literary language may be partly attributable to their efforts.

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, we may reach the conclusion that at a syntactic level, in comparison with pre-and-post-CR literary language, CR literary language demonstrated, or endeavoured to demonstrate, the

following six characteristics: musicality, rhythmicity, symmetry, grammaticality, succinctness and straightforwardness.

The first three characteristics are rooted in the stylistic paradigms of the classical Chinese literary language. They are based on such intrinsic factors of the language as tone changes and an abundance of monosyllabic words and homophones. From the key role poetry played in the development of traditional Chinese literature, we may see the importance the latter placed on stylistic musicality, rhythmicity and symmetry. Although themes such as love, marriage, homesickness, patriotism, and meditation remained constants in traditional poetry, there were changes in verse format over time: from four character lines [*siyanshi* 四言诗] to five character lines [*wuyanshi* 五言诗], seven character lines [*qiyanshi* 七言诗], regulated verse *lüshi*, 'cut off verse' [*jueju* 绝句], 'song lyrics' [*ci* 词], and 'arias' [*qu* 曲], etc. These changes involved syllable numbers, line numbers, tonal patterns, rhythmical constructions, rhyme schemes and syntactic structures. These all reflected the ways in which traditional writers sought to explore musicality, rhythmicity and symmetry in language style.

However, it was these stylistic characteristics that came under attack in the early twentieth century during the May 4th New Culture Movement and its literary revolution. Those pioneers of modern Chinese literature, in opposing classical Chinese and promoting the vernacular language, called on writers to reject these classical stylistic paradigms, which were significantly weakened in subsequent years.

Since the rationale for the CR was the destruction of traditional culture and its values, it might be expected that the CR literary language would further weaken these stylistic paradigms. Yet, as this investigation shows, what actually happened was the reverse: CR literature reaffirmed those traditional stylistic paradigms and applied them to literature written in modern standard Chinese. Scholars have carried out many studies on the relationship between the CR and traditional Chinese culture, pointing out paradoxes between the stated aims of the CR and its actual impact. The CR was supposed to sweep away outmoded facets of feudal culture but it actually carried forward and reinforced many of them (Liu Qingfeng, 1996: 127-48). Other studies have focused on the ideological level: for example, the CR personality cult is compared to traditional loyalty to emperors, and the CR communist altruism

to Confucian and Buddhist asceticism. However, the fact analysed in this study that classical stylistic paradigms were revived during the CR reveals the relationship between the CR and traditional culture from a different perspective.

According to Chinese linguists, one of the practical functions of rhyming, parallelism and rhythmicity is to impress readers with sound and structural association so as to make the text easier to remember, since in traditional China remembering texts was an essential part of literary education (Qi Gong, 199: 5). During the CR it was the fashion for people to recite slogans, verses and quotations while participating in the relevant ideological campaign. This fashion is reflected in rhyming, parallelism and the rhythmical language. Thus, the aesthetic aims of the CR literary language were undermined by the practical function being pursued through intensified musicality, rhythmicity and symmetry. Moreover, in terms of modern rhetorical aesthetics, the overwhelming neatness of the literary language would tend to reduce the language's modernity, flexibility and liveliness.

The fourth of the above-generalised characteristics of CR literary language is grammaticality. Unlike pre-CR literature and the arts, which were generally denounced during the Cultural Revolution, the norms of Modern Standard Chinese (*Putonghua*) endorsed officially in the 1950s were not subjected to attacks during the CR. Although people showed unprecedented enthusiasm for breaking with existing conventions in many other fields, it proved to be the case that CR writers consciously and strictly followed existing grammatical norms. Their strict observance of these grammatical norms resulted in the unified grammaticality of the CR literary language, although, as a general stylistic characteristic, this unified grammaticality to some extent militated against stylistic variety and experimentation, especially the development of individual styles.

The last two generalised characteristics of CR literary language are succinctness and straightforwardness, which are essentially applicable to meaning. These stylistic factors could reasonably be attributed to the literary authorities' consistent promotion of the idea that literature and the arts were to serve the common people, especially the workers, peasants and soldiers. Complexity, vagueness and sophistication seemed beyond the tastes of the specified audience. Yet, the above analysis indicates that CR literary language

was formalistically complex, borrowing classical stylistic paradigms of musicality, rhythmicity and symmetry. These characteristics seem to be in conflict with the succinct and straightforward style. The answer to this apparent paradox seems to be that musicality, rhythmicity and symmetry are stylistic conceptions that apply to form and structure while succinctness and straightforwardness mainly operate at a semantic level.

Post-CR literature turned away from the language style of CR literature. Classical style paradigms such as musicality, rhythmicity and symmetry largely disappeared. During the 1980s and 1990s verse without rhyme or symmetry became dominant, and stylistic complexity, obscurity and ungrammaticality were common features of poetry, fiction and drama. Inspired by Western modernism, a number of writers enthused about language experimentation, engaging in what scholars call "a language carnival".[22] The carnival-like experimentation, which was aimed at breaching established norms and conventions, has undoubtedly enriched the language style of post-CR literature. At the same time it may be thought to have produced certain anti-aesthetic tendencies. A thoroughgoing investigation is thus needed into the language style of post-CR literature and its relationship with its predecessors.

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[22] The term "carnival" is quoted from Mikhail Bakhtin. A number of Chinese scholars have become interested in Bakhtin's "dialogic" theory, and his notions of "carnivalisation" and "heteroglossia" are adopted to explain post-CR changes in Chinese culture and literature. See Liu Kang, 1995, 2, 129, 181 and 182.

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Speaking of Gods: The Discourse of the Extrahuman in early Chinese Texts

Justin Winslett

Abstract

Though contemporary scholarship on religiosity in early China has been abundant and fruitful in the past few years, much of the focus of this scholarship has been on issues pertaining to ritual and the socio-political role of religion. Few studies have looked at other issues under the rubric of religion- notably that of the extrahuman. This is interesting both from the perspective of religious studies, where most scholars define religion in some capacity with the extrahuman, and Chinese studies, where there have been traditions of scholarship that have discounted the presence of the extrahuman in early China.

This paper will, hence, look at the topic of the extrahuman in early Chinese texts, particularly how these texts intellectually engaged with the extrahuman. It will show that a rich discourse of the extrahuman existed in many texts in early China and that the subject was a vital one to the arguments presented by the texts. Despite the great diversity seen, this paper will argue that there existed two dominant approaches in the discourse of the extrahuman in early Chinese texts titled 'How' and 'What'. This paper will show that these two approaches are divided in time, with the intellectual discourse of the Eastern Han being different from that of the Western Han and Warring States. This paper will show that this change in discourse is a symptom of the changes in the societies and intellectual communities that constructed these texts.

Keywords: Early China, Extrahuman, Supernatural, Religion, Religiosity, Intellectual History

經傳所載，賢者所紀，尚無鬼神，況不著篇籍！世間淫祀非鬼之祭，信其有神為禍福矣。

That which is held in the Classics and commentaries and that which is recorded by the worthies is but without deities, moreover they are not put forward in the scrolls and records!

> The heterodox sacrifices of the common lot are not sacrifices
> for ghosts; rather they believe that these gods make disaster
> and good fortune. (*Lunheng*, 1990: 77.1067)

The above quotation is from a text entitled the *Lunheng* 論衡 attributed to a man named Wang Chong 王充 in the 1st century CE. In this quote, taken from larger discussions on religious practices, Wang asserts an absence of extrahuman agents,[1] captured here by the terms deities *guishen* 鬼神, throughout the pages of earlier texts and records, commentaries and the much vaunted Classics that all serve to create the standard normative order of government and society and even the orthodox religious practices that would have informed Wang Chong's, and later generations', world (Lewis, 1999: 360, Nylan, 2001: 2). Whereas these lines illustrate the dramatic importance text and textuality played in the construction of the early Chinese world, they also illustrate an understanding that extrahuman agents were not an issue to the authors of these texts and that looking to them for information regarding what extrahuman agents were and how they behaved in early China is not possible.

Indeed, this assertion has some indirect resonance with an earlier statement found in the *Analects Lunyu* 論語, a text dated roughly 300 to 400 years earlier than the *Lunheng* and attributed as being the words of Confucius *Kongzi* 孔子. Analects 7.21 states that 'The Master does not speak of oddities, power, disorder and gods.' 子不語怪、力、亂、神. (*Lunyu*, 1990: 7.21.272) When interpreting this as an exemplary phrase that illustrates what is not Masterly-behaviour, those who then wish to emulate Masterly-behaviour would thus do well to avoid discussing these four topics, including the extrahuman.

Despite such assertions, it has been noted that the Master did speak of these subjects quite freely in many texts (Nylan and Wilson, 2010: 88-99),

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[1] The term 'extrahuman' has been put forward by Agehananda Bharati who argued for its use rather than the term 'superhuman' given that the entities he was describing do not necessarily reflect anything 'above' humanity (See Bharati 1976), this is a use that both Poo Mu-chou and David Schaberg have adopted. (Poo, 1998: 5-6.) (See Schaberg 2001: 96-124) As this paper is concerned not with what these things are, but how intellectual communities of this time are speaking about what is not 'human', the term contains important resonance to denote this realm that is 'extra' to the communities' experience.

and a simple perusal of many of the transmitted texts from this period reveal that most early Chinese texts are littered with diverse representations of the extrahuman, such as gods *shen* 神, ghosts *gui* 鬼 and chthonoi (earth spirits) *qi* 祇 (Sterckx, 2007: 24-25, Winslett, 2010: 256-260). [2] In contrast to the *Lunheng's* assertion, extrahumans and the discussion of extrahumans are quite common in texts from before the Eastern Han.

But since this is the case, why does the *Lunheng* assert that these things are absent from these earlier texts? The *Lunheng* does not explain this; rather it uses this passage to derive legitimacy for its own, at times contradictory, arguments pertaining to extrahumans (Zufferey 1995: 260-261). In other words, it engages in a discourse on the extrahuman as too do the texts it discounts doing so. But then why does it reject these discourses? Why do such things appear in these texts? Is the way the *Lunheng* engages with the discourse of extrahumans in earlier texts different from those earlier texts, something that may explain why it discounts them? Indeed, what is the discourse on the extrahuman in early Chinese texts?

Given the vast period of time and great diversity of texts originating from early China, it is not unexpected that one finds great diversity in the ways in which these texts talk about matters concerning the extrahuman. However alongside this diversity, there are consistent patterns to how texts from early China talk about the extrahuman. Although consistent patterns can be seen in terms of the types of extrahumans discussed, gods are markedly more common than ghosts for example, and when naming specific deities, Heaven *tian* 天 is referenced most often (Winslett, 2010: 12-14), it is in the overall approaches that the texts take in discussing the extrahuman that remarkably consistent patterns emerge.

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[2] The English translations of these terms are provided merely as a convenience for readers with little background in Chinese to make them aware that different words are employed in Chinese. Although all of these terms fall within the realm of the extrahuman, the semantic range of some of these terms, most notably *shen*, is broad and though can be argued to map somewhat onto the English term 'god' also has additional meanings which the English translation may not map onto well. A discussion of this and the other terms is outside the scope of this paper, but has been dealt with to a small degree by Sterckx 2007 and Winslett 2010.

