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Liyuan Opera *Lizhiji*: New Materials, Stories and Insights

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THE UNIVERSITY
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Doctor of Philosophy
Chinese
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Thesis Declaration

I confirm that this thesis presented for the degree of PhD Chinese, has

i) been composed entirely by myself

ii) been solely the result of my own work

iii) not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Wang Yibo

Wang Yibo

Abstract

Lizhiji 荔枝记, or *Legends of Lychee*, is the most important work of the Liyuan Opera, a vernacular local opera prevalent in southern Fujian and eastern Guangdong provinces which is representative of the region's performing arts and folk cultures. This thesis, as a work of literary study, analyses a newly-discovered edition of *Lizhiji* found in the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh, together with five other previously studied editions of the work.

Chapter 1 introduces the aims, objectives and research questions of the study. Followed by an overall review of previous related studies, the methodologies and approaches used in this research are explained.

Chapter 2 foregrounds the bibliographical problems of the new-found *Lizhiji*, before conducting research on all the *Lizhiji* editions. By collating this new edition with other editions and comparing the illustrations with coeval publications, it can be deduced that the *Lizhiji* in Edinburgh was published in Zhangzhou around the thirty-second year of the Wanli reign period (1604). By comparing all six extant editions, a new and more convincing edition-relationship diagram can emerge. Furthermore, it can also be seen that the Quanzhou and Chaozhou versions of the *Lizhiji* story eventually came together during the Qing Dynasty.

Chapter 3 mainly focuses on the text of *Lizhiji*. Developing from the bibliographical findings of Chapter 2, this section revisits the story and characters whilst critically engaging with previous research into the opera. The whole story of *Lizhiji* can be divided into two parts, with the main love story centred on Wu Niang, and the interwoven story concentrating on Yi Chun. Wu Niang and her lover Chen San are not typical *caizijiaren* 才子佳人 (the gifted scholar and the beauty), and their striving for romantic freedom eventually gives way to social and moral regulations. As for Yi Chun, we find there are two alternative endings for her depending on different editions. One ending sees her become the concubine of Chen San; the other ends with her as the wife of Xiao Qi, the servant. On the whole, the prominence of the central love story declined whilst the interwoven story gained new importance. Such a change is in accordance with trends in the history of Chinese opera as a whole.

Chapter 4 explores the spread and development of *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera. It examines

why *Lizhiji* is limited to a certain geographical area and was faced with a recession in the Qing Dynasty. Another form of performing art, Nanyin, is introduced. After Nanyin and Liyuan Opera blended with each other at the end of the Ming dynasty, the former controlled the literati resources which originally belonged to the Liyuan Opera. This distancing from the literati resulted in the decline of the Liyuan Opera and *Lizhiji*.

Chapter 5 concludes the whole study, as well as bringing up some possible questions for future research.

This thesis is a case study of local vernacular opera based on bibliographical opera studies. On the one hand, the significant bibliographical study involved in this project will facilitate better literary research. On the other hand, it reveals a new way of writing the new history of the literature of our age, which shines a light on local vernacular literature works whilst focusing on mainstream masterpieces.

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As if in a dream, I have finished my PhD thesis. Now that it is time to write the acknowledgements, I feel that I want to say thousands of sentences but in fact I have remained speechless for a very long time. After 4 years in Edinburgh, 4 years in Peking University, 6 years in Gaoxin Middle and High school, 12 years in my little hometown—the feathers of time float in the light in front of my eyes, and all I want to say is: Ah, finished.

I think it is important not to have regrets in life, and I firmly believe that finishing a PhD program will be the last thing I will ever regret doing.

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Contents

Chapter 1	4
Introduction	4
1.1 Aims, Objectives and Research Questions	4
1.2 Literature Reviews	11
<i>1.2.1 Bibliographical Opera Studies</i>	11
<i>1.2.2 History of Opera, Liyuan Opera and Lizhiji Studies</i>	13
<i>1.2.3 Chinese print history and book history</i>	17
1.3 Methodology	20
1.4 Chapter Overview	24
Chapter 2	27
<i>Lizhiji</i>: New Materials and Bibliographical Studies	27
2.1 Bibliographical studies in <i>NLSE</i>	28
<i>2.1.1 Basic publishing information about <i>NLSE</i></i>	29
<i>2.1.2 Possible Source of the <i>NLSE</i></i>	34
<i>2.1.3 The <i>NLSE</i>'s Possible Time of Publication</i>	36
2.2 Revisiting the Edition System of <i>Lizhiji</i>	41
<i>2.2.1 Previous Research on the Topic</i>	43
<i>2.2.2 Restudy the edition problem of <i>Lizhiji</i></i>	45
<i>2.2.3 New Edition-Relationship Diagram</i>	65
2.3 Discussions related to book history	65
2.4 Conclusion	71
<i>2.4.1 The newly discovered <i>Lizhiji</i></i>	71
<i>2.4.2 A New Opera Publishing Spot in the Ming Dynasty: Zhangzhou</i>	71
Chapter 3	74
Analysis of <i>Lizhiji</i>	74
3.1 The Value of Edition Studies and Text Comparisons	74
3.2 Example One: “Marriage is something decided by myself” and the Main Love Story	76

3.2.1 “Gentleman Under the Lantern” and “Guanren Downstairs”	80
3.2.2 <i>Wu Niang: A Gradually Weaker and More Selfish Heroine</i>	85
3.2.3 <i>Chen San: A Gradually Stronger Hero, but Unworthy of the Title Caizi</i>	95
3.2.4 <i>Lin Da: A Depraved Antagonist</i>	136
3.3 Example Two: Yi Chun and Her Subplot	167
3.3.1 <i>Yi Chun in JJE: A Stereotypical Maid Similar to Hongniang</i>	170
3.3.2 <i>WLE and NLSE: Yi Chun’s Own Thoughts and Endings</i>	184
3.3.3 <i>The Three Qing Dynasty Editions: Changes and Stability</i>	194
3.4 Conclusion	196
3.4.1 <i>Re-understanding the Characters</i>	197
3.4.2 <i>The Interwoven Story Gains Importance</i>	199
Chapter 4	203
The Development and Decline of <i>Lizhiji</i>	203
4.1 <i>Lizhiji</i>: The Decline in Quality and Limitation of Circulation	203
4.2 The Factors Behind the Changes in Opera	207
4.2.1 <i>The Social History Background</i>	208
4.2.2 <i>The Developing Trend of Operas</i>	214
4.2.3 <i>Resource Competition between the Nanyin and Liyuan Operas</i>	215
4.3 Conclusion	239
Chapter 5	241
Conclusions	241
5.1 Contributions	241
5.1.1 <i>Bibliographical Studies</i>	241
5.1.2 <i>Opera studies</i>	242
5.1.3 <i>Lizhiji Studies</i>	244
5.2 Topics for Future Research	245
References	247
Appendix 1	272

Appendix 2.....281

List of Abbreviations

- BHSJ** *Xin Kan Shi Shang Ya Diao Bai Hua Sai Jin* 新刊时尚雅调百花赛锦 (*Newly Published Fashionable Elegant Arias like One Hundred Flowers Better than Brocades*), another name *Xin Kan Xian Guan Shi Shang Zhai Yao Ji* 新刊弦管时尚摘要集 (*Newly Published Anthology of Fashionable Arias from Xianguan*), published by Hong Zhiheng 洪秩衡 of Zhangzhou and reviewed by Wanyuequ Zhuren 玩月趣主人 (Master of Playing with the Moon) during the Wanli 万历 reign period (1572-1620).
- DGE** Daoguang edition of *Lizhiji, Chen Boqing Xindiao Xiuxiang Lizhiji Quanben* 陈伯卿新调绣像荔枝记全本 (*Complete Lychee of Chen Boqing with New Tunes and Illustration*), published by Jiangu Tang 见古堂 (Jiangu Hall) of Quanzhou in 1831 (the 11th year of the Daoguang 道光 reign period).
- GXE** Guangxu edition of *Lizhiji, Chen Boqing Xindiao Xiuxiang Lizhiji Zhenben* 陈伯卿新调绣像荔枝记真本 (*Genuine Edition of Lychee of Chen Boqing with New Tunes and Illustrations*), published by Sanyi Tang 三益堂 (Sanyi Hall) in 1884 (the 10th year of the Guangxu 光绪 reign period).
- JJE** Jiajing edition of *Lijingji, Chongkan Wuse Chao Quan Charu Shici Beiqu Goulan Lijingji Xiqu Daquan* 重刊五色潮泉插科增入诗词北曲勾栏荔镜记戏曲全集 (*Republication of the Complete Goulan Drama Lychee and Mirror Based on Chaozhou and Quanzhou, with Five Roles and Added Actions, Poems and Northern Songs*), published by Xin'an Tang 新安堂 (Xin'an Hall) of the Yu family in 1566 (the 45th year of the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign period).
- MKSZ** The three Ming Dynasty publications of Liyuan Opera and Nanyin: *BHSJ*, *YYLJ* and *MTC*.
- MTC** *Xin Ke Zeng Bu Xi Dui Jin Qu Da Quan Man Tian Chun* 新刻增补戏队锦曲大全满天春 (*Newly Engraved Supplementary Drama with Complete Bright Arias as Beautiful as the World in the Spring*), published by Li Bifeng 李碧峰 and Chen Wohan 陈我含 in 1604 (the 32th year of Wanli 万历 reign period).
- NLS** National Library of Scotland.
- NLSE** National Library of Scotland's edition of *Lizhiji* 荔枝记 (*Legend of Lychee*).
- SZE** Shunzhi edition of *Lizhiji, Xinkan Shixing Quan Chao Yadio Chen Boqing Lizhiji Daquan* 新刊时兴泉潮雅调陈伯卿荔枝记大全 (*Newly Published Complete Lychee of Chen Boqing with Fashion Quanzhou and Chaozhou Elegant Tunes*), published by Shulin Renwen Ju 书林人文居 (Renwen Hall of Shulin) in 1651 (the 8th year of the

Shunzhi 顺治 reign period).

WJHY Xinkan Liyuan Zhaijin Zhuiyao 新刊梨园摘锦坠要精奇雅调 (*A New Anthology of Beautiful Songs Played in the Pear Garden*), and another name *Xinkan Shishang Jinqu Zhaizhui* 新刊时尚锦曲摘坠 (*Newly Published Selected Fashionable Arias Like Brocades*) with a shortened name *Wan Jin Hui Yin* 万锦徽音 (*Ten Thousand Pieces of Good Music as Beautiful as Brocade*).

WLE Wanli edition of *Lizhiji, Xinke Zengbu Quanxiang Xiangtan Lizhiji* 新刻增补全像乡谈荔枝记 (*Newly Carved Local Legend Lychee with Added Details and Complete Illustrations*), republished by Yugeng Tang 与耕堂 (Yugeng Hall) of the Zhu family in 1581 (the 9th year of the Wanli 万历 reign period).

XZCD Xinzhai Chadian Chansan Bing Quannan Jinqu Jiadiao Quanji 新摘潮调陈三并泉南锦曲加调全集 (*A Complete Collection of the Newly Edited Chen San Songs in Chaozhou Tunes Together with Nice and Beautiful Songs from the South Part of Quanzhou*), appendix of *NLSE*.

YYLJ Ji Fang Ju Zhu Ren Jing Xuan Xin Qu Yu Yan Li Jin 集芳居主人精选新曲钰妍丽锦 (*Carefully Selected New Arias like Beautiful Brocades by the Master of Collecting Fragrances*), another name *Jing Xuan Shi Shang Xin Jin Qu Zhai Zhui* 精选时尚新锦曲摘坠 (*Carefully Selected Fashionable New Arias for Operas*), published by Jingchen shi 景宸氏 of Shulin 书林 during Wanli reign period.

List of Illustrations

Fig 1. Yingtai hui Shanbo 英台会山伯 (Yingtai meets Shanbo), MTC illustration 9, page 15a (left).....	37
Fig 2. Yichun tuiyue 益春退约(Yi Chun declines the date), NLSE illustration 18, page 46a (right).	37
Fig 3. Shenlin bian 深林边 (Besides the deep forest), MTC illustration 1, page 1b (left)....	38
Fig 4. Sanren siben 三人私奔 (The three run away), NLSE illustration 22, page 52b (right).	38
Fig 5. Lü Yunying huayuan yu Liu Gui 吕云英花园遇刘圭 (Lü Yunying meets Liu Gui in the garden), MTC illustration 3, page 14b (left).....	38
Fig 6. Chen San peng penshui 陈三捧盆水 (Chen San holds the water basin), NLSE illustration 11, page 26b (right).	38
Fig 7. Xun Sanguan Niang 寻三官娘 (Finding the mother of Sanguan), MTC illustration 5, page 25b (left).	39
Fig 8. Heshang nong nigu 和尚弄尼姑 (The monk teasing the nun), MTC illustration 13, page 32a (middle).	39
Fig 9. Lin Da yaopeng shangdeng 林大邀朋赏灯 (Lin Da invites his friend to enjoy the lanterns), NLSE illustration 2, page 4a (right).....	39
Fig 10. Zhao Shangdian 招商店 (At the hostel), MTC illustration 2, page 5a (left).....	39
Fig 11. Boqing yu xiong jianxing 伯卿与兄饯行 (Boqing holds a farewell dinner for his brother), NLSE illustration 1, page 1b (right).....	39
Fig 12. Wu Niang toujing 五娘投井 (Wu Niang jumps into the well), NLSE illustration 6, page 16a (right).	40
Fig 13. Edition-relationship diagram of <i>Lizhiji</i>	65

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

Imperial Chinese opera has a long history and its accomplishments are renowned. It started in the Tang Dynasty, reached a peak in the Song Dynasty, and continued to grow vigorously in the Yuan Dynasty. During the Ming and the Qing Dynasties, it spread from the cities to the rural areas, from the cultured literati to the ordinary people and even to the peasants in the countryside. From *Romance of the Western Chamber* to *Peony Pavilion*, from Guan Hanqing (c.1234 -1300) to Li Yu (1611-1680), all these well-known names form part of the heritage of imperial Chinese opera. As a cultural product which crosses the boundaries of both art and literature, as an important part of imperial Chinese literature, and as the representative of Ming-Qing literature, opera has always been a popular and fascinating topic in the field of Chinese literary studies. Following the great advances made in the last century by previous scholars, changes in Chinese literary studies have appeared in recent years: more and more scholars have been paying attention to imperial Chinese opera, and among all the studies, it is the study of vernacular operas that has increased most rapidly.¹ In my opinion, such changes are because of two main reasons.

Firstly, it is because opera's forms strongly influence its content. Compared with other types of literature and historical materials, opera has two distinct features. It has very strict rules, which result in patterned and stereotypical works. Under this circumstance, every change and original item of content that breaks the received criteria can be an entry point for research. What are the changes? Why did these changes come into being? These questions will lead us

¹ For the summary of Chinese opera studies in the last century, see Kang Baocheng 康保成, Huang Shizhong 黄仕忠, and Dong Shangde 董上德, "Xiqu yanjiu: changyang yu wenxue yu yishu zhijian-guanyu gudai xiqu wenxue yanjiu bainian huigu yu qianjing zhanwang de tanhua 戏曲研究:徜徉于文学与艺术之间——关于古代戏曲文学研究百年回顾与前景展望的谈话 [The Studies on Operas: in between of Literature and Art—a Discussion on the Previous 100 Years of Imperial Opera Literature's Research as well as Prospects]," *Wenxue Yichan* 1 (1999): 1-15. This essay also indicates the future topics of opera studies, which to some degree guides most of the later research.

to think about the relationship between a text's form and its content. The second feature of opera is that, as a kind of performing art, there is also a performative element in its characterization to consider. Opera is an art which combines the book and the stage. Not only do the literati participate in operas, but performers, troupes, theatre staff, and vitally, partially educated or even completely illiterate people (usually as audience of opera) can also be involved, thus the alterations created for stage effects and aspects of performance are very important. We can easily ask more questions: Which parts have been added or deleted by the performers? Which parts were changed by the editors? Which parts are recomposed deliberately for less educated audience in order to gain their attention? What is the purpose of these changes? The different recompositions of individuals based on their varying identities make the changes in opera rich and colourful and enable us to explore the junctures of the creation and development of the literature.

Secondly, the focus of contemporary literary studies is gradually shifting from the interests of the elite class to the everyday lives of ordinary people. Famous literati and elite writers created most of the operas of the Ming and Qing Dynasty that we are familiar with. The major circulation areas of these operatic works are the most prosperous areas of the empire, such as Beijing and the Jiangnan region. The history of literature that was written based on these works and areas is a limited history belonging to the elites and to developed cities. Clearly, these cannot offer holistic conclusions about the entire context of the writing and performance of the operas. In more extensive areas and for more extensive social classes, how do the ordinary people appreciate and write operas? What are the differences and links between vernacular opera and mainstream opera? Do vernacular operas present differently when compared with the opera of the *wenren* 文人 (literati)?² Do they follow the same trends as are found in literature as a whole? Since the May Fourth Movement, vernacular literature research has emerged and gradually further developed. Zheng Zhenduo is a pioneer and important contributor in this field. In the preface of Zheng Zhenduo's (1898-1958) *History of Chinese*

² The word literati in this thesis equals to the Chinese word *wenren* 文人, which means people with good education background and some knowledge about literature. They can participate in reading books, writing poems and composing essays. In imperial China, *wenren* sometimes have also been called *dushuren* 读书人 (people who read books). For more information of the literati related to *Lizhiji* and *Liyuan Operas*, see 4.2.3.1.

Literature with Illustrations, he writes “The real classics that used to move numerous ordinary people’s hearts, making them sing, making them cry, making them feel happy and laugh out—cannot we fight for several pages for them [in the history of literature]? ... [I want to] write a history which is able to present the real situation and development of the whole literature.”³ Under such a pursuit, Zheng Zhenduo paid great attention to the study of vernacular literature.⁴ First of all, he concentrated on collating and studying famous and popular folk tales in China, with a particular focus on how the contents of tales had changed throughout the history, such as the story of the White Snake and the story of the Wolf of Zhongshan. Secondly, he invited some friends to join him to foreign libraries for more research. They transcribed, photocopied and finally introduced vernacular Chinese literature materials stored in other countries to domestic readers. For example, he transcribed many stories and songs of the Dunhuang manuscripts collected in the British Museum, as well as in the National Library of France. He also made contributions to publishing vernacular materials. For example, when the Japanese Cabinet Library edition of *Xingshi Hengyan* 醒世恒言 (*Stories to Awaken the World*) was reprinted in China, he did the proofreading and annotation for the book.⁵ Finally, Zheng also valued the research outcomes of Western scholars, and his research clearly demonstrated the influence of the British social anthropology and mythology.⁶

³ Zheng Zhendu 郑振铎, *Chatuben Zhongguo Wenxueshi* 插图本中国文学史 [*History of Chinese Literature with Illustrations*], (Beijing: Remin wenxue chubanshe, 1982), preface.

⁴ For more information about the life of Zheng Zhenduo, see Chen Fukang 陈福康, *Zheng Zhenduo Zhuan* 郑振铎传 [*Biography of Zheng Zhenduo*], (Beijing: Beijing shiyue wenyi chubanshe, 1993). For Zheng Zhenduo and his contribution to vernacular literature research, see Huang Yonglin 黄永林, *Zheng Zhenduo Yu Minjian Wenyi* 郑振铎与民间文艺 [*Zheng Zhenduo and Folk Arts*], (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1996).

⁵ Feng Menglong 冯梦龙, *Xingshi Hengyan* 醒世恒言 [*Stories to Awaken the World*], (Shanghai: Shenghuo shudian, 1936). This reprint is from a series of publications named *Shijie Wenku* 世界文库 [World literature collection], while Zheng Zhenduo served as the supervisor and main editor. For more information about the discovery of this edition of *Xingshi Hengyan* and other related vernacular literature works in Japan, see Sun Kaidi 孙楷第, “Sanyan Erpai yuanliukao 三言二拍源流考 [The Source and Course of “Sanyan” and “Erpai”],” from collected works of Sun Kaidi named *Cangzhou Ji* 沧州集 [*Cangzhou Collection*], (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 149-208. For a small but interesting finding on the edition problem of the Japanese Cabinet Library edition of *Xingshi Hengyan*, see my Bache dissertation. “*Xingshi Hengyan Banben Wenti Yanjiu* 《醒世恒言》版本问题研究 [*A Study on the Edition Problems of Xingshi Hengyan*],” (BA diss., Peking University, 2014).

⁶ For Zheng Zhenduo’s methodology and the importance of Zhen Zhuoduo to the research history of Chinese vernacular literature, see more in Liu Xicheng 刘锡诚, “Zheng Zhenduo zai zhongguo minjian wenxue xueshushi shang de yiyi-wei Zheng Zhenduo danchen 110 zhounian erzuo 郑振铎在中国民间文学学术史上的意义——为郑振铎诞辰 110 周年而作 [The Importance of Zheng Zhenduo to the Research History of Chinese Folk Literature - Written for the 110th Birthday of Zheng Zhenduo],” *Minjian Wenhua Luntan* 3 (2009):5-16.

Zheng Zhenduo's special attention to overseas new materials, his emphasis on vernacular literature when studying imperial Chinese literature, and his approaches which combined Chinese and Western research methods have been the sources of inspirations and passion in my research journey. Driven by Zheng Zhenduo's words and achievements, I hope to carry out investigative study into operas that contain more on-stage features, and those that are vernacular rather than elite, in addition to classic operas and works by famous authors. In fact, nowadays there is an apparent change in the focus of humanities and social science. Influenced by approaches, methods and concepts of the new cultural history, more and more scholars have started to pay attention to ordinary people and their cultural lives. Doubtlessly, opera, with relatively broad audiences and readers, is one of the literary and artistic forms that have deeply influenced and played a part in the daily life of the Ming and the Qing Dynasties.

In this thesis, I focus on a vernacular imperial Chinese opera named *Lizhiji* 荔枝记 (*Legend of Lychee*) and its genre named Liyuan Opera. The foundation of this thesis is the newly-discovered, unique copy of the Minnan opera *Lizhiji* published in the Ming Dynasty and stored in the National Library of Scotland, hereafter NLS. This newly-discovered edition of *Lizhiji* will help to solve pre-existing difficulties in *Lizhiji* and opera studies, as well as bringing to the fore new issues and topics. Before detailing my research questions, I would like to first provide a brief introduction to *Lizhiji*, and its genre, Liyuan Opera.

Today, Liyuan Opera is an opera centred around Quanzhou and popularized in the Minnan 闽南 (southern Fujian) area. It uses Minnan yu 闽南语 (Minnan dialect) to perform and has an extensive history. Liyuan 梨园 (Pear Garden) was originally a place name, and later became the musical office and educational institution of the Tang Dynasty (618-907). It then turned into an alias for opera and the field of opera. We do not precisely know why Liyuan Opera deliberately used "Pear Garden" for its nomenclature as there is no definitive answer due to the limited materials. At the end of the Qing Dynasty and during the Republican period (1840-1949), Liyuan Opera had three schools: Shanglu 上路 (upper road), Xianan 下南 (down south) and Qiziban 七子班 (the troupe of seven kids), each with a different repertoire

and performing style.⁷

Among the extant works of Liyuan Opera, *Chen San Wu Niang* 陈三五娘 (*Chen San and Wu Niang*), also called *Lizhiji* and *Lijingji* 荔镜记 (*Legend of the Lychee and the Mirror*) is the most important work, as well as the only work originating from the Minnan area. *Lizhiji* presents the story of the Chaozhou lady Huang Wu Niang and a young man, Chen San from Quanzhou. Chen San accompanies his brother to work and passes Chaozhou, where he meets his future lover, Wu Niang. In order to pursue Wu Niang, he pretends to be a mirror polisher and breaks the mirror of the Huang family, thus successfully selling himself to that family as a servant. After staying with the Huang family for three years, and with help from Wu Niang's maid Yi Chun 益春, he pledges to marry Wu Niang without the permission of their parents. However, Wu Niang is already engaged to a richer local man named Lin Da 林大. Chen San, Wu Niang, and Yi Chun decide to elope together, but the Lin family and Wu Niang's parents discover their actions immediately. The Lin family brings a lawsuit against Chen San; he gets caught and is banished to Yazhou 崖州. On his way to Yazhou, Wu Niang sends her servant Xiao Qi 小七 to give a letter to Chen San. Then Chen San meets with his brother who has come back from working away from home. His brother, Chen *yunshi* 运使 (Chief Magistrate), saves him and asks the Huang family to marry Wu Niang to Chen San.⁸ Chen San and Wu Niang finally wed and live happily ever after.

The earliest extant edition of this story is the *Lijingji*, published in the 45th year of the Jiajing reign period (1566). Later, there are several editions including one published in Wanli reign period (1573-1620), one in the 8th year of the Shunzhi reign period (1651), one in the 11th year of the Daoguang reign period (1831) and one in the 10th year of the Guangxu reign period (1884).⁹ The *Lizhiji* found in NLS is a new edition, in addition to the above five editions.

A special feature of *Lizhiji* is that it is not a literary opera of usual definition, but a vernacular one which reflects language features and life of ordinary people. Literary operas

⁷ Chen Shixiong 陈世雄, and Zeng Yongyi 曾永义, *Minnan Xiju* 闽南戏剧 [*Operas of Minnan*], (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2008), 57.

⁸ Chen San's brother's name has various versions. Chen Boyan 陈伯延, Chen Bixian 陈必贤 and Chen Bonian 陈伯年. However, his brother's official name is always *yunshi*.

⁹ They will be introduced in detail in Chapter 2.

usually have carefully polished songs, rhyming dialogues, and strictly obey the standard structures. As Guo Yingde says, there are three kinds of literati who wrote literary operas in the Ming and the Qing Dynasties: the orthodox school, such as Wu Meicun 吴伟业 (1609-1072), the libertine school such as Li Yu 李渔 (1611-1680) and the Suzhou school such as Li Yu 李玉 (1610-c.1671).¹⁰ Clearly, *Lizhiji* is closer to the Suzhou school because it describes the life of lower-class people, and the authors, although mostly unknown, are from the lower class. However, judging from the quality of the texts, it is obvious that *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera are very different from the literary operas.

In Xiang Da's (1900-1966) *Ying Ya Suo Zhi* 瀛涯琐志, his comments on the edition of *Lizhiji* stored in Oxford University as "The description and diction of this opera are not good enough."¹¹ He does not regard it as a first-class work of opera. However, when I sat in the now-demolished Science Teaching Building of Peking University in 2011 and listened to Kong Qingdong's lecture on the history of modern Chinese literature, I was impressed by one of his views. He said that if we wanted to do literary research, we should not only read first-class works, but also read second-class, third-class and even the worst literary works. Kong himself also spent a lot of time on popular literature, such as Jin Yong's (1924-2018) works.¹² His view offered me ideas on how to do research in a more omprehensive way. It made me aware that there is still considerable space for me to explore beyond the literature history that has already been written. The *Lizhiji* of NLS is precisely one of the "second-class, third class and even worst literary works". It is not a famous opera but has a long history with many editions and changes, which has the feature of accumulating generation by generation.¹³ It was written

¹⁰ Guo Yingde 郭英德, *Mingqing Chuanqi Shi* 明清传奇史 [History of the Ming and Qing Dynasties' chuanqi], (Beijing: renmin wenzue chubanshe, 2012), volume 3.

¹¹ Xiang Da 向达, "Yingya suozhi: ji niujin suocang de zhongwenshu 瀛涯琐志:记牛津所藏的中文书 [Fragmental Records of the Overseas-Records about the Chinese Books in Oxford]," *Guofeng Banyuekan* 5 (1936).

¹² Kong Qingdong published various book about Jin Yong. For example, *Xiao Shu Shen Xia* 笑书神侠 [Writes about the Divine Chivalrous Smily], (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2008).

¹³ In Chinese, *shidaileiji* 世代累积. To be more specific, it refers to stories with multiple authors from different generations. It also indicates adaptations of a certain story over the history. For more details of this phenomenon in Chinese literature, see Xu Shuofang 徐朔方, *Xiaoshuo Kao Xin Bian* 小说考信编 [Analysis On Imperial Fiction], (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), preface. This idea came into being since the early generation of researchers such as Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936) and Hu Shi 胡适 (1891-1962). Since then it has been a widely accepted opinion. See Lu Xun, *Zhongguo Xiaoshuo De Lishi Bianqian* 中国小说的历史变迁 [The Historical Changes of Chinese Fiction], (Xi'an: Xi'an daxue chubanshe, 1925). Lu Xun, *Zhongguo Xiaoshuo Shilüe* 中国

by a member of the lower-class literati with limited embellishment in the writing and is closer to the real performance which keeps more on-stage characters. To some extent, the purpose of doing research into this opera is to fill the gap between vernacular literature and literary literature in traditional literary studies, as most previous research mainly just focused on first-class works without too much attention on lower-class works.

After highlighting the objective of the research, the research questions of this thesis become clear: What are the publishing details of the new *Lizhiji*? Will it become a bridge between the extant editions and enable us to explore its edition relationships? After working out the version relationship diagram, is it possible for us to find out the differences between each edition? What kind of differences and changes can we find? Do all the changes indicate a certain trend? What causes the changes? Will the new edition alter existing opinions on *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera? All the above questions will be addressed in the main body of this thesis.

Some boundaries of this research should be identified here. Firstly, the specific geographical features and local cultural backgrounds of the Minnan area will not be discussed due to the word limitations of the thesis. For more information, Wang Wei's post-doctoral report serves as a very good reference.¹⁴ Secondly, I will not talk much about the history of Minnan in the Ming-Qing transition, because of the absence of opera materials during this period and the unclear publication date of the two Ming Dynasty publications.¹⁵ Thirdly, the exact situation of the performances, troupes and theatres will not be explored; an excellent discussion of this may already be found in Piet van der Loon's book as well as Sau-Ping Cloris

小说史略 [A *Brief History of Chinese Fiction*], (Beijing: Beixin shuju, 1925). Hu Shi, “*Sanguozhiyanyi xu* 《三国志演义》序 [Preface for *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*],” from the book punctuated by Wang Yuanfang 汪原放 *Sanguozhi Tongsu Yanyi* 三国志通俗演义 [A *Popular Edition of the Romance of the Three Kingdoms*], (Shanghai: Yadong tushuguan, 1922). Hu Shi, *Zhongguo Zhanghui Xiaoshuo Kaozheng* 中国章回小说考证 [Textual Research on Chinese Chapters Novels], (Dalian: Shiye yinshuguan, 1942). It should be emphasized here that this phenomenon is not unique to Chinese literature works. Instead in other counties and cultures similar phenomena also exist. For example, during the Victorian era, many new music, songs and fragments of stories were added to Shakespeare's works during the performance, and eventually they became an intrinsic part of those plays. There are many works on this topic, here only list one. John Golder, *Shakespeare for the Age of Reason: The Earliest Stage Adaptations of Jean-François Ducis, 1769-1792*, (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1992).

¹⁴ Wang Wei 王伟, “*Haixia liangan gongtong jiyi zhong de minnan xiqu wenhua tujing-yi xiandaixing yujing zhong de lijing qingyuan wei zhouxin jianji qita* 海峡两岸共同记忆中的闽南戏曲文化图景——以现代性语境中的荔镜情缘为轴心兼及其他 [South Fujian Opera Culture Spectacle on Common Memory of Cross-Strait: Romance of Lychee and Mirror in the Context of Modernity],” (Postdoc, Xiamen University, 2016).

¹⁵ This is also because I did not find great changes between the last Ming Dynasty edition and the first Qing Dynasty edition.

Lim's PhD thesis.¹⁶ Finally, although my research, especially the bibliographical studies in chapter 2, has a close relationship with, and is deeply influenced by the study of Chinese book history, due to the few sources available and the other needs of my research topic, I will not seriously delve into print history or book history. However, some specific questions regarding book history will require to be answered. To conclude, the focus of this thesis remains, and is always, the history of literature.

1.2 Literature Reviews

1.2.1 Bibliographical Opera Studies

Regarding the new material, the first stage of my research is bibliographical studies, which belongs to the field of *xiqu wenxian xue* 戏曲文献学 (bibliographical opera studies). An interesting fact to consider is that although the practice of bibliographical research has a very long history in China, until Liang Qichao's (1873-1929) *Academic History of China of the Last Three Hundred Years* 中国近三百年学术史 the concept of bibliographical studies had not come into being.¹⁷ As for the branch of bibliographical opera studies, the first textbook did not come out until 2008; this was Sun Chongtao's (1939-) *The Bibliographical Opera Studies* 戏曲文献学.¹⁸ This book follows the traditional structure of bibliographical studies textbooks and is divided into several corresponding chapters, including *xiqu muluxue* 戏曲目录学 (opera catalogue studies), *xiqu banbenxue* 戏曲版本学 (opera edition studies), *xiqu jiaokanxue* 戏曲校勘学 (opera collation studies) and so forth. It is the first comprehensive introductory book on bibliographical opera studies, in which the research methods and aims of bibliographical opera studies are discussed. This book also emphasizes the foundational

¹⁶ Piet Van der Loon, *Mingkan Minnan Xiqu Xianguan Xuanben Sanzhong* 明刊闽南戏曲弦管选本三种 [The Classical Theatre and Art Song of South Fukien: A Study of Three Ming Anthologies], (Taipei: Nantian shuju, 1992). Sau-Ping Cloris Lim, "Nanyin Musical Culture in Southern Fujian, China: Adaptation And Continuity," (Ph.D, SOAS, University of London, 2014).

¹⁷ Dong Hongli 董洪利, *Gudian Wenxianxue Jichu* 古典文献学基础 [Basis of Chinese Classics and Classical Bibliography], (Beijing: Beijing daaxue chubanshe, 2008), 3.

¹⁸ Sun Chongtao 孙崇涛, *Xiqu Wenxian Xue* 戏曲文献学 [The Bibliographical Opera Studies], (Shanxi: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 2008).

function of bibliographical studies to opera studies. Literature research, if lacking bibliographical evidence, will contain a series of problems. Misplaced research subjects and differences in editions will lead to varying results. This book is the theoretical guide to the whole thesis. Besides *The Bibliographical Opera Studies*, Zhu Chongzhi's book *The Study on Anthologies of Traditional Opera in Ancient China* has also played a vital role in this thesis.¹⁹ Zhu's book studies anthologies of Chinese opera compiled through the research of bibliographical studies and catalogue studies. It discusses the value of anthologies from the aspects of collation and *jiyi* 辑佚 (compiling lost books). His concentration on anthologies prompted my research interest in the appendix of the NLS *Lizhiji* and other previous anthologies of Minnan operas.

Apart from the books and essays specifically aimed at bibliographical studies, most researchers' practice on bibliographical studies still uses the edition problems of one specific work of opera to discuss certain opera or literary problems. Among the works of overseas Sinologists, there is *Theaters of Desire: Authors, Readers, and the Reproduction of Early Chinese Song-Drama, 1300-2000* written by Patricia Angela Sieber.²⁰ By using different editions of *Romance of the Western Chamber* as examples, this book, especially Chapter 3, argues that different recompositions of an opera can help to disseminate that opera. The method that Sieber uses starts with close reading and its concentration on readers, editors and writers has been very influential for this thesis. Stephen H. West's essay "A Study in Appropriation: Zang Maoxun's Injustice to Dou E" was also meaningful for this study.²¹ It uses *The Injustice to Dou E* as an example and indicates how authors with different identities and different values will affect the connotations of the same opera greatly. This is an earlier essay that discusses literary problems based on edition studies.

The works of Chinese scholars are considerable; amongst this corpus, the most consulted

¹⁹ Zhu Chongzhi 朱崇志, *Zhongguo Gudai Xiqu Xuanben Yanjiu* 中国古代戏曲选本研究 [Studies on Chinese Classical Opera Anthologies], (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004).

²⁰ Patricia Sieber, *Theaters of Desire: Authors, Readers, And the Reproduction of Early Chinese Song-Drama, 1300-2000*, Berlin: Springer, 2003.

²¹ Stephen H West, "A Study in Appropriation: Zang Maoxun's Injustice to Dou E," *Journal of The American Oriental Society* 2 (1991): 283-302.

sources for this research are essays by Luo Guanhua and Huang Shizhong.²² The first analyses the varying images of Wu Niang in different editions of *Romance of the Western Chamber*, and explores the reasons for any changes; this was very inspiring to this thesis, especially the section about Yi Chun. The latter essay discusses *Pipa Ji*'s 琵琶记 (*Legend of Pipa*) changes in musical tunes, structures, roles and themes. It argues that writers of the Yuan Dynasty did not have the concept of “a standard edition”. They reached the pinnacle of opera excellence under this freedom in writing. His way of thinking was also valuable for my thesis.

To conclude, the previous works on bibliographical opera studies are mostly focused on the edition studies of operatic works, which mainly uses edition study results as a basis for executing literary research. The specific literary and bibliographical research is still, to some extent, distinct. Bibliographical researchers focus on editions, while literary researchers focus on works of literature. There are not many works that combine both in-depth bibliographical and literary research.

1.2.2 History of Opera, Liyuan Opera and Lizhiji Studies

Besides bibliographical opera studies, other research results related to this thesis can be classified into three groups. The first group is studies on *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera from the angle of the history of opera. As *Lizhiji* is a vernacular local opera, earlier publications of opera history, such as Aoki Masaru's *History of Chinese Theatre in Recent Times* completed in 1930, make little reference to it.²³ Zhang Geng and Guo Hancheng's *A General History of Chinese Opera* is a relatively early monograph which introduces *Lizhiji*.²⁴ At that time, only the Jiajing edition and the Guangxu editions of *Lizhiji* had been discovered; thus Zhang and Guo's

²² Luo Guanhua 罗冠华, “Hongniang de xingxiang heyi bianhuaduoduan 红娘的形象何以变化多 [Why Does Hongniang's Image Changed So Many Times],” *Sichuan Opera* 1 (2009): 36-41. Huang Shizhong 黄仕忠, “Yuanming xiqu guannian zhi bianqian-yi pipaji de pinglun yu banben bijiao wei xiansuo 元明戏曲观念之变迁——以《琵琶记》的评论与版本比较为线索 [The Changing of Opera's Concept in the Yuan and the Ming Dynasties- Using the Comments and Editions of Pipa Ji as a Clue],” *Yishu Baijia* 4 (1996): 17-27.

²³ Masaru Aoki 青木正兒 and Wang Gulu 王古鲁, *Zhongguo Jinshi Xiquoshi 中国近世戏曲史 [History Of Chinese Theatre in Recent Times]*, (Beijing: Beijing langrun shudian youxian gongsi, 2012).

²⁴ Zhang Geng 张庚, and Guo Hancheng 郭汉城, *Zhongguo Xiqu Tongshi 中国戏曲通史 [A General History of Chinese Opera]*, (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 1980), 610.

research is centred on these two publications. Zhang and Guo had sight of some bibliographical studies. They mention other types of *Lizhiji* besides operas, including *chuanqi* 传奇 (legend, a kind of opera popular in the Ming Dynasty and usually contains many acts), novels and *geben* 歌本 (folk songbooks). They emphasize Wu Niang's bold but charming characteristics, and praised its rallying against the feudal marital system and ethics.

Jin Ningfen's *The History of Ming Dynasty Operas* introduces authors and works by their times and schools. The Jiajing edition *Lijingji* is classified into *wumingshi chuanqi zuopin* 无名氏传奇作品 (anonymous *chuanqi* works).²⁵ Her research into *Lijingji* starts with a discussion of the plot and roles. Connecting the work with its historical background, she argues that *Lijingji* represents the historical features of the Ming Dynasty. She believes that the theme of this work is resistance to feudal oppression; *Lijingji* does indicate a certain progressiveness, but also has its own limitations. On the whole, these works about the history of opera focus on a single work *Lizhiji*, but do not provide further discussion of Liyuan Opera. These works were finished in the last century, and their authors are mostly from an older generation of scholars. When conducting textual analysis, they use, to varying degrees, the discourse system of revolution and counter-revolution. They regard Wu Niang as a revolutionary, and her parents as reactionaries who represent feudal power. They praise Wu Niang and Chen San's love, and consider their pursuit of free love to be connected to the commercial and economic development of the Ming Dynasty.

Besides the two aforementioned works on the entire history of Chinese opera, *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera are mentioned in the history of Fujian opera and music. Liu Chunshu and Wang Yaohua's *Brief Research on Fujian Folk Music* introduces the origins, features, and structures of Liyuan Opera's music.²⁶ It particularly discusses the close relationship between the music of Liyuan Opera and Nanyin (a local music genre, which will be further discussed in Chapter 4). The book *Chronicles of Chinese Opera: Fujian Volume* introduces classical repertoires,

²⁵ Jin Ningfen 金宁芬, *Mingdai Xiquishi* 明代戏曲史 [*The History of Ming Dynasty Operas*], (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2007).

²⁶ Liu Chunshu 刘春曙, and Wang Yaohua 王耀华, *Fujian Minjian Yinyue Jianlun* 福建民间音乐简论 [*Brief Research on Fujian Folk Music*], (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1986).

music and troupes of Liyuan Opera in the form of an encyclopedia.²⁷ Chen Shixiong and Zeng Yongyi's *Minnan Opera* discusses Liyuan Opera from the aspects of district and geography, focusing on Minnan operas and non-Minnan operas from other regions, and considering particularly the changes that happened after these exotic operas entered the Minnan area.²⁸ These fundamental studies on opera and music have also been influential for my thesis.

The second type of work to be considered is overall studies on Liyuan Opera; the pre-eminent texts in this group form a series of publications by the Quanzhou Local Opera Research Centre. They not only published recomposed and photocopied books of imperial publications including music, anthologies of songs and operas, but also published several monographs written by local scholars. Out of all of the publications, Wu Jieqiu's *The History and Discussion about Liyuan Opera Art* is a comprehensive monograph on Liyuan Opera.²⁹ It analyses the origins, tunes, repertoires, performances, and artists of Liyuan Opera.

Additionally, almost the only book written in English is Piet van der Loon's (1920-2002) *The Classical Theatre and Art Song of South Fukien: A Study of Three Ming Anthologies*.³⁰ Based on his discoveries of three Ming Dynasty Minnan opera books overseas, he uses text materials, especially from missionaries and field research results, to study the operas recorded in these books. Both his methodologies and research findings have been very useful for my thesis.

The third group of studies is those which analyse the specific work *Lizhiji*. Lin Yanzhi's Master dissertation *Research on the Jiajing Edition Lijingji*, as well as Huang Wenjuan's Master dissertation *Research on Repertoires of Liyuan Opera Chen San and Wu Niang*, are relatively comprehensive.³¹ Both carry extensive studies into the editions, stories and art

²⁷ Ke Ziming 柯子铭, *Zhongguo Xiquzhi Fujian Juan* 中国戏曲志福建卷 [Chronicles of Chinese Opera: Fujian Volume], (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1993).

²⁸ Chen and Zeng, *Min Nan Xi Ju*, chapter 1.

²⁹ Wu Jieqiu 吴捷秋, and Quanzhou Local Opera Research Centre 泉州地方戏曲研究社, *Liyuanxi Yishu Shilun* 梨园戏艺术史论 [The History and Discussion about Liyuan Opera Art], (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 1996).

³⁰ Piet Van der Loon, *The Classical Theatre and Art Song of South Fukien: A Study of Three Ming Anthologies*.

³¹ Lin Yanzhi 林艳芝, "Jiajing Ben Lijingji Yanjiu 嘉靖本《荔镜记》研究 [Research on the Jiajing Edition Lijingji]," (MA Diss., Chinese Culture University, 1988). Huang Wenjuan 黄文娟, "Liyuan Xi Chensan Wuniang Jumu Yanjiu 梨园戏《陈三五娘》剧目研究 [Research on Repertoires of Liyuan opera Chen San and Wu Niang]," (MA diss., Tongji University, 2005).

features of *Lizhiji*. Wang Wei's post-doctoral report *South Fujian Opera Culture Spectacle on Common Memory of Cross-strait: Romance of Lychee and Mirror in the Context of Modernity* discusses the *Lizhiji* story from the aspect of local customs and within the context of modernity. Besides the above overall research output, there are also many essays focusing on parts of the story. For example, *Connotation of Lijing Record the Record of Lychee and the Mirror and the Development of the Story of Chen San and Wu Niang* which discusses the characters and plots; *Brief Research on the Chaozhou and Quanzhou Versions of Chen San and Wu Niang*, which focuses on the edition problems of *Lizhiji*; *On the Function of the Illustration and Narration of Ming Dynasty's Teochew Operas Litchi and Mirror and Litchi* which researches the illustrations, and *A Language Study on the Ancient Actors' Lines in South Fujian Dialect Published Ming Dynasty*, which analyses from the linguistic aspect.³²

There are also some essays related to the story of *Lizhiji*, but centred on the *chuanqi* work *Lijing Zhuan* 荔鏡傳 (*Legend of Lychee and Mirror*), which is regarded as a late Ming publication, such as Chen Yiyuan's *A Study on Lijing Zhuan* and Huang Dongyang's *Studies on the Novel Li Jing Zhuan: the Romantic Story of Chen San and Wu Niang*.³³ The content of these works has been extremely thought provoking and useful for this research. There will be further explanation of these essays in later chapters.

To conclude, studies related to *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera are generally fundamental and relate to local research. The works of Minnan and Taiwanese scholars are particularly valuable, as they are able to connect the local culture and geographical features together with the operas.

³² Chen Yaqian 陈雅谦, "Lijingji de sixiangneihan ji Chensan Wuniang gushi de yanbian 荔鏡記的思想內涵及《陳三五娘》故事的演變 [Connotation of Lijingji and the Development of the Story of Chen San and Wu Niang]," *Quanzhou Shifan Xueyuan Xuebao* 1 (2011): 7-14. Huang Wenjuan 黄文娟, Chen San 陈山, and Wu Jiang 吴江, "Chen San Wu Niang de chaoquan erbu banben lüeshuo 陳三五娘的潮泉二部版本略說 [Brief Research on the Chaozhou and Quanzhou Versions of Chen San and Wu Niang]," *Fujian Yishu* 4 (2014): 29-33. Ou Junyong 欧俊勇 and Wen Jianqin 温建钦, "Mingben chaozhou xiwen Lijingji Lizhiji chatu jiqi xushi gongneng de tantao 明本潮州戲文《荔鏡記》《荔枝記》插图及其敘事功能的探討 [Discussions on the Illustrations and Its Narrative Functions of the Ming Dynasty Chaozhou Opera Publications *Lijingji* and *Lizhiji*]," *Guangdong Dier Shifan Xueyuan Xuebao* 36 (2016): 81-85. Wang Jianshe 王建设, "Mingkan minnan fangyan xiwen zhong de yuyan yanjiu 明刊閩南方言戲文中的語言研究 [A Language Study on the Minnan Dialect Opera Publications Published in the Ming Dynasty]," (Ph.D, Jinan University, 2002).

³³ Chen Yiyuan 陈益源, "Lijing zhuan kao《荔鏡傳》考 [A Study on *Lijing Zhuan*]," *Literary Heritage* 6 (1993): 83-96. Huang Dongyang 黃東陽, "Lijing zhuan xukao- chensan wuniang zai xiaoshuo wenti de biaoshu shoufa yu jichu yihan kaolue《荔鏡傳》續考-陳三五娘在小說文體的表述手法與基礎意涵考略 [Studies on the Novel *Li Jing Zhuan: the Romantic Story of Chen San and Wu Niang*]," *Huafan Remwen Xuebao* 15 (2011): 83-107.

This kind of work is very helpful for me, as a person who is not a native speaker of the Minnan dialect. However, there are still some shortcomings. Firstly, the primary research object is still the earliest Jiajing edition of *Lijingji*, which means there is less concern for other editions. Secondly, due to lack of insufficient materials and fundamental knowledge in bibliography, some researchers mistook some features of a certain edition of *Lizhiji* as features applicable to all editions, i.e. the whole system of *Lizhiji*. Finally, the main focus is still the main love story of *Lizhiji*, but many details of the text have been misread and some conclusions are not accurate enough. All of these failings leave space for this thesis to do further research.

1.2.3 Chinese print history and book history

This thesis is a literary study based on bibliographical studies. However, this thesis will also briefly discuss some topics related to the history of Chinese books, given that the fundamental basis of the study is closely related to a newly-discovered book. The additional discussion also responds to the interdisciplinarity currently trending in China studies.

Chinese book history, as an important research field in both China studies and historical studies, has gained much attention over the last century.³⁴ The major topics, concerns, tasks of this genre are greatly different from those of the traditional Chinese bibliographical studies. The latter lay more emphasis on rare copies, imperial catalogues, notes and prefaces written by famous scholars. Book history, on the other hand, tries to focus on the Chinese print culture, centred by the production and consumption of books. There are three very important topics in the field of book history in my opinion.

Firstly, books in history. Studies try to analyze the features of the book, which accord with the bibliographical study experiences. Besides, scholars want to find out if books can represent changes over time, or when the book itself changed. They hope to divide the history into

³⁴ Among all the essays introducing research on Chinese book history, Tobie Meyer-Fong's *The Printed World: Books, Publishing Culture, and Society in Late Imperial China* is the most informative, although it is quite an early work. This literature review has learned from her essay, although it has many variations and changes. Tobie Meyer-Fong, "The Printed World: Books, Publishing Culture, and Society in Late Imperial China," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 3 (2007):787-817. Cynthia Brokaw's preface "On the History of the Book in China" in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, also gives a very complete introduction.

different time periods by developments in books. At the same time, they are tracing the interactions between literati and non-literati based on detailed research on the contents of the book. Inoue Susumu and Cynthia Brokaw have written some of the most significant work on this topic.³⁵ They argued that in the late imperial period, books spread to lower social classes, while readers expanded to cover nearly all the social classes with all kinds of literacy.³⁶ They especially emphasized that only after the mid Ming Dynasty, did printed books rather than manuscripts, become the major reading resources.³⁷

Secondly, the social and economic features and influences of the book. How do people produce a printed book? How do they sell books? How much will it cost and how much can publishers earn? Most of the answers can be found in Joseph McDermott's book *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China*. Going through nearly all the materials he could find regarding the production of a particular book, he carefully shows the costs and procedures of printing books. Apart from Joseph McDermott's book, which seems more like research into the whole publishing situation, two books that particularly aim to discuss regional problems must be mentioned here. One is Lucille Chia's *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)*, and the other is Cynthia Brokaw's *Commerce in Culture: The Sibao Book Trade in the Qing and Republican Periods*.³⁸ Jianyang and Sibao are small cities or towns in Fujian province. These two books, although they involve different time periods, describe in their entirety the commercial procedures and social history aspects of printed books. The authors introduce the physical appearance of the publications, list popular publications' titles, describe all the steps of the books trade production, summarize the most influential publishers and merchants, and discuss

³⁵ Inoue Susumu 井上進, *Chugoku Shuppan Bunkashi* 中国出版文化史 [A History of Chinese Publishing Culture], (Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2002), 327-328. Cynthia Brokaw, "On the History of the Book in China", in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, eds. Cynthia Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, (Berkeley And Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 3-54.

³⁶ Cynthia Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture: The Sibao Book Trade in the Qing and Republican Periods* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2007). The entire book tries to indicate that the trend of late imperial commercial printing is the books' expansion to the rural and frontier areas, and permeating to the people in the lowest social classes in these areas.

³⁷ A similar opinion is also stressed by Joseph McDermott's book. Joseph McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006).

³⁸ Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)*, *Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series No. 56*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2002).

possible factors that might have affected the industry. Since Jianyang is one of the most important publishing centres in the entire print history of China, and Sibao is one of the four publishing centres in the late imperial period, the two books, although titled like works on regional problems, did indicate the more extensive situation of Chinese book history.

Finally, topics related to the writers, readers, and publishers are important. People of these different identities participate in the “Communication Circuit”, proposed by Robert Darnton.³⁹ Who is the target reader of specific books? What is the gender of the reader? Is there interaction between different identities? In the books I have mentioned above, all of these questions have been discussed to some degree. Besides, there are also some essays dealing with this topic. The book, *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, collects some of the best discussions in its part III: Publishing for Specialized Audiences. For example, “Niche Marketing for Late Imperial Chinese Fiction” by Robert E. Hegel. Hegel tries to find out the exact scope of the target audience of imperial Chinese works of fiction by analyzing the quality changes in the books.⁴⁰ The text’s quality changes with each edition, if the quality is really high it will have well-educated readers, if the quality is low, only readers from lower class will read the book. Thus, by analysing the quality changes of the text, we can deduce the change in the audience. Apart from Western scholars, some Chinese scholars have also worked in this field. Zhang Bowei, for example: in his essay *Book Circulation and the Poetics of East Asia—the example of Chongbirok*, he crosses the boundary of book history and literature history.⁴¹ By carefully analyzing the circulation of the book *Chongbirok* among readers and editors as well as publishers in China, Korea and Japan, he believes that the book’s “circulation in manuscript and block-printed editions and the fact that it was read, amended and disseminated among the literati, reflects the way it epitomized the culture of another country in the eyes of these three

³⁹ Robert Darnton, “What Is the History of Books?” *Daedalus* 3 (1982): 67-68. Many scholars, such as Joseph McDermott in chapter 4 of his book *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China* criticized Darnton’s communication circuit, arguing that there are severe problems if scholars directly apply methods of Western book history to Chinese book history. However, emphasizing different identities is no doubt useful.

⁴⁰ Brokaw and Chow, *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*. Robert E. Hegel, “Niche Marketing for Late Imperial Fiction”, in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, 235-238.

⁴¹ Zhang Bowei 张伯伟, “Shuji huanliu yu dongya shixue: yi ‘qingpilu’ weili 书籍环流与东亚诗学：以《清脾录》为例 [Book Circulation and the Poetics of East Asia: Using *Chongbirok* as an Example],” *Social Sciences in China* 2 (2012):165.

countries.”

To conclude, book history has become more and more important in today’s Chinese history studies. The relationship between commerce and culture, and between producers and consumers of books is a topic much discussed today. The research and studies listed above are of course not complete, but closely related to this thesis.⁴² Based on the three main topics I have mentioned, my thesis will try to respond to some of the most vital questions regarding the newly-found book and its peers: the time at which it was published, the publisher’s commercial interest, the possible readers, the literacy of the readers, and finally why it came to be in Edinburgh.

1.3 Methodology

The main methodologies of this thesis are traditional bibliographical studies methods, which are primarily collation and edition studies, as well as empirical textual analysis.

For the field of bibliography, this thesis hopes to carry a detailed and accurate textual comparison between all the extant editions, together with theories of edition studies, to deduce the probable publishing time of the NLS *Lizhiji*. I will explore the publishing history of all the editions of *Lizhiji*, as well as the relationships between them. Hopefully, the bibliographical studies in this thesis will become a good base for future literary studies.

As for the field of literary studies, this thesis will focus on the history of Chinese opera and the history of bibliographical opera, conducting a study on the basis of analyzing the material. Although my research is limited to the field of literature studies, some factors of social history studies will be involved. During this process, economic backgrounds will be under great consideration. The overall economic situation of the Ming and the Qing Dynasties’ southeast coastal areas, price of the book, the income of readers and writers, are all discussed in the thesis in order to explain literary phenomena. Some views of the Annales school, such as through

⁴² Many other scholars have been involved in this field. Both Cynthia Brokaw and Tobie Meyer-Fong have listed them, they include Mary Elizabeth Berry, Thomas Carter, Tsien Tsuen-hsuein, Zhang Xiumin, and others. For more information please see Brokaw’s preface and Meyer-Fong’s essay.

consideration of detailed numbers (eg. the price of the book) and social cultural factors (eg. literati's pursuit of elegance) surely influenced my thesis. Besides, I will also compare *Lizhiji* with other operas of the same period, especially *Romance of the Western Chamber*, to connect the vernacular work with the mainstream literati opera. Although, as I argued before, in previous works there has been some discussion based on the texts, but at the foundations they lack accurate bibliographical research, the choice of editions is limited to only *JJE*, and the socio-cultural research is also focused on the time when *JJE* appeared, namely the mid-Ming period. After the discovery of *NLSE*, it is of paramount importance to carry out a more careful textual analysis, and empirical research on all the editions. The aim of literature studies is, to some extent, to provide augmentation and supplementation to *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera studies, and to the history of Chinese opera.

Reasons for such methodology are related to the current research context, my personal research experience and the aim of my research.

The current research situation regarding opera prompts my methodologies. The “history of opera”, recorded in most books of Chinese opera history, could be treated as part of the history of Chinese literature. The way of writing opera history in these books is similar. Dynasties are used as the major division of chapters. They usually introduce the field of opera in a chronological order from its beginnings to maturity. They mention changes in opera, as well as bypasses and declines. While talking about the whole changing tendency, important authors and works are also considered. In the endless history of opera, important persons—writers of the opera, authors of the music, performers on the stage, (and sometimes one person can inhabit all of these roles)—together with the time period, continuously influence the opera.

This kind of history of literature and opera, which has come into being under the pervasive influence of historical studies, makes it difficult to avoid the impact of historical research opinions. Apart the work of Aoki Masaru and Wang Guowei, most books on the history of opera based on newly discovered materials are written after 1949, when the PRC was founded. At that time, Marxism deeply influenced every aspect of social science study. The writing of

the history of literature and opera was no exception from the Soviet influence.⁴³ Many books used theories in a unconventional way and contain a lot of pre-assumptions. When describing the overall changes and developments of operas, authors persistently deemed the literature shall obey the rules of Marxism as interpreted by the CCP. Regarding specific opera history incidents, they prefer to analyse in a “Marxist” way, by using revolutionary discourse.⁴⁴ When introducing the stories of operas, most scholars chronically use the method of “dichotomy” or “dialectical materialism and historical materialism”. They classified characters and stories into “progressive figures” and “reactionary forces”. Their results are usually “a story shows some good views while it cannot avoid some feudal views”.⁴⁵

This kind of singular principle runs through all trains of thought and does not present any ultimate change in the field of *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera research. Nearly all the studies of *Lizhiji* follow the above pattern. To some extent, it is possible that contemporary studies still protect these ways of thinking. Only through the above theory, and by praising Wu Niang and Chen San’s love and bravery, can the shortcomings of *Lizhiji* be hidden. As almost the only local opera story, *Lizhiji* leaves one of the most important cultural legacies in Minnan area,

⁴³ I am not arguing that Marxism is wrong or is not suitable to use when analyzing literature. In fact, when discussing the social and economic background of literature, we are using some ideas from Marxism. However, the “Marxism” that has conquered social science study in China for decades, is not the original Marxism that Karl Marx (1818-1883) prompted, but based on the form of Marxism in Soviet Union textbook. This kind of Marxism, originally recorded and propagandized by the philosophy textbooks of the Soviet Union, mainly argues the concepts of “dialectical materialism and historical materialism” and provides materialistic principles for interpreting Marxist ideology. “Social being determines social consciousness” and “social consciousness belongs to historical materialism” are the major beliefs of the Soviet Union textbook school of Marxism. This particular form of Marxist analysis used in China was more driven by political rather than scholarly considerations, and it tried to force literary analysis onto a Chinese Marxism conception of Chinese history. The final purpose of this kind of research is somewhat not rigorous scholarly analysis, but propaganda of the ideology of that time. Undoubtedly, after 1979 the interpretation of Marxism in China has gradually changed, but the influence of the previous approach is still in existence. All the Marxism I referred to later are the Chinese Marxism conception based on the Soviet Union textbook’s Marxism. See Zhang Xuqing 张旭庆, “Jiedu sulian jiaokeshu zhong de makesi zhuyi yishi xingtai: qiyuan yu yanbian 解读苏联教科书中的马克思主义意识形态：起源与演变 [Interpretation of Marxist Ideology in Soviet Union’s Textbooks: Origin and Evolvement],” *Journal of Sichuan University (Social Science Edition)* 6 (2012): 59-66, and Zhang Xuqing 张旭庆, “Xinzhongguo makesi yishi xingtaiguan de chuanbo yu jieshou - yi jiaokeshu zhidu weili 新中国马克思主义意识形态观的传播与接受——以教科书制度为例 [The Spread and Acceptance of Marx’s Concept of Ideology in New China—Taking the Textbook System as an Example],” *Journal of Social Sciences* 2 (2017): 22-25, as well as Yang Geng 杨耕, “Sulian makesi zhuyi zhexue moshi: xingcheng, tezheng he quexian 苏联马克思主义哲学模式：形成、特征和缺陷 [The Soviet Union Textbook Marxism: Formation, Features and Shortcomings],” *Xueshu yuekan* 7 (2012): 30-39.

⁴⁴ Dai Yan 戴燕, “Zhongguo wenxue shi: yige lishizhuyi de shenhua 中国文学史：一个历史主义的神话 [History of Chinese Literature: A Historical Myth],” *Wenxue Pinglun* 5 (1998): 5-19. Dai Yan introduced and criticized the standards and models that researchers tend to use when writing the history of literature.

⁴⁵ This can be shown especially in Jin Ningfen’s *The History of Ming Dynasty Operas*.

especially Quanzhou. In the past 40 years, from an opera winning a competition to “the number one vernacular local story of Minnan”, *Lizhiji* has been both overrated and magnified.⁴⁶ The true story behind the scenes fades away to some extent. Is this really an ideal *caizijiaren* story with flawless hero and heroine? In this case, seeking literary reality is still important in this study.

Moreover, the usual way to divide the history by dynasties is also not suitable for this research. We have limited materials, or to be specific, no opera materials published in the Ming-Qing transition period have been found up until now. Under this circumstance, the boundaries set by dynasties are not that useful. All the publications should be considered as a whole rather than books from two totally different time periods, with totally distinctive social backgrounds.⁴⁷ Although I must admit that the change of dynasties may not lead to significant variation of the text itself, the importance attached to the texts is never unnecessary.

Besides, using empirical research methods is also related to my research objective and research background. My selection of the thesis topic is based on my discovery of the new material. Before writing this thesis, I firstly recorded the NLS *Lizhiji* in the detailed catalogue of the NLS Rare Chinese Books collection (see appendix). This means my research on *Lizhiji* began from a perspective of “material” and “book history”. What I focus on at this stage is how this book of the opera was written, collated, illustrated and published, and how it was brought by a missionary across continents and oceans to arrive in Edinburgh, only to be hidden in libraries for one hundred years. Later, I put it together with another unique opera book in NLS named *Wan Jin Hui Yin* (which will be introduced in Chapter 4) to compare their ambiguous publishing dates. During this process, I carried out a bibliographical study of *Lizhiji*, in order to place it chronologically within an already-known series of publications. Finally, I choose *Lizhiji* as the research focus of my thesis. I compared its contents with the extant editions, with

⁴⁶ The recomposed version of *Lizhiji*, named *Chen San and Wu Niang* is the champion of scenario, won the first place in the East China Opera Joint Performance Competition in 1954.

⁴⁷ Patricia Sieber, *Theaters of Desire: Authors, Readers, And the Reproduction of Early Chinese Song-Drama, 1300–2000*, Berlin, Springer, 2003. This book is a very good example of this thought. She did use dynasties in her book, but the major line of her book is the changing trends of the opera. She does not write a book about “different dynasties’ opera”, but a book about “operas in different dynasties”. My thesis is influenced by her thinking.

the original purpose of identifying its version. Then I conducted a detailed textual analysis. My whole study is centred on *Lizhiji*, making it my research object.

Finally, with the discovery of *NLSE*, and given that Liyuan operas have barely been studied systemically before, textual analysis is somewhat a must to do. One of the aims of my thesis is to lay a foundation for further study applying different methodologies.

Beyond the textual analysis and empirical research, there is one further methodology that ought to be highlighted here. I conducted a field trip during the summer of 2016 in Quanzhou, Zhangzhou, Chaozhou, and Xiamen. I not only appreciated the performance of both government-sponsored city troupes and folk shows by amateurs in the countryside, but also interviewed some artists of Liyuan Opera and Nanyin. The results of this field research have also been used in my thesis.

The whole study has three main features. Firstly, the newly-found edition of *Lizhiji* forms a bridge between the extant materials. A reliable edition study result will work as the foundation of studies on “changes”. Secondly, vernacular opera, compared with classical elite opera, has more apparent changes between different editions.⁴⁸ Among all these alterations, changes in plots and characters are extremely important. This enables me to concentrate on the development of the story. Thirdly, the thesis aims to find the changing trends during the history of *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera. With discussion on the reasons behind these changes, and connecting the genre with other local cultural products, the thesis hopes to find some factors that have affected the development of opera, thus shed some light on the contents of the history of imperial Chinese literature.

1.4 Chapter Overview

The aim of imperial Chinese literature research are essentially threefold.⁴⁹ Firstly,

⁴⁸ Shen Xinlin 沈新林, “Zhongguo gudai xiaoshuo xiqu banben zhi bijiao yanjiu 中国古代小说, 戏曲版本之比较研究 [A Comparative Study on the Differences between the Edition Problems of Imperial Chinese Novels and Operas],” *Yangzhou Daxue Xuebao (Renwen Shehui Kexue Ban)* 4 (2006): 32-33.

⁴⁹ For more information about this general aim, purpose and methods of imperial Chinese literature, see Fu Gang 傅刚, “Tantan zhongguo gudai wenxue yanjiuzhe de yanjiu: mudi, yiyi, fangfa 谈谈中国古代文学研究者的研

conducting research into literary history needs to restore the original historical reality, which means researchers need to obtain as much reliable material as possible and to analyze. Secondly, literature phenomena are important. Researchers ought to detect distinctive literature phenomena depending on the materials, and describe what they are. Thirdly, the causes and rules of changes need to be considered carefully. Based on the phenomena found through analyzing materials, the researcher's task is to find out the specific historical and literary events resulting in the phenomenon, and what is the changing trend behind it.

These three points are also the three steps of conducting the history of literary studies, and this thesis is carefully written and structured following these points. Chapter 1 is introductory, presenting the research objective, the reason for the selection of the topic, the research questions, literature review, and methodologies. Chapter 2 is a bibliographical study considering all the editions of *Lizhiji*. By showing the accurate chronological order of the texts, this chapter enables me to find out the true historical reality in the following chapters. Chapter 3 is textual analysis centred on characters and stories, focusing especially on the changes which incurred from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty. This chapter provides the original historical reality, answering questions about what the changes were, shows the literary phenomena, and summarizes the development of the story. Chapter 4 is about the development of the text as a whole, discussing the possible reasons for *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera's decline. This chapter tries to uncover the rule of changing of *Lizhiji* and the Liyuan Opera, hoping the finding can also be applied to broader research topics in imperial Chinese literature. The last chapter is the conclusion, which also offers some future research topics.

The major task of this research, a case study of vernacular opera's bibliographical studies combined with literary studies, is to study the developing conditions and the changing patterns of literary phenomena presented by *Lizhiji*, based on the original historical reality of literature.

As the discoverer of the NLS *Lizhiji*, I hope my thesis will give a detailed introduction of the vernacular opera *Lizhiji*, especially to the *NLSE*, and outline new ideas relating to the evolution of imperial Chinese literature. I hope my readers could gain an overall understanding

towards Liyuan Opera and *Lizhiji*, and recognize its place in the history of imperial Chinese literature as a vernacular opera.

Chapter 2

Lizhiji: New Materials and Bibliographical Studies

According to research conducted by several generations of scholars, five editions of *Lizhiji* were published during the Ming and the Qing Dynasty. In addition, a few sentences can be found in some other Ming Dynasty works. These are:

- (1) *Chongkan Wuse Chao Quan Charu Shici Beiqu Goulan Lijingji Xiqu Daquan* 重刊五色潮泉插科增入诗词北曲勾栏荔镜记戏曲全集 (Republication of the Complete Goulan Drama Lychee and Mirror Based on Chaozhou and Quanzhou, with Five Roles and Added Actions, Poems and Northern Songs), published by Xin'an Tang 新安堂 (Xin'an Hall) of the Yu family in 1566 (the 45th of the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign period). There are two extant copies one stored in the Bodleian Library of Oxford and the other Tenri Library in Japan, hereafter *JJE*.
- (2) *Xinke Zengbu Quanxiang Xiangtan Lizhiji* 新刻增补全像乡谈荔枝记 (Newly Carved Local Legend Lychee with Added Details and Complete Illustrations), published by Yugeng Tang 与耕堂 (Yugeng Hall) of the Zhu family in 1581 (the 9th year of the Wanli 万历 reign period), now stored in the National Library of Austria (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek), hereafter *WLE*.
- (3) *Xinkan Shixing Quan Chao Yadio Chen Boqing Lizhiji Daquan* 新刊时兴泉潮雅调陈伯卿荔枝记大全 (Newly Published Complete Lychee of Chen Boqing with Fashion Quanzhou and Chaozhou Elegant Tunes), published by Shulin Renwen Ju 书林人文居 (Renwen Hall of Shulin) in 1651 (the 8th year of the Shunzhi 顺治 reign period), owned by Dr. Kiichiro Kanda, hereafter *SZE*.
- (4) *Chen Boqing Xindiao Xiuxiang Lizhiji Quanben* 陈伯卿新调绣像荔枝记全本 (Complete Lychee of Chen Boqing with New Tunes and Illustrations), published by Jiangu

Tang 见古堂 (Jiangu Hall) of Quanzhou in 1831 (the 11th year of the Daoguang 道光 reign period). Belongs to a folk collector in Quanzhou, hereafter *DGE*.

(5) *Chen Boqing Xindiao Xiuxiang Lizhiji Zhenben* 陈伯卿新调绣像荔枝记真本 (Genuine Edition of Lychee of Chen Boqing with New Tunes and Illustrations), published by Sanyi Tang 三益堂 (Sanyi Hall) in 1884 (the 10th year of the Guangxu 光绪 reign period). There are two extant copies of this edition owned respectively by Dr Kristofer Schipper and Xu Shuji 许书纪, hereafter *GXE*.¹

(6) Two paragraphs of leftover sentences on the second volume of *Cai Bojie* 蔡伯喈 stored in the Guangdong Museum.²

I discovered a unique copy of the Liyuan Opera in the National Library of Scotland in 2014. Although it has lost its book cover and front pages, it is about the story of Chen San and Wu Niang 陈三五娘 and is probably titled *Lizhiji*, hereafter *NLSE*.³

2.1 Bibliographical studies in *NLSE*

Bibliographical study in opera, in my opinion, is the first step of conducting research into this form of art and literature. The approach is greatly influenced by bibliographical studies of imperial Chinese novels, and includes discussion of the publishing context, exploration of edition problems, collating with other editions, and cataloguing works if necessary. For *NLSE*

¹ *JJE*, *SZE*, *DGX* and *GXE*, the photocopies of these four editions were published in 2010, under the same of *Lijingji Lizhiji Sizhong* 荔镜记荔枝记四种 [Four editions of *Lizhiji*, and *Lijingji*], by Zhongguo xiju chubanshe. Quanzhou shi wenhuaju, 泉州市文化局, and Quanzhou Local Opera Research Centre 泉州地方戏曲研究社, *Lijingji Lizhiji Sizhong* 荔镜记荔枝记四种 [Four Editions of *Lijingji* and *Lizhiji*], (Beijing: Zhong guo xiju chubanshe, 2010). *WLE* was published together with four other kinds of Chaozhou drama of the Ming Dynasty, under the same of *Mingben Chaozhou Xiwen Wuzhong* 明本潮州戏文五种 [Five Kinds of Chaozhou Dramas Published in The Ming Dynasty], by Guangdong renmin chubanshe in 1985.

² For more information about these leftover sentences, see Huang Wenjuan's dissertation, 24-25. I agree with Huang's opinion that these sentences belong to the Chaozhou version. These sentences also exist in *NLSE*.

³ The book's name must be longer than *Lizhiji*, but *Lizhiji* or *Lychee* is a usual short name for the story. Here when I talk about the book, I will use *Lizhiji* and I will use *NLSE* when talking about the newly discovered material.

in the National Library of Scotland, due to limited information and materials, I will mainly use coeval publications to find out the approximate date of publishing, and will focus on the edition features, content differences and circulation process.

2.1.1 Basic publishing information about *NLSE*

Lizhiji in the NLS, belongs to the Rare Chinese Books collection under the Special Collections, with a shelfmark no. 6.541. There is also a bookmark on it, reading “Advocates’ Library Chinese Books No.31”. The letter “31” is hand-written and the other letters are printed. The original book cover has already been lost and replaced by a Western-style hardback cover. It has been bound together with another book, *Tuxiang Bencao Mengquan* 图像本草蒙荃 (*Illustrated Book about the Herbs*), but in the opposite direction. The length is 26cm and its width is 14cm. Each half-leaf contains ten columns of twenty-four (main text) characters. It uses single columns around each leaf and is without a ‘fish-tail’. In the centre strip is the page number. Altogether there are 78 pages remaining in the book without any preface or postscript. The first 72 pages are *Lizhiji*, pages 73 to 78 have the title *Xinzhai Chadian Chansan Bing Quannan Jinqu Jiadiao Quanji* 新摘潮调陈三并泉南锦曲加调全集 (*A Complete Collection of the Newly Edited Chen San Songs in Chaozhou Tunes Together with Nice and Beautiful Songs from the South Part of Quanzhou*), hereafter *XZCD*. There are also 26 half-page illustrations in *NLSE* with names on each illustration. The paper is made of bamboo and some centre strips have broken up. After the resbinding carried out by Westerners, the *xialan xian* 下栏线 (under column line) lost its original, ordered look. However, all in all, it is an attractive, clearly printed book.

Here are the *chumu* 齣目 (act titles), illustration names and song titles from *XZCD*. I have used italics to show the names of illustrations.⁴ It is important to explain that I mostly use simplified Chinese when showing the original text of all the editions in the whole thesis.

⁴ I listed out the names of the illustrations is because sometimes one chapter can be really long and contain more stories than the chapter’s name. In this situation, usually the names of the illustrations can be regarded as a guide or conclusion of the following subplots. They are really important when comparing *NLSE* with other editions.

This is largely because the original publications themselves use simplified Chinese, although not very standardized. I believe this choice of using simplified characters can present a more accurate picture of the books.⁵

Act 1: lost

Act 2: lost

*Illustration 1: 伯卿与兄钱行 Boqing holds a farewell dinner for his brother (1b)*⁶

Act 3: 第三出五娘赏花 Wu Niang appreciates some flowers

Act 4: 林大寻老卓体灯 Lin Da looks for Lao Zhuo to see the lanterns

Illustration 2: 林大邀朋赏灯 Lin Da invites his friend to enjoy the lanterns (4a)

Act 5: 益春寻李婆看灯 Yi Chun looks for Li Po to see the lanterns

Act 6: 灯下答歌 Antiphonal singing under the lanterns

Illustration 3: 灯下答歌 Antiphonal singing under the lanterns (7a)

Act 7: 李婆乞亲 Li Po seeks an alliance for Lin Da

Act 8: 小七扫所 Xiao Qi sweeps the floor

Act 9: 李婆送聘 Li Po sends the betrothal gifts

Illustration 4: 李婆送聘 Li Po sends the betrothal gifts (11a)

Act 10: 五娘骂媒姨 Wu Niang curses the matchmaker

Illustration 5: 阿妈训女 The mother admonishes her daughter (14a)

Act 11: 五娘投井 Wu Niang jumps into the well

Illustration 6: 五娘投井 Wu Niang jumps into the well (16a)

Act 12: 五娘南山院抽签 Wu Niang draws lots in the South Mountain Temple

Act 13: 陈三遇五娘掷落荔枝 Chen San meets Wu Niang who drops the lychee down

Illustration 7: 楼下相逢 Coming across besides the building (18a)

⁵ Using simplified Chinese when printing books, especially books about vernacular literature is a very common practice. See Xu Jing 徐静, “*Yuankan zaju sanshi zhong suzi yanjiu 《元刊杂剧三十种》俗字研究 [Research on the Popular Characters of the 30 Kinds of Zaju in the Yuan Dynasty]*,” (MA Diss., Zhejiang University of Finance and Economics, 2018). Lu Meisong 卢美松, *Ba min wenhua zonglan 八闽文化综览 [Overview of the Culture of Fujian]*, (Fuzhou:Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2013), 329. There are many essays discussing this topic, and mostly using the term *suzi* 俗字. Many *suzi* are the origins of today’s simplified Chinese. See Zhou Youguang 周有光, *Hanzi gaige gailun 汉字改革概论 [Introduction to Chinese Character Reformation]*, (Beijing: Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe, 2013): 365.

⁶ The number at the end of the illustration refers to the page number in the original text. “1a” refers to the right-hand side of the page and “1b” to the left-hand side of page one.

Act 14: 陈三见李大哥设计 Chen San and Brother Li make their plan

Act 15: 陈三磨镜 Chen San grinds the mirror

Illustration 8: 陈三磨镜 Chen San grinding the mirror (20a)

Act 16: 陈三扫厝 Chen San sweeps the house

Act 17: 五娘刺绣遇陈三 Wu Niang meets Chen San while embroidering

Illustration 9: 五娘刺绣遇陈三 Wu Niang meets Chen San while embroidering (23a)

Illustration 10: 益春骂陈三 Yichun curses Chen San (25a)

Act 18: 陈三捧盆水 Chen San holds the water basin

Illustration 11: 陈三捧盆水 Chen San holds the water basin (26b)

Illustration 12: 五娘问陈三因由 Wu Niang asks Chen San why

Act 19: 花园内赏花 Appreciating the flowers inside the garden

Illustration 13: 陈三跳墙 Chen San jumps over the wall (30a)

Act 20: 五娘对月诉情 Wu Niang tells her feelings to the moon

Act 21: 陈三相思病 Chen San suffers from lovesickness

Illustration 14: 益春探病 Yi Chun visits the sick Chen San (35a)

Act 22: 安童寻三舍 An Tong looks for Chen San

Act 23: 益春留伞 Yi Chun leaves the umbrella

Illustration 15: 益春留伞 Yi Chun leaves the umbrella (37a)

Act 24: 五娘刺绣至相掠 Wu Niang is embroidering⁷

Illustration 16: 五娘看书 Wu Niang is reading (39a)

Illustration 17: 姻缘会合 The destined couple meet (42a)

Act 25: 五娘写书使益春辞约 Wu Niang writes a letter and ask Yi Chun to decline the date

Act 26: 益春退约 Yi Chun declines the date

Illustration 18: 益春退约 Yi Chun declines the date (46a)

Act 27: 五娘会合 Wu Niang and Chen San meet

*Illustration 19: 益春送花 Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San (48*a)⁸*

⁷ I am still not sure about the accurate meaning of xiang lue 相掠, it perhaps means midnight.

⁸ The original page number repeated here. After page 48, there are *you siba* 又四八 (page 48 again), *youyou siba* 又又四八 (page 48 again and again), *youyouyou siba* 又又又四八 (page 48 again, again and again). After these

*Illustration 20: 陈三益春会合 Chen San and Yi Chun meet (48***a)*

Act 28: 媒姨讨亲 The matchmaker comes to pick up the bride to go to the wedding

Act 29: 五娘共陈三议事 Wu Niang and Chen San discuss together

Illustration 21: 三人议走 The three people determined to leave (50a)

Act 30: 阿公上庄 The father goes to his farm

Act 31: 五娘粉墙边待陈三走 Wu Niang waits for Chen San by the pink wall so they can leave together

Act 32: 三人走离花园 The three people leave the garden

Illustration 22: 三人私奔 The three run away (52b)

Act 33: 大王庙烧香 Burning incense sticks at Great King Temple

Act 34: 阿妈追寻女婢 The mother chases after her daughter and the maid

Illustration 23: 林大上门讨亲 Lin Da come to the Huang house and wants to take his bride (56a)

Act 35: 林大告状 Lin Da brings an action

Act 36: 陈三五娘歇店 Chen San and Wu Niang rest at a tavern

Act 37: 陈三被掠 Chen San is caught by the government officers

Act 38: 知州审问奸情 The magistrate investigates the affair

Act 39: 五娘探牢 Wu Niang visits the jail

Illustration 24: 五娘探牢 Wu Niang visits the jail (60a)

Act 40: 五娘送别 Wu Niang sees Chen San off

Act 41: 陈三行路 Chen San is on the way

Act 42: 五娘使小七送书 Wu Niang asks Xiao Qi to send a letter

Illustration 25: 五娘使小七送书 Wu Niang asks Xiao Qi to send a letter (64a)

Act 43: 小七送书见陈三 Xiao Qi sends the letter and meets Chen San

Act 44: 小七回报五娘消息 Xiao Qi comes back and replies to the message from Wu Niang

Act 45: 陈三遇兄回任 Chen San meets his elder brother who is on his way to take up a

new position ⁹

Illustration 26: 陈三遇兄回任 Chen San meets his elder brother who is on his way to take up a new position (69a)

Act 46: 生私回见五娘 Chen San meets Wu Niang again secretly

Act 47: 陈三团圆 Chen San reunites with everybody

新摘潮调陈三并泉南锦曲加调全集 *A Complete Collection of the Newly Edited Chen San Songs in Chaozhou Tunes Together with Nice and Beautiful Songs from the South Part of Quanzhou* ¹⁰

1.下山虎北调 Northern Tune: *Xia Shan Hu* (A Tiger Running Down from the Mountain)

2.潮调叠字带花面 Chao Tune: *Dai Hua Mian* (Beautiful Face Sticking Flowers with Reiterative Diction)¹¹

3.前调 Previous Tune¹²

4.潮调北青阳 Chao Tune: Northern style *Qing Yang*¹³

5.望吾卿 *Wang Wu Qing* (Looking at My Gentleman)

6.出队子北调 Northern Tune: *Chu Dui Zi* (The Troops Come Out)

7.北袞 Gun from the North¹⁴

8.潮叠韵悲 Chao Tune: *Assonance Sorrow*¹⁵

9.三更鼓 *San Geng Gu* (Drumbeat at Six O’Clock)

10.黄莺儿 *Huang Ying Er* (A Nightingale)

11.新水令 *Xin Shui Ling* (Song of New Water)

12.琥珀猫见 *Hu Po Mao Jian* (See a Yellow Cat)

⁹ 回任 *Huiren* in imperial China has two main meanings: sometimes it means government officers finishing their own term of service and then having a substantive promotion and becoming a higher officer; sometimes it means when government officers finished one posting, whether because of their parents’ death or personal affairs, then come back to their original office. In *NLSE*, both are possible, but I prefer the first one.

¹⁰ There is no number before these songs, the numbers are added for convenience.

¹¹ This is a tentative translation.

¹² In classical Chinese opera, especially in Yuan Dynasty’s *zaju* 杂剧 (opera), people have to mark out all the tunes he used in one chapter. If the tune is the same as the previous one, then the author will only write “previous tune”. Here, this previous tune means it is also a “Chao Tune: *Dai Hua Mia*”.

¹³ *Qing Yang* is perhaps a place name.

¹⁴ *Gun* 袞, is “one song from a *daqu* 大曲 (a collection of songs)”. Wang Guowei 王国维, *Songyuan Xiqu Shi* 宋元戏曲史 [*Opera History of the Song and the Yuan Dynasty*], (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2014), 38. Here the *bei* 北 (north) shows that this tune is from the north part of China.

¹⁵ This is a tentative translation.

13. 集贤賓 *Ji Xian Bin* (Worthy Persons Get Together)¹⁶

2.1.2 Possible Source of the *NLSE*

How did this unique publication of opera in the Ming Dynasty end up in NLS? According to the records in the library, it would appear that it was brought to Edinburgh in 1910 by the Scottish Presbyterian missionary Rev. John Steele and his wife.¹⁷ Rev. John Steele (1868-1960), born in Ireland, received his Litt.D. from Queen's University Belfast. He took part in missionary activities of the Scottish Presbyterian Church in China and mastered Chinese language. He taught for a long time at an Anglo-Chinese College in Shantou 汕头, and devised a way of adapting Braille for use by the Chinese. At the end of 1910, possibly due to his declining visual acuity, he and his wife had to return to Scotland from China. When they arrived in Edinburgh, they donated several series of books to the Advocates Library.¹⁸ Later, he sorted the books in the Advocate's Library and compiled hand-written catalogues.¹⁹ The bookmarks were then printed and numbered by him.²⁰

believe that rather than Rev. John Steele who worked in Shantou, it was his wife, Elizabeth Turnbull, who was most likely to have first got this edition of *Lizhiji*. Elizabeth Turnbull (1872-1942) was born in Scotland. After working in London for a couple of years, she went to China to take part in missionary activities and worked in Xiamen 厦门 for many years. Given that

¹⁶ Not complete because of missing pages.

¹⁷ The information about Rev. John Steele and his wife, is from the website of National Library of Scotland, "Special and Named Printed Collections", last modified Mar 12, 2015, <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online/snpc/list.cfm?letter=C>, the family tree website Lackfamily, "Ancestors of Rev. John Steele and Elizabeth Turnbull", last modified Mar 12, 2015, <http://lackfamily.net/genealogy/names/whole%20family/fl263.html>, and the report on *The Straits Times*, 30th Dec. 1913, 8th edition.

¹⁸ The record in NLS is 35 series of books, which might be the recognition of two-volume *Donghua Lu* 东华录 [*Records from within the Eastern Gate*] as two separate books. They were assigned with different shelf numbers.

¹⁹ According to the website of advocates.org.uk, "The Advocates Library", last modified May 1, 2019, <http://www.advocates.org.uk/faculty-of-advocates/the-advocates-library>, it was the actual National Library of Scotland since early in 1850. In 1925, the official NLS was established, and the Advocates Library donated all of its non-law books to NLS. The Chinese Books Collection that *NLSE* and *WJHY* belong to also moved to the NLS. During this process, there may have been another sorting. Therefore, there were handwritten notes by others apart from Rev. John Steele in the book. According to my research and judgment, two persons made two revisions, one of whom knew about Chinese language and the other did not.

²⁰ In fact, the catalogue only contained 34 series of books. The last part of the contents, 32-34, was printed. That is partly because of Rev. Steele's declining sight.

Xiamen is in southern Fujian and very close to Quanzhou 泉州 and Zhangzhou 漳州, it is highly possible that Turnbull first gained access to the books there. Then, after her marriage with Rev. John Steele, she went to Shantou for work and family, before eventually returning to Britain with her husband.

A further question that requires an answer is why the couple, as missionaries, specially chose to bring back *NLSE* to Scotland? I have collated all the rare Chinese books in the NLS, and although they have various sources, these books share some common features.²¹ Firstly, there are a lot of books related to Western religions written by Westerners in the Chinese language.²² From these two features, it seems that the books' target readers are Scottish people who speak English. The first kind of books aims to show people the state of their religion in China. The second kind of books, whether they are gifts or souvenirs, provides a window to the local people to see the life and thoughts in a faraway country. With the vivid illustrations, even people who did not understand Chinese could still get to know the country and the culture more easily. In my opinion, books with illustrations, especially vernacular works of fiction, novels and operas in the Ming and the Qing Dynasties, are always an important part of overseas rare Chinese books.²³ Rev. John Steel and his wife's activity was a common practice. In fact, many famous rare Chinese books found in Europe are of similar origin. For example, *Fengyue Jinnang* 风月锦囊 (*The Brocade Sachet of Breeze and Moonlight*), another book of operas stored in the Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial in Spain, was also brought by a missionary named Gregorio González (together with other Chinese books) as gifts for King Felipe II de España in 1572.²⁴ Another example is one of the most important overseas rare

²¹ See appendix 1 and 2.

²² Besides *NLSE* and *WJHY*, there also other books full of illustrations in the rare Chinese book collection of the NLS. For example, *Fanchatu* 泛槎图, *Bogutulu* 博古图录, *Jieziyuan Series* 芥子园画谱 and *Sanjiao Yuanliu Sheng Di Fo Shuai Soushen Daquan* 三教源流圣帝佛帅搜神大全. See more information in Appendix 2.

²³ There are many photocopied of publications and collated versions of overseas rare Chinese books which have been uncovered since last century. Among them there are many novels and For example, the famous *Guben Xiaoshuo Congkan* 古本小说丛刊 [*Collection of Imperial Fiction*] published by Zhonghua shuju during 1987-1991, and *Guben Xiaoshuo Jicheng* 古本小说集成 [*Full Collection of Imperial Fiction*] published by Shanghai Guji chubanshe in 1994, both included editions from overseas. For more information about the collating and researching situation of overseas rare Chinese books, see Xu Linping 徐林平 and Sun Xiao 孙晓, "Jin sanshinian lai yuwai hanji zhengli gaikuang shulüe 近三十年来域外汉籍整理概况述略 [A Brief Overview of the Compilation of Overseas Chinese Rare Books in the past 30 years]," *Image History Research* (2011): 15-18.

²⁴ Sun Chongtao 孙崇涛, *Fengyue Jinnan Jianjiao* 风月锦囊笺校 [*Fengyue Jinnang with Notes and Commentaries*], (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), preface, p1.

Chinese books collections, the SOAS books. Robert Morrison and Reginald Fleming Johnston contributed most of the books to this collection. Morrison, as the first missionary to collect books systematically, had already included vernacular operas and novels in his collection. As for Johnston, he enjoyed the Chinese vernacular literature and had already started collecting the books in vernacular after becoming a teacher of the Chinese emperor.²⁵ To conclude, collecting, buying and donating Chinese books, especially those about vernacular literature was a common practice for European missionaries.

2.1.3 *The NLSE's Possible Time of Publication*

Although there is no specific publishing date recorded in the book, clues to the answer are left in the characters' typeface and illustrations. Here we cannot avoid mentioning the most important finding of the 20th century on Minnan local arias and dramas by Piet van der Loon. He discovered three books in Cambridge University Library and Sächsische Landesbibliothek.²⁶ These three books are among the earliest publications of Minnan local performing arts left in the world.²⁷ I found that *NLSE* must have a very close relationship with *MTC* which was

²⁵ Xu Qiaoyue 徐巧越, "Lundun daxue yafei xueyuan tushuguan zhongwen cangshu 伦敦大学亚非学院图书馆中文藏书 [Chinese Book Collections in the Library of SOAS]," *Shandong tushuguan xuekan* 5 (2017): 26-31.

²⁶ These three books, were *Xin Ke Zeng Bu Xi Dui Jin Qu Da Quan Man Tian Chun* 新刻增补戏队锦曲大全 满天春 [Newly Engraved Supplementary Drama with Complete Bright Arias as Beautiful as the World in the Spring] (short name *Man Tian Chun* 满天春, hereafter *MTC*), published in 1604 and stored in Cambridge University Library; *Ji Fang Ju Zhu Ren Jing Xuan Xin Qu Yu Yan Li Jin* 集芳居主人精选新曲钰妍丽锦 [Carefully Selected New Arias like Beautiful Brocades by the Master of Collecting Fragrances], another name *Jing Xuan Shi Shang Xin Jin Qu Zhai Zhui* 精选时尚新锦曲摘坠 [Carefully Selected Fashionable New Arias for Operas] (short name *Yu Yan Li Jin* 钰妍丽锦, hereafter *YYLJ*); and *Xin Kan Xian Guan Shi Shang Zhai Yao Ji* 新刊弦管时尚摘要集 [Newly Published Anthology of Fashionable Arias from Xianguan], another name *Xin Kan Shi Shang Ya Diao Bai Hua Sai Jin* 新刊时尚雅调百花赛锦 [Newly Published Fashionable Elegant Arias like One Hundred Flowers Better than Brocades] (short name *Bai Hua Sai Jin* 百花赛锦, hereafter *BHSJ*). The latter two were found in Sächsische Landesbibliothek. Although the latter two do not have specific publishing dates, according to the study of Piet van der Loon and other scholars, they are likely to have been published in the Wanli 万历 (1563-1620) period of Ming Dynasty. In particular, *MTC* was divided in two parts, the upper part with an anthology of arias while the lower part had the main acts of the opera. acts. *Yu Yan Li Jin* and *Bai Hua Sai Jin* were both anthologies of songs. Overall, I will use *MKSZ* 明刊三种 (*Ming Kan San Zhong*) to refer to these three publications of the Ming Dynasty. Sächsische Landesbibliothek, originally called Kurfürstliche Hofbibliothek and now called Saxon State and University Library, Dresden in English. See Piet van der Loon, *The Classical Theatre and Art Song of South Fukien*, 12.

²⁷ The photocopies of the above three books, were published in May of 1992 by Taiwan Nantian Press 南天书局 or SMC Publishing INC., with the Chinese name of *Ming Kan Min Nan Xiqu Xianguan Xuanben Sanzhong* 明刊闽南戏曲弦管选本三种 and the English name *The Classical Theatre and Art Song of South Fukien*. The studies

published in 1604; in fact, I think possibly they were both published by Li Bifeng 李碧峰 in Haicheng 海澄, a small town in Zhangzhou 漳州. Here are my reasons.

Firstly, the illustrations in these two books share a similar style and have similar details. During the Wanli reign period, the representational and popular illustrations of operas and fiction originating from Jinling 金陵 and Huizhou 徽州. Most of the pictures from these two places occupy half of a whole page, though sometimes they take up two sides across consecutive pages. These illustrations provide rich details as well as strong decorative features.²⁸ However, the illustrations from *MTC* and *NLSE* only occupy half of a half page, and the style is simple which is different from the general trend of the time. Both the composition of the illustrations from *MTC* and *NLSE*, and the objects found within these illustrations, are very similar. Here I would like to give some examples.

For the composition, firstly, the gestures and poses of the figures are similar in *MTC* and *NLSE*.



Fig 1. Yingtai hui Shanbo 英台会山伯 (Yingtai meets Shanbo), *MTC* illustration 9, page 15a (left).²⁹

Fig 2. Yichun tuiyue 益春退约 (Yi Chun declines the date), *NLSE* illustration 18, page 46a (right).³⁰

of Piet van der Loon were also included. In Nov. 2003, they were published again by the name of *Mingkan Xiqu Xianguan Xuanji* 明刊戏曲弦管选集. Piet Van der Loon, and Zheng Guoquan 郑国权, *Mingkan Xiqu Xianguan Xuanji* 明刊戏曲弦管选集 [Anthologies of Ming Dynasty Operas and Arias], (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 2003).

²⁸ Zhu Chongshou 祝重寿, *Zhongguo Chatu Yishu Shihua* 中国插图艺术史话 [History of Chinese Illustration Art], (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2005).

²⁹ The illustrations of *MTC* are from the photocopies of *MTC* in Piet van der Loon's book *The Classical Theatre and Art Song of South Fukien*.

³⁰ The illustrations of *NLSE* are photos of the original document, taken by the author in the NLS under their photography regulations, in March, 2016.

The above pictures both depict a young gentleman sitting on a chair, with his legs crossed. The ways he sits on the chair, as well as the crossed legs, are very similar.



Fig 3. Shenlin bian 深林边 (Beside the deep forest), *MTC* illustration 1, page 1b (left).

Fig 4. Sanren siben 三人私奔 (The three run away), *NLSE* illustration 22, page 52b (right).

The above illustrations depict a gentleman carrying an umbrella. The way he stands, the gesture of his hands, as well as the bamboo ribs of the umbrellas show great similarity.

The second kind of composition is the settings of the illustrations. Although with different contents or themes, *MTC* and *NLSE*'s illustrations share some similar settings. For example:



Fig 5. Lü Yunying huayuan yu Liu Gui 吕云英花园遇刘圭 (Lü Yunying meets Liu Gui in the garden), *MTC* illustration 3, page 14b (left).

Fig 6. Chen San peng penshui 陈三捧盆水 (Chen San holds the water basin), *NLSE* illustration 11, page 26b (right).

The two illustrations share the same structure, with a man looking in from the wall in the left, and the lady and her maid inside the wall. At the top of the illustration, there are some beautifully-flowing clouds. The way the painters draw the bricks is also very similar.

Another example is the way the illustrators indicate the location of a temple. See below:



Fig 7. Xun Sanguan Niang 寻三官娘 (Finding the mother of Sanguan), *MTC* illustration 5, page 25b (left).



Fig 8. Heshang nong nigu 和尚弄尼姑 (The monk teasing the nun), *MTC* illustration 13, page 32a (middle).



Fig 9. Lin Da yaopeng shangdeng 林大邀朋赏灯 (Lin Da invites his friend to enjoy the lanterns), *NLSE* illustration 2, page 4a (right).

The above pictures all indicate subplots happening near or inside a temple. The illustrators use a similar way to depict the place. On the slanting walls, there is a character *si* 寺 (temple). The walls all have similar black and white edges.

As for the detailed objects, here are the examples:



Fig 10. Zhao Shangdian 招商店 (At the hostel), *MTC* illustration 2, page 5a (left).



Fig 11. Boqing yu xiong jianxing 伯卿与兄钱行 (Boqing holds a farewell dinner for his brother), *NLSE* illustration 1, page 1b (right).

The above two illustrations, although one depicts a hostel, another describing a banquet, both have similar tables. Besides the table, the wine cups and fruit plates as well as the chopsticks, are nearly the same.



Fig 3. Shenlin bian 深林边 (Besides the deep forest), *MTC* illustration 1, page 1b (left).

Fig 12. Wu Niang toujing 五娘投井 (Wu Niang jumps into the well), *NLSE* illustration 6, page 16a (right).

The natural backgrounds of these two illustrations both include bamboo leaves and willow-like leaves. The bamboo leaves are near the horizon, and the willow-like leaves are above the people. The way the illustrator draws the bamboo leaves is very similar, with three leaves in a group.

Thus, the settings, artificial objects and the composition of the illustration are very similar. Although it is still not sufficiently convincing to confirm the illustrators of *MTC* and *NLSE* to be the same person, it is at least highly possible that the two may have a reference relationship. One illustrator may have learned from another one, or have drawn the paintings based on the other ones. Regarding the popular illustration styles of the Ming Dynasty, these two books with a very special but similar painting style were possibly published within a relatively short time period.

Secondly, *NLSE* and *MTC* have very similar songs. The parallels between them are much more obvious than any other two books. To be specific, there are no songs from *JJE* that are the same like this. See this example:

<i>NLSE</i> - 下山虎北调 Northern Tune: <i>Xia Shan Hu</i>	<i>MTC</i> -upper text of the second volume, page 4b
We are a couple like jade and gold, the love between we two is high like the mountain and deep like the sea. I have a handkerchief to show my care for you, please have this	We are a couple like jade and gold, the love between we two is high like the mountain and deep like the sea. I have a handkerchief to show my care for you, please have this

handkerchief and remember me in your heart... 赧一对夫妻似玉邀金，双人做卜山海情深，我有罗巾手指表慇勤，我只罗巾 <u>你</u> 收記在心……	handkerchief and remember me in your heart... 咱一对夫妻似玉邀金，双人做卜山海情深，我有罗巾手指表慇勤，我只罗巾 <u>尔</u> 收記在心…… ³¹
--	--

The whole Northern Tune: *Xia Shan Hu* is very long, but apart from a very few word differences - mostly not influencing the meaning of the sentences - the two books are the same. Regarding the huge differences in the contents including arias and dialogues between different *Lizhiji* editions, as well as the fact that writers of vernacular operas were written in dialect, the two books above that each have such a similar aria are highly likely to have been published within a very short time period. In other words, according to my collation work on the six editions, even when an aria appears in several different editions, the exact words, phrases and characters are very different. In this way, if two arias have similarities like the above, I tend to believe they have been published at a similar time. There are also other examples of for this, but *Xia Shan Hu* is the most striking case.

To conclude, I think *NLSE* and *MTC* are publications released by the same publishing house, probably owned by Li Bifeng, published in a short time period.

2.2 Revisiting the Edition System of *Lizhiji*

After calculating the possible time of publishing *NLSE*, it is necessary to work out the edition system of *Lizhiji*.³² Regarding the fact that some readers of this thesis may not know much about traditional Chinese bibliography, it is relatively important to explain two things. Firstly, why should we do this? Secondly, is there any primary and secondary relationship

³¹ “Nan 赧” and “Zan 咱” both means “we two” in the Minnan dialect. “Ni 你” and “er 尔” both means “you” and the later one is a kind of simplified way to write “ni 你”.

³² Edition system, refers to the Chinese term *banben yuanliu* 版本源流. *Banben yuanliu* reveals the relationships between all the editions, studying *banben yuanliu* is like drawing out the family tree for a book, finding out its origins and descendants.

between the different editions?

For the first question, I would like to say that the edition system is one of the main purposes of bibliographical studies. In the history of the development of one book, there are many editions. Printed books, manuscripts, fragments of sentences, are not isolated or suddenly-born objects. They are related to one or several previous publications. The edition system thus comes into being, based on these relationships. The edition system diagram is the most useful diagram in bibliography. It directly shows the ties of consanguinity, or affinity of all the extant editions of a specific book. The diagram itself is the result of collating materials and the conclusion of basic bibliographical studies. The diagram can also work as a very useful tool for future research, and remains an unfinished, ever-growing tool. Any new editions found in the future could be added into the diagram, which helps people to know the newcomer's place in the existing family. Sometimes, when a very important and special edition is found, it is possible that the whole diagram may change. One thing needs to be clarified here is that edition system is not always to the same with publishing record. Publishing record emphasizes more on the publishing details, especially the publishing time and publishing houses of different editions. In contrast, edition system pays more attention to the relationship of the text among different editions, in the hope of grouping all the existing editions into several different groups, each with distinctive features. To conclude, publishing record is time-centered, while edition system is text-centered.

As for the second question, it should be stressed that, although my finding of the *NLSE* is important, *NLSE* is not superior to any other editions. All the editions, as part of the story *Lizhiji*, are equally important, at least in the field of bibliographical studies. The quality may vary, the story may change from fascinating to boring, but each edition possesses its own value. Each edition reflects its own characteristics in different time periods, representing a certain stage in the development of the story, thus worth studying and discussing.

2.2.1 Previous Research on the Topic

When it comes to *NLSE*, such work is difficult to commence, since all of the publishing information, including the preface, the postscripts and even the title, is lost. It is, therefore, difficult to know where to begin this task. I compared *NLSE* with five other editions, especially the *WLE*, and tried to find out their probable chronological order and determine the relationship between these editions. The key aspect of the argument regarding edition problems focuses on the relationship between the two Ming Dynasty editions, *JJE* and *WLE*. I concluded several main viewpoints, detailed below:

*Most researchers point out that there are two systems of the Chen San and Wu Niang story: the Chaozhou 潮州 version system and the Quanzhou 泉州 version system, and *JJE* connects these two systems together. For example, Tu Xiuhong believes that *WLE* was not influenced by *JJE* but was written on the basis of the drama performed in the theatres of Chaozhou; and *JJE* was based on the Chaozhou published drama *Lizhiji* which is close to the *WLE*.³³

*Many researchers believe that the *yuankeben* 原刻本 (original publication of a particular edition) of *WLE* is the *diben* 底本 (baseline edition, an edition which is the basement of future editions) of *JJE*. For example, Li Zhanpeng argues that according to the *paiji* 牌记 (publishing house's announcement on the book, sometimes as an advertisement), *JJE* is a reprinted edition based on *WLE*, but with many changes added.³⁴

*Some researchers think that the *yuankeben* of *WLE* is based on some earlier editions but with many deletions. For example, Wu Rongqing says that there should be another edition of

³³ Tu Xiuhong 涂秀虹, "Jiajing ben *Lijingji* yu wanli ben *Lizhiji*-chensan wuniang gushi jingdian wenben de duibi yu fenxi 嘉靖本《荔镜记》与万历本《荔枝记》——陈三五娘故事经典文本的对比与分析 [Jiajing Edition *Lijingji* and Wanli Edition *Lizhiji*: The Contrast and Analysis of the Classic Texts of Chen San and Wu Niang's Story]," *Fujian Shifan Daxue Xuebao (Zhaxue Shehui Kexueban)* 6 (2014): 56.

³⁴ Li Zhanpeng 李占鹏, "Mingke chaozhou xiwen wuzhong de faxian zhengli ji yanjiu 明刻潮州戏文五种的发现整理及研究 [Five Ming Dynasty Chaozhou Dramas: Discovery, Arrangement and Studies]," *Zhongguo Gudai Xiaoshuo Xiju Yanjiu Congkan* (2010), 29-41.

Lizhiji published between the 12th year of Chenghua 成化 (1476) and the third year of Jiajing 嘉靖 (1524), which is the *diben* of *WLE*.³⁵

*Other researchers believe that *JJE*, *SZE* and *GXE* are based on the Quanzhou version, while the *WLE* belongs to the Chaozhou version system, and is even the reprint of the original Chaozhou edition. Scholars with this opinion include Huang Wenjuan.³⁶

*Some researchers also noticed some of the remnant sentences left over from the Jiajing time period of *Lizhiji*. For example, Huang believes that the source of these sentences, what might be referred to as the transcript edition of *Lizhiji*, is the Chaozhou version which *JJE* referenced.³⁷

Although much work has been carried out by other scholars, mistakes can still be found in their works. They mostly have two shortcomings: firstly, the failure of many researchers to pay attention to basic edition issues has resulted in serious errors. For instance, Tu ignored the fact that there are two publishing houses' names in *WLE* and thus simply said *WLE* was later than *JJE*, which then misled researchers like Chen Yaqian to believe the implausible idea that *JJE* is the *zuben* 祖本 (earliest and original edition) of the drama *Lizhiji*.³⁸ Secondly, some research does not allow for a comprehensive scrutiny of the original texts and has oversimplified the problem by using a rather narrow range of supporting materials, neglecting those which might greatly weaken, or even invalidate their argument. For instance, Huang argues that the plot of *JJE* is much better than that of *WLE*, but I can find examples, such as Act 12 of *WLE* which tells the story that Chen San is back. According to Tu's idea, *WLE*, rather than *JJE*, is more detailed and vivid, which goes against Huang's arguments.

³⁵ Wu Rongqing 吴榕青, "Mingdai qianben *Lizhiji* xiwen tanwei 明代前本《荔枝记》戏文探微 [Explorations on the Previous Edition of the Ming Dynasty Publication *Lizhiji*]," *Quanzhou Shifan Xueyuan Xuebao* 1 (2007): 85.

³⁶ Huang Wenjuan, "*Liyuan Xi Chen San Wu Niang Jumu Yanjiu*," 25-26

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 28

³⁸ For the discussion on the two publishing houses of *WLE*, see 2.2.2. Chen Yaqian, "*Lijingji de sixiangneihan ji Chensan Wuniang gushi de yanbian*," 8. Tu Xiuhong, "*Jiajing ben Lijingji yu wanli ben Lizhiji-Chensan Wuniang gushi jingdian wenben de duibi yu fenxi*."

2.2.2 Restudy the edition problem of *Lizhiji*

Before moving on to consider the relationship between *NLSE* and other extant editions, I would like to firstly foreground two problems. The first of these is an extremely pertinent question: what was the real publishing time of *WLE*? Many researchers believe that *WLE* must have been published in 1581 as recorded in the *paiji* at the end of this edition. However, they neglect the first page of this book which says:

Illustrated by Ye Wenqiao from Nan Yang Hall of Shulin in Fujian, edited by Li Dongyue from Chaozhou.

闽建书林南阳堂叶文桥绣像，潮州东月李氏編集。

These words clearly show that there are two publishing houses related to the publication of *WLE*, Nan Yang Hall 南阳堂 and Yu Geng Hall 与耕堂. Considering that hiring an illustrator from another publishing house and listing out another house's name was not a common practice, it is likely that *WLE* is not the *yuankeben* of these woodblocks. One publishing house would have been responsible for an original edition. This publishing house would then have sold the original woodblocks to another, which produced the reprinted version of *WLE* in 1581. Li Zhanpeng has discussed this process.³⁹ The problem, therefore, is ascertaining which publishing house was the initial owner and which one was the eventual owner.

My opinion is that Nan Yang Hall sold the *Lizhiji* woodblock to Yu Geng Hall. The *paiji* at the end of *WLE* is a direct sign of publishing house. Further supporting evidence is that only *WLE* mentioned Nan Yang Hall, but there was another published by Yu Geng Hall. It is called *Xinkan Jingben Tongsu Yanyi Zengxiang Bao Longtu Pan Baijia Gongan* 新刊京本通俗演义增像包龙图判百家公案 (*A New Print of the Folk Legend about Bao Longtu Decided One Hundred Cases Based on the Peking Edition with Added Illustrations*) and it was published in the 22nd year of the Wanli reign period (1594). Hence the only probable sequence of events is

³⁹ Li Zhanpeng, "Mingke chaozhou xiwen wuzhong de faxian zhengli ji yanjiu."

that Nan Yang Hall sold the wood blocks to Yu Geng Hall, which continued operating until at least 1594.

The problem is, therefore, that unless people find other publications of Nan Yang Tang, the original publication date is impossible to discern, even though I confirmed this wood block trade took place four hundred years ago. The only fact I am sure of is that *WLE* represents or is equal to an earlier edition before 1581, and it is imprecise to say that the texts of *JJE* are earlier than *WLE*.

The second problem is regarding the Chaozhou and Quanzhou versions of the story. Although there are now six editions altogether now, only *JJE* has long and detailed publisher's notes:

This reprint of the drama *The Legend of Lychee and Mirror*, altogether has 105 leaves. The previous edition of *Lizhiji* has many mistaken characters, and has lost some fragments of the songs and dialogues. Now we re-edit and republish the [extant] Chaozhou and Quanzhou versions and add the story and poems about Yanchen, together with some northern song.

重刊荔枝记戏文，记有一百五叶。因前本荔枝记字多差讹，曲文减少。今将 潮泉二部，增入颜臣勾栏诗词北曲，校正重刊。

This sentence is almost the entire basis of all the research relating to the edition problem of *Lizhiji*, before we have more editions that enable us to carry out more detailed collating work. Based on this sentence, researchers noticed that at the time of the Jiajing reign period, there must have been two versions of *Lizhiji*, and *JJE* is a combined edition which contains fragments from both the Quanzhou and Chaozhou versions. This also means that before *JJE*, there were already other editions of *Lizhiji*, and *JJE* is based on at least two previous editions of it. According to the information above, it is possible to classify the extant five editions. Most people, such as Zheng Guoquan, use dialect and musical information to determine which

editions belong to which version.⁴⁰ They believe that all editions (including the three Qing Dynasty editions) belong to the Quanzhou version system, except *WLE* which belongs to the Chaozhou version system. At the same time, they argue that all the Quanzhou editions are distinctly connected, or follow each other in one continuous line.

Which version, therefore, does *NLSE* belong to—Chaozhou or Quanzhou? Will the discovery of the *NLSE* alter our view of these two versions? Through careful comparison, I have determined that *NLSE* has a very close relationship with *WLE*, and should be considered a Chaozhou edition. I will answer these questions and provide explanations to support this judgment in the following parts.

2.2.2.1 The Differences and Similarities Between *NLSE* and *WLE*

From 2.1.3, since *NLSE* was published around 1604, it is clear that *NLSE* was published later than *WLE*. However the differences between the content, format and frameworks of *NLSE* and *WLE* are few, allowing them to be easily collated.

Firstly, at the end of the last act, after all the roles *bing xia* 並下 (go off the stage), the same poem appears in both editions, showing the close relationship between *NLSE* and *WLE*. Here is the poem:

Chen *yunshi* on his way to work, Lin Dabi wants to marry Wu Niang.

陈运使登程赴任，林大鼻谋娶五娘。

Father Huang receives the betrothal gifts, Huang Wuniang refuses to marry Dabi.

黄阿公亲收前聘，黄五娘志坚不从。

On the coloured tower looking once more for a love, Chen Boqing reunites with others after a long love.

高结彩楼再招偶，陈伯卿久恋团圆。

Re-edit a drama called *Li Zhi*, let the special legend spread forever.

⁴⁰ For other strategies see below 2.2.2.2.

续编一本荔枝记，新奇万古永传扬。

The only difference in this poem is that the word *tuan yuan* 团圆 (reunion) in *NLSE* was replaced by two round circles, which shows that *NLSE* is not the original source of this poem. However, it cannot be taken for granted that *NLSE* was published according to *WLE*.

To make the situation clearer, here are the ending poems of the other four editions.

<i>JJE</i>	Sorrow, happiness, separation and union are four words, in the beginning people departed but in the end they reunite. Ask someone to write a drama, the family feels happy and safe and thanks heaven. 悲欢离合有四字，头着分开尾团圆。乞人编做一场戏，合家安乐拜谢天。
<i>SZE</i>	Sorrow, happy, separation and union are four words, in the beginning people departed but in the end they reunite. Ask someone to tell this legend forever. 悲欢离合有四字，头散分开尾团圆，乞人传说万千年。
<i>DGE</i>	Sorrow, happy, separation and union are four words, in the beginning people departed but in the end they reunite. Ask someone to tell this legend forever. 悲欢离合着细字，头散分开尾团圆，乞人传说千年。
<i>GXE</i>	Sorrow, happy, separation and union are four words, in the beginning people departed but in the end they reunite. Ask someone to tell this legend forever. 罪诉离合着细字，头散分开尾团圆，乞人传说千万年。 ⁴¹

According to this last poem, *JJE*, *SZE*, *DGE* and *GXE* follow the same line, while *WLE* and *NLSE* follow another. One interesting detail is that the end poem of *WLE* and *NLSE* can be regarded as a final conclusion to the whole story.

Another example is that when making it clear which sentences or songs belongs to which characters, *WLE* and *NLSE* usually use the characters' names like *chun* 春 and *po* 婆; other editions using the role's name.

⁴¹ *Zui su li he zhuo xi zi* 罪诉离合着细字, according to *Lijingji Lizhiji Sizhong*, is a sentence using Minnan dialect but has actually the same meaning as *Bei huan li he you si zi* 悲欢离合有四字.

People	<i>JJE</i>	<i>WLE</i>	<i>NLSE</i>	<i>SZE</i>	<i>DGE</i>	<i>GXE</i>
Chen San 陈三	<i>Sheng</i> 生	<i>Sheng</i> 生	<i>Sheng</i> 生	<i>Sheng</i> 生	<i>Sheng</i> 生	<i>Sheng</i> 生
Wu Niang 五娘	<i>Dan</i> 旦	<i>Dan</i> 旦	<i>Dan</i> 旦	<i>Dan</i> 旦	<i>Dan</i> 旦	<i>Dan</i> 旦
Yi Chun 益春	<i>Tie</i> 贴	<i>Chun</i> 春	<i>Chun</i> 春	<i>Tie</i> 贴	<i>Tie</i> 贴	<i>Tie</i> 贴
Father Huang 黄阿公	<i>Wai</i> 外	<i>Gong</i> (father) 公	<i>Gong</i> (father) 公	<i>Wai</i> 外	<i>Wai</i> 外	<i>Wai</i> 外
Mother Huang 黄阿妈	丑 <i>Chou</i>	<i>Fu</i> (mother) 夫	<i>Ma</i> (mother) 妈	<i>Mo</i> 末	<i>Mo</i> 末	<i>Mo</i> 末
Li Po 李婆	<i>Chou</i> 丑	<i>Po</i> 婆 ⁴²	<i>Po</i> 婆	<i>Chou</i> 丑	<i>Chou</i> 丑	<i>Chou</i> 丑
Xiao Qi 小七	<i>Jing</i> 净	<i>Qi</i> 七	<i>Qi</i> 七	<i>Jing</i> 净	<i>Jing</i> 净	<i>Jing</i> 净
Chen yunshi 陈 运使	<i>Wai</i> 外	<i>Wai/Shi</i> 外/ 使	<i>Shi</i> 使	<i>Wai</i> 外	<i>Wai</i> 外	<i>Wai</i> 外
Madam Chen 运使夫人	<i>Tie</i> 贴	<i>Fu</i> 夫	<i>Fu/Sao</i> 夫/嫂	<i>Tie</i> 贴	<i>Tie</i> 贴	<i>Tie</i> 贴
An Tong 安童	<i>Jing</i> 净	<i>Chou/Tong</i> 丑/童	<i>Tong</i> 童	<i>Chou</i> 丑	<i>Chou</i> 丑	<i>Chou</i> 丑
Lin Da 林大	<i>Jing</i> 净	<i>Lin/Da</i> 林/大	<i>Lin</i> 林	<i>Jing</i> 净	<i>Jing</i> 净	<i>Jing</i> 净

Previous research into the history of drama has shown that the practice of indicating people changed from providing the name of the character to providing the name of the role.⁴³ Clearly, *JJE*, *SZE*, *DGE* and *GXE* are nearly the same, while *WLE* and *NLSE* keep using the person's name.

What is more, the textual differences between *WLE* and *NLSE* are small. Compared with *JJE* and *WLE*, I found that *JJE* only shares the same plot as the *WLE* and *NLSE*. While at the same time, *WLE* and *NLSE* can be compared with each other and are found to look more similar. Though several acts and songs can be found in all three editions, overall *NLSE* and *WLE* have

⁴² Po 婆 means elderly women, but here I prefer to regard it as the shortened form of Li Po's name.

⁴³ Li Jian 李简, "Yuanming qu xuejia zaju fenlei jiedu 元明曲学家杂剧分类解读 [A Classified Analysis on the Zaju of the Yuan And Ming Dynasties' Authors]," *Beijing Daxue Xuebao (Zhexue Shehui Kexue Ban)* 1 (2008): 116.

the most in common. Here is an example from Act 33 of *JJE*, Act 31 of *WLE* and Act 31 from *NLSE*. Differences between *JJE* and *WLE*, *JJE* and *NLSE* have been shaded, and wavy lines have been used to indicate the distinction between *WLE* and *NLSE*.

<i>JJE</i>	<p>At six o'clock, the three leave their hometown together. [Dan] You really have that heart and I have it, too. The moon is bright, and wind is still, what marvelous weather! [Tie] Gather up all our money and give it to me, so we can use it for our travelling expenses. [Sheng] Rolling up these clothes and find I am not well dressed. Now we three, going out because of the severe situation. [Sheng] Niang Zi, the hair pin on your head is not in the right place. The moonlight on the 14th day of a month, illuminates our shadows. Now we three should never part from each other. [Tie] We are determined to go to Quanzhou and are thus not afraid of mountains and hills. Hurry up and go, but worry about using up our strength.</p> <p>……三更时，三人同走出只乡里。[旦]君恁有心君阮也有意。月光风静，是好天时。[贴]打併钱银卜筒身边，路上去做盘缠。[生]捻起只衣裳，打扮卜齐整。懒今三人，因势卜行程。[生]娘仔你头上钗插卜端正。十四冥月光，照见懒三人行影，恁今三人恶刘捨。[贴]有心到泉州，畏乜山共岭？打紧走来去，又畏人赶力。</p>
<i>WLE</i>	<p>[Dan] At six o'clock, the three leave their hometown together. You now have that heart and I have it, too. The moon is bright and wind is quiet, such fine weather! Gather up all our money and give it to me, we will also use it as a travelling fee. [Sheng] Niang Zi hurry up! [Sing] [Sheng] Turn the clothes over and then I will be well dressed. Now we three, going away because of the hard times. [Sheng] Niang Zi, the hair pin on your head is not in the right place. The moonlight on the 14th day of a month shows my shadows. Now we three should never part from each other. [Dan] We are determined to go to Quanzhou and thus not afraid of mountains and hills. Hurry up and go, but still worry about someone catching up with us. I don't know when we can feel comfortable.</p> <p>[旦唱]……三更时，三人同走出只乡里。君今有心君阮亦有意。月光风静，</p>

	<p>是赧天时。打叠钱银下筒身边，路上去亦着做盘缠。 [生白]娘子紧行几步 [唱]揭起只衣裳，打扮卜齐整。赧今三人,因时卜行程。 娘子头上钗插得? 正。十四夜月光，照见赧形影，赧今三人恶刘恶捨。 [旦唱] 有心到泉州，畏乜山共岭? 打紧走来去，又畏人来掠走。卜赧身离许时即心安[並下]。</p>
NLSE	<p>[Dan] At six o'clock, the three leave their hometown together. You have that heart and I have it, too. The moon is bright, and wind is quiet, that's our great weather and time! [Sing] [Chun] Gather up all our money and give them to me, we will also use them as travelling fee. [Sheng] Niang Zi the dew is so heavy roll up your clothes and hurry up! [Dan] Roll up my clothes and find I am not well dressed. Now we three, going away because of the hard times. [Sheng] Niang Zi, the hair pin on your head is not in the right place. The moonlight on the 14th day of a month, shows my shadows. Now we three should never part from each other. [Dan] We are determined to go to Quanzhou and thus not afraid of mountains and hills. Hurry up and go, but I still worry about someone catching up with us. We are away and we feel happy⁴⁴.</p> <p>[旦唱] 三更时，三人同走出只乡里。君尔有心君阮亦有意。月光風静，是赧天时。[春唱]打叠钱银下筒身边，路上去亦着做盘缠。 [生白]阿娘露水障重不免将衣服拽起来行。[旦唱]揭起只衣裳，打扮卜齐整。赧今三人,因时卜行程。[生唱]娘子头上钗插卜端正。十四夜月光，照见赧形影，赧今三人恶刘恶捨。 [旦唱] 有心到泉州，畏乜山共岭? 放紧来去，又畏人来掠走。卜赧身离赧心即喜欢[並下]。</p>

We can see from this example, even in the most similar fragments, the differences between *WLE* and *NLSE* are far less marked, in contrast to *JJE*. For *NLSE* and *WLE*, there are only five differences, while none of these changes the theme or central message of this song.

Finally, the music of *NLSE* and *WLE* is very similar. The song tunes in *NLSE* and *WLE* are almost the same, while in fact some of them also can be found in *JJE*. Here are two

⁴⁴ I still cannot figure out the actual meaning of “卜赧身离赧心即喜欢”. “卜” always means to do something in *NLSE*, thus I translate it into “We are away and we feel happy”.

examples:

The tune title on the second line of page 758 of *WLE*, is very particular: *Xin zeng nan bei cha ke Sizhaoyuan* 新增南北插科四朝元 (*Newly added north and south Sizhaoyuan with actions*).⁴⁵ In *NLSE*, there is also a *Xin zeng nan bei cha ke Sizhaoyuan* at the same point. Regarding its long and distinct name, there must be some connection between *NLSE* and *WLE*. If it was a newly added song, then there must have been a certain editor who inserted it. The song cannot be found in either *JJE* or any of the subsequent editions published during the Qing dynasty.

Another example is on the tenth line of page 753 of *WLE*. The first song of this act is a *Fhuyunfei* 驻云飞 (*stop the wind fly*) sung by Chen San “*In the morning I set off, when will I arrive in Yazhou City 今旦起行值时得到崖州城*”? In *WLE*, *JJE* and *NLSE* this song is always called *zhu yun fei* 驻云飞, but from the *SZE* on it becomes *Sizhaoyuan*. This is a good example to show that *WLE*, *JJE* and *NLES* have a close publishing date since the music did not change, although *WLE* and *NLES* remain closer publications.

Thus, by carefully judging the language, format, text, music and illustrations, I conclude that *NLSE* and *WLE* have a close relationship with each other. However, there are also some differences between them.

Firstly, their text is not precisely the same. See the example of “at six o’clock” detailed above. Secondly, when expressing the same meaning, *NLSE* and *WLE* use different characters. Here I provide two examples.

WLE, when expressing “please do not do something”, uses the character *du* 殞:

Now you ask me not to sweep (the floor). (Act 23, *WLE*)

今又押阮殞扫。（万历本·第二十三齣）

The lady asks you to do so, please do not forget. (Act 28, *WLE*)

阿娘交付你殞不见。（万历本·第二十八齣）

⁴⁵ *Sizhaoyuan* is the title of the tune. The meaning of *Sizhaoyuan* is unclear.

In *NLSE*, it uses *mo* 莫 in the same sentence, instead of *du*.

Another example is, when expressing the meaning “evening”, *WLE* usually use *mian* 眠 and *ye* 夜:

Cannot stay until the evening. (Act 45, *WLE*)

袂得到眠昏（万历本·第四十五齣）。

Time goes late, it’s silent around. This evening is going to be longer. (Act 45, *WLE*)

更深什静，今夜又长（万历本·第四十五齣）。

In *NLSE*, it uses *ming* 冥 in the same place instead of *mian* or *ye*.

Thirdly, the story is not the same. Altogether, *WLE* has four acts more (Act 3, Act 4, Act 25 and Act 37) than *NLSE*. At the same time, *WLE* has three special acts (Act 17, Act 28 and Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San) more than *NLSE*. For other specific content, please see Chapter 3.

All in all, although *WLE* and *NLSE* have a very close relationship, but after consideration of these differences, especially considering the content above, *WLE* is not the baseline edition, or *diben*, of *NLSE*.

2.2.2.2 *NLSE* belongs to the Chaozhou Version

There are three basic ways to differentiate between the Chaozhou and Quanzhou systems. Firstly, by identifying the dialect used in the opera. Secondly, by studying the author and the editor. Thirdly, through researching the local cultures contained in the text. As mentioned above, most scholars think *JJE*, *GXE*, *DGE* and *SZE* belong to the Quanzhou version, and *WLE* belongs to the Chaozhou version. Because the writer of *NLSE* is unknown, I have tried to ascertain *NLSE*'s affiliation according to two other factors.

1) Dialect

Because of my limited knowledge of phonetics, I have mainly relied on an analysis of the use of special phrases and words in the Quanzhou and Chaozhou dialects to identify the dialect used in *NLSE*. The most important existing research comes from the work of Zeng Xiantong and Wang Jianshe.⁴⁶ According to Wang, there are only eight phrases in *JJE* which only the Chaozhou dialect has and cannot be found in the Quanzhou dialect: 厶爹, 昨暮(茂)日, 丁古(痞), 屎肚, 昨暮, 眠房, 厚染 and 爽利.⁴⁷ If this argument is correct, regarding the fact that both *WLE* and *NLSE* share the word 丁古(痞), I would say that the two belong to the Chaozhou system⁴⁸.

However, since hundreds of the words listed in Zeng's essay existed in both Quanzhou and Chaozhou during the Ming Dynasty according to Wang's argument, how can it be determined that these eight words only belong to the Quanzhou version? What is the standard and foundation of his criteria? I use “丁古(痞)” as an example. Since several uses of “丁古(痞)” in *JJE* can be found in songs without that special notation *chaoqiang* 潮腔 (Chaozhou tunes), we must thus question how Wang can believe that it is a Chaozhou word.⁴⁹ In light of this example, I question the reliability of using the seven other words as criteria for judging *NLSE*'s edition system. Thus, even if I can find other seven words besides “丁古(痞)” in *NLSE*, I still cannot say definitively that it is a Chaozhou edition.

As far as I can see, using words and phrases to determine edition systems should be based on a rich corpus. The materials contemporary researchers have are very limited to allow for the construction of such a body of reference, or a corpus. In my opinion, the logic of using five Chaozhou dramas and one Quanzhou and Chaozhou drama, together with some knowledge of

⁴⁶ Zeng Xiantong 曾宪通, “Mingben Chaozhou xiwen suojian chaozhou fangyan shulue 明本潮州戏文所见潮州方言述略 [A Discussion on the Chaozhou Dialect Seen in the Chaozhou Operas Published in the Ming Dynasty],” *Fangyan* 1 (1991): 10-29. Wang Jianshe 王建设, “*Lüelun Mingben Lijingji De Fangyan Guishu* 略论明本《荔镜记》的方言归属 [A Brief Discussion on the Dialect Kind of the Ming Dynasty Lychee and Mirror],” (Fujian: Discussions on Minnan Culture: Essays of The Third Minnan Culture and Academic Conference, 2005), 484-493.

⁴⁷ I didn't give these words Chinese meanings and pronunciations because of two main reasons. Firstly because of limited material I cannot figure out their accurate pronunciations, although Zeng used modern Shantou dialect to notate them. Secondly, Zeng tried to explain these words, but I cannot confirm whether his definition is right or wrong.

⁴⁸ “丁痞” means bad guy. *WLE*: 丁痞白昼敢入来食饭 (how dare you bad guy come here to eat meals in the day) ; *NLSE*: 着丁古小七打即是罪过除 (you bad guy Xiao Qi should be beaten and then you do not have guilt)

⁴⁹ Act 15 of *JJE*: “Wu Niang jumps into the well: “巨耐丁古贼林大” (However this tricky bad guy Lin Da).

modern Quanzhou and Chaozhou dialect, and then declaring that some words are Quanzhou dialect while others are Chaozhou dialect, is erroneous and potentially misleading.

Nonetheless, dialect still can help my approach to some degree. There is an interesting detail in *NLSE* which implies the edition system it belongs to. The ending part of Act 22 has an added plot compared to *WLE*:

Chun said: Here is a cup of tea, Third Brother. Please let your guest drink.

春白：三兄一钟茶在只，请恁客人食。

Tong said: May a dog harm you⁵⁰.

童白：狗割小妹。

Chun said: San xiong, how come this guest is insulting me?

春白：三兄只一客佐年咀都来骂人。

Sheng said: He is not insulting you. In my hometown *gouge* means thanks. (Act 23, *NLSE*)

生白：不是骂尔，阮处咀狗割就是只处咀感谢一般。（苏格兰藏本·第二十三齣）

From this dialogue it is clear that at the time of *NLSE*'s publication, there were recognised distinctions between the Chaozhou and Quanzhou dialects, thus this misunderstanding occurred. This dialogue is something only Chaozhou locals could understand well; they may feel the same emotion as Yichu, since they did not know the meaning of *gouge*. *NLSE*, in this way, perhaps belongs to the Chaozhou system.

2) Local custom

Huang Wenjuan mentioned several special customs in *WLE* which only can be found in Chaozhou: a spring outing and appreciating flowers on the third day of March, a song competition on *Shangyuan Day* 上元节, eating *fuliu* 扶蕾 (betel nuts) and, finally, gathering

⁵⁰ There is a homophone here. The word “thanks” in Quanzhou dialect sounds like “dog harm” in Chaozhou dialect. Hence when Quanzhou native An Tong speaks in Quanzhou dialect to thank Yi Chun, it is like he said “may a dog harm you” in Chaozhou dialect to Yi Chun.

together at the Huang house in Chaozhou.⁵¹ All these incidents, except eating *fuliu* can be found in *NLSE*. However, the *fuliu* in *WLE* changes into *lao* 荖 (*piper betel*) in *NLSE*. So is *lao* the same as *fuliu*? The *Kangxi Dictionary* explains this character:

According to *Xi Xi Cong Yu* 西溪叢語 (*Words of the West Stream*), when people in Fujian and Guangdong provinces eat betel nut, they cover it up with *lao* leaves before chewing it.

《西溪丛语》闽广人食槟榔，每切作片……以荖叶裹嚼之。

As for *fuliu*, there is a record in Zhang Qu's 张渠 *Yue Dong Jianwen Lu* 粤东闻见录 (*Memoirs of My Days in The East Part of Guangdong*):⁵²

Leaves of *wei* 萎, also called *fuliu*. When Cantonese eat betel nut, they always eat together with leaves of *wei*.

萎叶……也名扶菑……粤人食槟榔，必以萎叶佐之……

In this way—*lao*, *wei* and *fuliu*—are all three the same kind of leaf used when eating betel nuts, and become synonymous with the nut. From the aspect of local culture, *WLE* and *NLSE* are very alike.

Besides the above details, when comparing the acts of the six editions, it is clear that *WLE* and *NLSE* are different from the other four editions. The comparison of these acts will be shown in 2.2.3.

To conclude, regarding the established connection between *WLE* and *NLSE* and pondering a variety of details about *NLSE*, I believe that *NLSE* belongs to the Chaozhou system, although it was published in Zhangzhou.

⁵¹ Huang, Wenjuan, "Chen San Wu Niang de chaoquan erbu banben lüeshuo," 29

⁵² Chaozhou is in the east part of Guangdong.

2.2.2.3 An Earlier Edition of *NLSE*

When comparing *NLSE* with the other five editions, some details allow me to infer that there may be, or have been, an earlier edition of *NLSE*, which could possibly be the *zuben* of *NLSE*. Here are these four details:

Between page 48 and 49 of *NLSE*, there are three pages that have the page number as: *again* 48 又四八, *again again* 48 又又四八, *again again again* 48 又又又四八. These three pages are precisely two new stories that neither *JJE* and *WLE* have: *Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San* 益春送花 and *Chen San and Yi Chun meet* 陈三益春会合. If I regard these “again pages” as newly added incidents, *NLSE* must be based on an edition which does not include these two stories. Thinking of this difference, I do not believe that *WLE* and *NLSE* have a direct connection.

In Act 17 and Act 23 (which is *Yi Chun leaves the umbrella* which does not exist in *WLE*), there is a repeated song starting with *xiu gong lianhua* 绣共莲花 (I embroidered a lotus flower), and there are no matching songs in *WLE*. To be more specific, one song appears twice in *NLSE* but cannot be found in *WLE*. This repeated song, or Act 23 if we are brave enough to deduce it in this way, may have come from another edition rather than *WLE*. I would say that *NLSE* should never be considered as an original text, rather as a reprinted edition produced on the basis of an earlier edition.

A *moding* 墨钉 (literally, ink nails, where some parts in a book are totally dark, usually when shading makes something wrong or unclear) appears in Act 42, which is part of Xiao Qi’s song and is obscured, possibly due to lewdness. This section contains plot elements which are not present in either *WLE* or *JJE*. It is highly possible that the previous edition, or base version of *NLSE* contains these hidden words.

There are two ○○ marks to show the omission of words in *NLSE*, one in Act 16 of *NLSE* and another in the final poem. These two words are both *tuanyuan* 团圆. Since the editor of *NLSE* noted their absence while *WLE* has both, there may be an earlier edition which loses

these two words.⁵³

Ultimately, I strongly believe that there is an earlier edition of *NLSE*, which is the basis of *NLSE* and possibly the real *qianben Lizhiji* 前本荔枝记 (previous edition of *Lizhiji*) mentioned in the *paiji* of *JJE*.

2.2.2.4 The Relationship Between *NLSE* and Other Editions

One saying that researchers always use in the context of *Lizhiji* is “*yi mai xiang cheng wu bai nian* 一脉相承五百年 (Derived from the same origin for five hundred years)”.⁵⁴ Most researchers have claimed that from *JJE* to *GXE*, there is a clear line of transmission. But what is this line? What is the relationship between these editions? Partly because of the limited preface and *paiji*, the easiest way to find out these answers is through textual comparison.

I made this table using *NLSE* as the standard order and listed all the acts⁵⁵.

<i>JJE</i> 嘉靖本	<i>WLE</i> 万历本	<i>NLSE</i> 苏格兰藏本	<i>SZE</i> 顺治本	<i>DGE</i> 道光本 and <i>GXE</i> 光绪本
1 The role <i>mo</i> appears on the stage 末上	The role <i>mo</i> appears on the stage 末上	lost	--	--
2 Say goodbye to relatives and go to his work 辞亲赴任	1 as N	2 Boqing holds a farewell dinner for his brother ⁵⁶ 伯卿与兄钱行	1 Holds a farewell dinner for his brother with brother 与兄钱行	1 Holds a farewell dinner and sends his brother 送兄钱行
3 Play and appreciate views in the garden 花园游赏	2 as N	3 Wu Niang appreciates the flowers 五娘赏花	2 Wu Niang appreciates the spring 五娘赏春	2 Wu Niang appreciates the spring 五娘赏春
4 <i>Yunshi</i> starts on his way 运使登途	3 Mr. Jin and Mr. Pan say goodbye to Chen Boqing 金潘二人送陈伯卿	--	--	--

⁵³ Another possibility is that the editor uses this mark intentionally. For the word *tuan yuan* it is easy to guess especially in the ending of a poem. Perhaps he uses the round circle to show *tuan* and *yuan*, because *tuan* and *yuan* in Chinese both mean “round”.

⁵⁴ Preface by Zheng Guoquan, *Mingkan Xiqu Xianguan Xuanji*.

⁵⁵ Chapter names are based on *Lijingji Lizhiji Sizhong*. For *WLE*, there are no chapter names. If the story and plot are conducted in the same way, then I write: as N. If it is different from *NLSE*, I use the description sentence on the illustrations. For some long plots that are under unrelated chapter names, then I use illustrations’ names from *NLSE* and noted as *. *DGE* and *GXE* are very similar and can be regarded as one edition, thus they are put together.

⁵⁶ Act name from description words of the illustration because of missing leaves.

	4 Chen <i>yunshi</i> arrives at Phoenix City 陈运使到凤城驿			
5 Invites his friend to see the lanterns 邀朋赏灯	5 as N	4 Lin Da looking for Lao Zhuo to see the lanterns 林大寻老卓体灯	3 Lin Da invites his friend 林大邀朋	3 Lin Da invites his friend 林大邀朋
6 Wu Niang appreciates the lanterns 五娘赏灯	6 as N	5 Yi Chun looking for Li Po to see the lanterns 益春寻李婆看灯	4 Wu Niang looks at the lanterns 五娘看灯	4 Yi Chun invites Sister Li 益春请李姐
7 Antiphonal singing under the lanterns 灯下搭歌	7 as N	6 Antiphonal singing under the lanterns 灯下答歌		5 Appreciate lanterns in the Lantern Festival 元宵赏灯
8 The beau and the lady sightseeing together 士女同游	--	--		6 Antiphonal singing between the beau and the lady 士女答歌
9 Beau Lin requests the matchmaker 林郎托媒	7 as N (continues the above)	6 (continues the above)	--	7 Lin Da requests the matchmaker 林大托媒
10 Officers at the stage hosts 驿丞伺接	--	--	--	--
11 Li Po seeks an alliance for Lin Da 李婆求亲	8 as N	7 Li Po seeks an alliance for Lin Da 李婆乞亲	--	8 Seeking alliance for Lin Da at the Huang house 黄门求亲
12 Saying goodbye to his brother and coming back 辞兄归省	--	--	--	--
13 Li Po sends the betrothal gifts 李婆送聘	9 as N	8 Xiao Qi sweeping the floor 小七扫所	5 Wu Niang swears at the matchmaker 打媒姨	9 The Lin Family sends the betrothal gifts 林门纳聘
	10 as N	9 Li Po sends the betrothal gifts 李婆送聘		
14 Curses the matchmaker and ask for the betrothal gifts to be returned 责媒退聘	11 as N	10 Wu Niang curses the matchmaker 五娘骂媒姨		10 Wu Niang swears at the matchmaker 五娘责媒

				12 Criticizes her daughter and ask her to marry Lin Da 训女就婚
15 五娘投井 Wu Niang jumps into the well	13 as N	11 五娘投井 Wu Niang jumps into the well	6 五娘投井 Wu Niang jumps into the well	13 五娘投井 Wu Niang jumps into the well
--	14 as N 15 Wu Niang asks the monk to draw lots*五娘请丈老半圣签		--	--
--	--	--	--	14 Saying goodbye to his brother and back to Chaozhou 别兄回潮
16 Bo Qing riding a horse and going sightseeing 伯卿游马	12 Chen Sanshe is on his way* 陈三舍登程在途	13 Chen San meets Wu Niang dropping lychee down [from the high building] 陈三遇五娘掷落荔枝	7 Bo Qing riding a horse and appreciate the city 伯卿游街	15 Rest at Li Gong's house 遇歇李公
17 Climbing the building and dropping lychee down 登楼抛荔	15 as N			16 Bo Qing riding a horse and appreciate the city 伯卿游街 17 Dropping lychees down accidentally 偶投荔枝
18 Chen San learns to grind the mirror 陈三学磨镜	16 as N	14 Chen San and Brother Li make their plan 陈三见李大哥设计	8 Chen San meets Li Gong 见李公	18 Chen San learns [to grind the mirror] from Li Gong 求艺李公
19 Breaking the precious mirror 打破宝镜	17 as N	15 Chen San grinding the mirror 陈三磨镜	9 Bo Qing grinding the mirror 伯卿磨镜	19 Bo Qing grinding the mirror 伯卿磨镜 20 Becoming a slave intentionally 设计为奴
20 Pray to Chang E 祝告嫦娥	--	--	--	--
21 Chen San sweeps the hall 陈三扫厅	18 as N	16 Chen San sweeps the house 陈三扫厝	10 Bo Qing sweeps the house 伯卿扫厝	21 Bo Qing sweeps the house 伯卿扫厝
--	--	17 Wu Niang meets Chen San when embroidering 五娘刺绣遇陈三	--	--
22 Dressing and making up, feeling	19 as N	18 Chen San holds the water basin 陈三捧盆	11 Substitute someone to hold the	22 Substitute someone to hold the water basin

low in spirit 梳妆意 懒		水	water basin 代捧盆 水	代捧盆水
23 Asking for a stratagem to show his feelings 求计达情	--	--	--	--
24 Flowers in the garden are in bloom 园内花开	20 as N	19 Appreciating the flowers inside the garden 花园内赏花	12 Wu Niang dressing and making up 五娘梳妆	23 Wu Niang appreciating the flowers 五娘赏花
		20 Wu Niang tells her feelings to the moon 五娘对月诉情	13 Wu Niang sighs on her own under the moon 月下自叹	24 Wu Niang sighs on her own under the moon 月下自叹
25 Chen San got a sickness 陈三得病	21 as N	21 Chen San has lovesickness 陈三相思 病	--	--
	22 as N ⁵⁷	22 An Tong is looking for Chen San 安童寻 三舍	14 An Tong is looking for Chen San 安童寻三舍	25 An Tong is looking for his master 安童寻 主
--	23 Chen San thinking of going back* 陈三舍 思归计	23 Yi Chun leaves the umbrella 益春留伞	15 Yi Chun leaves the umbrella 益春留伞	26 Yi Chun leaves the umbrella 益春留伞
26 Wu Niang is embroidering 五娘 刺绣	24 as N	24 Wu Niang is embroidering 五娘刺 绣至相掠	16 Embroidering a lonely male phoenix 巧绣孤鸾	27 Embroidering a lonely male phoenix 巧绣孤鸾
--	--	--	--	28 Wu Niang makes a secret date 五娘私约
27 Yi Chun declines the date 益春退约	26 as N	25 Wu Niang writes a letter and asks Yi Chun to decline the date 五 娘写书使益春辞约	--	--
28 Reset another nice date 再约佳期	27 as N	26 Yi Chun declines the date 益春退约	18 Yi Chun declines the date 益春退约	30 Yi Chun declines the date 益春退约
29 Male and female phoenix are together 鸾凤和同	28 as N	27 Wu Niang and Chen San meet ⁵⁸ 五娘会合	19 Having a nice secret date 私会佳期	31 Having a nice secret date 私会佳期
--	--	Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San* 益春送花	20 Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San 益春送花	32 Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San 益春送花
31 The matchmaker	--	28 The matchmaker	--	--

⁵⁷ In *WLE* Act 22 is noted as Act 23, but it should be Act 22. I correct it here.

⁵⁸ This chapter includes *Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San* 益春送花 and *Chen San and Yi Chun meet* 陈三益春会合.

Li Po comes to ask for the bride 李婆催亲		comes to pick up the bride 媒姨讨亲		
32 Collects rents at Chi Shui 赤水收租	31 as N	30 The father goes to his farm 阿公上庄	21 Goes to his farm to collect rents 上庄收租	33 Goes to his farm to collect rents 上庄收租
33 Discussing about going to [Quanzhou] 计议归宁	30 as N	29 Wu Niang and Chen San discuss together 五娘共陈三议事 31 Wu Niang waits for Chen San to leave together besides the pink wall 五娘粉墙边待陈三走	22 Planning to elope 设计私奔	34 Planning to elope 设计私奔
34 Arrival at the garden 走到花园	32 as N	32 The three people leave the garden 三人走离花园		
--	33 as N	33 Burn incense sticks at Big King Temple 大王庙烧香	--	--
35 Finding her daughter in her room 闺房寻女	34 as N	34 The mother chases for her daughter and the maid 阿妈追寻女婢	23 The mother chases for Wu Niang 阿妈寻五娘	35 The mother chases for Wu Niang 阿妈寻五娘
36 Meets Xiao Qi on his way 途遇小七				36 Xiao Qi reports to the father 小七报亚公公
--			24 Xiao Qi tells the father 小七报告亚公公	
37 Arriving at the gate and forcing her to marry him 登门逼婚	35 as N	35 Lin Da asks for his bride 林大讨媳妇		37 The Lin Family asks for the bride 林门讨亲
38 Brings an action to the magistrate 词告知州	36 as N	35 Lin Da brings an action 林大告状	25 Lin Da brings an action 林大告状	38 Lin Da brings an action 林大告状
39 Crossing the stream by boat 渡过溪舟	37 Chen San meets a boat and crosses the river*陈三遇船载遇河	--	--	--
40 Minor official crossing the stream ⁵⁹	--	--	--	--

⁵⁹ *JJE* only noted one song named *zudidang* 卒地当·批文紧急力私情 (The approval document of the arrest of Chen San because of his personal affairs is so urgent). Although the 5 later editions do not inherit all the plots of Act 40 in *JJE*, this song is almost fully kept in Act 26 of *SZE*, Act 39 of *DGE* and *GXE*.

公人过渡				
41 Express their feelings at a tavern 旅馆叙情	--	--	--	--
42 Swear with each other at Ling Mountain 灵山说誓	--	--	--	--
43 Chen San is caught on the way 途中遇捉	38 as N	37 Chen San is caught by the minor official 陈三被掠	26 Minor official caught Chen San 公差拘拿	39 Minor official caught Chen San 公差锁拿
44 The magistrate gives out the court verdict 知州判词	39 as N	38 The magistrate investigates the affair 知州审问奸情	27 Questioning about the affair 审奸情	40 Questioning about the affair 鞫审奸情
45 Chen San was put into the jail and Wu Niang sends him food 收监送饭	40 as N	39 Wu Niang visits the jail 五娘探牢	28 Wu Niang visits the jail 五娘探牢	41 Wu Niang visits the jail 五娘探牢
46 Chatting about their separation and being banished 叙别发配	41 as N	40 Wu Niang sees Chen San off 五娘送别	29 Chen San begins banishment to Ya Zhou 起解崖州	42 Chen San begins banishment to Ya Zhou 起解崖州
47 Opens the court according to imperial orders 敕升都堂	--	--	--	--
--	42 as N	41 Chen San is on the way 陈三行路	--	--
--	--	--	30 Banished to Ya Zhou 发配崖州	43 Banished to Ya Zhou 发配崖州
48 Sighing when recalling love ⁶⁰ 忆情自叹	43 as N	42 Wu Niang asks Xiao Qi to sent a letter 五娘使小七送书	31 Asks [Xiao Qi] to sent a letter 遣送封书	44 Asks [Xiao Qi] to sent a letter 遣送封书
			34 Wu Niang misses her man 五娘思君	48 Wu Niang misses her man 五娘思君
49 Coming across good news on the way 途遇佳音	44 as N	43 Xiao Qi sends the letter and meets Chen San 小七送书见陈三	32 Xiao Qi sends the letter and meets San Die 小七送书见三爹	45 Xiao Qi sends the letter and meets San Die 小七送书见三爹
				46 Meets the family savant on the way 途遇家童

⁶⁰ The first half part of this act of *JJE* is similar to the first half part of Act 45 of *WLE*, first half part of Act 44 of *NLSE*, the whole Act 34 of *SZE* and the whole Act 48 of *DGE*.