It is these consistent patterns in discourse that concern this paper as it is through these patterns that light can be shed on what commonalities these diverse texts shared, despite being produced by intellectual communities that cover large spans of time and space. To this end, this paper will first illustrate and discuss two of the most common forms of discourse found in a diverse range of texts, which will be termed the 'How' and 'Why' discourses, and then proceed to analyse what may have contributed to these discourses seen in the texts provided and what they can tell us about the communities that constructed them. The texts that will be discussed in this paper are but a very small representative sample of the material available. They were primarily chosen for their historical and cultural significance. These two dominant approaches are in no way mutually exclusive to one another nor are they the only ways in which these discussions can be understood, but as will be seen, these approaches are very pervasive in a multitude of texts and reflect consistent rhetorical and argumentative strategies adopted by these texts in their discussions of the extrahuman. Further, these approaches are also informative providing strong insight and clues not only into how these texts understand the extrahuman but also the dynamic and changing intellectual worlds and cultures that produced these texts.

'HOW'

The 'How' approach reflects a discussion of the extrahuman where the primary way in which they are brought into the text is in the elucidation of how they act and behave. Texts that discuss the extrahuman in this way frame the extrahumans in terms of how they act and behave in sacrifice and ritual; indeed none of the texts that will be discussed allots a section to the extrahuman as a topic in itself, however not all texts are organized along the lines of topical sections and some organizational methods are artefacts of later stages in the development of these texts,[3] but rather most frequently discuss the extrahuman in sections devoted to sacrifice and ritual.

On one level, this underscores the importance sacrifice plays in the socio-political systems espoused in these texts as it serves as a powerful tool in

[3] For further discussions of how texts were composed in early China, see Boltz, 2005 and Kern, 2005.

socio-political legitimization and authority.[4] On another level, it highlights how these texts strongly associate the extrahuman with these topics and thus reinforces the need to understand how they behave in these systems.[5] As will be seen in the following passages, the discussions in these texts expand on issues pertaining to what roles the extrahuman play in the sacrificial systems by expanding on how the extrahuman operate with respect to the human, most notably the role of the sovereign. They spend time talking about the duties and proprieties of the extrahuman to the human, and in fact those of the human to the extrahuman.

Analects

子疾病，子路請禱。子曰：「有諸？」子路對曰：
「有　　之。誄曰：『禱爾于上下神祇。』」子曰：
「丘之禱久　矣。」

The master had fallen ill, and Zilu requested he pray. The Master said, 'Have you done this?' Zilu responded, 'I have. A eulogy says, "I have prayed for you to the deities of the high and the low."' The master said, 'My praying has been for a long time.' (*Analects*, 1990: 7.35.282-284)

季路問事鬼神。子曰：「未能事人，焉能事鬼？」敢
問　死。曰：「未知生，焉知死？」

Jilu asked about serving the deities. The master said, 'If you are not yet able to serve man, how will you be able to serve ghosts?' He dared to ask about death. He replied, 'If you are not yet able to understand life, then how will you understand death?' (*Analects*, 1990: 11.12.449-450)

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[4] Much has been written on this subject in the context of early China, see Lewis, 1993, Poo, 1996, Puett, 2009.
[5] For discussions of how sacrifice impacts the human interaction with the extrahuman, see Brashier, 2012: 184-228.

Already *Analects* 7.21 has been discussed, advising that when it comes to how the master is to relate to the extrahuman, the master is not meant to speak about it. This does not seem to be something adhered to in the text, as some of these examples show. This is not necessarily a conflict though, as the *Analects* is organized as a series of sayings and anecdotes attributed to Confucius, but often featuring many different aspects of that character and other characters (Nylan and Wilson, 2010: 25-27).

Regardless of the internal consistency of the text and how one should understand these passages in terms of their 'message', one sees continued discussion with how the extrahuman and the human are to relate to one another. The issue of ritual, in this case prayer, is what prompts the appearance of the extrahuman. The extrahuman agents of deities and ghosts are mentioned, but only in generic terms with no great qualification beyond the notion that there are deities above and deities below. In both these examples, the discussion of the extrahuman is one which is involved in a discourse of behaviour, something that is also dependent on the behaviour of the human as illustrated by the concern for the behaviour of the Master in 7.21.

Zuozhuan 左傳
'Zhuang' 莊 32.3 (662 BCE)

秋七月，有神降于莘。

惠王問諸內史過曰：「是何故也？」對曰：「國之將興，明神降之，監其德也；將亡，神又降之，觀其惡也。故有得神以興，亦有以亡，虞、夏、商、周皆有之。」王曰：「若之何？」對曰：「以其物享焉。其至之日，亦其物也。」王從之。內史過往，聞虢請命，反曰：「虢必亡矣。虐而聽於神。」

神居莘六月。虢公使祝應、宗區、史嚚，享焉。神賜之土田。史嚚曰：「虢其亡乎！吾聞之：國將興，

聽於民；將亡，聽於神。神，聰明正直而壹者
也， 依人而行。虢多涼德，其何土之能得？」
In the seventh month, in Autumn, a god descended to Shen.[6]

King Hui asked Royal Secretary Guo, 'What is the reason for this?' He replied, 'When a state is about to rise up, bright gods[7] descend there because they keep watch over its virtue. When it is about to fall, gods also descend to it because they gaze upon its wickedness. The reason one has obtained a god is because one is on the rise, and also because one is about to fall. Yu, Xia, Shang and Zhou all had such cases.'

The King said, 'What are we to do?' He replied, 'We are to make a sacrifice to it with items to suit the occasion. The day it arrived is what [prescribes] the items needed.' The King followed this. Royal Secretary Guo went and heard that the state of Guo made a request of it. He returned and said, 'The state of Guo will surely fall. It is tyrannical and follows the gods.'

The gods dwelt in Shen for six months. The Duke of the state of Guo sent Supplicator Ying, Steward Qu and Scribe Chen to sacrifice to it. The gods bestowed land and territory to them. Scribe Chen said, 'The state of Guo will fall! I have heard that when a state is about to rise, it follows the people, and when it is about to fall, it follows the gods. When gods are bright and proper and one with a man, they rely on him to carry out actions. Guo is very frivolous with virtue.[8]

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[6] A location in the state of Guo that is found near modern day Sanmenxia 三門峽, Henan.

[7] The term 'bright' modifying 'gods' here is marked as it provides an attribute to gods, something of which there is a great paucity in the *Zuozhuan*. As these gods behave similarly to those in other passages of the *Zuozhuan*, and this modification is not followed up, it can only be idly supposed whether this suggests subsets of *shen* or is purely a descriptive marker.

[8] Yang gives *liang* 涼 as *bo* 薄.

What is the land it is able to obtain?' (*Zuozhuan*, 1990: Zhuang 32.3.251-252)

This section is one of many that feature the extrahuman in the *Zuozhuan*, a text that devotes substantial attention to the subject (Schaberg 2001:96-104). Zhuang 32.3 is of noted interested compared to the others as it is one of the few where the events of the passage are framed around the actions of an extrahuman agent, herein a god who descended to Shen. In the discussion that follows, the Royal Secretary Guo discusses, in fine *Zuozhuan* adviser-advisee tropes, with the King Hui about extrahuman events primarily in terms of socio-political realities, something that Kenneth Brashier has spoken of within the confines of other passages of the *Zuozhuan* (Brashier, 2011: 195-202). In the Royal Secretary's discussion, there is no attention paid to what this god looks like or what this god is. Although there is a brief comment about 'bright gods', it is never explicitly developed how 'bright gods' differ from the other gods mentioned in this passage. Indeed, in the discourse of the text the crux of what the Royal Secretary imparts to King Hui rests on how King Hui should respond to this event and in turn how the gods will respond to King Hui. The discussion is couched in strong moral terms with gods descending to both virtuous and the wicked and thus marking the rise and fall of notable personages and dynasties. This moralising is not unusual for the *Zuozhuan*, and, as David Schaberg has pointed out, is a common trope associated with the explaining of the extrahuman (Schaberg, 2001: 98-104).

As the story develops, one continues to see a discussion of how one is supposed to behave to the extrahuman, and in turn how the extrahuman is supposed to behave to the human. The state of Guo behaves improperly to the gods, by accepting land from them, and the Royal Secretary's discussion of this event indicates that Guo will surely fall. This is confirmed to the audience as certainly being fact in the coda of the passage.

Throughout this discussion, the way in which the extrahuman has been framed is in terms of how it should behave in situations, similar to the concern for behaviour seen in the *Analects*. In all of these discussions, there is no explicit discourse on what these different extrahuman agents are. The events in Zhuang 32.3, are set off by the arrival of a god; there is no discussion of what or who this god is, and Royal Secretary Guo's discourse is one that completely subordinates this to a socio-political system where how

it behaves is most paramount. This certainly reinforces the importance of understanding how the extrahuman operate with respect to the human communities that produced these texts, but at the same time may also suggest that in the 'How' discourse descriptions of physical form are not present, but at will be seen, this is not always the case.

Mozi 墨子
'Ming gui xia' 明鬼下

> 非惟若書之說為然也，昔者，宋文君鮑之時，有臣曰祝觀辜，固嘗從事於厲，祩子杖揖出與言曰：『觀辜是何珪璧之不滿度量？酒醴粢盛之不淨潔也？犧牲之不全肥？春秋冬夏選失時？豈女為之與？意鮑為之與？』觀辜曰：『鮑幼弱在荷繈之中，鮑何與識焉。官臣觀辜特為之』。祩子舉揖而槁之，殪之壇上。當是時，宋人從者莫不見，遠者莫不聞，著在宋之春秋。諸侯傳而語之曰：『諸不敬慎祭祀者，鬼神之誅，至若此其憯遫也！』以若書之說觀之，鬼神之有，豈可疑哉？

It is not only that the tales that have been recorded from accounts are true. In the past, during the time of Lord Wen, Bao, of Song,[9] there was a minister called Huo Guangu. He had assuredly been affected by malevolence. A sorcerer held an oar at him and said, 'Guangu, what is this jade doing being of incomplete measure? What is this wine and grain doing being impure? What are the sacrifices doing being incomplete? Have the seasons selected been neglected? How could you have done this? Am I to think Bao does this?' Guangu said, 'Bao is in his infancy and is in swaddling clothes. How would Bao understand this? I, the minister, have done this specifically.'

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[9] Reigned 610-589 BCE.