50 Xiao Qi hands over the letter 小七递筒	45 as N	44 Xiao Qi comes back and replies with a message to Wu Niang 小七回报五娘消息	--	--
51 Meets his brother at the stage 驿递遇兄	46 as N	45 Chen San meets his elder brother who is on his <i>huiren</i> way 陈三遇兄回任	33 Meets his elder brother has just received a promotion 遇兄升迁	47 Meets his elder brother who comes back with glory 遇兄荣归
52 Asks the magistrate and deposes him 问革知州	--	--	35 Asks the magistrate and deposes him 提革知州	49 Asks the magistrate and deposes him 提革知州
--	47 as N	46 Chen San meets Wu Niang again secretly 生私回见五娘	--	--
53 Continue their legendary love 再续姻亲		47 Chen San reunites with everybody 陈三团圆	36 Getting married and everybody reunited 成亲团圆	50 Sending the betrothal gifts and getting married 送聘成亲
54 Returning to hometown with glory 衣锦还乡	--	--	--	--
55 Everybody reunites 合家团圆	--	--	36 Getting married and everybody reunited ⁶¹ 成亲团圆	50 Everybody reunites 合家团圆

According to this table, although the act titles only show part of the plot, it is still clear that the three Qing Dynasty editions are similar to each other. *WLE* and *NLSE* clearly show great similarities and are different from the other four editions, which is good evidence in support of my conjecture in 2.2.2.2 that these two are Chaozhou editions. What is more, even though there are some connections between *JJE* and the three Qing Dynasty editions, these connections are less firm than the link between *WLE* and especially *NLSE*. *NLSE* is like a bridge between *JJE*, *WLE* and the later three editions. It contains acts such as *Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San*, which was inherited by the Qing Dynasty editions and cannot be found in earlier publications.

⁶¹ Continue the previous act.

2.2.3 New Edition-Relationship Diagram

Based on the conclusions proffered above, the edition-relationship diagram may now be drawn out as below. I use solid lines to show direct and sure relationships, and dashed line to indicate conjectural or indirect relationships.

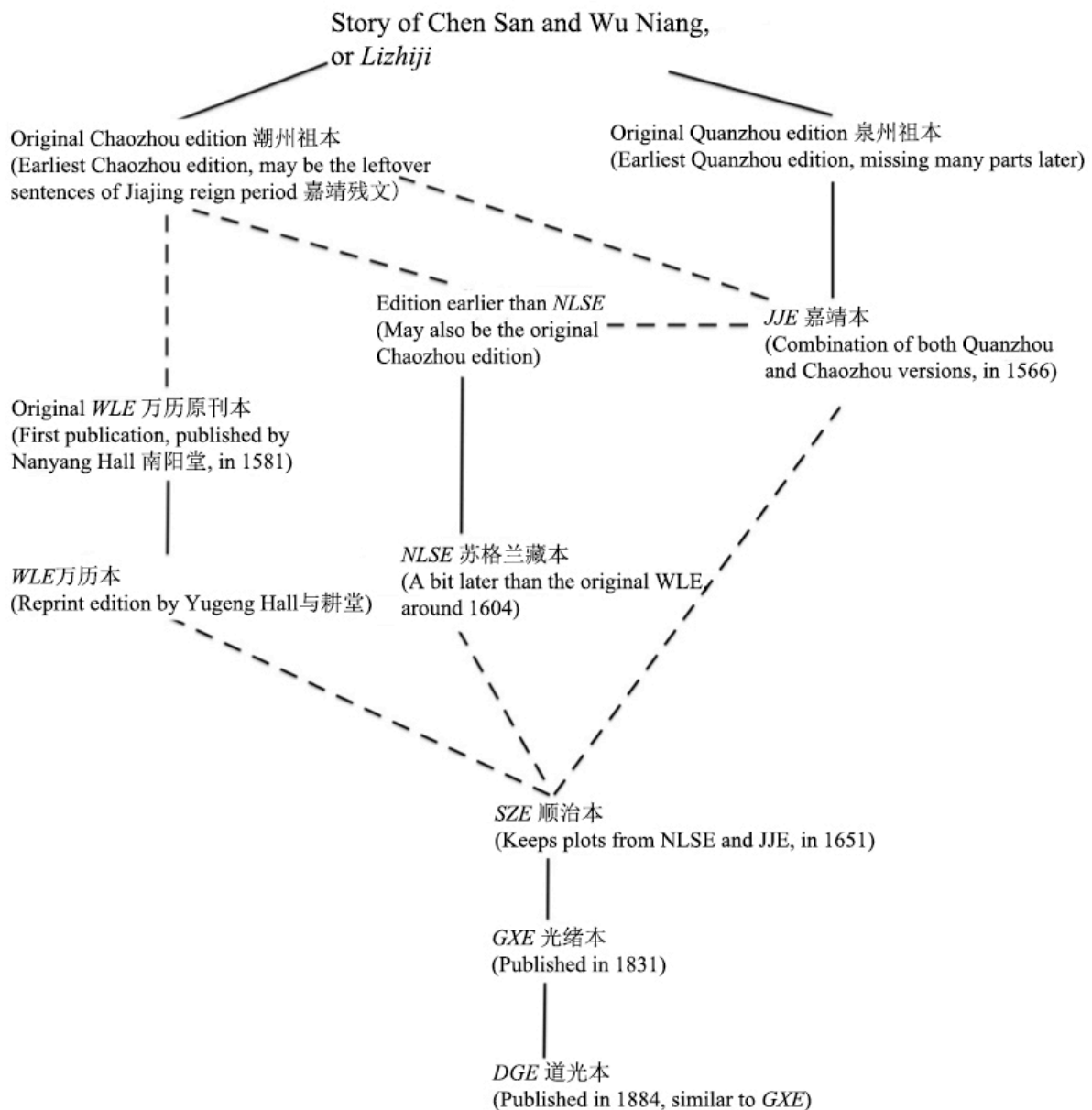


Fig 13. Edition-relationship diagram of *Lizhiji*.

2.3 Discussions related to book history

As stated in the introductory chapter, this thesis is a combination of bibliography and

literature. Regarding the fact that the research is raised by a newly-discovered book, it is still necessary to discuss topics related to book history, in order to gain a deeper understanding towards *Lizhiji* publications, especially *NLSE*. In this section, I will mainly talk about two interrelated topics relevant to the three aspects about book history mentioned in the literature review: why do these books use Minnan dialect? Who are the target audience and what are their possible levels of literacy? The essence of the *Lizhiji* publications is the key to the answers to them.

To answer the first question, we need to solve one problem for the beginning: did the performers of the opera act in dialect and, if so, why did they do so? By analysing the text, it is difficult to reach the conclusion as for whether or not they used the accent of Minnan dialect in the songs and arias, although we are very sure they use dialect in the dialogue.⁶² Going back to the history, we can find the answer easily. Using dialect accords with one of the origins of Liyuan Opera: *xiwen* 戏文.⁶³ *Xiwen* was really popular among the people of the southern part of China from the Song Dynasty and is the mother of nearly all the southern opera species of the Ming and the Qing Dynasties. The feature of *xiwen*, or the standard by which we distinguish *xiwen* from northern operas of the same time, is that it is sung and performed in southern local dialects. As Wei Liangfu 魏良辅 (1489-1566) stressed that “there are various local tunes with distinctive styles”.⁶⁴ In this way, the actors of Liyuan Opera should sing and speak in Minnan dialect during the whole performance. The reasons behind this choice are obvious. Firstly, as local operas, using Minnan dialect could easily arouse the local audience’s emotions and feelings of belonging. Audiences could quickly become involved in the show and would appreciate the familiarity of the story.⁶⁵ Secondly, Minnan dialect, as early as in the Ming

⁶² See multiple examples in chapter 3.

⁶³ Qian Nanyang 钱南扬, *Xiwen gailun* 戏文概论 [Brief Discussions on Xiwen], (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981).

⁶⁴ “腔有数种，纷纭不类。” Wei Liangfu 魏良辅, *Nanci Yinzheng* 南词引正 [Guidance to the Southern Opera]. Annotated by Qian Nanyang, “Nanci yinzheng jiaozhu 《南词引正》脚注 [Annotated Guidance to the Southern Opera],” *Xiju bao*, 1961, 61. According to Wei Liangfu, it is possible that in the Mid-Ming period, Li Yuan Opera used the *yiyang tune* 弋阳腔 (music and tunes of Yiyang) or at least a tune similar to *yiyang tune*, since this kind of tune was popular among Jiangxi, Anhui and Fujian provinces, as well as other provinces of the south part of China. However, without further material, this is only a conjecture.

⁶⁵ Song Lihua 宋莉华, *Mingqing Shiqi De Xiaoshuo Chuanbo* 明清时期的小说传播 [The Spread of Novels in the Ming and Qing Dynasties], (Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe, 2004), chapter 3. Although Song discusses the situation of fiction and novels, her opinion also works for operas.

Dynasty, was already different from the *guanhua* 官话 (official Mandarin Chinese) of that time which was widely used in vernacular literatures.⁶⁶ From the previous examples excerpt from *JJE*, *WLE* and *NLSE*, it is clearly that *Lizhiji* publications use unique characters and have some special grammar features, compared with other popular vernacular literature works such as *Sanyan*.⁶⁷ Compare with operas in other dialects, using Minnan dialect can help the genre gain as large a local audience as possible.

After confirming the using of dialect in actual performance, it is possible to discuss the dialect in the books. Why do people want to buy these books? Operas can be read and performed, this is a very important feature of the genre. From the analysis in previous sections, it is clear that all the books are commercial publications, which means readers need to buy or pay to borrow these books, and publishing houses hope to earn money from them.⁶⁸ Thinking of today's television novels—usually published during or after the release of popular TV dramas, it can be deduced that in the past people did exactly the same thing. Opera performances, similar to TV dramas, are not always available to be watched and listened to. However, a published book is always there, waiting to be read again and again. For longer operas, such as *Lizhiji* with more than 40 acts, it is relatively hard to watch or perform the whole story in a short time. In this way, printed books have natural advantages. To conclude, people read these opera books not only to help them recall the live performance, but the reading

⁶⁶ Wang Jianshe, “*Mingkan Minnan Fangyan Xiwen Zhong De Yuyan Yanjiu*”. Wang’s essay uses multiple examples to show the feature of Minnan dialect in the Ming Dynasty. Minnan Dialect was finally formed at around the Tang Dynasty, as a branch of the Min Dialect 闽语 (Fujian Dialect). See more history and features of Minnan dialect in Huang Zhiqing 黄祉青, “*Mingqing Minnan Fangyan Wenxian Yuyan Yanjiu* 明清闽南方言文献语言研究 [A Linguistic Study on Minnan Dialect Literature in the Ming and Qing Dynasties],” (Ph.D, Zhejiang University, 2014), 1.

⁶⁷ *Sanyan* and other coeval vernacular literature works also use dialects. However, most of the vernacular works only includes some words or sentences from one or several dialects. Novels, fiction and operas that totally write in dialect is not that many. See Pan Jianguo 潘建国, “Fangyan yu gudai baihua xiaoshuo 方言与古代白话小说 [Dialects and Imperial Vernacular Fictions],” *Beijing Daxue Xuebao (Zhaxue Shehui Kexue Ban)* 2 (2008): 112-115. Pan argues that most vernacular works are written in *tongyu* 通语 (shared language) or *guanhua*, which is based on one popular dialect and also mix together other dialects. From the beginning of the Ming Dynasty to the mid-Qing Dynasty, the basement dialect of *guanhua* is *Jianghuai guanhua* 江淮官话 (Lower Yangtze Mandarin), although some scholars argue that *zhongyuan guanhua* 中原官话 (Central Plains Mandarin) should be another basement. However, clearly the language in *Lizhiji* is different from this commonly-used *guanhua*. See more in Zeng Xiaoyu 曾晓渝, “Mingdai nanjing guanhua xingzhi kaoshi 明代南京官话性质考释 [A Textual Study on the Nature of Nanjing Mandarin in Ming Dynasty],” *Yuyan kexue* 2 (2016): 178-187.

⁶⁸ Buying and renting are two primary ways to direct access to vernacular literature. There are many books and essays about this fact. See more in the next paragraphs.

itself also complements the experience of viewing.⁶⁹ In this way, it is highly possible that printed vernacular operas, differently from literati operas, were printed during or after the real performance, and would be very close to the real performance.⁷⁰ Features and fragments of the real show were recorded in the book. In some circumstances, the more the book was close to the live performance, the more popular the book became. Since the books are vivid records of the original performance, and the performance itself is sung and performed in Minnan dialect, thus all the *Lizhiji* books include dialect, especially in the dialogue.

The next question is about the readers of opera books. There is a lot of research on the readers of vernacular literature. In the book *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, there are two essays discussing this phenomenon.⁷¹ Robert H. Hegel argued that the readers of vernacular novels include two major classes, the wealthy elite class, and middle-class literati. At the same time, he believed that the body of vernacular texts consists of material designed for all audiences: elite, non-elite, and country-folk audiences.⁷² *Regional Operas and Their Audiences: Evidence from Hong Kong* by Barbara E. Ward also emphasises the broad range in the audience of real performances.⁷³ Other discussions about vernacular literature are mostly centred on fiction and novels. “Readers and Dissemination of Popular Novels in Ming and Qing Dynasties” by Pan Jianguo is a very thought-provoking text.⁷⁴ Pan divided all audiences into two kinds: direct audience (buying or borrowing the books) and indirect audience (who

⁶⁹ There is also possibility that some troupes use these publications when learning and practicing shows. However, regarding the fact that the most famous actor of Liyuan Opera, Cai Youben 蔡尤本 (1889-1974) recited all the operas when he was young, instead of reading opera books, I do not think this possibility is a common usage of opera publications. Those performers are mostly illiterate. For information about Cai Youben, see Sau-Ping Cloris Lim, “Nanyin Musical Culture in Southern Fujian, China: Adaptation And Continuity,” (Ph.D, SOAS, University of London, 2014).

⁷⁰ As we know, many operas written by the literati are not aiming to perform, but only for reading. The famous debate between Shen Jing (1553-1610) and Tang Xianzu (1550-1616) is about this topic: shall operas be more suitable for reading or performing? Wu Weiye (1609-1672), for example, is a representative of this kind of antou 案头 opera. See Wan Ying 万颖, “Qingchu Antou Xi Chutan 清初案头戏初探 [A Preliminary Study of the antou Operas in the Beginning of the Qing Dynasty],” (MA Diss., East China Normal University, 2011).

⁷¹ Johnson, David, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985).

⁷² Robert Hegel, “Distinguishing Levels of Audiences for Ming-Ch’ing Vernacular Literature,” in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, 112-142.

⁷³ Barbara E. Ward, “Regional Operas and Their Audiences: Evidence from Hong Kong,” in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, 161-187.

⁷⁴ Pan Jianguo 潘建国, “Mingqing shiqi tongsu xiaoshuo de duzhe yu chuanbo fangshi 明清时期通俗小说的读者与传播方式 [Readers and Dissemination of Popular Novels in Ming and Qing Dynasties],” *Journal of Fudan University (Social Science Edition)* 1 (2001):118-124,

listen to the books, watch the operas). He says the two audience groups represents two different way of spreading the story: by printed texts, and by opera arts. For the direct audience, it seems that they do not need very high levels of literacy to read vernacular literature, regarding the fact that complicated characters are replaced by popular simplified types of characters. Dialects and illustrations in the book also reduce the difficulty of reading. Although there may be some readers with relatively high literacy, the base line-the lowest requirement of reading novels and operas should not be higher than the middle-class literati. As for indirect readers, they possibly consist of uneducated men and women, as well as young children. Apparently, they do not have any ability in reading or writing.⁷⁵ To conclude, the low literacy requirement of novels and operas, the two available ways of accessing these books (buying and borrowing) as well as the two ways of spreading the story (by text and by performance) help to gain much broader audiences, particularly those from lower classes, which agrees with Cynthia Brokaw's and Inoue Susumu's findings. On the other hand, broader audiences, especially audiences from the lower class with lower literacy levels, pushes the publishers to make simpler books, such as books with more dialect.

For *Lizhiji*, an interesting question is about how one could learn to read dialect? In my opinion, it is not difficult for people who speak Minnan dialect to read *Lizhiji*. The linguistic studies on *Lizhiji* show that there are four kinds of dialect words in vernacular literature works written in Minnan dialect during the Ming and the Qing Dynasties. They are: *jiyinzi* 记音字 (using a homonymic character to represent the original character), *xunduzi* 训读字 (using a synonym character to represent the original character, but usually adding a character component to stress the meaning), *tongxingzi* 同形字 (creating a new character based on the meaning and pronunciation of the original character, but accidentally becoming a homomorphic character of another character which has a different meaning), and newly-invented character

⁷⁵ There are many essays which discuss the problem of readers of vernacular Chinese literature. Kai-wing Chow, for example, specially pointed out the importance of female readers, and also connected readers with the imperial examinations. See Kai-wing Chow, "Writing for Success: Printing, Examinations, and Intellectual Change in Late Ming China," *Late Imperial China* 17 (1996): 124. Other essays include: Wilt Idema, "Review of Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China," *T'oung Pao* 66, 4-5 (1980): 314-24; Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979).

(usually a phonogram character).⁷⁶ For the first kind, as people read it out, it is easy to understand the meaning. As for the other three, most of them are phonogram characters, which means people can guess the meaning and the pronunciation based on the appearance of characters. These features of dialect words enable people to read in dialect without particular training in advance.

After discussing the two questions about books and readers above, there is one more interesting problem worth considering. Can publishers earn money from these books? *JJE*, *WLE*, *SZE* were all published in Jianyang by publishing houses of some renown.⁷⁷ *DGE* and *GXE* were published in Quanzhou, which also had many printing activities since the Song Dynasty.⁷⁸ It seems that, being books from very experienced publishing houses, these publications should be able to earn some money for their publishers. As not much is known about opera books published in Zhangzhou in the Ming Dynasty, the specific question here is: could the publisher of *NLSE* earn money by publishing and selling *NLSE*? In my opinion, *NLSE* should have been profitable. Factors influencing the profit of printed books are various, but the most important one is cost. The booming publishing industry of Fujian Province in the Ming and the Qing Dynasties was to some degree based on the careful control of cost.⁷⁹ In Brokaw's book, she points out that printing technology was very portable. Carvers, printers, and other workers taking part in every step of printing were movable.⁸⁰ This means that it was highly possible that the publishing houses in Zhangzhou then could enjoy the cheap and experienced labour that Jianyang and Sibao also had. Meanwhile, as one of the most important ports in Ming Dynasty in China, Zhangzhou might have an abundant supply of physical materials such as paper, ink and wood, which means the publishing house might not need to pay extra delivery

⁷⁶ Huang Zhiqing, "Mingqing Minnan Fangyan Wenxian Yuyan Yanjiu," 200-219.

⁷⁷ Xin'an Hall, and Yugeng Hall both are Jianyang publishing houses. See *Printing for Profit*, 302 and 306. *SZE* has *Shulin* 书林 in its frontpage which is another name for Jianyang. *DGE* and *GXE* are Quanzhou publications.

⁷⁸ See Fang Yanshou 方彦寿, "Nansong quanzhou guan si keshu kaoshu 南宋泉州官私刻书考述 [A Study of Quanzhou's Official and Private Publications in the Southern Song Dynasty]," *Journal of Quanzhou Normal University* 3 (2007):17-22. Li Yanhua 李艳华, "Lishi wenhua shiye zhong de fujian fangkeben 历史文化视野中的福建坊刻本 [The Fujian Commercial Publications in the Perspective of History and Culture]," (MA Diss., Fujian Normal University, 2005).

⁷⁹ Both Brokaw and Lucille Chia have talked about the cost of Fujian publications in their books. See *Printing for Profit*, part I, 25-39. *Commerce in Culture*, chapter 3-6. Brokaw especially points out various ways to control the cost, including using female carvers, local woods and bamboos.

⁸⁰ Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture*, 13-19.

fee for these products.⁸¹ Other costs would include shipment and sales. Since *NLSE* was written in Minnan dialect, the market was limited to a relatively small Minnan area which kept the shipment costs low. Considering the broad audience made up of nearly all social classes and the popularity of opera in the Minnan area, even though the books were sold in a limited area, there were likely to be so many customers that the business would still be profitable.⁸²

2.4 Conclusion

2.4.1 The newly discovered *Lizhiji*

In this chapter, we have discussed the basic bibliographical problems of the newly-found *NLSE*. Through a detailed material analysis and comparison with other editions and coeval publications, we find that *NLSE* is a unique copy of *Lizhiji* published around 1604 in Haicheng, Zhangzhou. It belongs to the Chaozhou version, and has very close relationship with *WLE*. It connects all the editions and plays the role of a bridge between the extant Ming and Qing Dynasty publications. *NLSE* is another complete Ming Dynasty opera discovered in Scotland which also helps to solve edition problems of *Lizhiji*.

2.4.2 A New Opera Publishing Spot in the Ming Dynasty: Zhangzhou

When talking about book history, seldom did prior research mention Zhangzhou, although some local studies do refer to Zhangzhou because of the discovery of *MKSZ*.⁸³ Now, with the

⁸¹ Zhangzhou had the port Yuegang 月港 (Moon Harbour), which was the centre for overseas trade after the Ming court repealed its maritime prohibitions in 1567. After 1632, because of the removal of the resident officials of the Ming court, Moon Harbour declined rapidly. For more information, see Roderich Ptak, and Hu Baozhu, "Between Global and Regional Aspirations: China's Maritime Frontier and The Fujianese in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Asian History* 2 (2013): 197–217. Xu Xiaowang 徐晓望, "Lun mingdai xiamen wan zhoubian gangshi de fazhan 论明代厦门湾周边港市的发展 [On the Development of the Ports around Xiamen Bay in the Ming Dynasty]," *Fujian Forum (Humanities and Social Sciences)* 7 (2008): 67-72.

⁸² Chapter 3 has discussed the popularity of operas in 3.3.1. Other publications in Zhangzhou of operas works such as *YYLJ* and *WJHY* also indicates the existence of the booming market.

⁸³ Yang Rong 杨蓉, *Fujian Xiqu Wenxian Yanjiu 福建戏曲文献研究 [Research on the Opera Materials of Fujian]*, (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 2007).

finding of *NLSE* and *WJHY*, we have already discovered five publications, including anthologies of songs and operas and a complete opera. All of these provide evidence of the publishing activities of Zhangzhou during the Ming Dynasty.

2.4.3 Rethinking the Chaozhou and Quanzhou Versions

Even though I myself used these two versions to study the edition problem of *NLSE*, I personally argue for a more careful espousal of the Chaozhou and Quanzhou versions, especially when discussing editions later than *NLSE* and *WLE*. In fact, these two concepts are no longer important, because later publications are already a combination of the Chaozhou and Quanzhou systems. My thoughts are as follows:

Chaozhou and Quanzhou versions are historical concepts, since *JJE* is itself a combination of both versions. The music, plot and songs of *JJE* all include features from both editions. In this way, any other edition which refers to *JJE* is a combination of the Chaozhou and Quanzhou versions.

Discussion of edition systems should not be based solely on dialect or customs detailed within the text. As mentioned above, most researchers have used dialect to clarify editions. In my opinion, special plots or details of an opera, rather than different dialects, customs or music, are the necessary factors for defining systems. For example, the popular drama *Baitu Ji* 白兔记 (*The White Rabbit*) has two versions: the Fuchun Tang 富春堂 (Fuchun Hall) version system and the Jigu Ge 汲古阁 (Jigu House) version. The main difference is that one has a white rabbit while the other does not.⁸⁴ Following the case of *The White Rabbit*, if I use the story as the standard to determine or clarify the edition system, the three Qing Dynasty editions that have both plots from *JJE* and the Chaozhou system should not be classified into the Quanzhou system. However, based on the above discussions, it is clear that the Quanzhou and Chaozhou systems flowed along together during the Qing Dynasty. Therefore, I would like to

⁸⁴ Ye Kaiyuan 叶开沅, "Baitu ji de banben wenti yi-fuben xitong 《白兔记》的版本问题 (一) 富本系统 [The Edition Problem of *Baitu Ji*: (1) Fuchun Tang Version System]," *Lanzhou Daxue Xuebao (Shehui Kexue Ban)* 1 (1983): 81-91. Yu Weimin 俞为民, "Nanxi baitu ji de banben jiqi liubian 南戏《白兔记》的版本及其流变 [The Editions and Changes of Nanxi *The White Rabbit*]," *Wenxian* 1 (1987): 39-63.

suggest that when doing research on editions after *SZE*, we should not use the concepts of the two versions.

Chapter 3

Analysis of *Lizhiji*

3.1 The Value of Edition Studies and Text Comparisons

From the last chapter, it can be seen that the discovery of *NLSE* helps to fill the gap between the Ming and the Qing publications. By analysing the possible date of publication of *NLSE* and the relationships between the different editions of *Lizhiji* publications, a more accurate edition diagram has been drawn, and the chronological reality of *Lizhiji* has emerged. The next step is to analyse the whole story of *Lizhiji* based on the bibliographical results of chapter 2, seeking out what literary phenomena can be shown by all the editions.

Before starting the analysis, it is useful to first discuss the characteristics of edition studies with regard to opera. Compared with traditional edition studies on literary genres such as poetry and prose, the edition studies of imperial Chinese novels, fiction and operas, are rather different. The major aim of the former is to compile the best edition, which may be considered to be superior to all others. As for the latter, “the best edition” may not usually exist when doing bibliographical studies since every single edition has its own value. This difference is partly resulting from their literary features. There are two phenomena worth emphasizing when researching imperial Chinese opera materials. On the one hand, writers or editors sometimes did not affix their names to their productions, especially for vernacular works, even though they did so for most literati operas, or sometimes they merely used alias. On the other hand, only a few imperial catalogues recorded vernacular operas like *Lizhiji*, resulting in complexities for those seeking help from imperial scholars. The difference between vernacular opera and literati opera should be stressed here. In the Ming and the Qing Dynasties, it was very common for *shidafu* 士大夫 (scholar-officials) to participate in operatic activities. There were various opera groups, opera organizations and schools. The mainstream literature field recognized the

importance of opera.¹ There are also many catalogues recording opera books, including *Yuanshan Tang Qupin* 远山堂曲品 (*The Far-mountain Hall Assessment of Chuanqi Operas*) by Qi Biaoqia 祁彪佳 (1602-1645) and *Hongyu Lou Shumu* 红雨楼书目 (*Catalogue of the Red Rain House*) by Xu Bo 徐渤 (1563-1639). However, for vernacular operas like *Lizhiji*, written by lower class literati and using local dialect, catalogues usually did not include them. These two phenomena complicate edition studies of opera. In the case of *Lizhiji*, the extant editions are limited and publication times are mostly clear, apart from the date of *NLSE*, which fortunately simplified my research.

When conducting research into issues concerning the different editions of *Lizhiji*, I found that there are virtually no special and systematic opinions or studies on them. Over the past ten years, only a few essays have dealt with this topic, but these contain scant discussions or references. On the contrary, most essays focus on the story and the history of the Nanyin and Liyuan Operas. In my opinion, edition studies are a fundamental priority for conducting research into imperial Chinese literature. Any analysis of stories, texts and ideological content that does not consider edition differences is a castle in the air. That is why the analysis I presented in Chapter 2 considered the editions first, and why in this chapter, I intend to discuss the stories based on the results of previous studies of the different editions.

What are the roles of collating editions and finding variant texts? I would like to suggest two aspects here. Firstly, the plots of operas need to have a sequential causality. When we detect differences, we are able to summarize the evolution of the opera and discuss the plots and sub-plots of an opera based on its period of publication and historical background. Secondly, despite scribal mistakes and homophonic replacement, the textual changes made by editors and writers, whether consciously or unconsciously, are one of the keys to unlocking research into opera

¹ There are many works published about literati opera of the Ming Dynasty. Grant Guangren Shen's book *Elite Theatre in Ming China, 1368-1644* draws an overall situation of this topic. Besides, there are also many books about some specific opera writers and groups. For example, Wilt L. Idema's *The Dramatic Oeuvre of Chu Yu-tun (1379-1439)* writes about Zhu Youdun who is from the imperial family. Tianyuan Tan's *Songs of Contentment and Transgression: Discharged Officials and Literati Communities in Sixteenth-Century North China* writes about three famous governmental officials who chose to engage in the stigmatized genre opera after retired. Grant Guangren Shen, *Elite Theatre in Ming China, 1368-1644*, (London: Routledge, 2009). Tianyuan Tan, *Songs of Contentment and Transgression: Discharged Officials and Literati Communities in Sixteenth-Century North China*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010).

stories. By analyzing these changes, we can discover the hidden history invented and experienced by the opera itself, and from this elucidate some general rules of opera development.

It should be noted that my comparative study of the six editions of *Lizhiji* is slightly different from that of previous researchers. The three main differences of opera editions, namely the number of dialogues, the order of dialogues and arias, and differences in the dialogue, do not apply to *Lizhiji*.² With *WLE* and *NLSE*, *DGE* and *GXE*, the relations are so close that we can put them together for checking, or *duijiao* 对校 (compare different editions of the same book, when there is a dissimilar detail, record it) in Chinese, due to the close publication time period. There are even bigger changes in other editions, which concern some “stable arias”. Such arias exist in the same parts of one act, yet present differences. As for the dialogue, most of the time they only share similar keywords. Compared with popular and classical operas written by the literati class, such as *The Red Chamber* and *The Peony Pavilion*, the changes of *Lizhiji* are extensive. This may be understood as one significant difference between folk opera and traditional literati opera.

In this chapter, I will firstly discuss the textual and plot differences of the extant six editions of *Lizhiji* through two aspects. These aspects are: the main love story and the interwoven story. I will then trace out the alteration found in the concept of love, as well as the changes in the roles of characters in the story, and I will posit possible reasons for changes.

3.2 Example One: “Marriage is something decided by myself” and the Main Love Story

Pre-existing research into the story of *Lizhiji* presented by previous scholars has, for the most part, focused on the relationship between Chen San and Wu Niang, which constitutes the central love story. In terms of the edition, their discussions are mostly aimed at *JJE*, and especially praise Wu Niang’s saying: “*yinyuan youji* 姻缘由己 (Marriage is something

² Shen Xinlin 沈新林, “Zhongguo gudai xiaoshuo xiqu banben zhi bijiao yanjiu 中国古代小说, 戏曲版本之比较研究 [A Comparative Study on the Differences between the Edition Problems of Imperial Chinese Novels and Operas],” *Yangzhou Daxue Xuebao (Renwen Shehui Kexue Ban)* 4 (2006): 32-33.

decided by myself)". For instance, Chen Yaqian argues that Wu Niang shows freedom of thought and equality towards love and marriage. Chen said this thought was weakened purposefully by emphasizing on the erotic personal relationship itself, due to the censorship of the Qing Government.³ Zhao Shanlin and Zhao Tingting point out that the biggest characteristic of *JJE* is the uniqueness of Wu Niang's dramatis personae.⁴ They eulogize Wu Niang's discreet behaviours and commend Chen San for his wisdom and bravery with no regrets. Overall, these opinions are valuable and are good attempts to analyse the story, although this approach is not comprehensive enough and sometimes neglects that such a position may only be extended to *JJE*. Chen Yaqian recognised this problem, realising that the weakness of Zheng's essay is that while Zheng improperly connected all other editions with *JJE*, he did not explore the main storyline in detailed editions.⁵

So how to understand this sentence "Marriage is something decided by myself"? Does this sentence really lead to the corollary that Wu Niang's behavior is fuelled by a spirit of resistance? In the previous discussion regarding the function and value of bibliographical studies, I argued that each edition is independent. Such a conclusion can only show the attitudes of one, or more than one, editor or writer of specific editions, but this is not a conclusion for the story of Chen San and Wu Niang. In fact, this highly valued sentence only existed in two editions: *JJE* and *SZE*. These two editions have a distinct relationship of inheritance with each other regarding this particular act, which is where Wu Niang curses the matchmaker and asks her to take back the betrothal presents.

To discuss whether previous scholars' opinions are really convincing, I would like to show the context where this sentence exists. In the earliest edition that has "marriage is something

³ Chen Yaqian, "*Lijingji de sixiangneihan ji Chensan Wuniang gushi de yanbian*." In Chen's essay, he gives examples of local scholars and government officials forbidding people from playing folk operas in the Qing Dynasty. His explanation of why he believes the changes of content in this story were due to the thought control of the Qing government is not very clear.

⁴ Zhao Shanlin 赵山林, and Zhao Tingting 赵婷婷, "Lun jiajingben *Lijingji* 论嘉靖本《荔镜记》 [A Discussion on the Jiajing Edition *Lijingji*]," *Wenhua Yichan* 4 (2014): 68-80.

⁵ Zheng Guoquan 郑国权, "Chuantong jumu chuilian cheng jingpin de dianfan-luetan liyuan xi chen san wu niang cong chuantongben gaibian cheng xinde yanchuben de yishu chengjing 传统剧目锤炼成精品的典范——略谈梨园戏《陈三五娘》从传统本改编成新的演出本的艺术成就 [A Standard of Traditional Opera Altering to a Classic: A Brief Discussion on the Art Achievements of Liyuan Opera *Chen San Wu Niang*'s Recomposition from a Traditional Version to a New Performative Verition]," *Haixia Liangan Liyuan Xi Xueshu Yantao Hui*, 1998.

decided by myself”, the context is:

Li Po says: Lin Da is a rich guy.

Wu Niang sings: Even though he is rich, I still do not want to marry him.

丑白: 林大官伊也是有钱个人

旦唱: 任伊有钱, 我不愿嫁乞伊

Li Po sings: He is so rich and honourable that who can look down to him?

Wu Niang sings: Being rich and honourable is something decided by heaven.

Li Po says: Being rich and honourable is something decided by heaven, and so is marriage.

Wu Niang sings: Marriage is something decided by myself.

丑唱: 伊人富贵, 谁人值伊?

旦唱: 富贵由天。

丑白: 富贵由天, 姻缘由天。

旦唱: 姻缘由己。

Li Po says: The elder people say that women should get married before the age of 18, if not, they will be pushed down by rocks.

Wu Niang sings: I cannot tolerate such an old bitch. What she said makes no sense.丑

白: 老人说汝娘仔十八(入)客, 不嫁放石压。

旦唱: 叵耐只虔婆, 可见无道理。

The Mother sings: There must be reasons for Wu Niang’s behaviour, she rejected this engagement because she believes that Lin Da is too ugly to be her future husband. She knew this during the Lantern festival and saw Lin Da with her own eyes. Your decision to marry her to Lin Da does not fit her wishes. (Act 14, *JJE*)

丑唱: 五娘切必有跷蹊(嶢崎), 嫌仔婿生得怯视(世)。因看灯, 亲眼看见, 你做事不中仔意。(嘉靖本·第十四齣)

As for *DGE* and *GXE*, the parallel part does not have this sentence, although they have similar meanings:

Li Po sings: Marriage is something decided by heaven, whether good or bad, decided by destiny.

丑唱：姻缘在天，好怯随分。

Li Po sings: He [Lin Da] is so rich and honourable that nobody can match him.

Wu Niang sings: Although he is rich and honourable, I still do not want to marry him. (Act 10, *DGE*)

丑唱：伊人富贵，谁人及伊？

旦唱：任伊富贵，阮不愿嫁乞伊。（道光本·第十齣）

As for the *WLE* and *NLSE*, the conversation goes in another direction. When the matchmaker Li Po stresses that “A good marriage which lasts for one hundred years is produced by heaven”, Wu Niang does not retort with “marriage is something decided by myself” but talks about Lin Da’s shortcomings, other than being just ugly. She comments: “The crazy Lin Da does no good and never helps others with his fortune”, and “He is so rustic”. Wu Niang also adds that if there is *yuanfen* 缘分 (pre-destined love) between her and a poor boy, she would still be willing to marry this boy.

According to the context of *JJE* and *SZE* above, I would like to highlight that Wu Niang pointing out that she is the one who controls her marriage is a retort to Li Po’s words, rather than a “search for freedom among love and marriage”.⁶ Since other editions convey the same meaning without this specific sentence, I believe this to be a subtle coincidence, rather than a deliberate slogan, although the editors’ attitude is reflected in this sentence.

To conclude, the Quanzhou version of the story, represented by *JJE*, has one sentence referring to marriage freedom and independence of spirit. Conversely, the Chaozhou version of the story, represented by *WLE*, does not. However, what needs to be highlighted is that Wu Niang’s behaviour throughout the whole story indicates that she listens to her own heart and can go against her parents’ impositions and hegemony. It is unwise to believe in judgments of

⁶ Another example is in Act 20 of *JJE*, Yi Chun repeated twice that “marriage is something decided by the god” but Wu Niang did not comment or refute her words, which is a clear sign that she is not very concerned about whether marriage is decided by herself or the god.

the “independent spirit” and “marital freedom” simply on the basis of this single sentence, or to arrange all the studies of the story according to this sentence, which exists only at the beginning of the story. It is also difficult to criticize editions that do not contain this sentence for failing to display such spirit and thoughts. In order to have a deeper understanding of this sentence and find out whether the “independent spirit” really exists throughout the whole story, we must analyse Wu Niang’s attitudes towards Chen San and their love.

I cannot fully agree with previous researchers’ conclusions, such as Zhao Shanlin’s descriptions of “prudence”. Zhao praises that Wu Niang is a young lady who uses great prudence when dealing with love. I would thus like to reconsider this topic based on textual comparison of the six editions, and discuss the similarities and differences in the main characters between editions through five aspects. We will discover that this story and the characters are not as simple and lacking in nuance as previous scholars like Chen Yaqian and Zhao Shanlin have suggested, believing that they are under the influence of the era of their production. When we give up the long-accepted, sublimated main idea of this story, we can find slight but significant changes made according to the time, the editors and the audiences of this opera.

3.2.1 “Gentleman Under the Lantern” and “Guanren Downstairs”

The first difference amongst the six editions is Chen San and Wu Niang’s first acquaintance. The story commences with Chen Boqing holding a farewell dinner for his brother. It then follows with Wu Niang appreciating some flowers in the garden. After that, it is the time of the Lantern Festival. Among the six editions, only in *JJE* and *SZE* do we find the plot of Chen San and Wu Niang, who meet under the lantern. In the other four editions, they do not know each other until the sixth month, when Chen San meets Wu Niang, who drops a lychee down from upstairs. This scene can be found in Act 15 of *WLE*, Act 13 of *NLSE*, Act 16 and Act 17 of *DGE* and *GXE*.⁷

⁷ There are two Act 15 in *WLE*, this is the second one. As for Act 16 and 17 of *DGE* and *GXE*, their contents are combined in one act, but the editor listed out the names of two acts before the content.

Act 7 of *JJE*, Act 7 of *WLE*, Act 6 of *NLSE*, Act 4 of *SZE*, Act 5 and 6 of *DGE* as well as *GXE*, are the subplot *dengxia dage* 灯下答歌 (love duet under the lantern). In this plot, Lin Da and his friend Lao Zhuo see Wu Niang during the lantern festival. They are fascinated by her beauty and ask to sing in antiphonal style together with Wu Niang and Li Po. Lin Da falls in love with Wu Niang whilst singing, but Wu Niang dislikes him for his vulgar behaviour and ignorance. Then in four editions, excluding *JJE* and *SZE*, Lin Da goes to Li Po's home and asks her to be the matchmaker. However, in *JJE* and *SZE*, a unique subplot named *shinü tongyou* 士女同游 (the gentleman and the lady hanging out together) exists before the part where Lin Da goes to see Li Po.

In this unique subplot, Chen San and his servant An Tong arrive at Chaozhou on the way to Guangnan 广南 (Southern Guangdong Province). They join the lantern festival and see Wu Niang. In *JJE*, after singing in antiphonal style with Wu Niang, Chen San falls in love with her, and Wu Niang makes a good impression on this decent young man, who is much better than Lin Da. Chen San says:⁸

There are nine girls or ten girls [there are so many girls] but none of them is better than Wu Niang. Her fingers are like jade bamboo shoots crossing each other. Her face is so charming, just like the moon and the flowers. I cannot stand closer to her, but I want to speak out my sincere love to her from beginning to end. (Act 8, *JJE*)

十个九个，不值（踏）五娘仔一倍。玉笋纤纤，真个满面花月。袂得近伊兜，力拙恩爱从头（全头）共伊细说。（嘉靖本·第八齣）

In *SZE*, Chen San only looks at Wu Niang from a distance, but is still obsessed with her beauty, to the extent that even An Tong makes a teasing comment:

Chen San says: How could such a lady have come out of a place like Chaozhou? She is truly like a field full of blooming flowers. Her beauty overthrows states and cities, and

⁸ Act 8, *JJE*.

ranks number one in this world, without equal.

生白：潮州出有障般人物，真是花锦田地，倾国倾城，天下第一无双。

An Tong says: My master Chen San is not sincere at all. When he sees a beautiful young lady, he instantly forgets about the nine beauties he knew before.⁹ (Act 4, *SZE*)

净白：阮三爹即是不志诚，看见一阵娘仔生的好，许腹内都十个上，九个落……（顺治本·第四齣）

It is obvious through this meeting that Chen San and Wu Niang form a good impression of each other in *JJE*. In *SZE*, Chen San falls in love with Wu Niang. In both editions, Chen San gets to know that Wu Niang is the daughter of Huang Jiulang who lives in Hougou 后沟 (Back Valley), which foreshadows him selling himself as a slave to the Huang family later. Moreover, Wu Niang meets a better man who contrasts sharply with Lin Da; this evokes her strong opposition to marrying Lin Da. Things like cursing the matchmaker and wanting to drown herself in a well also result from this contrast. Although at the time she did not know his identity, Wu Niang's infatuation for Chen San is repeated nearly every time she mentions her hatred towards Lin Da and her engagement. It is obvious she was always thinking of him. The "gentleman under the lantern" becomes a symbol for an ideal husband and sweet love.

My dear gentleman under the lantern, I hope we can meet as early as possible! (Act 15, *JJE*)

灯下郎君，早来见面。（嘉靖本·第十五齣）

Since the first acquaintance with my lover under the lantern, every inch of my liver and intestines hurt due to missing him. He left without any traces or shadow, wasting all my

⁹ The exact meaning of shige shang jiuge luo 十个上九个落 is unknown. It could be a sentence describing Chen San being really fascinated by Wu Niang. Chen San's footman An Tong addresses Chen San as San die 三爹 to show his respect. Die 爹 (father) and Ye 爺 (grandfather) are phonetically, semantically and morphologically similar at least in the three Ming Dynasty editions. San 三 (three/third) could be Chen San's ranking of siblings, as we know his original name is Chen Boqing 陈伯卿. Calling somebody by their first name or the ranking of siblings followed by a die or ye was common in the Ming and Qing Dynasties (various examples can be found in both novels and operas). What is more, Wu Niang and Yi Chun sometimes calls Chen San Sange 三哥 (third brother). Ge 哥 (brother) here is a term of endearment, since Chen San is never Wu Niang or Yi Chun's real brother but their/her lover.

lament and feelings. (Act 15, *JJE*)

自灯下见有情，惹我思想肠肝寸痛。伊去在值不见形影，枉割吊（刈吊）费我心情。

（嘉靖本·第十五齣）

I cannot see the gentleman who appreciates lanterns under the lantern. (Act 17, *JJE*)

不见灯下赏灯人。（嘉靖本·第十七齣）

Under a lantern of the Lantern Festival, I saw a gentleman who is so handsome. He appeared again downstairs, I dropped a handkerchief with a lychee inside. (Act 20, *JJE*)

元宵灯下，见一位郎君标致。又来楼前，掞落手帕荔枝。（嘉靖本·第二十齣）

Worship the moon sincerely, and tell it all my feelings with great sorrow. Please grant me a good gentleman to marry, and avoid a bitter feud that disturbs my love. My dear gentleman under the lantern, I hope we can meet as early as possible. I wish we could marry each other and become a sweet couple. (Act 6, *SZE*)

深拜祝太阴，尽将心绪含哀告稟。乞赐好人来结婚亲，免得冤家来相阵。灯下郎君早相见面，爱结好姻亲。（顺治本·第六齣）

An interesting fact to consider is that, although this unique subplot where Chen San and Wu Niang get to know each other in the Lantern Festival does not exist in *DGE* and *GXE*, these two editions inherited the contents of *SZE* and contain similar sentences at the same stage in the subplot. For example, in the later act where Yi Chun leaves the umbrella, Chen San mentions this meeting with joy:

When I arrived at Chaozhou, it was the Lantern Festival in the middle of the lunar month. I felt so lucky that I met Wu Niang. She is like a fallen moon from the sky and makes me lose my mind... I miss Wu Niang day and night! (Act 26, *DGE and GXE*)

来到潮州，又是上元月半。幸然灯下遇见娘子，恰是天上拔落月，精神消散……暝日为你割吊。（道光本光绪本·第二十六齣）

This subplot also sets the stage for Wu Niang choosing to drop the lychee to Chen San from upstairs in the sixth month. The four editions, where this subplot is not present, have different

methods of dealing with the dropping of the lychee. *NLSE* and *WLE* add a unique subplot, set between the time when she drowns herself and the sixth day of the sixth month, during which Wu Niang draws lots in the South Mountain Temple. From the mouth of the abbot, Wu Niang knew that there would be a “gentleman on the horse” on the sixth day of the sixth month:

There will be a gentleman on a horse on the sixth day of the sixth month, who will stop downstairs. Marry him please! (Act 15, *WLE*)

六月初六有一骑马官人，在许楼下站，对伊人结亲成……（万历本·第十五齣）

As for *DGE* and *GXE*, they do not include the subplot about the drawing lots, but do contain the part with the praise of the gentleman downstairs, which reflects Wu Niang’s love for Chen San as “love at first sight”.

He is riding a horse and wearing silk garment. He has a dignified appearance with energetic eyebrows, and looks so smart. (Act 17, *DGE*)

身骑马，穿是罗衣。堂堂相貌眉八字，许人生得也伶俐。（道光本·第十七齣）

In *SZE*, which has the “gentleman under the lantern” subplot, when Wu Niang sees Chen San riding a horse downstairs, she is so excited and says:

When I am looking at the gentleman downstairs, he looks exactly the same as the gentleman under the lantern. (Act 7, *SZE*)

看许楼下郎君，亲像许灯下官人。（顺治本·第七齣）

Wu Niang has the courage to drop the lychee because the two gentlemen look so similar. From this example we can see that *JJE* and *SZE*, especially the former, deal with the main characters’ first meeting the most successfully. At first sight, they form a good impression of each other, at second glance they fall completely in love with each other. In the half year between the Lantern Festival in the first month and the sixth day of the sixth month, their love

becomes deeper. Chen San looks forward to going back to Chaozhou every day whilst sincerely yearning for Wu Niang. Wu Niang, who has succumbed to an inevitable engagement to Lin Da, suffers all kinds of torment every day as she hopes not to have to marry Lin Da, but to marry instead a gentleman like Chen San.

In my opinion, this subplot, kept in *JJE* and *SZE*, is a valuable one. It provides the audience with a deeper understanding of Chen San's sincere love, and explains why Wu Niang hates Lin Da so deeply. Moreover, the time when *sheng* and *dan* appear on stage at the beginning of the opera is balanced by this. In *DGE* and *GXE*, Chen San does not appear from Act 2 until Act 13. However, traditional Chinese operas always stress the importance of balance, demanding equilibrium both in terms of performance and stage arrangement. The timing and number of times the main actors enter on stage should also follow this rule.¹⁰ As an opera with two protagonists, the main plot of *Lizhiji* recounts the emotional development of Chen San and Wu Niang. Given that Chen San does not appear in 12 acts in *DGE* and *GXE*, nearly one third of the whole opera, the quality of performance in these two editions is significantly affected compared to *SZE*.

To conclude, the editors of *JJE* and *SZE* focus more on the emotional involvement of Chen San and Wu Niang. They show more concern for the basis of the relationship of the couple, thus arrange two acquaintances instead of one to act as foreshadowings. Both the effect of the performance and the narrative techniques are comparatively more successful than later editions. This change in subplot arrangements may be understood as a sign of the decline of the significance of the main love story.

3.2.2 Wu Niang: A Gradually Weaker and More Selfish Heroine

The most comprehensive and detailed analysis of Chen San and Wu Niang's love is in Huang Wenjuan's Master dissertation.¹¹ She notices that Wu Niang first asks Chen San

¹⁰ Li Yingbin 李英斌, "Xiqu biaoyan zhongde junheng guilü 戏曲表演中的均衡规律 [The Rule Of Balance In The Performance Of Operas]," *Xiqu Yishu* 3 (1988): 33.

¹¹ Huang Wenjuan, "*Liyuan Xi Chensan Wuniang Jumu Yanjiu*."

questions about his real identity and whether he has a wife at home. Then she finally decides to elope with Chen San. Huang believes that their love grew deeper once a rational marriage contract was established. Chen San and Wu Niang's pursuit of love, in Huang's opinion, reflects the ethical ideas and the morality of townspeople of that era, which was based on self-interest and pursuing secular happiness. As for changes in the characteristics of Wu Niang, Huang stresses that, in the Qing Dynasty's *SZE*, she is more shrewish than in the Ming Dynasty's *JJE*. Along with Huang Wenjuan, Zhao Shanlin's essay also analyses the characteristics of Wu Niang, but the scope of that study is restricted to *JJE*.¹² He states that Wu Niang is an assertive figure of sentimental kindness. Zhao praises Wu Niang as a young lady for using great prudence when dealing with love. Huang's opinion is based on a textual comparison of *JJE*, *WLE* and *SZE*. Zhao's argument is limited to *JJE*. Since we now have six editions altogether, can we discover more about Wu Niang's characteristics? I analysed Wu Niang's attitudes towards Chen San and reconsidered her love, then came up with three different aspects.

Firstly, Wu Niang's love for Chen San is not as deep as we used to think. Her choice to elope is as a result of wanting to escape from a miserable marriage with Lin Da. It may be viewed as her taking advantage of Chen San, who appeared at the right time. Secondly, her way of dealing with Chen San seems more selfish than prudent. Her love for Chen San is not pure enough. Finally, from the Ming to the Qing, Wu Niang becomes weaker and weaker, instead of vixen-like. The following section will expand on this with examples.

3.2.2.1 Love or Manipulation

How to define whether Wu Niang really loves Chen San or is simply using him? In my opinion, we should weigh up the importance of her fiancé Lin Da and her suitor Chen San. That is, it is important to discover whether she refused to marry Lin Da because of her emotions towards Chen San, or because she wanted to reject the engagement and thus accepted Chen

¹² Zhao Shanlin and Zhao Tingting, "Lun Jiajingben *Lijingji*," 69-70.

San. In my opinion, the latter is the main trend of the story present in the different versions. Wu Niang's opinion of Lin Da is negative from the first. She makes many negative comments, even without any in-depth consideration. That is because Lin Da is not the ideal husband she dreams of. From the act that Wu Niang appreciates the flowers (Act 2 of *WLE*, *SZE*, *DGE* and *GXE*; Act 3 of *JJE* and *NLSE*), we are able to deduce her image of an ideal husband. She stresses that she is good at lute-playing, chess, calligraphy, and painting when introducing herself to the audience. She talks in a very educated manner with Lao Zhuo under the lantern, which displays the extent of her own knowledge. In conclusion, she needs an educated husband, a *caizi* 才子 (young gifted scholar) who understands her mind. However, Lin Da is not such a person.

Lin Da is rich, but he is a rogue, a loafer. (Act 5, *SZE*)

林大虽有钱，乃流荡之辈。（顺治本·第五齣）

Li Po comes to ask for an engagement; Wu Niang is so angry that when her mother persuades her to marry Lin Da, she says she would rather die. Such words, in my opinion, show that she is not rejecting her parents' will, but is instead dismissing the idea of marrying Lin Da. As according to her parents' words in Act 11 of *WLE*, they already understand that Wu Niang's revolt is due to Lin Da's ugly appearance. We can imagine that if her parents introduced a handsome *caizi* to Wu Niang, who is so upset, lonely and waiting for love every day, she would probably not decline. Her words on this engagement are difficult to enhance into slogans for freedom against coercion. Although she stresses many times that the only love standard for her is *yuanfen*, she never explains what kind of *yuanfen* she wants; after all, singing together with Lin Da is also *yuanfen*. Jumping into the well is another sign of her resistance against the marriage to Lin Da. The sign of such an utter detestation also exists in many acts afterwards:

If I marry into Lin's family, I would like to die and be reincarnated later. The rude Lin Da really makes all my thoughts in vain. (Act 15, *JJE*)

五娘若嫁林厝，死去再出世。无状林大，枉屈费心机。（嘉靖本·第十五齣）

I should not waste all my thoughts in vain on the rude Lin Da! A good *yuanfen* needs to wait for a long time.

无状林大，莫枉寻思，好缘分须着待久。（嘉靖本·第二十齣）

I resent Lin Da the hooligan so much and hope he dies soon. (Act 26, *JJE*)

懊恨丁古林大，早死无命。（嘉靖本·第二十六齣）

The turtle dove occupies nests made by the bramble finch, I should not waste all my thoughts in vain on the rude Lin Da!

燕雀为巢鸠占居，无状林大枉寻思。（嘉靖本·第二十七齣）

A single phoenix will never be the companion of a parrot, just like me and Lin Da [who will never be companions]. I do not have a better one to match with, and this makes me feel helpless. (Act 17, *NLSE*)

孤鸾共鸚鵡不是伴，亲像我对许丁古林大，无好头对，实无奈何。（苏格兰藏本·第十七齣）

If I really need to marry Lin Da, I would rather die. (Act 20, *NLSE*)

使我对许林大情愿死。（苏格兰藏本·第二十齣）

Clouded by such hatred towards Lin Da, Chen San appears in time and Wu Niang turns to him, accepts his love and agrees to elope. What I want to stress is that even when they start their relationship, what Wu Niang cares about most is not Chen San and his feelings, but her engagement to Lin Da. Therefore she uses Chen San to avoid her engagement, and that is why she repeatedly needs to check with Chen San on how to deal with Lin Da.

Hopefully we burn joss sticks and have a mantra today, on the way we will never be afraid of Lin Da! (Act 33, *JJE*)

但愿当天烧香下纸，路上去畏也林大。（嘉靖本·第三十三齣）

The Lin family asks Li Po to come pick me up for the wedding in such a hurry, what should we do now? (Act 29, *NLSE*)

林厝使李婆来讨亲，向紧今佐年好。（苏格兰藏本·第二十九齣）

To conclude, Wu Niang's elopement with Chen San is never simply due to love. Her engagement with and hatred towards Lin Da are important influencing factors. Therefore, Wu Niang's feelings towards Chen San are motivated by a desire to "use" him, rather than love. My next point of analysis is the prudent behavior of Wu Niang, which provides further evidence for this conclusion.

3.2.2.2 Prudent or Selfish

After Chen San disguises himself as a mirror polisher and sells himself as a servant to the Huang family, he cannot wait to meet Wu Niang and show her his love. He wants to have the chance to tell Wu Niang that he is the gentleman under the lantern, the gentleman downstairs, as well as the gentleman on the horse. However, Wu Niang continues to disbelieve him and keeps wondering if his words are genuine, even though Yi Chun has already told her about Chen San's identity. Zhao Shanlin describes Wu Niang's behaviour as prudent, which in my opinion is not accurate. We must pay attention to the fact that Chen San explains his identity and expresses his sincere love for Wu Niang, but is rejected six times in the whole story.

The first time is when Chen San is sweeping in the house. According to their content, the six editions can be classified into three kinds. The first kind is *JJE*. In *JJE*, Chen San stands close to Wu Niang's bedroom and starts singing when he recognizes Wu Niang is inside. In his aria, he explains that he is not a mirror polisher but he comes from a rich and honorable family, and mentions the lychee he got on the sixth day of the sixth month from Wu Niang. Wu Niang becomes angry, curses him as a rogue from Quanzhou and asks Yi Chun to come to drive Chen San away. Chen San thus explains his identity and emotions to Yi Chun, in the hope that she can help him. Yi Chun is half persuaded and half in doubt. The second edition grouping is *WLE* and the three Qing Dynasty editions. In these editions Chen San does not see Wu Niang when sweeping the floor, but has a similar conversation with Yi Chun. Yi Chun believes him and agrees to arrange for him to hold the water basin, in order to promote emotional involvement between Chen San and Wu Niang. The third kind is *NLSE*, similar to the second kind, but it

also contains some additional conventional tomfoolery performed by Xiao Qi and Chen San.

The second time is when Chen San is holding the water basin. The exact content of the six editions is not the same, but Wu Niang's attitude is constant in all of them. Chen San replaces Yi Chun in holding the basin and Wu Niang curses him as a *zeinu* 贼奴 (cunning slave), even though she has already realised that Chen San and the gentleman on the horse are the same person. Then she splashes the water from the basin towards Chen San. When Chen San, who is so excited to see his goddess so close to him, gets wet all over, he immediately argues that "That *zeinu* you were just talking about is in fact a *guanren*, is the gentleman on the horse!" Wu Niang replies with "I am afraid of people who look alike in this world!" Yi Chun then reveals Chen San's identity to Wu Niang. Wu Niang is still hesitant because she is afraid that "it is difficult to distinguish jade and rock". In this moment, Wu Niang admits that Chen San is probably the gentleman on the horse, but continues to worry about Chen San's identity. Is he really from a rich and honourable family? Is he really a *guanjia zidi* 官家子弟 (a member of a family that has bred public officials for several generations)?

The third time is when Wu Niang appreciates the flowers in the garden and sighs under the moon. In the three Qing Dynasty editions, Wu Niang is finally convinced of Chen San's identity with the help of Yi Chun, but is still uncertain about Chen San's real thoughts, although Chen San sold himself to her family.

A sweet marriage that can last for one hundred years is never a compromise. Chen San looks so anxious but his heart is not fully settled... If I love him and I am ready to marry him, I must consider whether his behaviour is correct. (Act 16, *SZE*)

百年姻缘亦都不是苟且。伊虽忧心，力伊心腹天句未定.....爱卜共伊人结发，必须着斟酌伊人行止端正。(顺治本·第十二齣)

But in *SZE*, Wu Niang seems to have some self-consciousness. She says:

By looking at him becoming a servant and suffering a lot, my heart is so hurt, just as if a knife stabbed it. (Act 13, *SZE*)

看伊人为奴受气，阮心恰是如刀刺。（顺治本·第十三齣）

This sentence reflects her love towards Chen San to some extent, but she still wants to examine his behaviour.

As for the Ming Dynasty editions, the situation is more complex. In *JJE*, Chen San introduces his family members besides the yard wall, saying that his uncle is the prefecture chief of Xichuan 西川 and his elder brother is the Forwarding Magistrate of Guangnan. However, Wu Niang does not believe him and still regards him as a servant. She warns Chen San that:

The servant should never lust after his master, this is recorded in the law. (Act 24, *JJE*)
 奴不乱主，律有明条。（嘉靖本·第二十四齣）

These words really upset Chen San until Yi Chun comes to cheer him up. He is so disappointed as he cries:

People say, people say that if there is *yuanfen*, lovers eventually meet each other even if they are one thousand miles away. I contrived, I contrived to come here but I never imagined she would like to take chances and that she would lack proper behaviour! I am unhappy about my sad fate without anyone I can rely on. My lament lasts from day to night and makes my head seldom look up! (A Gesture) My destined love, my destined love! Why is my life so bitter? When I die and get to the underworld, my sorrowful ghost will surround you! I have already learnt to polish the mirror, and hold the basin as a *guanyinrenzier*, looking forward to marry you. How could I know you would act improperly just like this? I just want to ask, when will you wake up and tolerate such bad anger? (Act 24, *JJE*)¹³

人说，人说有缘千里终相见，设计，设计即来到只，谁料饶心无行止。我自怨一场无依倚，冥日怨切头举不起。（介）冤家，冤家，因乜障苦？死到阴司，冤魂卜来共

¹³ *Guanyinrenzier* 官荫人子儿 is the same as *guanyinzier* 官荫子儿, which means a young man who is guaranteed a certain level of court job as a descendant of government officials.

你相缠……即学磨镜做奴婢。我是官荫人仔儿，捧盆扫厝望结连理。谁知障般无行止，我不谋伊亲醒，肯受障般恶气。（嘉靖本·第二十四齣）

As for *WLE* and *NLSE*, Yi Chun is not as kind as in *JJE*. When Chen San asks her about Wu Niang's attitudes towards him, Yi Chun conveys that:

She said she is a precious lady staying in her boudoir. She will never be willing to marry a servant like you. (Act 20, *WLE*)

说伊是闺房女千金身在肯匹配赧奴婢。（万历本·第二十齣）

These sentences show that both Wu Niang and Yi Chun care so much about identity and class differences. Moreover, Wu Niang asks Chen San why he does not become a government official, given that he studies Confucian classics. All the above indicates that Wu Niang not only cares about Chen San's family background and identity, she also wants him to be a government official. She does not feel a pure love for Chen San, neither does she fall in love with him just because of his appearance. She hesitates so many times and schemes against Chen San. Huang Wenjuan's analysis, as far as I can see, is reasonable.

The fourth time is when Chen San feels lovesick and Wu Niang reveals her feelings to the moon. Wu Niang, who already at this stage, believes in Chen San, continues her examination and looks coldly from the sidelines at Chen San's lovesickness. For example, in *NLSE*, when Yi Chun asks her when her love will finally settle down, she is extremely cold:

Let him get tired of this lovesickness and ruin his health, only then will I save him, which I think is not too late. (Act 20, *NLSE*)

气到伊人相思病损，许时救伊未迟。（苏格兰藏本·第二十齣）

The fifth time is when Wu Niang is embroidering. At that time, An Tong comes to find Chen San. Chen San is downhearted and dispirited, thus he decides to say goodbye to Wu Niang and leave for home. Wu Niang, astonishingly, plans to curse him again when he says goodbye.

When they meet each other, Chen San recalls the two acquaintances under the lantern and downstairs and explains why he was disguised as a mirror polisher. He also informs her about his tears from the toil of sweeping the floor and holding the basin. In all six editions, Wu Niang denies the existence of these memories, even though Yi Chun admonishes her and asks her not be so heartless:

These past things, I do not want to remember them at all. (Act 26, *JJE*)

过去事志，谁人卜记。（嘉靖本·第二十六齣）

Finally, perhaps because Chen San provides some more detailed information about his family, including location, fortune and family members, and he also swears that he has never had a wife before, Wu Niang agrees to start a relationship with him. After that, it is Yi Chun declining the date, which is the sixth time.

The concept of “not doing anything more than three times” is prevalent in Chinese culture. Compared with other operas and stories, a significant feature of *Lizhiji* are these six tests on his identity and his love for her. I would prefer to describe Wu Niang as a selfish and “improperly behaved” pragmatic figure, rather than a lady acting with justified prudence. She cares more about Chen San’s identity, since at first she rejects Chen San because he is a servant and she is the mistress. Her love for Chen San is to some extent pragmatic.

3.2.2.3 A Weaker Wu Niang

Finally, I will discuss why I believe that the character of Wu Niang becomes weaker and less shrewish between the end of the Ming and the early years of the Qing Dynasties. This contradicts Huang Wenjuan’s conclusion that Wu Niang becomes feistier as time passes by in the early *JJE*—we can only find words that Wu Niang uses to curse Chen San. In *WLE* and *NLSE*, there is a balance between Wu Niang cursing Chen San and Chen San complaining about Wu Niang. In the three Qing Dynasty editions, Wu Niang not only starts to care about Chen San’s family situation, but also explains why she cursed Chen San, which never happened

in the Ming editions:

Chen San says: You already know (about my identity and my love), why did you curse me?

Wu Niang says: I cursed you in order to conceal our involvement from my parents.

Chen San says: I never knew about this before and suffered a lot.

Wu Niang says: My love, you say so now, my heart and liver are so aching! (Act 16, *SZE*)

生白：既知，为何骂小人做乜？

旦白：阮骂你，那是瞒阮妈共爹。

生白：小人不知，越自受苦。

旦白：我君你今障说，我只心肝越疼。（顺治本·第十六齣）

I thus deduce that the editor's perspective changes from being in favour of Wu Niang initially, to Chen San later. The editors of the Qing editions probably could not tolerate such a heroine who behaves improperly and loves cursing people. I want to explain this by conducting a statistical analysis of the number of times Wu Niang curses people before her eloping.

Edition	The act of cursing and reasons of cursing	times
<i>JJE</i>	Act 13 (Wu Niang curses Li Po because she wants her to marry Lin Da) Act 14 (Wu Niang curses Li Po because she wants her to marry Lin Da) Act 21 (Wu Niang asks Yi Chun to curse Chen San because Chen San comes to see her) Act 22 (Wu Niang curses Chen San because he goes to her bedroom) Act 24 (Wu Niang curses Yi Chun because she cannot love Chen San as her parents accepted Lin Da's betrothal presents) Act 24 (Wu Niang curses Chen San because he forgets to water the flowers) Act 26 (Wu Niang curses Yi Chun because she helped Chen San to deliver the love letter) Act 26 (Wu Niang curses Chen San because he writes a love letter to her)	8
<i>WLE</i>	Act 10 (Wu Niang curses Li Po because she wants her to marry Lin Da) Act 20 (Wu Niang curses Yi Chun because she said wrong words) Act 24 (Wu Niang curses Chen San because he writes a love letter to her)	3
<i>NLSE</i>	Act 10 (Wu Niang curses Li Po because she wants her to marry Lin Da) Act 20 (Wu Niang curses Yi Chun because she said wrong words) Act 24 (Wu Niang curses Chen San because he writes a love letter to her)	3

<i>SZE</i>	Act 5 (Wu Niang curses Li Po because she wants her to marry Lin Da) Act 16 (Wu Niang curses Yi Chun because she helped Chen San)	2
<i>DGE</i>	Act 10 (Wu Niang curses Li Po because she wants her to marry Lin Da) Act 24 (Wu Niang asks Yi Chun to curse Chen San because she does not want to have a secret love affair with him)	2
<i>GXE</i>	Act 10 (Wu Niang curses Li Po because she wants her to marry Lin Da) Act 24 (Wu Niang asks Yi Chun to curse Chen San because she does not want to have a secret love affair with him)	2

From the table above, if we use the number of times that Wu Niang curses people as a quantitative standard to classify her characteristics, the result is clear. From *JJE* to *GXE*, the numbers go down - she uses fewer unreasonable and repeated curses. The two remaining incidents make sense. One is a curse towards Li Po for her having acted as the matchmaker for Lin Da. Another time is when she persuades herself, as well as Yi Chun, that since her parents accepted the betrothal presents from Lin Da, this marriage is unavoidable. The editors of the Qing Dynasty stripped away the unreasonable parts of this opera, keeping only the reasonable and easy-to-understand curses, gradually weakening Wu Niang's impulsive tempers.

To conclude, from Wu Niang's attitudes towards Chen San, she is not the commonly accepted figure with unhesitating, pure love and prudent thoughts. Conversely, she may be understood as a selfish lady who takes advantage of Chen San for her own benefit.¹⁴ Her character becomes weaker over time.

3.2.3 Chen San: A Gradually Stronger Hero, but Unworthy of the Title Caizi

Compared with research into Wu Niang, there are fewer studies on the image and characteristics of Chen San. Zhao Shanlin says that Chen San in *JJE* is "a perfect match for Wu Niang". He stresses that Chen San is an amorous man who is eager to devote himself to

¹⁴ Wu Niang's characteristics have changed as the subplots altered throughout the six editions, but some changes only exist in two or three editions, which makes it difficult to figure out a consistent trend. Thus, I do not list them in the main text, although they may be of importance. For example, the subplot "Wu Niang visits the jail" (act 40 of *WLE* and act 39 of *NLSE*). The prison guard deceives her into thinking that Chen San has already died. Wu Niang in *WLE* is very smart. She asks Yi Chun, who is shocked at this news, to calm down and starts to pay bribes to the guard. While in *NLSE* Wu Niang listens to the guard's lie and says: "How sad! My dear Sange!" Through this example I show how characteristics changed even in a very short time. One more thing to be mentioned is that only *WLE* and *NLSE* have this subplot "guard lies to Wu Niang".

love, and still willing to love even after being tortured and exiled.¹⁵ Huang Wenjuan's study refers to more editions. She points out that in *JJE*, Chen San is a student chasing for glory and fame, but this image changed in *WLE*, *SZE* and *GXE*. In the later three editions, Chen San does not care much about studying, glory or fame, but focuses his efforts on finding love.¹⁶ Tu Xiuhong notices that in contrast to *WLE*, in which Chen San depends more on Yi Chun's help, in *JJE* Chen San shows more initiative when pursuing love.¹⁷ Zhang Geng and Guo Hancheng offer what might be considered a Marxist form of praise, saying that Chen San is a fighter for marital freedom instead of a well-mannered *caizi* 才子 (gifted scholar).¹⁸ Although these studies highlight some important features of Chen San's character, they are not sufficiently comprehensive enough. Most examples come from *JJE* and *WLE*, and there is scant mention of the love affair between Chen San and Yi Chun, to say nothing of the relationship between Lin Da, Xiao Qi and Chen San. Most conclusions on Chen San's image are shallow and merit further expansion.

Discussions of Yi Chun, in addition to analysis of the relationship between Yi Chun and Chen San will come later. In this section, I will discuss Chen San's image, his characteristics, attitude towards Wu Niang, and their love. Unlike Wu Niang's image, which has a clear trajectory of change through the Ming to the Qing Dynasty, Chen San's image remains stable, with only some slight alterations. When the shell of the stereotyped *caizi* is broken, a more real, vivid and interesting Chen San emerges.

3.2.3.1 Is Chen San a Typical Caizi?

I would like to discuss Chen San's image, especially his general cultural level first. Huang Wenjuan, who mentioned this topic, uses Chen San's aria from *JJE* as an example:

¹⁵ Zhao Shanlin and Zhao Tingting, "Lun Jiajingben *Lijingji*".

¹⁶ Huang Wenjuan, "*Liyuan Xi Chensan Wuniang Jumu Yanjiu*".

¹⁷ Tu Xiuhong, "Jiajing ben *Lijingji* yu wanli ben *Lizhiji*-chensan wuniang gushi jingdian wenben de duibi yu fenxi".

¹⁸ Zhang Geng and Guo Hancheng, *Zhongguo Xiqu Tongshi*, 610.

Studying Confucianism requires the cherishing of every second of time, I will [study hard] without rest and abstain from dissolute activities. Now I will offer my advice [to the emperor] and go to the dragon gate.¹⁹ I do not believe that there is no way to enter the government [become a government official].²⁰ (Act 1, *JJE*)

圣学功夫惜寸阴，且将无逸戒荒淫。从今献策龙门去，不信无媒魏阙深。（嘉靖本·第一齣）

Huang Wenjuan thus describes Chen San as a young scholar who regards study and *gongming* 功名 (scholarly honour or official rank in feudal times) as the most important thing. She then uses Chen San's first aria and self-introduction in *SZE* and *GXE* to show how he has changed, displaying less interest in *gongming*:

Chen San sings: I am a son of a honourable family, nobody is comparable to me in terms of wealth. I covet flowers and the moon, I am in no mood for pursuing fame and gain. I especially love to play games and have fun! (Act 1, *SZE*)²¹

生唱：府地仔儿，论富贵是实无比。贪花月无心求名利，专爱得桃游戏。（顺治本·第一齣）

Chen San sings: My family has produced public officials for successive generations, no other families can compare with us when talking about aristocratic clans. People who study

¹⁹ Longmen 龙门 (the dragon gate) is an ancient image in China. *Taiping Guangji* 太平广记 [*Extensive Records of the Taiping Era*], published in the Song Dynasty, quotes a message from *Sanqin Ji* 三秦记 [*Legend of Shaanxi*] from the Han Dynasty that a carp jumps over the Dragon Gate on the Yellow River and then turns into a dragon. This imagery was soon used by people in the Tang Dynasty to refer to scholars who pass the imperial examinations and become government officials.

²⁰ A similar poem can be found in another Ming Dynasty opera *Yumei Ji* 玉玦记 [*Legend of the Jade Pendant*]. The poem is: 圣学功夫惜寸阴，且从无逸戒荒淫。从今献赋甘泉去，不信无媒魏阙深 (see Zhang Peiheng 章培恒, *Siku Jiancang Liushi Zhong Qu* 四库家藏六十种曲 [*The Sixty Operas of the Siku Jiancang Edition*] (repr., Jinan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2004).) “从今献赋甘泉去” uses another allusion of Yang Xiong 杨雄 from the Han Dynasty. Yang submitted a *fu* 赋 (poetic exposition) style poem named “Ganquan Fu 甘泉赋 [*Fu of the Sweet Spring*]” to the emperor and became a government official. The origin of that last sentence of this poem should be a poem “Song Zhang Yi Xiadi 送章彝下第 [Sending Zhang Yi to the imperial examinations]” by the Tang Dynasty's poet Di Wuqian 綦毋潜 (n.d.): 献赋温泉毕，无媒魏阙深. I personally believe that this poem was a kind of idiom in the Ming Dynasty; it was used by many operas of that time.

²¹ *Fengyue* 风月 (wind and moon), as well as *huayue* 花月 (flowers and moon), refer to erotic and romantic affairs in imperial China. The “playing games” in these sentences also means things related to love and eroticism.

Confucianism always want to climb cassia trees and orange trees, but I know the god decides the two words “honour” and “rank”.²² I haven’t become a dragon, nor have I ridden a phoenix, [but still] have fun [all the day] with the wind and the moon.²³

生唱：簪缨继世，论阔阔独震当时。读书总爱攀桂桔，功名二字都由天。虽未得成龙跨凤，且趁风月游戏。

Chen San says: So much fame and gain causes people to love them in vain, and makes them not have time to drink wine in a delighted mood. Wealth and honour are not what I want. Snatching a moment of leisure and enjoying flowers and moon make me happy. (Act 1, *DGE*)

生白：名利分分枉世恋，人生莫得放杯宽。荣华富贵非吾愿，偷闲花月却相欢。（道光本·第一齣）

I agree with her analysis on *SZE*, *DGE* and *GXE*. This is because these sentences imply no interest in honour and fame, playing the role of *dingchang* 定场 (set up the stage), which exactly shows the initial features of the character.²⁴ Li Yu 李渔 says in *Xianqing Ouji* 闲情偶寄 (*Sketches of Idle Pleasure*, a work which contains the earliest discussion of opera theory in Chinese literature):

Act 2 is called *chongchang* 冲场 (rush onto the stage)... There must be a long aria as the *yinzi* 引子 (introduction to the act), followed by a *shi* or *ci* poem or some rhymed sentences in four or six characters, which is called *dingchangbai* 定场白 (speech that set up the stage)... [This *dingchangbai*] must speak to all of the hero’s thoughts and include

²² Cassias and oranges are fruits of autumn, which is also the time when the results of the imperial examinations were released. Thus here “climb cassia tree and orange tree” refers to the success in the test. See Dong Lina 董丽娜, “*Zhongguo Wenxue Zhongde Guihua Yixiang Yanjiu* 中国文学中的桂花意象研究 [*A Research on The Illusion of Guihua in Chinese Literature*],” (MA diss., Nanjing Normal University, 2006).

²³ *Chenglong kuafeng* 成龙跨凤 (become a dragon, ride a phoenix) means a man had passed the imperial examination.

²⁴ All the six editions of *Lizhiji*, especially the three Ming Dynasty editions, do not exactly follow the strict formation and style of the standard *chuanqi* or *zaju*, since they are not the works of high-level scholars and were published earlier than most (mature) *chuanqi* and *zaju*. Among all the editions, only *JJE* and *WLE* (and perhaps *NLSE*) have the proper *kaichangci* 开场词 (opening scene). For the three Qing Dynasty editions, Act 1 is equivalent to Act 2 of the Ming Dynasty editions. Thus, I regard the first aria or poem of their Act 1 as a *dingchang* poem.

all his characteristics in a very few sentences.²⁵

开场第二折，谓之”冲场”……必用一悠长引子，引子唱完，继以诗词及四六排语，”谓之”定场白”……务以聊聊数言，道尽本人一腔心事，又且酝酿全部精神。

However, she does not provide any more examples other than the above. I will expand her method of analysis, picking out the *dingchang* poem of *JJE* and *WLE*:

Gorgeous horse with golden saddle, come and go surrounded by relatives; this is the time for a scholar to show off. (Act 1, *JJE*)

宝马金鞍，诸亲迎送，今旦即显读书人。（嘉靖本·第一齣）

I am a son of a honourable family, nobody is comparable to me in terms of wealth and knowledge. I covet flowers and moon, in no mood of pursuing fame and gain. I do not want to be a government official, but love especially to play games and have fun! (Act 1, *WLE*)

府弟子儿，论富贵诗书无比。贪风月逢花酒未曾中意，官不愿做，心内专要得桃游戏。（万历本·第一齣）

Although Act 2 of *NLSE* is not complete, given the close relationship between this edition and *WLE*, as well as the sentences left, it is safe to assume a similarity:

... [in no] mood [for pursuing fame and gain]. I do not want to be a government official, but especially love to play games and have fun. (Act 2, *NLSE*)

……意，官不愿做，心内专爱乞桃游戏。（苏格兰藏本·第二齣）

In *JJE*, besides the *dingchang* poem, there are also other examples that show Chen San's, or

²⁵ Li Yu 李渔, *Xianqing Ouji* 闲情偶记 [*Sketches of Idle Pleasure*], Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 61. This is the 3rd publication from a series of publications named *Liyu Quanji* 李渔全集 [*Collected Works of Li Yu*]. This sentence is from *chongchang* of Section 6 *Geju* 格局 [*Composition*] of Vol.3 *Ciqu Bu* 词曲部 [Department of arias and music].

more probably the editor's, eagerness to take the examination and gain wealth. For example:

Chen San's brother and Chen San sing together: No others can compare our wealth, [our] horses have five-petal-shaped forelocks, the flying hooves produce noise for people's ears. White horse with golden saddle, so many officers waiting for me. Golden seals, silver arrows and golden boards, presuming that studying is better than anything else. Once your name is shown on the published list of successful examination candidates, everybody in this world will know you. (Act 4, *JJE*)

外生合唱：富贵是无比，五花头踏马前噪人耳。白马金鞍，等接官员都佃。金印银簇带金牌，算来读书强别事。金榜挂名，天下人都知。（嘉靖本·第四齣）

The envoy says: Wealth and glory must come from hard work. Every male should read five carts of books...The whole family is rich but different from before, [because now I am] wearing the government's green uniform with golden belt on my waist.²⁶ (Act 54, *JJE*)

末白：富贵必从勤苦得，男儿须读五车书。……合家富贵不如常，腰头金带绿公裳。（嘉靖本·第五十四齣）

However, even in *JJE*, it is clear that most of the time Chen San wants Wu Niang more than he wants wealth and fame.

Yi Chun says: You said that [your family is] rich and you read books and learn poems, so why do you come to our home instead of chasing for a position in the government?

Chen San says: It would be very easy if I want an official position. [I came to your home because] what I want is only to marry your lady [Wu Niang]. (Act 24, *JJE*)

贴白：说你富贵读书诗，不去求官，来伊家佐也？

²⁶ In Act 1 of *DGE* and *GXE*, Chen San's brother has another sentence: 诗书不负男儿志，金榜标明实罕稀 (Only studying will not let down a man's aspiration. It is so precious to have your name on the golden board on which are passers of the examination). However I think this sentence belongs to Chen San's brother and cannot be regarded as a description of Chen San's attitude.

生白：爱求官，都容易，一心贪共恁娘仔结连理。（嘉靖本·第二十四齣）

Only in *JJE* do we see Chen San, or the editor, being unable to “control” himself in showing his yearning for success in the examination. Given that *JJE* is an individual edition (as I detailed in Chapter 2), I tend to believe that this change is not a variation that happened over time, but a uniquely independent action executed by the editor of *JJE*. In other editions and in the longer history of this story, Chen San consistently shows his disinterest in chasing success in the examination. He always stresses his love for game-playing and indicates an appreciation for flowers and the moon.²⁷

Huang Wenjuan does not use other information to further her opinion on Chen San’s figure and other researchers have not engaged in in-depth discussions on this topic to date. In this section, I will discuss Chen San’s characteristics through three aspects which no other studies have mentioned before: Chen San’s cultural level, his identity, and the relationship between Xiao Qi and Chen San.

When talking about Chen San’s cultural level, most researchers use the term *shusheng* 书生 (scholar/intellectual of basic level). There is no doubt that Chen San is literate; yet we must ask, what is the exact level of his knowledge? This is a question worth discussing because one of the reasons why Wu Niang does not want to marry Lin Da is that he is ill-educated and incapable. This means that cultural level is a crucial factor for Wu Niang when she considers what she wants in a husband. Wu Niang describes herself thus:

Lute-playing, chess, calligraphy and painting: I know them all. (Act 3, *JJE*; Act 3, *NLSE*; Act 2, *DGE*)

琴棋书画，诸般都晓。（嘉靖本·第三齣）

琴棋书画，亦略暗晓。（苏格兰藏本·第三齣）

琴棋书画，尽都谙晓。（道光本·第二齣）

²⁷ Although in the other five editions, the final poem of this act has one sentence: 世上万般皆下品，思量唯有读书高 (All the things in this world are unworthy. Thinking carefully then I found the best thing is studying). I believe this is a general description of that era, but not of Chen San’s own thoughts.

In every version of the story, Chen San holds a farewell dinner for his brother. Chen San asks An Tong to go back home and send the love token. This best embodies Chen San's cultural acumen, in my opinion. When Chen San holds the dinner, his soliloquy, as well as his brother's and sister-in-law's exhortations, show that Chen San is a typical Confucian scholar who knows much about etiquette and is still learning:

Chen San says: Dear brother, you do not see that our ancestors say: “[We should be] *Xiao* 孝 (Being good to parents and ancestors) when serving one's parents, [we should be] loyal when serving one's lord. If we serve our parents, we cannot serve our lord. If we serve our lord, we cannot serve our parents.” Our parents are [still alive] at home; as your younger brother I will serve them well. You do not need to worry about this.²⁸ (Act 2, *JJE*)

生白：哥哥不见古人说：“孝于事亲，忠于事君。尽忠不能尽孝，尽孝不能尽忠。”爹妈在堂，小弟须当伏事，哥哥不必得念。（嘉靖本·第二齣）

Chen San's brother says: I ask you to manage our family's field and estate. You need to work hard when studying. You need to serve our ancestors [and parents]. (Act 1, *WLE*)

外白：家后田地付你管理，诗书需用心，先人当奉侍。（万历本·第一齣）

Chen San's brother's wife says: These two nice brothers, the elder one will be the officer of southern Guangdong, the younger one studies poems and etiquette. (Act 1, *WLE*)

夫白：二位好兄弟，兄今任广南，弟又习诗礼。（万历本·第一齣）

Chen San's brother says: You need to work hard when studying. You need to serve our parents. (Act 1, *SZE*)

外白：诗书需用意，爹妈当着奉侍。（顺治本·第一齣）

Then let us move to the moment in the plot when Chen San asks An Tong to go back home. Chen San decides to stay at Chaozhou at Brother Li's home to learn how to polish the mirror. He finds some excuses and lets An Tong send this oral message. It must be noted that *JJE* does

²⁸ The tale that Chen San quotes is based on a sentence from Chapter 1 of *Xiaojing* 孝经 (*Classic of Filial Piety*). This is a must-read classic of Confucianism.

not have this plot.²⁹

My footman, I ask you to go back home first and tell my mother that I am staying at Chaozhou in order to study. I will make the return journey in the eleventh month. (Act 16, *WLE*)

家童，我发你先回去对老太婆说叫三舍歇在潮州读书，回程必着冬月……（万历本·第十六齣）

My footman, you now go back home first and pay respect to my mother. Tell her that I am studying in Chaozhou. My return time will be in the eleventh month. (Act 14, *NLSE*)

家童，尔先返去拜上太婆，说叫三舍在潮州读书，回程必在冬月……（苏格兰藏本·第十四齣）

You come back home first, and tell my father that there is a friend in Chaozhou who has asked me to stay to study. Please give me some time [to study] then I will come back. (Act 8, *SZE*)

你先返去，共太老爹说叫潮州有朋友招我读书，宽几时我这就来。（顺治本·第八齣）

Tell my father that a friend from Chaozhou asks me to stay for study. Please give [me] some time then I will come back. (Act 18, *DGE*)

共老爹说叫潮州朋友招我读书，宽几时即返来。（道光本·第十八齣）

The excuse Chen San uses is “studying in Chaozhou”. Given that Chaozhou had many developed *shuyuan* 书院 (Confucian schools) from the Song to the Ming Dynasties, this excuse would be very believable.³⁰ It also shows that Chen San is still studying and his parents are already used to such tours of study.

The love token that Chen San uses is also significant, as is the way he shows his love. This

²⁹ In fact, one logical problem of *JJE* is that the editor did not include where An Tong is going after Chen San has learned mirror polishing. In Act 25, An Tong appears again in the plot when he goes to the Huang family to find Chen San. This may be due to the editor’s carelessness.

³⁰ The situation of *shuyuan* in Chaozhou, see Chen Zefang 陈泽芳, “Cong difangzhi shiliao tan Chaozhou shuyuan jiaoyu yu wenhua 从地方志史料谈潮州书院教育与文化 [Discuss the Education and Culture of Chaozhou Schools Based on the Local Annals and Historical Materials],” *Zhongguo Difang Zhi* 8 (2010): 57-59. According to Chen Zefang, there are three *shuyuan* in the Song Dynasty in Chaozhou, one in the Yuan Dynasty, 21 in the Ming Dynasty. It is clear that Chaozhou was a centre of knowledge and study during this time.

plot only exists in the three Ming Dynasty editions.³¹ Among them, *JJE* is particular in that in this version, Chen San writes a love letter to Wu Niang. Despite the fact that he jumps over the wall to send this letter, this is a very artistic way to show his love:

I write a love letter and want to [send it] over the wall, but I do not know what Wu Niang's attitude [towards me] is. Now I will jump over the wall. I cherish the flower and want [to smell] the fragrance of flowers. I love the colour of the flower and step close to the flower. [He jumps] I am not afraid of a mountain that is three thousand metres high. How can I be afraid of a wall that is only several metres high?³² (Act 24, *JJE*)

我写有一封书，卜去过墙去，未知娘仔意中如何？我今不免跳过墙去。正是：惜花爱卜花香味，好色移步近花边。（生跳）千仞之山，尚不足畏；数仞之墙，何足道哉！）（嘉靖本·二十四齣）

Chen San jumps over the wall and then sees Wu Niang. The two use the flower as a metaphor and start a dispute when Chen San challenges Wu Niang and nearly wins the debate. Wu Niang is amazed and asks him whether he studied before, since such discussion is something an ordinary illiterate servant could never do:

Chen San says: You only cherish the flower when it is withered, but not when it is blooming with lovely color. While this may have the appearance of loving flowers, in reality it is not so.

Wu Niang says: Chen San, where did you learn these two sentences?

Chen San says: When I was at home, I [did nothing but] study. (Act 24, *JJE*)

生白：许花娇姿润色之时都不惜，等到谢了即来惜。只是空有爱花之名，而无爱花

³¹ These plots: Chen San's lovesickness, followed by Yi Chun coming to see him and writing the letter/drawing a painting, are from Act 25 of *JJE*, Act 21 of *WLE* and Act 21 of *NLSE*. The three Qing Dynasty editions lost these plots and are directly followed by An Tong coming to find Chen San. However, these plots are the background of why Yi Chun declines the date, and explain why Wu Niang and Yi Chun discuss in the previous act that they want to use this sickness to test Chen San's heart.

³² *Ren* 仞 equals to 8 *chi* 尺. 1 *chi* equals to 33.33 centimetres. *Qianren* 千仞 (one thousand *ren*) is 2666 metres. It is a phrase frequently used to describe a very high mountain. Thus I translated it as three thousand metres.

之实。

旦白：陈三，都值处却二句书来咱？

生白：小人在厝专读书。（嘉靖本·第二十四齣）

This plot is followed by Chen San's lovesickness. Yi Chun comes to see him and suggests to him that he draw a painting and put it inside Wu Niang's embroidery samples. Chen San also declares his prowess in lute playing, chess, calligraphy and painting. This is still an artistic way to show love. Chen San also writes a poem on his painting, besides the male phoenix and willow that he had drawn:

The male phoenix flies around the willow tree but has nothing to rely on. He looks forward to spring and sings alone all day long. The colour of the willow in Zhangtai 章台 (a high building named Zhang with a platform) is so beautiful. When will he have the chance to stand on a willow branch? (Act 25, *JJE*)

莺柳飞来无所依，尽日思春独自啼。可惜章台柳色好，何时借得一枝栖。（嘉靖本·第二十五齣）

This is the only poem of which the editor categorically states “it is a poem” amongst the six editions, but it is not a good one. The tone pattern of the first two sentences is wrong. *Liu* 柳 (willow) is an entering tone, so the second character of the second sentence should be an oblique tone. However, *ri* 日 (day) is also an entering tone, which disagrees with the general rule.³³ This mistake is very obvious and basic. What is more, *zhangtai liu* 章台柳 (willow of *zhangtai*) as an image always refers to prostitutes.³⁴ In this way, this poem has a strong erotic

³³ The rule is: “The first, third and fifth characters are not important, but the tone pattern of the second, fourth and sixth characters should be paid attention”. The original sentence is 一三五不论，二四六分明. It is a widely accepted proverb, especially for poem starters which probably origins from the Yuan Dynasty. See Liu Yongji 刘永济, “Shilun lüshi de yisanwu bulun ershiliu fenming 试论律诗的一三五不论，二四六分明 [A Research on Classical Poem's Rule: Do Not Care about the First, Third, Fifth; but Should Make the Second, Fourth and Sixth Clearly],” *Jiangnan Luntan* 1 (1963): 23-26.

³⁴ Shi Zhiniao 石志鸟, “*Zhongguo Gudai Wenxue Yangliu Ticai Yu Yixiang Yanjiu* 中国古代文学杨柳题材与意象研究 [A Research on the Illusion of Willow in Imperial Chinese Literature],” (Ph.D, Nanjing Normal University, 2007).

meaning, which makes it unsuitable for inclusion in a love letter for a lady like Wu Niang. Given that *JJE* is a publication for commercial benefit produced by a private publishing house, I think there are two possibilities for the poor quality of this poem. On the one hand, it may be due to the editor's poor level of poetic writing. On the other hand, it may be a deliberate act by the editor in order to show Chen San's limited cultural level.³⁵

In *WLE* and *NLSE*, Chen San does not jump over the wall to send his love letter. When Yi Chun comes to see him, she suggests to him that he should write a love letter instead of drawing a painting. This letter has a similar meaning to the letter in *JJE* and it is written in a straightforward way:

If we have destined love we will meet each other, even one thousand miles apart. If we do not have this destined love, let us separate as soon as possible. Please do not be of two minds and waste my time, making me stay here with nobody to rely on. I feel so sad day and night, and cannot raise my head up. If I become so hurt I will die first, and my ghost will become entangled with you.³⁶ (Act 21, *WLE*)

有缘千里来相见，无缘放早相分离。莫得三心共二意，悞阮只处无所依。夜日暗切头揭不起，若是刘吊阮身先死，冤魂来共恁相缠。（万历本·第二十一齣）

Before he writes the letter, Chen San quotes a story to persuade Yi Chun to help him, which also shows his knowledge:

Chen San says: My dear younger sister, have you ever heard a saying from our ancestors?

Yi Chun say: What did they say?

Chen San says: If Pei Hang does not love Yun Ying, why did he go to the blue bridge to swear [his love]? (Act 21, *WLE*)

³⁵ To some extent, most poems in imperial Chinese novels, fiction and operas are not of very high quality, even though the heroes sometimes use these poems to attain first place in the imperial examinations. However, here I want to point out that a poem with erotic meaning is unsuitable for Wu Niang. The quality of this poem, or choice of using this poem, suggested Chen San's limited cultural level.

³⁶ This is a tentative translation. The exact meaning of 刘吊 or 割吊 is not sure.

生白：小妹你识古人唔不？

春白：古人做年唔？

生白：裴航若卜贪着云英，因乜去到蓝桥断约？（万历本·第二十一齣）

The story of Pei Hang 裴航 and Yun Ying 云英 is from *Chuanqi* 传奇 by Pei Xing 裴翎 (860–?) of the Tang Dynasty. It is a famous story about a young scholar called Pei Hang who meets a girl named Yun Ying. He wants to marry her, but her grandmother asks Pei to use jade pestles to grind a pill. He comes back to the blue bridge and grinds the pestles for one hundred days. Finally the grandmother approves their marriage and they become god and goddess. Besides this story, Chen San also mentions other allusions, most of which are popular ones from opera, like *Wang Kui Fu Gui Ying* 王魁负桂英 (*Wang Kui Betrays Gui Ying*) and *Romance of the Western Chamber*:

My dear lover, please do not be upset. I am not fickle like Wang Kui [who betrays his wife]. [If I betray you] heaven and earth will punish me as they are alive.³⁷ (Act 29, *JJE*)

娘仔你莫得心闷，阮不比王魁负心。天地责罚，定都如神。（嘉靖本·第二十九齣）

I remember the story *Romance of the Western Chamber of Yingying*. Zhang Gong did not forget Hong Niang's help. (Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San, *NLSE*).

记得莺莺西厢记，张拱不负红娘恩义。（苏格兰藏本·益春送花）

Just like Chen San, Wu Niang also uses allusions from operas. Besides Wang Kui betraying Gui Ying and *Romance of the Western Chamber*, she mentions opera stories like *Tang Ming Huang You Yuegong* 唐明皇游月宫 (*Emperor Xuanzong of Tang Travels to the Moon Palace*), *Qingmei Ji* 青梅记 (*Legend of the Green Plum*), *Lü Mengzheng Fengxue Poyao Ji* 吕蒙正风雪破窑记 (*Legend of Lü Meng Zheng and the Shabby Cave in Snow and Wind*) and *Jingchai Ji* 荆钗记 (*Legend of a Thorn Hairpin*). One thing I would like to stress is that Yi Chun, as the maid of Wu Niang, is coincidentally able to use these allusions, too. Her

³⁷ This is a tentative translation.

cultural level is perhaps no better than Wu Niang's, but the gap is narrow:³⁸

Wu Niang says: What did our ancestor do?

Yi Chun says: Lu Shaochun and Jin Tao loved each other, and used a green plum as a love token. Now you can learn from them. (Act 15, *JJE*)³⁹

旦白：古人有乜体例？

贴白：卢少春(奴惜春)锦桃李情，力青梅做标记。恁今不免来学伊。（嘉靖本·第十五齣）

Wu Niang sings: I remember Miss Qian Yulian; her stepmother persuaded her to marry [a rich man]. She was not obedient to her stepmother, but drowned herself in the river. (Act 13, *DGE*)

旦唱：记得钱氏玉莲，被伊继母迫嫁，不从母命，舍命投江。（道光本·第十三齣）

To conclude, the cultural understanding of Chen San matches Wu Niang's level, as well as Yi Chun's, and meets with Wu Niang's exacting standards. Nevertheless, Chen San does not fit the description of *caizi*, which previous researchers have always used. He is only an ordinary young scholar. He lies to his parents about studying in Chaozhou, while in fact he is staying there only to pursue a girl. He elopes together with Wu Niang and Yi Chun without her father's approval, which is definitely in contravention of orthodox moral requirements. He does not become number one in the imperial examinations like other heroes of operas do.⁴⁰ A frequently seen type of Chinese opera is opera about *zhuangyuan* 状元 (No.1 in the final imperial examinations), in which the hero becomes or is a *zhuangyuan*. For example, *Pipa Ji* 琵琶记 (*Tale of the Pipa*), *Romance of the Western Chamber* and *The Peony Pavilion*. Heroes

³⁸ Many operas' names and plots are mentioned in *Lizhiji*, whilst Pei Hang, *Romance of the Western Chamber* and Wang Kui exist most often. See Zheng Xiaoya 郑小雅, "Huwen shijiao xia de ming jiajingben lizhiji 互文视角下的明嘉靖本《荔镜记》 [Jiajing Edition *Lijingji* under the Perspective of Intertextuality]," *Fuzhou Daxue Xuebao (Zhaxue Shehui Kexue Ban)* 5 (2015): 28-32.

³⁹ Lu Shaochun is the hero of *Qingmei Ji*. This opera is now lost, but it should be very similar to *Lizhiji*. The plots and structures of *Qingmei Ji* strongly influenced that of *Lizhiji*. Zheng Xiaoya's essay gives a good explanation about this. *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ See Xiang Chundan 项纯丹, "Zhuangyuan yu xiqu 状元与戏曲 [Zhuangyuan and Operas]," *Shanghai Xiju* 1 (1995): 39-40.

like Cai Bojie 蔡伯喈, Zhang Sheng 张生 and Liu Mengmei 柳梦梅 are all *zhuangyuan*. Compared with these people, Chen San's educational level and personal ability are limited.

If we accept the above argument that Chen San is not a *caizi*, other questions arise. Why is he so confident in himself? As I have highlighted Wu Niang's selfishness, we must ask: why she is willing to elope with Chen San? The answer lies in the second aspect of Chen San's identity. A repeated phrase that Chen San uses to describe himself is: *guanyinzier*. Every time Chen San introduces himself and his background, he boasts of his elder brother and uncle, and explains that he is a young scholar from a government official's family:

I take off my clothes, [walking with a] mirror polisher's pole balanced on my shoulders. I do not know what are inside the pots of the pole, but still need to carry them. I am a man who has *yin* and comes from a government official's family. (Act 19, *JJE*)

脱落衣裳挑镜担，肩头不识挂担也着挑。我是官员有荫仔。（嘉靖本·第十九齣）

I, Chen San, the *gongzhuang ren* 供状人 (a person who confesses and leaves a deposition), now 20 years old. I am from a government registered family in Rear Pengshan Mountain, Jinjiang County, Quanzhou City. [I came here] because I was accompanying my elder brother Chen Boyan, the *yunshi* and his wife, to Southern Guangdong Province. (Act 44, *JJE*)

供状人陈三，年二十岁，系泉州府晋江县朋山岭后官籍。因送哥嫂，广南运使伯廷是我亲兄……（嘉靖本·第四十四齣）

My fair lady, please listen to me telling you all from the beginning. I am a man who has *yin* and comes from a government official's family. (Act 25, *WLE*)

娘子听阮说起离，我是官员有荫人子儿。（万历本·第二十五齣）

I am the son of a government official's family. I came to your home [without caring whether it will] foul my reputation. (Act 21, *NLSE*)

我是官家人子，来到恁厝屈落名声。（苏格兰藏本·第二十一齣）

You are a man who has *yin* and comes from a government official's family, she [even

though] still does not want to take notice of you.⁴¹ (Act 14, *SZE*)

你是官荫人仔，伊都不肯瞅睬。（顺治本·第十四齣）

I am a son of a government official's family. I come and go with my own mind. Why should I tell you? (Act 26, *DGE*)

我是官家子弟，来由我来，去由我去，禀伊做乜？（道光本·第二十六齣）

Chen San does not know anything of Wu Niang's requirements for a husband before he has closer communication with her. However, the repetition of his identity as *guanyinzier* precisely satisfies Wu Niang. She never uses the exact words to describe her standards, but shows her preference for a *guanyinzier*:

Wu Niang says: I guess that he is maybe a son of a government official's family. This may be right.

Yi Chun says: I knew that you had an eye for that. (Act 4, *SZE*)

旦白：阮疑伊是官家子弟，说都不错。

贴白：即知亚娘有眼力。（顺治本·第四齣）

Wu Niang's not wanting to accept Chen San's love is also due to the fact that she cannot be sure whether he is truly the son of a government registered family:

Chen San says: When I am at home, I am the son of a rich family. I am poor just for this short time.⁴²

Wu Niang says: Now you are learning mirror polishing, how can you say that? You do this job and saying that you are a man with *yin*. Ha-ha, you are only a trickster from Quanzhou! (Act 21, *JJE*)

生白：小人在厝也是富贵人仔，那是今旦暂时落薄……

旦白：你都现磨镜，天句相箭。你做障行来，天说你是官荫人仔。嗻，你那是泉州

⁴¹ This is an aria by An Tong.

⁴² This is a tentative translation, the meaning of 天句相箭 is unclear.

白贼仔。（嘉靖本·第二十一齣）

Yi Chun says: Chen San wants to learn from the previous man, Lu Shaochun, who broke the jade cup and abandoned his dignity [to pursue love].

Wu Niang says: I listen to your words and [think] this is really an incisive idea. I am only afraid that I cannot classify jade and rock. (Act 22, *DGE*)

贴唱：伊卜学古时人卢少春，打破玉盞舍身份。

旦唱：听言语真个有譬论，那畏玉石恶辨分。（道光本·第二十二齣）

So what does *guanyin* 官荫 mean? Why do Chen San, Wu Niang and even An Tong and Yi Chun all stress its importance? In my opinion, we should take two things into consideration. Firstly, the period from which this story originates. Secondly, the historical moment of the story's dissemination, namely the Ming and the Qing Dynasties. Since this folk opera's target audiences were ordinary people without high levels of education, the situation of the *guanyin* in *Lizhiji* may be closer to the Ming Dynasty's reality. The audience is familiar with the latter, instead of the situation in the original time. As for the origin of the story and the earliest edition of *Lizhiji*, Wu Rongqing's essay offers a convincing discussion. By researching the names of locations and government posts, he points out that there should be an edition as early as the 10th year of Xuande 宣德 reign period (1435).⁴³ Given that *yunshi* 运使 (chief magistrate) was the name of a post from the Song Dynasty, then let us look at the *guanyi* 官荫 or *enyin* 恩荫 system of the Song (906-1279), the Yuan(1271-1368) and the Ming Dynasties (1368-1644):

The range of *enyin*...In the Yuan Dyansty is from the wife's eldest son, to younger brothers [who have the same mother] and other sons and grandsons. In the Ming Dynasty only sons and grandsons. However in the Song Dynasty, if one man becomes a government official, his sons, grandsons and even relatives, can all get a post from the government.

Officials of all ranks get all kinds of prerogatives. The salary is so high, and the status so good, that no dynasty has ever done this before.⁴⁴

⁴³ Wu Rongqing, "Mingdai qianben *Lizhiji* xiwen tanwei", 87.

⁴⁴ Jin Xudong 金旭东, "Shilun songdai de enyin zhidu 试论宋代的恩荫制度 [A Brief Discussion On The

A rule set in the Hongwu reign period (1368-1398) of the Ming Dynasty said: The age when sons and grandsons of a civil official can inherit a post is 25. Only when they pass a test about one *jing* 经 (classic) or the *sishu* 四书 (four books) and are able to understand the general meaning of these works can they inherit the post.⁴⁵ If they cannot pass the exam, they have to study harder and try again.

The son or grandson of a military officer can get a salary of 2, 3 or 5 *dan* 石 (a unit of volume, equals to around 50 kilograms). This is an adequate amount to support the life of a medium sized family.⁴⁶

Chen San always emphasizes that his elder brother is *yunshi* and his uncle is *taishou* 太守 (governor of a province). If we follow the rules of the Ming Dynasty, he could not get a post in the government. Whilst he said that his family is rich and has produced officials for several generations, it is highly possible that his father is also an official (but not a high ranking one, we must suppose) and that he can get *enyin* from his father. As a young scholar who has a basic knowledge of the Confucian classics, the stressing of his identity as *guanyinzier* is to some extent like a contemporary young man stressing “I have a flat and a car”, which are attractive factors in the marriage market.⁴⁷ However, as early as the Tang Dynasty, there was the tradition “*kua teqi er bi menyin* 夸特起而鄙门荫 (praise someone who passes the imperial examinations by himself, disdain someone who becomes an official through *enyin*)”.⁴⁸ The more Chen San talks about his brother and uncle, the more he reflects that his own ability is limited. Thus I would like to say that Chen San is unlike the typical scholar in other operas, but someone who needs to rely on his family for development because of his own limitations.

Finally, I think it is necessary to pay attention to the relationship between Chen San and Xiao Qi (lit. “Little Seven”, given to him as according to his rank). Xiao Qi, the footman of the

Enyin System In The Song Dynasty],” *Yunnan Shehui Kexue* 3 (1985): 82-86.

⁴⁵ “The Four Books and Five Classics” 四书五经 are the authoritative books of Confucianism in China.

⁴⁶ Rong Ning 荣宁, “Shilun mingdai enyin zhidu 试论明代恩荫制度 [A Brief Discussion on the Enyin System in The Ming Dynasty],” *Qinghai Shehuikexue* 6 (2000): 87-91.

⁴⁷ According to Act 24 of *JJE* and Act 13 of *SZE*, Chen San is 18 years old now.

⁴⁸ Xu Gui 徐规, and He Zhongli 何忠礼, “Beisong de keju gaige yu mifeng zhi 北宋的科举改革与弥封制 [The Reformation of the Northern Song Dynasty’s Imperial Exams and Mifeng System],” *Zhejiang Daxue Xuebao: Renwen Shehui Kexue Ban* 1 (1981): 56-66.

Huang family, plays the *jing* 净 (comprimario, as well as comedian) role in the play.⁴⁹ He may not like Yi Chun, who is so important and delivers messages between Chen San and Wu Niang, but still exists in many vital plotlines, including telling Wu Niang's father that his daughter has eloped, and chasing after Chen San and Wu Niang. Chen San sells himself and works as a servant of the Huang family for three years, and thus there is close communication between them. Their conversations and behaviour can reveal Chen San's personal image to some extent.

During their first acquaintance, they fight with each other after Xiao Qi plays an insolent joke on Chen San:

Xiao Qi says: When the cat is not at home, the mouse will be king. Hey, you young guy from Quanzhou! Come and pay tribute to me.

(Chen San beats Xiao Qi, Xiao Qi falls down)

Xiao Qi says: You bad guy! Push me down! Now sit there please. Xiao Ba 小八 (Little Eight), do you know who I am?

Chen San says: You are the one who lives relying on your lord [Wu Niang's father]. Your name is Xiao Qi.

Xiao Qi says: No, no. Let me tell you. That old man's name is Jiu Gong 九公 (grandfather nine). [I asked him to] collect the rent. I am just relaxing.

Chen San says: You beast! If our lord finds out [what you said], he will beat you to death. (Act 9, *SZE*)

净（小七）白：家中无猫，老鼠为尊。泉州汉子亚，过来参见我。

（生打，净倒）

净白：十种，力我搦倒做伊许处坐。小八，你知我是谁？

生白：你是甲恁亚公食的，名叫小七。

净白：不着，我共你坦，许老的叫九公。租乞伊收，我那食闲。

⁴⁹ Usually *jing* role does not play comedy parts in most operas. However, the character Xiao Qi really plays the role of a comedian. According to the role chart in 2.2.2.1, Xiao Qi is always *jing* role. This perhaps is a special feature of Liyuan Opera, that *jing* role also has amusing function.

生白：禽兽，亚公要知，生打死你。（顺治本·第九齣）

When the two become familiar, Chen San sometimes teases Xiao Qi, too:

Xiao Qi says: You bad guy! Oh, it is Xiao Ba. Xiao Ba, why are you not sweeping the house?

Chen San says: I have already finished that.

Xiao Qi says: There is a place that you have not swept.

Chen San says: Where?

Xiao Qi says: If you buy some snacks for me to eat, I will tell you.

Chen San says: If you tell me, I will buy snacks for you to eat. (Act 16, *NLSE*)

七白：十种，却是小八在只。小八，尔偶年不扫厝。

生白：厝都扫完了。

七白：句未天有一处未知扫。

生白：是值处？

七白：着买物我食，我即甘共你咀。

生白：共我咀了就买尔食。（苏格兰藏本·第十六齣）

From the examples I listed, we find that the Chen San who fights and chats with Xiao Qi is a new Chen San who is different from the scholar and *guanyinzier* discussed earlier. The character of Chen San changes from an elegant and affectionate lover, to a servant who is good at making fun of others, a more interesting and typical young man of his age to some extent. When we combine all of the factors above, a complete image of Chen San emerges. He is not the typically talented and romantic scholar or *caizi* we are familiar with, but he has a basic level of knowledge. He studies and reads books, but will get a post because of *enyin*, not because of his ability in the imperial examinations. He is not like the orthodox scholar who is well controlled and well mannered, but one that can join a fight and quarrel with others. Perhaps only this type of complex and interesting man could behave in such a romantic way that leads

him to sell himself to his lover's family and work as a servant for the girl for three years, and perhaps only this type of vivid hero could give rise to more resonance among the local audience from lower social class.

3.2.3.2 Chen San: Holding Fast or Giving Up?

The second topic for consideration is Chen San's shifting attitude towards Wu Niang. The key part of this problem is the choice Chen San makes between sustaining or abandoning his love for Wu Niang when faced with her disinterested behaviour. These subplots can be found in acts including when An Tong is looking for Chen San (Act 25 of *JJE*, Act 22 of *WLE*, Act 22 of *NLSE*, Act 14 of *SZE*, Act 25 of *DGE* and *GXE*); Yi Chun leaves the umbrella (Act 25 of *JJE*, Act 23 of *WLE*, Act 23 of *NLSE*, Act 15 of *SZE*, Act 26 of *DGE* and *GXE*) and when Wu Niang is embroidering (Act 26 of *JJE*, Act 24 of *WLE*, Act 24 of *NLSE*, Act 16 of *SZE*, Act 27 of *DGE* and *GXE*). Chen San's obsession with Wu Niang, which is based on her beautiful appearance, is relatively superficial and is not subject to the same level of thought and consideration as Wu Niang's own attitudes towards an ideal partner. In my opinion, although there is not any direct explanation about Wu Niang's identity when Chen San and Wu Niang first meet, she can sit on the high building, with a maid standing besides her, wearing gorgeous clothes, able to write and use a handkerchief. All these things show that Wu Niang comes from at least a middle-class family. Given that An Tong and Brother Li both introduce Wu Niang as Squire Huang's daughter, Chen San does not need to worry about the social gap between him and Wu Niang. In fact, in Act 33 of *SZE*, Chen San tells his brother that someone from Wu Niang's family used to be a government official. In this way I think Chen San's love is not completely a choice by heart; it is still based on the social status and family background that can be told from Wu Niang's appearance. Amongst these six editions, as I mentioned above, sometimes Wu Niang appears very proactive when she feels that Chen San looks the same as the gentleman she sees on the horse and under the lantern. Sometimes she becomes rather cold-blooded as she is not sure about Chen San's identity or certain of his attitude towards her.

Correspondingly, Chen San's identity and attitude are not always that stable. From *JJE* to *DGE* and *GXE*, I find that Chen San gradually changes into a less fascinating hero. In these editions, when he is faced with Wu Niang's inappropriate behaviour, he tends to give up on his love and return home.

At first, when Wu Niang asks him to sweep the floor and refuses to see him, Chen San is sad. He complains about Wu Niang forgetting that it was she who dropped the lychee when they met, yet he is still optimistic about the future and ponders when his plans will come to fruition. This scenario can be found in many editions:

Chen San says: I suffer from all kinds of bullying because of you, Huang Wu Niang! You really do not act properly. You do not remember, do not remember that on the high building, it was you who dropped the lychee, and now you regret talking about this. (Act 21, *JJE*)

生白：我为你受尽气，黄五娘你可无行止。袂记得，袂记得高楼上，是你亲手拨落荔枝。今旦反面不提起。（嘉靖本·第二十一齣）

Chen San says: My family is rich and powerful. My uncle and elder brother are both government officials. There are numerous gold and silver coins in my family...If not for you, why would I be willing to be a servant and learn to sweep the hall... When will I sweep my love to a happy ending? (Act 16, *NLSE*)

生白：我家中豪富，叔兄做官，金银无数.....若不是为着五娘是年，俺肯做奴学扫厅堂.....值时扫得姻缘停当。（苏格兰藏本·第十六齣）

Chen San sings: I come to your family, but you never even turn your eyes on me. My short-lived lover, when will you dispel the sadness of my heart? (Act 10, *SZE*)⁵⁰

生唱：我来恁厝，半目不肯瞅睬。促命贼冤家，俺会解得我心怀？（顺治本·第十齣）

Later, Wu Niang continues to challenge Chen San, but still rejects him even though he is lovesick. An Tong then comes to find Chen San, causing the change in his attitude. In the

⁵⁰ Here, "short-lived lover" is an ironic expression describing Wu Niang.

earliest *JJE*, Chen San asks An Tong to go back home, saying that he will stay with the Huang family without any reluctance. He is optimistic about his love with Wu Niang. When An Tong asks, he replies:

Chen San says: I am willing to do so and will not blame anybody.

An Tong says: Sandie, have you succeeded in love here?

Chen San says: I see it will succeed sooner or later. (Act 25, *JJE*)

生白：是我甘心，恨谁得是。

丑白：三爹，只处姻缘可成就未？

生白：那看只早晚成就。（嘉靖本·第二十五齣）

In the later edition *WLE*, the caption of the illustration on the upper column is 陈三舍思归计 (Chen Sanshe si guiji, Chen San thinks of going back home), while the text of the opera also changes. When Chen San hears that a man from his hometown has come, he describes himself as “a tiger beaten by a hammer”. When An Tong tells him that his mother has asked him to go back home, he is anxious and lets An Tong lower his voice and does not tell the others. Then he informs Yi Chun about his plan and feelings:

Chen San sings: After so many years, I [am so tired and] do not want to stand up. The cuckoo’s crow bursts and makes my heart so sorrowful...I will then go to pack up my belongings and return to my hometown...I sold myself to your family for three years. I say goodbye to my younger sister (Yi Chun) and will leave now. (Act 23, *WLE*)

生唱：年长月久恶站起，杜鹃啼破人心悲.....不免收拾转归乡里.....舍身恁厝将有三年，拜辞小妹就便起离。（万历本·第二十三齣）

Yi Chun begs him not to go, suggesting to him that he write a letter and leave it inside Wu Niang’s embroidery box. She tells Wu Niang that Chen San will leave, but Wu Niang does not persuade him to stay. Instead, she says that Chen San has completed his working time and can

leave whenever he wishes to. Then follows the plot of Wu Niang seeing the letter and commencing a long talk with Chen San. From this I can see that Chen San, who announces he will go back, does not really leave. What he says above are only words, not facts. The caption 思归计 (*si guiji*, thinking of going back home) relates only to his thoughts and not to his actions.

Compared with both *JJE*, which never mentions going back, and *WLE*, where he does not really leave, in *NLSE*, Chen San's behaviour and speech have become ambivalent. On the one hand, he tells An Tong that his love will succeed in one or two days. On the other hand, he chooses to go back home when An Tong tells him about the dissatisfaction of his mother:

An Tong says: Your mother already knows that you sold yourself to be a servant and tarnished the dignity of our family. She sent me specifically to find you ... and asks you to go back as soon as possible.

Chen San says: My footman, please go to Brother Li's home first and urge him to prepare the groom and horses. Let us start to go back tomorrow morning. (Act 22, *NLSE*)

童白：伊大婆知你卖身做奴辱了门风，专使家童来寻三舍……甲三舍快转去。

生白：家童，尔先去李大哥家催夫马，明旦就来起身罢。（苏格兰藏本·第二十二齣）

Chen San, as in *WLE*, does not really go back and still writes the letter to Wu Niang with the help of Yi Chun. In *NLSE*, Yi Chun does not let him go, using the excuse that he has not finished his allotted working time. However, in *WLE*, he specifically prepares for going back home. It is clear that in *NLSE* he is not only saying this, but in fact he really wants to go back home.

When it comes to the Qing Dynasty editions, Chen San's actions are similar to those in *NLSE*. He asks An Tong to wait for him, but has already lost confidence in his love for Wu Niang being returned. One thing to pay attention to is the act of Yi Chun leaving the umbrella. This exists precisely in *NLSE* and Qing Dynasty editions, which contain the plot point of Chen

San wanting to go back. The main content of this act is that Yi Chun tries her best to persuade Chen San not to go home and to give Wu Niang another chance.

In *SZE*, Chen San gives up and perhaps wants to find another lover because of An Tong's words:

An Tong says: Sandie, have you succeeded in this love affair?

Chen San says: I have not.

An Tong says: Oh my Sandie, please go back with me since you have not succeeded in this love. How glorious is the fame of our family! How could there not be a girl as beautiful as jade to match with you? Why do you do this here?

Chen San says: I hear your words. Please wait for me at Brother Li's place. I will go there later. (Act 14, *SZE*)

丑白：三爹，只姻缘事志，可成就未？

生白：都未成就。

丑白：三爹亚，既姻缘未成就，共安童返去。咱厝乜样们风，岂无玉颜之女通共三爹匹配，何卜作只勾当？

生白：见你障说，你去李公处等我，我随后就来。（顺治本·第十四齣）

In *DGE* and *GXE*, Chen San is so disappointed that he even throws the love token lychee to the ground with great anger:

Chen San says: I hate that your lady does not have constant thoughts. I will not even listen to any of her words.

Yi Chun says: But you have [the love token] lychee that she gave to you.

Chen San says: At that time I did not have any insight. I accepted the lychee as a love token without thought.

(Chen San throws the lychee. Yi Chun picks it up)

Yi Chun says: Sange, please keep this lychee. Good things always come later.

Chen San says: Thinking of our love, it is suspended now by her. I will say goodbye to my younger sister Yi Chun. I will definitely go back to my hometown. (Act 26, *DGE*)

生唱：恨恁亚娘无定期，我今半句不肯听伊。

贴白：伊句有荔枝在恁边。

生唱：是我当初无所见，枉力荔枝收为记。

（生掷，贴拾）

贴白：三哥，荔枝且留，好事句在后。

生唱：想见人情，枉相搁置。拜辞我小妹，定卜返乡里。（道光本·第二十六齣）

It can be seen that from the Ming to the Qing dynasty, Chen San runs out of patience, and his dissatisfaction with Wu Niang grows. The confident and soulful hero in *JJE* turns into a broken-hearted and depressed figure in *DGE* and *GXE*. If Yi Chun did not send flowers, leave the umbrella to him and try her best to beg him to stay, the Chen San in the three Qing Dynasty editions would probably really have gone back home. When I look at the relationship between Chen San, Wu Niang and Yi Chun again in light of these details, I realise that Chen San becomes stronger, Wu Niang's image grows weaker, and Yi Chun's part gains more prominence because she has to persuade a stronger hero from *NLSE* to *GXE*.

3.2.3.3 Love Rivalry and Engagement

Lin Da, as the rival of Chen San and the third party of the main love story, is of course very important. I will discuss this character in general in the next section, and in this section concentrate on Chen San's attitudes toward Lin Da. Throughout all the editions, Wu Niang always detests Lin Da. She shows her dislike towards Lin Da when they first meet and sing together. Then it follows that when Lin Da gives the betrothal gifts, she is so angry that she curses and beats the matchmaker Li Po; she even wants to jump into the well to avoid marrying him. Her anger towards Lin Da grows when he brings the lawsuit against the Huang family and Chen San, which causes Chen San's exile. She continues to curse him in all the editions:

Wu Niang says: This has happened because I do not want to marry Lin Da...If you order me to marry Lin Da again, I would rather die under your court. (Act 44, *JJE*)

旦白：因对林大亲，奴婢不愿，才会弄出这事.....今把奴婢判还林大，奴情愿老爹台下死。（嘉靖本·第四十四齣）

Wu Niang says: I only hate that Lin Da does not act reasonably, and forces my Sange to go to the law court. (Act 40, *WLE*)

旦唱：只怨林大无道理，掠阮三哥送官司。（万历本·第四十齣）

Wu Niang says: A single phoenix will never be the companion of a parrot, just like me and Lin Da [who will never be companions]. I do not have a better one to match with, and this makes me feel helpless. (Act 17, *NLSE*)

旦唱：孤鸾共鸚鵡不是伴，亲像我对许丁古林大，无好头对，实无奈何。（苏格兰藏本·第十七齣）

Wu Niang says: I hate my bitter rival Lin Da, he uses thousands of schemes and forces my lover and I to be apart...I hate this bad man Lin Da, he goes to the court to sue my love affair. (Act 29, *SZE*)

旦唱：恨冤家丁蛊林大，千般谋计力我君身隔断.....恨着丁蛊林大，林大去告私情。（顺治本·第二十九齣）

Wu Niang and Yi Chun say: We hold rancour towards the bad, bitter feud with Lin Da Bi. He does not do the right thing. (Act 42, *DGE*)

旦贴唱：恨煞冤家丁蛊贼林大鼻，做事可不是。（道光本·第四十二齣）

Compared with such enmity from Wu Niang (and possibly Yi Chun as well), Chen San, as the other side of the relationship and the true love of Wu Niang, abnormally does not show any obvious animosity towards Lin Da. In fact, he never blames Lin Da before he elopes with Wu Niang. He just asks about the engagement of the Lin and Huang families in the act where Wu Niang is embroidering. They decide to elope in the seventh month, because the wedding day is the ninth day of the ninth month. The specific questions and answers also vary across

different editions. In *JJE*, perhaps in order to test Wu Niang's true thoughts, he asks in this way:

Chen San says: How is your engagement with the Lin family going?

Wu Niang says: I resent the bad man Lin Da, and hope he can die early and lose his life.

Chen San says: So now you are not reluctant to curse him?

Wu Niang says: He pushes me to marry him every day. I almost died because of him. (Act 26, *JJE*)

生白：林厝亲情今俚样？

旦白：懊恨丁古林大，早死无命。

生白：娘仔俚捨得骂伊？

旦白：每日推亲，我已转为伊险送性命。（嘉靖本·第二十六齣）

In *WLE* and *NLSE*, Chen San unexpectedly quotes some proverbs when answering, saying that Wu Niang is to some extent already the bride of Lin's family and has no relationship with him. This causes Wu Niang to start wondering about his point of view regarding their love, and makes him upset and angry:

Wu Niang says: The Lin family is so eager to marry soon. What should we do now?

Chen San says: My lady, [there is a saying that] for a man, in the beginning of his engagement, the woman agrees to marry him if she accepts the betrothal gifts.⁵¹ [In this way] You are already the bride as well as a family member of the Lin family. I do not have any idea [about how to solve this problem].

Wu Niang says: Why did you say this? Why did you not say this earlier?

Chen San says: It is not too late to say this now.

⁵¹ There are no other records or sources of this proverb. It may be possibly based on the *The Great Ming Code* 大明律 which stresses the importance of betrothal gifts.

Wu Niang says: You are so faithless and guilty. Our love is destined to last for one hundred years, and [now I see no action but] just your words. I was fooled by your rhetoric and romantic words.⁵² (Act 30, *WLE*)

旦白：林厝讨亲障紧，今做俩年好？

生白：阿娘，男以订婚之初，女以聘礼为定。新妇是林厝人个，陈三无也主意。

旦白：做年咀，你当初何不早咀只话？

生白：今咀亦未落后。

旦唱：障般亏心负幸，百年姻缘口说无凭，花言巧语骗得阮……（万历本·第三十齣）

Wu Niang says: My gentleman, yesterday the Lin family asked Li Po to pick me up and make me their bride as soon as possible. What should I do now?

Chen San says: My lady, our ancestors say that for a man, at the beginning of his engagement, the woman agrees to marry him if she accepts the betrothal gifts. Since your parents accepted the betrothal gifts of the Lin family, you are already their bride. You can say nothing if they really pick you up.

Wu Niang says: You say these words...why did you not say them before?

Chen San says: It is not too late to say this now. (Act 29, *NLSE*)

旦白：官人，昨茂日林厝使李婆来讨亲向紧，今佐年好？

生白：阿娘，古人咀，男以定婚之初，女以聘礼为定。恁爹妈先收林厝人聘，就是林厝新妇了。着伊[田子]去有也话通。

旦白：尔只话早佐也不咀？

生白：今咀亦未落后。（苏格兰藏本·第二十九齣）

Chen San's words above may be an attempt made by the editors of *WLE* and *NLSE* to show his educational level. It can also be regarded as a compromise to make Chen San's behaviour suit traditional principles of morality. However, I tend to believe that this may be an effort on Chen San's part to flirt with his lover Wu Niang.

⁵² This is a tentative translation. *Koushuo wuping* 口说无凭 (verbal statements are not guaranteed) here should refer to Chen San not giving practical solutions about the engagement.

The situation altered in *JJE* when it reaches the Qing Dynasty. Chen San asks about their engagement while at the same time, he is not afraid of Lin Da because of his *guanyinzier* identity.

Chen San says: Yesterday, the Lin family came to urge you to marry soon, how is that going?

Wu Niang says: Yesterday, the Lin family came to pick up the bride. My father promised them and agreed on Lin Da coming to marry me on the ninth day of the ninth month.

...

Wu Niang says: What if Lin Da accuses you?

Chen San says: Although Lin Da is honourable and rich, he would not dare to start a lawsuit with me.

...

Wu Niang, Chen San and Yi Chun sing together: We hope to burn the incense and swear, go together without caring about Lin Da.⁵³ (Act 23, *SZE*)

生白：昨暮日，林厝人催亲侂年？

旦白：昨暮日林厝催亲，我爹许伊九月重阳卜乞伊上门。

.....

旦白：林大告官是年？

生唱：任伊林大富贵有钱，伊敢来共我疋官司？

.....

生旦贴合唱：但愿烧香投下纸，走出去管乜林大？（顺治本·第二十二齣）

When Chen San and Wu Niang elope together, Chen San still rarely mentions Lin Da, except for when he echoes with Wu Niang and sings together with her. One example is:

⁵³ In Minnan dialect, *zhi* 纸 (paper) and *zhou* 咒 (incantation) have the same pronunciation “*zua*”. According to Nanyin performer Huang Zhuju 黄珠菊, here *xiazhi* 下纸 equals to *xiazhou* 下咒; in Minnan dialect it means swear. Huang Zhuju is a performer of Nanyin from Quanzhou Nanyin Inheritance Centre 泉州市南音传承中心.

Chen San and Wu Niang sing together: We go out this door together, but who is shouting outside? Is that Lin Da suing us and coming, catching us and giving us nowhere to go? We thought about this carefully and cannot hold back our tears. (Act 38, *WLE*)

生旦唱：一齐走出只们，乜人喝噉声闹，莫是林大告来到，把掠赧无路走。仔细思量目汁流。（万历本·第三十八齣）

Beyond the above example, the only sentence I can find in the six editions that shows his direct dislike for Lin Da is:

Chen San says: My lady, please do not cry. My lawsuit will finally have a happy ending. Lin Da is the only one to be blamed for this. (Act 39, *NLSE*)

生唱：娘子莫切啼，我只官司终会伶俐，只事志那怨林大鼻。（苏格兰藏本·第三十九齣）

Nonetheless, he blames Lin Da as he has caused him to be exiled, not for the engagement between Wu Niang and Lin Da. In other words, I posit that Chen San never holds a grudge against Lin Da, despite his status as the third party of their relationship. Lin Da and Chen San are not in a competitive relationship, and in fact the two are completely estranged. On the one hand, Chen San does not worry about Lin Da's existence because Wu Niang does not like him at all from the very beginning. On the other hand, Chen San is not willing to mention the engagement, which is something he cannot avoid when thinking of Lin Da.

To analyse this engagement, I then pick up the plot where Chen San meets his brother on the way to Yazhou, and tells him the whole story about why he is exiled. There are slight differences between each edition:⁵⁴

⁵⁴ One thing to be mentioned is that Chen San's words that describe his story from the law court are different from what he tells his brother. Given that he may not be willing to tell the truth in court, but needs to tell it to his brother, I think his words to his brother are more accurate.

Chen San says: I accompany my brother, you and my sister-in-law to work, then go back to Chaozhou. I was falsely accused by Lin Da because of the underhand affair with Huang Wu Niang. (Act 51, *JJE*)

生白：小弟那自送哥嫂到任，返来到潮州，因共黄五娘姦情，被林大诬告。（嘉靖本·第五十一齣）

Chen San says: I accompanied my brother [to work]. When I came back I went to Chaozhou to go sightseeing in the town. On the sixth day of the sixth month and when I was enjoying summer, I accidentally met Huang Wu Niang, who is such a beauty. She dropped down a lychee as a love token. I managed to polish her mirror and finally consummated our union. When we swore our love to each other and went back to her hometown...Her original fiancé Lin Da brought a false accusation against me, and bribed the magistrate with money. They caught me and treated me in such a bad way. (Act 46, *WLE*)

生白：因送兄上任转员，顺往潮州游赏街市。六月初六赏夏天，偶逢黄家五娘娇美，掷落荔枝为记，设计磨镜，结成连理。断约同走出乡里.....原聘林大诬告官司，用银买倒知州，掠我障般凌迟。（万历本·第四十六齣）

Chen San says: ...It is because Lin Da brought a false accusation against me, and bribed the magistrate with money, that I was caught and treated in such a bad way. (Act 45, *NLSE*)

生白：.....那因林大诬告官司，用银买倒知州，掠我障般凌迟。（苏格兰藏本·第四十五齣）

Chen San says: I accompanied my brother and my sister-in-law to work, thus I went to Chaozhou on my way back. Luckily, I met Wu Niang who is so coquettish, and dropped a lychee down as a love token for me. Lin Da did not have a clear engagement, and accused me at the law court. The magistrate was insolent, and sentenced me to be deported and exiled to Yazhou city. (Act 33, *SZE*; Act 47, *DGE*; Act 47, *GXE*)

生白：因送哥嫂赴任，顺途往潮州市。幸遇五娘也娇媚，掷落荔枝乞我为记。林大婚娶不明，告到官司。知州无礼，问我充军发配崖州市。（顺治本·第三十三齣；道光本·第四十七齣；光绪本·第四十七齣）

Chen San's descriptions can be classified into two categories. The first category is *JJE*, in which Chen San recognizes that the relationship between him and Wu Niang is not fair or reasonable—it is *jianqing* 姦情 (adultery). The second category is *WLE* and other editions, in which the adultery is embellished as a romantic love affair, and the lawsuit of Lin Da is *wugao* 诬告 (a false accusation). In the three Ming Dynasty editions, according to the statement of the plaintiff Lin Da, Chen San, as a servant, should not elope with Wu Niang as a servant:

Lin Da says: I want to accuse one servant of raping his master's daughter. Last year, I asked the matchmaker Li Po[to make the engagement] and [you] accepted two hundred *liang* of silver as a betrothal gift from me. I have made this engagement with your daughter Wu Niang, and have not held the wedding yet. However, beyond my imagination, you had Chen San, a guest from Quanzhou, stay at your home as a servant, and connived for him to commit adultery with your daughter. On the night of the fifteenth day of this month, [your daughter] asked her maid, as well as Chen San, to elope together to Quanzhou. (Act 38, *JJE*)

林白：状告纵奴姦家长女事。先年凭媒李大嫂用银二百两……收准为聘礼，对伊女黄五娘为婚，未完娶。不期中志养得泉州客人陈三在家为奴，纵容伊女与陈三通姦情。本月十五夜，叫同使女益春，跟同陈三私奔走去泉州。（嘉靖本·第三十八齣）

Lin Da says: Last year I asked Li Po to be the matchmaker, and spent five hundred *liang* of silver as betrothal gift. Huang Zhongzhi, who is a local from Hougou, accepted my betrothal gift and confirmed that his eldest daughter Huang Wu Niang would be my wife. To my surprise, she committed secret adultery with house servant Chen San, and together with her maid Yi Chun, the three of them went together to Quanzhou city. (Act 36, *WLE*)

林白：先年用银五百两凭媒李婆送往后沟乡民黄仲志收为聘礼，定伊长女黄五娘为妻。不料私通养仆陈三，牵连丫头益春，一齐拐去泉州城市。（万历本·第三十六齣）

Lin Da says: I sent the betrothal gift last year in the seventh month, and will marry my bride in the ninth month of this year. To my surprise, the bad servant inveigled my wife for their secret affair and the three of them went together to Quanzhou. (Act 36, *NLSE*)

林白：旧年七月去送聘，今年九月讨么，[田子]不料贼奴为私情[田女]走我么，三人同走去泉州。（苏格兰藏本·第三十六齣）

In the three Qing Dynasty editions, this act is simplified into only one sentence where Chen San coaxes Wu Niang:

Lin Da says: My only wife, was trafficked by the other one... I want to bring a lawsuit, my lord!

The Magistrate says: What lawsuit do you want to bring?

Lin Da says: Something about abduction and seduction. (Act 25, *SZE*)

净白：我一个某，乞人挈走了……告状，爹亚！

末白：告是么状？

净白：奸拐的事。（顺治本·第二十五齣）

According to the above examples, although differences do exist, they all include key factors, such as the fact that the Huang family accepted the betrothal gifts and Chen San has a relationship with Wu Niang as a servant. Chen San argues that this is a false accusation, mainly because he is not a real servant of the Huang family, although another reason is because the magistrate has been receiving bribes from Lin Da.⁵⁵ He, as well as his brother, believe that as a *guanyinzier* he is not *yinu qizhu* 以奴欺主 (able to hoodwink his master as a servant). However, they avoid saying anything about the engagement of Wu Niang and Lin Da:

Chen San's brother says: Chen San is a son from a government official's family; how dare you say that he is a servant? I see, it must be that you accepted money from Lin Da, and thus gave Chen San a severe punishment. (Act 52, *JJE*)

外白：陈三是官家子弟，凭那裡问他为奴？我晓得了，你受林大买嘱，故入人罪。

（嘉靖本·第五十二齣）

⁵⁵ I will discuss this matter in the later part about Lin Da. Although Lin Da, in several editions, is exiled because of bribing the magistrate, there is no specific evidence in any edition that such thing really happened.

The magistrate says: Let me tell you my lord. Chen San is the servant of the Huang family. He is not allowed to abduct and seduce the daughter of his master. Thus I sentenced him to exile.

末白：禀上老大人：陈三在黄家为奴，不合奸拐家长子女，问他充军。

Chen San's brother says: Chen San is a son from a government official's family, it is impossible for him to be a servant in the Huang family. This is a wrong judgment! (Act 35, *SZE*)

外白：陈三官家子弟，怎磨在黄家为奴？枉断！（顺治本·第三十五齣）

Chen San's brother says: Chen San is a son from a government official's family. It is impossible for him to be willing to work as a servant in the Huang family. You accepted one hundred *liang* in white gold from Lin Da, and extorted from Chen San for hoodwinking his master as a servant. How dare you say that you are innocent?

末白：陈三官家子弟，肯来黄家为奴？你受了林大白金百两，屈问陈三为奴欺主，还说无罪！（道光本·第四十九齣）

Chen San avoids saying any words about the engagement between Wu Niang and Lin Da, even in court or to his brother. He hardly ever displays any direct thoughts or attitudes about Lin Da. What is the real motivation of Chen San and his brother when dealing with this affair? Do they really care about this engagement, or do they ignore it? This problem is very interesting, and I will discuss it through the lens of Ming Dynasty marriage law and practice. One thing to be stressed is that opera, as a literary genre, may be based on reality but does not equate to reality. All the legal documents and examples are only references for attempting to understand Chen San's behaviour, rather than definitive standards for analysis.

In *The Great Ming Code*, there is a clause that states clearly:

In the beginning of a man and a woman's engagement... although they do not have a paper copy of their engagement contract, if you accept the betrothal gifts the engagement is still established...if you breach this, your buttocks will be beaten 50 times with bamboo.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Huai Xiaofeng 怀效锋, *Daminglü Dianjiaoben* 大明律点校本 [*Fully Noted Version of the Great Ming Code*],

凡男女定婚之初……虽无婚书但会受聘财者亦是…而辙悔者，笞五十…

In practice, if the engagement has a matchmaker, some betrothal gift and a person who is in charge of the marriage, this is a binding agreement although there is no paper contract:

The law regulates that there must be a paper contract when setting up an engagement, but in rural life, betrothal gifts can also be the determining factor of an engagement. Once the woman's family accepts the betrothal gifts from the man's family, the engagement is established. Whatever gifts they are and whatever amount, these decide if the marriage relationship is established or not... In the whole engagement procedure, betrothal gifts are the central part.⁵⁷

According to the above facts, Lin Da, has a matchmaker Li Po. He sends betrothal gifts that Wu Niang's father did not reject and even sets the wedding date; his engagement should thus be valid according to the standards of the time. The Huang family regrets this and should be punished. In this way, Lin Da's accusing Chen San without knowing the latter's real identity, is very reasonable, according to the context. Another clause in the law states:

If the master allows a female *liangren* 良人 (civilian in feudal society, in contrast with the slave in feudal society) to marry his servant [who is a slave in feudal society], he will be beaten 80 times with a bamboo stick... If the servant himself marries a *liangren*, he will be punished by the same amount. ⁵⁸

凡家长与奴娶良人女为妻者，杖八十……其奴自娶者，罪亦如之。

(Beijing: Beijing falü chubanshe, 1999). This clause is *nannü hunyin* 男女婚姻 (marriage between man and women) of section 3 of *hulü* 户律 [regulations on family] in volume 6.

⁵⁷ Zhang Yi 张宜, "Mingdai dinghun zhidu chutan 明代定婚制度初探 [A Brief Exploration on the Engagement System of the Ming Dynasty]," *Ludong Daxue Xuebao: Zhexue Shehui Kexue Ban* 1 (2007): 60.

⁵⁸ Huai Xiaofeng, *Fully Noted Version of the Great Ming Code*. This clause is *liangjian wei hunyin* 良贱为婚姻 [marriage between a *liangren* and a servant] of section 3 of *hulü* 户律 (regulations on family) in volume 6, 64. According to this clause, Chen San should be beat 80 times. The magistrate's sentence of exile is too strict.

Chen San's lack of fear regarding the lawsuit is probably because he is not a real servant. The reason for his avoidance of the subject of Lin Da is perhaps because he realises the engagement of the Lin and Huang family is valid, and inveigling another person's fiancé is not right and will be punished. In this way, he lies to the magistrate that he is the matrilocal son-in-law of the Huang family. It is the Huang family that should be blamed, since they betrayed him and let Wu Niang become entangled in an engagement with Lin Da, not Chen San:

Chen San says: Huang Zhongzhi asked me to be his son-in-law. However, he disliked that I was from a faraway place, thus he wanted Wu Niang to marry Lin Da because he is from a nearby one. I was very unhappy about this, and wanted to go back home with Wu Niang. [Thus we went back] Without informing him. (Act 44, *JJE*)

生白：黄中志招小的进赘。后来轻远就近，悔了这亲，将五娘许与林大，是小的怪恨，要同五娘回家，不曾禀知。（嘉靖本·第四十四齣）

Chen San says: I [walked back home and] passed the Huang family [on my way]. Huang Zhongzhi asked me to be his son-in-law. Later on, Zhongzhi blamed me for my faraway hometown and wanted Wu Niang to marry Lin Da because he is from a nearby place. Wu Niang did not want to marry him, and wished to go back to my home together with me. [Thus we went] Without informing him. (Act 38, *NLSE*)

生白：经过黄忠志，招小的进赘。后来忠志怪远就近，悔了前亲，将五娘别许林大，五娘不愿，要同小的回家，不曾禀知。（苏格兰藏本·第三十八齣）

Wu Niang says: My father asked Chen San to be his son-in-law, and then I went back to his hometown together with him. We did not expect that Lin Da would fool the magistrate and start a false accusation against us, and catch us here with a lot of suffering.

旦白：父亲招陈三为婿，同他回家出返乡里。不料林大瞒镜台，诬告官司，掠到只受辱凌迟。（道光本·第四十齣）

Chen San (or rather the editors of these operas) tries to rationalise his behaviour, such as selling himself into servitude and eloping with Wu Niang, through not blaming Lin Da and avoiding

mentioning the engagement. He stresses that he and Wu Niang have a true and destined love: “we two both having affection for each other, and dropping down the lychee as a love token”. This enables readers and audiences to understand and accept their abnormal relationship, or adultery. In my opinion, how to deal with this engagement and rationalise Wu Niang and Chen San’s love is a problem that every editor faces when writing a new edition of *Lizhiji*. For example, in another genre of literature, that is the *chuanqi Lijingzhuan* 荔镜传 (*Legend of the Lychee and Mirror*), the editor of this *chuanqi* attempts to solve this problem in another way. He, as in the opera, continues to stress that the love between Chen San and Wu Niang is decided by God and all of their behaviour is destined:

Yi Chun sings: Love from pre-existence finally settled in this life. You do not need to care about the strong wind blowing the willow catkin up. (Act 27, *JJE*)⁵⁹

贴唱：前世姻缘今世结，管也狂风飞柳絮。（嘉靖本·第二十七齣）

Wu Niang sings: Sange please listen to me, our love is not only for this life.

Chen San sings: It is that the love of our pre-existence did not come to an end and comes back till now. (Act 22, *SZE*)

旦唱：三哥听我说起，只姻缘不是恁今世。

生唱：只是恁前世夫妻结未尽，今又来到只。（顺治本·第二十二齣）

While at the same time, he adds a new plot where Chen San’s father and Wu Niang’s father agreed upon a betrothal when they are very young. However, when Chen San’s father retired from a government official’s position and went back to Quanzhou, the two families failed to contact each other, which caused Wu Niang to marry Lin Da.⁶⁰ According to some

⁵⁹ Here the catkin refers to annoying problems like Lin Da.

⁶⁰ Huang Dongyang, “Lijing zhuan xukao- chensan wuniang zai xiaoshuo wenti de biaoshu shoufa yu jichu yihan kaolue,” 89. One thing that needs to be mentioned is that Huang Dongyang believes that *Lijingzhuan* must have been published between the end of Hongzhi 弘治 (1488-1505) and the beginning of Jiajing 嘉靖(1522-1566). This is because it refers to and quotes many texts from *Zhong Qing Li Ji* 钟情丽集 (*A book about Heartfelt Beautiful Emotion*) which was popular during the Hongzhi reign period (1488-1505), and also *JJE* mentioned the popularity of *Lizhiji* in the Jiajing reign period. I do not agree with his idea at all. Setting the upper limit of the publishing time of *Lijingzhuang* based on *Zhong Qing Li Ji* is right, but the lower limit cannot be set according to *JJE* since there is no direct information about it. Given that in *Lijing Zhuan*, traditional morality and Confucian ethics are repeated continuously, which seems similar to the famous fiction anthology *Xing Shi Yan* 型世言 [*Exemplary Words for the World*], and the earliest extant edition of *Lizhiji* or *Xing Shi Yan* was published in the end of the Qing Dynasty, I would estimate that *Lijingzhuan* could have been published later than the three Ming

cases in the Ming Dynasty, Wu Niang should not marry anyone else, although she cannot marry Chen San because they lost contact.⁶¹ By adding this plot, the editor of *chuanqi* makes the love between Wu Niang and Chen San more acceptable.

Although in the previous section, I suggested that Chen San is not a typical *caizi* but rather an ordinary man who bravely pursues his own love, when we pay attention to his attitude towards Lin Da and the engagement between the Lin and Huang families, he shows another side of his personality. This is a rather traditional and careful aspect to his character, in that he obeys orthodox Confucian morality and general law. The way that these six editors deal with the engagement is not perfect, but their attempts to solve this problem are themselves indicative of the existence of such a problem. Chen San, in this way, is still a man of his era. He is not completely a “revolutionary”. Some researchers, such as Zhong Dong, believes that the most important theme of *Lizhiji* is the success of free love and the failure of a standard engagement with betrothal gifts. However, through my discussion here, it is clear that Chen San finally chooses, and still follows, the standard engagement. Zhong Dong’s idea is to some extent superficial.⁶²

3.2.3.4 JJE: A Special Edition

Finally, I want to discuss Chen San in *JJE* briefly. In the previous chapter, I explained that *JJE* is based on two edition versions, and is a very isolated edition to which the latter five editions make no clear reference to. Only in this isolated edition do we find a completely different plot. That is in Act 32, when Wu Niang’s father goes to Chishui to collect land rents. The manager of the land, as well as the manager of the firewood, recognises him. They try to take Wu Niang’s father aside, and ask the reason why Chen San is coming:

Dynasty editions.

⁶¹ Zhang Yi, “Mingdai Dinghun Zhidu Chutan,” 64

⁶² Zhong Dong 钟东, “Shanli yu mojing-dui chaozhou xiwen lijingji zhong hunsu de tantao 谈荔与磨镜——对潮州戏文《荔镜记》中婚俗的探讨 [Dropping the Lychee and Polishing the Mirror: A Discussion on the Marriage Custom Showed in the Chaozhou Opera *Lijingji*],” *Xiqu Yanjiu* 2 (2006): 50-61.

(Wu Niang's father left) The manager of the land and the manager of the firewood says: My Sandie, we worship you and please forgive the rudeness of our tenant peasants. So Sandie, what is [the reason that] you are coming here, to buy some land with Jiulang gong 九郎公 (Lord Nine, nine is Wu Niang's father's rank among his siblings), or just come to see your land?