The sorcerer lifted up the oar and struck him. He died on the altar. At that time, amongst the people of Song who were present, there were none who did not see it. Amongst those who were away, none did not hear about it. It was recorded in the Song's annals, and the feudal lords transmitted it saying, 'All of those who do not respect and mind the sacrifices, then the punishment of the deities will arrive like this- swift and sorrowful.' When one views this with this recounted tale, then as for the existence of deities, how can it be doubted? (*Mozi*, 1993: 31.332-333)

The 'Ming gui xia' of the *Mozi* is ostensibly interested in discussing the existence of ghosts. This is laid out in its introduction where it speaks to those who 'hold that there are no ghosts' 執無鬼者 and responds to this supposed community's complaints in a series of questions and answers. This rhetoric is maintained though the interlocutor's identity changes and the precise topics of discussion somewhat meander concluding with an explanation of the value of sacrifice in the realm.[10]

  The above excerpt is taken from a series of passages all starting with 'It is not only…' as a rhetorical device to further the arguments put forward as to the veracity of the existence of ghosts. Interestingly, a ghost is not specifically meant to appear in this passage but rather a sorcerer, which will differ from a recounting of this story which will be seen later in the *Lunheng*. This tale explains how this sorcerer was displeased with the supplicator Guangu's offerings and thus killed him with an oar for violating ritual propriety. As in the *Zuozhuan* passage before, the appearance of sacrifice is a prime motivating factor in the discussion of the extrahuman. Indeed, even though this text is meant to be about the extrahuman, it concludes with a discussion of the value of sacrifice and role of sacrifice. Likewise, no attention is placed on explaining who or what this sorcerer is, and it is his actions, not his nature, that are discussed to prove the existence of ghosts. Throughout the 'Ming gui xia', discussions of the extrahuman, like this one, do not hinge on explaining what they are, but rather 'how' they relate to the human and operate in the world, and through this show their existence,

[10] A more detailed description of the structure, rhetoric and arguments of this passage can be found in Loy and Wong, 2004: 347-352.

such as in this passage where the sorcerer is displeased with the violation of sacrificial propriety and takes his punishment out on Guangu.

Shanhai jing 山海經
'Shan jing' 山經 (Excerpt)

> 凡(昔隹)山之首，自招搖之山，以至箕尾之山，凡十
> 山，二千九百　五十里。其神狀皆鳥身而龍首，其祠
> 之禮：毛用一璋玉瘞，糈用稌米，一璧，稻米、白
> 菅為席。

> In the case of the peaks of Mt Zhui, from the mountain of Zhaoyue to the mountain of Qiwei is in all ten mountains and 2,950 *li*. All of their gods' forms are bird bodied and dragon headed. The ritual of their sacrifice: an animal[11] is used and one *zhang* of white jade is buried; sacrificial rice is used, glutinous rice, and one *bi* and paddy-field rice.[12] White rushes make up the mats. (*Shanhai jing*, 1992: 1.8)

> 凡西次二經之首，自鈐山至于萊山，凡十七山，四
> 千一百四十里。其十神者，皆人面而馬身。其七神
> 皆人面牛身，四足而一臂，操杖以行：是為飛獸之
> 神；其祠之，毛用少牢，白菅為席。其十輩神者，
> 其祠之，毛一雄雞，鈐而不糈；毛采。

> In the case of the peaks of the second guideway of the West, from Mt Ling to Mt Lai is in all seventy mountains and 4,140

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[11] Guo Pu explains this to mean the use of an animal with fur. In five phases-informed systems, animals are correlated into five categories reflecting their external coverings, with 'hairy' *mao* 毛 being one of the five. There is no mention of any of the other four categories-scaly *lin* 鱗, feathered *yu* 羽, naked *luo* 臝 and armoured *jie* 介. (Sterckx, 2002: 79) Thus it is unclear if this is playing on this system or the character *mao* could be taken simply to denote a class of animals or a generic term for animal. For more discussion of the terms for animals, see Sterckx, 2002: 15-43.

[12] Strassberg translates *dao* 稻 as unhulled-rice (Strassberg, 2002: 89).

forty *li*. Regarding ten of their gods, all are human faced and horse bodied. Seven of their gods are all horse faced, cow bodied, four footed and one shouldered. They lift up a cane so as to move. These are the gods of flying beasts. One sacrifices to them. An animal is used, the *shaolao*, and white reeds make up the mats. Regarding their group of ten gods, one sacrifices to them. The animal is one rooster; one uses a bell and not sacrificial rice. The plumage is multicoloured. (*Shanhai jing*, 1992: 2.38)

凡北次三經之首，自太行之山以至于無逢之山，凡四十六山，萬二千三百五十里。其神狀皆馬身而人面者廿神。其祠之，皆用一藻茝瘞之。其十四神狀皆彘身而載玉。其祠之，皆玉，不瘞。其十神狀皆彘身而八足蛇尾。其祠之，皆用一璧瘞之。大凡四十四神，皆用稌糯米祠之，此皆不火食。

In the case of the peaks of the third guideway of the North, from the mountain of Taixing to the mountain of Wufeng is in all forty-six mountains and 12,350 *li*. The gods' forms that are all horse bodied and human faced number twenty. They sacrifice to them, all using one water rush and iris and burying them. Fourteen of their gods' forms are all hog bodied and wear white jade. They sacrifice to them, all with white jade that is not buried. Ten of their gods' forms are all hog bodied, eight legged and snake tailed. They sacrifice to them. All use one jade disc and the burial of it. In all the cases of the forty-four gods, all are sacrificed to using sacrificial rice that is glutinous rice. This is all not cooked with fire. (*Shanhai jing*, 1992: 3.99)

凡東次三經之首，自尸胡之山至于無皋之山，凡九山，六千九百里。其神狀皆人身而羊角。其祠：用一牡羊，米用黍。是神也，見則風雨水為敗。

In the case of the peaks of the third guideway of the East, from the mountain of Shihu to the mountain of Wuzao is nine mountains and 6,900 *li*. Their gods' forms are all human bodied and goat horned. Their sacrifice: use of a single ram, grain is used, millet. As for these gods, when one appears, then wind, rain and water will make a flood. (*Shanhai jing*, 1992: 4.113)

凡洞庭山之首，自篇遇之山至于榮余之山，凡十五 山，二千八百里。其神狀皆鳥身而龍首。其祠：毛 用一雄雞、一牝豚（气刀），糈用稌。凡夫夫之山、 即公之山、堯山、陽帝之山皆冢也，其祠：皆肆瘞， 祈用酒，毛用少牢，嬰毛一吉玉。洞庭、榮余山神 也，其祠：皆肆瘞，祈酒太牢祠，嬰用圭璧十五， 五采惠之。

In the case of the peaks of Mt Dongting, from the mountain of Zibian to the mountain of Rongyu is in all fifteen mountains and 2,800 *li*. Their gods' forms are all horse bodied and dragon headed. Their sacrifice: an animal is used, one rooster, one sow whose throat has been cut, sacrificial rice is used, glutinous rice. In the cases of the mountain of Fufu, mountain of Jigong, Mt Yao and the mountain of Yangdi, all are marchmounts. Their sacrifices: exposing and burial of the sacrificial items for all. Prayers are used with wine, and an animal is used, the *shaolao*, the pendant for the animal is one multicoloured jade. As for Mt Dongting and Rongyu's gods, their sacrifices: exposing and burial of the sacrificial items for all, prayers with wine and a *tailao*

> sacrifice. Pendants are used with fifteen sets of *gui*[13] and *bi*,
> five-coloured string ties them. (*Shanhai jing*, 1992: 5.179)

The construction and narrative in the above passage, and throughout the 'Shan jing' of the *Shanhai jing* which several scholars argue represents an early stratum of the text (Fracasso, 1993: 359-361), is very formulaic, wherein each section starts out describing the principal mountain of that particular direction. It proceeds to describe features of that mountain; these descriptions can be in depth or brief and lay out any physical characteristics of the mountain be it having rivers and forests, the flora and fauna, which usually have some descriptive qualities, and any resources such as precious metals or minerals found on the mountain, something that early scholars of the text like Rémi Mathieu argue mark this text as having an important socio-political outlook (Mathieu, 1983: CIII). It then proceeds to construct a map by listing other mountains in terms of distance and direction from this peak mountain and describes any important features of them.[14] At the end of the descriptions of each set of mountains, a summary of the mountains of that set is provided that enumerates the length of this range and states how this set has gods. It then provides the ritual sacrifice for these extrahuman agents. Every set in all the sections ends in this manner with similar rhetorical structure as the five examples from one set of each of the sections show.

The extrahuman finds an equally formulaic place in the narrative of the 'Shan jing'; all five of the above passages contain detailed descriptions of the physical forms of gods. These descriptions talk of gods as theriomorphic hybrids such as being 'bird bodied and dragon headed' in the case of the peaks of Mt Zhui or 'human bodied and goat horned' in the case of the peaks of the third guideway of the East. Though some variation in style is present, such as the more lengthy description of seven gods in the second guideway to the West, it still fits in the pattern of depicting these gods as

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[13] A *gui* is a generally rectangular plate of jade whose upper portion tapers to a point to form a triangle. This along with the previous *zhang* and *bi* are often found in treatises on sacrifice as ritual implements.

[14] For an in-depth look at how the *Shanhai jing* physically constructs the world, please see Strassberg, 2002:30-43.

being composite hybrids of what must be assumed to be more readily recognisable animals.

These very evocative descriptions were not seen in the other texts discussed, and this suggests that describing what the extrahuman are is part of the discourse of the 'Shan jing'. The second guideway to the West does provide a qualifying statement to the second set of seven gods it describes by terming them 'The gods of flying beasts', something not seen before nor seen anywhere else in the *Shanhai jing*. This would also suggest that in contrast to the other 'How' texts discussed, this text provides insights and clues into what the extrahuman are, something that would suggest this discourse is similar to the 'What' approach that will be discussed shortly.

Though this is an excellent illustration of how the discourses can be fluid and were of course reflective of patterns in individual texts, it belies the importance of understanding the appearance of these extrahumans to the larger narrative and ignores a vital component of each passage that of sacrifice. In the above examples, sacrifice is the final and most detailed aspect of the descriptions of each of the mountains. All gods throughout these locations are offered a sacrifice, and the descriptions are specific to each type of god. The descriptions primarily describe the items to be employed, often involving types of animals and rice, but have a few prescriptions such as prayers, burials and uses of precious objects. In addition, such as in the third guideway of the East, one sees what happens if one actually sees these gods: wind, rain and water will create a flood.

These strong ritual prescriptions are intimately linked to the purpose of the *Shanhai jing* that of a guideway or manual to manoeuvre a path through the world (Ke, 1978: 1-4, Strassberg, 2002: 229 n 1). This world is not simply constructed explicitly through the descriptions laid out, but implicitly through the narrative patterns laid out. The uniformity of narrative construction and the rhetorical repetition serves as a means of indoctrinating its readers into understanding why such sacrifice is necessary. The rhetoric is designed to construct a proper world, neatly set out and organised about peak mountains in specific directions. In this proper world, gods are associated with every set of mountains; these gods have a specific form, though are given no names to differentiate them, but receive an appropriate sacrifice since that is what the prescriptions explain to their readers.

By providing a specific description of the extrahuman at each site, one is readily able to locate oneself in this world and thus able to determine what mountain one is on, what other flora and fauna are present, and most importantly what sacrifices one is meant to perform. In such a framework, the discourse presented is not concerned with what the extrahuman are as a topic in its own right, but merely how their appearance relates to their association with specific regions in this world and the sacrifices that are meant to be afforded to them. Indeed, one can rely upon these descriptions to understand how the community that produced the *Shanhai jing* thought gods looked, but that is merely implicit information embedded within a much larger point.