Chen San says: Please stand up all the tenant peasants. Jiulang gong is my foster father. (Act 32, *JJE*)

外下丑淨白介：三爹拜参，佃户大胆，恕罪，三爹只来正是卜共九郎公买田，来只处看田？

生白：众佃户，都请起，九郎公正是我义爹。（嘉靖本·第三十二齣）

We already know that Wu Niang's father comes to collect the rent for his own fields; where does the reference to buying fields come from? He explains that Wu Niang's father is his foster father, which seems very odd, too. Then Wu Niang's father comes back, and all the peasants start to brag about the richness of the Chen family, and tell him that Chen San's older brother and uncle are government officials:

Chen San left and Wu Niang's father says: How do you peasants know him?

The manager of the land and the manager of the firewood says: Jiulang gong, you really do not know people well. He is the natural younger brother of Chen *yunshi* from the Rear Pengshan Mountain. His brother is the *yunshi* of Southern Guangdong Province now, and his uncle is the magistrate of Sichuan now. He also has a large field in Chishui here.

Wu Niang's father says: If he has a field here, does he have any tenant peasants?

The manager of the land says: He has 500 tenants, and you only have 50...

The manager of the firewood says: [His family is so rich that] Here, is there anybody who does not work on his field? Is there anybody who does not [rent to] live in his house? Is there anybody who does not eat his food? Is there anybody who does not lead an ox for him? Is there anybody who does not look after his goats? (Act 32, *JJE*)

生下外白：恁众佃户人做乜识伊？

丑净白介：九郎公你好不识人，只是泉州朋山岭后陈运使亲小弟，伊兄现任广南运使，伊叔四川知州。伊也有一大庄田在赤水。

外白：伊有若田在只处，可有若田客？

净白：伊有五百田客，九郎公那有五十名田客...

丑白：阮只处值人不作伊田？值人不住伊厝？值人不食伊饭？值人不牵伊牛？值人不看伊羊？（嘉靖本·第三十二齣）

Thus Wu Niang's father fully recognises Chen San's identity, and asks the reason why he came to the Huang family. Chen San does not tell the truth; instead he find another excuse and lies to Wu Niang's father again:

Wu Niang's father talking to Chen San: Chen San, you are a son of a good family. You have come to my family; why did you not tell me and let me know [about your identity]?

Chen San says: I will tell you in depth. My home is in Quanzhou, and I am from a good family. I escaped from Quanzhou because of some affairs related to the government, and I'm in the lowest time of my life, but just for now. (Act 32, *JJE*)

外叫生介：陈三你是好人仔，来我厝，因何不说乞我知？

生白：好说九郎得知，陈三厝住泉州，也是好人仔儿，因为官府逃离出来，暂时落泊。（嘉靖本·第三十二齣）

After these words, Wu Niang's father does not question any detail of Chen San's experience, nor does he ask what governmental affair forced him to leave. The story suddenly changes back to become very similar to *NLSE* and the three Qing Dynasty editions. When it comes to the act where the Lin family comes to pick Wu Niang up and the magistrate speaks to the court, Wu Niang's father never says anything about Chen San's identity. When he comes back home, he does not explain this to Wu Niang, either. In my opinion, this unique plot is superfluous and breaks the logic of the whole *JJE* story. It does of course indicate that Wu Niang's family is

relatively rich, but Chen San's family is even richer, perhaps because of its government background. *JJE*'s unique characteristics are again highlighted here.

Throughout this considered analysis of Chen San, I have found that the conclusions and descriptions of him made by previous researchers are not completely right. If we break the sublimated shell of Chen San, we can find that he is not a *caizi*, nor a revolutionary fighter for love and marriage freedom. His love is based on Wu Niang's appearance instead of other factors. His behaviour reveals his limited cultural level and his love for Wu Niang still operates within the framework of orthodox morality and law, whilst initially appearing to be so romantic, revolutionary and dramatic. Wu Niang and Chen San's thoughts of freedom in choosing love praised by previous researchers is deviated to some extent when faced with the reality presented in the text.

3.2.4 *Lin Da: A Depraved Antagonist*

In nearly all studies concerning *Lizhiji*, there is hardly any discussion about the characterisation of Lin Da. Chen Yaqian, Huang Wenjuan and many others mostly stress the main love story of Chen San and Wu Niang; they downplay Lin Da and only say that he is a rich man.⁶³ In Jin Ningfen's book *The History of Ming Dynasty Opera*, she never even mentions Lin Da's presence in the story.⁶⁴ In the previous section discussing Wu Niang, I presented many examples that indicate Wu Niang's unwillingness to marry Lin Da due to his ugly appearance. There are various sentences in the story that refer to his wealth. Here I present just one example:

Wu Niang's father says: He is Lin Da who lives on the Western Road. This man is quite famous, but I am wondering which branch of the family he is from?⁶⁵

⁶³ Chen Yaqian, "*Lijingji de sixiangneihan ji Chensan Wuniang gushi de yanbian*," 7-14. Huang Wenjuan, "*Liyuan Xi Chensan Wuniang Jumu Yanjiu*," 3.

⁶⁴ Jin Ningfen, *The History of Ming Dynasty Operas*, 280.

⁶⁵ Here the "branch" means family background.

Li Po says: You ask me about his branch, I do not know. He is so rich, very, very rich.
(Act 11, *JJE*)

外白：另是西街林大官厝，只人也是有名个人，未知是值枝头？

丑白：另卜问枝头，婆仔都不晓得。另是许富，富富个。（嘉靖本·第十一齣）

Besides his wealth, ugliness, and seemingly optimistic desire to marry Wu Niang, does Lin Da have any remarkable features? Did his image change from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty in the way that Wu Niang and Chen San's did? I have organised all the material pertaining to Lin Da in the six editions, and thus discovered that this stereotypical antagonist shows significant changes throughout the past 400 years. This section will explore these shifts.

Although I argued in the previous section that Chen San is not a typical *caizi*, the story of Chen San and Wu Niang is still to some extent a story of *caizi* and *jiaren* 佳人 (beauty). Extended discussions of such stories can be found in texts from the late imperial period, as Liu Yongqiang cited in his essay:

Caizi and *jiaren*, are very similar. If there is no storm which causes some opportunities and coincidences in their ordinary lives, the *caizi* and *jiaren* are only common couples who get married through accepting betrothal gifts. How can this kind of [ordinary] story be passed on to later generations? In this way, we can say that antagonists are necessary.⁶⁶

就是才子佳人，两下相似。若没有一番平地风波，生出机缘，以成巧合，只不过是
个纳聘成亲的平常夫妇，焉能传于后世哉？可见坏人亦是少不得的。

Lin Da is the villain in this story. He is like a needle which threads all of the acts together and helps to promote the development of the plot. He is a necessary and important figure in the

⁶⁶ *Wufeng Yin* 五凤吟 [*Songs of the Five Phoenix*], published by Caoxian Tang 草闲堂 (Caoxian Hall) during the Qianlong Reign period (1736-1796). The edition that published by Fengyin Lou 凤吟楼 (Fengyin Building) does not have this opening act. I do not have the direct source of this edition. The text here is quoted from Liu Yongqiang 刘勇强, "Gudai xiaoshuo de renwu shezhi wenti 古代小说的人物设置问题 [The Role-Setting Problem of Imperial Chinese Novels]," *Beijing Daxue Xuebao (Zhexue Shehui Kexue Ban)* 3 (2009): 13.

whole opera. In the table below, I summarise all the acts and subplots which present or make reference of Lin Da.⁶⁷

No	Subplot	<i>JJE</i>	<i>WLE</i>	<i>NLSE</i>	<i>SZE</i>	<i>DGE GXE</i>
1	Lin Da looks for Lao Zhuo to see the lanterns; Lin Da introduces his aesthetic ideas; Lin Da sees the beauty of Wu Niang and wants to find her again	Act 5 Act 6	Act 5, Lin Da invites his friend to enjoy the lantern; Lao Zhuo asks Lin Da Bi to stay and have tea Act 6, ○○ invites Li Po to enjoy the lanterns; ⁶⁸ Lin Da and Lao Zhuo plan to see Wu Niang	Act 4 Act 5	Act 3 Act 4	Act 3 Act 4
2	Lin Da, Lao Zhuo, Wu Niang, Yi Chun and Li Po sing in an antiphonal way; Lin Da chats with Wu Niang	Act 7	Act 7, Yi Chun laughs at Lin Da Bi; Lin Da goes to Li Po the matchmaker's place; Lin Da asks Li Po to help him to marry into the Huang family	Act 6		Act 5 Act 6
3	Lin Da goes to Li Po's home and asks her to be the matchmaker	Act 9				Act 7
4	Lin Da and Li Po discuss the wedding date and betrothal gifts <u>Li Po comes to the Huang family to tell them the wedding date and asks them to prepare for the wedding</u>	Act 30	Act 25, Lin's family asks Li Po to discuss the wedding; Lin's family asks Li Po to help to marry Wu Niang; Lin's family pushes Wu Niang to marry		Act 17	Act 29
5				Act 28		
6	Lin Da's mother takes Lin Da to the Huang family and wants to see Wu Niang		Act 35, Lin Da's mother comes to pick up the bride; Lin Da's mother employs a stratagem to see her daughter-in-law; Wu Niang's father examines Lin Da	Act 30	Act 24	Act 30
7	Wu Niang's father examines Lin Da;	Act 37				

⁶⁷ *WLE*'s acts only have numbers, not names. Here the names are the captions of the illustrations on the upper column. If there is more than one caption in one act, I have only listed the captions relating to Lin Da. I will deal with this problem in the same way hereafter. Subplot 5 is in grey, and it is a special situation. In this subplot where Li Po comes to Huang's family, Lin Da does not exist. In *JJE*, two subplots are mixed into one act, but *NLSE* is different from other editions. I stress this only to make clear the changes among all the editions. The blank in grey means there is not a corresponding subplot in a certain edition.

⁶⁸ Here the symbol ○○ refers to two blanks in the original caption. It may be Yi Chun or Wu Niang, but unexpectedly the two characters are lost. Given that *WLE* is a reprint version, it is highly possible an accidental and unintended adaption.

	Lin Da wants sue the Huangs					
8	Lin Da brings an action	Act 38	Act 36, the magistrate Zhao De sits in the lawcourt; Lin Da Bi sues Huang Zhongzhi	Act 36	Act 25	Act 38
9	The magistrate judges Chen San; the magistrate asks Lin Da to choose between Wu Niang and money	Act 44	Act 39, Wu Niang does not want to marry Da Bi, who receives his judgement	Act 38	Act 37	Act 40
10	Boyan/Liu Dao judges Lin Da; Lin Da is exiled	Act 52			Act 35	Act 49

From the table above, it can be seen that there are many acts involving Lin Da; these acts total around one fifth of the whole opera. At the same time, many differences can be found even when only talking about general subplots. On the one hand, some subplots, such as Lin Da asking Li Po to be the matchmaker and Lin Da being exiled, do not appear in all the editions. On the other hand, there are still discrepancies in common subplots. In this section, I will discuss the differences between the subplots, following this with an examination of the differences in Lin Da's image, shown through details of the changing contexts. Finally, I will explain my own view about why Lin Da's character becomes increasingly depraved from the Ming to the Qing through four aspects: the function of Lin Da in the opera; the change in performances of the Liyuan Opera; the trend of changes in literature, as well as in social background.

3.2.4.1 Presence and absence of certain subplots

According to the table above, there are eight differences between the subplots where Lin Da appears. I will classify these differences into two categories. The first kind occurs because of differences in the edition's content. The second kind relates to certain subplots being lost over time.

The first difference, as I said in chapter 2, is that for *Lizhiji* there are two edition systems (Chaozhou and Quanzhou systems). Although these two merged together and absorbed each other after *JJE*, *WLE* and *NLSE* still show unique features when we list all the editions together. In different edition systems, editors and authors do not write or downplay certain subplots based on their own editions' story and plot. Subplot 6 in *JJE*, where Lin Da's mother takes her son to the Huang family, is an example of this kind. Subplot 10, in which Lin Da is exiled in *WLE* and *NLSE*, belongs to this kind as well.

Firstly, let us consider subplot 6. In Act 37 of *JJE*, Lin Da appears at the beginning of the act. When he sees Wu Niang's father, he frankly tells the latter that he has already heard of Wu Niang and Yi Chun eloping with Chen San. He explains that his mother learned this from somebody, but who that somebody is and how this person could have heard of such a secret thing, is something that the editor of *JJE* does not provide further explanation on. On the contrary, he quickly moves forward. It is obvious that such an arrangement of the subplot enables Lin Da to ask where Wu Niang is, and makes the story develop more rapidly. However, it is a rough way to deal with such a message, especially given the fact that Wu Niang's father asked everyone to conceal their elopement. Xiao Qi and Wu Niang's mother discover this on the morning of the 15th day, and it takes, at most, two days for Wu Niang's father to get back home. It is rather difficult for someone to know this in such a short amount of time and to keep the whole affair secret. This is, to some extent, a shortcoming of *JJE*.

So how do other editors deal with this problem? I find that the text and subplots in *WLE* and *NLSE* are very similar, while the three Qing Dynasty editions are very close to each other. In *WLE* and *NLSE*, Lin Da's mother and Lin Da both appear at the beginning of the act to come to the Huang family in order to pick up Wu Niang, without knowing that she has already eloped. Xiao Qi, under Wu Niang's father's orders, is on duty at the gate of the family home and promises not to allow anybody in, for the sake of keeping the secret. Lin Da's mother is very shrewd; she feels it is strange to close the gate during the day, and thus deceives Xiao Qi into believing that she is "Aunty from the mountain". This reduces Xiao Qi's defences, and he

cannot hold back from telling her what happened since she is a close relative of the Huang family:⁶⁹

Lin Da's mother says: I am your Aunt from the mountain.

Xiao Qi says: Since you are our Aunt from the mountain, how come you don't know about the strange thing that happened to our family?

Lin Da's mother says: What affair?

Xiao Qi says: Our lady eloped with Chen San.

Lin Da's mother says: I am your family's mother-in-law from the Lin family.⁷⁰

Xiao Qi says: I am going to faint! I am going to faint! (Act 35, *WLE*)

夫白：阮是伊山里姑。

七白：即是山里姑，你不知来体阮家内一件好笑事。

夫白：是乜事？

七白：阮阿娘趁陈三走了。

夫白：向生林亲姆幹当乜。

七白：我眩我眩。（万历本·第三十五齣）

After such a conversation, Lin Da and his mother know about the elopement of Wu Niang. They come in and ask to see her. Wu Niang's father shirks this request with excuses and tries to examine Lin Da's cultural level. He randomly answers such questions and Wu Niang's father is so annoyed by Lin Da that he claims to be unafraid of a lawsuit from the Lin family.

⁶⁹ Here the original Chinese of Aunt from the mountain is *shanli gu* 山里姑. *Gu* 姑 [aunt] is a sister of someone's father, and is a very close relative since they share the same surname. For example, *gu* 姑 can be the one in charge of a marriage. See Huai Xiaofeng, *Fully Noted Version of the Great Ming Code*, 59. "The grandparents, parents, brothers and their wives of your father, sisters of your father, your own brothers and sisters can set up an engagement for you (祖父母、父母及伯叔父母、姑、兄、姊.....为订婚)". What is more, one cannot get married if his or her *gu* just died, see "If your grandparents, brothers and their wives, sisters of your father, your own brothers and elder sisters have died, but you get married during this period, you will be beaten 80 times with a bamboo stick (若居祖父母伯叔父母姑兄弟姊丧而嫁娶者杖八十)." The close relationship of *gu* and her original family can also be seen in her right of succession. If one family does not have any heir, *gu* can get one third of the family property even though she is married. See He Zhaoyan 贺昭艳, "Mingdai Nüxing Caichan Jicheng Zhidu Yanjiu 明代女性财产继承制度研究 [A Research on the Female Property Inheritance System in the Ming Dynasty]," (MA diss., Hainan University, 2011).

⁷⁰ This is a tentative translation. Here "向生林亲姆幹当乜" perhaps means "what if I am the mother-in-law from the Lin family". It should be a sentence through which Lin Da's mother tells Xiao Qi about her identity.

In the Qing Dynasty editions, Lin Da and his mother come to the Huang family after they heard of Wu Niang's behaviour. At that time, it is also Xiao Qi who guards the gate. Lin Da's mother knows Xiao Qi and decides to trick Xiao Qi into providing some more accurate information:

Lin Da's mother says: A saying goes that good words never leave home, but bad rumours always spread a thousand miles. Everyone on the street says that Wu Niang has eloped with Chen San. I do not know if it is true or not. Let me go [to the Huang family] to have a look at my daughter-in-law, and then I will know the facts.

.....

Lin Da's mother says: This is Xiao Qi, who looks so chaotic and lunatic. Let me deceive him. I am your relative!

Xiao Qi says: You are my relative? You bad woman, you do not have the heart of a relative. Our lady Wu Niang and [maid] Yi Chun were taken away by Chen San, you still have not come to visit my master.

Lin Da's mother says: Now I am coming to visit your master.

Xiao Qi says: Her voice sounds like our Auntie from the mountain's. Are you my Auntie from the mountain?

Lin Da's mother says: I am her! Please open the door quickly! (Act 24, *SZE*)

丑白：人叫好话不出门，怯话走千里。满街人都说闹，五娘乞陈三掣走了。未知虚实？我进来去探媳妇，便知端的。

.....

丑白：只是小七，癡癡狂狂年，我着骗伊即。我是你亲情。

净白：你是阮亲情？十种，你无亲情人心。阮亚娘、益春乞陈三掣走，你亦不来探阮亚公。

丑白：今即卜来探恁亚公。

净白：只都是阮山内姑的声说。你是阮山内姑不？

丑白：阮正是，紧来开门。（顺治本·第二十四齣）

Xiao Qi then opens the door. He cannot let her go away, although he immediately recognizes she is not Aunty from the mountain, and has to tell Wu Niang's father. The subplots later are the same as *WLE* and *NLSE*. From this, it can be concluded that the Qing Dynasty edition takes in subplots and details from both the Quanzhou and Chaozhou edition systems. They keep the subplot in which the Lin family has heard the rumour, as well as the subplot in which Lin Da's mother pretends she is Aunty from the mountain. It is an eclectic way to deal with this problem.

One more thing which should be highlighted is that this Aunty from the mountain also exists in another act. In *NLSE*, when Xiao Qi and Wu Niang's mother go together to find Wu Niang, they do not know the route at all. Xiao Qi suggests that he can come back and ask for a name card from Wu Niang's father, while Wu Niang's mother does not want to go home to face her annoyed husband. She tells Xiao Qi that she will stay at Aunty from the mountain's place for a while:

Xiao Qi says: I have to go back and ask for a name card and some reward money from my master. I will leave the name card at the gate of the east ferry bridge, and will wait for businessmen from Quanzhou to bring some messages for us.⁷¹ It will not take a long time to get the information.

Wu Niang's mother says: Hooligan, your words are very reasonable. Xiao Qi, you go back first. I will go to Aunty from the mountain's place and stay there for one or two days, then come back. (Act 34, *NLSE*)

七白：不免返去共阿公出贴，种种赏银。贴放东津桥门处，待福建客人来往走报消息，许时就有下落了。

⁷¹ Dongjin qiaomen 东津桥门 [the gate of the east ferry bridge] refers to the east gate of Guangji Bridge 广济桥. Dongjin 东津 is the name of a place (perhaps a ferry) near Guangji Qiao. There is only one bridge near Dongjin in Chaozhou and that is Guangji Bridge. See Wu Daorong 吴道镛, *Guangxu Haiyang Xianzhi Qianshi Lue Difang* 光绪海阳县志·前事略·堤防 [*Haiyang annals published in Guangxu reign period-brief history-embankment*], Dongjin is a dyke near Guangji Bridge. Guangji Bridge was built in the Song Dynasty. In the middle part of this bridge, there is floating bridge made by many connected boats. That is why in *WLE* the caption of the illustration is *Fuqiao Menren Kan Shangtie* 浮桥门人看赏帖 (At the gate of the floating bridge, people look at the notice of reward).

妈白：丁古说的亦是话。小七，尔返去，我卜山里姑厝去待一二日即返来。（苏格兰藏本·第三十四齣）

However, this subplot can only be found in *NLSE*; even *WLE* does not have it. The inclusion of such an element here explains why only Wu Niang's father receives Lin Da and his mother in the later act. What's more, for Wu Niang's mother, as a married female, it is perhaps not appropriate to spend too much time out with a male servant Xiao Qi. I think this detail in *NLSE* is not redundant, but has its own function.

Secondly, let us move to subplot 10, in which Chen San's brother Boyan interrogates Lin Da and Lin Da is exiled. This subplot does not appear in *WLE* and *NLSE*. I think this is not a shortcoming, but a result based on the previous subplots (which are slightly different from other editions). When we look at the act in which Chen San meets with a servant from his family (Act 49 of *JJE*, Act 44 of *WLE*, Act 43 of *NLSE*, Act 32 of *SZE*, Act 46 of *DGE* and *GXE*), it can be observed that *JJE* is very different from the other editions. After the promotion of Boyan, he is granted the special privilege of being allowed to punish a government official without informing the Emperor in advance. The Chen family servant Guan Yi stresses this point particularly to Chen San, foreshadowing the moment when Boyan relieves Zhao De of his post.

In the three Qing Dynasty editions, Boyan does not have such a privilege, and Guan Yi asks Chen San to wait for Boyan and himself at the government post house. In this way, it is necessary to explain how Boyan punishes Lin Da and Zhao De later.

However, in *WLE* and *NLSE*, it is Chen San's footman An Tong who meets Chen San on the way. He wants to beat the beadle who sends Chen San, and even plans to open the shackles. Chen San stops this action:

An Tong says: Sanshe, please let me break your shackles and throw them away.

Chen San says: An Tong, please do not do so. The government sets the law, and I should obey it. Please listen to my brother's orders. (Act 44, *WLE*)

童白：三舍，长枷待乞我打丢持。

生白：家童宽打，朝廷立法，理当遵守。听恁大老爹示下。（万历本·第四十四齣）

Chen San says: That is not reasonable. The government sets the law, and it should be like this. (Act 43, *NLSE*)

生白：不通，朝廷设法，理当如此。（苏格兰藏本·第四十三齣）

From the above examples, it is clear that Chen San believes that he should obey the law, instead of acting capriciously. Accordingly, Boyan does not punish Zhao De excessively and does not mention Lin Da in Act 46 of *WLE* and Act 45 of *NLSE*.

Boyan says: You corrupt official, how dare you be so rude! My fellows, please break the shackles, and find some clothes and a hat for Sanshe to wear. Grasp the beadle and beat him 30 times with a bamboo stick, and notify the corrupt official Zhao De...⁷² Now I will write a report to the Emperor, and the government has its own way of dealing with it. (Act 46 of *WLE*)

使白：赃官敢有只等无礼，手下将长枷打去，讨衣冠来乞恁三舍穿。拿长解来打三十板子。寄与那赃官知州.....我如今就题本奏闻，朝廷自有区处走。（万历本·第四十六齣）

Boyan says: You corrupt official, how dare you be so rude! My fellows, please break the shackles down, and find some clothes and a hat for Sanshe to wear. Grasp the beadle and beat him 30 times with a bamboo stick seriously, and notify the corrupt official Zhao De. Now I will write a report to the Emperor, and the government has its own way of dealing with it. (Act 45 of *NLSE*)

使白：赃官敢只等无礼，手下将长枷打吊了，讨衣冠乞恁三舍穿。拿长解过来手下重责三十。寄与赃官知州。我如今就题本奏闻，朝廷自有区处。（苏格兰藏本·第四十五齣）

⁷² This is a tentative translation. *Jiyu* 寄与 means give somebody something. However there is nothing to give to Zhao De.

In other editions, Lin Da is exiled due to his bribing of a government official.⁷³ The exact method of such a punishment is slightly different among these editions. In *JJE*, Boyan judges Zhao De's injustice in Chen San's trial first, then Lin Da is brought to the court as a participant in this trial. Boyan asks him directly how much money he gave to Zhao De and sentences him to exile. However, in the Qing Dynasty editions, it is Lin Da who goes to the court first, and then Zhao De is brought to the court in order to solve Lin Da's suit:

Lin Da's voice: The magistrate deceived me for 100 *liang* of silver. I will go to the censorate court to sue him. ⁷⁴

Liu Dao says: Put the accuser in the detention house, and let the sergeant catch the magistrate. ⁷⁵ (Act 35, *SZE*)

净声：知州骗我一百两银，我卜察院处告伊。

外白：原告收监，叫巡捕提知州。（顺治本·第三十五齣）

Lin Da and Zhao De debate on the court about the 100 *liang* betrothal gift that the Huang family had returned earlier. Lin Da says he did not collect the money, but that Zhao De took it. Liu Dao asks Zhao De's inventory keeper to come to tell the truth. Finally, Liu Dao extorts the keeper's confessions by torture. It seems that Lin Da succeeds in his case, but Liu Dao mentions the previous trials and exiles Lin Da, without any further explanation about such a sudden change:

⁷³ In Act 46 of *WLE* and Act 45 of *NLSE*, Chen San also mentioned that Lin Da bribed Zhao De. However, the editors do not arrange this subplot as in other editions. In my opinion, since Chaozhou system deletes the subplot that Boyan punish Zhao De, there is no place to add the subplot that he punishes Lin Da.

⁷⁴ Chayuan 察院 here refer to duchayuan 都察院. It is established in the Ming Dynasty which serves the function as a censorate department of the government. See Huan Li 焕力, *Zhongguo Lishi Lianzheng Jiancha Yanjiu* 中国历史廉政监察研究 [A Study on China's Historical Anti-Corruption Supervision], (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2015), 120.

⁷⁵ Here, the actor 外 *wai* is not Chen San's brother Boyan. According to *DGE*, he introduces himself as "my surname is Liu 刘 and my first name is Dao 到, I am the *ancha yushi* 按察御史 (surveillance censor) of southern Guangdong, and now I am arriving at Guangdong Province." He then receives a letter of Boyan from Quanzhou. Then Lin Da appears.

Liu Dao says: Take Lin Da back, and beat him 40 times with a bamboo stick. You bribed the government, and gave money to the magistrate in order to let the latter judge somebody unfairly. According to the law, you should be exiled. (Act 35, *SZE*)⁷⁶

外白：林大採下，打四十大板。你打点衙门，买嘱知州，枉断人罪。依律应拟充军。
（顺治本·第三十五齣）

Only after sentencing Lin Da to exile does Liu Dao remove Zhao De from his magistrate job. The order of punishment goes firstly from Lin Da and then to Zhao De. Such an arrangement is very interesting because it shows that the editors of the three Qing Dynasty editions seem to believe that it is Lin Da, rather than Zhao De, who should be blamed, and that Lin Da should be punished severely. When Lin Da knows he will be exiled, he bursts into tears and says:

Lin Da says: How poor is my destiny! I sent money and gifts in order to get a wife, but I never knew the taste of a wife! (Act 52, *JJE*)

Lin Da says: But my mother is 80 years old and now there is no one to look after her...She lets me live, she lets me die, she lets me be exiled, and she lets my rice be captured by the government! (Act 35, *SZE*)

林白：很我命乖通说也？送钱礼现么不识么味。（嘉靖本·第五十二齣）

林白：亏小的八十岁老母无人看顾.....为之生，为之死，为之充军，为之去纳米。
（顺治本·第三十五齣）

His words “she lets me die, she lets me be exiled” can also be found in *JJE*. Lin Da, who follows all the requirements I mentioned in the previous section - finding a matchmaker, preparing betrothal gifts, asking for the agreement of Wu Niang’s parents, setting a wedding date and going to the court when the Huang family break their engagement - is finally exiled. His story is to some extent a poignant tragedy.

⁷⁶ In fact, there is no evidence of Lin Da bribing the magistrate in any of the editions.

The second kind of difference is related to certain subplots being lost over time. As we all know, a new edition of an opera is always based on an old one. However, during the circulation period, there were always external factors (the loss of and damage to the woodblocks, the loss and damage of the previous book, the death of an important actor or editor, etc). These factors caused the new edition to lose some of the message of the previous one, no matter whether the opera is in oral or written form. Subplot 3 in *SZE* and subplots 4 and 5 in *WLE*, *NLSE*, *SZE*, *DGE* and *GXE* belong to this kind.

From the above table, it is obvious that subplot 4, where Lin Da goes to Li Po's home and asks her to be the matchmaker, is clearly missing some information. As for subplots 4 and 5, they are a bit more complex. In *JJE*, there are two elements of this subplot. Firstly, Lin Da and Li Po discuss betrothal gifts and a wedding date. Secondly, Li Po goes to the Huang family to tell them the wedding date and discuss Wu Niang's dowry. Such an arrangement is reasonable and natural. However, *WLE* and Qing Dynasty editions only have the first step, and *NLSE* only has the second. Given the close relationship between *WLE* and *NLSE*, I believe that it should be the *NLSE* edition in which the subplot of Lin Da coming to see Li Po is missing. Then I discovered that the common subplot of the second element that Li Po goes to the Huang family, is not the same in *NLSE* and *JJE*. In *JJE*, Wu Niang's father admits that his daughter does not want to marry Lin Da, and wonders about Li Po's opinion. He thinks it over and over, finally comforting himself by believing that this marriage should have a happy ending:

Wu Niang's father says: When a boy is old enough, he should marry a girl. When a girl is old enough, she should marry a boy. However, my daughter is not willing to marry. What should I do?

Wu Niang's father sings: You should remember an engagement, not shirk it. My daughter is short-sighted and does not want to marry into the Lin family. She cries sadly day and night. My disobedient daughter does not have any insight. This love is destined by heaven. I believe that it will not be anything wrong.

Li Po says: I, the old woman, walk forward and give a salute to Huang Jiulang. You have to prepare the dowry. This love is a good thing, you had better not mention any disadvantages. The boy and the girl get married at a similar age. (Lin Da) will follow the ancient tradition to welcome the book and the candle.⁷⁷ He will arrive at your family someday. (Act 31, *JJE*)

外白：男大当婚，女大当嫁。那是我仔心中不愿，做偶得好？

外唱：亲情记许不推辞，仔儿无所见。不愿嫁林厝，冥日苦切啼。不肖仔儿无所见，姻缘天注定，算来无差移。

丑白：婆仔上福黄九郎，须着办嫁妆。姻缘好事志，莫得说短长。男婚女嫁，年纪相当。古礼迎书烛，择日卜来上门。（嘉靖本·第三十一齣）

In *NLSE*, Wu Niang's father never hesitates. He answers without doubt that he will prepare the dowry:

Wu Niang's father says: When will the wedding be held?

Li Po sings: It will be on the 9th day of the 9th month. Could you please arrange it as soon as possible, and prepare her to go [to the Lin family]. Please do not keep your usual [slow] speed.⁷⁸

Wu Niang's father says: Li Po, your words are very reasonable. Please go back and tell my relatives-in-law the Lins that I accepted their words. Once all the dowry leaves my

⁷⁷ I did not find any record of having a *shu* 书 (book) and a *zhu* 烛 (candle, or torch) during a wedding. According to *Yili Juan Disi· Shihunli Dier* 仪礼·卷第四·士昏礼第二 [*Etiquette and Rites*· Volume Four· a *shi*'s wedding, the second section], “乘墨车，从车二乘，执烛前马 (Taking a black carriage, with two following carriages; the servants hold candles before the horse to light up the road)”. Li Xueqin 李学勤, *Shisan Jing Zhushu Yili Zhushu* 十三经注疏·仪礼注疏 [*Full Noted the Thirteen Classics· Full Noted Etiquette and Rites*] (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999). If the “book” here means *hunshu* 婚书 (the engagement contract), then according to Wu Zhiwei, people use *hunshu* during the wedding process before the wedding day in several steps. Wu Zhiwei 邬志伟, “Lun songren hunshu de wenti xingtai yu wenxuexing 论宋人婚书的文体形态与文学性 [Discussions on the Literary Format and Literary Feature of the Hunshu in the Song Dynasty],” *Jinan Xuebao (Zhaxue Shehui Kexue Ban)* 8 (2015): 92. In *Lizhiji* the whole engagement and wedding process is simplified, so I cannot say that this *shu* is really that *hunshu*.

⁷⁸ This is a tentative translation. The meaning of 还伊去 is not sure. In fact, this sentence has two ways to add punctuation. I am not sure whether to put these three characters in the previous part or the later part.

home and enter their home, please do not dislike them [because they are not expensive enough].

公白：定在值时？

婆唱：检在九月初九日，放早来较量安排还伊去莫得做如常。

公白：李婆尔坦得亦是。尔去对林亲细说，阿公见坦扔听。但嫁妆诸般礼物出伊门入赧们，莫得嫌弃。（苏格兰藏本·第二十八齣）

According to the content above, it is apparent that *NLSE* is different from *JJE*. In my opinion, the editor of *NLSE* added this part individually in order to make the later subplot, where Lin Da's mother goes to the Huang family, more logical. Perhaps the editor of *NLSE* did not have a previous edition that includes this part (as we know, *WLE* does not have it) as a reference; the added part is possibly slightly similar to *JJE*. As for the absence of the subplot of Li Po going to the Huang family in *WLE*, *SZE*, *DGE* and *GXE*, I think that whether there is such an element of plot does not influence the development of the whole story, and it may be too long to spend two acts describing the preparations for the wedding, which is itself only a transitional subplot. In this way, I believe it is the typical result of a loss of information because of time during circulation, or perhaps due to intentional deletion by an editor. Due to limited material, I will pause my analysis on this point and leave it to open to any future scholars who find more records of Liyuan Opera and *Lizhiji*.

3.2.4.2 Changes in Lin Da's Character

Besides the above differences in subplots, there are also alterations to Lin Da's character from the earliest version, *JJE*, to the latest, *GXE*. It can be observed that more subplots and details are added to Lin Da, but most of these additions are not positive ones. In fact, Lin Da's character becomes increasingly depraved from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty.

In *JJE*, Lin Da seems to be a relatively ordinary young man, although he is ugly, dissolute and sometimes obtuse. When he appears on the stage for the first time, he introduces himself

as a son of a rich family, and admits he has a very big nose. He sings a song “I do not have a wife”, which is sincere and humorous:

Lin Da says: Gentleman Lin of Chaozhou has fame. He is willing to gain fame in Fujian and Guangdong Provinces. He does not lack money or food, but only lacks a wife. I am Lin Da Die (the oldest son of the Lin family) from Yongfeng Granary.⁷⁹ My mother does not know how, but she gave birth to me, a person with a very big nose. People who know things [who know my background] call me Da Guan 大官 (big government official); people who do not know things [who do not know my background] call me Da Bi 大鼻 (big nose).

净白：朝州林郎有名声，广东福建敢出名。不欠钱银不欠食，另欠一么不十成。小子永丰仓林大爹便是。阮母无分晓，生我一鼻障大。许识物个尽称呼佐大官，许不识物的个呼我做佐大鼻。

Lin Da sings: All year round, I have not had a wife and have stayed lonely. It is so cold and lonesome without anyone to accompany me. I eat alone in the day. I sleep alone in the night...A man who does not have a wife is precisely like a coat without a belt. A woman who does not have a husband is precisely like a boat without a rudder. The boat drifts from east to west, drifts without anything to rely on. People say that having a wife is better than having ten duvets on. In fact it is still cold even with ten duvets. (Act 5, *JJE*)

净唱：拙年无么守孤单，青青冷冷无人相伴。日来独自食，冥来独自宿……丈夫人无某么，亲像衣裳讨无带。诸娘人无婿，恰是舡无舵。拙东又拙西，拙了无依倚。人说一么强十被，十被甲也寒。（嘉靖本·第五齣）

He also expresses his own aesthetic requirements with Lao Zhuo in Act 5 of *JJE*. He loves

⁷⁹ Yongfeng cang 永丰仓 (Yongfeng Granary) is a Granary name in the Sui and the Tang Dynasty. Later, it becomes a typical name of a granary. In the Yuan Dynasty, there was already a Yongfeng Granary near Chaozhou. See Wang Linqian 王琳乾, and Deng Te 邓特, *Shantou Shi Zhi* 汕头市志·卷四十五 [Volume 45 of *Shantou Annals*], (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1999), 170.

women who have small feet.⁸⁰ When it comes to Act 30, Lin Da introduces himself again, and stresses his richness and dissoluteness:

Lin Da sings: Gentleman Lin is so outstanding. He [never] dresses carelessly...My surname is Lin and first name is Da Bi. I love flowers and drinking wines, and will never be apart from them. I have gold and silver, fields and farmland. The only pity for me is my delay in getting married. (Act 30, *JJE*)

净唱：林郎风骚，打扮不轻可……小子姓林，叫做大鼻。贪花乱酒无时离，有金有银有田地，那是可惜婚头迟。（嘉靖本·第三十齣）

However, there is seldom any solid evidence of Lin Da's obsession for flowers and wine. Later, in the discussion with Li Po about his wedding, Lin Da deals with all the problems properly, although he is a bit silly when arranging the sedan. This shows he does not have good knowledge of certain general regulations and customs:

Lin Da says: There will never be any better son-in-law than me. I will arrange a sedan chair [for the bride] and ask seven or eight men to carry it on the shoulder.

Li Po says: The sedan chair is always carried by four men. Lin Da Die, you are so silly. What do you mean by using seven or eight men to carry it?

Lin Da says: You are surely a rustic. At my father's funeral, his [coffin] was carried by 32 men.

Li Po says: But marrying a bride is an auspicious thing, while that [funeral] is an inauspicious one.

Lin Da says: Ok, now I will use four men to carry it.⁸¹ (Act 30, *JJE*)

⁸⁰ This requirement also appears in all other editions. A pair of small feet was a typical aesthetic requirement of women in the Ming Dynasty. See Qiu Ruizhong 邱瑞中, *Zhongguo Funü Chanzu Kao 中国妇女缠足考* [A Study on Chinese Women's Bound Feet], *Neimenggu Shifan Daxue Xuebao: Zhaxue Shehui Kexue Ban* 3 (2007): 99-100.

⁸¹ This subplot also appears in all the other editions. However, in *WLE* Lin Da explains that he uses 8 people because *siren kang*, *siren cha* 四人扛, 四人插 (four people carry, four people insert something). According to Guan Weicheng, here the four people insert flowers to the top of the sedan chair. See Guan Weicheng 官蔚成, "Xinniàng Jiaozi Cha Furong De Chuanshuo 新娘轿子插芙蓉的传说 [The Legend Of Inserting Lotus To

净白：我只仔婿谁会可强？安排好大轿七八人扛。

丑白：轿那是四人扛，林大爹好如鲁，七八人扛是俩年？

净白：你真村人，阮公许时送丧三十二人扛。

丑白：只娶么是吉事，许便是凶事。

净白：今那用四人扛。（嘉靖本·第三十齣）

Lin Da changes his idea immediately when Li Po queries it. He knows that he should thank the matchmaker and prepares many gifts for Li Po. Even when he goes to the Huang family to pick up Wu Niang, he still cares so much about his appearance that he wears both hat and boots. However, he makes another mistake in that he fails to remember his father-in-law's surname, which is ludicrous:

Lin Da says: My father-in-law, what is your surname?

Wu Niang's father says: My surname is HUANG.

Lin Da says: Is it the HUANG with the big belly, or the WANG with three strokes?⁸²

Wu Niang's father says: It is the HUANG with the big belly. (Act 37, *JJE*)

净白：亲家高姓？

外白：老拙姓黄。

净白：大肚黄，也是三画王？

外白：正是大肚黄。（嘉靖本·第三十七齣）

Bride's Carriage]" included in *Guangdong Minjian Gushi Quanshu Shanwei Lufeng Juan* 广东民间故事全书汕尾陆丰卷 [*Cantonese Folk Stories: Shanwei and Lufeng Volume*]. Guangdong sheng wenxue yishu jie lianhehui, and Guangdong sheng minjian wenyijia xiehui 广东省文学艺术界联合会和广东省民间文艺家协会, *Guangdong Minjian Gushi Quanshu Shanwei Lufeng Juan* 广东民间故事全书汕尾陆丰卷 [*Cantonese Folk Stories: Shanwei and Lufeng Volume*], (Guangzhou: Lingnan meishu chubanshe, 2003), 207. According to Meng Yuanlao, it is a tradition to put flowers on the top of a sedan chair during the Qing Ming Festival. [轿子即以杨柳杂花装簇顶上 (A sedan chair is decorated with bunches of willow and various flowers)]. Meng Yuanlao 孟元老, and Deng Zhicheng 邓之诚, *Dongjing Menghua Lu Juan Zhi Qi Qingming Jie* 东京梦华录·卷之七·清明节 [*The Eastern Capital: A Dream of Splendor·Volume Seven·The Qingming Festival*], (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 178. In this way inserting something to the sedan is very likely.

⁸² The character Huang 黄 looks like a man with big belly. However Wang 王 has four strokes.

Given that Lin Da seems already 34 years old, his behaviour above is to some extent clumsy, although this is surely not a serious shortcoming.⁸³ When the magistrate asks him to choose between Wu Niang and the refund of his betrothal gifts when he succeeds in the lawsuit, he unhesitatingly chooses Wu Niang. His love for Wu Niang, though based entirely on her beauty, still runs very deep. Such a deep love can also be noticed in the subplot I mentioned in the previous part, in which he groans that he has never known the taste of a wife.

When facing with Lin Da in *JJE*, who does not have any significant problems, Wu Niang and Yi Chun continuously and repeatedly scorn him. They especially scorn his ugly appearance:

Wu Niang says: Please [leave me and] go your own way, and do not haunt me. Please do not listen to his gossip and mad words. How can such a rustic philistine know any etiquette? (Act 7, *JJE*)

旦白：恁行开去，莫得来相缠。闲言野语你莫听伊，俗子村夫识也体例！（嘉靖本·第七齣）

Wu Niang says: This person (Lin Da) does not look like a tortoise, nor does he look like a soft-shelled turtle.⁸⁴

Li Po says: If not, what does he look like?

Wu Niang says: He looks exactly like an ape! (Act 14, *JJE*)

旦白：许人生不亲像龟，也不亲像鳖。

丑白：不，亲像也？

旦白：恰亲像猴猕一般体。（嘉靖本·第十四齣）

Wu Niang sings: I look at him, I look at his appearance. He is like a monstrous ape. Talking about this makes me broken-hearted. (Act 15, *JJE*)

⁸³ See Act 38, *JJE* as well as Act 3, *SZE*, *DGE* and *GXE*. Lin Da indicates that he is 34 years old. However, in *NLSE* and *WLE*, Lin Da is 27 or 28, younger than other editions. See Act 5, *WLE* and Act 4 *NLSE*. As for Chen San's age, in *JJE* he is 20 years old at the court, which means he is only 17 years old when sells himself to the Huangs. See Act 44, *JJE*.

⁸⁴ Gui 龟 [tortoise] and bie 鳖 [soft-shelled turtle] have been swearword in Chinese since the Yuan Dynasty, and especially refer to a man whose wife has had an adulterous relationship. See Yang Lin 杨琳, "Gui ya wangba yuyuan kao 龟, 鸭, 王八语源考 [A Study on the Source of Gui, Ya and Wangba]," *Zhongguo Wenhua Yanjiu* 2 (2006): 75-87.

旦唱：我看伊，我看伊一形状，恰是猴精。说着起来，恁我心悲。（嘉靖本·第十五齣）

Yi Chun says: My lady, it does not matter if a person has a lot of land if he is ugly. From my point of view, gentleman Lin is no better than the one that our family feeds.

Wu Niang says: You little devil! [Among] All the ones that our family feeds, who is the best one?⁸⁵

Yi Chun says: Lin Da cannot compare to Chen San. [When compared] Lin Da is not worth even one coin. (Act 22, *JJE*)

贴白：哑娘，人那卜生得怯世，卜许田也无用。比简看起来，林官人也不答恁厝个。

旦白：鬼仔，恁厝个，值个句爽利？

贴白：林大卜比陈三，林大不值一文钱。（嘉靖本·第二十二齣）

Wu Niang's father, as the man who is in charge of the marriage, also holds some inexplicable antipathy towards Lin Da. When Lin Da comes to see him after Wu Niang's elopement, he becomes angry and shouts:

Wu Niang's father says: I do not detect any of your abilities or skills. You eat lunch but excrement fills your stomach. It is my daughter that does not have any destined love with you, and she blames your silliness. (Act 37, *JJE*)

外白：看你本事我未见，那会中饭屎肚满。是我仔共你无缘，怨你呆痴。（嘉靖本·第三十七齣）

However, he does not test Lin Da's knowledge or skills at all in *JJE*. Such a complaint is rather baseless, as Wu Niang's father has never really explored Lin Da's character.

Following this analysis of Lin Da as presented in *JJE*, it is expedient to consider his character in *WLE*. In this edition, several more shortcomings, such as stupidity, crude

⁸⁵ The translations of these two sentences are tentative ones. *Shuangli* 爽利 usually means neat, frank and brisk.

conversation and a lack of sophistication, are added to his character. In Act 25, in which Lin Da discusses the preparations of his marriage, there are more details of specific procedures. Li Po asks many questions and Lin Da answers all of them. However, these answers are sometimes whimsical and funny:

Li Po says: I am afraid your lady's dowry is not fully prepared [if you set such an early wedding date].

Lin Da sings: Let their daughter marry me [first], and I will pick up the dowry later.

Li Po says: Please arrange some nice wine, as well as mutton and pork.

Lin Da says: Li Po, the sow of my family gives birth to seven or eight piglets this year [so the pork is enough]. So what am I afraid of not having? It is precisely that I do not have a goat. At the time of my wedding day, I will stick a pair of fake horns on the head of my male dog and let people lead the dog as a goat.⁸⁶ (Act 25, *WLE*)

婆白：那畏伊人嫁妆未便。

丑唱：甲伊[女△]且乞我[田子]，嫁妆趣后迎。

婆白：安排好酒共猪羊。

丑白：李婆，阮厝猪母生年七八个在处。畏无何生物，那是天欠一件无羊。待到临时家中狗牯假开一双角，亦牵去罢。⁸⁷（万历本·第二十五齣）

Lin Da also speaks crudely in *WLE*, which does not happen in *JJE*:

Lin Da says: I will not live without you in three lives. I will never have the courage to touch Wu Niang's titty in any of those lives.⁸⁸ (Act 25, *WLE*)

丑白：三世不离业主，世世不敢摸阿娘个乳。（万历本·第二十五齣）

⁸⁶ This sentence is a tentative translation.

⁸⁷ In *WLE*, usually Lin Da is indicated by *lin* 林 or *da* 大, and he is the *jing* 净 [comprimario] role in it. However here he is indicated by *chou* 丑. It should be viewed as a mistake made by the scribe.

⁸⁸ This is a tentative translation. The meaning of the first sentence is obscure, since *yezhu* 业主 means the owner of a company or property. I do not know why these two sentences are put one by one. However Lin Da talks about titties in front of Li Po, this is surely not a refinement at all.

When he follows his mother and goes to the Lin family to pick up Wu Niang, and his mother asks him to meet with his future father-in-law, Lin Da is not anxious at all. At such an important and formal moment, he still cares about his crickets and lets Wu Niang's father wait for him.

A Jin says: My gentleman, your mother asked you to see your future father-in-law.

Lin Da says: A Jin, please wait for me. I will pick up my cricket cage and find some crickets. I will let them bite each other to play. (Act 35, *WLE*)

进白：大官，阿妈甲你去见黄爹。

大白：阿进，你蟋蟀笼等我带来去并掠蟋蟀来相咬，得桃一下。（万历本·第三十五齣）⁸⁹

In *WLE*, Wu Niang's father particularly examines Lin Da's knowledge. This is partly because he said in Act 8 that he wants his daughter to marry a smart *caizi*. Lin Da unquestionably answers in a very bad way, using many indecent words. Wu Niang's father is so angry that he quarrels with Lin Da.⁹⁰

Wu Niang's father says: Do you work hard when you are at home?

Lin Da says: I teach young kids lessons at home.

Wu Niang's father says: That is ok. I will give you a question and examine you.

Lin Da says: I will let you examine me.

Wu Niang's father says: [Could you please explain] The first chapter [of *Xiaojing*] "Setting the Theme and Illuminating Its Meaning", that is Confucius was at leisure in his home, and Master Zeng was attending him.⁹¹

Lin Da says: I admit that I understand your question. Confucius says: The beautiful naked woman inside the river has big titties. That is so...

⁸⁹ Here you can see Lin Da is indicated by *da* 大.

⁹⁰ This subplot also exists in three Qing Dynasty editions, with some differences in texts.

⁹¹ The translation here is from Henry Rosemont, and Roger T. Ames, *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence: A Philosophical Translation of The Xiaojing*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), 105.

Wu Niang's father says: Such a "wise" man! Xiao Qi, please go inside to find a female dog. Give this dog to this man and let him marry the dog!

Lin Da says: Old dog, you should not be so rude.

Wu Niang's father says: You're just like a dead beast. You really do not know what words to say. (Act 35, *WLE*)

公白：你在家都用工读书那不？

大白：我在家教训小童。

公白：正是障年。我出一题目请考试一下。

大白：任你考。

公白：开宗明义章第一，仲尼居曾子侍。

大白：禀明听讲，圣人咀：溪中姿[女么]赤交烈大乳胞真个是——

公白：即是贤。小七，去许内狗母呕来乞只一个侪子[田子]去。

大白：老狗你莫无礼。

公白：死畜生识乜话咀。（万历本·第三十五齣）

Lin Da's imprudent answers in the previous subplot accord with many details. In fact, he is illiterate. For example, in the act in which he sues the Huang family, he cannot write at all:

Zhao De says: Give the written complaint to me.

Lin Da says: I do not have a written one, only an oral one. (Act 36, *WLE*)⁹²

州白：接状上来。

林白：无状，是口词。（万历本·第三十六出）

Compared with *JJE*, in *WLE* Lin Da does not choose Wu Niang in the end, instead he wants both.⁹³ When Wu Niang tells the magistrate that she is not willing to marry him, Lin Da is very angry and says:

⁹² This detail also appears in *NLSE*, and is a unique subplot only found in *WLE* and *NLSE*. In *NLSE*, the magistrate asks a scribe to record his complaint, which is in contrast to Chen San who writes the words of the confession himself.

⁹³ It is the same in *NLSE* that Lin Da also wants both.

Wu Niang says: You are such a bad man and I do not wish to grow old with you. ⁹⁴

Lin Da says: My lord, this beautiful lady does not want to marry me. You had better sell her to the government. (Act 39, *WLE*)

旦白：着丁痞你未是恁[女么]想老你。

大白：老爹，只一个姿娘不肯共我做[女么]，着当官配卖。（万历本·第三十九齣）

Here the phrase *dangguan peimai* 当官配卖 (sell somebody to the government and become a government courtesan) is not a common saying. It may refer to selling Wu Niang to the government, and making her lose her *liangren* identity. Then the government will arrange to send her to places like Jiaofang Si 教坊司 (music office).⁹⁵ This sentence, which does not exist in *JJE*, diminishes Lin Da's love for Wu Niang. This also makes the audience wonder whether his obsession with Wu Niang is true love or more as a result of desire or possessiveness of her beauty.

One interesting thing is that Wu Niang, Yi Chun and Wu Niang's father do not curse him as many times as in *JJE*, although Wu Niang still complains that Lin Da disturbs her marriage. These accusations are mainly about his character, but not his appearance. This is another element that is different from *JJE*:

Yi Chun says: I see that you may not be a son of a good family. How can the son of a good family have such a big nose? (Act 7, *WLE*)

春白：看你未是好人子，好家人子向大鼻。（万历本·第七齣）

Wu Niang says: Lin Da is not *ren* enough and earns money but forgets others... Lin Da is so rustic.⁹⁶ (Act 11, *WLE*)

旦白：林大不仁独富.....林大忒村气。（万历本·第十一齣）

⁹⁴ This is a tentative translation. I cannot fully understand the second part of the sentence.

⁹⁵ According to Zhang Zhengming, a woman from a criminal's family may be sold to the Jiaofang Si. Zhang Zhengming 张正明, "Mingdai de yuehu 明代的乐户 [Musicians in the Ming Dynasty]," *Mingshi Yanjiu* 1 (1991). When Wu Niang commits adultery with Chen San, according to *The Great Ming Code*, Wu Niang's future husband Lin Da can sell her at his wish. He can sell Wu Niang and let her lose her identity, or sell Wu Niang but keep her *liangren* identity. See Huai Xiaofeng, *Fully Noted Version of the Great Ming Code, juan di ershiwu xinglü ba fanjian* 卷第二十五刑律八·犯奸 (volume 25, penal code eight, illicit sexual relationship), 197.

⁹⁶ This is a tentative translation.

Wu Niang says: I have complained hundreds and thousands of times about Lin Da Bi. He is crazy, he is rustic, and he presumes to take me as his spouse. (Act 13, *WLE*)

旦白：千怨万怨林大鼻，癫狂村气在年，掠我匹配夫妻。（万历本·第十三齣）

Wu Niang's father says: She does not have destined love with you, (I) have feelings of resentment towards your foolishness. (Act 35, *WLE*)

公唱：共你无缘，怨恁痴愚。（万历本·第三十五齣）

NLSE, which is very similar to *WLE*, also adds some negative aspects to Lin Da's personality. While it lost the subplot involving Lin Da going to Li Po's place, as well as the cricket subplot, the first extension is in Act 6, when Lin Da wants to sing together with Wu Niang. He and Lao Zhuo stop Wu Niang on the road, and invite her in the manner of a rascal:

Li Po: Please move aside and let us go ahead.

Lin Da says: If you want to continue on your way, you need to pay me tax. (Act 6, *NLSE*)

婆白：行开乞阮过。

林白：要过着过税。（苏格兰藏本·第六齣）

The other addition comes when he goes to the Huang family and he shows that he lacks knowledge of very basic salutations, which seems rather stupid:

Lin Da says: Worship my *qinjia* 亲家 (parents of one's daughter-in-law or son-in-law).

Wu Niang's father says: Please do not blame me [for my imperfect reception], my *qinglang* 青郎.⁹⁷

Lin Da says: No, no!⁹⁸ You are my fiancé's father, why do you call me *qinglang*?

Wu Niang's father says: I am your father-in-law, why do you call me *qinjia*?

⁹⁷ I am not sure about the meaning of *qinglang*. There is no record of this word either in the corpus or in the dialect dictionary.

⁹⁸ I am not sure about the meaning of 乾乾. It may be onomatopoeic to describe surprise.

Lin Da says: All the people in [my] family call you *qinjia*, but you only let me call you father-in-law. You do not dare others blame you. (Act 35, *NLSE*)

林白：亲家拜揖。

公白：青郎莫怪。

林白：乾乾是尔么翁，侂年叫我佐青郎。

公白：我是尔岳父，侂说叫我做亲家。

林白：一厝人扔叫尔佐亲家，偏偏甲我叫尔佐岳父，都不畏病众。（苏格兰藏本·第三十五齣）

In the three Qing Dynasty editions, Lin Da has more defects in addition to all the shortcomings shown in the previous three editions. He demonstrates elements of dissoluteness, he lacks parental nurturing, and he tells lies. There are two examples of his profligacy. The first one is in the beginning of the story, when he goes to Lao Zhuo's home. Lao Zhuo bought a new maid (or perhaps concubine) named Chun Lai 春来. In *JJE*, she also exists but Lin Da only chats with her in a very ordinary manner. When it comes to the Qing Dynasty editions, Lin Da assails her with obscenities. Lao Zhuo, as a close friend of Lin Da, who seems used to Lin Da's behaviour, only tries to stop him once in an unserious way:

Lin Da says: How old are you?

Chun Lai says: Fourteen years old.

Lin Da says: Fourteen, fourteen, it is time to try [to make love].

Chun Lai says: Lin Da Die, you are rude!

Lin Da says: Your Da Die (refers to himself) will sometimes shock you in the night like a cat.

Lao Zhuo says: Brother Lin, you are rude. (Act 3, *SZE*)

净白：你今年若岁了？

贴白：十四了。

净白：十四十四，正当试。

贴白：林大爹茹鲁。

净白：你亚爹有时做夜猫来惊你。

末白：林兄茹鲁。（顺治本·第三齣）

The other example is when the magistrate judges the lawsuit; Lin Da humiliates Wu Niang when he goes to the court:

Lin Da says: I am like a monk who has long, long feet. I go in and out. So shameful, such a shame, I carry two rough buckets on a shoulder pole, and wear a broken jacket. I want to break your hymen with my drill, but you are not willing. You ask another to break it, which is so shameful. (Act 27, *SZE*; Act 41, *DGE*)⁹⁹

净白：我是和尚脚长长，行去又行到。羞亚羞，羞九流，挑粗桶，穿破襦。我不共你开钻，你不肯，你乞别人开去，羞亚羞。（顺治本·第二十七齣；道光本·第四十一齣）

His vulgar character and complete lack of shame can also be witnessed when Wu Niang's father examines him:

Wu Niang's father says: You are so insolent. So what do you do at home?

Lin Da says: I supervise young kids reading books at home.

Wu Niang's father says: What kind of etiquette or books do you know?

Lin Da says: Books under the basket. (Act 37, *DGE*)

外白：只样无状，在厝所干何事？

净白：专训小童读书。

外白：晓乜礼？¹⁰⁰

净白：笼底书。（道光本·第三十七齣）

⁹⁹ This is a tentative translation. The original meaning of Lin Da's words is not clear. However, the sentence in which has *kaizuan* 开钻 (use a drill to open) should refer to Wu Niang does not wanting to marry Lin Da, but wanting to marry another and losing her virginity. In all the editions, Wu Niang truly lost her virginity to Chen San before they eloped.

¹⁰⁰ In Act 24, *SZE*, it is 读乜书 (what kind of book do you read)?

According to *Wuli Xiaoshi* 物理小识 (*A Small Book about the Rule Of Objects*), “books under the basket” refers to erotic books.¹⁰¹ Introducing himself to his father-in-law as someone who reads erotic books is very obscene and rather foolish. These answers, compared with *NLSE* and *WLE* in which Lin Da is able to say some conventional clichés like “I admit that I understand your question”, show in a direct way Lin Da’s ignorance and incompetence. Besides, he does not have any parental nurturing and acts abnormally, while at the same time he does not think that it is not right:

Lin Da’s mother: You have a runny nose.

Lin Da says: Let me lick and eat it.

Lin Da’s mother: You should wipe your nose clean. Why do you say lick and eat?

Lin Da says: You are so stupid. You need to spend money to buy oysters to eat. I have an oyster passing by my eyes, why would I not eat it?¹⁰² (Act 14, SZE)

丑白：鼻流亚。

净白：我舐食。

丑白：鼻流着拭，乜舐食障说？

净白：你喝呆，之时蚝着用钱买即有通食。我有蚝自目前过，不食？（顺治本·第二十四齣）

As for telling lies, this can be found in a newly added subplot in the Qing Dynasty editions. The magistrate asks Wu Niang’s father to pay double the amount of the betrothal gifts to Lin Da. Lin Da lies that his betrothal gift is 100 *liang*, but Wu Niang’s father says it is only 50 *liang*. The two people argue with each other, and finally the magistrate judges that it is 50 *liang*.

All of the examples and analysis above reveal a clear coarsening of the image of Lin Da from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty. In the earliest *JJE*, Lin Da is still a normal rich man but a

¹⁰¹ Fang Yizhi 方以智, *Wuli Xiaoshi* 物理小识 [*A Small Book about the Rule of Objects*], (Shanghai: Ningjing Tang, 2018), volume 8.

¹⁰² Lin Da thinks that nasal mucus looks exactly like oyster.

bit silly. In the latest *DGE* and *GXE*, he becomes vulgar, obscene, despicable and disgusting. This is a phenomenon that previous researchers seldom noticed; it is worth considering why his behaviour becomes progressively worse in later versions of the text.

3.2.4.3 The Reasons for Such Changes

I want to explore the reason for this degradation of the character of Lin Da from four aspects: function of role/character, performance, trends in literature, as well as trends in social background.

Regarding the first aspect, the setting up of a particular role and its function is always an important topic for research into novels, and I think this works too in opera studies.¹⁰³ In my opinion, the main function of Lin Da in the whole story is not only to drive the plot forward, but to provide a vivid contrast that reflects the images of Wu Niang and Chen San. Li Po's coming to request Lin Da to marry Wu Niang, at Lin Da's urging, pushes the latter to consider her requirements for a husband, which results in her jumping into the well. When she is stopped by Yi Chun, she begins to earnestly hope to see the gentleman under the lantern, as well as the upcoming gentleman approaching on the horse.¹⁰⁴ Lin Da's setting of the wedding date impels Wu Niang to ascertain the identity and true heart of Chen San, and thus avoid her engagement with Lin Da by eloping with him. Lin Da's coming to pick up Wu Niang leads to the lawsuit between him and Wu Niang's father. Such a lawsuit directly brings about the later subplots in which Chen San is caught and exiled, while during these processes Wu Niang and Chen San's love become stronger and deeper. In other words, the engagement between Wu Niang and Lin Da is the major reason for Wu Niang and Chen San's elopement. Wu Niang loathing the idea of marrying Lin Da is the main reason why she chooses Chen San. In this way, the worse Lin Da becomes, the more pressure Wu Niang feels, and the more it is possible and probable that she will choose Chen San.

¹⁰³ Liu Yongqiang, "Gudai xiaoshuo de renwu shezhi wenti," 1.

¹⁰⁴ In Act 15 of *JJE*, Wu Niang says that she wants to meet the gentleman under the lantern again as soon as possible, see the example in the previous part. In Act 6 of *SZE*, Wu Niang decides to throw lychees to passers-by on the 6th day of the 6th month in order to obtain a better lover than Lin Da.

After analysing the function of Lin Da, it is useful to revisit the changes in Wu Niang and Chen San's images in the previous part. Wu Niang becomes weaker and softer gradually in personality characteristics from *JJE* to *GXE*, while Chen San possesses stronger personalities and becomes tougher which makes it more natural for him to give up on Wu Niang. When Chen San wants to leave and not hold on, Wu Niang has to find the motivation to show her softened attitude towards Chen San. In this way, Lin Da, whose character becomes increasingly depraved from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty, is elevated and becomes a stronger, negative motivator for Wu Niang. In the three Qing Dynasty editions, I feel that rather than Chen San's diligent pursuit of Wu Niang, the real power that pushes Wu Niang to Chen San is her wish to be rid of the worsened Lin Da. Wu Niang, Chen San and Lin Da form an interesting triangle. As one falls, another rises; as one becomes stronger, the other becomes weaker. The changes in their respective images do not come as the result of a sudden accident, but are, rather, reflective changes in the other.

The second attribute shaping this change is the performance of *Lizhiji*. It is very clear that many augments and adaptations of Lin Da are erotic or comedic. In real performance, such elements are usually likely to raise the excitement and interest of an audience, especially those with lower cultural and educational levels. These changes are related to the trend of localization and vernacularization of the Liyuan Opera from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty. I will discuss these trends in the next chapter.

The third aspect is the changing trend in literature. Although *Lizhiji* is a Liyuan Opera, its content is deeply influenced by various forms of vernacular popular literary genres such as the novel and opera. It can be observed that *Lizhiji* imitates *Romance of the Western Chamber*, from its overall structure to specific details and subplots (which I will discuss in the next chapter). It can also be recognized that *Lizhiji* contains many elements of *shiqing xiaoshuo* 世情小说 (novels about human relationships). These elements are: the whole story is about love, marriage and family life; most acts happen within the limited domestic sphere of the Huang family; many roles are female, such as Li Po, Chun Lai, and Lin Da's mother. As Pan Jianguo describes:

One feature of operatic art is its particular modularization. Let us use the subject “love” as an example. The stereotype established by *Romance of the Western Chamber*, in which the pattern of the role models consisting of one man, one woman, one maid and one villain and the usual ending is a happy one, occurs in more than half of the operas with the same subject. Along with the continuous performance and wider circulation of *Romance of the Western Chamber*, such a modularization tendency gradually grows stronger and more influential.¹⁰⁵

Under this circumstance, *Lizhiji* becomes more normal and stereotyped when it enters into the Qing Dynasty, as a large number of similar operas were released. The main conflict of the plot hence became relatively mediocre and rather boring, and people came across similar stories every day. How to rescue the story and stop the decline in popularity? In order to address these problems, Qing dynasty editors chose to make the villain more prominent. In fact, such a phenomenon also exists in novels about human relationships. Liu Yongqiang concludes that:

In order to show the intrinsic noble quality of the protagonists, many works choose to try their best to deprave or belittle the villain. This also results in some vernacular novels showing a tendency of vulgarization when setting up and describing the protagonists. Strengthening the characteristics of the villain is especially important for novels about human love and relations in which the main conflict becomes weaker.¹⁰⁶

As for imperial Chinese operas, there is no doubt that villains are usually highlighted in it.¹⁰⁷ The role system of the opera itself presents the feature of *baobian* 褒贬 (praise and censure).

¹⁰⁵ Pan Jianguo 潘建国, “Gudai xiaoshuo zhong de xiqu yinzi jiqi gongneng 古代小说中的戏曲因子及其功能 [The Opera Factors and Its Functions in Imperial Chinese Fictions],” *Beijing Daxue Xuebao (Zhaxue Shehui Kexue Ban)* 3 (2012): 68-72.

¹⁰⁶ Liu Yongqiang, “Gudai xiaoshuo de renwu shezhi wenti,” 88.

¹⁰⁷ One of the popular themes or model of opera is *zhongjian douzheng* 忠奸斗争 (conflicts between loyalty and treacherousness). Studies on this kind operas start very early. For example, Guo Yingde 郭英德, “Lun mingqing wenren chuanqi de zhongjian douzheng zhuti moshi 论明清文人传奇的忠奸斗争主题模式 [A Discussion on the Zhongjian Douzheng Mode of the Literati’s Chuanqi Works in the Ming and the Qing Dynasties]” *Sichuan Shifan Daxue Xuebao (Shehui Kexue Ban)* 4 (1990): 39-45.

Roles like *jing* 淨 (comprimario) and *chou* 丑 (comedian) frequently have negative intentions. Thus, in some circumstances, authors may deliberately arrange a villain or several villains at the very start of the opera in order to establish the conflict. However, what I want to stress here is not the existence of a villain, but the increasingly worsening image of this role from the Ming to the Qing. The coarsening of Lin Da's image in *SZE*, *DGE* and *GXE* is not an independent change, but in accordance with general shifts in literature. The more similar stories were released, the less conflict the main love story had, the more pressure was felt by editors to make the villain stand out.

To conclude, by comparing Lin Da's behaviour and speeches, as well as the commentary on his personality and appearance from Wu Niang and other characters, it can be seen that Lin Da's character gradually worsened from an ordinarily silly man to a deeply antipathetic villain who is stupid and vulgar. This phenomenon is a result of many factors, including the weakened Wu Niang, the strengthened Chen San, the performance of the Liyuan Opera and the changing trend of the literature in that period.

3.3 Example Two: Yi Chun and Her Subplot

While we regard the story between Chen San and Wu Niang as the central love story in *Lizhiji*, the interwoven story, in which Yi Chun is the central character, serves as a defined subplot. This subplot is mainly about the relationship between Chen San and Yi Chun, as well as the interplay between Xiao Qi and Yi Chun. As Wu Niang's maid, previous research on her chiefly implies that she is a typical *hongniang* 红娘 (matchmaker, usually the maid of a lady in an imperial opera, the term originally comes from *Romance of the Western Chamber*) in the story, bearing the responsibilities of passing love letters, acting as a go-between, and pushing the plotlines forward. For example, Chen and Huang both emphasise the fact that Yi Chun helps Chen San to pass his love letter to Wu Niang, and they acknowledge the other things she does in order to make them a match.¹⁰⁸ Zhao points out that in his opinion, Yi Chun in *JJE* is

¹⁰⁸ Chen Yaqian, "Lijingji de sixiangneihan ji Chensan Wuniang gushi de yanbian," 7. Huang Wenjuan, "Liyuan Xi Chensan Wuniang Jumu Yanjiu," 48.

a kind-hearted girl who helps Wu Niang but never asks for anything in return.¹⁰⁹ Tu believes that in *JJE*, Chen San and Wu Niang chase love by themselves, while in *WLE* they rely more on Yi Chun's support.¹¹⁰ She also stresses that in *WLE*, Yi Chun helping Chen San is more about planning for her own future. In other words, the aim of offering such aid is to become Chen San's concubine. These studies are mostly about *JJE* and *WLE*, and include many meaningful findings. However, some of the conclusions are rather lopsided, as they lack a holistic consideration of all the editions, and include some not very suitable examples. Another problem is that seldom do the previous scholars mention the relationship between Yi Chun and Xiao Qi.

Yi Chun is a smart, resourceful, considerate and complaisant young girl. She has been a popular figure in the performance of operas from the Ming Dynasty until now. She even became the heroine of many derivative operas and acts.¹¹¹ There is no doubt about her popularity in the southern Fujian and eastern Guangdong areas.¹¹² Due to this prominence, carrying out a study on Yi Chun based on all the editions of *Lizhiji* is necessary.

In the past, there has been insufficient analysis of Yi Chun, even though, as Huang Wenjuan points out, Yi Chun's role changed considerably after *JJE*. Huang grasps that the editions after *JJE* contained many fragments of plots related to Yi Chun, and argues that in the act "*Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San*", Yi Chun becomes the de facto concubine of Chen San under Wu Niang's tacit permission.¹¹³ One thing to mention is that the act "*Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San*" first appeared in *NLSE*. According to the bibliographical research presented in Chapter 2, *NLSE* fills in the blanks of the development of the story *Lizhiji*, and acts as a bridge between the Ming Dynasty publications and the three from the Qing

¹⁰⁹ Zhao Shanlin and Zhao Tingting, "Lun jiajingben lijing ji," 72.

¹¹⁰ Tu Xiuhong, "Jiajing ben *Lijingji* yu wanli ben *Lizhiji*-chensan wuniang gushi jingdian wenben de duibi yu fenxi," 58.

¹¹¹ See Huang Wenjuan, "*Liyuan Xi Chensan Wuniang Jumu Yanjiu*," 8. According to Huang, there is a song named "Yi Chun Making an Accusation in front of the Emperor" from *gezai xi* 歌仔戏. There is also another ending of Chen San and Wu Niang's story recorded in other kinds of operas. In these operas, Chen San and Wu Niang both died. Yi Chun, who is pregnant with Chen San's posthumous child, makes an accusation to the Emperor.

¹¹² For the contemporary preference of performing acts about Yi Chun instead of Chen San or Wu Niang, see my conference essay *From the Ming Dynasty's Zayton to Nowadays' Jieshi: Local Operas, Stories and Ceremonies* presented at the BACS2017 conference, Glasgow.

¹¹³ Huang Wenjuan, "*Liyuan Xi Chensan Wuniang Jumu Yanjiu*," 29.

Dynasty. In this way, with the discovery of *NLSE*, Yi Chun's changes during the Ming and the Qing can be traced. In my opinion, the image of Yi Chun changed from the Ming to the Qing, or to be specific from *JJE* to the later editions. Yi Chun used to be a stereotypical *hongniang*, but gradually transforms into a more independent and vivid character who occupies more fragments of the story. At the same time, the relationship between Yi Chun, Xiao Qi and Chen San also changed. The partnership between Xiao Qi and Yi Chun is replaced, little by little, by a partnership between Chen San and Yi Chun. These changes are first seen in the Chaozhou system publications. After some very ambivalent selections during the recompiling process of *SZE*, these changes finally appear in *DGE* and *GXE*.

Moreover, the context of "maid in the history of literature" is indispensable to understand Yi Chun and her identity as a lady's maid. There has been a substantial amount of important research carried out into the image of maids in the literature of imperial China, especially in operas. Chu Gansheng introduced many maids, as well as servants, in the Ming and Qing operas, and focused on their loyalty.¹¹⁴ Wang Yunhui's Master dissertation offers insights into the depiction of maids in the *caizi* and *jiaren* fiction.¹¹⁵ She believes that while most of the maids become more and more stereotypical, other maids developed their individual will in some more innovative texts. What is more, Wang Shu classifies all the maids in the *Liushi Zhong Qu* 六十种曲 (*Sixty Series of Operas*) into eight kinds: smart maid, chaste maid, faithful maid, love chaser maid, jealous maid, chivalric maid, virtuous maid and carnal maid.¹¹⁶ She believes that whether the editors and authors stress the chaste behaviour, envious behaviour or even the carnality of these maids, the final purpose is to support and advocate male power. Wang Shu argues that although some operas do show the awareness of "women's liberation" to some extent, the ideal type of love where one man is accompanied by two beautiful women

¹¹⁴ Chu Gansheng 褚赣生, "Zhongguo gudai nubi wenxue shulüe 中国古代奴婢文学述略 [A Brief Introduction to the Servants and Maids in Imperial Chinese Literature]," *Fudan Xuebao: Shehui Kexue Ban* 4 (1994): 96-100.

¹¹⁵ Wang Yunhui 王云慧, "Mingqing caizi jiaren xiaoshuo zhong binü xingxiang de yanjiu 明清才子佳人小说中婢女形象的研究 [A Research on the Images of Maids in the Caizi and Jiaren Fictions of the Ming and Qing Dynasties]," (MA Diss., Yangzhou University, 2007).

¹¹⁶ Wang Shu 王姝, "Liushi zhong qu zhong de binü xingxiang yanjiu 六十种曲中的婢女形象研究 [A Study on the Images of the Maids in the Sixty Classical Operas]," (MA Diss., Shanxi Normal University, 2010).

remains to show the mindset that man is superior to women.¹¹⁷ As a vernacular opera aimed at a local audience, does *Lizhiji* change or enrich these reflections? This is also a problem I intend to engage with. In this section, therefore, I will study the changes of the subplot centred on Yi Chun by analyzing the differences of the text—the reductions and augments to specific fragments of the plot in different texts and the beginnings and endings of certain acts.

3.3.1 *Yi Chun in JJE: A Stereotypical Maid Similar to Hongniang*

As Wang Yunhui said, a typical maid in a *caizi* and *jiaren* fiction should have four stereotypical characteristics. Firstly, she should be very understanding, and must appreciate the lady's concerns when seeking love. Secondly, she should be smart and support the *caizi* chasing after the *jiaren* with her own knowledge. Thirdly, she must be brave and determined, in this way she will encourage the lady to find her own love (usually it means the maid helps the lady to elope with the gentleman). Finally, the maid needs to be faithful to the lady, and willing to sacrifice herself for the lady. All these four characteristics can be applied to Yi Chun to some extent. Among the extant six editions, the character of Yi Chun in *JJE* especially embodies the above features. In this part, I will analyze Yi Chun in *JJE* through three main aspects: her identity, her image and functions and her relationship with Chen San and Xiao Qi. In my opinion, Yi Chun in *JJE* is still a stereotypical maid, a *hongniang* in a love story. To make it clear, *hongniang* here also refers to the matchmaker, a maid who plays the role of matchmaker for her lady and the gentleman, but not only Hong Niang 红娘 from the opera *Romance of the Western Chamber*.

3.3.1.1 Identity as a Maid.

I have already mentioned in the previous section that, as the maid of Wu Niang, Yi Chun is not an illiterate or superficial girl. She is familiar with many historical stories and opera

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 57-8.

narratives, and is able to communicate easily with Wu Niang and Chen San, whose educational backgrounds are moderately high. Besides, her appearance is also charming. There is a unique detail in Act 15 of *SZE*, when An Tong comes to the Huang family and asks Chen San to come back. He sees Yi Chun and then enquires about her from Chen San. An Tong says:

An Tong asks: Sandie, who is that beautiful young lady?...If the maid is as beautiful as her, how beautiful the lady must be! When your love has settled down, please promise to let this beautiful maid marry me. (Act 15, *SZE*)

丑白：三爹，今即有一查某箇仔是谁？.....随婢都拙水了，那卜正货是乜水。三爹姻缘成就，许一个查某箇仔带来乞安童做身边。（顺治本·第十五齣）

Although the main purpose of these words is to highlight Wu Niang's charms, it still shows that Yi Chun is very beautiful. That is why An Tong starts to dream of marrying Yi Chun as soon as he sees her. However, with such good appearance, Yi Chun has to serve her lady Wu Niang, as well as listening to the orders of all others and do all kinds of work. Sometimes, she even has to leave home to finish her work. For example, Wu Niang's father asks her to prepare for a banquet, and to summon Wu Niang's mother and others. Wu Niang asks her to go to Li Po's home and to reject Lin Da's proposal. Wu Niang also asks her to go to Brother Li's home and let him come to polish the mirror. Wu Niang's mother asks her to pay attention to Wu Niang and not let her commit suicide, while also instructing Yi Chun to arrange the tea. It seems that Yi Chun is the only maid of the Huang family. She works very hard. Nevertheless, such an arrangement was more likely to be a result of the adjustment in the real performance of the opera. Due to the limitations of stage space, performing time and role numbers, Yi Chun needs to take on the burden of work that in reality would be done by several other people.

The low social status of Yi Chun also can be seen from the plot "*Wu Niang visits the jail*". This is in Act 45 of *JJE*, Act 28 of *SZE* and Act 41 of *DGE* and *GXE*; it sees Wu Niang and Yi Chun visit the jail in order to bring some food to Chen San. They first meet the jail guard, who used to know Yi Chun and thus dallies with her. He tells Yi Chun that if she and Wu Niang

want to go into the jail, she needs to call him “father”. Yi Chun does not want to, but has to call him *siming weng* 司命翁 (father who controls my life). However, the guard is so insatiable and indecent that he says:

The jail guard smirks and says: Girl, it has been so long since you last visited your elder sister.

Yi Chun says: When did your elder sister die? I missed the chance to visit her.

The jail guard says: Your elder sister died recently. My sister-in-law, do you know what ordinary people say?

Yi Chun says: What do ordinary people say? I do not know.

The Jail Guard says: People say that the peach branch can be grafted onto the plum branch; brother-in-law takes over sister-in-law. Now your elder sister is dead, you, as the sister, please marry me.

Yi Chun says: I do not like people making jokes. (Act 48, *JJE*)

净开笑介白：姊子，只即久都不来探恁大姊一下。

贴白：恁大姊值时死，都失探。

净白：恁大姊在近即死。姨仔你可晓得俗人说？

贴白：俗人说也？阮不识。

净白：人说桃枝接李枝，姊夫接小姨。你大姊今死了，姨仔你来嫁乞我罢。

贴白：不爱人茹啖。（嘉靖本·第四十八齣）

When Yi Chun holds back her shame in negotiating with the jail guard, Wu Niang seems to turn a deaf ear to what is happening. She only comes back to the centre of the stage after Yi Chun gets permission from the jail guard—at the cost of her own dignity. Yi Chun, who suffered from the flirtation and insult, did not inform Wu Niang at all about the indignity she had faced. From this fragment of story, it can be deduced that this is not a coincidence but a

common practice. As a smart girl, how could Yi Chun possibly not feel pity for herself? In all the editions, she bemoans her own destiny:¹¹⁸

Xiao Qi sings: I am lamenting that I stay at another's home and work as a servant.

Yi Chun sings: Bitter peaches and sour plums will finally become delicious to eat.

Xiao Qi says: Yi Chun, you are senseless! You are going to eat bitter peaches and sour plums!

Yi Chun says: You stupid boy! That is a metaphor. I say that you and I earn a living by serving others, [our life is] just like bitter peaches and sour plums. We will wait to see when they will become sweet. (Act 13, *JJE*)

净唱：恨我一身在别人厝做奴婢。

贴唱：苦桃共涩李，终有好食时。

净白：益春，你是病仔，卜食苦桃共涩李。

贴白：青冥头，人许处譬论，你共我乞人饲，亦亲像许苦桃涩李一般，看值日会甜。

（嘉靖本·第十三齣）

Through the above sentences, it is clear that although Yi Chun feels some bitterness about their fates, she still sustains some hope for the future. That is why she can say optimistic words like “will become sweet”.

The above characteristics of Yi Chun: beautiful, low social status, pitiful destiny and optimism, can be seen in the Yi Chun character in all editions. But in *JJE*, Yi Chun has a unique feature compared with other editions: faithfulness. This is especially apparent in Act 33, when the three decide to elope together. In the three Qing Dynasty editions, it is mostly Chen San and Wu Niang who discuss their elopement, and they seem to assume that Yi Chun will go with them. In the Qing Dynasty editions of the text, Yi Chun is only a background character in this act, preparing luggage for them and never joining in with the discussion. In *WLE* and *NLSE*, Yi Chun plays an important role. She questions Chen San's true heart and persuades him to

¹¹⁸ Act 5 of *SZE*, Act 9 of *DGE* and *GXE* all have this dialogue, and Yi Chun's words are similar. However, Xiao Qi gives out different responses to Yi Chun's words. I will discuss this in the following part.

swear that if he betrays Wu Niang, he will lose his life. Only after this declaration does she agree to accompany their elopement. In *JJE*, the reason that Yi Chun agrees to go is Wu Niang. Wu Niang tells Yi Chun that “Deep in my heart, I would really love to go with your accompaniment”; accordingly, Yi Chun decides to go. She is in support of Wu Niang but not of Chen San. This fragment of the plot is in accordance with her attitude towards Chen San in *JJE*, which I will discuss in the next section.

3.3.1.2 Yi Chun: Wu Niang in Miniature

After analyzing her identity, I would like to discuss the function of Yi Chun in the whole story of *JJE*. In my opinion, to a certain extent Yi Chun is a Wu Niang in miniature. Wu Niang’s images and thoughts are stressed by Yi Chun’s words. On the other hand, she succeeds in the traditional role of *hongniang* in the imperial love fiction and operas. She helps to push forward Wu Niang and Chen San’s relationship by passing love letters, comforting the lovers and offering suggestions.

As the miniature, or shadow of Wu Niang, Yi Chun particularly highlights the *zhenjing* 贞静 (chastity and calm) of Wu Niang.¹¹⁹ Whilst Wu Niang’s elopement is the opposite of *zhenjing*, the editor of *JJE* still tries his best to camouflage her image. For instance, in Act 6 of *JJE*, Wu Niang rejects Li Po’s invitation to go out to appreciate the lanterns, saying that “it is not moral for women to go out”. Yi Chun replies: “On the street there are mostly gentlemen of

¹¹⁹ *Zhen* 贞 means chastity. *Jing* 静 originally means calm, silent, quiet, but here it means obeying the manner and moral that imperial women should follow, particularly referring to staying at home and never going out to see males. The main purpose of *jing* is still to keep the chastity of women. In order to be *zhenjing*, women’s freedom to go out is strictly limited. Except on some special holidays, they are not allowed to go out. In the Ming Dynasty, the government also appreciates a stricter limitation on women, and praises behaviour of chastity. See Song Haili 宋海丽, “*Ming dai dihou bianzuande nü jiaoshu jiqi nüjiao sixiang yanjiu* 明代帝后编撰的女教书及其女教思想研究 [Research on Female Teaching Books Compiled and Circulated by Rulers of the Ming Dynasty],” (MA Diss., Shanxi Normal University, 2013), 33. As for the specific records of women’s going out in the Ming Dynasty, see more on Chang Yan 常艳, “Jinpingmei zhong nüxing chuxing xuxie 《金瓶梅》中女性出行叙写 [The Description on Female’s Going Out in *The Golden Lotus*],” *Xiandai Yuwen* 3 (2015): 26-28. Chang quoted a record by Westerners in the Ming Dynasty about the situation in Guangzhou. [Usually the women stay at home and never go out, that in the whole Guangzhou city, except for a few minxes and women of the low class, hardly can I see any other women.] See Charles Boxer 博克舍, *Shiliu Shiji Zhongguo Nanbu Xingji* 十六世纪中国南部行纪 [South China in The Sixteenth Century], (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 104. (Chang says it is page 102, but it should be 104.)

the elite class singing songs. You do not need to worry about going out”. Only after this does Wu Niang agree to go. Along these lines, Wu Niang’s going out is not her own idea, but is driven by Yi Chun, Wu Niang is still a *zhenjing* lady. Besides, Yi Chun holds a similar opinion towards Chen San in many cases. In Act 21 of *JJE*, Yi Chun does not believe Chen San’s words about his identity, just like Wu Niang. She tells Chen San:

Why do you talk about that lychee? Why do you talk about your wandering life?¹²⁰ You sold yourself to our family, how come you have treasure with you? You liar! Deceiving us that your brother is a government official. I, Yi Chun, look at your appearance and immediately know what you have and what you do not have!¹²¹ (Act 21, *JJE*)

又牵连乜荔枝，说尽零落。将身赔阮，有乜财宝？白贼咀哄兄有官做。益春见你模样，晓得有共无。（嘉靖本·第二十一齣）

These are Wu Niang’s thoughts communicated using Yi Chun’s mouth. As the *hongniang* in this story, Yi Chun in *JJE* is precisely like Hong Niang in *Romance of the Western Chamber*, who serves three main functions: making suggestions, comforting and passing love messages. She is the *shuo* 妁 (helper for the lovers) in the story and helps to push forward the development of the plot.¹²² For example in Act 14, Yi Chun comforts Wu Niang, urging her not to commit suicide but to be optimistic about the future, in which Wu Niang will receive good fortune. She suggests to Wu Niang to learn from previous lovers, who finally use green plums as the love token and finds the ideal husband. In Act 23 and 24, Yi Chun suggests that Chen San write a love letter to Wu Niang. At the same time, she advises Wu Niang to go to the garden and to appreciate the flowers, which in fact enables Chen San to have the chance to

¹²⁰ This is a tentative translation. The word *lingluo* 零落 originally means flowers or leaves falling down to the ground with only a few pieces left on the plant. Later it refers to death, people or scenery in abjection, etc. Here it may mean that Chen San is talking about his experience of suffering.

¹²¹ The meaning of the last sentence is that Yi Chun thinks Chen San does not have any money, not that he has a brother who is a government official.

¹²² For a further explanation of *shuo* 妁, see Li Heng 李恒, “*Xixiang Ji zhong hongniang shenfen de shanbian* 《西厢记》中红娘身份的嬗变 [The Change of Hongniang’s Role in *Romance of the Western Chamber*],” *Shehui Kexue Zhanxian* 7 (2016): 264. Li Heng argues that Hong Niang is not a professional matchmaker, or *mei* 媒, but a temporary helper for the lovers, which should be called *shuo* 妁.

meet with her, while of course, Yi Chun helps to deliver the love letters. These plot fragments all show that Yi Chun is a typical *hongniang* in the story, which is very similar to Hong Niang in *Romance of the Western Chamber*. In fact, the editor of *JJE* himself recognises and admits the intertextuality between *Lizhiji* and *Romance of the Western Chamber*. In Act 19, Yi Chun and Chen San sing in an antiphonal way:¹²³

Chen San says: My dear sisters, since you like to listen [to my songs], let us sing together in an antiphonal way. I will hide my name and act as Zhang Sheng.

Yi Chun acts and says: Wu Niang goes to the backstage: I will lower myself and act as Hong Niang. Then I will accompany Yingying from the Cui family, and finally you two will get married because of your destined love.

Chen San: Even though *yuelao* 月老 (master moon, god of love) binds lovers with a red thread, a matchmaker is a must. Even though there is a road on the horizon, we still want to go to bed together on the same pillow.¹²⁴ (Act 19, *JJE*)

生白：小妹，既（见）那爱听，小人各唱。隐讳（翰徽）埋名，假作张生。

贴介旦下：轻身下贱，拜託红娘。即会合崔府莺莺，有缘千里终结姻亲……

生白：月老红丝，也要冰人。天边有路，也卜同枕共眠。（嘉靖本·第十九齣）

However, although Yi Chun is the maid of Wu Niang and willing to play the role of the *hongniang* for her and Chen San, she does not always follow Wu Niang's wayward orders. She dares to point out Wu Niang's mistakes and sometimes rejects her requirements, especially when Wu Niang wants to do something very offensive to Chen San. For example, in Act 22 of *JJE* when Chen San is holding the water basin and helping Wu Niang wash her face, Wu Niang asks Yi Chun to pour the water onto Chen San. Yi Chun, a kind girl, refuses to do so. Another example is in Act 26. Wu Niang says that Chen San has not dared to curse her because being a servant is his own choice, but it is not her wish. Yi Chun is disappointed in Wu Niang's words,

¹²³ I will discuss this intertextuality further in the next chapter.

¹²⁴ "A road on the horizon" is difficult to understand. Perhaps means there is another way (or choice of partner) for the lovers, but they still want to become couple each other, instead of marrying another person.

and refutes her immediately. Yi Chun says Chen San would definitely curse Wu Niang because she is a craven woman who is not brave enough to admit her love, who always regrets her own behaviour, who does not show even a little concern for him. Through chastising her in this way, Yi Chun helps Wu Niang rethink her conduct, which finally results in Wu Niang's decision to attend the appointment.

To conclude, as the shadow of Wu Niang, Yi Chun highlights Wu Niang's image and delivers Wu Niang's views; as the *hongniang* of the story, Yi Chun becomes the bridge between Wu Niang and Chen San, and helps the development of the plot.

3.3.1.3 Chen San, Xiao Qi and Yi Chun in *JJE*

As has now been thoroughly established, Yi Chun is the lady's maid, while Chen San is the lady's lover. In the beginning of the story, Yi Chun acts as the go-between of the lady and her inamorato. In this way, the relationship between Yi Chun and Chen San is no different from the traditional *hongniang-caizi* relationship. However, compared with classical texts and stories such as *Romance of the Western Chamber*, the identity of Chen San in *Lizhiji* is indicative of some changes. Chen San sold himself to the Huang family, thus at that time he temporarily belonged to the same low class as Yi Chun (and Xiao Qi). Yi Chun, who clearly understands her social status and pitiful destiny, therefore simultaneously feels sympathy and concern for Chen San. This can be shown in the intimate way they call each other "Xiaomei 小妹 (my dear younger sister)" and "Sange". Their close relationship, which is based on the interim identity change of Chen San, switches to the *hongniang-caizi* relationship at the moment when Chen San reveals his real identity to Yi Chun. What I want to stress is that the *hongxiang-caizi* relationship between Yi Chun and Chen San fluctuates in Act 28. In this act, Chen San, who just had the chance to be alone with Wu Niang, becomes very excited and hysterical. He starts to display suggestive behaviour and offers sexual cues to Yi Chun. Yi Chun does not really understand at first, but quickly perceives what Chen San wants to do. She disagrees with his behaviour:

Chen San says: ... Please sit on the bed with me.

Yi Chun says: I am shabbily dressed. How can I sit in the same place as my honourable brother?

Chen San says: Please do not mind my coarse pillowcase and rough mat. Excuse me, my dear sister, there is some “destined love” between us, please let us realise it.¹²⁵

Yi Chun says: What “destined love” do you see?

Chen San says: You are an adult now, how can you not recognise this “destined love”? Please think of the male phoenix finding a female phoenix to be his partner, the male mandarin duck pairing with a female mandarin duck.

Yi Chun says: Mandarin ducks are always in pairs. How could there be three of them?

Chen San says: Three is not too many. It is precisely like how a lover of flowers gets up early in order to be blotted out by mist and rain.¹²⁶

Yi Chun says: Sange, please stop thinking of that! (Act 28, *JJE*)

生白：……同阮只床上坐。

贴白：小妹一身褴褛褴褛（喃喃玫瑰），做乜好共尊兄许处坐？

生白：你莫嫌阮枕席粗，劳堪我小妹，好缘相斗凑。

贴白：阮又识一乜好缘！

生白：你拙大都不识好缘？看许鸾求凤友鸳鸯配偶。

贴白：鸳鸯便（被）成双，值处有三个（个）。

生白：三个（个）未是多。正是惜花人起早先沾雨露。

贴白：三哥莫起只心意。（嘉靖本·第二十八齣）

However, Chen San does not stop thinking of it, and directly says more indecent words to

¹²⁵ This is an idiomatic translation. *Yuan* 缘 means destined love, fateful coincidence, paccaya or karma in Pali. For more discussion of the translation of *yuan*, see Huang Jin 黄进, “*Wenhua Qianyi Wenben Wudu Yu Fanyicelue* 文化迁移, 文本误读与翻译策略 [*Acculturation, Text Misreadings and Translation Strategies: a Case Study on Translations of The Buddhist Terms in Journey to the West*],” (MA diss., Southwest Jiaotong University, 2005). In page 43, table 3-2, Huang Jin lists seven meanings of *yuan*. In *Lizhiji*, most of the *yuan* means destined love.

¹²⁶ This is a metaphor. The flower here refers to Yi Chun, and Chen San is the flower lover. Mist and rain imply sexual relations here. The whole sentence shows that Chen San wants to have sex with Yi Chun.

Yi Chun. Yi Chun rejects him by emphasizing her low identity as a maid, but Chen San does not care about that:

Chen San says: I am just loving you, my dear sister.

Yi Chun says: What kind of love? You have already read Confucian books, but you know nothing about manners or righteousness. I am the maid of my lady.

Chen San says: I want to protect and love you exactly because you are [the maid] accompanying your lady.

Yi Chun says: Who needs your protection or love? Moreover, I do not know things related to love, relationships and so on.

Chen San says: My dear sister, since you do not know, I will teach you. (Act 28, *JJE*)

生白：只也是爱小妹你。

贴白：恁向爱？既读诗书，不识礼义。阮是哑娘身边筒儿。

生白：那叫你在哑娘身边即惜你。

贴白：谁卜你惜？况又未谙风流事志。

生白：小妹你不识，阮教你。（嘉靖本·第二十八齣）

Yi Chun thus rejects Chen San explicitly. Even though she is a maid, she is never willing to lose her dignity. If Chen San really wants to thank her for her help, asking her to have sex or giving her the chance to be his concubine is not the right way to show his appreciation:

Yi Chun says: Who needs your teaching? I hope the two of you [live] happily. At that time, it will be easier to love me. Although I, Yi Chun, like wild flowers and tender grasses, I am not willing to bend down to the ground because of the wind... There is a saying that is very suitable for this occasion. Since you know my meritorious contribution [to your love], please bring gold or silver to thank me. Do not act in that way and scare me. (Act 28, *JJE*)

贴白：谁卜你教？愿恁双双二好，许时爱阮容易。益春虽是野花嫩草，佢肯随风倒地？……只一句话咁得是，你那知有功劳，是金是银，提来谢阮，莫得做一形状惊人。（嘉靖本·第二十八齣）

It is not until Yi Chun mentions Wu Niang as a threat that Chen San apologises for his words and dissembles them as a joke:

Yi Chun says: I am afraid that your fate is not fortunate enough, and instances of good luck never arrive in pairs. If my lady knew of your incorrect and immoral behaviour, she would dislike your obsession with love affairs.¹²⁷ At that time, it would not be too late for you to regret.¹²⁸ My lady is an exalted lady. She is no doubt better than a maid like me!

Chen San says: First come, first served. My dear sister, please let me “play” with you here!

Yi Chun says: You are so reckless.¹²⁹ I will tell this to my lady. Your earlier hard work will be in vain!¹³⁰

Chen San says: It was my momentary oversight. Please do not be angry, my dear sister. (Act 28, *JJE*)

贴白：那畏你命怯，福无双至。阮哑娘那卜知，你只样所行不正，伊嫌你贪花乱酒，许时反悔不迟。阮娘仔伊是千金闺女，都不强过阮奴婢。

生白：近水楼台先得月，小妹你共我只处得桃一下。

贴白：你障执执力力，我那共阮哑娘咁，你一场功德做草内去。

生白：是阮一时不着，小妹莫切。（嘉靖本·第二十八齣）

The sentences “I hope the two of you (live) happily” and “At that time it will be easier to love me” are a bit strange and do not accord with other words of Yi Chun. However, regarding the

¹²⁷ This is a tentative translation. Flower and wine in the original sentences mean love affairs.

¹²⁸ This is perhaps an ironic.

¹²⁹ This is a tentative translation. The original meaning of *zhizhilili* 执执力力 is not clear. It should be a dialect phrase.

¹³⁰ This is an idiomatic translation.

parts I listed above, and the line “goes back myself, goes to bed myself” that Yi Chun sings when she leaves the stage, there is no doubt that Yi Chun rejects Chen San’s courting in *JJE*.

Such a rejection may be for several reasons. Firstly, Yi Chun cares about the class difference between her and Chen San. In her opinion, she is not a match of Chen San, who is a *guanyinzier*, while Wu Niang is an appropriate match. Secondly, she does not accept that Chen San offered his courting as a “payment” for her help, behaviour which is far from that of a typical gentleman. Thirdly, she never wanted to be the third person in another couple’s relationship. As the maid, or even as a friend of Wu Niang, she is not willing to destroy Wu Niang’s destined love and always wishes them to “live happily as a pair”. Of course, the third reason may also be because Wu Niang is a rigorous mistress. All in all, Yi Chun is very calm and has clear self-knowledge when faced with love and marriage affairs. Compared with Yi Chun’s calmness, Chen San is relatively flirtatious. His love for Wu Niang does not seem to be very constant or faithful.

In *JJE*, Xiao Qi does not have many chances to play opposite Yi Chun. Yet the editor of *JJE* seems to show that Xiao Qi is intimate with Yi Chun. For example, in Act 13 of *JJE*, when Li Po goes to the Huang family, Xiao Qi asks Li Po to find him a match. After hearing his wish, Yi Chun shyly leaves the stage, while Li Po replies straightforwardly:

Xiao Qi says: Yi Chun, please let the matchmaker foretell if we two are suitable to marry.¹³¹

Yi Chun says: You stupid boy! Don’t use me to foretell our love!¹³²

Yi Chun goes off the stage, Xiao Qi says: Li Po, you are always good at being a matchmaker. Please match someone with me.¹³³

¹³¹ This is an idiomatic translation. Li Po is the matchmaker, and when she comes to the Huang family, it is convenient to ask her directly about marriage things. *Hehun* 合婚 is to let the fortuneteller divine if the two are suitable to marry each other. This is a must have step in the beginning of an engagement.

¹³² This is a tentative and idiomatic translation. *Xingan* 心肝 [heart and liver] refers to “darling”. Yi Chun asks Xiao Qi to divine with another person instead of her. I would rather think this is an ironic sentence.

¹³³ There are altogether four *yao* 爻 in *JJE*: “你向爻做媒人”, Act 13; “恁母子爻”, Act 14; “你到爻呔話”, Act 24; “叫我实是爻”, Act 45). According to twblg.dict.edu.tw, *yao* 爻 is a variant form of the character *hao* [上教下力]. Based on these sentences containing *yao* 爻, the *yao* 爻 in *JJE* means good at doing something, or someone who is good at doing something, or capably. “Jiaoyu Bu Taiwan Minnanyu Changyongci Cidian 教育部臺灣閩

Li Po says: You already have Yi Chun [as your match]. (Act 13, *JJE*)

净白：益春，恁趁媒人便，也来合婚对一对。

贴白：睛盲头（青冥头），合你心肝。

贴下净白：媒姨，你向爻做媒人，共我做一一个（个）。

丑白：你有益春了。（嘉靖本·第十三齣）

Li Po is a neighbour of the Huang family. Her saying directly that Xiao Qi “already [has] Yi Chun” shows that the intimate relationship between Yi Chun and Xiao Qi is in fact known to everyone. Later, when Chen San inculpates Yi Chun, saying that she broke the mirror, it is Xiao Qi who believes and saves her. Xiao Qi enters the stage, and immediately speaks for Yi Chun, encouraging her to tell the truth and protect herself. When Yi Chun confirms that it was Chen San who broke the mirror, Xiao Qi believes in her forthwith:

Xiao Qi says: Yi Chun, you are just a young girl. If you really are the one who broke the mirror, then should you admit it and not treat others badly.

Yi Chun says: You stupid boy! The mirror was broken by him!

Xiao Qi says: My lord, [the mirror] was not broken by her, the Quanzhou guy broke it. (Act 19, *JJE*)

净白：益春，你只查某仔（么），那是你打破，你便认去，不得亏人……

贴白：睛盲头（青冥头），镜是伊打破。

净白：哑公，叫不是伊打破，叫是泉州人打破。（嘉靖本·第十九齣）

Xiao Qi’s special feelings for Yi Chun can also be seen in Act 22 of *JJE*. Chen San and Yi Chun are chatting at that time, when Xiao Qi suddenly appears and becomes jealous and sad. He hopes Yi Chun can explain to him why she wants to chat with Chen San, and wishes to talk with her:

Chen San goes off the stage, Yi Chun says: You rascal! Why do you curse me outside?

Xiao Qi says: I am cursing Chen San.

Yi Chun says: You are cursing Chen San? Why do you mention me?

Xiao Qi says: Why did Chen San stay with you instead of doing his own work?

Yi Chun says: He does his own work; you do your own work. He is none of your business!

Xiao Qi says: No! So is he any of “your” business? You show Xiao Ba your tenderness here. Could you please show me your tenderness? Please be as fair to me as you are to Xiao Ba!¹³⁴ (Act 22, *JJE*)

生下贴白：斩头，你只外骂阮乜事？¹³⁵

净白：我骂陈三。

贴白：你骂陈三，牵连阮乜事？

净白：陈三伊不作穉（息），共你只处乜事？

贴白：伊作伊穉（息），你作你穉（息），共你无干预。

净白：不，便共你乜干预？你共小八只外相惜，亦共我相惜一下，莫得大小心。（嘉靖本·第二十二齣）

Besides the above parts, there is no other sustained dialogue between Yi Chun and Xiao Qi. At the end of the story when Chen San and Wu Niang finally reunite with each other, Xiao Qi and Yi Chun have merely background roles as organisers of the banquet. Whether their flirtatious relationship eventually turns into another “destined love” or not is still an untold part of the story. When analysing Xiao Qi’s fondness for Yi Chun, despite the fact that Yi Chun is a beautiful and smart girl worthy of love, their similar social status and comparable experience play a more important role than affection. As servants of the Huang family, their potential marital partners are strictly limited to somebody of the same class.¹³⁶ If Xiao Qi and Yi Chun really were to become a couple, it would seem to be more in line with the times.

¹³⁴ This is an idiomatic translation. The original meaning is: Please do not be big heart (to me), and small heart (to Chen San). *Xiaoxin* 小心 (small heart) means care more for Chen San, big heart is the opposite of small heart which means care less for Xiao Qi.

¹³⁵ The original text is *jingxia tiebai* 净下贴白, which means Xiao Qi (*jing*) goes off the stage and Yi Chun (*tie*) says. According to the content, it is a mistake. It should be Chen San left the stage and Yi Chun talks to Xiao Qi.

¹³⁶ See the discussion in the previous section, and Huai Xiaofeng, *The Great Ming Code*, 59.

On the whole, Yi Chun in *JJE* is still a stereotypical *hongniang*. Although the hero Chen San does have some feelings towards her, she unambiguously rejects him. Whilst some hints regarding Yi Chun's close relationship with Xiao Qi are provided by the text, no final ending to their potential love story is offered.

3.3.2 *WLE and NLSE: Yi Chun's Own Thoughts and Endings*

In the previous section, I mentioned that Yi Chun is a typical *hongniang* in the earliest extant edition *JJE*. However, the image of *hongniang* in *Romance of the Western Chamber* has changed several times throughout its history. Luo's essay stressed that from the earliest *Yingying Zhuan* till the recomposed *Romance of the Western Chamber*, in publications of the Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China, the number of scenes in which *hongniang* appeared grew and her personality became stronger.¹³⁷ Luo argues that although in earlier editions of *Romance of the Western Chamber*, *hongniang* was only a conservative messenger, in later editions she became more aggressive and teasing. Such changes, in Luo's opinion, are the result of a stronger narrative, the need for better stage effects, the changes of the literary form itself and the position change of the adapters.

Yi Chun, who is easily compared to *hongniang*, presents similar changes over time. In these two Chaozhou versions, *WLE* and *NLSE*, a noticeable increase in the number of fragments of stories about Yi Chun can be observed. These augments are mostly absorbed and inherited by the three Qing Dynasty editions, and can be divided into three kinds.

The first kind is, in plots that already exist in *JJE*, Yi Chun starts to express her personal feelings and thoughts. She is no longer the shadow of Wu Niang, nor the silent background to the whole story. These added parts expand Yi Chun's character, and her image becomes more vivid. The second kind is fragments of stories that are new to *WLE* and *NLSE* and are about Yi Chun and Chen San. The third kind of change is freshly added stories between Yi Chun and Xiao Qi. In all, Yi Chun, from a supporting role like *hongniang*, changes gradually into the

¹³⁷ Luo Guanhua 罗冠华, "Hongniang de xingxiang heyi bianhuaduoduan 红娘的形象何以变化多端 [Why Does Hongniang's Image Changed So Many Times]," *Sichuan Opera* 1 (2009): 36-41.

secondary heroine in the story. Her personal choice in love and her final ending are depicted more prominently in later editions.

3.3.2.1 No Longer the Shadow of Wu Niang

Unlike the Yi Chun of *JJE*, in *WLE* and *NLSE* Yi Chun often speaks her mind, as well as offering many suggestions to Wu Niang. She is no longer the faithful maid who always obeys her lady. For example, if we consider the plot of “*Wu Niang appreciates the flowers in the garden*”. In *JJE*, it is Wu Niang who asks to go to the garden because it is spring, the perfect time to see the flowers. However, in *WLE*, the story changes, with Yi Chun suggesting that Wu Niang go out to relax. Yi Chun is aware of what Wu Niang is worried about (*dongchuang weiyou* 东床未有 (does not have a good husband) and thus recommends that she goes for a walk in the country on the 3rd day of the 3rd month. When Wu Niang complains that she is not in the right mood, Yi Chun then advises her to stay at home and look at the flowers in the garden. The following act shows Wu Niang drawing lots in the South Mountain Temple, which only exists in *WLE* and *NLSE*. In this act, it is Yi Chun who comforts Wu Niang, and recommends her to go to the South Mountain Temple. There is another example in the act where Chen San is sweeping the house. In *JJE*, Yi Chun does not believe Chen San’s words about his real identity. Her opinion is the same as that of Wu Niang, which means she is still her shadow. Conversely, in *WLE* and *NLSE*, Yi Chun finally believes in Chen San, and helps him to get in touch with Wu Niang by providing the chance for him to hold the water basin for her.

The act which most markedly shows that Yi Chun has more independent thoughts is Act 19 of *NLSE* and Act 20 of *WLE*, which corresponds with Act 24 of *JJE*. In *JJE*, Yi Chun comforts Chen San continuously throughout this act, saying that “*haoshi zai hou lai* 好事在后来 (good things will happen in the future)” In *WLE* and *NLSE*, Yi Chun does not want to help Chen San, nor does she console him. When Chen San complains that Yi Chun is not willing to help him, she uncompromisingly ridicules him. Yi Chun says Chen San only knows how to

receive help from others but does not have any abilities himself. When the three decide to elope together, she even criticizes him, saying that Chen San's words are blandishments. In *NLSE* and *WLE*, Yi Chun is only willing to run off after Chen San pledges about his sincerity.

From the above examples, it can be seen that Yi Chun is more independent, determined and active. She begins to have her own thoughts and considerations, and can always provide Chen San and Wu Niang with useful suggestions. Yi Chun, the faithful and simple maid, and inconsequential companion in *JJE*, becomes the third party to the discussions about their elopement in *WLE* and *NLSE*. There is another detail which enables us to notice the change in Yi Chun's image. In the above text, I mentioned that in *JJE*, it is Yi Chun who asks Wu Niang to appreciate the lanterns, and Wu Niang stresses that she needs to be chaste and quiet. In *WLE* and *NLSE*, Wu Niang instead asks Yi Chun to invite Li Po to go outside with them. When they are enjoying the lanterns, there is a dialogue:

Yi Chun sings: Now I accompany my lady here, with opulent, bejeweled hairpieces of jade and pearl, and beautiful silk clothes on my body.

Yi Chun says: My lady, please walk this side to let others pass.

Yi Chun sings: Walking by this street carefully, people come along to me and there is no space to dodge. I walk quickly [to avoid colliding with people], but I am afraid others will wonder [why I walk so fast]. Searching for the wind, being fond of the moon, is not what we young beauties should do. (Act 6, *WLE*; Act 5, *NLSE*)

春唱：简今随娘到只，头插珠翠，身穿罗衣。

春白：阿娘，走只边来乞人过。

春唱：轻轻行过只街边，前头人来无躲避。紧行来去，又畏人疑。寻风爱月不是赧姿娘人体例。（万历本·第六齣；苏格兰藏本·第五齣）

In this way, the words that propagandize orthodox virtue (that women should not go out, or meet with strangers, or search for love affairs) which were said by Wu Niang in *JJE*, are here spoken by Yi Chun in *WLE* and *NLSE*. In the above paragraph, Yi Chun, who is dressed

“with opulent, bejeweled hairpieces of jade and pearl, and beautiful silk clothes on my body”, is almost like a real lady. If we accept the idea that the editor or writer of an opera prefers to embellish and emphasize the hero and heroine (in *JJE* it is Yi Chun and not Wu Niang who wants to go out to appreciate the lanterns, which shows that Wu Niang is in possession of orthodox virtues), then in *NLSE* and *WLE*, the praise for Yi Chun’s appearance and ethics precisely reveals the editor’s attention and consideration for this character. This feature, together with the above added-on stories which represent Yi Chun’s changing character, leads to us find that Yi Chun gradually develops from a supporting role, resembling the shadow of Wu Niang, into the secondary heroine.¹³⁸ The specific plots which bring about such change are two acts that first appear in *WLE* and *NLSE*: “*Yi Chun leaves the umbrella*” and “*Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San*”. These two acts will be discussed below.

3.3.2.2 Yi Chun and Chen San: An Increased Connection

Act 23 of *WLE* “*Chen San thinking back*”, which is “*Yi Chun leaves the umbrella*” in *NLSE*, as well as “*Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San*”, are two acts that do not exist in *JJE*. These two acts, which talk about the story between Yi Chun and Chen San, firstly appear in *WLE* and *NLSE*, and later are inherited by the three Qing Dynasty editions. When analyzing the main love story, we mentioned that Wu Niang always changes her mind and is sometimes unreasonable. In later editions, Chen San becomes stronger and his infatuation lessens. In such a situation where the heroine is not active enough and the hero is not sufficiently constant, they need help from Yi Chun (who is the helper of the lovers) in order to fulfill their love. One of the most important tasks for Yi Chun is to persuade Chen San not to leave the Huang family.

In the act “*Yi Chun leaves the umbrella*”, Chen San says goodbye to Yi Chun, while the latter tries to urge her to stay. Not only does she tell Chen San that Wu Niang “misses you wholeheartedly”, but also she encourages him with the proverb “*dishui shichuan* 滴水石穿

¹³⁸ In the act “*The magistrate investigates the affair*”, neither *WLE* nor *NLSE* has the detail that Yi Chun confesses her guilt. This can also be regarded as an attempt to enhance the virtue of Yi Chun, to some extent, since she becomes a defender of pure love, instead of a traitor who betrayed her lady if she does not confess. This is a deduction.

(constant dripping wears away the stone)". Yi Chun hopes that Chen San does not give up his destined love with Wu Niang. When Chen San makes up his mind to leave, she immediately informs Wu Niang. Yi Chun tells Wu Niang that she saw that An Tong had brought a lot of money to Chen San, which helps Wu Niang to verify Chen San's real identity and leads to Wu Niang's complete acceptance of him. In a word, this act "*Yi Chun leaves the umbrella*" stops Chen San's leaving, and explains why Wu Niang changes her mind. Compared with *NLSE* and *WLE*, in which the story flows smoothly, in *JJE* Yi Chun does not tell Wu Niang about the money. Without further explanation about Wu Niang's attitude, in *JJE* the story suddenly moves to Chen San being willing to stay, and he then writes his erotic poem to Wu Niang.

As for the act "*Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San*", it relates to how editors dealt with the relationship between Chen San and Wu Niang. The act "*Appreciating the flowers inside the garden*" (Act 24, *JJE*; Act 20, *WLE*; Act 19, *NLSE*; Act 12, *SZE*; Act 23, *DGE*) has a different story development in *WLE* and *NLSE* compared with other editions. In *JJE* and the three Qing Dynasty editions, Chen San meets with Wu Niang and Yi Chun after he jumped over the wall. He mainly debates and discusses with Wu Niang. Things are different in *WLE* and *NLSE*: Wu Niang exits the stage very early because she is afraid her parents will find her out of bed, thus Chen San only meets Yi Chun in the garden. Yi Chun is not willing to help Chen San and even laughs at him. Not until Chen San feels lovesick does Yi Chun start to feel sympathy for him and agree to help him. However, in *WLE* and *NLSE*, precisely at the time Chen San meets Yi Chun in the garden, he sings some suggestive songs. Yi Chun does not disapprove of his words in *WLE* and *NLSE*.

Yi Chun says: When [you and Wu Niang's] destined love reaches its good ending, you will forget a girl [named] Yi Chun.

Chen San sings: I am willing to have we three people committed to each other. Our love is so enormous that even Mount Taishan cannot weigh more than it does. (Act 20, *WLE*; Act 19, *NLSE*)

春白：姻缘成就时，又不识益春一个。

生唱：愿卜三人相结托，情重泰山恶比。（万历本·第二十齣；苏格兰藏本·第十九齣）

In my opinion, “we three people committed to each other” is an obvious hint that Chen San has affection for Yi Chun. In the later act “*Yi Chun declines the date*” (Act 28, *JJE*; Act 27, *WLE*; Act 26, *NLSE*; Act 18, *SZE*; Act 30, *DGE*), only in *JJE* does Yi Chun refuse Chen San’s love in a straightforward way. In other editions, there are different ways to deal with this problem.

The situation in *WLE* is complex. The captions for the illustrations are “Chen San dallies with Yi Chun (陈三戏益春)” “Chen San misses Yi Chun (陈三思益春)” “Yi Chun consents to Chen San (益春从陈三)”. From these words, it seems that the editor of *WLE* suggests that Yi Chun agrees to be the concubine of Chen San. However, the main text is more similar to that of *JJE*, in which Yi Chun rejects Chen San by saying “Sange, please do not have those kinds of thoughts (三哥莫起只心意)”. She says: “Wish for you two to be a happy couple, a happy pair; the lady and the gentleman age with each other and (cherish your) love on the pillow (愿恁双双二好，娘郎相守枕上恩义).” Chen San continues to say “Now we three (are together) in this whole life, we should not give up easily (赧今三人一世不甘轻弃)”. Finally, the dialogue ends when Yi Chun mentions Wu Niang, saying that if Chen San does so, Wu Niang will “dislike your desire for flowers and wine”. *NLSE* is mainly similar to *JJE* and keeps that misleading sentence: “At that time it will be easier to love me (许时要阮容易).” From the act “*Yi Chun declines the date*”, in both *NLSE* and *WLE* Yi Chun rejects Chen San in the main text. In *WLE*, she rejects him more thoroughly but the captions for its illustrations are contradictory. In *NLSE*, although Yi Chun refuses Chen San, she still leaves some room for negotiation. Such “negotiations” are developed and discussed in the act “*Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San*”, which first appeared in *NLSE*.

In *NLSE*, this act is mainly about Wu Niang letting Yi Chun present flowers to Chen San, and Yi Chun talks with Chen San. It happens after Chen San and Yi Chun meet with each other in the garden. When Yi Chun declines the date in Act 26, she rejects Chen San by saying she is the branch, while Wu Niang is the flower. Chen San explains that as a lover of flowers, he

loves both flower and branch. In this act, Yi Chun is somewhat moved by Chen San's words and breaks up the bud to test his response. Chen San, interestingly, is thinking "when will we three hearts come together, like a drum, a harp, and a zither (值时会得三心相结套, 如鼓、瑟、琴)" indicating that he never seems to know whether Yi Chun will agree or not. When Yi Chun meets Chen San with the broken bud, Chen San expresses his "Hope [that] we three care for each other, heart and belly understand each other, accompany each other (愿卜三人相惜, 心腹相通, 相随相伴)." He says he does not care about the fact that Yi Chun is a maid, and swears he is sincere. In *NLSE*, when Wu Niang realises this, she becomes very angry with Chen San's insatiable desire, saying that "(Chen San is like a) butterfly who loves the flower, there is not only one master for him. He deflowers one bud and moves to another one, how can (he liken himself to) Wang Kui who never loves a second one (尾蝶恋花心无定主, 含蕊正采又过别枝, 真亏心王魁无二)". Chen San explains that his love for Yi Chun is to thank her for her help, and hopes that "we three have the same hearts (and thoughts), and have a warm and affable atmosphere". Nonetheless, when Wu Niang agrees to have Yi Chun as a concubine and asks Yi Chun, the latter says she does not want to. Chen San appraises this as "liver, heart, and mouth at variance (口共心肝长相背)". Finally, Yi Chun agrees to elope together with Chen San and Wu Niang, which indicates that she agrees to be the concubine of Chen San.

To conclude, the two added new acts "*Yi Chun leaves the umbrella*" and "*Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San*" have different endings in *WLE* and *NLSE*. In *WLE*, although Yi Chun flirts with Chen San, she finally rejects his pursuits.¹³⁹ In *NLSE*, Yi Chun agrees to become Chen San's concubine, although she says she does not want to elope in Act 32. According to the context, her decision is still very clear in *NLSE*.

3.3.2.3 Yi Chun and Xiao Qi: Friendship or Relationship?

In *WLE* and *NLSE*, the dialogue between Yi Chun and Xiao Qi also increases, in accordance with the conversations between Yi Chun and Chen San. Particularly in *NLSE*,

¹³⁹ One detail in Act 21 of *WLE* is, Yi Chun hopes that Chen San should not forget her, and stresses that "we three are together and our love is so massive". This detail is also in contradiction with the final ending.

fragments of the story about Xiao Qi have obviously expanded. For example, in the act “*Chen San holds the water basin*” (Act 19, *WLE*; Act 18, *NLSE*), after Chen San exits the stage, Xiao Qi enters. He firstly debates with Wu Niang, then starts to have a very long conversation with Yi Chun. The annotations, such as “Xiao Qi and Yi Chun tease each other (小七益春相戏骂)” and “Xiao Qi and Yi Chun talk about the ancients (小七益春同讲古)” precisely reflect these comical extracts about Xiao Qi. The occurrence of these long, humorous fragments in *NLSE* is probably due to the popularity of comic bridging elements and roles at in dramas at that time.¹⁴⁰ Focusing on these fragments, I regard Xiao Qi as an attractive, naive but sometimes shrewd role. He enjoys talking in a bombastic way, and thus adds some amusing parts to the opera:

Xiao Qi says: You meanie! You should not deceive me. Yesterday, a fortuneteller told me I would be a great-grandfather in the future!

Xiao Qi sings: The ancestor of my family used to be an emperor. (Act 18, *WLE*)

七白：死鬼，而莫相欺。昨茂一个看命先生叫我会做太公……

七唱：阮厝祖公做皇帝……（万历本·第十八齣）

Compared with these added humorous sections, the more critical new fragments of the story appear when Wu Niang asks Xiao Qi to send the letter (Act 43, *WLE*; Act 42, *NLSE*) and when Xiao Qi goes back (Act 45, *WLE*; Act 44, *NLSE*). In *JJE*, Wu Niang asks Xiao Qi to send the letter in an uncomplicated plotline, in which Wu Niang asks and Xiao Qi agrees. In *WLE* and *NLSE*, it changes to Xiao Qi spontaneously applying for help, and requesting Yi Chun in return:

Wu Niang says: I understand. When you come back home after meeting Chen San, I will find a wife for you.

Xiao Qi says: My lady, people say that selling something raw [unfamiliar] is no better than

¹⁴⁰ Another long and humorous fragment of the story is Act 30 of *NLSE* “The father goes to his farm”. Chen San, Wu Niang’s father and the peasants present a whole humorous act which almost has no relationship to the main story.

selling cooked [familiar]. Others find it difficult to know my thoughts.

Wu Niang says: You are asking for Yi Chun. OK, I agree. Now I will go to my bedroom.

You can discuss with Yi Chun as you wish.

Xiao Qi says: A-Chun, I am telling you. Our lady granted me to have you as my spouse.

Today, I will go far from home and do not know when will I be back. I am not an inconstant man. I only know how to deal with you. (Act 43, *WLE*)

旦白：我晓得，你去寻见恁官人转来了，我讨一个么乞你。

七白：阿娘，人叫一块贩生不如一块贩熟。外人恶测伊心腹。

旦白：你是要益春。亦罢，准你。我今入去，随恁私下较量。

七白：阿春……我分付你，阿娘准我共恁打对，我今日远行，未知只去值时转来……

我做人不是心性转来，我知只事你。（万历本·第四十三齣）

Wu Niang says: Can it be possible that you love Yi Chun?

Xiao Qi says: Exactly.

Yi Chun says: My lady, please do not listen to his preposterous words.

Xiao Qi says: You meanie! [Is it true that] you did not know that I love you?

Wu Niang says: OK, I agree. Now I will go to my bedroom. You can discuss [with Yi Chun] as you wish. (Act 44, *NLSE*)

旦白：尔莫是爱益春吗？

七白：正是嘞。

春白：阿娘，尔莫听伊茹坦。

七白：死鬼，未知我爱尔呵未！

旦白：亦罢，准尔。我要入去了，随恁私下较量。（苏格兰藏本·第四十四齣）

After the above conversation, Yi Chun and Xiao Qi start to banter flirtatiously. They begin antiphonal singing. Xiao Qi even says “This year I will sleep with you, next year you give birth to our child (今年共你逸逸困，明年人生人，人生人)”. Yi Chun tells Xiao Qi that she wishes for him to come back soon. When Xiao Qi finishes his task and returns home, he does not forget the previous promise:

Xiao Qi says: My lady, a nobleman always solves the problem at the very beginning.

Wu Niang says: Ah, I see. You dead body, you really remember [that promise]?

Xiao Qi says: I think of that day and night in my heart, exactly like you miss your gentleman.

Wu Niang says: You can go inside and discuss with Yi Chun as you wish. (Act 45, *WLE*)

七白：阿娘，君子断其初。

旦白：呵，我知了。尸首，你天记得吗？

七白：……小七夜日念念在心头，亦亲像阿娘忆着官人一般。

旦白：……你且入去随恁二人去较量。（万历本·第四十五齣）

Compared with *WLE*, *NLSE* has detailed discussions between Yi Chun and Xiao Qi. Xiao Qi asks Yi Chun to get married that day, and wishes to sleep with her. Their words show that both of them are sincere:

七白：我就去讨席来共而眠一下罢。

春白：斩头，尔就去讨。

七白：尔不可骗我。

春白：我不骗尔。（苏格兰藏本·第四十四齣）

Xiao Qi says: I will demand a bamboo mat for we two, let me sleep together with you for a while.

Yi Chun says: You bad man! You can demand now.

Xiao Qi says: You should not deceive me.

Yi Chun says: I will not deceive you. (Act 44, *NLSE*)

Besides the above examples, details that foreshadow the adulterous relationship between Yi Chun and Xiao Qi in *JJE* are mostly inherited by *NLSE* and *WLE*. If we only look at Xiao Qi and Yi Chun, there is no doubt that in both *WLE* and *NLSE* the two get married, which is

agreed upon and supported by Wu Niang and obeys the marriage requirements of the Ming Dynasty. Xiao Qi and Yi Chun's match not only conforms with the plot's foreshadowing but also enriches the whole story, making the singular narrative opera into a dual narrative. However, as discussed in the previous section, in *NLSE* Yi Chun finally agrees to be the concubine of Chen San, while in *WLE* the illustration notes stress that Yi Chun chooses Chen San. This conflicting phenomenon first appears in *WLE* and *NLSE*, and continues to the three Qing Dynasty editions.

3.3.3 *The Three Qing Dynasty Editions: Changes and Stability*

The three Qing Dynasty editions inherit a great deal of content from *NLSE*, including fragments of the story and songs. As the language developed into more dialectic style, the story itself began to contain more contradictory changes, which makes it very challenging to analyse. At the same time, many obscene details are added to the story.

For example, in Act 5 of *SZE*, Xiao Qi swears to Yi Chun by saying "(I) drink your milk, (thus) will not forget your kindness (食乳汁, 不忘恩)". This metaphor is very intimate, which reveals that the relationship between the two is very close. In Act 9 of *SZE*, Chen San frames Yi Chun for the breaking of the mirror. Wu Niang's father does not believe this, while Xiao Qi, who believes Yi Chun in *JJE*, arbitrarily asserts that Yi Chun is culpable. This detail seems to suggest that Xiao Qi does not care about Yi Chun. However, in Act 11 of *SZE*, when chatting with Yi Chun, Xiao Qi tells her that the fortuneteller said: "Xiao Qi will be a *xunjian* 巡检 (government's county inspector), and Yi Chun will be a *xunjian*'s wife". This sentence implies that Xiao Qi has affection towards Yi Chun. Act 11 of *SZE*'s counterpart in *DGE* is Act 22. In Act 22 of *DGE*, Xiao Qi complains that Yi Chun only talks with Chen San. He feels unhappy because of this unfair treatment. The part where "*Xiao Qi and Yi Chun talk about the ancients*" is deleted, which suggests there are no special feelings between the two. In Act 14 of *SZE*, there is even a detail where An Tong asks Chen San if he wants to marry Yi Chun because of her beauty.

Apropos of the long conversation between Chen San and Yi Chun in the act “*Yi Chun declines the date*”, in Act 19 of *SZE*, Chen San fondles Yi Chun’s breasts. In Act 30 of *DGE*, the editor writes that Chen San “plays inside the cave (得挑洞府)”, which shows they already have an intimate relationship. However, in later acts (Act 19, *SZE*; Act 31, *DGE*), Yi Chun still stresses that “this is not three people’s affair (只句不是三人的事)” which creates the impression that she rejects Chen San, in the same way as she does in *JJE*.

Although there are many contradictions, Yi Chun’s ending in the three Qing Dynasty editions is still apparent. In the act “*Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San*” when Chen San brings forward the idea that “we three are together”, Wu Niang welcomes such thoughts. She “feels a bit happy in her heart (心头略欢喜)” and accepts Yi Chun naturally. In the later act “*Wu Niang asks Xiao Qi to send a letter*”, Xiao Qi says he only loves Yi Chun. Wu Niang does not let Xiao Qi and Yi Chun discuss this and ignores his wish. After Xiao Qi has gone back home, he does not ask to meet with Yi Chun. Based on these details, it is clear that Yi Chun finally becomes the concubine of Chen San instead of the wife of Xiao Qi in the three Qing Dynasty editions.

From the above analysis of Yi Chun, it may be recognized that Yi Chun’s image, as well as her ending, changed rapidly from the earliest *JJE*, to the latest *GXE*. Firstly, there are more acts featuring Yi Chun. Luo’s opinions are still useful for explaining such an increase. Yi Chun changes from a supporting role to the secondary heroine, who is as vital as Wu Niang in the story *Lizhiji*. Secondly, the fate of Yi Chun is different in each edition. *JJE* represents the earlier situation, which is that Yi Chun rejects Chen San. She may have an intimate relationship with Xiao Qi, but the ending of this relationship is not given. The two Chaozhou editions *WLE* and *NLSE*, although containing some conflicting elements, have detail in the main text showing Yi Chun refusing Chen San, and marrying Xiao Qi, who pursues her actively. In the three Qing Dynasty editions, Yi Chun finally becomes the concubine of Chen San. Yi Chun’s choice in the three Qing Dynasty editions is in accordance with the “*yinan shuangmei* 一男双美 (one man and two beauties)” mode which was a common practice in imperial Chinese literature,

especially in opera.¹⁴¹

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I conducted a text study based on the bibliographical study results in Chapter 2. Through detailed textual comparison and analysis of the extant six editions of *Lizhiji*, and through two aspects - the central love story and the secondary love story - I restudied and re-discussed the changes happening within the four main roles: Wu Niang, Chen San, Lin Da and Yi Chun, from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty. To some extent, this is a case study of literature research integrating bibliographical research. All the research for this chapter is centred by the text. Why the text has changed are obvious? Firstly, the on-stage performance is full of accidents and ad-libbed passages, especially the dialogue and gestures. As records of the true performance, *Lizhiji* texts changed when the performance changed. Secondly, the readers, writers, and publishers of vernacular operas did not have the desire to keep the original form of the opera. Vernacular operas, similar to literature and art works for entertainment, are not serious literature works. Keeping the original text might not carry much value. In this way, changes are very common in the history of vernacular opera development. Thirdly, many years passed, from *JJE* to *GXE*, which made it rather impossible to keep the original text. Finally, *Lizhiji* is a story originating from local folk tale, and its authorship is to some extent publicly-owned. Nobody really thinks that he owns the authority to explain the original intention of the whole story—that is perhaps why on the *paiji* of *WLE* it writes “edited by Li Dongyue” instead of “written by”. This enables authors and editors to have complete freedom to make changes to the story.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ The “one man and two beauties” mode is a popular mode in Chinese literature, it refers to one hero having two heroines. By using this mode, the author can develop the story, increase the conflict in the story and set up the image of the figures. See Yuan Huiping 袁惠苹, “Lun gudai zhongguo xiaoshuo de yinan shuangnü renwu peilie 论中国古代小说的一男双美人物配列 [A Discussion on the One Man and Two Beauties Role Set in Imperial Chinese Fictions],” *Xiamen Guangbo Dianshi Daxue Xuebao* 2 (2010): 61-67 as well as Sun Yue 孙悦, “Mingqing Xiaoshuo Shuangshu Moshi Yanjiu 明清小说双姝模式研究[A Research on the Two Beauties Mode of the Ming and Qing Dynasties Fictions],” (MA Diss., Jinan University, 2016).

¹⁴² Authorship and copyright come from the view that knowledge is proprietary. Since the story of Chen San and Wu Niang is a public-owned tale, I do not believe who really owns the copyright of the whole story of *Lizhiji*, at least in the imperial times. For more information about the copyright in imperial China, see Li Mingjie 李明杰,

As a result of the above study, three conclusions were reached.

3.4.1 Re-understanding the Characters

Researchers used to mostly focus on the love story between Chen San and Wu Niang, and argued that the revolutionary Wu Niang strives for marital freedom; these researchers also used to regard Chen San as a typical *caizi*, infatuated by love. In this chapter, I firstly re-analysed the four main characters' images in response to the previous research findings. For Wu Niang, I inspected the different ways that the six editors, from the Qing to the Ming Dynasty, dealt with her first meeting with Chen San. I discovered that they previously meet twice then fall in love, but later editions change this to falling in love at first sight, which indicates an easier way to cope with the problem. When the basis of their love becomes unstable, Wu Niang's disposition gradually becomes weaker. Meanwhile, I reconsidered Wu Niang's behaviour. I believe that her "love" towards Chen San is more manipulative and opportunistic than previous scholars have asserted, and that she is behaving selfishly rather than choosing a husband prudently. She is a self-centred girl, thus is only willing to elope with Chen San after confirming his real identity.

As for Chen San, I rejected the opinions of others who claimed that Chen San is a *caizi* who is seeking scholarly honour. By analysing his behaviour and work, I concluded that he is not a typical *caizi*. Instead, he is an ordinary, if vivacious, *guanyinzier* who does not have any clear goals for the imperial examinations. From the Ming to the Qing Dynasty, Chen San's reactions harden, while Wu Niang is weakened. When faced with Wu Niang's cold treatment, Chen San tends towards abandoning his love and going back home directly. Furthermore, I find that in fact, Chen San is aware that his elopement with Wu Niang is against conventional reasoning and morals, and the engagement between Wu Niang and Lin Da is legitimate. He finally chooses the traditional form of marriage- with betrothal gifts - which reveals that the

Zhongguo Gudai Tushu Zhuzuoquan Yanjiu 中国古代图书著作权研究 [Study on the Book Copyright in Ancient China], (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2013). Li Mingjie argues that although there isn't any Black letter law in imperial China about copyright, there are still various evidence that imperial Chinese people have a long history of protecting copyright.

so-called “revolutionary spirit” of *Lizhiji* is not as marked as has been assumed.

Secondly, I specifically discussed Lin Da, who has seldom received attention from researchers. I discovered that Lin Da’s engagement to Wu Niang is no doubt legal. Compared with Chen San, who breaks the law, Lin Da is obeying both the law and customs. An important and new finding is that from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty, Lin Da’s image worsens with each new generation of text. Such a worsened Lin Da is related to the weakened Wu Niang and stronger Chen San. Wu Niang and Chen San’s changes result in less conflict within the story, but a good narrative needs conflict. The editors chose to depict a more debauched villain in order to enhance the dramatic conflict of *Lizhiji*. This change may also be related to the popularization of Liyuan Opera, and the relationship between the peasants and landlords of Fujian Province in the Qing Dynasty.

In addition to the main love story, I also analysed the secondary love story centred around Yi Chun. The core of the secondary story concerns the changes in Yi Chun. In the earliest *JJE*, Yi Chun rejects Chen San’s love and stays as a *hongniang*-like maid who promotes the whole story. In *NLSE* and *WLE*, Yi Chun starts to have her own personal thoughts and finally marries the servant Xiao Qi. In the three Qing Dynasty editions, some fluctuations of the details and value orientations can be seen, but Yi Chun eventually becomes the concubine of Chen San.

After discussing and describing the above changes in the images of the characters, as well as analysing the possible reasons for these changes, I want to talk about the relationship between opera and society. When examining some specific problems, I use aspects of the historical and social context to explain and depict the changes in the characters. This is because operas can reflect and represent real life to some extent by showing the social interaction of the time with its mores and customs, but they cannot be regarded as real history of course. Opera was an important part of the social life of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Wu Niang’s selfish behaviour—agreeing to elope after she has made sure of Chen San’s identity, for example, accurately indicates the development of the city economy of southern Fujian and eastern Guangdong areas in the Ming Dynasty: local people had become used to commercial life, so when the themes of an opera are centred on business transactions and merchants,

people's choices in love and their concepts of marriage are naturally influenced by this commercial atmosphere. People fight over trifles and care more about personal interests, just like Wu Niang. Furthermore, whether they be characters in literary works or editors in the real world, neither can carry out a complete "revolution". Chen San finally chooses to send the betrothal gifts; Wu Niang finally chooses to marry a *guanyinzier* instead of a servant; Yi Chun chooses to marry Xiao Qi who is a servant in the Ming Dynasty - all these choices follow the trends and social background of their time.

3.4.2 *The Interwoven Story Gains Importance*

The whole changing process of *Lizhiji* is down to the altered prominence of the central love story and the rise in significance of the interwoven story. Jin Shengtian, writing on *Romance of the Western Chamber*, had already noted that Wang Shifu "writes Hong Niang only to embellish Shuangwen (写红娘只为写双文)".¹⁴³ In *JJE*, we can still say that the editor writes Yi Chun only to embellish Wu Niang. After *JJE*, Yi Chun gains more importance in the story. As we discussed above, the increase in Yi Chun's part in the story is also related to the changes in Chen San and Wu Niang's characters. Like writing about a worsened Lin Da, the aim of writing more about Yi Chun is to enhance the conflict in the opera and enrich the content of *Lizhiji*. This is what Luo Guanhua emphasizes as "strengthen the narrativity".¹⁴⁴

The escalation of scenarios about Yi Chun, according to the analysis above, must not be an isolated decision made by an individual editor or writer. It is a trend which formed gradually through several generations of editors, writers, and performers. For the whole story, all the changes happening in the main story and the interwoven story are not isolated. These changes are systematic and structural.

In my opinion, the audience of *Lizhiji* is another factor that results in such changes.¹⁴⁵ As I discussed in chapter 2, the audiences of *Lizhiji* comprise various types and social classes, but

¹⁴³ Jin Shengtian 金圣叹, *Jin Shengtian Pipingben Xixiangji* 金圣叹批评本《西厢记》 [*Romance of the Western Chamber Commented by Jin Shengtian*], (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2011), 12.

¹⁴⁴ Luo Guanhua, "Hongniang de xingxiang heyi bianhuaduoduan," 40-41.

¹⁴⁵ I will explain more about the target audience of *Lizhiji* in Chapter 4.

the majority are likely to have come from middle to lower classes with not very high levels of literacy. As readers 400 years on, we do not need to blame Yi Chun for her choice to become a concubine or praise her for rejecting Chen San directly in *JJE* and *WLE*. This kind of judgment is not that valuable when analyzing literary works of a specific historical period. Comparatively, becoming a princess is every Cinderella's beautiful fantasy. For Yi Chun as a maid, seeking to marry a *guanyinzier* (even though she ends up as a concubine) is already a brave dream. The increase of the affection between Yi Chun and Chen San precisely shows this plot's charm. Such a scenario perhaps enables the audience to become involved in the story, and even agitates the core of the whole plot.

If we move forward from the recognition of “the rise of the interwoven story”, if we strip the stories centred on Yi Chun and regard them as extensions of the original story about the mirror and the lychee, if we put *Lizhiji* into the whole history of opera and history of literature –then such a method of developing a story from scenarios and characters that already exist is a historically common practice. Giving more weight to a particular character in the story and increasing his/her importance to the whole story resulted in changes of the plot structure and role setting. This kind of method is very popular in the Ming and the Qing Dynasty.¹⁴⁶ There are various examples showcasing this method. As we know *zaju* in the Yuan Dynasty always has four acts, which is relatively short. During the Ming and the Qing Dynasties, many *zaju* have been recomposed and rewritten into *chuanqi* which has more acts and enables more elements or fragments of plots in one story to enrich the content. A typical work of this kind is *Taofuji* 桃符记 (*Legend of the Peach Wood Block*) by Shen Jing, which is based on the Yuan Dynasty *chuanqi* *Houtinghua* 后庭花 [*Flowers in the Backyard*] by Zheng Tingyu 郑廷玉 (c.1271–c.1368). Shen Jing added more characters to the story and expanded the heroine's experience. Lü Tiancheng introduced *Legend of the Peach Wood Block* in this way, which shows that imperial scholars were fully aware of this kind of derivative parts.

¹⁴⁶ Shang Wei 商伟, “Fushi xiaoshuo de goucheng: cong Shuihuzhuan dao Jinpingmeicihua 复式小说的构成: 从《水浒传》到《金瓶梅词话》 [The Formation of a Polytextual Novel: from *Shuihuzhuan* to *Jinpingmeicihua*],” *Fudan Xuebao: Shehui Kexue Ban* 5 (2016): 42.

It is the *fuyan* 敷衍 (elaborated and derivative) work of the *zaju* *Flowers in the Backyard*.¹⁴⁷

即《后庭花》剧而敷衍之者。

For the story of *Lizhiji*, the systematic rise of the interwoven story is partly because of the decline of the central love story. For the whole history of opera, adding new details to the original opera reveals the specific process of how an old opera develops and how a new opera is produced. On the one hand, the new work can be a reproduction of an original one and based on the initial background and roles. The re-creation rules we discovered from novels are applicable to operas. On the other hand, the central narrative objects turn from *caizi* and *jiaren* to the maid and servant, who used to be marginal groups in the literary world. Such a change in concentration brings about changes to the narration, the language, the narrative objects and geographical spaces of the opera.¹⁴⁸ From elegant and exquisite arias to slang and dialect, from the life of *caizi* to the lives of ordinary townsmen, from the enclosed bedroom of a lady to the commercial city - the world in which this story exists changes from the restricted space of a refined elite to a more expansive, straightforward and trivial universe.

The changes in the characters, the rise of the interwoven story and the shift of the narrative centre also cause new contradictions. Regarding Chapters 2 and 3, finally, I want to discuss how best to understand and deal with inconsistencies or *zhenxianbumi* 针线不密 (needles and threads are not meticulous enough) in Chinese when conducting studies on Chinese imperial operas and comparing different opera editions. The above section regarding Yi Chun's different choices in *WLE* and *NLSE* is an example of such a phenomenon. These kinds of conflicting details and illogical scenarios are mostly related to the imperfect texts of an earlier stage of a work of literature or the carelessness of editors and writers. *Lizhiji* is a vernacular opera played mostly for middle and lower-classes audiences, rather than a literary publication

¹⁴⁷ Lü Tiancheng 吕天成, noted by Wu Shuyin 吴书荫, *Qupin Jiaozhu* 曲品校注 [Full Noted Evaluations of lyric drama], (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 210.

¹⁴⁸ See more in Pan Jianguo, "Gudai xiaoshuo bianyuan renwu de shuangchong shuxing ji wenti yiyi 古代小说边缘人物的双重属性及文体意义 [The Dual Attributes and Stylistic Significance of the Marginal Characters in Imperial Fictions]," *Beijing daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexueban)* 3 (2009), 93-94.

produced mainly to be read. Thus, it pays particular attention to the stage effects, rather than the logic of the story. As a long opera containing more than forty acts, a limited amount of inconsistencies is acceptable. Finally, operas also have the feature of *shidaileiji* 世代累积 (accumulates and forms generations by generations). Both the performers and the editors are highly predisposed to inherit previous arias, plots, and acts. During this accumulative process, conflicts arose between these added parts and the original content. This is not an unusual occurrence but can be the start of future research, where we can study operas by analysing the added and shared parts.

Chapter 4

The Development and Decline of *Lizhiji*

The previous Chapters 2 and 3 have discussed some of the small changes and exceptions found in this new edition in comparison with the other extant texts. It can be seen that as a vernacular opera, *Lizhiji* publications presented tremendous changes from the Ming to the Qing Dynasties, compared with literary operas. These changes are not only limited to details such as dialogue and gesture, but can also be seen in the whole plot, the development of the story, the image of the main characters and the overall story structure. Looking at this vernacular opera in the light of the discovery of new material and the analysis of that material, some fresh difficulties are brought into focus. Are there any discernible trends in the ways in which *Lizhiji* evolved? Why do these changes exist? Are there clues as to why the changes came about? In this chapter, I will try to answer these three questions based on the research findings, text and bibliographical evidence, as well as the results of the field research I conducted in 2015. There are many studies regarding the factors and reasons that result in changes in operas and literature. In this chapter, besides the factors already known, I hope to bring a new element to the answer to the question, by introducing another local art form named Nanyin to the discussion.

4.1 *Lizhiji*: The Decline in Quality and Limitation of Circulation

The initial problem to confront here is the changing trend of the *Lizhiji* text from the Ming to the Qing dynasties. I classified the extant editions of *Lizhiji* into three periods. The first is the early period of the story, as represented by *JJE*. The second is the transforming period, as represented by *WLE* and *NLSE*. The last is the stable period of the story, as represented by the three Qing Dynasty editions. The early period of *Lizhiji*, in my opinion, was profoundly influenced by the classical masterpiece of *caizi* and *jiaren* opera, *Romance of the Western Chamber*. *Romance of the Western Chamber* is so famous and popular that there have been many imitations and revised versions of the story. For example, *Dongqiang Ji* 东墙记 [*Legend*

of the Eastern Wall] by Bai Pu 白朴 (1226-1306?), *Zhou Meixiang* 伯梅香 [*The Smart Meixiang*] by Zheng Guangzu 郑光祖 (c.1260–c.1320) and *Southern Tune Romance of the Western Chamber* 南西厢 by Li Rihua 李日华 (c. 1505 – c.1566). As I mentioned in Chapter 3, Yi Chun and Chen San used to roleplay as Hong Niang and Zhang Sheng (Act 19, *JJE*). Chen San’s writing poems and love letters to Wu Niang, as well as his jump over the wall, are similar to examples of behaviours displayed in *Romance of the Western Chamber*. Zheng Xiaoya’s essay explains these in detail.¹ Besides the examples highlighted in Zheng Xiaoya’s article, there is an act which makes *JJE* considerably different from later editions. In *JJE*, the plot fragment where Wu Niang and Yi Chun burn joss sticks and worship the *yuelao* 月老 (god of the moon, who is in fact the god of love) and Chang E 嫦娥 (goddess of the moon) happens three times, once each in Acts 15, 20 and 24. The second occurrence, in Act 20, has no corresponding act in any of the other editions. The content of this act is very similar to Acts 15 and 24, in which Wu Niang worships the god and goddess, asking for true love and praying to be released from marrying Lin Da. This poses the question: why does this unique but repeated act exist in *JJE*? I executed a close comparison of *Romance of the Western Chamber* and *Lizhiji* and offer the conjecture that this is because the latter imitates *Romance of the Western Chamber*’s plot arrangement.

Act 3, Volume 1 of *Romance of the Western Chamber*, is usually called *chouyun* 酬韵 (answer with a poem). This act provides the story where the lady Ying Ying asks her maid Hong Niang to burn joss sticks inside the garden and ask for a worthy love. After hearing the voices, Zhang Sheng goes out and responds in verse with Ying Ying. This “burning joss stick” happens after Zhang Sheng has fallen in love with Ying Ying at first sight, and it is before he has the chance to make close acquaintance with Ying Ying (Act 4, Volume 1). The aim of this act in *Romance of the Western Chamber* is to demonstrate Ying Ying’s desire for love and marriage and it enables the hero and heroine to learn more about each other before their first formal contact. After responding to each other’s poems, Ying Ying becomes aware of Zhang Sheng’s

¹ Zheng Xiaoya 郑小雅, “Huwén shìjiào xià de míng jiājīngběn lizhìjì 互文视角下的明嘉靖本《荔镜记》 [Jiajing Edition *Lizhiji* under the Perspective of Intertextuality],” *Fuzhou Daxue Xuebao (Zhèxué Shehui Kèxué Bān)* 5 (2015): 28-32.

scholarship, while Zhang Sheng's fascination with Ying Ying deepens.

In *JJE*, this time the burning of the joss sticks also happens before Chen San can truly make contact with and observe Wu Niang (which comes in the act "*Chen San sweeps the house*"). In this act, Yi Chun tells Wu Niang that "Zhang Gong and Ying Ying met each other". This act does not have any special function in the development of the plot, but its insertion into *JJE* abruptly in Act 20 is probably evidence of the influence of *Romance of the Western Chamber* on the editor. From this example, we can conclude that to some extent, *JJE* is the result of a combination of the classical opera *Romance of the Western Chamber* and the local story *Lizhiji*.