Chunqiu fanlu 春秋繁露
'Jiaoyu' 郊語 (Excerpt)

天者，百神之大君也。事天不備，雖百神猶無益也。 何以言其然也？祭而地神者，《春秋》譏之。孔子 曰："獲罪於天，無所禱也。"是其法也。故未見秦國 致天福如周國也。《詩》云："唯此文王，小心翼翼， 昭事上帝，允懷多福。"多福者，非謂人也，事功也， 謂天之所福也。傳曰："周國子多賢，蕃殖至於駢孕 男者四，四乳而得八男，皆君子俊雄也。"此天之所
以興周國也，非周國之所能為也。今秦與周俱得為
天子，而所以事天者異於周。以郊為百神始，始入
歲首，必以正月上辛日先享天，乃敢於地，先貴之
義也。

As for Heaven, it is the great lord of the myriad gods.[15] If in serving Heaven, one is unprepared, then even with the myriad gods will they still be without benefit.

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[15] Although myriad is often used to translate the character for 10,000 *wan* 萬, what in most counting systems employed in Chinese texts would be equivalent to the contemporary

Why do I say that this is so? Regarding sacrificing but to the Earthly gods,[16] the *Chunqiu* investigates this. Confucius says, 'One who is wicked towards Heaven, is without something to pray .'[17] This is my model. Thus one never saw the state of Qin bring about Heavenly good fortune like the state of Zhou.

The *Shi* says, 'It is this King Wen, with mindful heart and reverence, toils and serves *Shangdi*, and is cared for with many blessings.' He received many blessings.' [18] These 'many blessings' are not a reference to people. The service and effort to them refers to that which is blessed by Heaven. Tradition says, 'The Prince of the State of Zhou had many worthy strengths and reproduced until those that were pregnant with twin sons were four. With these four pregnancies, he got eight sons, and all the princes were handsome.' This is the means by which Heaven raised the state of Zhou, and it is not what the state of Zhou was able to do.

Now the Qin and Zhou were both able to make a Son of Heaven, but the means in which they served Heaven was different from the Zhou. They took the *jiao* to be for the myriad gods first, and its beginning to be at the start of the year. One should first sacrifice to Heaven on the *xin* day of the first week of the first month and then deign to do so for

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counting concept of a myriad, its use here is merely in its general sense of a large number as the word for 100 *bai* 百 is also often employed as a modifier implying a large number.

[16] The commentary suggests that pieces of the text are missing, as the Chinese is grammatically incorrect. 'The case of one not sacrificing to Heavenly gods yet sacrificing to the Earthly gods 不祭天神而祭地神者' (*Chunqiu fanlu*, 2007: 65.398.) is a suggested correction. The translation above is slightly glossed to try and capture the idea of essentially opting to sacrifice to gods over Heaven.

[17] *Lunyu*, 2006: 3.13.100.

[18] *Shijing*, 2007: Daya 13.477. The passage in this edition quoting the *Shijing* uses 聿 rather than 允.

Earth. This is the meaning of putting nobleness first. (*Chunqiu fanlu*, 2007: 65.398-399)

'Jiaosi' 郊祀 **(Excerpt)**

故《春秋》凡譏郊，未嘗譏君德不成於郊也。乃不郊而祭山川，失祭之敘，逆於禮，故必譏之。以此觀之，不祭天者，乃不可祭小神也。郊因先卜，不吉不敢郊。百神之祭不卜，而郊獨卜，郊祭最大也。

Thus in the cases of the *Chunqiu* investigating the *jiao*,[19] I have not yet investigated the case of a sovereign who is virtuous and not completing successfully the *jiao* sacrifice. If they had actually not performed the *jiao* but sacrificed to the mountains and rivers, losing the order of sacrifice and being rebellious in ritual, then this should be investigated. When looking upon this, one who does not sacrifice to Heaven then cannot sacrifice to the lesser gods. As for the *jiao*, one first divines; if it is not auspicious, then one doesn't dare perform the *jiao* sacrifice. That the sacrifices of the hundred gods do not involve divination, and yet the *jiao* only involves divination is because the *jiao* sacrifice is the greatest. (*Chunqiu fanlu*, 2007: 69.409)

The 'Jiaoyu' and 'Jiaosi' passages are two of five sections devoted to the *jiao* sacrifice in the *Chunqiu fanlu*, and one of twelve devoted to issues pertaining to sacrifice.[20] The number of sections dedicated to its discussion alone speaks of the *Chunqiu fanlu's* concern for both sacrifice and the *jiao*, beyond its exposition of the sacrifice as supreme owing to Heaven being its recipient, reflecting the importance of Heaven's legitimising role to the sovereign (Queen, 1996: 201-204). Such sentiments echo through both the

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[19] The *jiao* sacrifice is noted nine times in the *Chunqiu*- Xi 31, Xuan 3, Cheng 7, 10, 17, Xiang 7, 11, Ding 15 and Ai 1.
[20] Some commentators have asserted, though, that the five sections devoted to the *jiao* can be understood to represent a single continuous passage (*Chunqiu fanlu*, 2007: 66.394).

passages selected above, wherein the first is deeply concerned with expounding on the proper order of sacrifices, with the *jiao* to Heaven as pre-eminent. The 'Jiaosi' passage then also states that the *jiao* is meant as a sacrifice to Heaven, and holds that only after performing it, can one sacrifice to the lesser gods. It also clarifies that only the *jiao* involves divination, not the sacrifices to the myriad gods.

This lengthy discussion of sacrifice is not surprising given the topic of conversation, but the discussion of the extrahuman is primarily found in these and other sections devoted to the subject, similar to texts discussed earlier. Like any 'How' texts, the *Chunqiu fanlu* discusses how the extrahuman operates in these sacrifices and like the texts before talks about the socio-political impact of doing so. The discourse of the extrahuman in these passages actually expands on how the extrahuman are socio-politically organized in their own right by explicitly constructing gods in relation to Heaven. By terming gods as lesser in comparison to Heaven in the 'Jiaosi', one may argue that the passage posits Heaven as greater, something confirmed in the *Jiaoyu* section that asserts that Heaven is the Great Lord of gods.[21]

The *Chunqiu fanlu* also cites an analysis of an earlier text, the *Chunqiu* in its discussion of this subject. The citation of other texts was not something seen in the earlier passages, though in some of the texts citing the *Shi, Shang* and *Yi* were long standing rhetorical techniques and the material cited has found its way into what are today the *Classics*. Geoffrey Lloyd and Nathan Sivin have argued that these citations do not represent a layer of intertextuality so much so that they represent a shared body of knowledge of poems, speeches and proclamations which held argumentative and ritualistic weight in these discourses in the Warring States (Lloyd and Sivin, 2002: 68-75). That the *Chunqiu fanlu* is analyzing them in a way, as shown with its discussion of what 'many blessings' means in the *Shi* line, raises interesting questions about the development of textual analysis as a tool in this discussion will be seen to be rather common in 'What' texts in discussing the extrahuman.

'What'

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[21] This is also restated in another section devoted to the *jiao* in the text- *Jiaoyi* 郊義 (*Chunqiu fanlu*, 2007: 66.402).

'What' texts see a large degree of diversity in how they speak about the extrahuman. 'What' texts often take the extrahuman as the dominant topic in their discourse, and in fact many have sections of their texts devoted explicitly to the extrahuman. In these passages, they show a strong concern for discussing what the extrahuman are, either in terms of their appearances, capacities and or mental states, and most importantly their identity. To achieve this, 'What' texts commonly rely on earlier texts from the Warring States and Western Han to expand on their arguments as to what the extrahuman are. In this way, 'What' texts exist in a web of textual references in their construction of the extrahuman, and in turn are actually highly dependent on the discourses of 'How' texts in the discussions of 'What'.

Lunheng 論衡
'Siyi' 祀義 (Excerpt)

> 曰：夫夜姑之死，未必厲鬼擊之也，時命當死也。妖象厲鬼，象鬼之形則象鬼之言，象鬼之言則象鬼而擊矣。何以明之？夫鬼者，神也。神則先知，先知則宜自見粢盛之不膏、珪璧之失度、犧牲之臞小，則因以責讓夜姑，以梃擊之而已，無為先問。先問，不知之效也；不知，不神之驗也；不知不神，則不能見體出言，以梃擊人也。夜姑，義臣也，引罪自予已，故鬼擊之。如無義而歸之鮑身，則厲鬼將復以梃掊鮑之身矣。且祭祀不備，神怒見體，以殺掌祀。如禮備神喜，肯見體以食賜主祭乎？人有喜怒，鬼亦有喜怒。人不為怒者身存，不為喜者身亡，厲鬼之怒，見體而罰。宋國之祀，必時中禮，夫神何不見體以賞之乎？夫怒喜不與人同，則其賞罰不與人等；賞罰不與人等，則其掊夜姑，不可信也。

I say that the death of Ye Gu cannot surely be because a wraith hit him. It was the time that he was fated to die.

When a portent[22] appears as a wraith, if it appears with the form of a ghost, then it appears with the speech of a ghost. If it appears with the speech of a ghost, then it appears as a ghost and hits.

How can one understand this? As for a ghost, it is a god. If it is a god, then it has insight. If it has insight, then it should see for itself if there are ungenerous offerings of sacrificial grain, wrongly measured jade discs and plates and skinny and small sacrificial animals, then it would thus take this to reproach Ye Gu. It would use a paddle to hit him and no more, there would be no need for first questioning him. If it first questioned him, then it wouldn't have knowledge of the sacrifice. Its not knowing is evidence it is not a god. If it doesn't know and is not a god, then it would be unable to manifest a structure,[23] emit words and take a paddle and beat a man.

As Ye Gu was a just official, he took the wrongdoings upon his own person, thus the ghost hit him. If he was without justice and placed blame on Lord Bao, then the wraith would have also taken the paddle and beat Lord Bao's person.

Further as the sacrifices were incomplete, the spirit would have been angry and appeared in physical form in order to kill those managing the sacrifices. If the ritual had been complete and the gods had been are happy, would they

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[22] Throughout the *Lunheng*, Wang often attributes odd occurrences and the events people claim to be the fault of ghosts as portents *yao* 妖. For further discussion of this see Chen, 1968: 299-310.

[23] In effect a body, however Wang Chong asserts in other passages that things are composed of both a form *xing* 形 and structure *ti* 體 that would be the analogous concept to the body.

have been willing to appear in physical form to bestow food on the masters of sacrifice? Man has happiness and anger. Ghosts also have happiness and anger. Man does not make his body exist when angry and does not make his body disappear when happy. When a wraith is angry, it manifests a body and punishes.