After this point, the story of *Lizhiji* entered its period of change. The fragments of the plot of *Romance of the Western Chamber* (Act 20, *JJE*) were deleted and added-parts (*Yi Chun leaves the umbrella, Yi Chun presents flowers to Chen San*), were introduced to *WLE* and *NLSE*.

From the Ming to the Qing Dynasty, the story changes gradually and finally settled down in *SZE*, the beginning of the stable period, in which no more texts are added to an already mature story.

As far as I can see, the quality of *Lizhiji* slowly declines from *JJE* to the last version, *GXE*. This recession can be traced according to three factors.

Firstly, the situation of inconsistencies increased. As Chapter 3 asserts, because of the feature of "accumulating generations and generations", conflict between details constantly happens and there are often continuity issues. However, when it comes to *Lizhiji*, some contradictions can be ascribed to missing acts. From the table of acts in Chapter 2, it can be found that acts which follow the past and herald the future in the three Ming Dynasty editions (Act 10: "*Officers at the stage hosts*" in *JJE*; Act 12: "*Saying goodbye to his brother and coming back*" in *JJE*; Act 3: "*Mr. Jin and Mr. Pan say goodbye to Chen Boqing*" in *WLE*; Act 37: "*Chen San meets with a boat and crosses the river*" in *WLE*; Act 25: Wu Niang writes a letter and ask Yi Chun to decline the date in *NLSE*, etc.) disappear in the three Qing Dynasty editions. The disappearance of these acts leads to incoherence and inconsistency within the story. In the case of these existing obstacles, the editors, as well as the reviewer, if there was

one, failed to amend the illogical scenarios by deleting and adding acts.² Problems with the plot accumulated along with editions and generations, indicating that the editors' capability of ensuring the quality of the text also went down over time.

A second factor in the decline of the quality of *Lizhiji* is the vulgarization of the story and the increased incorporation of dialect. The three Ming Dynasty editions are still comprehensible to non-speakers of the Minnan dialect, while the three Qing Dynasty editions, especially the last edition, *GXE*, are written almost exclusively in dialect, which is very difficult for people from other districts to read. At the same time, the inclusion of comedic, vulgar, and even pornographic details increased. For example, acts featuring Lin Da, as we highlighted in Chapter 3, included more indecent parts in the three Qing Dynasty editions.³

Thirdly, the printing quality of the book itself was declining. The three Ming Dynasty editions are engraved clearly, with well-designed formatting. The illustrations are legible and have smooth lines. When it comes to the Qing Dynasty, only *DGE* can boast these high-quality elements. On the whole, the engraving of the Qing Dynasty editions is illegible, the illustration quality is not high, and the typographic design is rough. Neither the aesthetic value, nor the collection value, is comparable to the three Ming Dynasty editions.

In my opinion, the direct result of the decline of *Lizhiji* in texts, stories and bibliographies is the limitation of its circulation. Although being regarded as the first and best Minnan dialect literary work, *Lizhiji* did not enjoy a second peak in the Qing Dynasty as other coeval local operas did. Liao Ben mentioned the popularity of several imperial operas, including *Shuangguangao* 双冠诰, *Jinyunu* 金玉奴, *Yutangchun* 玉堂春 and *Meiyupe* 梅玉配. These operas were recomposed into other kinds of local operas such as Yu Opera 豫剧 and Ping Opera 评剧. Some were even adapted into the Peking Opera and were widely welcomed.⁴ *Lizhiji*, instead, remained limited to the Minnan dialect-speaking areas and never had any

² Publications of opera sometimes has a proofreader or reviewer to check the text. For example, on the first page of *WJHY* there is an introduction “wanyuequ zhuren jiaoyue 玩月趣主人校阅 [reviewed by the Master of Playing with the Moon]”. See more about *WJHY* in the next section.

³ An example is in the act “The magistrate asks questions about the affair” of *SZE*, *GXE* and *DGE* when Lin Da goes to the stage and dallies with Wu Niang with a song “I am a monk with long, long feet (我是和尚脚长长)”.

⁴ Liao Ben 廖奔, *Zhongguo Xiju Tushi* 中国戏剧图史 [Illustrated History of Chinese Opera], (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 2012), 128-137.

recomposition into another kind of opera. Admittedly, this is due mostly to the dialect it uses, but the worsening quality of the opera is also an important reason. *Lizhiji* is the only complete local work as well as the most representative work of Liyuan Opera. Analysis of the different versions of *Lizhiji* that appeared in the Ming and Qing dynasties reveals the very important fact that Liyuan Opera was declining at that time.⁵ Even without any additional supporting materials, we can still presume that the decline of *Lizhiji* provides evidence of the decline of Liyuan Opera more generally.

4.2 The Factors Behind the Changes in Opera

Having highlighted the trend of these changes, tracing the decline in quality in *Lizhiji* from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty, it would be expedient to elucidate the factors behind such a transformation. These considerations are naturally the reasons for the limitation of the spread of *Lizhiji*. Previous researchers have already discussed the elements which can influence the development of opera. Among all of these results, Liao Ben's approach may be the most strategically reasonable.⁶ He points out three vital factors that affect the changing of opera: the developing trend of opera itself; the developing culture of the townspeople, which is caused by changes in lifestyle, and the development of the target audience's aesthetic interests. In addition to these three factors, the specific development of the social economy, the particular political and cultural atmosphere, and the specific experience of the author also influence the development of opera, although they are not necessarily determining factors. In this section, I will analyse the reasons behind the changes in *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera through three aspects. The social history background in general, the developing trend of opera itself, and the

⁵ Besides *MTC* and *Lizhiji*, there are almost no other extant publications of Liyuan Opera published in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Most repertoires of Liyuan Opera are orally-recorded scripts by Cai Youben 蔡尤本 (1889-1974). Of course, Cai's works cannot be regarded as materials of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. As for *MTC*, it is an anthology of acts, with possibly deletions and changes to the original text. Most of the acts are not local stories, and there is no further material on these acts.

⁶ Liao Ben 廖奔, "Daozhi yuanzaju xingsheng de sanzong lishi wenhua qushi-jianping jianguo yilai zhujia yuanzaju fanrong yuanyin shuo 导致元杂剧兴盛的三种历史文化趋势——兼评建国以来诸家元杂剧繁荣原因说 [Three Historical and Cultural Trends That Cause the Boom of the Yuan Dynasty Zaju-as well as Comments on the Discussions about the Boom of the Yuan Dynasty Zaju]," *Yishu Baijia* 2 (1987): 117-122.

competition for resources with other performing arts that Liyuan Opera faced during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. To clarify, all other factors including historical background, political changes, and social cultural changes, have been considered to be of great importance for the development of opera. Apart from these influential factors, I will outline new ideas about the influential factors.

4.2.1 The Social History Background

On the whole, the overall historical changes from the Ming Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty were the biggest external factors that caused the decline of Liyuan Opera and *Lizhiji*. At the same time, they are also the backdrop to all the changes which happened to *Lizhiji* as we detected in the previous chapters. In this section, I will discuss the historical backgrounds related to our topic in the Ming Dynasty and the Qing Dynasty. By analyzing the historical background changes in the society, the economy and the culture, I hope to find out why *Lizhiji* flourished in the Ming Dynasty, but declined from the early period of the Qing Dynasty.

We need to pay attention to the Ming Dynasty first, or to be specific, to the Jiajing to the Wanli reign period (1522-1620), during which time the three Ming Dynasty editions were published. The booming of Liyuan Opera seems to be related to the following three factors.

Firstly, the all-round recovery of the social economy in the middle and late Ming Dynasty, especially in Fujian province, is the basis of opera development. At that time, Fujian owned several important ports including the Moon Harbour in Zhangzhou. The decline of the tributary trade led to the rise of private trade there. After the sea ban policy was completely abolished in 1567, the Fujian economy developed rapidly. Fujian was rich in local products, such as oranges, sucrose, iron, wood, paper and silk. Fujian people were good at building big boats. These products were sent as export trade to overseas at that time. The administrative strategy at the time, namely “the single whip law” imposed by Zhang Juzheng 张居正 (1525-1582), also contributed to the emergence of more independent merchants, as people were liberated from the land because they could use silver to pay the tax instead of paying with goods. The economy

in Fujian was so successful during that time that it was called *tianzi nanku* 天子南库 (Southern inner storehouse of the emperor).⁷ These trades brought large amounts of silver into the late-Ming economy, and boosted the economy to its peak.⁸ Dorothy Ko concludes that while silver accelerated the economic development, it is also one of the factors that brought about the disorder in social hierarchies, such as the upgrade or downgrade of one's status in social class through commercial activities.⁹ These changes further pushed forward the development of business, the growing number of cities and the formation of the “*shimin jieceng* 市民阶层 (townsman class)”.¹⁰ There is no doubt that a better economic situation provided a more fertile ground for the development of opera. This is the economic background of the entire opera history in the Ming Dynasty.

Secondly, after the development of the commodity economy and the growth of the townsmen class, the consumption of cultural products was promoted. This was especially manifested in the prosperity of the commercial publishing industry. As mentioned in chapter 1, many researchers in the field of Chinese book history have already noted the publishing boom beginning around the Wanli reign period. Dorothy Ko also noticed this phenomenon. She stressed that the broadest reading public in China existed during that time.¹¹ The cost of publishing had dropped, numbers of readers had increased, and the content of books had expanded. Jianyang publications entered its second golden age, and there is no doubt that the flourishing industry in Jianyang will benefit the publishing activities in other parts of Fujian,

⁷ Tang Tianyao 唐天尧, “Shilun mingdai yuegang xingshuai de yuanyin 试论明代月港兴衰的原因 [A Brief Discussion on the Causes of the Rise and the Fall of the Moon Harbor in the Ming Dynasty],” *Fujian Shida Xuebao (Zhixue shehuikexue ban)* 3 (1982):110-116.

⁸ Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure*, 208-250.

⁹ Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994: 29-34. There was an excellent description of the social disorder at that time, in chapter 1.

¹⁰ Although *shimin* 市民 is usually translated as “citizen”, given that empires technically don't have citizens, I choose to use “townsman”. In imperial China, especially after the Tang Dynasty, *shimin* refer to general people who live in the city, regardless of their identities and occupations. Fang Zhiyuan 方志远, *Mingdai chengshi yu shimin wenxue* 明代城市与市民文学 [City and Citizen Literature of the Ming Dynasty], Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 9-10. Fang gives a detailed description of townsman in imperial China: people who live in cities or towns, have ordinary lives, have the freedom to communicate with other city residents and able to go in and out the city freely. See Fang Zhiyuan, *Mingdai chengshi yu shimin wenxue*, 13-14.

¹¹ Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers*, 34-67.

including Zhangzhou where *NLSE* and *WJHY* were born.¹² These are important prerequisites for the existence of the three comparatively high-quality Ming Dynasty opera publications.

Thirdly, the fascination with opera in the Ming Dynasty: from the Emperor to senior government officials, they all advocated and praised opera, for the sake of maintaining rule and educating the people. Ever since Zhu Di's reign period (1403-1424), Yang Jingxian 杨景贤 (n.d.) was already a famous court writer of operas. In the famous book *Yongle Dadian*, written under the edict of the Emperor, there are 91 kinds of *zaju* and 33 kinds of *xiwen*. Even a seigneur from the emperor's family wrote a book of opera, and described himself as "indulging in operas and performances of operas".¹³ During the mid-Ming period, the emperors owned *jiaofangsi* 教坊司 (official musical office), their official musical and opera office, with more than three thousand staff.¹⁴ Not only did *jiaofangsi* perform court operas, but they also played regional operas from outside of the court. The government officials also participated in the production of operas. A good example is Qiu Jun 邱濬 (1421-1495). His work *Wulun Quanbei Ji* 五伦全备记 (*Opera of the Five Human Relations*) was regarded as very different from other popular operas, because the main theme is to rigidly promote Confucian morality. However, taking into account his identity as a senior bureaucratic official and an expert in morality, his engagement in *chuanqi* or *xiwen*, reflects the in-depth participation in opera of every social class. In the mid and end of the Ming Dynasty, some of the most famous literati such as Kan Hai 康海 (1475-1540), Liang Chenyu 梁辰鱼 (c.1521-1594) and Tu Long 屠隆 (1543-1605) also participated in writing operas, and even became a professional writer. A record from Qian Qianyi (1582-1664) depicts their popularity:

[When Tu Long comes] ...opera fans all come, audiences and watchers crowd the road.

¹² Chia, *Printing for Profit*, 193-195.

¹³ Zhu Youdun 朱有燾 (1379-1439). His book is *Chenzhai Yuefu* 诚斋乐府 (*Operas and Songs of the Sincere House*). For more information, see Wilt L. Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre of Chu Yu-tun (1379-1439)*, (Leide: Brill, 1985).

¹⁴ A record from *Mingshi* 明史 [*History of the Ming*] said that emperor Yingzong (1427-1464) dismissed 3800 staff of the *jiaofangsi* in the first year of the Zhengtong reign period (1436). See Zhang Tingyu 张廷玉, *Mingshi* 明史 [*History of Ming*], volume 10, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 127.

屠隆之至……梨园数至，观者如堵。¹⁵

In summary, we can see that the prosperous economy, the booming book-making industry, and the fascination of the whole society—especially people with political powers—for operas, have promoted the development and prosperity of the Liyuan Opera in the Ming Dynasty.

One problem naturally arises: why, from 1604 to 1651, in less than 50 years, did the *NLSE* and *SZE* we now see undergo such relatively large changes? What are the external factors that led to these changes?

We already know that in the Qing Dynasty opera was still popular in the whole country, and the people were still fascinated by opera. In this way, the problem should lie in the specific economic, political and social elements of Fujian. I think there are two main reasons.

Firstly, the overall Fujian economy did not fully recover from the damage of the Ming-Qing transition.¹⁶ On the one hand, inside China, the geographical limitations are always there. Fujian is surrounded by mountains on three sides, and sea on the last side, with very limited land for agricultural activities. When the war between the Zheng family and the Qing government started, Fujian's goods could seldom be transported across the mountains to the Jiangnan area, as important roads were closed.¹⁷ Another critical point is the successive falls of Quanzhou Port and Zhangzhou's Moon Harbor. Quanzhou Port was a world-famous port in the Song and the Yuan Dynasties. In the early Ming Dynasty, after the *shibosi* 市舶司 (overseas shipping department) moved from Quanzhou to Fuzhou, it declined rapidly.¹⁸ Moon

¹⁵ Qian Qianyi 钱谦益, *Liechao Shiji Xiaozhuan* 列朝诗集小传 [Biographic Sketches of Poets from the Ming Dynasty], (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 445.

¹⁶ There is a very good overall description about the social and economy situation of southeast coastal areas including Quanzhou, Zhangzhou, Xiamen and Chaozhou in Susan Naquin and Everlyn S. Rawski's *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century*. Susan Naquin and Everlyn S. Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, 167-177.

¹⁷ The leader of the Zheng family is Zheng Chenggong (1624-1662), also known as Koxinga. He was a Chinese Ming loyalist who resisted the Qing conquest of China in the 17th century, fighting them on China's southeastern coast including Fujian, Guangdong and Taiwan. The war between Zheng family and the Qing government started in 1656, and lasted until at least 1681. In 1683, after the battle in Penghu 澎湖, the Zheng family gave up its resistance and surrendered to the Qing government. For more information about the war, see Lynn A Struve, *The Southern Ming 1644-1662*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). For more information about the Zheng family, see Xing Hang, *Conflict and Commerce in Maritime East Asia: The Zheng Family and the Shaping of the Modern World, c.1620-1720*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

¹⁸ Li Jinming 李金明, "Mingchu quanzhou gang shuailuo yuanyin xinlun 明初泉州港衰落原因新论 [A New Opinion on the Decline of the Quanzhou Port in the Beginning of the Ming Dynasty]," *Haijiaoshi yanjiu* 1 (1996):

Harbor was more important and a more typical example to explain the economic downturn, which started from smuggling. After the sea ban, it entered its golden period during the Wanli (1573-1620) reign period. In the Tianqi reign period (1621-1627), use of Moon Harbor suddenly slumped and has never recovered since. The death of Moon Harbor was due to several unpreventable tragedies. First of all, Portugal, Spain and the Netherlands supported trade in their own places (Macau, Danshui, Penghu, etc.) and slaughtered Fujianese who traded abroad. In addition, the bad situation of the bureaucracy at the end of the Ming Dynasty, in particular unaffordable fees and high taxes, led to merchants not being willing to go there to do business. Besides, Moon Harbor and its surrounding areas were the battlegrounds of the Zheng family and the Qing government as we mentioned before. During the war period of 1656-1681, economic development was completely stalled in these areas. In order to implement the sea ban as well as restricting the Zheng family, the Qing government decided to move the border of Zhangzhou. This led people to abandon their land, and two-thirds of the population left. Of course, the natural cause was also crucial.¹⁹ Moon Harbor is a river port, and the sedimentation situation is severe. Thus, it eventually declined and gave up its place to Xiamen which has a better natural environment as a port. It should be noted that although Chaozhou always had ports, such as *nanaogang* 南澳港 (Nan'ao Port) and *zhanglingang* 樟林港 (Zhanglin Port), due to the prevalence of smuggling, official obstruction was strict and development was limited. Even after the sea ban was ended, Zhangzhou ports were never trade centres but only complements to other coastal ports in southeast China.²⁰ Various reasons led to fewer people participating in the commercial activities. In the Kangxi reign period (1662-1722), the locals began fishing and farming for life, unlike their ancestors.²¹ These facts are all indicators of the decline of the commodity economy. The decrease of population leads to smaller market for opera in the area, and the decline of economy means the local people could not afford that

57-61.

¹⁹ Tang Tianyao, "Shilun mingdai yuegang xingshuai de yuanyin," 113-115.

²⁰ Du Yu 杜瑜, "Mingqing shiqi chao shan zhang xia gangkou de fazhan jiqi juxian 明清时期 潮、汕、漳、厦港口的发展及其局限 [The Developments and Limitations of Ports in Chaozhou, Shantou, Zhangzhou and Xiamen during the Ming and the Qing Dynasties]," *Haijiaoshi yanjiu* 2 (1997): 6-20.

²¹ Chen Shouqi 陈寿祺, *Fujian tongzhi* 福建通志 [County Annal of Fujian Province], Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1967, volume 56, 1148.

many entertainment activities as before.

On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, there is another aspect of the decline, which is the quality of the book as historical material. I think this is closely related to the decline of Jianyang as a printing centre. As Lucille Chia discovered, Jianyang could maintain its place as a publishing centre in the Ming Dynasty. This was mainly because it was the economic dependency of Jiangnan area. In fact, Jiannan area remained the biggest market of Jianyang publications.²² During the Ming-Qing transition period, the wars interrupted the interregional commerce between Jianyang and the Jiangnan area, which made Jianyang directly lost the Jiangnan market. In addition to the economic downturn and market loss mentioned above, Jianyang publishers, partly because of the hiding of Ming loyalists, were regarded as suspicious by the counterparts of their industry in the Qing Dynasty.²³ There might be fewer publishing houses that are willing to publish opera. In fact, according to Lucille Chia, there were few new books published in the beginning of the Qing Dynasty in Jianyang, only some reprints using Ming Dynasty woodblocks.²⁴ Given the possible fact that Zhangzhou, Quanzhou and Chaozhou publishers all learned from the experience in Jianyang, without Jianyang, they were unable to benefit from the human resource and experience from a leading and well-established centre. Together with the sharp decrease in population, it was doubtlessly no way to publish excellent works as before.

To conclude, the decaying economy, the lost ports, and the demise of the prosperous printing industry, all influenced the economic and political history backgrounds described above; the Liyuan opera and *Lizhiji*, which is popular in Quanzhou and Zhangzhou, naturally suffered and their decline was also predictable.

²² Lucille Chia argues that by the late Ming, the book trade in central and south China could be treated as a unified market, which means Jianyang books have other customers besides Jiannan area. Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit*, 150.

²³ *Ibid.*, 247-248.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 249.

4.2.2 *The Developing Trend of Operas*

After discussing the external factors, it is important to discuss the internal factors that resulted in the decline of *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera. The first internal influencing factor in the changes experienced by *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera is, as Liao Ben stresses, the development of opera itself. As the essay “Opera Studies: Between the Literature and Art” points out:

In the early stage of opera, the maturity of opera literature becomes the main propulsion of opera development, while authors and opera opuses become the centre of this period of opera history. When opera is able to be independent [from literature] and the performing system becomes mature, there is no doubt that [opera] will limit and reject literariness, making stage performance that the most vital factor of opera... From the Song and the Yuan Dynasty till the middle of the Qing Dynasty, [opera] is centred on writers and operatic works.²⁵

Although Liao Ben and Huang Shizhong is here focusing on the *kunqu* 昆曲 literature, or at least aiming at the type of literary opera recognized by the upper social class and elite class, it still suits the vernacular opera *Lizhiji*. Publications of the Ming Dynasty, especially *JJE*, still present the features of early-stage operas described by Liao Ben. *JJE* imitates the classical masterpiece *Romance of the Western Chamber* and forms an intertextual relationship with it, while the following two publications, *WLE* and *NLSE* are mostly different from *JJE* in terms of plot arrangement. These all exhibit the editors’ particular concerns for the text and story. In other words, the three Ming Dynasty editions mainly show the changes in text and content, in which the changing plots are the core transformation, while the changes in the stage effects are not the highlights. When it comes to the Qing Dynasty, the process of choosing,

²⁵ Kang Baocheng, Huang Shizhong and Dong Shangde, “Xiqu yanjiu,” 12. Huang Shizhong argues that performing art system, or the pattern of performing, needs a very long time to be mature, as the main way of developing the art is accumulating experience and teaching activities between master and apprentice. Thus in the early stage of opera, because of the immature in performance, the literature aspect of opera has much freedom in creation.

deleting and mixing specific fragments of the story had approximately ended. The whole story is almost settled, which manifests in minor changes of the plot as we can see from the act table in 2.2.2.4. At this time, Liyuan Opera and *Lizhiji* stressed performance more than text, which can be seen from the increase in dialogue, the inclusion of further impromptu comic gestures and remarks, and more erotic parts. To make it clear, I am not talking about how or to what extent the editors of the Ming and Qing dynasties care for the stage effect, or literary value, but only stress that in the Ming Dynasty the changes are mainly linked to plot, while in the Qing Dynasty the changes relate to other aspects. From this aspect, although *Lizhiji* is a local vernacular opera which has more features of on stage opera, these changes still follow the standards of imperial opera's development on the whole. The reason why *Lizhiji*'s quality declined in particular is partly because Liyuan Opera had reached the stage of "limiting and rejecting literariness".

Meanwhile, another trend emerged at the beginning of the Qing Dynasty: the localization of popular operas also became an important factor which resulted in the decline of *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera. As Zhang Geng and Guo Hancheng argued, the literary *kunqiang* 昆腔 operas lost their popularity all over the country at that time.²⁶ There was only a very small number of troupes in Suzhou, Hangzhou and Beijing, owned by nobility and elite government officials, that performed *kunqiang* operas. Vernacular regional operas started to gain a larger audience from the beginning of the Qing Dynasty. Most of the regional operas thus became more localized, and Liyuan Opera would not have been an exception; this might have caused *Lizhiji* to lose some of its literary exquisiteness, as well as adding some erotic but gross language to its content, in order to meet the taste of a broader but lower-class audience.

4.2.3 Resource Competition between the Nanyin and Liyuan Operas

Before discussing the resource competition, I will firstly review previous research results regarding the changes in Minnan opera, especially Liyuan Opera. Local researchers have

²⁶ Zhang Geng and Guo Hancheng, *Zhongguo Xiqu Tongshi*, 398.

posited some conclusions as to what led to the change in a specific kind of opera: the power of politics, the power of public opinion and the association with different types of culture during circulation.²⁷ As to why Liyuan Opera in particular declined at the end of the Qing Dynasty, there is a widely accepted view:

Before the Guangxu reign period, only the three schools of Liyuan Opera were popular on the stage in the Minnan area. At the end of the Qing Dynasty, Gaojia Opera gained its popularity and Gezai Opera from Taiwan circulated to Minnan. However, Liyuan Opera kept its strict restrictions during the succession process, while still holding the complacent and conservative attitudes, thus it nearly died out.²⁸

Gaojiayi 高甲戏 (Gaojia Opera) and Gezaixi 歌仔戏 (Gezai Opera) are both Minnan dialect operas. Gaojia Opera came into being in around mid-Qing Dynasty, originally plays the story of *Water Margin*. It absorbed stories and performing experiences from Liyuan Opera and *Yiyang qiang*, and gradually developed into a very lively style, with special emphasis on the clown roles, dancing movements and martial arts.²⁹ Gezai Opera originated in Taiwan at the beginning of the 20th century, it took reference from multiple kinds of operas, including vernacular and literary, and kept such feature of mixture until now. Its style quickly gained many readers in Taiwan and Minnan dialect spoken areas.³⁰ The above-mentioned kind of opinion attributes the failure of Liyuan Opera to external factors such as the rival Gaojia and Gezai Operas, as well as internal factors such as the succession rules of Liyuan Opera. There is some truth in that, but such an explanation cannot answer why the decline of *Lizhiji* can be traced back as far as *SZE* and *DGE*. How can it solve the problem that from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty, there

²⁷ Chen Shixiong and Zeng Yongyi, *Minnan Xiju*, 15.

²⁸ Fujian sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 福建省地方志编纂委员会, *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Difangzhi Fujian Shengzhi Xiqu Zhi* 中华人民共和国地方志福建省志戏曲志 [Country Annals of the PRC, Volume Fujian, Section Operas], (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2010), 15.

²⁹ For a general introduction to Gaojia Opera, see Bai Yonghua 白勇华 and Li Longpao 李龙抛, *Gaojia Xi* 高甲戏 [Gaojia Opera], (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe), 2010.

³⁰ Chen Geng 陈耕, *Gezai Xishi* 歌仔戏史 [History of Gezai Opera], (Beijing: Guangming ribao chubanshe, 1997).

was no other local work of Liyuan Opera excepting *Lizhiji*?³¹ Our attention needs to move from the end of the Qing Dynasty, to the period between the midpoint of the Ming to the beginning of the Qing, during which time *WLE*, *NLSE*, and *SZE* were produced.

If we want to discuss the changes to the Liyuan Opera through the aspect of “competition”, the first problem waiting to be solved is what is the essential factor of any opera—a cultural product in between art and literature.³² Undoubtedly, the answer is *wenren* 文人 (literati).

4.2.3.1 Defining the Literati related to *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera

As discussed in Chapter 2, there are two kinds of opera audiences. One is the direct audience, who read the books directly, whose members are literate although the level of literacy is limited. The second kind is the indirect audience, mostly illiterate people, who listen to others reading the books or watch the performance. Here the literati group I am referring to are part of the direct audience, referring to those people with a higher level of literacy, and who participate in writing, editing and even publishing activities of operas. I must admit that only reducing the people related to *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Operas to only the literati and the illiterate may seem to be too broad. The illiterate people who are interested in opera, especially those working in the troupes, will have involved people from across the literate spectrum. However, due to the very limited materials we have about the illiterate indirect audience, troupes and theatres of Liyuan Opera, unfortunately I am unable to do further research about them now.³³ Thus I still choose to classify the audience into the above two kinds. For *Lizhiji*, regarding its vernacular feature and its quality, the literati who are closely connected with it are mainly from the middle to lower classes.

³¹ The “local work” here refers to operas like *Lizhiji*, which is based on a local legend of Minnan or talks about a story that happened in Minnan. Most of the repertoires of Liyuan Opera are classical Southern Operatic works, or recompositions of these classics.

³² Xu Yanwen 许艳文, “Lun gudian xiqu de chuantongxing jiqi xiandaihua yiyi 论古典戏曲的传统性及其现代化意义 [Discussions on the Traditional Feature and Meaning of Modernization of Imperial Operas],” *Chuanshan Xuekan* 4 (2001): 112.

³³ One thing needs to be introduced here is that most opera performers are illiterate, even though they may know some characters, they may not have the full ability of reading and writing. This is partly because the major way to teach opera is *kouchuan xinshou* 口传心授 (teach by mouth, educate by heart). Cai Youben, as the most famous Liyuan Opera performer in the last century, is illiterate.

To talk about the literati in the Ming and the Qing Dynasties, we need to firstly trace what is the meaning of *wenrenwenxue* 文人文学 (literati literature). Qian Zhixi pointed out: “The history of imperial Chinese literature is composed of literati literature and non-literati literature. If we want to define what is non-literati literature, we need to understand the boundaries of literary literature.”³⁴ Qian Zhixi proposed three standards. Firstly, literati literature is written by individuals, non-literati literature is owned by a group of people. Secondly, literati literature is always in written form, or *antou* 案头 (putting on the desk to read). Non-literati literature first exists in verbal form. Thirdly, literati literature pays attention to the beauty of the language, while non-literati literature pays attention to practicality. Obviously, our research objectives, *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera, as works based on local folk tales and accumulated respective content through generations, as records of specific opera performances, do not belong to the literati literature that Qian talks about, but to non-literati literature, or vernacular literature.

So, there are two issues that need to be discussed in this section. Why do I still use the word “literati” when *Lizhiji* belongs to non-literati literature? How to define the “literati from the middle to lower classes”?

The word “literati” is applied here because in the Ming and the Qing Dynasties, the literati indeed participated in the writing, polishing and editing work of non-literati operas. The concept of literati changed over time, and the extensions and connotations were constantly evolving. When we talk about “literati literature” and “non-literati literature”, we are focusing more on the high-level definition. When we talk about the literati related to Liyuan Opera, we are focusing on the literati of the Ming and the Qing Dynasties who indeed participated in the writing, polishing and editing process of *Lizhiji*. The concept of literati in the history may help us to understand this. In the Han and the Wei Dynasties, the literati were Confucian scholars. They were not the top-tier class of the society, but were the group of people who were waiting to be government officials.³⁵ Once they participated in politics, they became *shi* 士 (scholar-

³⁴ Qian Zhixi 钱志熙, “Wenren wenxue de fasheng yu zaoqi wenren qunti de jiecheng tezheng 文人文学的发生与早期文人群体的阶层特征 [The Occurrence of Literati Literature and the Class Characteristics of Early Literati Groups],” *Beijing Daxue Xuebao (Zhhexue Shehui Kexue Ban)* 5 (2009):43-54.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 52-53.

officials).³⁶ To clarify, scholar-officials must have a post in the government, they concentrated more on politics rather than literary reputation. However, *wenren* or a general literati did not have to be an official in the government. In the Tang Dynasty, gradually scholar-officials and the literati became a group. In the end of the Ming Dynasty, the situation was different. In Chen Baoliang's "Ming Dynasty Literati: Differentiation and Analysis", the increase in the numbers of the literati in the Ming Dynasty is pointed out. He argued that such growth of the Ming Dynasty literati group is mainly from the increase of the *buyi* literati 布衣文人 (literati wearing cotton cloth). He found that there are two types of *buyi* literati, one is *shanren* 山人 (literati from the mountain), who did not get enough success in the imperial examinations and so were without any official position, but wandering around the bureaucracy group, hoping to find someone to depend on.³⁷ One is the lower-level intellectuals who were engaged in writing folk songs and operas.³⁸ The latter is considered to be a large group. Gong Pengcheng's *On the History of Chinese Literati Class* argued that from the end of the Ming Dynasty to the middle of the Qing Dynasty, literati and scholars gradually merged. The literati class is integrated with all levels of society, and gradually expanded from simply the writer of poems and essays, to the literary and artistic literati who also participated in other forms of art, especially operas and fictions.³⁹ Gong's definition that literati is originally the author of poems and essays may be a bit narrow, as other scholars like Qian Zhixi and Li Chunqing gave broader definitions of literati group of the previous dynasties. However, the expansion of the literati class that he discovered is the historical fact. On the basis of such expansion, literature has become a common product of the whole society, and literati consciousness is the common consciousness of all people in the society. Everyone can regard himself as a literatus or wanting

³⁶ Li Chunqing 李春青, "Zai wenren yu shidaifu zhijian: luelun Zhongguo gudai zhishi jiecheng de shenfen chogntu 在“文人”与“士大夫”之间——略论中国古代知识阶层的身份冲突 [Between literati and scholar-officials: A brief discussion on the identity conflicts of the imperial Chinese intellectual class]," *Chuanshan xuekan* 3 (2013): 74-82.

³⁷ For more information about *shanren*, see Chen Wanyi 陳萬益, *Wan Ming Xiaopin Yu Ming Ji Wenren Shenghuo* 晚明小品與明季文人生活 [Short Essays and the Life of Literati in the End of the Ming Dynasty], Taipei: Daan chubanshe, 1988, 37-83.

³⁸ Chen Baoliang 陳寶良, "Mingdai wenren bianxi 明代文人辨析 [Ming Dynasty Literati: Differentiation and Analysis]," *Hanxue yanjiu* 19 (2001):187-218.

³⁹ Gong Pengcheng 龚鹏程, *Zhongguo wenren jiecheng shilun* 中国文人阶层史论 [On the History of Chinese Literati Class], Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2004, 197-198.

to be a literatus. Therefore, the literati class mentioned in this chapter is the literati after the expansion of its concept. Thus, the word “literati” still applies, although *Lizhiji* and Liyuan Opera still belong to non-literati literature.

The second question is, what is the “middle to lower classes”? This statement itself is ambiguous. The degree of participation of the reader, that is, whether they are direct readers or not, can only represent a very narrow aspect of this literati group. Therefore, this issue needs to be further explained.

Whether a man belongs to the literati group is not determined by his blood or by government decree, but simply depends on his cultural level. Thus, the answer to the question of the literati classes has been relatively vague, with not much discussion on the topic. Yuri Pines’ book *The Everlasting Empire: The Political Culture of Ancient China and Its Imperial Legacy* is concerned with this issue. He discussed two important literati classes in his chapters 3 and 4. The first concerns the upper literati stratum, comprised most of the officials and leading thinkers. They are the men who actively sought careers in government and hoped to lead the future generations. The second is the middle and lower segments of the literati, which mainly encompassed the local elites, holders of local societal power.⁴⁰ Pines particularly emphasized that the degree that they held is not the only factor for classifying people. These kinds of local elites are connected to the government apparatus through the examination system, the system of recommendations, family ties and money.⁴¹ They are in fact wealthy and well-educated landowners.⁴² Obviously, the authors and editors of Liyuan Opera and *Lizhiji* do not belong to the above two classes because of their mediocrity in literature. They should belong to the third class, the non-elite literati class. Learning from Yuri Pines’s narratives and listing out the opposites of the description he gives, the literati related to *Lizhiji* can be summed up as follows: generally having limited educational background; having had limited success in the

⁴⁰ Yuri Pines, *The Everlasting Empire: The Political Culture of Ancient China and Its Imperial Legacy*, Princeton, New Jersey; Woodstock, Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press, 2012, 76-77.

⁴¹ There is another introduction to the local elites in *Chia-ting Loyalists*. See Jerry Dennerline, *Chia-ting Loyalists: Confucian Leadership and Social Change in Seventeenth-Century China*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1981, 94-96. Dennerline specially talked about the cross over situation of the local elites and landowners.

⁴² *Ibid*, 104-105.

imperial examinations; with no official, or a very low official, position; having little political power and very weak family ties.

Chinese researchers carried out some specific studies about the social class of vernacular opera writers. Jin Ningfen called them “*cutong wenmo de minjian yiren* 粗通文墨的民间艺人 (folk artists who understood literature and were able to compose or write poems, though not of high quality)”. She said their competitors were the a literati *chuanqi*, especially works of the Wu Jiang school represented by Shen Jing 沈璟 (1553-1610), who also paid great attention to the performance on the stage.⁴³ In *City and Citizen Literature of the Ming Dynasty*, Fang Zhiyuan, through detailed statistics, pointed out that “*zhusheng yixia meiyou gongming de shiren* 诸生以下没有功名的士人 (the *shi* without degrees, even lower than the governmental students)” are in fact the main author group of *zaju* and *chuanqi*.⁴⁴ Li Ping is a researcher of another vernacular opera named *Qingyang Tune* 青阳滚调. The popular period of *Qingyang Tune* is similar to that of Liyuan Opera, and there are also some extant publications about anthologies of this opera. From the preface of the anthology named *Yuefu Yushuying* 乐府玉树英 (*Collection of Songs like a Blooming Jade Tree*), he believes that the editors and authors of these vernacular operas have three characteristics: they should have a certain degree of education; they are familiar with urban cultural life; and they respect and enjoy vernacular folk operas without being restricted by mainstream views.⁴⁵ Li Ping thinks that they are people who are basically *buyi* literati who have not achieved a high level in the imperial examinations.⁴⁶

All the above opinions are reasonable. I think the texts also indicate the possible social class of the authors and editors. In the previous chapter, we discussed that Chen San is a so-

⁴³ Jin Ningfen, *The History of Ming Dynasty Operas*, 11.

⁴⁴ Fang Zhiyuan 方志远, *Mingdai chengshi yu shimin wenxue* 明代城市与市民文学 [*City and Citizen Literature of the Ming Dynasty*], 241.

⁴⁵ Li Ping’s last sentence needs to be discussed. I do not really think there is any mainstream view that restricted people to enjoy operas in the Ming Dynasty, especially mid-to-late Ming Dynasty. The whole society supported the development of opera, and many social elites participated in operas, as we discussed in the beginning of Chapter.

⁴⁶ Li Ping 李平, “Yuefu yushuying dui qingyang gundiao yanjiu de jiazhi 《乐府玉树英》对青阳滚调研究的价值 [The Value of Yuefu Yushuying to the Research on *Qingyang Tune*],” from Anhui sheng yishu yanjiusuo 安徽省艺术研究所, *Guqiang xinlun qingyangqiang xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 古腔新论青阳腔学术研讨会论文集 [*New Discussions on an Old Tuns: Essays from the Conference of Qingyang Tune*], Hefei: Anhui wenyi chubanshe, 1994, 75-76.

called *caizi* who is not well-educated. His boast of his *guanyinzier* identity perhaps reveals the author's feelings of envy. Ultimately, it is his elder brother, a high government official who helped him to solve the problem. From this point, the editor or author of *Lizhiji* is perhaps the same as Chen San, who regards himself as *caizi*, but his academic ability is rather limited. Although he has been studying for a long time, his degree is very poor; he wants to be a powerful government official, but it is hard to fulfill this dream.

Through the above discussion, a clearer image of the literati group that were closely related to Liyuan Opera and *Lizhiji*, namely middle to lower classes' literati, can be summed up: having a limited cultural level, low degree (governmental students, or below), no political power or status, mainly active in the regional cities, and retaining the literati's fantasy of being a government official. On the whole, the economic status of this group of people is still relatively low, even though some people with higher success in the examination may not be that poor.

4.2.3.2 The Essential Significance of the Literati to Opera

Opera is no doubt one of the most popular cultural products in the Ming and the Qing Dynasty. At that time, due to the booming economy and the overall trend of consumption, opera entered its golden period. People were willing to spend money on operas, and professional troupes came into existence. Owning private troupes became a common practice for rich merchants and high government officials.⁴⁷ In this time period, who plays the most important role for opera? My answer is the literati.

Amongst existing research into the relationship between the literati and opera, a systematic response can be found in Lu Yingkun's book *Chinese Opera and Various Kinds of People in Society*.⁴⁸ He points out:

⁴⁷ Grant Guangren Shen, *Elite Theatre in Ming China*, 22-35.

⁴⁸ Lu Yingku 路应昆, *Zhongguo Xiqu Yu Shehui Zhuse* 中国戏曲与社会诸色 [*Chinese Opera and Social Classes*], (Changchun: Jilin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992), 138.

Compared with countryside farmers and townspeople, the literati have more ways to play with opera. Besides appreciating operas, literati also perform in operas. At the same time, they write libretti themselves and make friends with actors. Some even establish a family troupe and write books about operas.⁴⁹

Although Lu Yingkun mentions the literati's involvement in opera, the whole book still brackets the literati together with peasants, townspeople, etc. It does not emphasise any special function or significance of the literati. I differ from Lu Yingkun in that I consider the literati to be the most important and unavoidable factor in the production, consumption and circulation processes of the operatic art. It is important to point out that dividing people only by their occupation is not always accurate. The traditional way of dividing people into literati, peasants, craftsmen, and merchants does not always provide the whole picture, as it was common for people to have multiple occupations, especially in the Ming Dynasty when commercial activities were so popular. In the Ming and Qing Dynasties, operas were a major entertainment and cultural activity for all classes of people. Writing, editing and publishing operas were all common activities. Furthermore, more and more people were able to raise their social status through participation in the imperial examinations. For example, Qiu Jun, who used to be a peasant from the countryside of Hainan Province, passed the exam and became a literatus. He also wrote and published operas, just as he could become a government official.⁵⁰ However, these commercial and agricultural activities did not necessarily change Qiu Jun's identity into that of a literatus. Ling Mengchu (1580-1644) and Shen Jing (1553-1660) are good examples of people who had multiple occupations. The Sibao families are another example. Although they were no doubt merchants, their self-perception was *rushang* 儒商 (Confucian entrepreneurs), which strongly emphasises their literary background.⁵¹ In this chapter,

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Qiu Jun 邱濬 (1421-1495). Qiu was born in Hainan Province, while his hometown is Quanzhou. He passed the provincial examination in 1444 and ranked number one. He then entered the National Academy in Beijing in 1447. In the 5th year of the Jingtai reign period (1454) he passed the metropolitan examination. Qiu used to be the *libu shangshu* 礼部尚书 (Minister of Rites) and *Wenyuange daxueshi* 文渊阁大学士 (First Grade Grand Secretary) of the Ming Dynasty. For more information about Qiu Jun, see Zhang Tingyu, *Mingshi* 明史 [History of Ming], volume 181, 4808-10.

⁵¹ Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture*, 268-287.

occupations are less important because I am only talking about two kinds of people, the literati and the illiterate. The first kind participated in the circulation of operas, including writing, editing, reading and spreading the operas, while the second kind did not. Whether the editors, writers and readers had multiple occupations or not, and whether they were peasants or merchants does not affect my argument.

There is no doubt that the literati are producers of opera as a kind of literature. Here I only stress the two different forms of producers. One is the editor who collect historical stories and legends, collate the original materials and write operas. These kinds of operas are regarded to have the feature of accumulation in content over generations, as they are not a single author's own creation, but with historical accumulation by different people. Dong Xieyuan, Wang Shifu (editors and writers of *Romance of the Western Chamber*) and Li Dongyue (the editor of *WLE*) belong to this grouping. Another kind of producer is the writer, who participates in writing operas and creates new stories. Kong Shangren (author of *The Peach Blossom Fan*) is an outstanding representative of this kind. Naturally, many literati were both editors as well as writers. Without the involvement of the literati, opera would have probably stayed in its early stages, as vaudeville or comical shows, which are difficult to expand in terms of the breadth and depth of their content. For the literati who produce the scenario, writing is a profitable endeavour. Writers like Ling Mengchu 凌濛初 (1580-1644) and Li Yu 李渔 (1610-1680) are famous for their writing for profit activities. An extract below from *Xianqing Oujī* 闲情偶寄 (*Sketches of Idle Pleasure*) introduces the pomp of performing and printing operas at that time. Certainly, as a producer of opera, Li Yu could earn money from the practice.

Every time an opera has been finished and the last line of writing by the brush pen has just been done, then the visitors immediately take it. The first half [of an opera] is already published while the second half is not finished yet.⁵²

每成一剧，才落毫端，即为访人攫去。下半犹未脱稿，上半业已灾梨。

⁵² Li Yu, *Xianqing Oujī*, 51.

Regarding the above fact, it is not surprising that writers of opera would have “professional ethics.” They cared more about their commercial success, and started to think about their audience. They tried to gain more popularity by catering deliberately for the public taste. Due to such consideration and care for their audience, the quality of operas was inevitably influenced by the audience’s judgements and requirements.⁵³:

Articles are written for the literati; thus people will never blame the writer if the article is profound. *Xiwen* are written for the literati, the illiterate, the illiterate females and children, thus shallow *xiwen* are more valuable than profound *xiwen*.

文章做与读书人看，故不怪其深；戏文做与读书人与不读书人同看，又与不读书之妇人小儿同看，故贵浅不贵深。

Nowadays, what people advocated and what performers practised, are [operas with the feature of] jollification and excitement. Calm words, elegant songs, are what people detested. If the *xiwen* is too dull, and the songs and arias are too elegant, these will make people feel tired. [I write in a simple and shallow way] It is a renouncement by my own initiative, rather than asked for by someone else intentionally.

今人之所尚，时优之所习，皆在“热闹”二字。冷静之词，文雅之曲，皆其深恶痛绝者也。然戏文太冷、词曲太雅，原足令人生倦。此作者自取厌弃，非人有心置之也。

As consumers of opera, the literati were also composed of two groupings. When watching or appreciating an opera performance, the literati are the audience. When reading a publication of an opera, the literati are the readers. These two situations also often coexisted. Regarding the audience of opera performances, Zhao Shanlin’s book *Zhongguo Xiqu Guanzhong Xue* 中国戏曲观众学 (*Research on the Audience of Chinese Opera*) provides a detailed

⁵³ Chen Caixun 陈才训, *Ming Qing xiao shuo wen ben xing tai sheng cheng yu yan bian yan jiu* 明清小说文本形态生成与演变研究 [*Study on the Formation and Evolution of the Text Forms of Novels in the Ming and Qing Dynasties*] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2018), 318-384. **Chen specially discussed the readers’ impact on the setting of suspense as well as the localization of fictions.**

introduction.⁵⁴ He classified all the audience members by their identity, including townspeople, peasants, merchants, soldiers, government officials, and women, etc. Wang Shengpeng's thesis *The Dramatics Consumption and Daily Life in Jiangnan Area in Ming and Qing Dynasty (1465-1820)* indicates that the performance of opera during the Ming and the Qing Dynasty had a tendency toward marketization and professionalization, while professional artists and family troupe performers often came into existence.⁵⁵ As the audience, the literati had to pay for the performance:

During the Wanli reign period, the opera artists only cost 1.08 *liang* 两 of silver per time, and gradually increased to 3 to 4, or 5 to 6 *liang* of silver.⁵⁶ Now if you choose a first-class troupe to perform, it will cost at most 12 *liang* of silver.⁵⁷

万历年间, 优人演出一出, 止一两零八分, 渐加至三四两、五六两。今选上班, 价至十二两。

As the readers of opera, the literati also needed to pay for the opera books they bought:

On the front page of the book *Xindiao Wanqu Changchun* 新调万曲长春 (*New Tune of Ten Thousands Songs that Live Forever*) published by the Jin family of Gongtang located in Shulin, Fujian Province during the Wanli reign period of the Ming Dynasty, there is a note that states “every copy of this book cost 1.2 *qian* 钱 of silver”... The salary-rice of the government official is discounted as seven cents of silver per *dan* 石 ... An ordinary engraving worker's salary is around 1.5 *liang* of silver ... The monthly salary of a seven-

⁵⁴ Zhao Shanlin 赵山林, *Zhongguo Xiqu Guanzhong Xue* 中国戏曲观众学 [Audiences of Chinese Opera] (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1990).

⁵⁵ Wang Shengpeng 王胜鹏, “*Mingqing shiqi jiangnan xiqu xiaofei yu richang shenghuo* 明清时期江南戏曲消费与日常生活 (1465-1820) [*The Dramatic Consumption and Daily Life in Jiangnan Area in Ming and Qing Dynasty (1465-1820)*],” (Ph.D, Beijing, Central China Normal University, 2013). For the private troupes, see Grant Guangren Shen's book *Elite Theatre in Ming China, 1368-1644*.

⁵⁶ The *chu* 出 here many not equal to the *chu* 齣 (one act) as usual, since one act is too short to earn that much money. I think it's more like “perform for one time”, maybe one day.

⁵⁷ Lu Wenheng 陆文衡, *Se An Suibi* 啬庵随笔 [*Sketches of the Se Room*]. Recorded in Wu Shu 吴属, *Mingren Biji Zhong De Xiqu Shiliao* 明人笔记中的戏曲史料 [*Materials about the History of Opera in the Ming Dynasty's Notes*], (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2007), 352.

grade county mayor is 7 *shi* 5 *dou* 斗 (900 *jin* 斤).⁵⁸

From the above information, the typical Fujian opera publication of the Wanli reign period would cost 8% of a worker's monthly salary, and 2.3% of a county mayor's salary. Neither watching nor reading opera was cheap.

Finally, the literati function as the disseminators of opera should be discussed. One thing to make clear is that the “dissemination” is here a narrowly-defined concept which only refers to bringing a kind of opera or a work of opera from its original home to other districts. There were two main ways to disseminate an opera. There were the flowing performances of troupes, such as the story told by Shen Jisheng: the Liyuan Opera artists went to Taiwan but met with a storm halfway. They redirected the route and rested in Zhang Pu, which resulted in the existence of Liyuan Opera in that county.⁵⁹ Another method is the spread of opera publications, which includes both the publishing practice and the dissemination process. Through this channel, the person who performs the role of editor, collator and writer is the literatus. If an opera book is published by a commercial *shufang* 书坊 (publishing house), then the publisher himself is a combination of both merchant and literati. If an opera book belongs to a *jiakeben* 家刻本 (family publication or private publication), then the owner of this book is an opera-lover and also a literatus.⁶⁰ The literati have such strong eagerness of publishing their works, that they do a lot of practical matters including “securing funding, editing, collating, proofreading the manuscript, hiring carvers and printers, and distributing the printed copies”.⁶¹ The Minnan region has the geographical features that mean three sides of the area are flanked

⁵⁸ Yuan Yi 袁逸, “Mingdai shuji jiage kao-zhongguo lidai shujia kao zhier 明代书籍价格考——中国历代书价考之二[The Second Part of Studies on the Book Price of Chinese Dynasties: The Book Price of The Ming Dynasty],” *Bianji Zhiyou* 3 (1993): 62-63.

⁵⁹ Shen Jisheng 沈继生, *Zhangquan Xiju Wenhua De Lishi Lianxi* 漳泉戏剧文化的历史联系[The Historical Connections between the Opera Culture of Zhangzhou and Quanzhou], from Quanzhou difang xiqu yanjiushe 泉州地方戏曲研究社, *Nanyin Yixiang* 南音遗响 [*Echos Left by Nanyin*], (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 1991).

⁶⁰ For more information about literati's publishing activities, see Suyoung Son, *Writing for Print: Publishing and the Making of Textual Authority in Late Imperial China*, Cambridge, (Mass. and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2018), chapter 1-3, especially chapter 3. Son explained that the commercial publishing house owns the right to produce many more copies once that editor or author gave his book manuscript. Although Son mainly talks about cultural elites, or literati from the elite class, rather than the literati we are talking about now, her conclusion is also meaningful for us as a reference.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

by mountains. Due to this physical isolation, the second way that centred on the literati and publications—primarily for-profit commercial publications—is more important than the first method of dissemination through troupes. Today, doing research on imperial Chinese operas is still based mostly on imperial publications and manuscripts, especially those about operas. These publications are still the essential carriers of operas and are products of literati activities. Hence, whether discussing operas (and our primary research object Liyuan Opera) from synchronic or diachronic perspectives, the centre of the dissemination process is always the literati.

From the above discussion, it can be detected that the literati are involved in every aspect of opera. To some extent, it would be more suitable to discuss them separately, in order to emphasise their irreplaceable function in the production, consumption and dissemination of operas.

4.2.3.3 The Coalescence of the Nanyin and Liyuan Opera in the Ming Dynasty

After elucidating the importance of the literati to opera, it is now wise to consider another form of performance art—Nanyin—in the Minnan area in order to answer in full the question posed in the previous section: what caused the decline of Liyuan Opera?

Nanyin is a form of music distinct from opera. It originated in Quanzhou, using the Minnan dialect to sing, and is popular around Minnan dialect-speaking areas such as Xiamen, Quanzhou and some districts in Southeast Asia. It is also called *nanqu* 南曲 (songs of the south) and *xianguan* 弦管 (string and wind music). Nanyin consists of three kinds of music: *zhi* 指, *pu* 谱 and *qu* 曲. *Zhi* 指 is a set or suite of songs. These songs have lyrics that tell the story of operas. When performing *zhi* the artists play the music and sing out the lyrics. *Pu* 谱 is less related to opera, it has a series of long music without lyrics. *Qu* 曲 is arias with lyrics from operas. Nanyin has a very long history and is said to have retained many features of the Tang Dynasty's music.⁶² For an overall discussion of Nanyin, two books, *First*

⁶² Wang Yaohua 王耀华 and Liu Chunshu 刘春曙, *Fujian Nanyin Chutan* 福建南音初探 [A Brief Exploration to the Nanyin of Fujian Province], (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1989).

Exploration of Fujian's Nanyin and Eternal Masterpiece: A Study on Fujian's Nanyin, are early and comprehensive publications.⁶³ In recent years, Sau-Ping Cloris Lim's thesis *Nanyin Musical Culture in Southern Fujian, China: Adaptation and Continuity* is valuable.⁶⁴ She analyses Nanyin through its history and contemporary situations, which results in very in-depth research.

Nanyin and Liyuan Opera belong to different art genres and have distinct origins. Nanyin is a kind of music, while Liyuan Opera is a kind of Chinese opera. Liyuan Opera's direct origin is *Song-Yuan nanxi* 宋元南戏 (southern opera of the Song and the Yuan Dynasties), and it can be regarded as a branch of *Song-Yuan nanxi*. The two performance arts have very close connections, although maintain different forms. For the relationship between Nanyin and Liyuan Opera, there are two main research findings previously provided. Firstly, most scholars are aware that Liyuan Opera uses Nanyin music, or *nanqu* when singing, and *Lizhiji* is no exception. For example:

The music that Liyuan Opera mostly used is the Nanyin music. The arias of Nanyin are the same as arias about the corresponding story in Liyuan Opera ... The *changqiang* 唱腔 (singing music style) and tunes of Liyuan Opera are mainly from the arias of Nanyin, although they present distinctive styles and features due to the differences in the form of expressions and art functions.⁶⁵

In vocal music, [Liyuan Opera] uses the *qu* from the three parts of Nanyin [that are *zhi*, *pu*, and *qu*] as the central *changqiang*. Both the names of the tunes and the style of the melodies are basically identical to the *qu* in Nanyin. There are only some small changes in order to meet the needs of the plots and gestures of the opera.⁶⁶

For just one popular opera, *Lijingji* 荔镜记 (also named as *Chensan Wuniang* 陈三五娘

⁶³ Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu, *Fujian Minjian Yinyue Jianlun*, 234-235. Sun Xingqun 孙星群, *Qianggu Juechang Fujian Nanyin Tanjiu* 千古绝唱福建南音探究 [Singing Through The Ages: A Research on Nanyin of Fujian Province], (Fuzhou: Haixia wenyi chubanshe, 1996),

⁶⁴ Sau-Ping Cloris Lim, "Nanyin Musical Culture in Southern Fujian, China: Adaptation And Continuity," (Ph.D, SOAS, University of London, 2014).

⁶⁵ Liu Chunshu and Wang Yaohua, *Fujian Nanyin Chutan*, 161.

⁶⁶ Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu, *Fujian Minjian Yinyue Jianlun*, 463.

and *Lizhiji* 荔枝记 in different historical periods), over 150 songs were written to be selected from Nanyin. The lyrics of the operas enriched the Nanyin vocal repertoire, and many operatic songs are still sung to this day. Out of the 71 stories in the *zhi* suites, 36 were found to be similar to those of Liyuan plays.⁶⁷

The second finding is about the differences between Nanyin and Liyuan Opera. Because of the genre and form distinctions between the two arts, there are some alterations and changes in shared arias.

According to the needs of stage performances, the *changqiang* of Liyuan Opera changes its rhythm, beat and melody while keeping the basic tunes of Nanyin.⁶⁸

The content and stories of Nanyin and Liyuan Opera are the same, but the exact characters they use in arias are different, which shows that the literati or performers rewrote the lyrics of Nanyin...The structure of Nanyin is designed to meet the demand of narrative-singing music, while the structure of Liyuan Opera has been devised for the plot of the opera ...⁶⁹

Besides the above research results, when I interviewed Nanyin performer Miss Huang Zhuju 黄珠菊 and Liyuan Opera performer Mr Ye Zhisheng 叶志升 during my field research in 2016, both admitted that:

When listening to Liyuan Opera and Nanyin, the audience's feelings are different. They have distinct styles. However, there are many arias in both arts that have the same lyrics and melodies.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Lim, "Nanyin Musical Culture in Southern Fujian, China: Adaptation And Continuity," 90.

⁶⁸ Chen Enhui 陈恩慧, "Qiantan quanzhou nanyin yu liyuanxi changqiang zhi yitong-yi mingqu lingluxiaqi yibuyoushang wei li 浅谈泉州南音与梨园戏唱腔之异同——以名曲《岭路斜崎》《移步游赏》为例 [A Brief Research on the Differences and Similarities of the Tunes of Liyuan Opera and Nanyin: Using Famous Song "The Mountain Road Is So Hard" and "Move to Appreciate the Secneray" as Examples]," *Yiyuan* 8 (2008), 25.

⁶⁹ Sun Xingqun 孙星群, "Liyuanxi jingbianhui yu nanyin zhi zhaojian de bizhao 梨园戏《井边会》与南音指《照见》的比照 [The Comparison between Meeting besides the Well from Liyuan Opera and the *zhi* of Nanyin Named "See from the Well]," *Minzu Yinyue Yanjiu* 2 (2014): 14.

⁷⁰ Ye Zhisheng, performer of Liyuan Opera Experimental Troupe of Fujian Province 福建省梨园戏实验剧团.

Regarding the above research results and descriptions of the phenomena, it can be found that Nanyin and Liyuan Opera share the same *changqiang* and melody in music, and share a similar repertoire of contents. Why do these two performing arts with different origins present such similarities? In my opinion, there may have been a certain degree of integration between Nanyin and Liyuan Opera during the mid to the end of the Qing Dynasty. At that time, these two art genres almost simultaneously appeared on the stage of history, they communicated and assimilated with each other. Specifically, I deduce that Nanyin absorbed the stories of Liyuan Opera. It expanded its performing content on the basis of original music performances (which is probably *pu*) by adding arias from Liyuan Operas (possibly developed into *zhi* and *qu*). At the same time, Liyuan Opera started to use the music of Nanyin and gradually gave up its original opera music, which was perhaps based on *Yiyang qiang* 弋阳腔 (music and tunes of Yiyang).⁷¹ I posit that this also influenced the changes in the tune titles for *Lizhiji* and other newly discovered material.

In the National Library of Scotland where I discovered *NLSE*, there is also another unique copy of the Ming Dynasty Minnan opera named *Xinkan Liyuan Zhaijin Zhuiyao* 新刊梨园摘锦坠要精奇雅调 (*A New Anthology of Beautiful Songs Played in the Pear Garden*), and another name *Xinkan Shishang Jinqi Zhaizhui* 新刊时尚锦曲摘坠 (*Newly Published Selected Fashionable Arias Like Brocades*) with a shortened name *Wan Jin Hui Yin* 万锦徽音 (*Ten Thousand Pieces of Good Music as Beautiful as Brocade*, hereafter *WJHY*).⁷² According to my research, it has the same collator, Wanyuequ Zhuren 玩月趣主人 (master of playing with the moon) as *Xin Kan Xian Guan Shi Shang Zhai Yao Ji* 新刊弦管时尚摘要集 (*Newly Published Anthology of Fashionable Arias from Xianguan*) which has the alternative name *Xin Kan Shi Shang Ya Diao Bai Hua Sai Jin* 新刊时尚雅调百花赛锦 (*Newly Published*

⁷¹ Some researchers, such as Wu Jieqiu, believe that Liyuan Opera is the combination of local dances and songs together with Nanyin. Nanyin is the basis of Liyuan Opera and the repertoires are exotic works. see Wu Jieqiu, *Liyuanxi Yishu Shilun*, 1. I cannot agree with this idea. The popularity of Southern Opera during the Song and Yuan Dynasties is in no doubt. Operas in Fujian Province must be a branch of the Southern Opera. The roles, gestures, tune titles can not be easily regarded as the combination of Nanyin and local performing arts, but should be influenced by the Southern Opera. Nanyin is not the origin of Liyuan Opera. Nanyin and Liyuan Opera both became mature in the Ming Dynasty.

⁷² For more information about *WJHY*, please see my conference paper: "A Brief Research on Wan Jin Hui Yin: A Unique Opera Anthology Published in the Ming Dynasty and Stored in the National Library of Scotland, BACS2015".

Fashionable Elegant Arias like One Hundred Flowers Better than Brocades, short name *Bai Hua Sai Jin* 百花赛锦, hereafter *BHSJ*), and was published by Jifang Ju 集芳居 (Collecting Fragrance Hall) as *Ji Fang Ju Zhu Ren Jing Xuan Xin Qu Yu Yan Li Jin* 集芳居主人精选新曲钰妍丽锦 (*Carefully Selected New Arias like Beautiful Brocades by the Master of Collecting Fragrances*, short name *Yu Yan Li Jin* 钰妍丽锦, hereafter *YYLJ*), another name *Jing Xuan Shi Shang Xin Jin Qu Zhai Zhui* 精选时尚新锦曲摘坠 (*Carefully Selected Fashionable New Arias for Operas*).

The publisher of *WJHY* is Xiazhang Wu Jingchen 霞漳吴景辰 (Wu Jingchen of Xiazhang), and the publisher of *YYLJ* is Shulin Jingchen shi 书林景宸氏 (Jingchen of Shulin). “Shulin” usually refers to Jianyang and “Xiazhang” is a beautiful name of Zhangzhou. These two books share similarity in the style and content, so the two Jingchen may also be the same person. Finally, *WJHY*, *YYLJ*, and *BHSJ* have shared repertoires. Moreover, the *Xinzhai Chadio Chensan Bing Quannan Jinqu Jiadio QuANJI* attached at the end of *NLSE* also has a repeated song with *Xin Ke Zeng Bu Xi Dui Jin Qu Da Quan Man Tian Chun* 新刻增补戏队锦曲大全满天春 (*Newly Engraved Supplementary Drama with Complete Bright Arias as Beautiful as the World in the Spring*, short name *Man Tian Chun* 满天春, here after *MTC*). According to my research, one third of the songs in *WJHY* can be found in *MKSZ*.⁷³

In the past, whether these opera anthologies belonged to Nanyin or Liyuan Opera was not known unequivocally. However, after the discovery of *WJHY* and *XZCD*, it can be supposed from these Ming Dynasty publications that there is no significant difference between *jinqu* 锦曲 (beautiful songs), *xianguan* and *liyuan* 梨园 (pear garden). The two words *jinqu* and *xianguan* refer to Nanyin nowadays. The phrase *liyuan* naturally related to Liyuan Opera. From the full name of *WJHY*, it is the songs of both Nanyin and Liyuan Opera. From the contents of *XZCD*, it is the arias of Liyuan Opera as well as Nanyin. All of the above shows that during the mid-late Ming Dynasty, at least the arias of Liyuan Opera and Nanyin shared a similar repertoire. Since Nanyin is a kind of music and may only have melodies without lyrics, it is

⁷³ For more information about *WJHY*, see my conference paper at the BACS2015. “A Brief Research on *Wan Jin Hui Yin* 万锦徽音: A Unique Opera Anthology Published in Ming Dynasty and stored in National Library of Scotland.”

highly possible that Nanyin absorbed the arias of Liyuan Opera during Liyuan Opera's booming period. These arias, after connecting and coalescing with original Nanyin music, nowadays form the *zhi* and *pu* of Nanyin.

The second evidence is the changes in tune titles in *Lizhiji* from the Ming Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty. Tune titles are extremely important to operas, representing the opera's musical features. However, the number of tune titles decreased from *JJE* to *GXE*. Until the last version, *GXE*, even though there is an aria from a previous edition, or similar to an aria of a previous edition, the editor did not note it. Statistically, *JJE* has 195 arias with tune titles, among which are 75 different tune titles. *WLE* notes 82 tune titles and 28 differing ones. *NLSE* has 72 songs with tune titles and 40 distinct ones. *SZE* has 54 arias with tune titles and 28 different titles. When it comes to *DGE*, there are only 8 tune titles and all of them are *weisheng* 尾声 (ending song). In *GXE*, only 2 *weisheng* exist. Besides, among all the 54 tune titles in *SZE*, there are only 4 unique titles: *Qi Yan Hui* 泣颜回 (Crying Yan Hui), *Hao Yueguang* 好月光 (Good Moonlight), *Guang Zhazha* 光乍乍 (Shining Lights) and *Pozhenzi* 破阵子 (Song of Enemy Break). The other 50 titles are inherited from the previous three Ming Dynasty editions. From these changes, especially from *JJE* to *DGE*, it can be seen that the original opera music represented and preserved in tune titles are gradually replaced by another kind of music. This "other kind of music" is possibly the music of Nanyin.

From the above discussion, it could be deduced that at the time when *NLSE*, *WJHY*, *YYLJ*, and *BHSJ* were published, Nanyin and Liyuan Opera had already started their communication and integration. Eventually, by the Daoguang reign period, Liyuan Opera had lost its original opera music and turned to use the music of Nanyin—or a new type of combined music based mostly on Nanyin but with some features of the original Liyuan Opera—as its music. This process of evolution lasted for two dynasties, finally forming the Liyuan Opera and Nanyin performing arts we see today. They share many similarities, whilst keeping their own characters.

4.2.3.4 Nanyin and Liyuan Opera's Competition for Literati Resources

We have already herein established the importance of the literati to the production, consumption and circulation of operas. Meanwhile, we detect the phenomenon that Nanyin and Liyuan Opera learned from each other during the Ming to the Qing Dynasty period and they are highly similar regarding arias, especially lyrics. In this way, for the Minnan local literati who were eager to be involved in the performing arts in their area, naturally they had to choose from Nanyin and Liyuan Opera.

When discussing which genre the literati would choose, the first problem is why the literati are willing to join the circle of opera's production, consumption, and dissemination. As far as I am concerned, there were two main reasons. One was their mental needs such as to express emotions or opinions; the other was their financial pressure in daily life.

The psychological needs of the literati mainly refer to the necessity for them to express themselves and build up own coterie with other literati. Besides traditional poetry, essays, calligraphy and paintings, the popular operas in the Ming and the Qing Dynasty naturally became an excellent way for people to express themselves and communicate with others. It should be stressed that the literati in the end of Ming Dynasty and the beginning of Qing Dynasty show a strong tendency of pursuing *ya* 雅 (elegance) because of their social background and identity. Huang Shengjiang's essay offers a detailed description of this phenomenon.⁷⁴ He argues that the literati's search for *ya* was a conscious, as well as a collective unconscious, aesthetic feature, and is also related to the antiquarian trend of the Ming Dynasty. Additionally, in *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*, Clunas wrote many discussions and descriptions regarding this trend. He detected that the "trappings of gentility" were potentially available to all who could afford them, within the availability of commodities at that time.⁷⁵ In another book *Fruitful Sites: Garden*

⁷⁴ Huang Shengjiang 黄胜江, "Lun zhongguo gudai wenren juzuo yahua de shenmei quwei 论中国古代文人剧作雅化的审美趣味 [Discussions on the Elegant Aesthetic Appreciation of Imperial Literati Operas]," *Xiju Wenxue* 10 (2013): 86-90.

⁷⁵ Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016, 161-163.

Culture in Ming Dynasty China, Clunas give an interesting opinion about the gardens of the time.⁷⁶ He detected that the gardens before the mid-Ming period still kept their function as a place to produce plants. However, gardens later became purely aesthetic objects, which serves to show the whole society's pursuit of elegance. Timothy Brook's book *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* also introduces the custom at that time. Rich people with weaker educational background deliberately learned how to act elegantly like the literati, and such learning will never stop.⁷⁷ Wang Linlin's thesis discussed the social mood of the end-Ming period based on Wen Zhenheng's work.⁷⁸ She concludes that most literati of that time pursued *xianya* 闲雅 (idle elegance) and even tried to make their daily life elegant. From these studies, it can be seen that the eagerness to be elegant spread to every aspect of life, and literary activities were no exception.⁷⁹

The above examples are mainly discussing the situation in Jiangnan area. I would like to suggest that Fujian and Guangdong provinces were deeply influenced by the trend formed by Jiangnan area literatus—in fact, literati from the whole empire might be influenced by them, since they were the trendsetters of that time. Therefore, the literatus in Fujian and Guangdong also pursued elegance. For instance, Zhang Xie 张燮 (1574-1640), one of the most famous literati from Zhangzhou during the Ming Dynasty, named his poet society *fengya tang* 风雅堂 (Hall of Elegance), which directly showed he and his literary coteries' emphasis on elegance.⁸⁰ Cao Xuequan 曹学佺 (1574-1646), the leading poet and cultural elite of Fujian Province during the Wanli reign period, also devoted most of his retired life to elegant activities. He built his private garden and organized cultural groups, especially poem groups. At the same time, Cao

⁷⁶ Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China*, London: Reaktion Books, 1996: 56

⁷⁷ Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure*, 223-224.

⁷⁸ Wang Linlin 王琳琳, “Wen Zhenheng yiyahuasu guannian yu wan Ming wenren de shenghuo meixue 文震亨以雅化俗观念与晚明文人的生活美学 [Wen Zhenheng's Transfer Vulgarly to Elegance and the Life Aesthetics of Scholars in the Late Ming Dynasty],” (MA Diss., Southwest University, 2017). As for the reason why the Ming Dynasty literati continued to seek *ya*, see more in Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, 1998.

⁷⁹ In fact, after the mid-Ming period, the Southern Opera which used to be regarded as vernacular gradually approached to the Northern *zaju* which used to be regarded as elegant opera. See Zeng Yongyi 曾永义, “Lunshuo Xiqu Yasu Zhi Tuiyi Shang 论说戏曲雅俗之推移 (上) [A Study on the Competition between Refined and Popular Plays],” *Xiju Yanjiu* 2 (2008): 7.

⁸⁰ Wu Yixie 吴宜燮, and Huang Hui 黄惠, *Longxi Xianzhi* 龙溪县志 [Annals of Longxi County], 1897, volume 11, 16.

organized a private theatre in his house that mainly performed local operas.⁸¹ Cao had close relationship with literati and cultural elites from all over Fujian, including Xu Bo 徐燊 from Fuzhou, Chen Yifei 陈翼飞 (c.1584-?) from Zhangzhou, and Cai Fuyi 蔡復一 (1576-1625) from Quanzhou. All of these men were included in Cao's elegant gatherings.⁸² Such a trend of pursuing elegance did not change when it came to the Qing Dynasty. Wu Xingzuo 吴兴祚 (1632-1698), who used to be the governor of Fujian and Guangdong provinces for nearly twenty years, showed his great interests in pursuit of elegance. Although Wu was famous for success in military arena towards the Zheng family, it seemed that Wu enjoyed more as a leader of the social culture. He employed many local elite literati as his aides. They frequently held gatherings in which they wrote poems, composed songs and arias, did painting and debating.⁸³ Their activities were no doubt very influential back then. Cao Xuequan's private troupe and Wu Xingzuo's arias-writing party, all suggest that under the social trend of pursuing elegance at that time, operas were an elegant gathering activity to join.

As for the second factor of the financial pressure, it is undoubtedly that writing and publishing operas was a common way to make a living. A literatus could earn money from writing and publishing operas. Suyoung Son's book *Writing for Print: Publishing and the Making of Textual Authority in Late Imperial China* gave a very good explanation of the purpose and ways of writing for profit, although mostly focus on cultural elites. She argues that writing a printed book helped literati to earn both fame and money. Although in the cases she discussed, both books and cash were often delivered as gifts among friends, authors and editors did get money from the commercial publishing houses once they decided to print more copies to reach more readers.⁸⁴

The financial pressure resulted in some literati writing forprofit opera. The poverty-

⁸¹ Xu Jiankun 許建昆, *Cao Xuequan Yu Wan Ming Wenxueshi* 曹學佺與晚明文學史 [Cao Xuequan and the Literature History of Late Ming], (Taipei: Wanjuanlou tushu, 2014), 25-58.

⁸² Ibid, 100-101.

⁸³ Zhu Lixia 朱丽霞, *Jiangnan Minnan Lingnan: Wu Xingzuo Mufu Wenxue Nianbiao Changbian* 江南·閩南·嶺南: 吴兴祚幕府文学年表长编 [Jiangnan, Minnan and Southern Guangdong: A Literature Chronological Table of Wu Xingzuo's Private Office], (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2013), appendix 1, bibliography.