In the sacrifices of the state of Song, it was certainly the time for appropriate ritual. [24] Why didn't the god appear in physical form so as to bestow things? If their happiness and anger is not the same as man's, then their rewards and punishments are not the same as man's. If their rewards and punishments aren't the same as man's, then this hitting of Ye Gu cannot be true. (*Lunheng*, 1990: 76.1052-1053)

The above passage is found in the same text as the quote at the beginning of this article the *Lunheng*. It contains several passages that are devoted to discussing the extrahuman, in addition to mentions of the extrahuman distributed throughout the text. Though discussions of the extrahuman are quite obvious in the above passage, the earlier quote from the *Lunheng* and several others have been employed by some twentieth century scholars to define the *Lunheng* and its attributee, Wang Chong, with the role of sceptic and atheist in the face of a feudal and superstitious world (Liang, 1979: 1-20). Although such an argument holds little basis given that there is no renunciation of the extrahuman in the passages in the *Lunheng*, such an analysis does highlight the rhetorical features of the *Lunheng* – its highly polemic and essayistic approach.[25]

The above extract from the 'Siyi' recounts the tale of Ye Gu, the supplicator of Lord Bao of Song, who apparently was killed by a paddle-wielding evil spirit that had been displeased at the meagre and poorly assembled offerings provided for him. This tale is similar to that recounted

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[24] The term 'appropriate ritual' *zhongli* 中禮 carries strong ideas of propriety and temporal correspondence that should be apparent from the strong concern for these matters in several of the texts discussed so far.

[25] For a discussion of argumentative strategies used in the *Lunheng*, see McLeod, 2007 and Puett, 2005/06.

in the 'Min gui xia' of the *Mozi* though replacing a sorcerer with a ghost. The *Lunheng* regards the story as nonsense and argues that it was simply Ye Gu's time to die, using this discussion to explain how it could not have been due to extrahuman forces.

The means by which the *Lunheng* proves this is first to entertain the possibility of Ye Gu as a ghost and thus proceeding to detail what a ghost is and what that means. It first asserts that a ghost is a god and that gods have insight.[26] It then reckons that this insight would allow the gods to observe the improper sacrifice and thus reproach Ye Gu for the improper sacrifices that were laid that lead to Ye Gu's death. However, as the story explains that the evil spirit questioned Ye Gu first, this is evidence of it not having insight and thus not being a god. The *Lunheng* also points out how gods are capable of manifesting a body, speaking and handling tools and hitting someone with a paddle. Though this would not refute the ability of an extrahuman to carry out the events in this story, the *Lunheng* does contest that it was not a ghost by rhetorically asking why if gods do not manifest bodies to eat the food of a correct sacrifice, they will manifest bodies to vent their anger at those who do not perform a correct sacrifice. The passage continues this logic by comparing man and gods and explaining how a man is unable to make his body appear or disappear in line with his moods, despite gods being capable of doing.

Seen throughout this example is an exposition on what exactly constitutes this type of extrahuman agent. Some of these explanations are unique to this text, but in terms of approach, the *Lunheng* actively discusses what the extrahuman are. Indeed, the polemic rhetoric it takes up requires it to seek such definitions as proof for its argument that Ye Gu was not in fact killed by one of them. These very active and explicit definitions of the features and abilities of the extrahuman are different from what was seen in passages presented earlier in this article. Indeed, none of those passages were concerned with the extrahuman as an object of study in its own right, but because it was related to other subjects of discussion, most notably that of

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[26] This is an interesting semantic stretch of these two terms which though both referring to extrahuman agents, are often kept to refer to separate agents in other texts. The conflation of these terms can be argued to reflect the *Lunheng's* somewhat ambiguous use of terms, but also suggests the possibility of the growing use of *shen* as a generic term to refer to the extrahuman in Eastern Han texts.

sacrifice. Sacrifice is referenced in this passage, and indeed proper sacrifice, but there is no discussion of what that is, in contrast to the approach seen in the *Mozi*.

Qianfu lun 潛夫論
'Wulie' 巫列 (Excerpts)

凡人吉凶，以行為主，以命為決。行者，己之質也；命者，天之制也。在於己者，固可為也；在於天者，不可知也。巫覡祝請，亦其助也，然非德不行。巫史祝祈者，蓋所以交鬼神而救細微爾，至於大命，末如之何。譬民人之請謁於吏矣，可以解微過，不能脫正罪。設有人於此，晝夜慢侮君父之教，干犯先王之禁，不克己心，思改過善，而苟驟發請謁，以求解免，必不幾矣。不若修己，小心畏慎，無犯上之必令也。故孔子不聽子路，而云「丘之禱久矣」。孝經云：「夫然，故生則親安之，祭則鬼享之。」由此觀之，德義無違，鬼神乃享；鬼神受享，福祚乃隆。故詩云：「降福穰穰，降福簡簡，威儀板板。既醉既飽，福祿來反。」此言人德義美茂，神歆享醉飽，乃反報之以福也。

虢公延神而亟亡，趙嬰祭天而速滅，此蓋所謂神不歆其祀，民不即其事也。故魯史書曰：「國將興，聽於民；將亡，聽於神。」楚昭不禳雲，宋景不移咎，子產距裨灶，邾文公違卜史，此皆審己知道，身以俟命者也。晏平仲有言：「祝有益也，詛亦有損也。」季梁之諫隋侯，宮之奇說虞公，可謂明乎天人之道，達乎神明之分矣。

　　　…

且人有爵位，鬼神有尊卑。天地山川、社稷五
祀、 百辟卿士有功於民者，天子諸侯所命祀也。
若乃巫 覡之謂獨語，小人之所望畏，土公、飛
尸、咎魅、 北君、銜聚、當路、直符七神，及民
間繕治微蔑小 禁，本非天王所當憚也。

In the case of the fortune and misfortune of people, one takes behaviour as the indicator and fate as the decision. Behaviour is the material of the self, and fate is the regulation of Heaven. Those that rely on themselves will certainly be able to do it. Those that rely on Heaven will not be able to understand it. The requests of shamanesses, shamans and supplicators are but assistance in this.

If one is not virtuous, they do not work. The prayers of shamans and supplicators are but only the means to communicate with deities and save the base. When it comes to the great course of fate,[27] there is no possibility of their doing anything about it. If one were to compare it to the making of requests by people to officials, then they can be used to liberate the base, but are unable to make bare the proper and wicked. Suppose that there are people like this who day and night slight and bully the instructions of the sovereigns and fathers, work and offend against the prohibitions of the first kings, do not conquer their own hearts nor ponder changing their faults [lacuna] good. And if they were suddenly to seek out and make requests so as to seek respite from this, then surely there is no hope.[28]

This is not as good as cultivating oneself, for if one is cautious, mindful and respectful, then that one will refrain

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[27] This borrows from Anne Behnke Kinney's translation for this term. The word *daming* 大命 can also refer to the Mandate of Heaven, but this translation captures a greater sense of the term (Kinney, 1990: 111).

[28] Reading *ji* 幾 as *ji* 冀.

from offending against the command of those above is certain.[29] Thus Confucius did not follow the advice from Zilu, but said, 'My praying has been for a long time.'[30] The *Xiaojing* says, 'In reality if in life one is peaceful to one's relations, then in sacrifice, one makes offerings to the ghosts'[31]

Looking on all of this then, if in virtue and righteousness, one refrains from deviating, then the deities are given sacrifice. If the deities receive sacrifice, then good fortune and blessings will swell. Thus the *Shi* says, 'The good fortune sent down is plentiful; the good fortune sent down is bountiful; the ceremonies offered are great. After we have drunk our fill, after we have eaten our fill, good fortunes and blessings will come to our prayers.'[32]

The Lord of Guo looked up to a god and rapidly fell.[33] Zhao Ying sacrificed to Heaven and speedily perished.[34] Thus it can be said that the gods did not favour their sacrifices and the people did not rise to their service. Thus the scribes of Lu wrote, 'When a state is on the rise, it listens to the people. When it is about to fall, it listens to the gods.'[35] King Zhao of Chu did not pray to the clouds,[36] Lord Jing of Song did not change his faults.[37] Zichan resisted Pizao.[38] Duke Wen of Zhu deviated from the diviners.[39] These are cases where they all examined themselves to know the Way and focused

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[29] Inverting *ling* 令 and *bi* 必.
[30] *Lunyu*, 2006: 7.35.282.
[31] *Xiaojing*, 1998: 8.11.
[32] *Shijing*, 2007: 16.522.
[33] *Guoyu*, 2002: Zhou I.12.28-31 and *Zuozhuan*, 2000: Zhuang 32.3.251-253
[34] *Zuozhuan*, 2000: Cheng 5.1.821-822.
[35] *Ibid.* Zhuang 32.3.251-253.
[36] *Ibid.* Ai 6.4.634-636.
[37] *Lüshi chunqiu*, 2009: 6.145-147 and *Huainanzi*, 1989: 12.298-300.
[38] *Zuozhuan*, 2000: Zhao 17.5.1390-1392.
[39] *Ibid.* Wen 13.3.597-598.

on themselves so as to await that which is fated. Yan Pingzhong had said, 'As supplications have benefits, so too do curses have harm.'[40] Ji Liang's remonstration of Marques Sui[41] and Gong Zhiqiao persuading Lord Wu[42] can be said to be clear on the way of the Heaven and Man and understand thoroughly the divisions of sentience and clarity

Further, if men have titles, then deities have rank. Heaven and Earth, the mountains and rivers, the Soil and Grain Altars and the Five Sacrifices, the myriad officials and *shi* make efforts for the people, and are that which the Emperor and Feudal Lords command sacrifice to. As for that which the shamans and shamanesses solely speak of and the petty people look to and fear are the Seven Gods: Tu Gong, Fei Shi, Jiu Mei, Bei Jun, Xian Ju, Dang Lu and Zhi Fu.[43] Then the common people dealing and managing the trifle and petty taboos is not the origin of that which causes awe in the Heavenly Kings. (*Qianfu lun*, 1997: 26.301-6)

The above excerpt is taken from a text called the *Qianfu lun* which is attributed to the scholar Wang Fu 王符 (82-167 CE), and like the *Lunheng* is a compilation of a series of essays on various topics. The 'Wulie's title suggests that it is a passage devoted to understanding shamans and other medium-agents. Though these figures are referenced in the first paragraph

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[40] *Yanzi*, 1980: 7.446-33 and *Zuozhuan*, 2000: Zhao 20.6.1415-1418.

[41] *Zuozhuan*, 2000: Huan 6.2.109-112.

[42] *Ibid.* Xi 5.8.207-212.

[43] What these seven are is unclear as five of these seven are only mentioned in this text. Both Fei Shi and Zhi Fu are mentioned in the *Lunheng* though are not considered proper nouns by the editors in those texts as they are in the *Qianfu lun*, and thus if they are meant to be the same thing is unclear. Fei Shi is not explained in the *Lunheng*; as a common noun a translation of 'flying corpses' would be possible though that would suggest an idea akin to zombies. Wang Chong depicts this term alongside other malevolencies and ghosts that some believe afflict homes, requiring exorcism to dispel with them. (*Lunheng*, 2007: 75.1043) Zhi Fu is understood from the *Lunheng* as a taboo date that prohibits certain actions when the anti-planet Taisui is in certain positions, *zi* and *wu*, on the Jupiter cycle (*Lunheng*, 2007: 69.982).

of the section, the chapter deals mainly with the issue of virtue and the moral rectitude of humans and how this relates to man's fortune. Extrahumans do appear throughout, and in some ways this discourse of morality is very similar to texts which adopt the 'How' approach in discussing the extrahuman, but, as can be seen, there are some marked differences in terms of how the extrahuman are talked about and brought into the larger discourse on moral rectitude.

The 'Wulie' begins by first introducing a large, general condition that leads into finer points, augmented with allusions to notable events found in earlier texts. This resembles the rhetorical techniques employed by passages of the *Lunheng*. The text starts with issues of fortune and misfortune; this leads to general and very metaphysical statements regarding the factors of fortune and misfortune and the very proto-existential comment that those who rely on themselves will understand and those that rely on Heaven do not. It continues to provide numerous examples to support the importance of virtue. These include a reference to the extrahuman events that transpired, such as in the state of Guo as seen in the *Zuozhuan's* Zhuang 32.3.

The final paragraph taken from the 'Wulie' states an understanding of why there is sacrifice, after a list of basic, canonical sacrificial sites. It discusses this by elucidating the nature of what the extrahuman are, by talking about their rank and providing seven names of seven gods. The 'Wulie' does not go into any detail over what these seven gods are, although some of the terms do appear elsewhere in other texts from the Eastern Han.[44]

[44] *Lunheng*, 2007: 69.982 and 75.1043.

***Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義**
 'The Soil Altar Gods' 社神

孝經說：「社者，土地之主，土地廣博，不可遍敬，
故封土以為社而祀之，報功也。」周禮說：「二十
五家置一社。」但為田祖報求。　　詩云：
「乃立冢　土。」又曰：「以御田祖，以祈甘
雨。」

謹按：春秋左氏傳曰：「共工氏有子曰句龍佐顓頊， 能平
九土，為后土，故封為上公，祀以為社，非地 祇。」

The *Xiaojing* relates, 'The Soil Altar is the master of soil and earth. As soil and earth are vast and expansive, it all cannot be revered in its entirety. Thus one installs soil in a box and regards it as the Soil Altar and sacrifices to it to repay its efforts.' [45] The *Zhouli* relates, 'Twenty-five households establish one Soil Altar.'[46] This only repays the assistance from the Ancestor of the Field.[47] The *Shi* says, 'You establish a burial mound.'[48] It also says, 'He used it to protect the Ancestor of the Field; He used it to pray for sweet rain.'[49]

I have carefully noted what the *Chunqiu Zuoshi*[50] transmits: 'Gonggongshi had a son called Goulong. He assisted Zhuanxu and was able to pacify the nine lands, becoming Houtu. Thus he was enfoeffed as the High Duke, and in

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[45] These lines are not found in transmitted versions of the *Xiaojing*.

[46] This line is not found in the transmitted versions of the *Zhouli*, though it is also cited in the *Shuowen jiezi* in its definition for Soil Altar. (*Shuowen jiezi*, 2006: 1.15B.8)

[47] The title for the one who is meant to have been the first to plough fields. In most historio-mythical traditions the invention of farming is attributed to Shennong. (Yuan, 2007: 67-74)

[48] *Shijing*, 2007: 13.480.

[49] *Shijing*, 2007: 11.436.

[50] Another name for the *Zuozhuan*.

sacrifices is regarded as the Soil Altar. It is not a chthonoi.' [51]
(*Fengsu tongyi*, 1981: 8.354-355)

The above selection is taken from a text known as the *Fengsu tongyi* that is attributed to Ying Shao 應劭 (c. 140-204? CE). The text has often been valued for its depictions of local life at the end of the Han dynasty, particularly in the area of Runan 汝南 where Ying Shao is meant to have lived. The text is assumed to have suffered seriously through the passage of time, coming to the present day in only ten sections, themselves with portions reputed as missing (Nylan, 1993: 106-108). The above selection is a representative passage within the 'Sidian' section of the text, a section whose title suggests it is concerned with sacrifice, akin to what was seen in the *Chunqiu fanlu*.

The structure, rhetoric and discourse seen in this passage are typical of the other sections of the 'Sidian' which follow the same pattern although with different deities. Here they are concerned with the god of the Soil Altar.[52] Discussion of sacrificial sites has been seen to be common in many examples, particularly in many of the 'How' texts discussed. However unlike in these texts there is neither a discussion of the propriety of these sacrifices nor their role in the socio-political system. These passages' concerns rest in identifying the deity of these particular sites; in order to achieve this, the *Fengsu tongyi* relies on citations from earlier texts. The passage begins with a citation from the *Xiaojing*, though neither lines are found in the current text, that provides an explanation of what these two things are both being the heads of their namesakes. The text then proceeds to cite other sources of information, in both cases these are the *Zuozhuan* and the *Shijing* with the *Zhouli* also appearing to explain the Soil Altar god. The citation from the *Zuozhuan* help construct a history and lineage for the gods, providing a back-story for the Soil Altar's god.

Though such a discussion has resonance with the 'How' texts seen before, this is not the direction of the argument as the *Fengsu tongyi* does not provide an answer to what is meant to be sacrificed to the Grain Altar gods, but rather suggests that this provides further evidence to explain what

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[51] This line is not exactly the same as in the transmitted *Zuozhuan*. (*Zuozhuan*, 2000: Zhao 29.4.1503.)

[52] For a highly enlightening discussion of the Soil Altar, see Kominami, 2009: 201-214

the gods of rice are the Grain Altar, and even explaining what they are not chthonoi. These two passages and the means by which they discuss the extrahuman are typical of the remainder of the 'Sidian'. It is clear from the discussions presented that the *Fengsu tongyi's* interest rests in defining what these extrahuman agents associated with the sacrifices are, through textual citations and causal relationships.

The Discourse of the Extrahuman

It is clear from the examples provided that the discourse of the extrahuman was varied with many interesting and textually specific concerns, arguments and depictions. However, even despite the heterogeneity seen in the previous passages, it is also apparent that there are also similarities in their approaches, particularly the two dominant modes discussed, 'How' and 'What'. That two such discourses are so pervasive raises questions as to why they are present and what this can tell us not only about the discussion of the extrahuman but intellectual discourse in general at this time.

When looking at the texts that represent each of the two approaches, there are some similarities despite the differences in approach; some of the same stories are relied upon in different texts, such as seen in the *Mozi*, *Lunheng* and *Qianfu lun* or in the *Zuozhuan* and the *Fengsu tongyi*; there are similar vocabularies and related discourses that show themselves in some capacities; sacrifice, ritual and the objects related to them are clearly of some affiliation to the extrahuman in many of these texts, and there are clearly notions of different types of extrahuman agents, many of which help influence or play a role in the discussions presented. Despite these similarities though, the difference in approach, and often concern, remains prominent. One of the most marked and glaring correlations that this difference highlights is the blatant temporal difference in texts: texts that employ the 'How' approach originate in either the Warring States and Western Han, while texts that employ the 'What' approach are dated to the Eastern Han.[53]

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[53] The dating of these texts is a messy and complicated affair. Many of these texts evolved over a long period of time in different capacities and so should not be understood as simply coming into existence at a single point. (See Kern 2002 and Boltz 2005 for a more in depth discussion.) The origination of these texts to the respective periods discussed is not in

That such a definitive divide between these discourses exists points to larger and more dramatic changes in the intellectual and cultural history of early China. As such, it is important to understand that these two approaches represent symptoms of other changes that are taking place between these two periods, and that causes for the changes in the discourse of the extrahuman can be found in the socio-political and cultural changes that took place between the Warring States/Western Han and the Eastern Han periods.

In socio-political terms, the periods of the Warring States and Western Han witnessed many dramatic changes to the societies and polities that existed around the Yellow and Yangtze rivers. This is most evident in the rise of a strong centralising Empire started by Qin Shihuangdi and continued with the efforts of the first Han Emperors. Their attempts to control their dominion through strong centralised rule clearly reverberated throughout the intellectual communities of these times and influenced the production of texts. Many texts from this particular time, especially during the end of the Warring States and the beginning of the Western Han, can be understood to be produced with such a goal in mind by putting forward visions and paradigms of centralised worlds with centralised systems to govern them, something that Mark Edward Lewis refers to as World Builder texts (Lewis, 1999: 99-145). Furthermore, royal and then imperial patronage was both the dominant means to produce texts, particularly in the Western Han where projects such as the establishment of the Classics was a dominant occupation of the intellectual communities of the time.[54]

        This interest in centralised socio-political rule through texts can be seen strikingly in the examples taken from the *Shanhai jing* and *Chunqiu fanlu* both of which are putting forward sacrificial systems that govern a centralised world. In both those systems, the texts speak of the extrahuman and how they behave and relate to this world, through the *Shanhai jing's* locus-focused sacrifices and the *Chunqiu fanlu's* discussion of hierarchical sacrifices. In all 'How' texts seen here, religiosity plays a vital part in these

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major dispute, (Loewe 1993: 12-23, 67-75, 105-112, 263-268, 309-323, 336, 341) however that such consistencies do appear across such multivalent works speaks to the contribution of the socio-political and cultural environment in which the texts evolved.

[54] For further information on this process see Nylan 2001.

texts' socio-political understandings, and, as seen, it is in these sections that the extrahuman are most frequent. It is thus not unexpected to see that the discourse pertaining to these texts is one of how they fit into these systems and that passages concerning sacrifice and ritual will thus spawn discussion of the extrahuman.

In contrast, the Eastern Han, having emerged from the disruption of the Wang Mang period, was greatly weakened by this disruption, and intellectual communities did not find themselves subject to as strong a centralised court and its agendas. Furthermore, the growing strength of the bureaucracy and eunuchs and the lack of a fixed political and social elite contributed to a continued decentralisation of power away from the emperor and led to greater debate and in-fighting at court (Bielentsten, 1986: 274-290).

All of these factors are reflected in Eastern Han texts, as can be seen in the examples provided where the intellectuals that produced them tended to be analytical and self-appraising of the current society and system rather than constructing a new system; such a discourse was very apparent in the *Lunheng* and the *Fengsu tongyi*. On the one hand, this attests to the efforts of the projects and texts of the earlier time in the construction and establishment of a nominal socio-political system, something that is often addressed in texts from the Eastern Han. On the other, it also reflects the more individual and less centralised efforts taken on the part of these intellectuals. Indeed the *Lunheng* and *Fengsu tongyi* are often attributed to authors who are believed not to have been part of the central court.[55]

It is clear too, how the discourse of the extrahuman, amongst other things, would be strongly influence by this changed society. In the examples given one sees a strong concern with analysing stories and texts that came before and trying to understand and make sense of them, often with justifications found in earlier texts. The absence of descriptions and identities found in the earlier discourse could certainly have contributed to the evolution of the 'What' discourse, though it would need to take into account the fact that answers to this are still found in texts with a clear 'How' discourse; indeed as seen in the *Qianfu lun* and *Fengsu tongyi*, it is primarily from texts like the *Zuozhuan* that explanations of extrahuman identity are drawn.

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[55] For a discussion of the attribution of these works see Loewe and Pokora 1993 and Nylan 1993.

Hence, it can be argued that the discourses of these texts were influenced, and perhaps influenced, the socio-political environment that they were produced in. This also influenced the discourse of the extrahuman in both texts, as can be seen, but the socio-political changes between these two periods are only one prominent change that intellectual communities underwent. Many cultural factors also emerged between these two periods that can help explain the changes in the discourse of the extrahuman seen, and can certainly be argued to have helped shaped the bifurcation between the 'How' and 'What' approaches.