⁸⁴ Suyoung Son, *Writing for Print: Publishing and the Making of Textual Authority in Late Imperial China*, 89-124.

stricken situation of the Ming Dynasty's literati, especially the middle to lower classes, and the reality of these poor literati needing to write for a living, has been widely discussed by previous scholars. Liu Jia stressed:

A consensus of researchers studying the financial problem of the late-Ming period literati is the poor and helpless reality of the literati of this period ... Their way of making a living included ... woodblock carving, selling their literature works...⁸⁵

The second factor need to be concerned with is the characters of Nanyin and Liyuan Opera. Chen Yanting stresses:

Many elderly Nanyin amateurs emphasise continuously that Nanyin was learned by rich people in the past. Only the kind of people who have money and time and never worry about food or clothes are able to enjoy and learn Nanyin...Zheng Guoquan points out that...Nanyin instruments are not opera instruments. The latter is not allowed to be presented inside a temple's main building. These instruments [of Nanyin] must belong to the class of ritual instruments ... The purpose of Liyuan Opera performances is clearly amusing ordinary people. The performers of opera also act for a living.⁸⁶

Apparently, compared with Liyuan Opera, Nanyin was more elegant. Hence it better fulfilled the psychological needs of the literati in the imperial times. Nanyin troupes were owned by rich people and government officials, which means it had relatively stable financial support. As for Liyuan Opera troupes, their financial resources were ordinary people such as townspeople and peasants, who did not always have plenty of money, which means the funding was not permanent. Literati who wrote scripts and lyrics for a living were more likely to choose

⁸⁵ Liu Jia 刘佳, "Shangzai pinye-du wan Ming wenren yiwenzhisheng yanjiu 伤哉贫也——读《晚明文人以文治生研究》" [Poverty Is So Sad: Reviews on the book *Research on the Literati's Writing for a Living in the Late Ming Dynasty*], *Zhongguo Shehui Lishi Pinglun* 14 (2013), 443.

⁸⁶ Chen Yanting 陈燕婷, "Nanyin yu liyuan xi de bujie qingyuan 南音与梨园戏的不解情缘[Nanyin and Liyuan Opera's Uncuttable Relationship]," *Yinyue Shenghuo* 11 (2017): 29-32.

Nanyin, since it not only met their spiritual requirements but also provided some income. Under such circumstances, these two similar cultural products started to compete with each other. The result of their competition is the most important factor; the literati were attracted by Nanyin, while Liyuan Opera gradually lost this resource. When the literati participated in all of the three key links of Nanyin—production, consumption and dissemination—they could earn money from writing. Hence they had the ability to consume and spread opera (by buying and printing opera books). Eventually, a cycle of continuous rotation was formed. Without the participation of the literati or the economic stimulus being ingrained into every part of Liyuan Opera, this cycle could never have come into being.

The Nanyin and Liyuan Operas we see nowadays have retained their own discrete forms, and have not united to form a completely new performing art. In my opinion, after their ephemeral coalescence, as the literati continuously left Liyuan Opera and participated more fully in Nanyin, the two arts started to develop in different directions. With the further involvement of the literati, Nanyin sustained a tendency towards refinement, and emphasised its lingering charms and silences. Liyuan Opera instead concentrated more on stage performances, especially the prosperous atmosphere during the performance.

The target audience of Nanyin then changed to upper class people who had both leisure time and enough money to spend, and the performing venues were mostly in cities, *tanghui* 堂会 (private parties held at home), and art gatherings. The target audience of Liyuan Opera tended to be lower class people, including townspeople and peasants who did not have a great deal of money. Their performing venues were festivals and countryside opera stages. Travelling performances were also common for Liyuan Operas. The final result of their competition is reflected in specific works and publications, such as the declining quality of *Lizhiji*. Meanwhile, specific Nanyin publications such as *Wenhuan Tang Zhi Pu* 文焕堂指谱 (*Music Scores of Pu by Wenhuan Hall*) started to come into being and increased from the end of the Qing Dynasty.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ *Wenhuan Tang Zhi Pu* was edited in 1867, and published in 1873. It is the earliest extant publication of Quanzhou Nanyin with the *gongqe pu* 工乂谱 (*gongqe* music scores). “工乂” usually pronounces as “gōng chē”, but in Minnan dialect it reads as “gong qe”. For a detailed introduction to *Wenhuan Tang Zhi Pu*, see Li Jiping 李寄萍, “Qingkan guben gongqe puzi yanjiu 清刊孤本工乂谱字研究 [Research on the Gongqe Scores of a

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I explain the declining tendency of Liyuan Opera and *Lizhiji* from three aspects. The overall social and economic history background, the trend of the opera, and the competition for resources between Liyuan Opera and Nanyin. I discovered that the downhill trajectory of Liyuan Opera and *Lizhiji*, on the one hand, follows the common changing pattern of opera more generally; on the other hand, it was firmly related to the changes in local literature and cultural context.

I introduced two new views. Firstly, the contribution of the literati is the essential and irreplaceable factor in the production, consumption and circulation processes of a cultural product. Secondly, the decline and limitation in the dissemination of a kind of opera or a specific literary work is related to the decline of its quality. However, it may also be because of the existence of a similar, competing cultural product. There is a competitive relationship between the two similar products. The one who wins the game will obtain more essential resources - primarily, the patronage and involvement of the literati. The more positive participation of the literati helps the development of the winner, making this cultural product more elegant, refined, and likely to spread more widely.

Liyuan Opera and *Lizhiji* blended together with Nanyin in the Ming Dynasty, resulting in a competitive relationship. After losing the competition, Liyuan Opera lost its original literati resources, which led to the declining quality seen throughout the Qing Dynasty. Since the Daoguang reign period, Liyuan Opera had seen the impact of exotic fresh operas such as Gaojia Opera and Gezai Opera. It then lost its original rural markets, and started to experience a further recession. In fact, not until the literati rejoined the collating tasks of Liyuan Opera after the founding of the PRC did Liyuan Opera have the chance to recover and move beyond the Minnan area.⁸⁸

Qing Dynasty Unique Copy],” *Yuefu xinsheng (Shenyang yinyue xueyuan xuebao)* 1 (2006): 28-32.

⁸⁸ Wu Jieqiu 吴捷秋, *Laoshu Fanhua Yilukai-Quanqiang Liyuanxi Chen San Wu Niang Jianguohou Gaige Shulue 老树繁花浥露开——泉腔梨园戏《陈三五娘》建国后改革述略* [Flowers flourish with dew on old tree-the reformation of quanzhou tune Liyuan Opera Chen San and Wu Niang after the foundation of P.R.C]. This article is published in *Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi quanzhou shi weiyuanhui wenshiziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui*, 中国人民政治协商会议福建省泉州市委员会文史资料研究委员会, *Quanzhou Wenshi Ziliao*

Since the beginning of the 20th century and with the pioneer works done by Zheng Zhenzhou and other scholars, the academic field has emphasised the importance of vernacular literature, artists and their involvement in classical literatures. However, based on my research, it is clear that if a vernacular literary work continuously lacks the participation, polish, and improvement of the literati, it will remain “on-stage”, and “vernacular”. This kind of work is incapable of keeping its quality and spreading to a larger area.

One thing that needs to be made clear is that the content of this chapter is based on the observation of contemporary Nanyin and Liyuan Opera, excavated publications and materials, as well as oral history materials and field research. We still do not have the full picture of the real situation of Nanyin and Liyuan Opera in the Ming and the Qing Dynasty because of the limited primary historical materials. Besides, factors that influence the changes to operas are various. Local economic developments, operas from other regions and sociopolitical features are still of great importance. When regarding Nanyin as a factor in the decline of Liyuan Opera, it needs to be stressed that Nanyin is only one of the reasons, albeit a relatively significant one.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

This thesis has delved into a newly discovered Liyuan Opera publication *NLSE*, published during the Ming Dynasty. It has conducted a comprehensive analysis of the changes in the vernacular opera *Lizhiji* from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty, as well as elucidating the reasons for these changes. The whole thesis hopes to enable researchers and readers to rethink and reconsider the seminal Liyuan Opera, *Lizhiji*. This thesis maps Liyuan Opera and *Lizhiji*'s journey across the stormy sea of opera during the Ming and Qing dynasty and shows how it managed to secure its own position in such shifting waters.

All in all, the aim of this thesis is to present three vital findings. Firstly, for vernacular operas, the changes to the plots over the period concerned are relatively substantial compared with literary operas. These changes follow certain rules and have certain reasons. Secondly, regarding the plot, the changes in the story and the roles are systematic, and are related to the story itself, to the external social and literary environment and to the internal literary tendencies of the time. Finally, the factors that led to the change and decline of an opera on the whole, besides the causes we already know, may also be due to competition from a similar cultural product. The lack of participation of the literati due to this competition would have resulted in the decline of an art genre.

5.1 Contributions

5.1.1 Bibliographical Studies

Chapter 2 mainly discusses the bibliographical problems of *Lizhiji*. Firstly, it introduces the features of *NLSE*, a further edition of *Lizhiji* discovered in Europe after Piet van der Loon's findings. Based on comparisons between *NLSE* and other extant materials from the songs,

typefaces, illustrations and cultural customs shown in the text, it proffers the conjecture that *NLSE* was published in Zhangzhou in the Wanli reign period. The possible reason why the *NLSE* ended up in Edinburgh was also mentioned.

Afterwards, through a close textual comparison and a detailed process of collation, this thesis examines the relationship between the six editions of *Lizhiji*. A complete edition relationship diagram has been formed on the basis of this examination, benefiting greatly from the discovery of *NLSE*, which works as a bridge between the Ming and the Qing Dynasty publications. Simultaneously, the concept of “Chaozhou and Quanzhou versions” was discussed, which will enrich future bibliographical studies on this opera.

Finally, topics related to book history were discussed. The essences of the *Lizhiji* publications—for-profit commercial books about vernacular literature as well as vivid records of true performances, are stressed. The target audience group was discussed. It argues that the existence of books accords with previous researchers’ observations of late imperial Chinese book history, which are audiences drawn from a broader class base and extended circulation areas.

Indeed, on the whole, bibliographical opera studies will be enhanced by edition studies of *Lizhiji*. Moreover, in the appendix of this thesis is a detailed catalogue of the NLS’s Chinese Book Collection. This catalogue is indicative of one of the most significant discoveries of overseas rare Chinese books in recent years.

5.1.2 Opera studies

For a long time, research into imperial Chinese operas has been centred on classics of literary operas such as *Romance of the Western Chamber* and *The Peach Blossom Fan*, as well as on famous literati authors such as Wang Shifu and Kong Shangren. Vernacular operas and folk writers have not, broadly speaking, piqued the interest of scholars, because of its limitations in extant materials and the aesthetic value it possesses. This thesis, however, is a holistic study of local vernacular opera which enlarges the research field of vision of opera studies. As an opera work that has been actively performed at least starting from the Ming

Dynasty and with six extant editions, *Lizhiji* is an ideal material for researchers to enter in to the world of vernacular local opera, and to explore the features, changes and evolutions of vernacular opera.

Whilst opera studies on characters and stories are declining in contemporary scholarship, this thesis highlights a new approach to this research. Firstly, text collation based on bibliography studies theory offers a new entry point. Secondly, studying the differences that emerge when comparing editions also provides new insights. Previous research combining bibliography and literature studies was mainly aimed at elegant and *antou* operas written by literati. The differences between these kinds of works are limited to details of conversation and gesture, while a vernacular work like *Lizhiji* has undergone huge changes in plot, which enables researchers to analyse not only minor details but also systematic changes in the whole plot structure, characteristics of the roles, emotional attitudes and concepts of the story. This thesis, especially in chapter 3, is a case study of vernacular opera's bibliographical studies, combined with literary studies. As a result of this combination, the research on opera is based on the result of bibliographical findings, while the changes in opera become the research material for edition studies.

Finally, this thesis has introduced many useful techniques for opera studies. The whole thesis uses empirical study concepts and textual comparison methods. For specific problems, it uses historical materials to interrogate texts. It does not intend to enact a great deal of *kaoju* 考据 (textual authentication) work, but tries to use historical facts to demonstrate and explain particular literary phenomena, and to help to provide a better understanding of the changes within the characters and plots, making history service literature. Besides, this thesis uses many research methods and the results of imperial Chinese fiction studies, including ways of analysing characters, the discussion of the narrative function of plots, the studies of the relationship between the augments and original text, and so forth.

5.1.3 *Lizhiji Studies*

Firstly, on the basis of a detailed edition comparison and textual collation, this thesis analysed the edition problems of the extant six editions. The version relationship diagram offers a foundation for future research. Chapter 2 argues that *NLSE* is later than *JJE* and *WLE*, and belongs to the Chaozhou version, alongside *WLE*. It is a connecting link in the development of *Lizhiji*. The Chaozhou and Quanzhou version systems merge with each other since *SZE*.

Secondly, in Chapter 3, the thesis reconsidered the main characters, including Wu Niang, Chen San, Lin Da, Yi Chun and Xiao Qi through two strands: the main love story and the interwoven story. When carrying out this study, the thesis tried to avoid the pitfalls encountered by previous researchers, such as a lack of evidence, ignoring editions, making value judgments. Particularly, this thesis attempts to resist making literature a footnote to politics, but always centred on the literature itself. Dynasties are not important boundaries, but the editions become more vital. Through a balanced and nuanced engagement with the text, it hopes to shine light onto how to write a new history of literature.

This thesis, especially in chapter 3, posits the argument that Chen San and Wu Niang are not typical *caizi* and *jiaren*, and Wu Niang's love for Chen San is not as pure as has been presented by others. The previously stated belief that *Lizhiji* advocates marital freedom is not very accurate, because of the characters' final choices still meet the social requirements of their time, and this is tested and confirmed by Wu Niang again and again. Wu Niang's temperament becomes weaker from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty, while Chen San's character toughens. Besides, the thesis also pays attention to characters in supporting roles who have not been much discussed before. Yi Chun's role gains more prominence whilst Lin Da's image gradually worsens. These changes, which are related to the developing trends in opera more generally, are systematic and finally result in the decline of the main love story and the rise of the interwoven story. Moreover, the interwoven story centred around Yi Chun, in fact, shows the rules and tendencies of opera creation and novel creation, which elaborates extensions from existing elements of the original story, from upper class to lower class, from inside the home

to outside.

Finally, in chapter 4, this thesis traces the decline of *Lizhiji*'s literary texts and bibliographical materials. After analysing the external social history backgrounds which resulted in the changes in literature, chapter 4 concentrated on the internal factors. It introduced Nanyin and uses the hypothesis of "competition for resources" to help answer the literary phenomenon we concluded in chapter 3, which is the decline of the story *Lizhiji* and its genre the Liuyan Opera. Another form of local art called Nanyin is taken into consideration. It has highlighted that Nanyin and Liyuan Opera learned from each other during the end of the Ming Dynasty. Nanyin absorbed the arias and stories of Liyuan Opera, while Liyuan Opera started to use the music of Nanyin. The growing similarities between the two genres, the more stable financial support enjoyed by Nanyin, together with the more refined tendencies of Nanyin, resulted in the concentration of literati resources on Nanyin. As the literati play the most important role in the production, consumption and circulation of literary works, without the in-depth participation of the literati, Liyuan Opera gradually changed to become more vernacular, more localized and more difficult to circulate. It was limited to dissemination in Minnan dialect-speaking areas and finally lost its market due to an influx of exotic operas. This decline was not stemmed until the re-participation of the literati in the 1950s. The importance of the literati towards literature and art works is emphasized and proven by the historical fact of *Lizhiji* and the analysis in this thesis. Such a finding seeks to explain changes not just in the field of imperial Chinese opera studies, but more broadly, in the history of Chinese literature.

5.2 Topics for Future Research

This thesis has laid the groundwork for a broad spectrum of future research.

Firstly, the music problems of *Lizhiji* are worthy of discussion. The changes of the tune titles from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty, as well as the differences in the tune titles between Liyuan Opera and Nanyin, would both be interesting research topics.

Secondly, it is valuable to research the vernacular customs and aesthetic tastes of local

audiences in *Lizhiji*. For example, I mentioned in Chapter 3 that Wu Niang is very good at cursing people. The roles also use many dialect words to insult and scold others. Was this a custom? Does it indicate the audience's linguistic preferences? This kind of detail can serve as a window for us to know more about vernacular literature.

Thirdly, as a vernacular local opera, there are possibilities for carrying out linguistic studies on the Chaozhou versions and Quanzhou versions. The dialogue in operas is a good corpus of Minnan dialect from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty.

Finally, doing research on the women in *Lizhiji* from the aspect of feminism would be very valuable activity: for example, Wu Niang's mother is traditionally regarded as a conservative woman. However, in some editions, she in fact supports her daughter and encourages her to marry a husband she likes. She even hides in her aunt's home in order to avoid her husband's curse. Lin Da's mother is another interesting figure. She is not good at educating her son, but is a determined and strong woman when protecting her own interests. These female roles are precious materials for both historical and literary studies, and would be valuable for gaining further understanding of the representation of women from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty.

To conclude, as a bibliography researcher studying opera for the first time, I feel that I have accomplished my task in introducing the vernacular opera *NLSE* and *Lizhiji*, correcting some long-held ill-considered opinions on my research objectives, as well as putting forward my own opinion on new factors that influence the developments and changes in literature. I hope my studies could facilitate further scholarship. The enormous world of Ming and Qing Dynasty literature, Ming and Qing Dynasty operas and Minnan local operas, is still awaiting further exploration and analysis.

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Appendix 1

The Rare Chinese Book Collection in the National Library of Scotland: Sources, Distinctive Copies and the Current Situation¹

Yibo WANG

Abstract

Libraries such as Cambridge University Library and the Bodleian Library of Oxford University have boasted Chinese collections since the beginning of 20th Century. However, for a long time, few people were aware of the existence of comparable collections in Scotland. There is no evidence of researchers accessing the rare Chinese books in the National Library of Scotland (NLS). I commenced research into this rare corpus in October 2014 and have systematically categorized 91 series of rare Chinese books in total. This study will present the results of my research according to three aspects. Firstly, I will introduce the sources of these books. Secondly, I will explore the most featured books in this collection. Finally, I will talk about current issues pertaining to this collection, suggesting ultimately that the texts need to be re-classified, digitalized and repaired.

Keywords: rare Chinese books, NLS, Ming Dynasty operas

People have long known about rare Chinese book collections in the British Library, SOAS, the Bodleian Libraries of Oxford and the Cambridge University Library; indeed, a great deal of work, has been undertaken in these sites (Xie 2015: 75-76). However, there are still many books in Scotland waiting to be studied. The National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), located in Edinburgh, is one of the six Legal Deposit Libraries in the UK and a reference library with world-class collections. Since October 2014, I commenced cataloguing and researching the Chinese book collection of NLS; the process led to the re-discovery of 91 kinds of rare Chinese book. I will thus discuss the general features, sources, unique copies and current situation of these books.

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1. General features and possible sources of this collection

1.1 General features

There are altogether 91 series of rare Chinese books in the NLS. Because of the limited number and particular features of the texts, I am less inclined to catalogue them following the classical Four-Branch Classification. From the specific texts of these books, they can be classified into three main groups:

- (1) Western and missionary books: altogether 38 series, including Chinese translations of various Christian classics and books written by Western people, especially missionaries. Among them the oldest one is *Tianzhujiao Shengjiao Qimeng and Nian Zhu Gui Cheng* 天主聖教啓蒙-念珠規程 which was published at the end of the Ming Dynasty, and *Yuanxi Qiqi Tushuo Luzui* 遠西奇器圖說錄最 which was published in the 7th year of Tianqi Reign Period (1627). A later text is a *New Testament* 新遺詔書 translated by the famous missionary Robert Morrison and published in 1813. This group also includes many missionary publications printed using the copper movable type of the Anglo-Chinese College (yinghua shuyuan 英華書院) of Hong Kong (Su 1996: 256).
- (2) *Jing* 經 (Confucian classics) and *shi* 史 (history) books: in total, 24 series.² This group includes historical, geographical and military books, county annals and books about economical records. Amongst these books, the earliest publication is *Jintang Jiezhu Shier Chou* 金湯借箸十二籌, a military book published around the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties. The second oldest is *Yuzhi Quanshan Yaoyan* 御制勸善要言, a book about Confucian morals written by Emperor Shunzhi and published in the 12th year of Shunzhi reign period (1655).
- (3) Literature and art books: altogether 25 series. The earliest ones are probably *Lizhiji* 荔枝記 (hereafter *LZJ*) and *Wan Jin Hui Yin* 萬錦徽音 (hereafter *WJHY*); both were published around the 32nd year of the Wanli reign period (1604).³ They are

² Here Confucian classics and history refer to the *jing* and *shi* of the first two branches of the Chinese Four-branch of books' classification.

³ For more information about *Lizhiji*, see my conference essay "A Brief Research on Wan Jin Hui Yin: A Unique Opera Anthology Published in the Ming Dynasty and Stored in the National Library of Scotland" presented at

followed by a much later publication, *Yizhengtang Chongxiu Xuanhe Bogu Tulu* 亦政堂重修宣和博古圖, which was published in the 17th year of Qianlong reign period (1752). This group also consists of a large amount of *Jiezi Yuan Huapu* 芥子園畫譜 that are, in my opinion, reprints of the original edition published at the end of Qing Dynasty.

In addition to these groups, there are also three books that are difficult to classify. There is a veterinary work on horses entitled *Yuanheng Liaoma Ji* 元亨療馬集, a medical book, *Tuxiang Bencao mengquan* 圖像本草蒙荃, and a combined religious book, *Sanjiao Yuanlian Shengdi Foshuai Soushen Daquan* 三教源流聖帝佛帥搜神大全. Some non-Chinese books and publications are also included in the collection. There include several Japanese publications, such as *Sishu Wujing Zengbu Wenxuan Ziyin Quan* 四書五經增補文選字引全 and *Jiayong Xinzeng Sisheng Zhengyun Zilin Daquan Wan* 嘉永新增四聲正韻字林大全完, which are Chinese dictionaries for Confucian studies. There is a magazine of the Library of Zhejiang published in 1928, as well as a complete wood-carved copy of the famous *Admonitions Scroll* (nv shi zhen tu, 女史箴圖), produced in 1912.

Most books have illustrations, and some, such as *Xu Fan Cha Tu* 續泛槎圖 are indeed books of illustrations, suggesting that the collectors may have had a preference for illustration over content.

1.2 Possible resources

Based on a written catalogue, NLS divided their Chinese book collection into two sets. The first set, with shelf-mark 6.539 to 6.543, altogether 34 volumes, has a catalogue made by Rev. John Steele (1868-1960) in the year 1910.⁴ The second set is shelf-marks 1549-5.1552, 6.549-6.551 and 6.553-6.554, altogether 92 volumes; no further details of the sources have been discovered. By carefully conducting textual and

BACS2015.

⁴ <https://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online/snpc/detail.cfm?id=450&subjectid=4&collection=450&keyword=&passedsubject=4&passedcollection=450&passedkeyword=&origin=browse>, 2017, 30.09.2017. According to it the first set has 35 series of book but in fact only 34. The book Dong Hua Lu has two volumes but have been mistakenly put into two different boxes which resulted in the number 35.

historical research, I classified their sources into three main groups:

(1) Rev. John Steele and the 34 series of books

Books with shelfmarks from 6.539 to 6.543; each of them has a bookmark “Advocates Library’s Chinese Books No. 1-34” (hereafter AL). I believe that the major part of this set was brought to Edinburgh in 1910 by the Scottish Presbyterian missionary Rev. John Steele and his wife Elizabeth Turnbull.⁵ Steele, born in Ireland in 1868, took part in the missionary activities of the Scottish Presbyterian Church in China and mastered Chinese. He taught for a long time at an Anglo-Chinese College in Shantou 汕頭. At the end of 1910, possibly due to his declining visual acuity, Steele and his wife had to return to England from China. When they arrived in Edinburgh, they donated several series of books to the Advocates Library. Afterwards, he sorted these books and other collections in the Advocates Library and compiled hand-written catalogues. The bookmarks were then printed and numbered by him. Most of these books were publications from Hong Kong, Guangzhou and Fujian Province and many of them are related to missionary practice.

It is important to note that as stated on the NLS website, there are 4 series of books amongst the above 34 series which are listed as gifts from Rev. John Ross, D.D (1842-1915), but I found only one book, *Yuzhi Quanshan Yaoyan* 御制勸善要言, which had a clear note on its front page suggesting this. Ross was a Scottish Protestant missionary to Northeast China who established Dongguan Church in Shenyang. Considering that he mainly worked in northern China, it is highly possible that books published in Beijing and Shandong province such as *Xifan Yiyu* 西番譯語, *Donghua Lu* 東華錄 and *Manhan Hebi Sishu* 滿漢合璧四書 were brought by him to Scotland.

⁵ The information about Rev. John Steele and his wife, is from the website of NLS <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online/snpc/list.cfm?letter=C> (last update: 12th Mar 2015), the family tree website <http://lackfamily.net/genealogy/names/whole%20family/fl263.html> (last update: 12th Mar 2015), and the report on The Straits Times, 30th Dec. 1913, 8th edition.

(2) David Thom and books from Guangdong and Ningbo

Other books that have a clear source are *Yinghua Tongyong Zahua* 華英通用雜話 (6.541, AL 25) and *Zhengyin Cuoyao* 正音撮要 (6.541, AL 26). The author of both books is the famous translator Robert Thom (羅伯聃, 1807-1846). According to the text written on the frontpage of both books, it was Robert Thom's brother David Thom (1795-1862), who gave them as gifts to the Advocates Library in 1844/47.⁶ Additionally, there is another book, *Bowu Xinbian* 博物新編 (5.1551), without an AL bookmark but which has a signature "D. Thom" on it. This book may have been stored in a different place in 1910, which would explain its absence from the catalogue made by Steele.

Robert Thom used to work and live in Guangdong province and Ningbo (Li 2011: 8). In this way, books related to these areas and published before 1855, such as *Chuxue Yueyin Qieyao* 初學粵音切要 and *Guangdong Tongzhi* 廣東通志, are all probably from him and given to the library through his brother David Thom.

(3) Others

None of the above collectors are known to have visited Japan but NLS does own several Japanese publications such as the *Sishu Wujing Zengbu Wenxuan Ziyin Quan* 四書五經增補文選字引全 noted above. They were most likely to have been brought to Scotland by missionaries who had been active in Japan. However, whether these missionaries went to China or brought any Chinese books to NLS remains unknown. The copy of *Admonitions Scroll* published in 1912 and the magazine of the Library of Zhejiang published in 1928 shows that there was at least one expansion of the collection after 1910.

2. Distinctive copies

⁶ The relationship between Robert and David Thom are found in David's book, *Divine Inversion: Or a View of the Character of God as in All Respects Opposed to the Character of Man*, published by Simpkin, Marshall and Co in 1842.

2.1 *WJHY*

The original book cover has already been lost and replaced by two pieces of Western styled leather covers, or vellums. These two vellums, cut in a rough way have English and Latin words on the interior, which seems to be draft paper first. It should have been bound by cotton thread through four holes on the edge of the book, but was bound up in an incorrect way. The length is 11.1cm and width 9cm, this tiny form of book is known as a handkerchief book (jinxiang ben 巾箱本). Each half leaf contains eight columns of seventeen (main text) characters. It uses single columns around each leaf and without ‘fish-tail’ (yuwei 魚尾, a triangular block in the centre strip which enables workers to fold the pages). In the centre strip (banxin 版心) are the name of the book *WJHY* and page number. There are some wave-like decorations on the top of the centre strip. The text on the first page before the table of contents reads: the contents of a new anthology of beautiful songs played in the Pear Garden 新刊梨園摘錦墜要精奇雅調目錄, proofread by Master of Wanyuequ and selected and published by Wu Jingchen 吳景辰 from Xiazhang 霞漳. Altogether there are 67 pages in the book including 2 pages of contents. This book contains anthologies of arias of Liyuan Opera and Nanyin, provides important information for the study of vernacular operas in the Ming Dynasty.

2.3 Folk almanacs

Tongshu 通書, or folk almanacs, are lunar calendars from private publishing houses and contain much more information than an ephemeris or calendar. There are 2 folk almanacs stored in NLS. The first one is *Daoguang Sanshinian Tongshu* 道光三十年通書 (folk almanacs of the 30th year of the Daoguang reign period, 1850) published by Wugui Tang 五桂堂 in the 29th year of the Daoguang reign period (1849). The original paper covers still retain a red paper shuqian (title leaf on which the book’s name is printed 書籤). It does not list page numbers or volume numbers. The length is 23.5cm and width 13.7cm. It uses both single and double columns around each leaf, with black or white fish-tail. In the centre strip is the publishing house’s name, Wugui Tang 五桂堂, sometimes written as Wugui Tang zhenben (real copy of Wugui Tang, 五桂堂真本).

On the first page there is a picture, depicting two children holding a big fan with the complete title of the book “Wugui Tang Daquan Tongshu 五桂堂大全通書”. The second is *Xianfeng Banian Tongshu* 咸豐八年通書 (folk almanacs of the 8th year of the Xianfeng reign period, 1858) published by Danzhu Tang 丹柱堂 in the 7th year of the Xianfeng reign period (1857). The other publication features are identical to the first one.

Based on the research conducted by Shen Jin on four folk almanacs stored in the Harvard–Yenching Library, published mostly by Dangui Tang 丹桂堂 of the Su 蘇 family from 1845 to 1886, I found that the official notices of the publishing house in the beginning of each book are only slightly different from each other (Shen 2009: 163). The notices of Wugui Tang and Danzhu Tang are practically identical to the notice of Dangui Tang, but with words like “our publishing house has a history of 6 generations (本堂歷傳六代)”, “Su family located at Jiuyao market of our capital city (省城九曜坊蘇)”, “(if someone palm off us) they will suffer from bad fortune (如有假冒招牌者, 男災女禍)” being removed. In this way, I believe that the folk almanacs of Wugui Tang and Danzhu Tang from NLS, including that of Pangui Tang 攀桂堂 that Shen found in Harvard, are counterfeit publications of Dangui Tang.

These two folk almanacs contain many religious pictures, poems, and instructions for everyday life. They have a guide about lucky and unlucky directions of the year named *Liu Nian Shi Kuan* 流年事欸, a *Tianguan Cifu Tu* 天官賜福圖, which show the details of a person’s fate for the next year, a poem about the gods of four seasons and lucky days to wash heads, pierce ears or bind feet. There are also astronomy pictures such as *Yushu Zhi Tu* 虞書之圖 (picture of the ecliptic and equatorial diagrams). They help researchers not only to gauge the blooming publishing industry and rampant book piracy at the end of the Qing Dynasty, they also proffer authentic insights into the everyday rural life of the people of that era.

Besides the four series of books I discussed above, there are still some more books worthy of study. For example, *Wu Bei Mi Shu* 武備秘書, in which it is recorded that the

Diaoyu Islands were already patrolled by the navy of the Ming Dynasty; *Xu Fan Cha Tu San Ji* 續泛槎圖三集 and *Yi Cha Tu Si Ji* 艤槎圖四, which has high quality woodblock illustrations, etc.

3. The Current Situation

The rare Chinese books in the NLS are bonded together with cotton threads and put into customized antiacid boxes exactly like rare Western books. There is no further specific protection for these Chinese books. Most of the book are in reasonable condition; in particular, they seem to be seldom afflicted by bookworms. However, some of the books suffer from problems like broken threads, lost leaves, lost bookmarks and covers. Some earlier publications, such as *LZJ*, have broken centre strips which need immediate repair. All in all, the library needs to canvas help from professional rare Chinese book protectors to repair them and make new book boxes.

As regards collating and cataloging, NLS has not undertaken this work. In my opinion, in order to protect and make the most of this rare corpus, NLS ought to be encouraged to catalogue and produce digital versions of all the books, based on a more detailed classification.

The rare Chinese book collection of the NLS has been a hidden gem in Scotland since the last century; its unique and distinctive items merit further research.

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<http://lackfamily.net/genealogy/names/whole%20family/f1263.html>, 2017, 30.09.2017

Appendix 2

蘇格蘭國家圖書館中國古籍目錄

說明：蘇格蘭國家圖書館所藏中國古籍，根據筆者統計共有九十一種。因其數量有限，種類不多，故此目錄不做分類，僅按作者中西之別，按順序排列。尚有其他一些印刷品並不能歸為中國古籍。因其仍有一定價值，故目錄之外，筆者特列附錄記錄之。

本目錄中，每種書籍將給出其書名，出版地點，出版時間，出版商，裝幀形式，卷數，頁數，版框寬高，半葉之行書字數，原始架號及編號等信息。除此之外，一些少見之書籍，亦附一簡略介紹。其中，出版地點時間及出版商信息，盡量摘錄書籍牌記及序跋原文，以存其原貌。

一些書籍因為各種原因，上述書籍信息無法探知，待他日補充完善。

一 西人著作類

說明：此類書籍共三十九種。以出版時間順序排列編號；同名書籍隨最早之刻本排列；同年份書籍則傳教書籍在前，其他類書籍在後。「架號」表示蘇格蘭國圖標記之 shelfmark，「AL」後之編號為部分書籍上所貼 Advocates' Library 書籤上之手寫編號。

1.1 天主聖教啓蒙/念珠規程

明中後期（1573～1644）

殘卷；不分卷；15.3×22 公分；半頁九行行二十字；線已脫落，順序亦亂；『聖教啓蒙』四周單邊，單黑魚尾，版心寫書名；『念珠規程』四周雙邊，單黑魚尾，版心寫書名。

作者：[明]泰西耶穌會士羅如望譯著(Jean de Rocha)

架號：6.542；AL：27

提要：『聖教啓蒙』為問答式教理書，據 Marc George 編著的葡文 Cartilha 一書譯成。此二者為現存天主教傳入中國後，傳教士所撰書籍之較早者。『念珠規程』有基督教圖案共十五幅。

1.2 遠西奇器圖說錄最卷第三

明天啓七年（1627）

一冊；存卷三；14.7×22 公分；半頁九行行十八字；；四周雙邊。

作者：[明]西海耶穌會士鄧玉函口授；[明]關西景教後學王徵譯繪；[明]新安後學汪應魁校訂

架號：6.551

提要：此書繪圖精美，見載於『中國古籍善本書目』子部 05270/05271。

1.3 新遺詔書

耶穌降生一千八百一十三年鑄（1813）

線裝八冊；一冊一卷；冊一，七十一葉；冊二，四十五葉；冊三，七十葉；冊四，五十八葉；冊五，六十四葉；冊六，七十一葉；冊七，六十一葉；冊八，九十七葉；11.3×13.3 公分；半頁八行，行二十二字；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；左右雙邊，上下單邊；有雙層書套及題寫中英文書名之書籤。

架號：6.539；AL：1

提要：此書全名『耶穌基利士督我主救者新遣詔書』，1813年由傳教士馬禮遜從希臘文譯出。通常被認為是基督教在華譯經之始。

1.4 英華通用雜話

1843

線裝一冊；不分卷；四十一葉；13.4×17.9公分；書口寫書名及章節名，無魚尾；四周單邊；從右向左翻葉。

作者：[清]羅伯聃（Robert Thom）

架號：6.541；AL：25

提要：其扉頁和尾頁粘貼有本書介紹之印刷頁。扉頁內有手寫英文，言 David Thom 於 1855 年將此書贈予 Advocates' Library。

1.5 路加傳福音書/使徒行傳

英番聖書公會藏版，清道光二十五年（1845）

西式裝幀一冊；路加傳福音書二十四卷，使徒行傳二十八卷；路加傳福音書六十六葉，使徒行傳六十二葉；8.5×13.9公分；半頁八行，行二十三字；

四周雙邊；底部阿拉伯數字標頁；邊欄外左下角漢字標葉；版心寫書名、章數、漢字頁碼；深紅皮質書皮，西式裝幀，除書脊外其餘三面刷金。

作者：[清]馬禮遜（Robert Morrison）

架號：6.539；AL：3

1.6 全體新論

惠愛醫館藏板；粵東省城金利阜，惠愛醫館刊印；咸豐元年新鑄（1851）

線裝二冊；不分卷；冊一七十一葉，冊二七十葉；14.3×20公分；半頁十行，行二十四字；版新寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊；冊一有桃紅色書籤題寫書名。

作者：[清]合信氏

架號：5.1551

提要：中國最早有人體解剖圖之醫學書。

1.7 新約全書

香港英華書院活版，咸豐四年鑄（1854），銅活字本

線裝一冊；不分卷；一百四十葉；16.2×11.5公分；半頁十七行，行三十三字；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周單邊。

架號：6.551

又一種

1.8 新約全書

羊城西關惠愛堂藏版，甲寅四年鑄（1854）

六孔紅色線線裝一冊；五卷；分卷標葉；14.3×20.2公分；半頁十行，行二十四字，版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊；黃綾書皮，有包角；版心寫卷數、某某復印書第某章、頁碼；有頓號、句號等標點。

架號：5.1552（扉頁手寫架號 5.1550）

又一種

1.9 新約全書

香港英華書院印刷，咸豐五年鑄（1855），銅活字本

線裝一冊；不分卷；一百四十葉；16.2×11.5 公分；半頁十七行，行三十三字；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

架號：6.540；AL：5

又一種

1.10 新約全書

香港英華書院印刷，咸豐八年鑄（1858），銅活字本

線裝一冊；不分卷；一百四十葉；16.2×11.5 公分；半頁十七行，行三十三字；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

架號：6.540；AL：6

1.11 聖經

江蘇松江上海墨海書館印，耶穌降世壹千捌百五拾五年（1855），銅活字本

線裝 4 冊；11.9×17.3 公分；半頁十五行，行三十五字；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊；黃布包角；皮質書套；金屬單扣。

架號：6.540；AL：2

內容：

前三冊為『舊約全書』，末一冊為『新約全書』。

·冊 1，舊約；創世記——卷一；出埃及記——卷二；利未記一~五章——卷三；利未記六~二十七章終——卷一；民數記略、申命記、約書亞記、士師記、路得記——卷二。

·冊 2，撒母耳記~詩篇百五十篇——卷二。

·冊 3，卷三。

·冊 4，馬太傳福音書——卷一；馬可傳福音書 1~9 章——卷二；馬可傳福音書十~末、路加傳福音書、約翰傳福音書、使徒行傳——卷一；保羅達羅馬人書一~四章——卷六；保羅達羅馬人書五章~全書末——卷二。

1.12 舊約全書

香港英華書院印刷，咸豐五年鑄（1855），銅活字本

線裝三冊；不分卷；冊一一百四十一葉，冊二一百八十二葉，冊三一百四十七葉；11.5×16.2 公分；半頁十七行，行三十三字；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

架號：6.540；AL：4

提要：香港英華書院及上海墨海書館之書，幾乎全為銅活字印刷。其活字有大小兩種，版式較為一致。此類銅活字印刷品，印刷清晰，質量較好，數量較大；內容上則以傳教士作品為主。

1.13 耶穌教略

香港英華書院活版；咸豐五年（1855）銅活字本

線裝一冊；不分卷；二十葉；11.6×15.2 公分；半頁十三行，行三十字；版心寫書名，

單黑魚尾；四周雙邊
架號：6.541（扉頁手寫架號 6.539）

又一種：

1.14 耶穌教略

上海墨海書館印；耶穌降世一千八百五十八年（1858），銅活字本
線裝一冊；不分卷；三十一葉；12.5×17.7 公分；半頁九行，行十九字；版心寫書名，
單黑魚尾；四周雙邊
架號：6.541（扉頁手寫架號 6.539）

1.15 宗主詩章

香港英華書院印刷，咸豐五年（1855），銅活字本
線裝一冊；不分卷；三十四葉；10.9×15.3 公分；半頁八行，行十八字；版心寫書名，
線條裝飾之單魚尾；四周雙邊。
架號：6.540；AL：18

1.16 博物新編

江蘇松江上海墨海書館藏版，咸豐五年新鑄（1855），銅活字本
線裝一冊；分三集；14.4×20 公分；半頁十行，行二十四字；版心題寫書名，單黑魚尾；
四周雙邊，無欄線；黃綾包角。
作者：[清]英國醫士合信著
架號：5.1551

1.17 初學粵音切要

香港英華書院活版，咸豐五年（1855），銅活字本
線裝一冊；不分卷；三十一葉；11.7×15.6 公分；；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。
架號：6.541；AL：24

又一種：

1.18 初學粵音切要

香港英華書院活版，咸豐五年（1855），銅活字本
線裝一冊；不分卷；三十一葉；11.7×15.6 公分；；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。
架號：6.551

1.19 真道入門

香港英華書院印刷，咸豐六年（1856），銅活字本
線裝一冊；不分卷；十八葉；7.4×11 公分；半頁十行，行二十二字；版心寫書名，單
黑魚尾；四周雙邊
架號：6.541

1.20 真理摘要

江蘇松江上海墨海書館印，咸豐六年（1856），銅活字本

線裝一冊；不分卷；十八葉；12.6×17.8 公分；半頁九行，行十九字；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

架號：6.541（扉頁手寫架號 6.539）

1.21 麥氏三字經

香港英華書院藏版，咸豐六年（1856），銅活字本

線裝一冊；不分卷；十七葉；8.5×8 公分；半頁五行，行六字；版心寫書名；單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

作者：[清]麥都思（Walter Henry Medhurst）

架號：6.539

又一種：

1.22 三字經

上海墨海書館印，咸豐六年（1856），銅活字本

線裝一冊；不分卷；十七葉；8.5×8 公分；半頁五行，行六字；版心寫書名；花魚尾；四周雙邊。

架號：6.541；AL：31

1.23 遐邇貫珍

香港英華書院印刷，一千八百五十六年（1856），銅活字本

線裝一冊；不分卷；分書號葉；11×15.3 公分；半頁 13 行，行 30 字；四周雙邊

作者：[清]理雅各（James Legge）主編

架號：6.540；AL：16

1.24 智環啟蒙塾課初步

香港英華書院從英文譯出，咸豐七年活板印刷（1856），銅活字本

線裝一冊；不分卷；五十一葉；11×15.2 公分；半頁十三行，行字不定；四周雙邊。兩截版本。上部為從左到右橫排英語；下部為從右到左豎排漢語；漢英對照；漢語部分版心書名，單黑魚尾，下為頁碼。

架號：6.541；AL：23

1.25 正音撮要上卷

寧波華花聖經書房藏珍，道光元年（1856），銅活字本

六孔線裝一冊；不分卷；一百零二葉；書長寬 15.5×25 公分；從右向左翻葉。

作者：[清]靜亭高氏纂輯，大英羅伯聃（Robert Thom）譯述

架號：6.541；AL：26

1.26 丙辰粵事公牘要畧

大英香港總署監刻/英華書院印發，咸豐六年丙辰（1856）

線裝一冊；分第一～第二十（卷）；分部分標頁；11.5×16.3 公分；半頁十行，行十八字；白口，單黑魚尾；四周單邊。

架號：6.539；AL：22

1.27 羅馬書註釋

江蘇松江上海墨海書館印，耶穌降世壹仟捌佰伍拾七年（1857），銅活字本
線裝一冊；不分卷；五十八葉；12×17公分；半頁九行，行十九字；版心題”新約全書
註解”；單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

架號：6.540；AL：19

1.28 救靈先路

咸豐柒年（1857）

線裝一冊；不分卷；六十八葉；10.9×15公分；半頁十行，行二十二字；版心寫書名，
單黑魚尾；四周雙邊

架號：6.541（扉頁手寫架號 6.539）

1.29 指迷篇

江蘇松江上海墨海書館印，耶穌降世壹仟捌佰伍拾七年（1857），銅活字本
線裝一冊；不分卷；十三葉；12.5×17.7公分；半頁九行，行十九字；版心寫書名，單
黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

架號：6.541（扉頁手寫架號 6.539）

1.30 釋教正謬

江蘇松江上海墨海書館印，耶穌降世壹仟捌佰伍拾七年（1857），銅活字本
線裝一冊；不分卷；三十一葉；12.5×17.7公分；半頁九行，行十九字；版心寫書名，
單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

作者：[清]英国艾约瑟迪谨氏著（Joseph Edkins）

架號：6.541（扉頁手寫架號 6.539）

1.31 哥林多書註解

上海墨海書館印，耶穌降世一千八百五十八年（1858），銅活字本
線裝一冊；不分卷；六十二葉；12×17公分；半頁九行，行十九字；版心題”新約全書
註解”；單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

架號：6.540；AL：20

1.32 上帝總論

香港英華書院活版；咸豐八年（1858），銅活字本

線裝一冊；不分卷；六葉；7.4×11公分；半頁七行，行十七字；版心寫書名，單黑魚
尾；四周雙邊

架號：6.541（扉頁手寫架號 6.539）

1.33 甲乙二友論述

江蘇上海墨海書館印，耶穌降生壹仟捌佰伍拾捌年重訂（1858），銅活字本
線裝一冊；不分卷；二十三葉；12.5×17.7公分；半頁九行，行十九字；版心寫書名，
單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

架號：6.541（扉頁手寫架號 6.539）

1.34 植物學

上海墨海書館，咸豐八年（1858），銅活字本

線裝一冊；八卷；分卷標葉；13.5×17.7 公分；半頁九行，行二十二字；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

作者：[清]李善蘭、韋廉臣、艾約瑟合譯

架號：6.540；AL：13

提要：此書為中國傳播近代植物學知識之第一部譯著。

1.35 吾主耶穌基督新遺詔書

線裝兩冊；滿漢合璧；不分卷；冊一七十葉，冊二四十三葉；14.5×23 公分（版框大小雖同，但書頁則冊一較冊二大）；半頁十八行，行字不定；冊一為六孔線裝，冊二四孔線裝；均四周雙邊，花魚尾。冊一有書籤題寫書名，冊二書衣遺失。此書因為滿漢合璧，從右向左翻葉，頁碼順序亦反。版心左為滿文，右為漢文，一一對應。

作者：[清]偉烈亞力

架號：6.542；AL：11（僅冊一）

提要：此書一冊為馬太福音，一冊為馬可福音。雖未標明出版年月，然據記錄僅於 1859 年上海墨海書館刊刻一版。

1.36 廟祝問答

香港英華書院活版，咸豐玖年（1859），銅活字本

線裝一冊；上下兩卷；九葉；11.7×15.6 公分；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

架號：6.541

1.37 代微積拾級

咸豐己未孟夏之月墨海刊行（1859），銅活字本

線裝一冊；九卷；分卷標葉；15×21.5 公分；半頁九行，行二十字；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊；有李善蘭自序及咸豐九年偉烈亞力序。

作者：[清]米利堅羅密士撰、英國偉烈亞力口譯、海寧李善蘭筆述

架號：6.542；AL：14

提要：本書為西方微積分著作之第一部中文譯本。

1.38 理財節畧

光緒二十五年（1899）

線裝一冊；不分卷；二十六葉；12.9×19 公分；半頁十行，行二十四字；版心寫書名，花魚尾；四周雙邊；紅色書籤題寫書名。

作者：[清]鈞鑒造冊處稅務司戴樂爾（F. R. Taylor）

架號：6.540；AL：15

1.39 新約全書註釋

線裝一冊；13.5×20.5 公分；半頁十一行，行二十一字，小字兩字一行；版心寫書名，

線條裝飾之單魚尾；四周雙邊；界行為波浪狀。

存第十五章，前闕，存頁 55 至頁 115；末葉注明：新約全書註釋卷一終。

架號：6.540；AL：18

二 國人著作類

說明：此類書籍共五十種。以大致出版順序排列編號。

2.1 萬錦徽音（新刊梨園摘錦墜要精奇雅調）

霞漳吳景辰選梓，約明代萬曆（1523～1620）

皮面線裝一冊；不分卷；六十七葉；11.1×9 公分；半頁八行，行十七字；版心題寫書名『萬錦徽音』，無魚尾；四周單邊。

作者：玩月趣主人校閱

架號：6.541；AL：31（末葉手寫編號為 6.539）

提要：此書為明代萬曆年間流行於福建泉州之地方戲曲南音之曲選，與藏於德國德累斯頓薩克森州立圖書館之『百花賽錦』當為同系列之出版物。

2.2 荔枝記/新摘潮調陳三並泉南錦曲加調全集

明代（1368～1644）

西式裝幀一冊；卷數；存七十八葉（扉頁末葉均有書葉遺失）；14×26 公分；半頁十行，行二十四字；白口，單黑魚尾；四周單邊；有插圖共計二十三幅。

架號：6.541；AL：28

提要：此書與『圖像本草蒙荃』反方向裝訂在一起。

2.1 金湯借箸十二籌

約明末清初

線裝一冊；此本為卷十二；四十二葉；12.6×18.3 公分；半頁九行，行十九字；版心寫書名「金湯借箸」，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

作者：[清]淮南李盤小有，京口周鑑臺公，古絳韓霖雨公，後學熊應雄運英

架號：6.551

提要：本書為籌劃城邑防守之兵書，插圖眾多。書根書「八止」，則原有八冊。『中國古籍善本目錄』著錄崇禎刻本，見子 01308。

2.3 圖像本草蒙荃

約明末清初

線裝一冊；此書為卷八～十二；分卷標葉；14.4×21.5 公分；半頁十二行，行二十六字；版心寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周單邊。

作者：新安陳嘉謨廷採纂輯，歙邑葉棐鮑倚校刊，婿胡一貫，姪晨，潭陽後學劉孔敦若樸增補。

架號：6.541；AL：28

提要：『中國古籍善本書目』錄子 01832，「十二卷首一卷總論一卷。明陳嘉謨撰。明劉孔敦增補。明崇禎元年刻本。」此書質量不高，当晚于崇禎本。

2.4 三教源流聖帝佛帥搜神大全

約明末清初

線裝三冊；七卷；分卷標葉；13.3×20.1 公分；半頁行數不定，行十四字；四周單邊；單黑魚尾，版心書名；插圖眾多。

作者：

架號：6.541；AL：30（扉頁手寫架號 6.539）

2.5 御制勸善要言

順治十二年（1655）

線裝一冊；不分卷；六十八葉；×公分；半頁十行，行字不定；滿漢合璧；黃綾包角；四周雙邊，版心題滿文書名。順治十二年序

作者：[清]順治帝

架號：6.543；AL：34

2.6 西番譯語

約清代康熙（1662～1722）

線裝一冊；按天文、地理、時令等「門」分類；本書為二～五十二葉；10.2×12.5 公分；分左右兩欄。六行字：從上到下為藏語、意思、發音；白口無魚尾；上下單邊，左右雙邊。

架號：6.551

2.7 武備秘書

清中期（1662～1735）

線裝八冊；分卷標葉；12.5×19 公分；半頁九行，行二十二字；白口無魚尾；四周單邊；有襯紙。

作者：[明]繡水施永圖山公氏、男施袞、袞、宸評閱

架號：6.551（扉頁手寫架號 6.550）

內容：八冊書根題寫書名為「心畧地利」，且標冊次為冊四～十，十二。現列於下：

冊四：卷一，葉五十～八十三

冊五：卷一，葉八十四～百十八

冊六：卷二，葉一～二十七

冊七：卷二，葉二十八～六十一

冊八：卷二，葉六十二～九十九

冊九：卷二，葉一百～百二十五

冊十：卷三，葉一～二十五，書根題「武備秘書 地利防江圖略」

冊十二：卷四，葉一～三十七

提要：本書將明代時中國沿海戰略地理、相應的軍隊布陣方法及海戰武器裝備匯集成卷。全書有介紹武器與沿海地理、地貌、戰略要塞之版畫多幅。存世數量極少，較為珍貴。

2.8 增訂廣輿記

清中葉（1707～？）

線裝一冊；此書為卷一；六十三葉；15.2×21 公分；半頁十行，行十九字；版心題寫書名「广輿記」，單黑上魚尾；四周單邊。

作者：[明]雲間陸應陽伯生原纂，[明]平江蔡方炳九霞增輯

架號：6.551

提要：本書為以圖記名的古代中國地圖集，同時亦是研究明、清地圖史的重要版本。此版本非康熙丁亥（1707）年之帶勻樓或寶卷樓本。帶勻樓順序為：序-凡例-目錄；此為書序-目錄-凡例。其餘皆同，但質量不及帶勻樓，疑據帶勻樓本重刻或以其板重印。

2.9 亦政堂重修宣和博古圖錄

亦政堂藏版/東書堂重修，乾隆壬申年（1752）

線裝九冊；寸二十七卷；分卷標葉；23.6×15.8 公分；半頁八行，行十七字；版心題寫書名「博古圖錄」，單白魚尾；四周單邊；每冊書根題寫「書次 博古圖」。

作者：[北宋]徽宗敕撰，[北宋]王黼編纂，[清]天都黃曉峰鑒定

架號：6.549（冊六及冊八手寫編號為 6.554）

提要：亦政堂為清人黃晟（曉峰）室名。清乾隆間，黃晟得萬曆戊子泊如齋版，加以修補而印成此書。

又一種

2.10 博古圖錄

存卷三之第十三、十五葉。

2.11 考古圖

亦政堂藏版；乾隆十八年歲次癸酉秋八月天都黃晟曉峰氏校刊于槐蔭草堂（1753）

線裝三冊；十卷，冊一為卷一～二，冊二為卷三～四，冊三為卷五～十；分卷標葉；16.3×25 公分；半頁八行，行十七字；版心題寫書名，單白魚尾；書口寫卷數及頁碼；四周單邊；書根分別寫「壹/貳/叁 考古圖」。

作者：[宋]呂大臨撰，[清]天都黃曉峰鑒定

架號：6.554

提要：哈佛燕京圖書館亦藏此書，屬黃氏亦政堂乾隆壬申所刻『三古圖』之一，其中之『古玉圖』為蘇格蘭國圖所無。但哈佛之書，『重刊考古圖序』在姓名前，而此書在扉頁之後。

2.12 滿漢合璧四書壹部

武英殿刻本，乾隆二十六年（1755）

線裝六冊；不分卷；分別標葉；14.2×19 公分；半頁十四行；青色包角；上下雙邊，左右單邊，單黑魚尾，版心寫四書之名和上下之分。下方為頁碼；有書套，上貼書簽：滿漢合璧四書壹部。

架號：6.543（冊一手寫架號為 6.541）；AL：33

內容：

冊一：御制序-大學-中庸

冊二：論語序-論語

冊三：論語下

冊四~冊六：孟子上、孟子下、孟子下

2.13 文房肆考圖說

竹韻山莊之書府，乾隆丙申四十三年（1778）

線裝一冊；應八卷四冊，此為卷五卷六；卷五四十七葉，卷六四十葉；13.2×19 公分；半頁九行，行二十字；上下闊黑口，黑單魚尾；左右雙邊，上下單邊；書根寫「三文房肆考」

作者：[清]練水唐秉鈞衡銓氏纂

架號：6.551

2.14 東坡遺意

賞奇軒，文富堂藏版；清刻本

線裝一冊；不分卷；14.2×20.5 公分；左右雙邊，上下為波浪紋雙邊。

架號：5.1550

2.15 二妙

賞奇軒，文富堂藏版；清刻本

線裝一冊；不分卷；四十葉；14.2×20.5 公分；左右雙邊，上下波浪紋雙邊。

架號：5.1550

提要：『東坡遺意』與『二妙』均為蘇東坡詩文尺牘作品選，隸屬於文富堂出版之『賞奇軒』四種，其餘兩種為『无双譜』、『官子譜』。

2.16 續泛槎圖三集

道光五年（1825）

六孔線裝，上下兩冊；不分卷；上冊一~四十九葉，下冊五十~九十四葉；16×22.5 公分；版心上方不封口，寫書名「續泛槎圖三集」，中部標頁碼；四周單邊；有襯紙。

作者：[清]仙槎張寶

架號：5.1550

2.17 艤槎圖四集

友羊城尚古齋，道光六年歲在丙戌（1826）

六孔線裝，上下兩冊；不分卷；上冊一~四十六葉，下冊四十七~八十八葉；16×22.5 公分；版心上方不封口，寫書名「艤槎圖四集」，中部標頁碼；四周單邊；有襯紙。

作者：[清]白下仙槎張寶

架號：5.1550

提要：清代風景版畫集，記錄張寶所行各地名勝之景并识诗于上。張寶所繪之畫共六冊，結集為『泛槎圖』刊行於世，紙質優良，刻印精美。蘇格蘭國家圖書館藏有其中二種，即此書與『續泛槎圖三集』。

2.18 東華錄

中和堂，清道光年間（1821~1851）

線裝；上部八冊，下部八冊；分卷標葉；12.4×16.5 公分；半頁九行，行二十二字；版

心題寫書名；單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。上下兩部之冊一均有書籤題寫書名，餘下十四冊書皮上題寫書名。上部下部各有一書套。

作者：[清]蔣良騏（湘源蔣良騏千之父）

架號：上部 6.543，下部 6.541；AL：上部 32a，下部 32

提要：清初編年體斷代史。起自清太祖發祥長白山，迄於雍正十三年（1735年），前後六朝（天命、天聰、崇德、順治、康熙、雍正）。據陳捷先『蔣良騏及其「東華錄」研究』第七章『蔣良騏「東華錄」刻本錯誤舉隅』（中華書局2008年12月第1版），其當系道光年間刊刻之「山東刻本」。此書書皮及正文中均有旁批識語【有毛笔汉字及X笔英文两种批校文字】，下部冊一書皮有印兩方，可知從他人處輾轉入傳教士之手。

2.19 廣東通志

道光二年（1822）

線裝一冊；此書為一百二十三及一百二十四卷；一百二十三卷四十葉，一百二十四卷五十九頁；15.8×21.5公分；半頁十一行，行二十一字；上下闊黑口，對黑魚尾；四周雙邊；書根寫「六十四 廣東通志 海防略」。

作者：[清]阮元

架號：6.551

提要：清代『廣東通志』留存於世者，多為同治三年甲子重刊本（1864），此書則為道光二年刻本。

2.20 康熙字典

道光七年奉旨重刊（1827）

線裝一冊；未分卷，七十八葉；9.4×12.6公分；半頁八行小字兩字一行，行二十四字；版心題寫書名，四周雙邊，單黑魚尾；

架號：6.540；AL：12（手寫編號 6.539）

又一種

2.21 康熙字典

日本須原屋茂兵衛，[日本]文久三年（1863）

線裝十四冊（總數當為四十冊）；未標卷；10.1×14.8公分；半頁十六行，行二十四字；細桑紙厚冊；素綾包麵包角；四周雙邊；版心題寫書名「康熙字典」；單黑魚尾；有木製書架。

架號：6.553

提要：此書為文久三年日本翻刻縮印康熙五十五年版。

2.22 各省輿地圖？

豫章張汝霖重摹開雕，道光二十六年（1836）

西式裝幀一冊；有書套；不分卷；不標葉；22.7×31公分；原書葉下加入襯紙，改版為西式裝幀；扉頁已失。

作者：陽城劉瑩

架號：6.554

提要：據首葉序「各省輿地舊有此圖……嘉慶十年十月陽城劉堃載」及次葉序「道光二十六年歲並無春三月朔豫章張汝霖重摹開雕」推測此書名為『各省輿地圖』，嘉慶十年原刊。

2.23 防海輯要

百甓山房，道光壬寅年孟夏（1842）

單線線裝一冊；據目錄共有十八卷，本書只到卷四「江南沿海輿地考」；分章節標葉；14.5×20 公分；半頁十一行，行二十二字；畫口題寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周單邊。

作者：[清]俞昌會

架號：5.1550

提要：明清海防資料分類彙編之書，包括沿海各地輿地考，防海略，沿海形勢總略，練兵之法，水戰策略，風潮總結等；此外還有圖說一卷。

2.24 漢書地理志水道圖說

廣東省城學院前藝芳齋寫刊，道光二十八年（1848）

線裝一冊；七卷；分卷標葉；15.8×22.5 公分；半頁十一行，行二十八字；上下闊黑口，上黑魚尾；上下單邊左右雙邊，書口題寫書名及卷數頁數；書皮已失。

作者：[清]陳澧（番禺陳氏）

架號：5.1550

提要：作者以清康熙、乾隆內府輿圖為底圖，根據漢書地理志並兼覽眾家之說著成此書。

2.25 五桂堂道光三十年通書

五桂堂，道光二十九年（1849）

線裝一冊；不分卷不標葉；13.7×23.5 公分；紙質封面，有枚紅色書簽，為兩小人舉芭蕉扇，上書：五桂堂大全通書。版心、欄線多有變化。

架號：5.1551

2.26 佛岡廳志書

咸豐元年（1851）

單線線裝一冊；本書為卷一；三十五葉；14×19.7 公分；半頁九行，行二十一字；版心題寫書名「佛岡廳志」，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

作者：[清]古閩龔韞山刺史纂輯，山陰陶廉生太守，黔南夏遠雯司馬，全鑑定

架號：5.1550

2.27 江湖尺牘分韻撮要合集（內附輓詩 帖式備要）

板藏佛山鎮利元堂發兌，咸豐四年春鐫（1854）

線裝一冊；當有三卷，此為卷一；目錄十三葉，正文三十八葉；×公分；半葉九行，上下兩欄，上欄雙行小字，字數不定；版心題寫「尺牘」，單黑魚尾；左右雙邊。

作者：吳郡虞學圃，武溪溫岐石，全輯

架號：6.551

2.28 皇清地理圖

廣東省城學院藝芳齋刊印，咸豐六年（1856）

線裝一冊；不分卷；九十一葉；15.7×22.7 公分；半頁十一行，行二十八字；版心題寫書名，無魚尾；左右雙邊上下單邊。

作者：[清]陽湖董氏（董祐誠/方立）

架號：6.554

提要：據書末咸豐六年三月長沙胡錫燕伯薊之識語，此書為道光十二年太歲元默執徐孟陬之月陽湖李氏辨志書塾版之覆刻本。覆刻之時，將原書之卷冊改為「書板之式」。

2.29 丹柱堂咸豐八年通書

丹柱堂，咸豐七年（1857）

線裝一冊；不分卷不標葉；13.7×23.5 公分；紙質封面，有枚紅色書簽，為兩小人舉芭蕉扇，上書：丹柱堂大全通書；版心、欄線多有變化。

架號：5.1551

2.30 南海縣誌

道光十五年修同治八年重刊（1869）

線裝一冊；共四十四卷，此本為卷之三圖一，卷之四圖二；卷三四十一葉，卷四四十六葉；15.7×19.5 公分；半頁十二行，行二十三字；版心題寫書名，對黑魚尾；四周單邊。有「儒林圖書館」之印一方。

作者：[清]潘尚楫等修，鄧士憲等纂

架號：6.551

2.31 廣東輿地全圖

清刻本

線裝兩冊，分別為冊三及冊四；冊三為與地略三，冊四為與地略四；冊三葉三十四葉，冊四三十九葉；15.3×21.2 公分；半頁十一行，行二十一字；上下大黑口，對黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

架號：6.554

2.32 光緒二十九年通商各關華洋貿易總冊

上海通商海關造冊處譯印，光緒三十年十月印（1904）

線裝一冊；不分卷；一百二十一葉；17.4×27.3 公分；半頁十五行，行四十字；綠綾包角；白口，對黑魚尾；有目錄，總論，總數，總價值，分口岸敘述。

架號：6.543；AL：7（手寫架號 6.542）

2.33 光緒三十一年通商各關華洋貿易論畧

上海通商海關造冊處譯印，光緒三十二年八月印（1906）

線裝一冊；不分卷；一百十七葉；17.4×27.3 公分；半頁十七行，行四十一字；綠綾包角；白口，對黑魚尾；分口岸敘述。

架號：6.543；AL：8（手寫架號 6.542）

2.34 光緒三十二年通商各關華洋貿易論畧

上海通商海關造冊處譯印，光緒三十三年八月印（1907）

線裝一冊；不分卷；一百十二葉；17.4×27.3 公分；半頁十七行，行四十一字；綠綾包角；白口，對黑魚尾；分口岸敘述。

架號：6.543；AL：9（手寫架號 6.542）

2.35 光緒三十三年通商各關華洋貿易總冊

上海通商海關造冊處譯印，光緒三十四年七月印（1908）

線裝一冊；不分卷；一部分六十六葉，一部分十六葉；17.4×27.3 公分；半頁十七行，行四十字；綠綾包角；白口，對黑魚尾；有目錄，總論，總數，總價值，分口岸敘述。

架號：6.543；AL：10（手寫架號 6.542）

2.36 芥子園書畫

閩漳廣學堂梓/文瑞堂藏版，清刻本

線裝一厚冊五小冊；分冊標葉，金四十五葉，木四十一葉，水四十葉，火四十三葉，土四十一葉；13.8×22 公分；版心寫書名，無魚尾；四周單邊。

作者：[清]海上笠翁著

架號：6.550

提要：是書按金、木、水、火、土分為五類，記錄畫技畫法，其中金木部主要包括書法篆刻，水部主要包括人物山水，火部主要包括蘭竹，土部主要包括花草。

2.37 芥子園畫傳初集

本衙藏版，康熙十有八年（1679）

線裝四冊；存卷一～四，缺卷五，一冊一卷；冊一二十三葉，冊二四十一葉，冊三四十五葉，冊四四十七葉；15.1×21.5 公分；半頁九行，行二十字；版心題寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周單邊；冊一有一～五卷目錄。

作者：[清]李笠翁先生論定，繡水王安節摹古

架號：6.550

又一種：

2.38 芥子園畫傳初集

本衙藏版，康熙十有八年（1679）

線裝五冊；五卷全，一冊一卷；冊一二十三葉，冊二四十一葉，冊三四十五葉，冊四四十七葉；15.1×21.5 公分；半頁九行，行二十字；版心題寫書名，單黑魚尾；四周單邊；目錄在每卷之首；冊五為五色套印。

作者：[清]李笠翁先生論定，繡水王安節摹古

架號：6.550

2.35 文淵堂鑄藏·芥子園畫傳二集

金閩書業堂重鑄珍藏/金閩文淵閣鑄藏，乾隆壬寅（1752）

線裝四冊；不分卷；分章節標頁；14.3×22.5 公分；書口欄線不封口；無魚尾；五色套印；附錄無欄線。

作者：[清]繡水王宓草、王安節、王司直摹古

架號：6.550

又一種：

2.39 芥子園畫傳三集

金閩文淵閣鑄藏/，乾隆壬寅（1752）

殘葉。不分卷，不標葉；15.6×22.4 公分；半頁九行，行二十字；四周單邊，無版心。

作者：[清]繡水王宓草、王安節、王司直摹古

架號：6.550

又一種

2.40 草蟲花卉譜

芥子園，清刊本（1644～1912）

蝴蝶裝殘葉；不分卷，不標葉；15.6×22.4 公分；半頁九行，行二十字；四周單邊，無版心。

作者：[清]繡水王宓草、王安節、王司直摹古

架號：6.550

又一種：

2.41 畫傳三集

清刊本（1644～1912）

蝴蝶裝殘葉；不分卷，不標葉；15.6×22.4 公分；半頁九行，行二十字；四周單邊，無版心；最末數十頁圖有襯紙。

作者：[清]繡水王宓草、王安節、王司直摹古

架號：6.550

2.42 畫傳二集·蘭譜

金陵芥子園重鐫，嘉慶庚申（1800）

線裝一冊；不分卷；分章節標頁；14.3×22.5 公分；無魚尾；黑白印刷；附錄之文無欄線，印刷粗劣。

作者：繡水王宓草、王安節、王司直摹古

架號：6.550

又一種

2.43 畫傳二集·竹譜

芥子園李氏鐫藏，嘉慶庚申（1800）

線裝一冊；不分卷；分章節標頁；14.3×22.5 公分；書口欄線不封口；無魚尾；三色套印；附錄之文無欄線，印刷粗劣。

作者：[清]繡水王宓草、王安節、王司直摹古

架號：6.550

又一種

2.44 畫傳二集·鞠譜

芥子園煥記重鐫，嘉慶庚申（1800）

線裝一冊；不分卷；分章節標頁；14.3×22.5 公分；書口欄線不封口；無魚尾；多色套印；附錄之文無欄線，印刷粗劣。

作者：[清]繡水王宓草、王安節、王司直摹古

架號：6.550

提要：以上三書為「嘉慶庚申」版，缺少「梅譜」，當為翻刻。此「嘉慶庚申」版與上述「乾隆壬寅」版幾乎完全相同。

2.45 芥子園畫傳初集（卷四）

清刊本（1644～1912）

紅色線裝一冊；此為卷四；四十七葉；15.3×22.8 公分；藍色花紋紙書皮，藍綾包角；四周單邊，版心題寫書名「芥子園畫傳」；單黑魚尾寫卷四；書口中部寫頁碼；黑白兩色；書根寫「四 畫傳初集 人物鳥獸」。

架號：6.550

又一種

2.46 芥子園畫傳初集（卷五）

清刊本（1644～1912）

紅色線裝一冊；此為卷五；四十一葉；×公分；15.3×22.8 公分；藍色花紋紙書皮，藍綾包角；四周單邊，版心題寫書名「芥子園畫傳」；單黑魚尾寫卷五；書口中部寫頁碼；五色套印；書根寫「五 畫傳初集 方冊扇面」

架號：6.550

又一種

2.47 芥子園畫傳四集

清刊本（1644～1912）

紅色線裝一冊；未標卷；三十七葉；14.7×22.5 公分；藍色花紋紙書皮，藍綾包角；版心寫畫傳四集 朝代 頁碼 芥子園；書根寫「三 畫傳四集 賢俊」。

架號：6.550

又一種：

2.48 芥子園畫傳四集·四·美人圖

江寧甘瑞祥刻，清刊本（1644～1912）

線裝一冊；不分卷；正文美人圖二十四葉，附圖章會纂十七葉；14.7×22.5 公分；正文半頁九行，行二十字，附錄半頁十行，行二十一字；四周單邊，

架號：6.551

2.49 芥子園畫傳

殘葉若干

架號：5.1552（所含之散葉亦有手寫標號，雜亂不一）

內容：

翎毛花卉譜一葉

翎毛花卉譜序二葉

青在堂花卉翎毛譜上冊目三葉

青在堂畫花卉翎毛淺說上冊十一葉

「上冊」一～二十葉

以上部分架號標 5.1551

翎毛花卉譜一葉

青在堂草蟲花卉譜下冊目

以上部分標架號 6.550

下冊目三葉

散葉共計一百一十葉

蘭譜序二葉

海鹽胡正鹽輯選十竹齋畫譜二十六葉

青在堂下冊目二葉

草卉起手式上冊葉一，五，七，十二，十七

2.50 元亨療馬集卷之三·秋卷

線裝一冊；當共四卷，此為卷三，評講八證論，碎金四十七論；四十四葉；13.7×20 公分；半頁十四行，行二十四字；版心題寫書名「元亨療馬集」，單黑魚尾；四周雙邊。

作者：六安州喻本元、喻本亨

架號：6.551

提要：中國明代獸醫著作。分春、夏、秋、冬四卷，以治療為核心，用問答、歌訣、證論及圖示等方式論述馬、牛、駝的飼養管理和治病方法。

附錄 1: 日文出版物

(1) 四書五經增補文選字引·全

東都書肆甘泉堂梓，弘化五戊申年孟春開版（1848）

線裝冊；9.5×13.8 公分；半頁七行，行七字；封面書簽題：「增補文選字引 全」；單黑魚尾，版心寫書名，頁碼等。書口有圓形花紋。

作者：山崎美成校訂

架號：5.1549

(2) 嘉永新增四聲正韻字林大全完

東都書肆甘泉堂梓，嘉永四亥年孟冬刻成（1851）

線裝冊；卷數；葉；12.3×9 公分；半頁九行，行六字；單黑魚尾，版心寫書名，頁碼等。書口有圓形花紋。

作者：山崎美成輯補

架號：5.1549

(3) 木賀溫泉松阪

商家宣傳單，[日本]明治十四年仲春（1881年）

1冊，封面半頁，內容2頁；合計10面，應有缺頁；13×18.6公分。首頁版刻插畫「歌川國松圖畫」。

架號：5.1549

附錄 2: 中文非書籍印刷品

(1) 人當自省以食晚餐論

銅活字本。三葉，半葉九行，行十九字；12.5×17.7公分；四周雙邊，版心寫書名，書口寫頁碼，單黑魚尾；

按：使用英華書院活字印刷。

架號：6.541

(2) 行道信主以免後日之刑論

三葉，半葉九行，行十九字；12.5×17.7公分；四周雙邊，版心寫書名，書口寫頁碼，單黑魚尾；使用英華書院活字印刷。

架號：6.541（扉頁手寫架號 6.539）

(3) 葆靈魂以升天國論

三葉，半葉九行，行十九字；12.5×17.7公分；四周雙邊，版心寫書名，書口寫頁碼，單黑魚尾；使用英華書院活字印刷。

架號：6.541（扉頁手寫架號 6.539）

(4) 顧愷之畫女史箴並書其真跡（複製品）

倫敦，1912

木盒裝捲軸與一冊頁。

木盒 28×8.5×7.2公分；冊子 17.5×25.5公分。

作者：杉崎秀明，漆原木蟲

架號：6.543;AL: 31A

提要：此為『女史箴圖』被切割前之完整複製品，首次利用日本技術將藏於歐洲博物館之畫作進行複製，僅複製了一百份。

附錄 3: 非古籍類書籍

浙江圖書館報（第一卷）

民國十七年二月印刷（1928）

西式裝幀；17×25.5公分。

作者：浙江省立圖書館

架號：6.551

附錄 4: 手寫物品

(1) 信件一封。

(2) 中文學習本一冊，手抄中英文詞句。16.5×20.5公分。

附錄 5: 其他印刷品

(1) 布面印刷大阪風景圖六頁。20.3×14.2公分。架號 5.1552.

(2) 彩色和紙袋十個。4.75×18.1公分；架號 5.1549.