It is evident from the 'What'-discourse that reliance on earlier texts is the primary means by which these texts discuss what the extrahuman are. However, this practice is also seen in the *Chunqiu fanlu*, which is argued to discuss the extrahuman more with the 'How' approach and so it is perhaps inapt to assume the two things are exclusive in discourse. However, there are some subtle nuances which indicate that though the authors of the *Chunqiu fanlu* clearly were beginning to engage with a textual medium, it was not to the extent or the uniformity displayed by the later texts. The *Chunqiu fanlu* only engages with the *Chunqiu*, indeed arguing to be regarded as a commentary on it; in addition it continues the fine rhetorical tradition of citing examples from the *Shi*, *Shang* and *Yi*. Though in practice this is very precursory to what is seen in Eastern Han texts, the level to which citing earlier texts and stories is taken becomes the main medium of evidence-based argument presented in Eastern Han texts.

The Fengsu tongyi provides citations with titles and expands on ideas located within texts, while it is a false assertion about the lack of the extrahuman in earlier texts that prompts the *Lunheng* to explain them. This strong understanding of text and citation, and the reverence for texts as the final say, is not a rhetorical or argumentative strategy employed in texts of the 'How'-discourse, though the use of material found in other texts does exist.

Dirk Meyer has argued that many texts from the Warring States were primarily formed from intellectual communities that relied on oral traditions to transmit meaning and ideas, with texts being more artefacts and commodities produced for other purposes (Meyer, 2009: 831-833). He argues that texts like the *Analects* can be understood as 'authority-based' texts wherein an intellectual community would employ the text in a larger

discourse that existed outside of the text rather than the discourse being self-contained in the text, what he argues as an 'argument-based' text (Meyer, 2009: 844-850).

That there would be a 'textual community', or perhaps for our purposes a discourse, that surrounded what is observed in some of the 'How' texts allows for much speculation over what parts of the discourse we are seeing and why. With respect to the passages in the *Analects,* this most certainly helps provide a strong explanation for their terse and somewhat authoritative nature, given that they are merely taken out of a context that has been lost, an argument that Pines makes with regard to the *Zuozhuan*, though on a less meta-textual level (Pines, 2002: 40-41).

Several texts from the 'How' camp would, however, fall into Meyer's 'argument-based' camp, as they seem highly self-contained, such as the passages from the *Chunqiu fanlu* or *Shanhai jing*. If this is because they meet Lewis' arguments for a 'World-builder text' and by this virtue must also be 'argument-based' is an interesting rhetorical possibility. Indeed this rhetorical mandate can also be applied to texts that adopt the 'Why'-approach, but this simple rhetorical need to have a self-contained argument is not enough simply to explain why one suddenly sees lengthy essays citing texts with titles and deconstructing them. Only the *Chunqiu fanlu* engages in any sort of deconstruction and even then only on a specific text, which fits within the rhetorical tradition of citing the Classics for authority, as Schaberg (2001: 60-88) and Kern (2005:293-297) have argued.

Rather many of these factors contributed to the transformations seen in the intellectual cultures from the Classical to the Post-Classical period, which is quite vividly apparent here in the ways in which the extrahuman are discussed. Though the extrahuman are by no means the reason for this change, that the discourse of the extrahuman is radically changed by this is quite marked and highlights the strong need to look at other discourses to try and understand what transformation may have occurred with this change over in intellectual societies.

Conclusion

It is clear that the realm of the extrahuman, like many other topics, is something that was discussed and explored in early Chinese texts. Whilst these texts brought with them many interesting and special perceptions of the extrahuman, this paper has shown that some consistencies do span the wide gap of space and time that both divides and informs these texts. On the one hand, texts from the Warring States and Western Han often contain discussions of how extrahumans relate to themselves and the human, often within a socio-political and sacrificial framework. On the other hand, texts from the Eastern Han often contain discussions of what extrahumans are and what they are like, often relying upon texts from earlier periods to bolster their claims to this.

These two separate approaches are not intrinsically exclusive; certainly there are a few texts in the Warring States and Western Han that can be argued to point to what the extrahuman are[56] and those in the Eastern Han who argue how they operate,[57] and as earlier mentioned, other strategies can be adopted by texts, but these two approaches are markedly dominant in the texts from early China. Further, the former approach is more represented in a great diversity of texts from the Warring States and the Western Han, while the latter is much more common in texts of the Eastern Han. This may not be a clean or even split, and of course temporal change never is, but it can certainly be argued to be symptomatic of larger changes in the socio-political environment informing these texts and the lives of their compilers as well as the shifts in the culture of intellectual communities of the Warring States and Western Han versus those of the Eastern Han and beyond.

Far from being absent, as the *Lunheng* may have asserted, or rather ancillary, the topic of the extrahuman was a ubiquitous one in texts from

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[56] In the numerous passages of the *Zuozhuan* that mention the extrahuman, Zhao 昭 1.12 is one of the few that provides details as to what they may be. For a further discussion of this, see Winslett 2010: 41-44.

[57] Of the texts originating from the Eastern Han, the *Baihutong* 白虎通 which is attributed to Ban Gu 班固 (32-92 CE) includes a discourse that can be classified as 'how'. Its discussions of the extrahuman are rather limited when compared to the texts discussed in this article, dealing more with sacrifice and ritual. It is notable for often quoting earlier texts and engaging in the same textual analysis as other texts from this period.

early China. However, the discussion was by no means uniform, with many different arguments and ideas. Such a rich discourse is only beginning to be explored and understood, but, as we have seen in this article, its study provides many insights not only into how the compilers of these texts understood the extrahuman, but also how they understood and indeed were shaped by the world they lived in.

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Huang Xuelei (2014), *Shanghai Filmmaking: Crossing Borders, connecting to the globe, 1922-1938*. **Leiden & Boston: Brill. xv + 381 pp. ISBN: 9789004279339**

In his foreword to Huang Xuelei's *Shanghai Filmmaking*, Paul Pickowicz laments the current state of Chinese film studies, noting that 'our pre-occupation with the present seriously distorts our understanding of the truly complicated dynamics of Chinese filmmaking' (vii), and muses on the reasons for the scholarly obsession with recent Chinese cinema at the expense of more empirically grounded studies of Chinese film history. While I do not share all of Pickowicz's pessimism—there have been a number of worthwhile studies of Chinese film history published recently—I do share his belief that Huang's book sets something of a new standard when it comes to scholarship in this field. *Shanghai Filmmaking* is one of the most impressive studies of Republican-era Chinese cinema to be published in recent times.

Shanghai Filmmaking explores the production, distribution and reception of cinema in Republican-era Shanghai by examining in substantial depth the work of the Mingxing Motion Picture Company. Why Mingxing? Because, despite being one of the most influential film production companies of the era, and the maker of a number of movies that had a profound influence on Chinese cultural production for much of the twentieth century, the company has for the most part escaped scholarly attention. Huang does more than trace the development of Mingxing as a business and cultural enterprise, however, for she also reflects on what the films that this company produced can tell us about 'glocal mediascapes' (Chapter 4) in the early years of Chinese cinema. What is most remarkable is that Huang's analysis revolves around films which, for the most part, no longer exist or are at best difficult to access. Instead, she has mined company and government archives in mainland China and Taiwan, trade and film magazines, newspapers and printed ephemera to recreate a vivid picture of a company whose individual story mirrored that of Chinese filmmaking from the early 1920s through to the Japanese invasion of 1937.

Refreshingly, Huang has not been tempted to over-theorise her analysis (although her brief forays into literary theory leave the reader in no doubt of her familiarity with the relevant literature). Instead, she has chosen to define her study through reference to metaphors such as the 'many-forked path'—a concept she borrows from Jorge Luis Borges, and which she returns to on a number of occasions when trying to describe the complex network of overlapping trajectories that met in the world of Chinese cinema in the 1920s and 1930s. Elsewhere, she relies on the biographies of key individuals in Mingxing management, whom she refers to as 'tour guides' on her journey, and whose biographies help readers make sense of the Mingxing story.

It would be unfair to describe Huang's book as a corporate history of Mingxing, however. The contributions she makes have implications far beyond the study of a single company. Probably the most significant of Huang's arguments, for instance, is that the categorisations that have hitherto defined much of the historiography of early Chinese filmmaking are redundant, and have done little more than blind us to the realities of cinema production and reception in the 1920s and 1930s. Huang shows that directors, writers and financiers moved freely between the apparently distinct worlds of left-wing activism, commercial 'Mandarin Duck and Butterfly' fiction, right-wing KMT nationalism and May 4th intellectual debates. Indeed, Huang demonstrates that such categories were largely meaningless, or at best impossible to define, during the golden era of Shanghai filmmaking. The implications of such an argument are profound: Huang argues, for example, that the genre of the 'revolutionary film' - so long associated with the CCP - was not the monopoly of the Left in the 1920s, and that the commercial melodramas of the era, so often dismissed as vacuous and apolitical, often contained social messages of various ideological persuasions. Huang's thesis has the potential to undermine completely the standard approaches hitherto so dominant in Chinese film history.

Despite its title, *Shanghai Filmmaking* also represents a welcome shift away from the Shanghai-centric tone of much recent work. Indeed, Huang shows not so much how Shanghai dominated Chinese filmmaking, as how Shanghai owed so much to regional China, Nanjing, Hollywood, Europe and the overseas Chinese when it came to audiences, financing, skills and the

inspiration for films themselves. Her epilogue, for example, is in essence a series of testaments to the wide 'footprint' of Mingxing and its border-crossing cinema, from wartime Manchuria to Singapore.

This is a highly detailed study, and if there is one criticism that might be made about sections of the book, it is that Huang has provided a little more detail than necessary when it comes to the analysis of individual movies. This is particularly the case in Chapter 7, in which Huang's thread of argument is lost in the detailed descriptions of individual films. Far more convincing are the 'life stories' (as Huang describes them) of major Mingxing movies such as *Konggu lan* (Orchid in an Empty Valley, 1925) and *Gu'er jiuzu ji* (An orphan rescues his grandfather, 1923) in Chapters 4 and 5. There are also points throughout the book where one senses Huang is a little too sympathetic towards her topic of study, and where this may have hampered a slightly more critical analysis of the choices made by Mingxing's cast of creative talent. Huang can be forgiven such indulgences, however, for they are outweighed by the originality of her observations and the overall rigour of her research.

While *Shanghai Filmmaking* should be read by anyone with an interest in the history of Chinese cinema, it speaks to so many issues—from modernisation in the Republican era to the global reach of Hollywood in the interwar years—that it is sure to be of relevance to a wide audience. This is Chinese film history at its best.

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Smith Finley, Joanne (2013), *The Art of Symbolic Resistance: Uyghur Identities and Uyghur–Han Relations in Contemporary Xinjiang*. **Leiden: Brill, 2013. xxvii + 453 pp. €149,00; $194.00 ISBN 978-90-04-25491-6**

Smith Finley's book is a timely and important contribution to the study of Uyghurs and their relations with the Chinese state and the dominant Han ethnic group in contemporary Xinjiang. As the author intends, the book fills our knowledge gap in two respects: firstly, the need for an in depth understanding of social, economic and political conditions in contemporary

Xinjiang, especially in the context of developments after the violent ethnic riots in Urumqi in the summer of 2009 that exposed fundamental fault lines in ethnic relations; secondly, the lack of availability of a nuanced and empirically based study of ethnic relations between Uyghur and Han in Xinjiang (p. xxii).

Smith Finley's research deploys the flexibility of ethnographic methods, under difficult fieldwork conditions that have progressively worsened during the lifetime of the research project, to put together a solid and extensive body of original empirical data, which is then organized and analysed into seven tightly knitted chapters. The research, conducted in the Uyghur language over a period of more than a decade, provides unprecedented insights into the lives of some of those who were significantly affected by the socioeconomic and political developments in the decades from 1991 up to the most recent times.

Smith Finley argues that Uyghur national identity formation involves a complex interplay between pre-existing "intragroup sociocultural commonalities ("We-hood") based on largely Islamic cultural values, assumptions and practices shared over 500 years, and a common sense enmity towards Han Chinese ("Us-hood")" of contemporary times. She further argues that "individuals in Xinjiang are not merely passive recipients of state policies and representations; they are also creative agents capable of finding subtle, symbolic means of representing alternative identities and expressing opposition." (p.6). Uyghurs deploy culture as a means of symbolic resistance against both the Chinese state and the Han people.

By including Uyghur intragroup identity in her analytical framework, Smith Finley challenges the key proposition of some earlier studies that asserted Uyghur national identity was largely the outcome of the Chinese state's ethnic classification and categorization project. She argues that factors other than a mere ethnonym, such as "Uyghur", provided a sense of identity to the people of Xinjiang long before the name was adopted by the Chinese Communists. She recognizes the fluidity and intragroup identity differences among the Uyghurs and reframes the Uyghur identity as a hybrid located somewhere at the nexus of Chinese and Turkic Central Asian, Middle Eastern and European civilizations.

The book is divided into three parts and seven chapters. Part 1 is comprised of the Introduction and Chapter 1 that outlines the social, economic and political contexts of the study and sets out the theoretical and analytical

framework, situating the research in the wider study of ethnopolitical identities and identity in general. The Introduction critically reviews much of the previous literature and sets out the theoretical framework. Chapter 1 gives an account of the conditions in which contemporary Uyghur identities and Uyghur-Han relations have developed. It highlights crucial factors such as large scale Han migration, escalating social, economic and political inequalities, environmental degradation and lack of true indigenous political representation.

Part 2 is comprised of three chapters (Chapters 2-4), each dealing a different form of symbolic resistance. These three forms of symbolic resistance, i.e. ethnic stereotypes, symbolic boundaries and alternative Uyghur representation, characterized the period from 1991 to 1997. The author argues that ethnic stereotyping, which is the subject of Chapter 2, provided the Uyghurs with a "powerful sense of agency" (p.81). Chapter 3 shows the ways in which Uyghurs use culture actively to construct or reinforce "symbolic, spatial and social" boundaries to segregate themselves from the Han. The factors that account for the progressive decrease in social interaction through the 1990s include Han in-migration, escalating socio-economic inequalities, widespread ethnic discrimination and renewed state repression (p.172). Chapter 4 focuses on the alternative representation in Uyghur popular songs. Songs by two representative Uyghur singers, representing two different ends of modern-traditional spectrum, are analysed to show how metaphors in musical lyrics can be used to contest and subvert the state narrative on Uyghur-Han ethnic relations.

Part 3 deals with the situation after the 1997 Ghulja disturbances until the present day. Chapter 5 discusses the reasons for the Islamic revival since 1997. It traces the ways in which globalizing forces aided the flow of global Islamic ideologies into Uyghur society prior to 1997 and identifies the sources of the Islamic renewal. These sources include inequality and oppression, modernity and failed development (p.266), but are not derived "from violent fundamentalist ideology" (xxvi), contrary to Chinese government claims. Islam is a symbolic form of discontent and mostly "not the root of disaffection" but a "vehicle for alternative ethnic representation" (p.291). Chapter 6 deals with the new obstacles constructed to stop Uyghur-Han intermarriage, highlighting the increasingly religious justification. Chapter 7 focuses on Chinese-educated Uyghurs, showing the extent of intragroup diversity and differences and the

negotiation of a hybrid identity by this group of Uyghurs. The chapter discusses a range of options among urban youth and the fissions between those who are Chinese-educated and those who have received a more traditional Uyghur education.

The Art of Symbolic Resistance is an essential read for anyone who is interested in ethnic identities and interethnic relations in Xinjiang, and in China. It is also an indispensable volume in the field of emerging Uyghur Studies and conflict studies in post-1989 China.

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Van de Ven, Hans J., Diana Lary, and Stephen R. MacKinnon, eds. (2015) *Negotiating China's Destiny in World War II*. **Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, ISBN 9780804798660, £42.**

Negotiating China's destiny in World War II, edited by Hans van de Ven, Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon, consists of a collection of papers presented at the Chongqing conference in 2009. The conference was the last of a cycle on World War II in China that brought together Chinese, Japanese and Western scholars to discuss the still much debated years of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45). While the book recognizes the disruption that the Second World War brought to China - culturally, socially and economically - its main aim is to shed light on a still overlooked aspect: the diplomatic and cultural relations between China and the international powers. Although China played a key role during WWII in Asia, the requests for military and economic help launched by Chiang Kai Shek and his diplomatic skills have not yet received much scholarly attention. From these pages, it emerges that Chiang Kai Shek was the first international politician produced by China in the 20th century. In the introduction, Diana Lary presents the three themes covered by this book: i) Old Empires and the Rise of China, ii) Negotiating Alliances and Questions of Sovereignty, iii) Ending War.

Part one of the book focuses on the impact Japanese expansion in East Asia had on Western imperialism. This part is in turn divided into five

chapters, each dealing with a different country. In chapter 1, Marianne Bastid-Bruguiere analyses the reasons for France's involvement in East Asia and the importance that France's diplomacy placed on maintaining French sovereignty in Indochina. In chapter 2, Rana Mitter explores Great Britain's role in China. Mitter analyses and compares the British approach at the start of the war in 1937, and at the end in 1945. Chapter 3, by Chang Jui-Te, focuses on the work of Shen Zonglian as director of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission's office in Lhasa during the 1940s. While the chapters on France, Great Britain and Tibet force the reader to consider that Western intervention in China was primarily, if not entirely, to safeguard the interests of the Western powers in Asia and to counter the Communist threat, the chapters on the Soviet Union and Canada present a different view. In Chapter 4, Yang Kuisong examines the complex and shifting relationship between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Comintern. As the focus is on the CCP, it follows that the role of Chiang is not as prominent as in other chapters. Yang analyses the delicate balance the CCP sought to maintain during the 1930s-40s, and the road to independence from Soviet control. Chapter 5, written by Diana Lary, presents the unconventional relationship between Canada and China. As Lary explains: "Canada was regarded there [*in China*] as a relatively friendly, helpful country, unlike the rapacious European powers" (p.92). Lary's analysis deals less with diplomatic materials and presents as case studies the lives of four Canadians who had ties with China during the war: Victor Odlum, a senior army officer; Robert McClure, a missionary doctor; Norman Bethune, a surgeon who worked with CCP's forces; and Quan Louie, a Chinese Canadian airman. The aim of Lary's analysis is to show that even second-tier, frequently overlooked countries contributed to the war effort. In the case of Canada, it managed to develop cooperative and positive relations with China throughout the war.

Part two of the volume tackles Chinese wartime diplomatic efforts. This part is also divided into five chapters. Chapter 6 by Tsuchida Akio explores the strategic significance of the delayed declaration of war between China and Japan. In chapter 7, Yang Tianshi examines the relationship between Chiang and Jawaharlal Nehru and the anti-imperialist struggle that both countries engaged in during WWII. Li Yuzhen evaluates the intricate alliance between Chiang and Stalin in chapter 8. Through the analysis of Soviet and

Chinese party documents, Li proves that the cooperation between the two leaders, who distrusted each other, was fundamental for the war efforts against Japan and Germany. The thorny questions of sovereignty, frontiers and ethnic minorities are investigated by Xiaoyuan Liu in chapter 9. Liu's focus is on the American State Department attempts to design the borders of the new China after 1942. In chapter 10, Nishimura Shigeo traces the importance of the slogan "Recover the Northeast" in Chiang's domestic and international policies. Nishimura shows how nationalism and international politics were deeply intertwined in Chiang's plans from 1941. As Chiang Kai Shek pointed out in September 1941: "We must recover our lost land in the Northeast and rescue our north-eastern compatriots in order to wipe clean the humiliation and enmity of the era since the Mukden Incident" (p.178).

Part three, 'Ending the War', is composed of three chapters. Chapter 11, written by Wu Sufeng, explores the decisions made on post-War Japan by the Allies. From the documents presented by Wu, it appears that Chiang had little influence on the decisions made by the Allies over East Asian post-war policies. In chapter 12, Yang Weizhen analyses the intricate Sino-French negotiations over Vietnam at the end of the war. Yang's analysis shows that the reasons for China's oscillating policies towards Vietnam were caused by international considerations as well as internal disagreements between the central government and Yunnan's military commanders. Hans van de Ven concludes the third part of the volume with an exploration of the peace treaty between China and Japan in 1952. Van de Ven stresses once more the fundamental role that Chiang had in creating "a China-centred East Asia" (p.221), as well as the importance of the San Francisco Peace Treaty (1951) and the Taipei Treaty between China and Japan (1952) for the post-War order in East Asia.

What emerges from the 13 chapters, and is confirmed by Stephen MacKinnon in the conclusion, is Chiang's preoccupation with China's place in the international political environment. Through his diplomacy, Chiang hoped to achieve two goals: the first was to gain material aid from the Western and Soviet allies to win the war, despite distrusting them; the second was that Chiang hoped to bring China into the international arena as a victorious country, respected and considered as a peer by the Allies. Despite Chiang's diplomatic abilities in the international arena, his inability

to gain domestic support and his failed attempts to defeat corruption, misery and famine, proved fatal for his government.

Although *Negotiating China's Destiny in World War II* is effective in getting the reader to reflect on Chiang's real involvement in the international diplomacy of WWII, some of the chapters can prove quite difficult to read, as they draw extensively on diplomatic materials. It is quite easy to lose track of all the ambassadors, ministers, treaties and pacts that make an appearance throughout the various chapters. This is especially challenging if the reader is not an expert on each country's diplomatic and political history.

In sum, the greatest aspect of these thirteen chapters is that they are an excellent starting point to reflect on Chiang's diplomatic ability and on the true intentions of international powers towards China during WWII. Were the actions of the powers carried out with the genuine intention of helping China to defeat Japan? Or was the main aim to maintain influence in East Asia and contain the Communist threat? What impact did WWII have on the power balance in East Asia, and especially on relations between China and Japan? I agree with MacKinnon's conclusions that the current literature provides limited answers to these questions, but volumes like *Negotiating China's Destiny in World War II* are a first step in the right direction to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the consequences of WWII in East Asia.

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